

# ACTA ORIENTALIA

## ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE

ADIUVENTIBUS

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REDIGIT  
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TOMUS X

FASCICULUS 1



1960

# ACTA ORIENTALIA

A MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA  
ORIENTALISZTIKAI KÖZLEMÉNYEI

SZERKESZTŐSÉG ÉS KIADÓHIVATAL: BUDAPEST V. ALKOTMÁNY UTCA 21

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Die zur Veröffentlichung bestimmten Manuskripte sind an folgende Adresse zu senden:

*Acta Orientalia, Budapest 62, Postafiók 440.*

An die gleiche Anschrift ist auch jede für die Redaktion und den Verlag bestimmte Korrespondenz zu richten.

Abonnementspreis pro Band: 110 Forint. Bestellbar bei dem Buch- und Zeitungs-Aussenhandels-Unternehmen »Kultúra« (Budapest VI., Népköztársaság útja 21. Bankkonto Nr. 43-790-057-181) oder bei seinen Auslandsvertretungen und Kommissionären.

# A STUDY ON THE DARIGANGA PHONOLOGY

BY

A. RÓNA-TAS

The relations among the East Mongolian languages are one of the most unexplored questions of Mongolian studies. In the way of investigation there stand peculiar difficulties. Though we have at our disposal exhaustive material of two of these languages, Khalkha and Ordos, through the various studies, of Ramstedt,<sup>1</sup> Vladimirtsov,<sup>2</sup> Todaeva,<sup>3</sup> Sanžeev,<sup>4</sup> Poppe,<sup>5</sup> Rudnev,<sup>6</sup> Mostaert<sup>7</sup> and others,<sup>8</sup> these two languages are the most distant members of the East

<sup>1</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, *Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart*, Helsinki 1902 ; *Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen*, MSFOu XIX (1903).

<sup>2</sup> B. Ja. Vladimirtsov, *Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхаского наречия*, Leningrad 1929 ; *Северная Монголия II. Предварительные отчеты лингвистической и археологической экспедиций о работах, произведенных в 1925 году*, Leningrad 1927. On further works concerning Khalkha and the East Mongolian group, I refer the reader to the complete bibliography of Vladimirkov given in: *Филология и история монгольских народов, Памяти академика Бориса Яковлевича Владимирикова*, Moscow 1958, pp. 8—11.

<sup>3</sup> В. Н. Тодаева, *Грамматика современного монгольского языка. Фонетика и морфология*, Moscow 1951.

<sup>4</sup> G. D. Sanžeev, *Сравнительная грамматика монгольский языков*, Moscow 1953. A short grammatical sketch in : A. R. Rinčine's *Краткий монгольско-русский словарь*, Moscow 1947.

<sup>5</sup> N. N. Poppe, *Практический учебник монгольского языка. Халхаское наречие*. Leningrad 1931 ; *Строй халха-монгольского языка*, Leningrad 1936 ; *Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1951 ; *Introduction to Mongolian Comparativ Studies*, Helsinki 1955 (= MSFOu 110) (cited as : *Introduction*).

<sup>6</sup> A. D. Rudnev, *Материалы по говорам Восточной Монголии*, StPbg. 1911.

<sup>7</sup> A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte des Mongols Urdus (Sud). Étude phonétique*, Anthropos XXI—XXII (1926—1927), pp. 851—869, 160—186 ; XXV (1930), pp. 725—727 (cited as *Le dialecte I*, resp. *II. and III.*), *Dictionnaire Ordos I—II*, Peking 1941—1942 (cited as *Dictionnaire*) ; *Textes Oraux Ordos*, Peiping 1937 (cited as *Textes Oraux*).

<sup>8</sup> There are a few other works on East Mongolian languages, or on some details of them, such as the works of Vitale deSercy, Cybikov, Bimbaev, Žamtsarano etc. but they contain little material for the comparative study of the East Mongolian group. For these works I refer to the bibliography given in Poppe's *Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik*, pp. 127—128, 134—135 and *Geserica*, Asia Major III, p. 6—13 by the same author.

Mongolian group. Of the other dialects belonging to this group we have very scanty data.<sup>9</sup> The comparative studies are rendered more difficult by the fact that among the Khalkha dialects only that of Ulan Bator (former Urga) has been thoroughly discussed, and we know very little about the other Khalkha dialects.<sup>10</sup> In the comparative studies of the East Mongolian dialects an important role is played by those Khalkha dialects which seem to occupy an intermediate position between the central Khalkha and the south-east sub-group to which Ordos belongs. We got to know of the existence of these dialects from the statements of Vladimirtsov (*Справ. грамм.*, pp. 9—18), and Poppe (*Introduction*, pp. 20—21, 103), and it was Professor Ligeti who called my attention to their importance in the relations among East Mongolian dialects.

One aim of my study tour, made in 1958 in the Mongolian People's Republic, was to collect material on the position of the South Khalkha dialects.<sup>11</sup> During my tour I have visited the Dariganga territory.

I left the Mongolian capital on the 15th of August. At first I went to Sajn Šand, the center of Dorno Gobi aymak, from there I travelled through Bajin Mönggü, Bajšingtu, Onggon, I passed by the Sedžin-nur, reached Bajingol and then the center of the Dariganga sumun. The first part of my time I spent there and in the neighbourhood, then, on the 22th of August I went — through Tsagan Bulak — to Asgat sumun, another sumun of the Dariganga territory. This was the native place of my friend and guide Sükhbatar, scientific co-worker of the Committee of Sciences and Higher Education, and at the same time lecturer of the University of Ulan Bator. Here in Asgat I have collected the major part of my linguistic and ethnographical material. Then I returned through Barun Urt, Khentei and Nalajkha back to Ulan Bator.

The Darigangas are living on the so-called Dariganga Vulcanic Highland, in the south borders on the frontier of the Chinese People's Republic. To the north-west it extends as far as the territory of Bajšingtu; in the east it reaches Jugodzir. According the local tradition the territory got its name from the

<sup>9</sup> See Rudnev, *op. cit.*; L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie chinoise*, Budapest 1933, Činggeltei, *Dumdadu ulus-taki Mongyol törül-ün kele-nügüd ba Mongyol kelen-ü ayalyu-nuyud-un yerüngkei bayidal*, Mongyol kele bičig, 1957 : 12, pp. 25—48, 1958 : 1 pp. 44—48, 1958 : 2, pp. 41—57, 1958 : 3 pp. 32—39, 1958 : 7 pp. 26—32; etc. Masayosi Nomura, *On Some Phonological Developments in the Kharchin Dialect*, *Studia Altaica*, Wiesbaden 1955, pp. 132—136, and the material in the comparative grammars of Vladimirtsov, Sanžeev, and Poppe cited above.

<sup>10</sup> Concerning the Khalkha dialects some references can be found in the comparative grammars already cited; furthermore see Sanžeev's *Дархамский говор и фольклор*, Leningrad 1931. Some other new works will be mentioned below.

<sup>11</sup> The other aim of my tour was to continue my work begun in 1957 and to study the ethnography of the nomadic way of life. The material collected on the Mongolian tent and other problems I wish to publish at a later time.

mountain *Dari owō* near the centre of the present Dariganga sumun, and from a little lake, *Ganγa-nūr*, not far east from that centre. The *Dari-owō* is now named *Altan owō*, and in older times was also known as *Dzaχin χar óndör*.

We find mention of the Daringanga as early as Timkovsky's travel-book,<sup>12</sup> who in 1821 wrote that one part of the Manchu Emperor's stud was tended between Ude and Dari-Ganga. He gives the first report on the etymology of the word, connecting it with the *Dari-owō* and the *Ganγa-nūr*, and notes that in Dari-Ganga a stud-amban is residing. The control is exercised by a Chakhar commander in Kalgan.

The first scientific research of Daringanga was made by the late V. A. Kazakevič, who made a study tour in 1927 to the Daringanga, and published his first account in 1930.<sup>13</sup> He collected considerable material on the dialect, and announced the publication of it (*op. cit.* pp. 36, 45), but this was never published owing to his premature death. We know further, that Vladimirtsov knew a part or the whole of this material. In his comparative grammar he cites a few Dariganga words with reference to the collection of Kazakevič (*Срав. грамм.*, pp. VIII, 409—411).

The territory was visited by several geographers, but neither linguistic nor ethnographic material was collected by them. In connection with these expeditions I can refer the reader to the works and bibliographies of E. M. Murzaev<sup>14</sup> and B. A. Obručev.<sup>15</sup>

The first linguistic description of the Dariganga dialect we owe to A. Luv-sandendev, who gave in a paper written in Mongolian a short sketch of the descriptive Phonology of Dariganga.<sup>16</sup>

Regarding their history there is still a living tradition among the Darigangas that in older times they were the keepers of the Manchu Emperor's personal live-stock, that is, they belonged neither to the Khalkha nor the Chakhar feudal organisation. On the forming of the Dariganga territory Kazakevič cites an imperial edict from the *Meng ku yu mu chi* which decreed the establishment of the imperial stud on the Dariganga territory. On his tour Kazakevič collected a narrative of local tradition (*op. cit.*, pp. 40—41), accord-

<sup>12</sup> I was not in a position to use the original Russian edition of the travel-book written by E. F. Timkovsky (*Путешествие в Китай через Монголию в 1820 и 1821 годах I—III*, StPbg 1824). I had only the French translation at my disposal: *Voyage à Peking à travers la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821 I—II*, Paris 1827, t. II, p. 206.

<sup>13</sup> V. A. Kazakevič, I, *Намогильные статуи в Дариганге. II., Поездка в Даригангу. Материалы комиссии по исследованию Монгольской и Танну-Тувинской народных республик и Бурят-Монгольской АССР*, b. 5, Leningrad 1930.

<sup>14</sup> E. M. Murzaev, *Монгольская Народная Республика*, Moscow 1952.

<sup>15</sup> B. A. Obručev, *Восточная Монголия*, Moscow—Leningrad 1947.

<sup>16</sup> A. Luvsandendev, *Дариганга аялгууны авианы зүйг судалсан түрилагаас, Шинэжилэх Ухааны Хүрээлэнгийн бүтээл. нийгмийн ухааны анги № 2*, Ulan Bator 1957, pl. 49—64.

ing to which when the Emperor Kang-hsi (Enke-amugulang) conquered the ölöts, he took away from them the animals which previously the ölöts had carried off from the Khalkhas. After the matter was examined, it seemed that the best pastures for these animals would be the Dariganga territory. Then there were chosen Chakhar soldiers, who were at this time in alliance with the Manchus, and the herd was given them with the order that they should keep it on the Dariganga pastures. Afterwards an administrative unity was formed according the Manchu organization, and it was attached to the imperial pastures. The territory was carved out from the khoshuns Gobi-mergen-wang, Dalai-wang, Abaga and Sunit.

A letter, also found by Kazakevič, is of special interest. This was written in 1912, and is originating from the correspondence between the Ministry of the Interior of the Autonomous Mongolia and the Darigangas. According to this letter the Darigangas became subjects of the khan of Mukden in the time of the Chakhar Ligdan-khan. When the Ts'in dynasty came to power, according an imperial decree, a group of men were chosen from the eight Chakhar khoshuns, who were entrusted to keep the Dariganga stud.

The close historical connection of the Darigangas and the Chakhars is thus deeply rooted in tradition. Ligdan was defeated in 1643, and the Chakhars came in this year under Manchu rule. In 1691 the session of *Dolōn-nūr* announced the Khalkhas joining the Manchu-Chinese empire. The oirat Galdan khan was beaten by Kang-hsi in 1696. Following these events Manchu influence was strengthened in Mongolia, and one of the first manifestations of this was the detaching of the Dariganga fields and its placing under direct central control. Those who are acquainted with the nature of nomadic feudal organisation and with the migrations of the Mongols in the 16th and 17th centuries,<sup>17</sup> need not be told that the connection with Chakhar organisation does not mean evidently Chakhar ethnical origin ; however, we have to count with a strong Chakhar influence.

In consequence of their administrative independence the Darigangas did not at first side with the Mongolian revolution. Only after a few years they did take part in the building up of the new People's Republic. In 1927 they still maintained their own administrative organisation within the Mongolian People's Republic. In 1924 the territory consisted of 13 *sumuns*, which were devived in five *gars*. One *sumun* consisted of three *bags*, one *bag* of five *arbans*. In one *arban* there were ten *yurts*, that is : 150 *yurts* in a *sumun*. In the official figures, given in 1957, the Darigangas were 2% of the total of Mongolian population

<sup>17</sup> The most important migrations of these times were : the procession of the Khal-kha Tüsetü-khan to the Great Chinese Wall, the raids of the Oirat Galdan-khan as far as the Selenga, Onon, and Tola, the campaigns of the Chakhar Ligdan-khan and that of the Sunit Tengis.

in the Mongolian People's Republic, hence the number of the Darigangas was 16,000.<sup>18</sup> That was also the number which I was told in the centre of the Sükhbatar *aymak*, to which now the Dariganga territory belongs. In 1957 the territory had seven *sumuns*: Dariganga, Naran, Asgat, Khongor, Onggon, Khaldzan, and Bajin-delger.

In the present study I propose to discuss the position of the Dariganga dialect in the series of dialects of which the farthest members are Khalkha and Ordos. I will compare the Dariganga data with the central Khalkha dialect of Ulan Bator collected by me (referred to as *KhU*),<sup>19</sup> or to the Khalkha Literary language as contained in the dictionary of Luvsandendev<sup>20</sup> (referred to as *KhL*) which latter I transliterate according to the system of the *Acta Orientalia Hung.* If other sources are cited the locus is given. Ordos is cited after the *Dictionnaire* of Mostaert under the abbreviation: *Ord.* I hope that further studies will make it possible to compare Dariganga with dialects more closely related to it such as South Khalkha, Chakhar, Üdzümchin etc. I will discuss features only in that case when in some respects there exist differences among *KhU*, *Drg.* and *Ord.* In all other cases I refer to Khalkha.

My study will appear in three parts. The first part will deal with the Grammar, the second will present a few Dariganga texts, and the third a short vocabulary. I hope to continue my work with a study on the ethnography of the Dariganga at some later time.

## I. The stock of sounds

The Dariganga stock of sounds is essentially the same as that of Khalkha. I could only observe a slight difference with respect to the consonant š. This consonant is more palatalized in the Dariganga dialect (*Drg.*) than in the *KhU*. The palatalization is stronger before i, a little weaker in front vocalic words and scarcely audible in back vocalic words. According to Mostaert

<sup>18</sup> See S. Cegmid, *БНМАҮ-ын газар зүй*, Ulan Bator 1957, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> We often speak of the central Khalkha dialect, *Urgamundart* as it was called by Ramstedt, or of the dialect of Ulan Bator, as it is called now. But we have to distinguish more precisely the Central Khalkha dialect and the new Khalkha standard language, and further, we have to speak of the Khalkha literary language. The dialect of Urga and Ulan Bator resp. were never homogeneous. The inhabitants of the capital have originated from several parts of Mongolia, not only from the central Khalkha territories. When we speak of the central Khalkha dialect of Ulan Bator it means the new standard Khalkha language which is based in the first place on the Central Khalkha dialect, but which has a lively contact with the various other Khalkha dialects on the one hand, and with the new Khalkha literary language on the other. This standard language is spoken nowadays by the educated people everywhere in the Mongolian People's Republic.

<sup>20</sup> A. Luvsandendev, *Монгол-орос толь*, Moscow 1957.

(*Le dialecte II*, p. 173) the š is also palatalized in Ordos, in fact š, but he does not transcribe it in his *Dictionnaire*. The differences between the Khalkha and the Ordos stock of sounds are not significant. Only ö corresponds to the Literary Mongolian (*LM*) ö in Ordos, while ö in Khalkha, and the Dariganga follows here the Khalkha, it has also ö. The Dariganga stock of sounds is shown in the following two tables :

### I. Vowels

	Front				Back			
			Mixed					
	Rounded	Un-rounded	Rounded	Un-rounded	Rounded	Un-rounded	Rounded	Un-rounded
High	ü	i	ü		u		ü	
Highmid		é						
Midlow	ö		ö	e	ø		o	
Low				ä		å	å	a

### II. Consonants

	STOP				Affricate				Spirant				Lateral	Tremulant
	Oral		Nasal	Voice	Voiced		Voiceless		Voiced		Voiceless			
	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak		
	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak		
	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak	strong	weak		
Bilabial	b	p <sup>r</sup>	B	m							w			
Dental		t, t <sup>r</sup>	d	n										
Alveolar					tš, tš <sup>r</sup>	dž			s		l	r		
Alveo-palatal					tš, tš <sup>r</sup>	dž			š					
Praepalatal	g		g	ŋ		kχ			š					
Mediopalatal								j						
Postpalatal	gč		gč						χ					

## II. Phonology

### A) The Vowels of the Initial Syllable

**1.** In the major part of words where the *i* of the first syllable is followed by an *a* of the second syllable, the “breaking” does not take place in Ordos. After initial \**j*- and \**c*- in this case the Khalkha has “breaking”, and so has Dariganga generally :

- LM *žiran* ‘sixty’ ~ KhU *džarā*, Drg. *džarā*, Ord. *džira* ;
- LM *žilabči* ‘little vessel’ ~ KhU *džalab’tš*, Drg. *džalab’tš*, Ord. *džilab’tši* ;
- LM *žirya-* ‘to rejoice’ ~ KhU *džarca-*, Drg. *džarqa-*, Ord. *džirga-* ;
- LM *čilayun* ‘stone’ ~ KhU *tš’ulū*, Drg. *tš’ulū*, Ord. *tš’ulū* ;
- LM *čidal* ‘capacity’ ~ KhU *tš’adal*, Drg. *tš’adal*, Ord. *tš’idal*.

Before a rounded vowel of the second syllable the breaking usually takes place in Ordos too, but we find a few exceptions, e.g. :

LM *činu-a* ‘wolf’ ~ KhU *tš’ono*, Drg. *tš’ono*, Ord. *tš’ino* ~ *tš’ono*.

When the word has initial *b*-, *m*-, *k*-, or *g*- in Khalkha and Dariganga we find “breaking”, but an *i*-glide is heard after the initial consonant :

- LM *birayun* ‘calf’ ~ KhU *b’ärū*, Drg. *b’ärū*, Ord. *birū* ;
- LM *bira* ‘strength’ ~ KhU *b’är*, Drg. *b’är*, Ord. *bira* ;
- LM *bida* ‘we’ ~ KhU *b’äd* Drg. *b’äd*, Ord. *bida* ;
- LM *mingyan* ‘thousand’ ~ KhU *m’än*, Drg. *m’än*, Ord. *minqaa* ;
- LM *kilyasun* ‘hair’ ~ KhU *χ’älqas*, Drg. *χ’älqas*, Ord. *k’ilgasu* ;
- LM *kingyara* ‘a sort of knife’ ~ KhU *χ’ängar*, Drg. *χ’ängar*, Ord. *k’inqgar* ‘faucille’ ;
- LM *kilbar* ‘light, easy’ ~ KhU *χ’älbar*, Drg. *χ’älbar*, Ord. *k’ilbar* ;
- LM *gilba-* ‘to glitter’ ~ KhU *o’älba-*, Ord. *gilba-* ;
- LM *kirsa* ‘corsac’ ~ KhU *χ’ärs*, Drg. *χ’ärs*, Ord. *girsaa*.

In the cases, where we find “breaking” in the Ordos, the *i*-glide is absent from the Khalkha and Dariganga :

LM *mīqa* ‘flesh’ ~ KhU *maz*, Drg. *maz*, Ord. *maza*.

There are a few exceptions in this case too :

LM *kiyay* ‘a plant’, ~ KhL *chiag* (not *chjag*), Drg. *χ’äç* ~ *χäç*, Ord. *k’äç*.

**2.** The “breaking” of the *i* occurs neither in Khalkha nor in Ordos in the major part of words if the *i* of the first syllable is followed in the second syllable by *i* or *e*. In a few cases, however, the “breaking” takes place before *e*. The reason of this development is, that the sound *e* before *e* of the second syllable becomes more frontal and closed and frequently changes into *i* (**4.**) and *vice versa*. This development is more advanced in Ordos, but it is also found in Khalkha. Dariganga has advanced further in this respect than Khalkha.

LM *ingge* ‘she-camel’ ~ KhU *inje*, Drg. *ēnje* (~ *inje*), Ord. *enje* ;

LM *ire-* 'to come' ~ KhU *ire-*, Drg. *ére-* (~ *ire-*), Ord. *ére-* (~ *ire*) ;  
 LM *isegei* ~ *isigei* 'felt' ~ KhU *éscī* (~ *iscī*), Drg. *éscī*, Ord. *esegi*.

**3.** An important feature of both Khalkha and Ordos is that under the influence of the *i* of the second syllable, the vowels other than *i* of the first syllable become more frontal. The opposition of the basic phonemes and their frontal variants in Khalkha is as follows: *a* : *ā*, *o* : *ø*, *u* : *ü*, *e* : *é*, *ó* : *ö*, *ú* : *ü*. It seems that in Ordos this development — except for *e* — affects only the diphthongs formed with *i*. Dariganga follows generally Khalkha, only *a* becomes *ā* in a few cases.

LM *dayaki* 'the hair of children before its first cutting' ~ KhU *dāχi*, Drg. *dāχ*, Ord. *dāχ<sup>k</sup>χi* ;

LM *talbi-* 'to put' ~ KhU *t'áwi-*, Drg. *t'áwi*, Ord. *t'awi-* ;

LM *qariyul-* 'to return' ~ KhU *χár<sup>i</sup>ūl-*, Drg. *χár<sup>i</sup>ūl-*, Ord. *χarūl-* ;

LM *morin* 'horse' ~ KhU *m̥ori*, Drg. *m̥ori*, Ord. *mori* ;

LM *ergi-* 'to return' ~ KhU *érge-*, Drg. *érge*, Ord. *erge* ;

LM *eligen* 'liver' ~ KhU *élia*, Drg. *élia*, Ord. *elege* ;

LM *ergin* 'bank, side of a ditch' ~ KhU *érgeñ*, Drg. *érgeñ*, Ord. *erge* ;

LM *ungsi-* 'to read' ~ KhU *uŋši-*, Drg. *umši-*, Ord. *omši-* ;

LM *učir* 'reason' ~ KhU *utš<sup>č</sup>ir*, Drg. *utš<sup>č</sup>ir*, Ord. *u<sup>t</sup>š<sup>č</sup>ir*.

**4.** Due to the influence of the *e* of the second syllable, the *e* of the first syllable is becoming more frontal and closed. This development is probably taking place in Ordos too, but is not so advanced as in Khalkha and in Dariganga :

LM *engger* 'trimming' ~ KhU *éngger*, Drg. *éngger*, Ord. *enjer* ;

LM *ene* 'this' ~ KhU *én*, Drg. *én*, Ord. *ene* ;

LM *kele-* 'to say' ~ KhU *χéle-*, Drg. *χéle-*, Ord. *k'ele-*.

Sometimes the *e* is so frontal and closed that it tends to change into *i* :

LM *kečegü* 'strong, heavy' ~ KhU *χits<sup>č</sup>ū* (~ *χéts<sup>č</sup>ū*), Drg. *ætš<sup>č</sup>ū* (~ *atš<sup>č</sup>ū*), Ord. *ætš<sup>č</sup>ū*.

In this process initial *j* can also play a part :

LM *yeke* 'great' ~ KhU *iχ ~ jiχ*, Drg. *iχ*, Ord. *i<sup>k</sup>χe*.

The *j* can also follow the *e* of the initial syllable :

LM *beye* 'body' ~ KhU *biijje ~ bi*, Drg. *bi*, Ord. *beje*.

**5.** In some words the *e* of the first syllable is developing into *i* under the influence of the initial *tš<sup>č</sup>-* and *pž-* in Ordos. In Khalkha and Dariganga in these cases we find *ts<sup>č</sup>-* and *pz-* and the *e>i* development does not take place :

LM *čenggeldü-* 'to be glad together' ~ KhU *ts'engelde-*, Drg. *ts'engelde*, Ord. *tš<sup>č</sup>ingelde-* ;

LM *čengkir* 'white-blue' ~ KhU *ts'en<sup>k</sup>χer*, Drg. *ts'en<sup>k</sup>χer*, Ord. *tš<sup>č</sup>in<sup>k</sup>χer* ;

LM čečeg 'flower' ~ KhU *tsets'eg*, Drg. *pzets'eg*, Ord. *pži'tš'ik*;

LM sečen ~ čečen 'wise' ~ KhU *sets'en*, Drg. *pzets'en*, Ord. *pži'tš'in*.

**6.** In those words in which we have to suppose in the second syllable an original *u*, and where, in the major part of the dialects we have at the same time *o* in the first syllable, some Ordos dialects have *u* in the first syllable.<sup>21</sup> In these cases Dariganga and Khalkha have *o*:

LM *modun* 'tree, wood' ~ KhU *mod*, Drg. *mod*, Ord. *mudu*;

LM *odun* 'star' ~ KhU *od*, Drg. *od*, Ord. *udu*;

LM *tosun* 'fat' ~ KhU *t'os*, Drg. *dos*, Ord. *dusu*.

**7.** What was said above (**6.**) about *o* and *u* resp. of the first syllable, can also be observed in the case of *ö* and *ü* resp. Dariganga follows Khalkha here too where *ö* corresponds to the Literary Mongolian *ö*:

LM *örüm* 'cream' ~ KhU *órüm*, Drg. *órüm*, Ord. *ürüm*;

LM *öndür* 'high' ~ KhU *öndür*, Drg. *öndür*, Ord. *ündür*;

LM *möngü* 'silver' ~ KhU *mónq*, Drg. *mónq*, Ord. *münqü*.

**8.** In a few words the *a* of the first syllable became rounded on the influence of the following *b > w*, or because of other reasons. The *Dictionnaire* of Mostaert does not mark the labial *å*, but he writes in his Phonetics that it does occur in the Ordos dialect (*Le dialecte I*, p. 855).<sup>22</sup>

LM *jabu-* 'to go' ~ KhU *jåw-*, Drg. *jåw-*, Ord. *jaw-*;

LM *jalžan* 'small, little' ~ KhU *pžäžan*, Drg. *pžäžan*, Ord. *pžäžan* ~ *pžälžan*.

#### B) The Vowels of the Non-Initial Syllable

**9.** Concerning the vowels of the non-initial syllable, there is a quantitative difference only between Khalkha and Ordos. The vowels of the non-initial syllable are also reduced in Ordos, only the reduction is not so advanced as in Khalkha (*Le dialecte I*, p. 861). Because of this and other technical reasons Mostaert does not mark the reduction in his *Dictionnaire*. The reduction of the non-initial syllable depends on word- and sentence-stress. On the influence of a secondary stress (the main stress falls invariably on the first syllable), the measure of reduction can alter in one and the same word, and at one and the

<sup>21</sup> See N. Poppe, *Remarks on the Vocalisme of the Second Syllable in Mongolian* HJAS XIV (1951), pp. 189–207.

<sup>22</sup> The labial variant *å* is more wide-spread as it was known till now. In the Oirat dialects of West-Mongolia, in Dzakhachin and Dörböt, it was observed by G. Kara (see *Notes sur les dialectes oirat de la Mongolie Occidentale*, Act. Orient. Hung. VIII (1959), p. 116).

same individual. In Khalkha, and in Dariganga too, the reduction of the non-initial syllable is so advanced that sometimes it is difficult to say which sound we have to deal with. Because of this reason, authors usually transcribe either *u* in place of Literary Mongolian *a*, and *u*, *ø* in place of Literary Mongolian *e*, *a* in place of Literary Mongolian *ü*, *i* in place of Literary Mongolian *i* (Ramstedt, Poppe), or transcribe the vowel with a mark of shortness : *ă*, *ă*, *i*, *ě*, *ă* (Vladimirtsov, Sanžeev). In my paper, following the system of *Acta Orientalia Hung.* I shall not mark the reduction of the non-initial syllable. The originally short vowels of the non-initial syllable are in every case reduced in the words cited as Khalkha and Dariganga.

**10.** The vowels, if they are final or before final *n*, which disappears in the dialects, are not heard in conversational speech, and are pronounced only in the case of secondary word or sentence stress both in Khalkha and in Dariganga. The reduction of the final vowel is very slight in Ordos. Therefore we find for Ordos *ussu* *us* in Khalkha common speech which sounds in stressed position *ussu* (= *uss<sup>o</sup>*, *ussă*). Dariganga follows Khalkha :

LM *usun* 'water' ~ KhU *us* (~ *ussu*), Drg. *us* ~ (*ussu*), Ord. *usu* ;  
LM *köke* 'blue' ~ KhU *χóχ* (~ *χóχχó*), Drg. *χóχ* (~ *χóχχó*), Ord. *χó<sup>sk</sup>χō* ;

LM *tosun* 'fat' ~ KhU *tos* (~ *tossu*), Drg. *dos* (~ *dossu*), Ord. *dusu*.

**11.** The vowel of the second syllable in those words which have more than two syllables is almost or entirely lost in Khalkha, while its articulation seems to be more complete in Ordos. Here too Dariganga follows Khalkha :

LM *kömüske* 'eyebrow' ~ KhU *χómsóč*, Drg. *χómsóč*, Ord. *k'ömös<sup>k</sup>χō* ;

LM *bögeži* 'ring' (of harness) ~ KhU *bóGDž*, Drg. *bóGDž*, Ord. *bögödži* 'joung' ;

LM *tataburi* 'tax' ~ KhU *tat'war*, Drg. *dat'war*, Ord. *da<sup>t</sup>awur* ~ *da<sup>t</sup>awyri*.

**12.** The *i* of the non-initial syllable remained both in Khalkha and in Ordos in the major part of words, but in a few cases it underwent assimilation :

LM *bulčirqai* 'gland' ~ KhU *bults'irχ<sup>v</sup>ē*, Drg. *bults'irχ<sup>v</sup>ē*, Ord. *xul<sup>t</sup>s'arχā* ;

LM *mayaži-* 'to scratch' ~ KhU *mādži-*, Drg. *mādza-*, Ord. *mādži-* ;

LM *öčigen* *edür* 'yesterday' > KhU *ots'ögdör*, Drg. *ots'igdür*, Ord. *u<sup>t</sup>s'ugudür*.

**13.** The *ü* or *e* of the non-initial syllable, under the influence of *tš* or *dž* before it, is occasionally changed into *i* :

LM *süsüg* ~ *süjüg* 'belief' ~ KhU *süseg* ~ *südžia*, Drg. *südžig*, Ord. *südžük* ;

LM *biličug* ~ *biličeg* ~ *bilejig* 'ring' ~ KhU *bilts'eg*, Drg. *bildžig*, Ord. *biledžik* ~ *buledžik*.

**14.** The second vowel of the group *aya*, *uya*, *eye*, *üye* etc., on the influence of the *j*, has developed in the standard language of Ulan Bator and in Dariganga into *i*. We do not find this development in Ordos :

LM *ayaya* 'cup' ~ KhU *ajig*º, Drg. *ajig*º, Ord. *ajaga* ;

LM *nayan* 'eighty' ~ KhU *najji*, Drg. *najji*, Ord. *naja* ;

LM *üyer* 'cloud-burst' ~ KhU *üjir*, Drg. *üjir*, Ord. *üjer*.

**15.** In Dariganga final *a* and *e*, or *a* and *e* before final *n*, which disappears in the dialects, undergo labialization, if they stand after two consonants of which the second is *b*. In this case metathesis takes place, and the *a* and *e* resp. now before *b* are tending to become *u* and *ü* resp. :

LM *silbe* 'leg, stem' ~ KhU *šilbe* (~ *šileb*), Drg. *šilü*, Ord. *šilbi* ~ *šilbe* ;

LM *yurban* 'three' ~ KhU *qyrab* ~ *qyrub*, Drg. *qyrub*, Ord. *qurwa*. We find this development also in the case of final *i* :

LM *borbi* 'tendon of Achilles' ~ KhU *borwi*, Drg. *borü* ~ *borwi*, Ord. *borwi*.

We meet with this phenomenon in non-final position too :

KhL *bérévchij* 'бабка (у животных)', Drg. *berüχi* 'knuckle'.

### C) The Diphthongs

**16.** It is characteristic of the East-Mongolian dialects that the diphthongs of Literary Mongolian have the tendency to be represented by monophthongs. Both in Khalkha and in Ordos there developed long vowels from the *au*, *eü*, *ei* diphthongs. The remaining diphthongs formed with *i* are characterized by the palatalization of the first vowel in Khalkha and Dariganga : *ai* > *äę*, *oi* > *ęę*, *ui* > *üü* (in spite of the *u* > *ü* development in other positions), *öi* > *öü* and *üi* > *üü* (in spite of the developments *ö* > *ö*, and *ü* > *ü* in other positions). The articulation of the diphthong depends on whether it is to be found in the first or in the non-initial syllable, or rather, whether in stressed or unstressed position. On the whole we can distinguish in Khalkha and in Dariganga three degrees of stress : *ai* > *äę* ~ *~ě* ~ *ă*, i.e. we find a long monophthong instead of the diphthong in unstressed positions more frequently in Dariganga than in central Khalkha. Mostaert distinguishes in his grammar only two degrees (*Le dialecte I.* pp. 858—860) and marks only one in his *Dictionnaire*.

**17.** The Literary Mongolian diphthong *ai* is generally changed in Ordos into a monophthong *ă*; Mostaert however remarks in his grammar (*Le dialecte I.*, p 858) that in stressed positions the diphthong is preserved. In his *Diction-*

*naire* we find monophthongs in every case. Dariganga follows usually Khalkha, but in a few cases the tendency of monophthongisation is more advanced :

- LM *qayiči* 'scissors' ~ KhU *χaqiči*, Drg. *χačiči*, Ord. *χäčiči*;
- LM *sayin* 'good' ~ KhU *saen*, Drg. *saen*, Ord. *sän*;
- LM *gayirala-* 'to love' ~ KhU *χaerla-*, Drg. *χärla-*, Ord. *χärla-*.

**18.** On the influence of the *o* in the first syllable, the *ai* of the following syllable became rounded in Khalkha and in Dariganga, while in Ordos we find a regular labial monophthong (see **21.**) :

- LM *noqai* 'dog' ~ KhU *noχ⁰ē*, Drg. *noχ⁰ē*, Ord. *noχā*;
- LM *toluyai* 'head' ~ KhU *t'olg⁰ē*, Drg. *t'olg⁰ē*, Ord. *t'olog⁰ā*.

**19.** We find in Dariganga an alternation *aɛ* ~ *al* in final position :

- LM *sirya* ~ *siryai* 'yellowish' ~ KhU *šarga*, Drg. *šargal* (~ *šarg⁰ē*), Ord. *šarga* (~ *šargā*);
- LM *ayuuliqai* 'abdominal cavity' ~ KhU *ajylχ⁰ē*, Drg. *ajylχal*, Ord. *ajylχā*.
- LM *amayai* 'bridle' ~ KhU *amg⁰ē*, Drg. *amgal* (~ *amg⁰ē*), Ord. *amaqā*.

**20.** The diphthong *ei* is tending to develope into a long vowel *i* in Ordos, Khalkha and Dariganga alike. An exception is the suffix of the comitative : *-tei*. Khalkha and Daringagan has *-t̪ē*, Ordos *-t̪i*, and *t̪ā*:

- LM *kündütei* 'respected' ~ KhU *χündüt̪ē*, Drg. *χündet̪ē*, Ord. *k'ündǖt̪i*.

**21.** The second member of the diphthong *oi* in stressed position becomes more rounded in Ordos than in Khalkha, in Ordos we find *öö*, in spite of Khalkha *øø*. In non-stressed positions the *oi* became a monophthong in Ordos. Dariganga follows Khalkha :

- LM *goyina* 'after' ~ KhU *χøen*, Drg. *χøen*, Ord. *χööno*;
- LM *toiyi* 'knee-cap' ~ KhU *t'øeg*, Drg. *t'øeg*, Ord. *t'öög*;
- LM *toqoi* 'elbow' ~ KhU *toχ⁰ē*, Drg. *noχ⁰ē*, Ord. *noχā*.

**22.** There is a divergency within the East Mongolian dialects in the representation of the Literary Mongolian *ui* in unstressed positions. Dariganga does not follow here Khalkha, *ui* develops into *i* :

- LM *qaryui* 'road' ~ KhU *χargui*, Drg. *χärgi*;
- LM *qančui* 'sleeve' ~ KhU *χants'ui*, Drg. *χants'i*, Ord. *χan'ts'ü*. While in a few words we find the *ui* > *i* development in the remaining dialects too :
- LM *bui* 'he is' ~ KhU *bī*, Drg. *bī*, Ord. *bī*.

**23.** Generally the diphthong *üi* remains diphthong in Ordos. In a few cases however, it becomes a monophthong. In these words both Khalkha and Dariganga has the diphthong :

LM *küyilsün* ~ *küyisün* 'navel' ~ KhU *χǖs*, Drg. *χǖs*, Ord. *k'ūs*;  
 LM *küyiten* 'cold' ~ KhU *χǖt'en*, Ord. *k'ūt'en*.

#### D) The Long Vowels

**24.** In the East Mongolian dialects long vowels develop from the sound-groups: vowel + \*γ / (\*g)/\*β + vowel and (rarely) vowel + \*m + vowel. In this respect there is no difference between Khalkha, Dariganga and Ordos, only in one case. If the group -*iγa-*, -*iγu-* is not in the first and second but in the second and third syllables, and it stands after *k*, we find a diphthong in Khalkha. Not in every case do we find it in Dariganga, and never in Ordos where the front *k* > *ɛkχ* is preserved :

LM *sakiyusun* 'amulett' ~ KhU *sàχiūs*, DrgA. *nzàχiūs*, Ord. *saɛkχǖsu*;

LM *takiya* 'hen' ~ KhU *tàχ'a*, Drg. *nàχā*, Ord. *naɛkχā*;

LM *dakiyat* > *dakiyat* 'again' ~ KhU *daχ'iād*, Drg. *daχ'iād*, Ord. *daɛkχāt*.

We have one example also after *r*:

LM *qariyul-* 'to answer' ~ KhU *χar'iyl-*, Drg. *χar'iyl-*, Ord. *χarūl-*.

After *b*:

LM *talbiyur* 'support' ~ KhU *t'āw'iyr*, Drg. *t'āwīyr*, Ord. *t'ālbīr* (~ *t'ālb'iyr*).

**25.** Beside the long vowels originating from the groups -*aya*, -*iya*- etc., we have long vowels which have been formerly short vowels. Khalkha, Dariganga and Ordos differs in many cases in respect of which word has such a secondary long vowel. Long in Khalkha and Dariganga, short in Ordos :

LM *qa* 'fore-leg' ~ KhU *χā*, Drg. *χā*, Ord. *za*;

LM *sün* 'milk' ~ KhU *sū*, Drg. *sū*, Ord. *ūsū*.

Short in Khalkha, long in Dariganga and Ordos:

LM *ir* 'edge' ~ KhU *ir*, Drg. *īr*, Ord. *īr*.

Short in Khalkha, Dariganga, long in Ordos :

LM *irge* 'castrated sheep' ~ KhU *ireg*, Drg. *ireg*, Ord. *īrge*.

All three of them have long vowel :

LM *ki-* 'to do' ~ KhU *χī-*, Drg. *χī-*, Ord. *k'ī-*;

LM *eji* 'mother' ~ KhU *ēnž*, Drg. *ēnž*, Ord. *ēnži*;

LM *narin* 'thin, fine' ~ KhU *narīn*, Drg. *narīn*, Ord. *narīn*.

#### E) Metathesis of Vowels

**26.** There seems to be a difference between Ordos and Khalkha regarding the metathesis of vowels. This feature is very common in Khalkha because of the advanced reeducation of the vowel of the non-initial syllable. In conse-

quence of the reduction and disappearance of the final vowel, words would frequently end in a consonant-group. If there is neither spirant nor affricate in the group, Khalkha and Dariganga insert a vowel between the consonants :

LM *gülme* 'leathern cover of the saddle' ~ KhU *gülüm*, Drg. *gülüm*, Ord. *gülme*;

LM *irge* 'castrated sheep' ~ KhU *ireg*, Drg. *ireg*, Ord. *irge*;

LM *bügürge* 'saddle-bow' ~ KhU *büreg*, Drg. *büreg*, Ord. *bürge*.

If there is a spirant or an affricate in the consonant cluster the metathesis does not occur :

LM *čamča* 'vest' ~ KhU *ts'am'ts*, Drg. *ts'am'ts*, Ord. *ts'am'tš'a* ;

LM *debse* 'saddle-cushion' ~ KhU *dews*, Drg. *dews*, Ord. *debse* ;

LM *qabqa* 'trap' ~ KhU *χawχ*, Drg. *χawχ*, Ord. *χawχ'a*.

**27.** We find metathesis of vowel and consonant sporadically in the first syllable in the Dariganga dialect :

LM *kijayalang* 'animal of 3—4 year' ~ KhU *χ'adzālaŋ*, Drg. *éχdzālaŋ* (~ *χidzālaŋ*), Ord. *k'idžārlaŋ*.

#### F) The Weakening of the Initial Strong Consonants

**28.** While, regarding the vowels, the Dariganga dialect is closer to the phonetic peculiarities of Khalkha, in respect of the consonants the picture is more complicated. One of the most important divergences between Ordos and Khalkha is the regularity in Ordos that to the Literary Mongolian initials *q*-, *k*-, *t*-, *č*- in certain cases *χ*-, *g*-, *d* and *dž*- correspond. Usually this phenomenon is called "sonorization" but I think, it would be more adequate to call it „weakening", because a voiceless strong consonant gives way to a voiceless weak consonant, and the tenseness of the organs of speech lessens.

**29.** In Ordos in those words which belong to the weakening categories Literary Mongolian initial *t*- is represented by *v*-, while in Khalkha by *t*-.  
In Dariganga we find the same rule as in Ordos :

LM *tata-* 'to pull' ~ KhU *tat'a-*, Drg. *dat'a-*, Ord. *da't'a-* ;

LM *tosun* 'fat' ~ KhU *tos*, Drg. *dos*, Ord. *dūsū* ;

LM *tobči* 'button' ~ KhU *tob'tš*, Drg. *dob'tš*, Ord. *dob'tš'i*.

While in words of the non-weakening category we find everywhere aspirated *t'*- :

LM *temür* 'iron' ~ KhU *t'ómör*, Drg. *t'ómör*, Ord. *t'ómör* ;

LM *taray* 'yoghourt' ~ KhU *t'araq*, Drg. *t'araq*, Ord. *t'arak* ;

LM *teməgen* 'camel' ~ KhU *t'emē*, Drg. *t'emē*, Ord. *t'emē*.

**30.** The Literary Mongolian intial *q*- is represented in non-weakening positions by *χ*- in Ordos, Khalkha and Dariganga alike :

LM *qayas* 'half' ~ KhU *zagas*, Drg. *zagas*, Ord. *zagas*;

LM *qada* 'rock' ~ *χad*, Drg. *χad*, Ord. *χada*;

LM *qundaya* 'a little cup' ~ KhU *χundag*<sup>v</sup>, Drg. *χundag*<sup>v</sup>, Ord. *χundaga*; while in the weakening categories we find in Ordos and Dariganga *χ-*, and in Khalkha *χ-*:

LM *qasiya* 'wall, enclosure' ~ KhU *χašā*, Drg. *qašā*, Ord. *qašā*;

LM *qabciy* 'narrow' ~ KhU *χawtšia*, Drg. *qawtšia*, Ord. *qabtšik*;

LM *qabtasun* 'board' ~ KhU *χawtšas*, Drg. *qabtšas*, Ord. *qabtšasy*.

**31.** The initial consonants of corresponding Literary Mongolian *k*- are different in Ordos and Khalkha also in the non-weakening categories. In initial position we have in Ordos *k-*, in other positions *čkχ-*, while in Khalkha we find in every position *χ*, except after *η*. Dariganga has the same correspondence as Khalkha. In initial position :

LM *kele-* 'to say' ~ KhU *χele-*, Drg. *χele-*, Ord. *k'ele-*;

LM *küjügün* 'neck' ~ KhU *χūdzū*, Drg. *χūdzū*, Ord. *k'ūdžū*;

LM *küreng* 'brown' ~ KhU *χüren*, Drg. *χüren*, Ord. *k'üren*;

in other positions:

LM *ökin* < *okin* ~ KhU *χchin*, Drg. *χchin*, Ord. *očχin*;

LM *üker* 'cattle' ~ KhU *ücher*, Drg. *ücher*, Ord. *üčχer*;

LM *čikin* 'ear' ~ KhU *tšiχ*, Drg. *dziχ*, Ord. *dzičχ*;

after *η*:

LM *tangkil* 'coddled' ~ KhU *t'ānčχil*, Drg. *t'ānčχil*, Ord. *t'ančχi*;

LM *jingken* 'real' ~ KhU *džinčχen*, Drg. *džinčχen*, Ord. *džinčχen*;

LM *čengkir* 'white-blue' ~ KhU *ts'enčχer*, Drg. *ts'enčχer*, Ord. *ts'enčχer*.

In the weakening categories the correspondence in initial position is *a-* in Ordos and Dariganga and *χ-* in Khalkha :

LM *köke* 'blue' ~ KhU *χóχ*, Drg. *gōχ*, Ord. *gočχö*;

LM *küse-* 'to wish' ~ KhU *χuse-*, Drg. *gūse-*, Ord. *gūse-*;

LM *kösige* 'curtain' ~ KhU *χošig*, Drg. *gōšög*, Ord. *gošögö*.

**32.** The correspondence to the Literary Mongolian initial *č-* depends on the following vowel. If there is an *i* after the *č-*, we find usually *tš-* in the Ordos, Khalkha and Dariganga in the non-weakening categories :

LM *čimügen* 'marrow' ~ KhU *tš'ómög*, Drg. *tš'ómög*, Ord. *tš'ömögö*;

LM *či* 'you' ~ KhU *tš'i*, Drg. *tš'i*, Ord. *tš'i*;

LM *činu-a* 'wolf' ~ KhU *tš'ono*, Drg. *tš'ono*, Ord. *tš'ino* ~ *tš'ono*.

In those cases when the breaking of the *i* has taken place in earlier times — perhaps prior to the development *č>ts* in Khalkha — we find *ts'* — in Khalkha. Dariganga follows Khalkha in most of the cases :

LM *čirai* 'face' ~ KhU *ts'ar<sup>v</sup>ē*, Drg. *ts'ar<sup>v</sup>ē*, Ord. *tš'arā*;

this phenomenon is more frequent in non-initial position :

LM *ečige* 'father' ~ KhU *ets'eg*, Drg. *ets'eg*, Ord. *e'čižige*;

LM *qabčil* 'precipice' ~ KhU *χawts'al*, Drg. *qabts'al*;

LM *qalčiyai* 'scanty' ~ KhU *χalts'ačaq*, Drg. *qalts'ačaq*.

We have also cases where in Dariganga the č remains while not in Khalkha:

LM *öčigen edür* 'yesterday' ~ KhU *öts'ögdör*, Drg. *öts'iġdür*, Ord. *ütš'ügündür*.

In the weakening categories we have in Ordos and in Dariganga *dž-*, while *tš-* remains in Khalkha :

LM *čikin* 'ear' ~ KhU *tšiχ*, Drg. *džiχ*, Ord. *džičk'ye*;

LM *čigčei* 'littler finger (in : *čigčei quruγun*)' ~ KhU *tšigtš'i*, Drg. *džigtš'i*, see Ord. *džigčtš'i*, 'qui a une intelligence très vive; qui est vif, agiles; débruillard'.

In those words belonging to the weakening category where the breaking of the *i* had taken place earlier and Khalkha has initial *ts-* we find *dz-* in Dariganga and *dž-* in Ordos :

LM *čisun* 'blood' ~ KhU *tsys*, Drg. *dzyss*, Ord. *džusy*.

**33.** In those words, which have a vowel other than *i* after the initial č the aspirated *tš'-* remained in Ordos, but in words of the non-weakening category we find *ts'-* in Khalkha and Dariganga :

LM *čerig* 'soldier' ~ KhU *ts'ereg*, Drg. *ts'ereg*, Ord. *ts'erik*;

LM *čamča* 'vest' ~ KhU *ts'am'ts*, Drg. *ts'am'ts*, Ord. *tš'amtš'a*;

LM *čulbuyur* 'halter' ~ KhU *ts'ulbūr*, Drg. *ts'ulbūr*, Ord. *tš'ulbūr*.

There are a few exceptions in Dariganga, which seem to be loanwords from a dialect where č- remained :

LM *čaydaya* 'police' (old term) ~ KhU *ts'ačdā*, Drg. *tš'ačdā*, Ord. *tš'agdā*;

LM *čoyuji* 'padlock' ~ KhU *ts'ōdž*, Drg. *tš'ōdž*, Ord. *sōdži*.

In the weakening categories we find *ts-* in Khalkha *dz-* in Dariganga and *dž-* in Ordos :

LM *časun* 'snow' ~ KhU *tsas*, Drg. *dzas*, Ord. *džasuy*;

LM *čečeg* 'flower' ~ KhU *tsets'eg*, Drg. *dzets'eg*, Ord. *dži'tš'ik*;

LM *čakilyan* 'lightning' ~ KhU *ts'ačilqan*, Drg. *dzačilqan*, Ord. *džačk'zilqan*.

**34.** Mostaert writes in his Phonology that the initial *s-* becomes sporadically *dz-*, or *z-* in the words of weakening categories. The *Dictionnaire* does not mark these cases, therefore they escaped the attention of Mongolists. We have e.g. in Ordos *dzyxā* (LM *suqai*) 'tamaris', *zalk'in* (LM *salkin*) 'wind' (*Le dialecte II*, p. 173).

Regarding this development the Dariganga sub-dialect of Asgat is of special importance. In the phonetical sketch of Luvsandendev, cited above,

we find no mention of the correspondence *s-* ~ *dz-*. The reason of this is, that he collected his material from a Dariganga subdialect, where this phenomenon is not found, or only sporadically present. On the basis of the material collected by me, I can state that the weakening of the initial *s-* and *š-*, in the phonetic environments referred to below does not take place or only very sporadically in the sub-dialect of the Dariganga sumun (DrgD). Luvsandendev's material too must have been collected from here. But in the sub-dialect of Asgat (DrgA) the initial *s-* and *š-* became *dz-* and *dž-* respectively. From the words collected from these categories we have data from Ordos only with *s-* and *š-*.

LM *süke* 'axe' ~ KhU *sūχ*, DrgD *sūχ*, DrgA *dzūχ*, Ord. *sū<sup>k</sup>χe*;

LM *saqal* 'beard' ~ KhU *saχχal*, DrgD *saχχal*, DrgA *dzaχχal*, Ord. *saχχūl*;

LM *saki-* 'to guard' ~ KhU *saχi-*, DrgA *dzaχi-*, Ord. *sa<sup>k</sup>χi-*.

While in the non-weakening categories we find *s-* in every case:

LM *saya-* 'to milk' ~ KhU *sā-*, DrgDA *sā-*, Ord. *sā-*;

LM *sumun* 'arrow' ~ KhU *sūm*, DrgDA *sūm*, Ord. *sūmū*;

LM *sana-* 'to think' ~ KhU *sana-*, DrgDA *sana-*, Ord. *sana-*.

**35.** There is a group of words where the initial *s-* does alternate with *č-*. In most cases in these words the Ordos has developed from the variant beginning with *č-*; but not in every case. In Dariganga this gives no difference.

LM *sačuy* ~ *čačuy* 'lock' ~ KhU *tsats'aq*, Drg. *dza'ts*, Ord. *dža<sup>t</sup>š<sup>k</sup>uč*;

LM *sečen* ~ *čečen* 'wise' ~ KhU *sets'en*, Drg. *dzets'en*, Ord. *se<sup>t</sup>š'in* ~ *dži<sup>t</sup>s'in*;

LM *saču* ~ *čaču-* 'to throw' ~ KhU *tsats'a-*, Drg. *dzats'a-*, Ord. *dža<sup>t</sup>š'u-*.

**36.** The *s-* before *i* has developed in early time into *š-* in the Mongolian dialects. The initial *š-* follows the *s-*:

LM *siqa-* 'to press' ~ KhU *šaxa-*, DrgA *džaxa-*, Ord. *šaxa-*;

LM *sita-* 'to catch fire' ~ KhU *šata-*, DrgA. *džat'a-*, Ord. *ši<sup>t</sup>a-*;

LM *šatu* 'ladder' ~ KhU *ša't*, DrgA. *dža't*, Ord. *ša<sup>t</sup>u*;

while in the non-weakening categories :

LM *sirin* 'leather' ~ KhU *šir*, Drg. *šir*, Ord. *šire*;

LM *silbi* 'leg, stem' ~ KhU *šilleb*, Drg. *šilü*, Ord. *šilbe*;

LM *sine* 'new' ~ KhU *šin*, Drg. *šin*, Ord. *šine*.

**37.** The alternation *s* ~ *č* appears before *i* as *š* ~ *č*:

LM *šibayanča* ~ *čibayanča* 'nun' ~ KhU *tšawqan'ts*, DrgA. *džawqan'ts*, Ord. *tš<sup>i</sup>wagan'tš'i*;

LM *sigčei* ~ *čigčei* 'littler finger' ~ KhU *tšictš'i*, DrgA. *džictš'i*, Ord. *džigčtš'i*;

LM *siker* ~ *čiker* 'sugar' ~ KhU *tšixxer*, DrgA. *džixxer*, Ord. *ši<sup>k</sup>χer*.

**38.** Mostaert and Poppe both deal with the rules under which the weakening takes place. Mostaert writes : „Pour une foule de mots polysyllabiques commençant par un explosive gutturale ou dentale, ou par une affractive palatale, il est impossible de savoir par le seul dialecte que nous étudions, si primitivement la consonne initiale était douce ou dure. C'est le cas pour tous les mots dont la première syllabe est portée par une voyelle brève suivie immédiatement d'une dure, ou séparée d'une dure suivante par une consonne non nasale” (*Le dialecte II*, pp. 166—167). That means that weakening takes place if :

- a) the word is polysyllabic,
- b) the first syllable is not long,
- c) the short vowel is followed by a strong consonant, or
- d) by a non-nasal and a strong consonant.

The rule given by Mostaert is essentially adequate. We have a few words which are monosyllabic in Literary Mongolian and which are weakening in Ordos, but they present a different problem, e.g. *qoši* ~ *χoš* 'double' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 308a, cf. LM *qos*, < Turk *qoš*), and *qoši* in *χorō qoši* 'palais de prince' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 308a, cf. Secret History of the Mongols 169, *qoš*, 'Haus, (Jurte Zelt'). Haenish, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an*, Leipzig 1939, p. 68 < Turk *qoš*), but here the question is raised of loanwords from a Turk language, and the Turk final -š is replaced in Mongolian either by a final -s, or with a final syllable -ši, because the Mongol had originally no final -š. In the first case the initial strong consonant does not weaken (*χoš*), in the second case the word becomes polysyllabic (*qoši*). We have also a few monosyllabic verbstems in Ordos of which the initial does weaken. For instance : *des-* 'supporter' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 142a, cf. LM *tes-*), *dos-* 'se poster pour attendre ou passage' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 153b, cf. LM *tos-*), *dys-* 'atteindre' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 164a, cf. LM *tus-*), but the verbs occur only in their conjugated forms, and therefore they are always polysyllabic in the language. I can agree in essence with that rule of Mostaert too, which says that the weakening does not take place before long vowels. In the case of the long vowels of Ordos, we have to deal with the original group -aya-, -ege- etc., and therefore in these cases the initial is followed originally by a voiced -γ-, or -g-. Therefore we have not to deal with this as a separate case. Poppe, following Mostaert has also discussed this question, and pointed out the following rules : The weakening takes place in the case of :

1. *t* > *d* and *č* > *dž* (*Introduction*, pp. 103, 110)
  - a) if the second syllable of a stem begins with a strong, or
  - b) voiceless consonant and
  - c) the first syllable is short ;
2. *q* > *χ* (*Introduction*, p. 130)
  - a) if the second syllable begins with a strong stop, or

- b) affricate, or
- c) a voiceless spirant, if
- d) the initial syllable is not closed by *n*, *ŋ* or *m*;
- 3. *k > g* (*Introduction*, p. 141)
  - a) if the initial syllable is short,
  - b) and closed by a voiceless spirant
  - c) or the second syllable begins with a strong stop, or
  - d) affricate, or
  - e) voiceless spirant,
  - f) except, when the first syllable is closed by *n* or *m*.

The first thing to be remarked here is that the rules of Mostaert and Poppe do not differ essentially from each other. Though Mostaert speaks of the "following strong", and Poppe of the initial of the second syllable, there is no contradiction because a voiceless strong stop or an affricate cannot stand in Literary Mongolian originally at the end of a syllable, and therefore, the voiceless strong stop or affricate which follows the initial can only be the first consonant of the second syllable. But the first syllable can be closed by a spirant *s*. This is the case not only with the words beginning with initial *k*- and *g*-, as Poppe states, but also with other strong consonants: *desbür* 'endurance' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 142b cf. LM *tesbüri*), *dosbor* in *ongo'ts'on dosbor* 'le cheneau de bois dans lequel on verse l'eau qu'on vient de puiser et qui la conduit dans l'auge à abreuver le bétail' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 154a, cf. LM *tosburi*), *nysla-* 'être vis-à-vis de' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 165b, cf. LM *tusla-*, but *t'us* 'vis-à-vis' *Dict. Ord.*, p. 683a, cf. LM *tus*), *coslo-* 'rivaliser' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 308a cf. LM *qosla-* 'réunir deux choses pareilles'; but cf. *qos* cited above).

Poppe does not mention whether the *n*, *ŋ* and *m* at the end of the first syllable hinder the weakening in the cases of initial *t*-, and *č*-, and at initial *k*- he speaks only of *n* and *m*. I have also a few cases of these categories :

LM *čamča* 'vest' ~ KhU *ts'am'ts*, Drg. *ts'am'ts*, Ord. *tš'am'tš'a*;

LM *čengkir* 'white-blue' ~ KhU *ts'er<sup>k</sup>χer*, Drg. *ts'er<sup>k</sup>χer*, Ord. *tš'in<sup>k</sup>χer*;

LM *tangkil* 'coddled' ~ KhU *t'an<sup>k</sup>χil*, Drg. *t'an<sup>k</sup>χil*, Ord. *t'an<sup>k</sup>χi*.

Drg. *t'or<sup>k</sup>χo* 'tea-pot' cf. Kalm. *tonχ"* 'kleiner lederner Schlauch für Kumyss' (Ramstedt, *KalmWb.*, p. 401a)

Ord. *k'enşū* 'relent de friture' (*Dict. Ord.*, 414b), cf. LM *kengsigün*,

Ord. *k'öñ<sup>k</sup>χi-* 'être concave' (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 429b, cf. LM *könkeyi-*).

At the discussion of the development *k > g* Poppe refers to the common basis of the rules namely, that in these cases a dissimilation of voiceless strong takes place but he does not extend this definition to the other strong initials. As we have seen all the voiceless strong initials are weakening under the same conditions :

if the initial is *t*-, *k*-, *q*-, *č*- (*s*-, *š*-)<sup>23</sup> and it is followed immediately by *t*-, or *k*-, or *q*-, or *č*-, or *s*-, or *š*-, and between them there is no *n*, or *ŋ*, or *m*, the initial in question becomes voiceless weak. That means: in polysyllabic words *the strong initials become weaks if they are followed at the end of the first syllable or at the beginning of the second by a strong consonant and between them there are only other than nasal consonants*. We can find this rule without exception only in the Asgat sub-dialect of Dariganga, because the initial *s*- and *š*- become weak only here in every such case.

As we have already seen, in one part of the East Mongolian group we find a clear tendency of sound-development. The question now arises, whether this is to be found in other members of the group?

**39.** Ramstedt has already pointed out that in the Khalkha dialect of Urga some words have weaker aspiration than other with the same initials. For instance the initial of the word *ts'ixxe* 'ear' is less aspirated than the initial of *ts'ulū* 'stone', the initial of the word *ts'aχyar* 'Chakhar' has a less aspiration than the word *ts'as* 'paper', the word *t'at'a-* 'to drive' has a minor aspiration than that of the word *t'al* 'low-land'. Poppe has also discussed the problem (*Introduction*, p. 103), and in his opinion, the initial in these cases is unaspirated. The question can be decided only with phonetic experiments. According to my observations made without instruments, the aspiration is considerably less in those words, which belong to the weakening categories in Ordos and in Dariganga. In these words we have omitted the sign of aspiration (cf. **29.**, **32.**, **33.**).

The strong stops and affricates in the East Mongolian dialects in initial position are usually aspirated. The initial *s*-, and *š*- according to the opinion of most Mongolists (Ramstedt, Vladimirtsov, Poppe, Sanžeev) is unaspirated, but Mostaert remarks that the *s* is aspirated in Ordos, and he calls attention to the fact that aspirated *š* occurs in other dialects of the East Mongolian group (*Le dialect II*, p. 172). To the occurrence of aspirated initial *s*- in other Mongolian languages Professor Ligeti has kindly called my attention. The aspirated voiceless strong spirant initial *s'*- and *š'*- have unaspirated, voiceless, weak spirant counterpart neither in Khalkha nor in Dariganga and Ordos, though we know of the unaspirated voiceless weak spirant *z* in Ordos, e. g. in the word: *zalk'* in 'wind' (cf. LM *salkin*). The *z* and *ž* are replaced by *dz* and *dž* respectively. That is why we find *dz* and *dž* instead of LM *s*- and *š*- in the words of the weakening categories in the Asgat sub-dialect of Dariganga.

Mostaert already raised the question that the lessening of aspiration in Khalkha is in connection with the weakening of the corresponding initials in Ordos (*Le dialect II*, p. 169). As it has been shown above, the lessening of

<sup>23</sup> *s*-, and *š*- only in the Asgat sub-dialect.

aspiration in Khalkha takes place in the same words which weaken in Dariganga and in Ordos. Therefore we have here the same tendency of sound development. In Khalkha of Ulan Bator (and in the east and west parts of the territory settled by the Khalkhas) the aspirated voiceless strongs become only unaspirated or little aspirated voiceless strongs, while in Dariganga and Ordos the same initials become unaspirated voiceless weaks.

40. In the East Mongolian languages the main phonemic opposition is that of the aspirated voiceless strongs and the unaspirated voiceless weaks. An unaspirated voiceless strong variant becomes very easily unaspirated voiceless weak. Vladimirtsov mentioned already a series of words in Khalkha of Urga which have initial aspirated voiceless strong, in place of unaspirated voiceless weak (*Справ. грамм.*, p. 386), and Todaeva has published a list of such words (*Грамм.*, p. 37) without discovering the rule under which this takes place. Naturally, dealing with such variants of Khalkha of Ulan Bator as : *gat'an* ~ *χat'an* 'Queen' (LM *qatun*), *vžödχür* ~ *tšödχür* 'devil' (~ LM *čidkür*), *gobts'yr* ~ *χobts'yr* 'tax' (LM *qobčiyur*), etc., we have also to take in account the influence of a South Khalkha dialect.

41. While in the case of the central Khalkha dialect of Ulan Bator, and the east and eastwest Khalkha dialects, in the „weakening categories” only the lessening of aspiration of the initial strongs is verifiable as a general tendency, in other Khalkha dialects we find also weakening, but not in the case of each voiceless strong initial, and not with the same regularity. In the dialect of the neighbourhood of Khentei (East Khalkha), from which we have folklore-texts in phonetic transcription by L. A. Amsterdamskaja (*Восточно-халхаские народные сказки*, Moscow—Leningrad 1940), the initial *s-*, *š-* and *č-* do not weaken in the described cases, e.g. *saxxa<sup>i</sup>l<sup>24</sup>* (~ LM *sagal*) 'beard' (*op. cit.*, p. 5), *soχiž* 'lifting' (*op. cit.*, p. 7 cf. LM *sekü-*) *šatär* 'chess' (*op. cit.*, p. 9, cf. LM *šatar*), *čačyäldäžä* 'sprinkling' (*op. cit.*, p. 7, cf. LM *čačuyłada-*).

The initial *t-*, in the major part of words does not weaken: *tus* 'profit' (*op. cit.*, pp. 6, 10 cf. LM *tusa*), *tos* 'fat' (*op. cit.*, p. 7, cf. LM *tosun*), but *dostoě* (*op. cit.*, p. 24) *tata-* 'to pull' (in *tamiχi tatät* 'smoking cigarette', *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 22, cf. LM *tata-*). I found also weakening: *daxxisä*, 'respected' (*op. cit.*, pp. 11, 13 cf. LM *taki-*).

The initials *k-* and *q-* are frequently represented by unaspirated voiceless weaks in the weakening categories: *gabtäy<sup>a</sup>i* 'pouch' (*op. cit.*, p. 5, cf. LM

<sup>24</sup> The texts of Amsterdamskaja are written down in accordance with the Roman-lettered transcription of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. I cite them without any alteration.

*qabtayai*), *gótlót* 'lead' (*op. cit.*, p. 8, cf. LM *kötöl* ~ *kötel-*), *gačza* 'Khalkha' (*op. cit.*, p. 20, cf. LM *qalqa*), *góččo* 'blue' (*op. cit.*, p. 17, cf. LM *köke*) etc. In other words we do not find weakening: *χutüg* 'knife' (*op. cit.*, pp. 7, 20 cf. LM *kituya*) *χucižä* 'covered' (*op. cit.*, p. 7, cf. LM *quči-*), *χušünd* 'in the khosh-hun, administrative unity' (*op. cit.* p. 24, cf. LM *qosiyun*) etc.

**41.** In some of the Western Khalkha dialects, it seems, that the tendency, does work in the opposite direction. Namely, if in the weakening categories the phonemic opposition of aspirated voiceless strong and unaspirated voiceless weak is disappearing, this can also happen when an unaspirated voiceless weak initial becomes unaspirated voiceless strong. That means, if we have e.g. the original doublets *\*t > t'* : *d < d\** and from this has developed *\*t > t* : *d < d\** in Khalkha of Ulan Bator and *\*t > d* : *d < d\** in Dariganga and Ordos, there can be at work an opposite tendency *\*t > t'* : *t < d\**, and that is what we seem to find in some of the Western Khalkha dialects. This development is to be seen in the material which was collected by the expedition made in 1956 in West Mongolia organized by the Committee of Science and Higher Education. From this material there were published two short preliminary reports by E. Vanduj (Зарим нутгийн аман аялгууны үсийн сангийн тухай, Ulan Bator 1957) and S. Barajshir (Халжын аялгууны зарим хэсгийг судалсан тухай тэмдэглэл, Ulan Bator 1957). The expedition visited six sumuns in the aymak Gobi-Altaj, seven sumuns in the aymak Dzabkhan, and seven sumuns in the aymak Khövsgöl. It is to be regretted that Barajshir — who collates dialectal forms with the corresponding literary ones — does not indicate from which part the territory he visited the cited words originate. It is clear from the material that in some words the original unaspirated voiced weak initial became unaspirated, or weakly aspirated<sup>25</sup> strong. This happens in the words, when the initial is followed by voiceless strong consonant: KhW after Barajshir, *op. cit.*, p. 2:

LM *jaqa* 'border' ~ KhU *dzaχ*, KhW *tsaχ*, Drg. *dzaχ*, Ord. *džaχa*;

LM *daqu* 'coat of goat's fur' ~ KhU *daχ*, KhW *taχ*, Drg. *daχ*, Ord. *daxχu*;

LM *duqu* 'forehead, nape' ~ KhU *dugχ*, KhW *tugχ*, Ord. *dugχu*;

LM *yorčiya-* 'to become long and thin' > KhL *gortig* 'stroke', KhW *zortok* 'id', Ord. *erotš'in* 'ridé',

LM *josó* 'the colour of the earth' ~ KhU *dzos*, KhW *tsos*, Ord. *džoso*.

<sup>25</sup> It is to be regretted that the Mongolian colleagues do not mark in their transcription the aspiration. They only denote it in the phonological introduction. The voiceless, strong representation of the initials in the following words can not be doubted, because the transcription is, in this respect, clear. The examples cannot be mistakes, because each word that belongs to the category in question shows the same shift in the published material.

**42.** As has already been pointed out, we have but scanty material of the various Khalkha dialects. We have some material from South Khalkha scattered on the pages of the comparative grammars of Vladimirtsov and Poppe cited above. Regrettably, we have no closer location of this material. What can be concluded from this material is that its phonetic structure stands not very far from the sub-dialect of Dariganga sumun. Poppe writes that South Khalkha can be also called Gobi Khalkha, because it is spoken in the Gobi regions of the Mongolian People's Republic. I have met during my tour some people who came from these territories and in whose language the traces of this phonetic structure could be detected. But we have to call the attention to the fact that the dialectal situation in the southern parts of the Mongolian People's Republic is not homogenous in this respect. For instance, a brief material collected by me around Sajn Šand, the centre of Dorno-Gobi aymak, does not show the features observed in the Dariganga sumun sub-dialect. This question, however, has to be further investigated.

**43.** Concerning the tendency of weakening we have finally to mention those cases when a word becomes one of the weakening category only if it has a suffix. This can only occur in such words which are monosyllabic, and such suffixes, which begin with an aspirated voiceless strong, e.g. the verb *kür-* does not belong to the weakening category, but, if the stem obtain the suffix of *nomen futuri* -kü, or the suffix of *converbium imperfecti* -čü, the new form *kürkü*, *kürčü* is going over to the weakening category and so on. In some of the dialects these forms have also voiceless weak initials sporadically. In the dialect of the neighbourhood of Khentei, collected by Amsterdamskaja we find transcribed *kürč* which stands perhaps for *cürtš* (*op. cit.*, pp. 6, 10). We have in the Ordos *džačč'ü* instead of *tšačč'u* (*Textes Oraux*, p. 1), and beside the stem *k'ür-*, we find the forms *cürtš'i* and *cürk'č'i* (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 438a), in the verb *t'or-* 'être arrêté par quelque chose' we have the forms *dorts'i* (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 670a), at the verb *tš'ad-* 'se rassasier' we find *džant'ar* (*Dict. Ord.*, p. 689b) etc.

#### G) The Development č > ts, č > dz and Weakening

**44.** While in weakening Dariganga follows the Ordos-type dialects and not the Khalkha-type of Ulan Bator, on the other hand, regarding the development č > ts, Dariganga and Khalkha belong to one group and Ordos to another, both Khalkha and Dariganga have in the place of Literary Mongolian č before vowel other than i, in the not-weakening categories ts'-, while Ordos tš'- (33.). This means that Dariganga is a ts-dialect. In the weakening categories the representation is as follows :

KhU č > ts, Drg. č > dz, Ord. č > dž.

Dariganga here gives an independent form to be met neither in Khalkha nor in Ordos. There are two possibilities how Dariganga *dz* could have developed. Either we have to do with an originally *ts*-dialect, which later came under the influence of a weakening-dialect : č > *ts* > *dz* or we have to do with an originally weakening-dialect which got in contact with a *ts*-dialect : č > *dž* > > *dz*. This problem can not be solved until we know more of the South Khalkha and the Chakhar dialects, and furthermore of the formation and history of the *ts*-dialects. But we can conclude that Dariganga *dz* < č, independently of the way of its development, has to be younger than the formation of the *ts*-dialects.

**45.** To the Literary Mongolian č corresponds in positions before *i* an unaspirated voiceless weak *dž* in Khalkha, Ordos and Dariganga alike. Before vowels other than *i* Khalkha has *dz*, while in Ordos we find *dž*. Dariganga follows Khalkha :

LM čaqa 'border' ~ KhU *dzaχ*, Drg. *dzaχ*, Ord. *džaχa* ;

LM čalayu 'young' ~ KhU *dzalū*, Drg. *dzalū*, Ord. *džalū* ;

LM čebe 'the top of the arrow' ~ KhU *dzew*, Drg. *dzew*, Ord. *džiwe*.

In those words, in which the „breaking“ of the *i* had taken place in an early time, we find *dz* both in Khalkha and in Dariganga :

LM čiryuyan 'six' ~ KhU *dzyrgā*, Drg. *dzyrgā*, Ord. *džyrgā* ;

LM čirüken 'heart' ~ KhU *dzüreχ*, Drg. *dzüreχ*, Ord. *džüre<sup>k</sup>χe* ;

LM čisün 'colour of horse' ~ KhU *dzüs*, Drg. *dzüs*, Ord. *džüsü*.

We have an example where Dariganga differs from Khalkha :

LM čibači > čabači 'the corner of the lips' ~ KhU *dzawdž*, Drg. *džawdž*, Ord. *džawadži*.

**46.** In those West Khalkha dialects (see 41.) where the initial unaspirated, voiced weak had developed before a voiceless aspirated strong into an unaspirated, voiceless strong it seems to correspond to a Literary Mongolian initial č- before *i*, *tš*-, and before other vowels than *i*, *ts*-.

Thus we find the Literary Mongolian phonemic doublet č : č represented in our dialects as follows :

Literary Mongolian		Nonweakening categories				Weakening categories			
		KhU	KhW	Drg.	Ord.	KhU	KhW	Drg.	Ord.
č	Before <i>i</i>	<i>tš<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>tš<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>tš<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>tš<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>tš</i>	<i>tš</i>	<i>dž</i>	<i>dž</i>
	Before other than <i>i</i>	<i>ts<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ts<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ts<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ts<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dž</i>
č	Before <i>i</i>	<i>dž</i>	<i>dž</i>	<i>dž</i>	<i>dž</i>	<i>dž</i>	<i>tš</i>	<i>dž</i>	<i>dž</i>
	Before other than <i>i</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dž</i>

H) *The Development q > χ, k > χ and k' and Weakening*

**47.** Beside the tendency of weakening, and the tendency of development  $\check{c} > ts$ , the third important difference between Khalkha and Ordos is the spirantization of the Literary Mongolian *q* and *k*. The *q* is represented by  $\chi$  in all the three dialects (30.). The *k* remains in initial position as aspirated  $k'$ -, in other position as  $^k\chi$ - in Ordos, while in Khalkha we find in every position  $\chi$  except after  $\eta$  (31.). In the non-weakening categories, Dariganga follows Khalkha. We find remarks made by Vladimirtsov (*Срав. грамм.*, pp. 10, 124) that in the former Dzasaktu-khan and Sajin-nojin-khan aymaks there are such Khalkha dialects, in which the initial Literary Mongolian *k* have not yet became  $\chi$ , it is only  $^k\chi$ . The same is reported by Barajshir (*op. cit.*, p. 11) from the present day Gobi-Altai and Dzabkhan aymaks.

This tendency of spirantization is also crossed by the tendency of weakening. In the spirantization Dariganga follows Khalkha, in the weakening Ordos, so we would expect after the analogy of *tsxdž* > *dz* a voiced spirant  $\gamma < \chi x \varrho$ ; but we find instead of this  $\varrho$ . That means that the formation of Dariganga *dz* took place subsequent to the development  $\check{c} > ts$ , while the formation of the Dariganga  $\varrho < q$  prior to the development *q > χ*. With this post quem and ante quem data we have given the relative chronology of the development of present-day Dariganga dialect. Naturally this does not give the chronology of the weakening, which must be older.

I) *The Alternation of Final -s and -d*

**48.** As I have pointed out above (38.) the spirant *s* is the only strong, voiceless consonant which can stand at the end of syllables or words. Whether it stands at the end of the first syllable (*e.g. tesbüri*), or at the beginning of the second (*e.g. tosun*) it causes the weakening of the initial strong. But with the final *-s* we find an alternation with *-d*, while in the case of initial *s-* we have none. This alternation was discussed by Ramstedt (*Urgamundart*, p. 19), Vladimirtsov (*Срав. грамм.*, p. 397), Sanžeev (*Срав. грамм.*, p. 87) and Poppe (*Introduction*, p. 121) and we have nothing to add. In Dariganga we have a few words in which we find *-s* in the place of Khalkha and Ordos *-d*:

LM *ebed-* 'to be ill' ~ KhU *öwsö-*, Drg. *öwsö-*, Ord. *öwöd-*,

LM *qabud-* 'to swell' ~ KhU *χawda-*, Drg. *χawsa-*, Ord. *χawd-*,

LM *qudqula* ~ *qudyula-* 'to mix' ~ KhL *chutgala-*, Drg. *χusχala-*, (~ *χusχala-*), Ord. *χudχula-*.

There is also an example where Khalkha has *-s*, and Dariganga and Ordos have *-d*:

LM *deled-* 'to beat' ~ KhU *pelse-*, Drg. *pelde-*, Ord. *pelde-*.

K) *The Assimilation of γ before t and s*

**49.** As we have seen weakening is, essentially, a dissimilation of the strong consonants. Beside this we have also assimilation. Generally before or after *t* and *š*, *s*, the original *γ* or *g* become in Khalkha and Dariganga *χ*, while they remain unchanged in Ordos :

LM *aytala-* 'to geld' ~ KhU *axt'la-*, Drg. *axt'ala-*, Ord. *aγt'ala-* ;

LM *oytol-* 'to cut' ~ KhU *oxt'lo-*, Drg. *oxt'lo-*, Ord. *oγt'ol-* ;

LM *šogsi-* 'to trot' ~ KhU *šogši-* (~ *šoχši-*), Drg. *ožoχši-*, Ord. *šogši-*,

LM *ögkü* (nomen futuri) 'to give' KhU *óχö*, Drg. *óχö*, Ord. *ö<sup>k</sup>χö*.

After *t* :

LM *qudyula-* 'to mix' ~ KhL *chutgala*, Drg. *χusχala-* (~ *γusχala-*).  
Ord. *χunχula-*.

L) *Redundant Consonants*

**50.** We have many such stems in Literary Mongolian in which we find a consonant in one case but not in another. Such are *tabi-* ~ *talbi-* 'to put', *küisün* ~ *külsün* 'navel', *nutuy* ~ *nuntuy* 'camping-place' etc. In most cases it is not easy to say whether we have to deal with a redundant or a disappearing consonant. In Dariganga we find some words which have a *d*, but it is not found in other dialects :

LM *ayuuliqai* 'abdominal cavity' ~ KhU *ajylχ<sup>v</sup>ē*, Drg. *ajylχal* ~ *ajylχal* ~ *ajyłmχ<sup>v</sup>ē*, Ord. *ajylχā* ;

LM *buγulay* 'upper arm' ~ KhU *buγlaq*, Drg. *buγplaq* ;

LM *gara* 'black' > KhU *χarlaq* 'blackish', Drg. *χarlaq*.

Redundant *r* :

LM *kiγyalang* '3—4 years old animal' ~ KhU *χidzālanj*, Drg. *eχdzālanj* ~ *χidzālanj*, Ord. *k'idžärланж* ;

LM *jabaji* 'the corner of the lips' ~ KhU *dzáwdž*, Drg. *džáwdž* ~ *džärwdž*, Ord. *džawadži*.

Disappearing *l* :

LM *jayalqan* 'little' ~ KhU *bžāχan*, Drg. *bžāχan*, Ord. *bžāχan* ~ *bžāχan*,

LM *külilge* 'tie' ~ Drg. *χūjilge* ~ *χūlilge*, Ord. *k'ülilge*.

Disappearing *b* :

LM *kübke* 'caisse, boîte' ~ Drg. *guχe* 'stove-pipe of clay', Ord. *gu<sup>k</sup>χe* ~ *gu<sup>k</sup>χe*, *guw<sup>k</sup>χe* 'trou pratiqué en terre' ;

LM *silbe* leg, stem ~ KhU *šilbe*, Drg. *šilù*, Ord. *šilbe* ;

LM *borbi* 'tendon of Achilles' ~ KhU *borwi*, Drg. *borù* ~ *borwi*, Ord. *borwi*.

M) *Metathesis of Consonants*

**51.** A special feature of Dariganga is the metathesis of consonants in cases where we find it neither in Khalkha nor in Ordos :

LM *tarbaya* 'the animal tarbagan' ~ KhU *t'arwag*, Drg. *t'awrag*, Ord. *t'arwaga* ;

LM *ebke-* 'to wrap in' ~ KhU *ebχe-*, Drg. *eχwe-*, Ord. *eb<sup>k</sup>χe-*, ~ *ew<sup>k</sup>χ<sup>"</sup>e-*.

**A Brief Remark on Morphology**

**52.** The differences between Khalkha and Ordos morphology can be divided in two parts. To one part belong those divergencies, which are merely phonetic. If the Literary Mongolian Dative-Locative *-dur/dür* is represented by *-d* in Khalkha and *-du/dū* in Ordos, or if we find the Literary Mongolian dubitativ *-yučai* as *-ydz<sup>"</sup>e* in Khalkha and as *-ydzā* in Ordos, then we have to deal only with phonetic differences which have to be discussed in Phonology. The other part, the proper morphological differences are those cases when we cannot explain the divergency by phonetic reasons. For instance, the genitive form of the reflexiv-possessiv declination, the Literary Mongolian *-yuyan/yuban* is represented in Khalkha as *-inčān*, and in Ordos as *-inān*, or the Literary Mongolian concessive *-tuyai*, is to be found in Khalkha only in a few new political expressions (*mandat'ug<sup>"</sup>e* 'vivat', *mandaz bolt'ug<sup>"</sup>e* 'id.'), while it is current in Ordos. In Dariganga I was unable to find any deviation from Khalkha morphology. Since the morphological differences between Khalkha and Ordos are thoroughly discussed by the authors (Mostaert, Poppe, Sanžeev) I have nothing to add here.

**A Brief Remark on the Lexical Stock**

**53.** It is very difficult to make a statement on the lexical stock of Dariganga, not only because the material collected by me is naturally a fragment of the whole stock, but also because even after the publication of Mostaert's and Luvsandendev's excellent dictionaries we cannot say that the whole lexical stock of these languages is explored. If one or another word is not to be found in them, it does not follow that it does not exist in the language. I wish to make, however, a few remarks on the position of the lexical stock of Dariganga.

**54.** We have a few words which deviate only phonetically in Khalkha, Ordos and Dariganga, but these phonetic differences are apart from the regular phonetic divergencies.

- LM *buryasun* 'willow' ~ KhL *burgaas*, Drg. *bürgas*, Ord. *bürgasu* ;  
 LM *bayuri* 'the surface of a tent' ~ KhL *bujr*, Drg. *būr'*, Ord. *būri* ;  
 LM *döliügen* 'calm' ~ KhL *dölgön* ~ *dölgöön*, Drg. *dölēn*, Ord. *dölōn* ;  
 LM *qurim* 'feast' ~ KhU *χurim*, Drg. *χurim*, Ord. *χorim* ;  
 LM *ungsi-* 'to read' ~ KhU *үηши-*, Drg. *үмши-*, Ord. *omsi-*.

**55.** We find words in Dariganga, of which the stem is known in Khalkha and Ordos, but the particular form is absent from the dictionaries :

- LM *kenger* etc. 'bosom' ~ KhL *chencherceg*, Drg. *χengedeg*, Ord. *kemerdek* ;  
 LM *yayiga-* 'to wonder' > KhU *qaexalt<sup>v</sup>ē* ~ *qaexam* 'wonderful', Drg. *qaexanta* 'id', Ord. *qaexal* 'id' ;  
 KhU *büctsim* 'stuffy', Drg. *bügt<sup>v</sup>mel*, Ord. *bügt<sup>v</sup>e*.

**56.** We find a few contractions in Dariganga which can not be traced nor found in that form in Khalkha or Ordos :

- Drg. *çurm* 'plait' < *yurumusun* < *yurban mösün*, Ord. *çurmusun* 'id' ;  
 Drg. *margaddir* 'to Morrow' < *maryata edür*, Ord. *margata* ~ *marga<sup>f</sup>u*,  
 KhU *margaš* ;  
 Drg. *χurgen aqa* 'the husband of the elder sister' < *kürgen aqa* ;  
 Drg. *ts<sup>v</sup>ādöddür* < *čayadu edür*, Ord. *ts<sup>v</sup>ugudür*.

**57.** There is a group of words which can be found in Khalkha and in Ordos but with another meaning, e.g.:

Drg. *ānza* 'old person, old woman, elder sister of the wife' (= KhU *aw<sup>v</sup>ē*), Ord. *ānžu* 'frère plus agé' but in the NE part of Otok it means the same as *egetš*i**, 'soeur ainée' ;

Drg. *qasag* 'the hoops of the fireplace; a measure for thin things; Kazak ; a type of conveyance', KhU *χasag* 'Kazak, a type of conveyance', Ord. *qasak* 'charrette, chariot, les cerceaux de fer servant à lier et maintenir les quatre piéds du *t<sup>v</sup>ulgā*'

Drg. *ēdzoi* 'a sort of dried curd, not the same as *ēdmeg*', Ord. *ēdzgi* = *ēdmeg*

Drg. *bošog* 'the upper cross-rod of the tent's door', KhU *bosog* 'threshold', Ord. *bošogo* 'seuil de porte' ;

LM *bögeji* 'ring' ~ KhU *bōgdž* 'ring of harness', Drg. *bōgdž* 'id', Ord. *bögödži* 'yoke'.

**58.** There are certain words which are not common in the central Khalkha dialect of Ulan Bator, and in the Khalkha literary language based on it, but which are to be found in other Khalkha dialects :

Drg. *ts'ēdž* 'a part of the halter', Khalkha of Gobi Altai (KhGA) *tšēdž* 'id' (Vanduj, *op. cit.*, p. 8);

Drg. *torččo* 'tea-cup', KhGA *tčyŋku* 'id' (Vanduj, *op. cit.*, p. 7).

**59.** Finally I have to mention that category of words which I could not trace in Khalkha or in Ordos :

Drg. *berūčči* 'a part of the hoof', KhU *berevchij*;

Drg. *derge* 'a swift canter', Ord. *derččere-* 'se dit d'un âne ou d'un mulet quand ils vont l'amble ou un pas rapide' ;

Drg. *pžalčamaq* 'a sort of milk product'.

Further examples will be easily found in the forthcoming vocabulary.



# THE FOUR HORNS OF TIBET ACCORDING TO THE ROYAL ANNALS

BY  
G. URAY

1. We have several contemporary descriptions, documents and inscriptions containing important information on the activities and particulars of the military-administrative organization of 7th—9th century Tibet. The structure of the whole organization is however, surveyed only in the *AC* which was written in the second half of the 8th century and preserved in the *Bk.* compiled by *O-rgyan Gliṅ-pa* as late as the mid 14th century and in the *Dp.* dating from 1564 in the form of two versions of different drafting and of different degrees of completeness<sup>1</sup>.

According to the *AC* the territory of Tibet proper was divided into four *ru* “horns” or “wings”<sup>2</sup> each consisting of eight *stoṅ-sde* “thousand-district” (*AC I*) ~ *rgod-stoṅ-sde* “thousand-district of warriors” (*AC II*), one *stoṅ-bu-čhun* “small thousand [-district]” (*AC I, II*), and one *sku-sruṇ-gi stoṅ-sde* “thousand-district of royal bodyguard” (mentioned only in *AC II*). Each horn was—at least at the time of the *AC*—but a theoretical unit because, according to this source, each horn had two commandants (*AC I* : *dmag-dpon* “army commander” ~ *AC II* : *ru-dpon* “horn commander”) and two adjutants (*AC I* : *ru-sgab* “horn-sgab” ~ *AC II* : *dpa’-zla* “hero-adjutant”) who, according to *AC I*, headed the upper [half] (*stod*) and the lower [half] (*smad*) of the horn and were independent of one another. The names and territories<sup>3</sup> of the horns —

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations are listed at the end of the paper.

For the translation of, and comments on, version *AC I* in the *Bk.* see *TLTD* I, pp. 276—286, II, pp. 418—419, III, pp. 16—18; its data are tabulated in *TPS* II, pp. 737b—738b. For the discussion of individual data from this version see *Nam*, p. 33 n. 1, p. 58; *TTK*, p. 67; *CL* I, pp. 266—267 n.; A. Róna-Tas : *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII (1957), pp. 322, 324. The larger version *AC II* in the *Dp.* is presented in a tabulated form and commented in *PR*, pp. 75—77, 81—86. — For the date of the *AC* see *PR*, pp. 75—76, of the *Bk.* see *TPS* I, pp. 110—115, of the *Dp.* see *TTK*, p. 76 n. 21 and *AHE*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Other translations of the term *ru*, though less adequate, are : “division, brigade, banner, part, section, district, territorial division”.

<sup>3</sup> In the localization of the four horns I essentially follow Tucci, *PR*, pp. 81—83 and not Thomas, *TLTD* I, pp. 281—282. I shall discuss the details of this question in some other place.

proceeding from west to east, as listed in the *AC I* — were as follows : I. *Gcañ-ru-lag* (*AC I*, see p. 43 below) ~ *Ru-lag* (*AC II*), the (south) western part of the present-day province *Gcañ* (fourth in the *AC II*) ; II. *G-yas-ru* (*AC I, II*), the (north) eastern part of *Gcañ* (third in the *AC II*) ; III. *Dbu-ru* (*AC I, II*), the north-western part of the present-day province *Dbus*, the country surrounding Lhasa (first in the *AC II*) ; IV. *G-yo-ru* (*AC I, II*), the south-eastern part of *Dbus* (second in the *AC II*).

This information of the *AC* is richly supplemented by the reports on the four horns to be read in one of the most important and authentic sources, the *Ann.* These reports are few in number, yet are of high importance since they contain many unique data concerning chronology and names, as well as the development and activities of the organization of the horns. The major part of these reports have hitherto been analysed in several instances for the terms they contain, and only three of them have so far been examined from the viewpoint of military organization by A. Róna-Tas : *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII (1957), p. 323, who emphasized mainly their chronological importance.

2. As pointed out by A. Róna-Tas, *loc. laud.*, the name *Dbu-ru*, or more exactly, its compound *Dbu-ru-śod* “the Low Tract of *Dbu-ru*”<sup>4</sup> is the earliest in date, the summer of 684 A. D., that occurs in the *Ann.* : *blon-čhe Bcan-sñas | dun-ma Dbu-ru-śod-gyi*<sup>5</sup> *Re-skam-du bsdusñe*<sup>6</sup> (*Ann. I* :85—86 = *DTH* :16.17—18, *TLTD II* :3.15)<sup>7</sup> “the conference having been assembled by the

<sup>4</sup> Bacot, *DTH* :35.24—25, has “*Dbu-ru inférieur*”. Though the word *śod* indeed has a meaning “lower, inferior part of a thing” as a geographical common noun, however, it is used rather for designating flat areas, basins, “a low tract of land” (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 564a) such as the eighteen *śods* constituting the *Mdo-khams* according to tradition (*Nam*, p. 6 ; R.-A. Stein : *Journ. As.* 1956, p. 464). This is the sense in which it occurs as second member of names denoting smaller areas as, for instance, *Skyi/Skyid-śod*, the basin of the *Skyi/Skyid-čhu* river near Lhasa, the *Skyi* of the *Ann.* and other Old-Tibetan texts, *Skyid-stod* and *Skyid-smad* “Upper” and “Lower *Skyid*” in the *AC* (Róna-Tas : *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII, pp. 322—324 and the passages quoted there ; also *Skyi-śod-Šo-ma-ra* [*Dp.* see *PR*, p. 76 n. 1] which is undoubtedly identical with *Skyi-Śo-ma-ra* [*Ann. I* :253, .259, .297, *Ann. II*, 1 :3 = *DTH* :24.21, .32, :26.26, :55.7], and thus the formal identity of *Skyi/Skyid* and *Skyi/Skyid-śod* is established) ; *Nag-śod*, the small thousand [district] of the Horn of the *Sum-pa* on the northern border of the horn, one of the eighteen *śods* of the *Mdo-khams* (*PR*, p. 79 and n. 1, p. 84 ; R.-A. Stein, *loc. laud.*; cf. also *TLTD II*, pp. 126, 130, 275, 465) ; ‘*Dam-śod*, the “shares of power” of the *Phya* clan, possibly *Dam’/Dam* to the north of Lhasa (*PR*, p. 80).

<sup>5</sup> *TLTD* : *kyi*.

<sup>6</sup> *TLTD* : *bsdu-ste*.

<sup>7</sup> I write *i* for the so-called reversed *i*. My transliteration for the vowel sign written instead of *o’i* and composed of the signs of *o* and *e* is *oe* as Bacot has it, *DTH* :14.14, :17.8, .29, etc. (Thomas, *TLTD II* :4.11, :6.13, substitutes *o’i* in its place). For the double *e* written instead of *a’i* I have *ai* which corresponds to the usual transliteration of its *Brāhmī* original (Bacot, *DTH* :24.28 : *ee*). I use  $\hat{ }$  above the letters to connect

Great Councillor *Bcan-sna* in *Re-skam* of *Dbu-ru-śod*<sup>3</sup>. The same compound can also be found in the report of the year 724 A.D.: *dbyar-dun Dbu-ru-śod-gyi Lči'u-luñ-du blon čhen-po Khri-sum-rje* *bsdus* (*Ann. I* :.232 = *DTH* :23.17—18) “the summer conference was assembled by the Great Councillor *Khri-sum-rje* in *Lči'u-luñ* of *Dbu-ru-śod*”. The name *Dbu-ru*, however, does not occur by itself in the *Ann.*

The compound name *Dbu-ru-śod* can be related to a form in one of the catalogues of the *Dp*. This catalogue dating from the 7th—8th century lists the eighteen shares of power (*dbaiñ-ris*) as assigned to different clans and states that the *Dbu-ru-śod-čhen* “the Great Lower Tract of *Dbu-ru*” was ruled not by some aristocratic clan but by the monarch (*bcan-po mña'-bdag*) himself (*PR*, p. 79). On the other hand, the thousand-districts and the small thousand-districts were governed, according to the *AC I*, by different aristocratic clans. In the *AC I* no mention is made of the bodyguard thousand-districts, but we know from the *ŽRdor.* that it was the male descendants of the grandfather, *Nan-lam Gsas-slebs*, of the minister *Nan-lam Stag-sgra Klu-khoñ* who had a hereditary right to the post of the commander of the '*Phan-yul* bodyguard thousand-district (*sku-sruñ 'Phan/'Pan-yul-pa'i/i ston-dpon*; *ŽRdor.* :N.41—50 = *AHE* :28.5—14). Hence, this thousand-district must have been the property of the *Nan-lam* clan as early as the first half of the 8th century A.D. because, according to the inscription, the king granted the other possessions and dignities exclusively to the male progeny of the privileged minister or his father (cf. *ŽRdor.* :N.5—41, .50—68 = *AHE* :26.31—28.5, :28.14—29.6). '*Phan-yul* undoubtedly belonged to the territory of *Dbu-ru*, consequently it is the formations of this area that should be identified with the single bodyguard thousand-district belonging to *Dbu-ru* and mentioned in the *AC II* as “the royal bodyguard of the eastern side” (*PR*, p. 81). It follows that *Dbu-ru-śod(-čhen)* could not comprise any of the thousand-districts of *Dbu-ru* but, being the immediate property of the ruler, must have belonged to the

those written one under the other in the original in the following two instances : 1. The symbol of the final consonant was compendiously written under the radical, e.g. *dāñ*, *bzer*. 2. Two symbols of consonants at the end and at the beginning of two subsequent syllables were written one under the other, e.g. *Ann. I* :.54 : *gšegste* in which *s* is written above the *t* to distinguish it from *Chr.* :.180 : *bcugste* in which all three consonants are written close to one another without the dot separating the syllables; cf. M. Lalou, *Revendications des fonctionnaires du Grand Tibet au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : Journ. As.* 1955, p. 205 s. v. *roñspo*.

If it seems necessary to indicate the exact place of occurrence, I quote also the number of the line of whatever source is referred to, Tibetan manuscript, modern edition of text or translation. In such cases I do not apply the usual abbreviations such as fol., p., l., but, for the sake of brevity, write a colon before the number of the folio and page, and fullstop before the number of the line.

horn only territorially and not organizationally<sup>8</sup>. Thus the *Ann.* contains only indirect informations on the *Dbu-ru* which, however, are extremely valuable because they constitute the earliest authentic data on this horn and on the whole system of horns.

The name of the horn has the following forms in the sources : *Dbu-ru* (in *Dbu-ru-stod-smad*, *Dbu-ru-stod* and *Dbu-ru-smad*, *AC I* :9a.1, .2, .4, cf. *TLTD I* :279.6—7, .13, .21, :281.27—28; *AC II* and *CBH*, see *PR*, pp. 77, 79, 81, 84; *Atiśa'i rnam-thar*, see Das, *Dict.*, p. 911b; the second and third list of horns of the *Bk.*, see *TPS II*, p. 738b; *Dam-pa'i čhos-kyi byuñ-chul*, see *IT IV 1*, p. 87; *BAInd.*, p. 28b; *Biography of Blo-gsal Rgya-mcho Grags-pa*, see *TPS II*, p. 738b; the first and second list of horns in *Kloñ-rdol bla-ma's Gsuñ'-bum*, see Das, *Dict.*, p. 1156b and *TPS II*, pp. 738b and 682 n. 52; the second list of horns in the *GS Gl. I* :40a = *ÉTG* :197.39; *MkhyG*, index, p. 183a; *ČhGr.*, pp. 590b—591a) || *Dbus-ru* (Das, *Dict.*, p. 911b; Hermanns, *Nomaden*, p. 1 and *Himmelsstier und Gletscherlöwe*, Eisenach—Kassel 1955, p. 46: “*Bus ru*” according to the *A-mdö* pronunciation; the first list of horns in the *GS Gl. I* :38b = *ÉTG* :196.31) || *Sbus-ru* (in *Sbus-ru-Bka'-chal*, *VDL* :53.19, = *Mal-gro-Ska-chal*, *MkhyG* :6.14 and pp. 109—110 n. 113) || *Dbu* (*BAInd.*, p. 28a) || *Dbur* (in *Dbur-stod*, *Deb-ther sñon-po* as cited by Das, *Dict.*, p. 912a) || *Dbus* (the first list of horns in the *Bk.*, see *TPS II*, p. 738b; *BA II* :1018.24: “*dbu*s and *gYor*”)<sup>9</sup>. A common noun *dbuu-ru* (sic!?) is known from

<sup>8</sup> For its localization we have nothing to go by at present. In no case can we endorse the identification suggested — it is true, only as a hypothesis — by Róna-Tas: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII, p. 324, according to whom *Dbu-ru-śod* “seems to be the same” as “*Dbus-ru-skyid-chod*” (ɔ : *Dbus-ru-Skyid-śod*) quoted by S. Hummel, *Lamaistische Studien*, Leipzig 1950, map (obviously after M. Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Wien 1949, p. 1). On the one hand, there is no doubt that *Skyid-śod* corresponds more or less to the thousand-districts *Skyid-stod* and *Skyid-smad* mentioned in the *AC* (see above n. 4) and owned by the *Sbas* clan (*AC I* :9a.2; cf. *TLTD I* :279.10—11, *TPS II*, p. 738a). On the other hand, the identification does not hold good morphologically. If in secondary place names of the type : name of a region + name of a smaller place, one of the primary names is shortened, the contraction results in the omission of its second member being a geographical common noun and not of the first member carrying the function of the proper noun, e.g. *Dbu-ru-Žva* (*BA I* :173.36—174.1, :192.26) = *Dbu-ru-Žva'i-lha-khañ* (*MkhyG* :6.15; cf. also H. E. Richardson, *Tibetan Inscriptions at Žva-bi Lha Khañ*: *JRAS* 1952, p. 133) / *Žva-lha-khañ* (*Vaidūrya ser-po*, cited by *MkhyG*, p. 110 n. 114, with the identification of the names); *Stod-gyī Lčañ-bu* (*Ann. II*, 1 :27 = *DTH* :57.14) / *Stod-kyi Lčañ-bu* (*MchRdor.* :.2 = *TTK* : 87.4) = *Stod-luñs-kyī Lčañ-bu* (*MchRdor.* :.15 = *TTK* : 88.1; H. E. Richardson, *The Karma-pa Sect, a Historical Note*: *JRAS* 1958, pp. 139—140 fails to consider the latter information though it helps the localization of the place, in fact showing the correctness of the second alternative suggested but deemed less probable by Richardson).

<sup>9</sup> Most of these data come from late sources. After the dissolution of the integral state of Tibet, the organization of horns naturally could not survive as one embracing the whole territory of the country, though the new principalities may have preserved

a Tun-huang document where it denotes a lower military-adminstrative unit in the occupied Chinese territories (*Ch.* 73, xv, 10 :A.51 = *TLTD* II :69.21). Interpreted as a common noun, *dbu-ru* occurs even in two modern dictionaries (Das, *Dict.*, p. 1185b s. v. *ru*; ČhGr., p. 590b). The three modern place names

parts of the old organization and some of them may have adopted the name of an old horn or half-horn (cf. *BA* I :141.31—33, according to which *Rta bon Dbaiñ-grags* who lived in the middle of the 11th century “was the lord of Upper gYu-ru”). The last remains of the horns must have disappeared from the territorial organization of the state when the country was united by the Yüan dynasty and the *Sa-skyā-pas*, and the territory of *Dbus* and *Gcañ* divided into thirteen *khri-skor/bskor* “ten-thousand-districts” (S. Ch. Das, *Tibet under the Tartar Emperors of China in the 13th century A. D.* : *JASB* LXXIII [1904], pt. I, Extra no., pp. 97—102; *IT* IV 1, pp. 84—86; *TPS* I, pp. 13—15, 251—252 n. 36; II, pp. 680—681 n. 52; cf. also G. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas*<sup>2</sup>, Leipzig 1958, p. 92; Ю. Н. Р е р и х, Монголо-тибетские отношения в XIII и XIV вв.: Филология и история монгольских народов, Москва 1958, pp. 341—342). Notwithstanding the litterati have ever since applied the names of the horns not only to the early times but also to the corresponding areas in their own epoch. It might be supposed that the horn names have been preserved by the living language to denote the larger regions, yet, in fact, we have to do with archaizing onomastic usage. The horns are confounded, their names are changed arbitrarily, as can be seen in the 14th century and later lists of horns published by Tucci, *TPS* II, p. 738b, to which I could add a few myself. Some of the lists register the division corresponding to the original state (second list of horns in the *Bk.*, see *TPS* II, p. 738b; *Biography of Blo-gsal Rgya-mcho Grags-pa*, see *TPS* II, p. 738b; list of the four *mtha'-dul* temples in *VDL* :53.18—20; second list of horns in the *GS Gl.* I :40a = *ÉTG* :197.39—40). In other lists — as demonstrated by Tucci, *loc. laud.*, — *Ru-lag* was changed into *G-yon-ru*, in consequence of which there was a “Left Horn” in *Dbus* and one in *Gcañ* (first list of horns in the *Bk.*, see *TPS* II, p. 738b; the list of horns of the *Dam-pa'i chos-kyi byuñ-chul legs-par bṣad-pa bstan-pa'i rgya-mchörgü-pa'i gru-čhen*, fol. 163, see *IT* IV 1, p. 87; first list of horns of *Kloñ-rdol bla-ma*, see Das, *Dict.*, pp. 1152a, 1156b and *TPS* II, pp. 738b and 682 n. 52; Hermanns, *Himmelsstier*, p. 46). Some of the lists form a third type not recognized so far. These lists contain the same names of horns as those belonging to the first type but locate *G-yon-ru/G-yo-ru* in *Gcañ* and *G-yas-ru* in *Dbus* (the third list of horns in the *Bk.* and the second of *Kloñ-rdol bla-ma*, see *TPS* II, p. 738b; Hermanns, *Nomaden*, p. 1). It is noteworthy that these three types can be found in the *Bk.* compiled in the middle of the 14th century. A much later origin must be ascribed to the fourth type represented only by the first list of horns of the *GS Gl.*, a late 19th century compilation. This list reads as follows : *G-yu-ru Dbus-ru gñis | G-yas-G-yon-Ru-lag gñis-te Dbus-Gcañ ru bži* (I :38b = *ÉTG* :196.31—32). R.-A. Stein regards the word *ru-lag* here as a geographical common noun constituting the final members of the names of both horns of *Gcañ* and gives the following translation of the passage : “Les quatre «cornes» (*ru-bži*) des provinces centrales d'Bus et gCañ sont gYu-ru et dBus-ru (dans le dBus), et les deux *ru-lag* de droite et de gauche (dans le gCañ)” (*ÉTG* :31.16—18, cf. also index, p. 163). This interpretation would relate the list to the second type. Its collation with the other, earlier lists, makes it evident, however, that *G-yon(-ru)* is an interpolation after *G-yas(-ru)*, yet even the original *Ru-lag* is preserved. Consequently, the list of the *GS Gl.* I :38b represents a contamination of the lists of the first and the second type and contains five names of horns instead of four.

of the *A-mye Rma-čhen* mountain, related to one another : dial. *U-ru-A-si* ~ written *Dbu-ru-A-si*, a valley ; dial. *U-ru-A-si-ñe-ra* ~ written *Dbu-ru-A-si-ñe-ra*, a mountain pass ; dial. *U-ru-Har-dā* ~ written *Dbu-ru-Har-mdā'*, a region (J. F. Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions*, Roma 1956 : *SOR* XII, p. 172), require further investigations, as to whether they are connected with the major expansion of the Central-Tibetan *Dbu-ru* as assumed by Thomas, *TLTD* I, p. 279 nn. 4, 6 and p. 281 (cf. also *PR*, p. 81 n. 1) or, what seems to me more probable, originate from a local system of horns.

*Dbur* and *Dbu* are the shortened forms of *Dbu-ru* and by no means of *Dbus-ru* as Das, *Dict.*, p. 912a explains. *Dbur* is the normal form, whereas *Dbu* is due to the fact that the shortening occurred together with *G-yo-ru* : \**Dbu-ru-dāñ G-yo-ru* (*gñis*) > \**Dbu-G-yo-ru* (*gñis*) > *Dbu-G-yor* (*gñis*) (cf. *BA* II : 702.9 : "both dbU and gYor"; : 936.28—29, : 1080.30—31: "dbU and gYor"), then the form *Dbu* was introduced also in the compound *Dbu-stod* (*BAInd.*, p. 28a; cf. *BA* II : 542.33 : "Upper dBu"). *Dbus* as a horn name can either be accounted for by the contamination of the name of the province *Dbus* and the name *Dbu-ru*, or it may be the shortened form of the compound *Dbus-ru* (cf. *BA* II : 1018.24 : "dbUs and gYor"). *Sbus-ru* is an orthographical variant of *Dbus-ru* presumably on the basis of a dialect in which the equivalents of *db-* and *sb-* are identical, and is by all means a late, isolated form<sup>10</sup>. As to the relation between *Dbus-ru* and *Dbu-ru*, Róna-Tas, *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII, p. 323, regards the former as primary, which is hardly probable phonetically because the change *-us* > *-ū* is, for the time being, attested only in the Tibetan dialect of Kunawur, a dialect not likely to be eligible in this respect. Besides, the original *-us* is reflected in the known dialects in the forms of *-us*, *-ṳi*, *-ṳ̈i*, *-ū* (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. xvii). The chronology of the data shows that *Dbus-ru* appears comparatively late and occurs sporadically. It is obviously due to the influence of the province name *Dbus* and/or derived from *Dbu-ru* by means of *étymologie savante* (cf. *dbus* "middle, centre"). On the other hand, the explanation of *dbu-ru*, as a common noun, given in *ČhGr.*, p. 590b, as *mgo-ru* "head horn" is semantically less convincing than the current interpretation "Central Horn". And this involves no morphological difficulties either, because the word *dbu-ma* as the equivalent of Skt. *madhyama* is well known from Buddhist texts (e.g. *dbu-ma'i lam* = *Madhyamika*) and is attested as such as early as the Buddhist Tun-huang manuscripts (cf. M. Lalou, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Paris 1954).

<sup>10</sup> In the passage where *Sbus-ru* occurs other place names also show an unusual spelling : *G-yon-ru-Phra'-brug* (*VDL* : 53.18—19) ~ *dpal G-yu-ru-Khra'-brug* (*MkhyG* : 11.10—11), *Khra'-brug-lha-khañ* (*MkhyG* : 11.16 and p. 124 n. 237; *GT*, p. 34); *Lho-brag Mkho-mthiñ* (*VDL* : 54.1) ~ *Lho-brag-Khom-mthiñ-lha-khañ* (see *MkhyG*, p. 137 n. 373).

*thèque Nationale [Fonds Pelliot tibétain]*, Paris 1939—1950, I, nos. 120—121, 123, 814, 817, 819, etc.; cf. also M. Lalou, *Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan : Journ. As.* 1953, pp. 318, 333). Yet *dbu-ma* occurs in the sense “middle” also in the Bon-po Tun-huang manuscript *FPT 1042* :24, .70 (= M. Lalou, *Rituel Bon-po des funérailles royales : Journ. As.* 1952, pp. 343, 345 and pls.; cf. also *op. cit.*, pp. 350 n. 11 and 353 n. 8). We may mention also the place name *Brag-mar-gyī Dbu-chal* (*Ann. I* :252 = *DTH* :24.19—20) translated by Bacot, *DTH* :48.21—22, correctly as “Parc Central . . . de Brag-mar”.

3. The *G-yo-ru* is first mentioned in the winter of the year 690 A. D. in the *Ann.* (cf. Róna-Tas, *loc. laud.*) : *dbon Da-rgyal-dāñ blon-čhe Khri-'brīñ-gyis | Rcañ-gyī Gliñ-kar-chal-du bsdusṭe | Rcañ Čhen-pha'ī (= pho'i)<sup>11</sup> khram dmar-po btab-phā-dāñ | Mgar 'Brīñ-r-can | Rcañ-rton<sup>12</sup>-dāñ | Pa-cab Rgyal-can Thom-po gñīñ-gyis | G-yo-ru'ī žiñ-gyi phyīñ-ril btab-phar lo gčhīg* (*Ann. I* :104—106 = *DTH* :17.12—16) “(the conference) having been assembled by the Nephew, the *Da-rgyal* and the Great Councillor *Khri-'brīñ* in *Gliñ-kar-chal* of *Rcañ*, the red tally<sup>13</sup> of the Great *Rcañ* was established and *Mgar 'Brīñ-r-can Rcañ-rton* and *Pa-cab Rgyal-can Thom-po*, these two, established the *phyīñ-ril*<sup>14</sup> of the fields of *G-yo-ru*, so one year”. And in 709 A. D. *dbyar'-dun Mkhriñ-pa-rcañ 'dusṭe | G-yo-ru'ī 'brog-gyī mkhos bgyis* (*Ann. I* :170—171 = *DTH* :20.15—16) “the summer conference having been assembled in *Mkhriñ-pa-rca*, the administration of the pastures<sup>15</sup> of *G-yo-ru* was made”.

<sup>11</sup> In *DTH* the emendation *pho'i* not marked. For the emendation cf. *Rcañ Čen-poe* in *Ann. I* :114 (= *DTH* :17.29, *TLTD II* :4.11).

<sup>12</sup> *DTH* : ston.

<sup>13</sup> See A. Róna-Tas, *Tally-Stick and Divination-Dice in the Iconography of Lha-mo: Acta Orient. Hung.* VI (1956), pp. 165—167.

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed discussion and the criticism of the earlier interpretations of *phyīñ/phyīñ-ril/rild* see B. A. Богословский, К вопросу о некоторых терминах в тибетских документах VII—IX вв.: Филология и история монгольских народов, Москва 1958, pp. 326—328. He suggests “участок: plot of land, allotment” as a hypothetic translation, stressing, however, that the question requires further investigation. A. Róna-Tas is at present engaged in clarifying the problem of this term and of the related term *sog-rild*. I am familiar with his conclusions, which I consider correct. Since I do not want to anticipate his considerations, I leave the two terms untranslated.

<sup>15</sup> The word *'brog* in the *Ann.* is consistently translated as “nomads” by Thomas, *TLTD II* :4.13, and Bacot, *DTH* :42.10, :33.21 and :38.1, what is more, Thomas, *TLTD II* :298.22—23 regards it as a name of people and relates it to the Turks. As a result of this conception, Thomas, *TLTD II*, pp. 297—298, regards even the word *'brog* in the *Mi. xxvii, 008 + 18 :3, .5 = TLTD II* :297.30, .34, obviously a geographical common noun, as well as *Phyi-'brog* and other geographical proper names occurring in the *Mi. xiv, 122 :A.1 = TLTD I* :298.12, *Bka'-gyur*, *Snar-thāñ* ed., *Dkar-čhag* :50a = *TLTD I* :302.3+n. 2, etc., as names of peoples, viz. geographical proper names derived from names

The name of this horn appears in the other sources in the following forms : *G-yo-ru* (*AC I* :9a.5, cf. *TLTD I* :280.5, cf. also *G-yo-ru-stod* and *G-yo-ru-smad*, *AC I* :9b.1, .2, *TLTD I* :280.14, .21 ; *AC II* and *CBH*, see *PR*, pp. 77,

of people. Thomas' and Bacot's above interpretation is presumably due to the fact that the word '*brog*' appears in the *Ann.* only as the possessive attribute of the noun *mhos* or as the subject of the verb form *bskos* (pf. of *sko*), see, besides the above-quoted passage of *Ann. I* :.171, also the reports from the years A. D. 673 and 693 : '*brog-mhos čhen-po bgyis* (*Ann. I* :.57 = *DTH* :15.9) ; *Rcañ Čen-poe 'brog bskos-nas* (*Ann. I* :114 = *DTH* :17.29, *TLTD II* :4.11). The interpretations of the words *mhos* and *sko* as proposed by Thomas and Bacot resulted in relating the word '*brog*' to human beings. In our opinion, however, neither does the word '*brog*' allow, nor do the words *sko* and *mhos* require the word '*brog*' to mean "nomad" or to be considered a name of people.

According to the dictionaries, the suffixed form '*brog-pa*' and the compounds '*brog-mi*' and '*brog-gnas*' alone mean "nomad", while the word '*brog*' itself is used in the sense of "solitude, uncultivated land, esp. summer-pasture" (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 402b ; Das, *Dict.*, p. 934a). This is the meaning the word '*brog*' has in the different Old-Tibetan texts, e.g. *SC 69* :76—83b.177, .181, .182 = *AFL* :68.24, .34. In the above-mentioned passage *Mi. xvii, 008 + 18* it obviously means "pasture". As far as the geographical proper names with '*brog*' are concerned, the meaning "pasture" fits into their interpretation at least as well as "nomad", as indeed Thomas himself, *AFL* :23.29, .32, .25.21, .40, .45, translates the name *Pyi/Pyč-'brog//Brog-pyi/phyi* as "Outer-Wilds" (*Ch. 82, iv* : B.54—55 : *yul Pyi-'brog brgyad-goñ* ; .56 : *yul* (*pyi* crossed out) '*Brog-pyi gtañ-sum* ; .83—84 : *yul 'Brog | -phyi ldañ-gsum* ; .91 : *yul Pyč-'brog ltañ-gsum* ; .95—96 : '*Brog-phyi ldañ | -sum* = *AFL* :12.8, .11, :13.31, :14.9, .14 ; cf. *Gen.* :.21 = *DTH* :80.26—27 : *yul 'Brog-mo snam-gsum*).

The verb *sko* in the Classical language means "to appoint, nominate, commission, charge a person" (Jäschke, *Dict.*, pp. 23b—24a; his Tibetan informants definitely denied the existence of the meaning "to elect, to choose" given by Csoma and Schmidt). This is the sense it usually has in Old-Tibetan texts too (reports from the years A. D. 692, 693, 713 in the *Ann. I* :.110—111, .113, .188 = *DTH* :17.23, .28, .21.7 ; *SC 56* :72.9, .10, .12, etc. = *TLTD II* :23.5, .7, .12, etc. and III, pl. v ; *SC 69* :84.42 = *TLTD II* :9.41—10.1 and III, pl. i, fig. 1 ; *Fr. 80* :.4 = *TLTD II* :47.6—7 ; *Mi. iv*, 38 + 39 :.2 = *TLTD II* :336.12 : *Mi. iv*, 60 :A—B = *TLTD II* :394.12—13 and III, pl. xv, fig. 1 ; *Mi. viii*, 63b :B.2 = *TLTD II* :153.25—26 ; *Mi. viii*, 90 = *TLTD II* :335.20 and III, pl. xviii, fig. 4 ; *Mi. xli*, 0013 :A.2 = *TLTD II* :125.7 and :445.6 ; *ŽvRdor. W* :.59—61 = H. E. Richardson: *JRAS* 1952 :154.9—12). The verb *sko* recurs in several instances of the documents together with the noun *so* translated by Thomas as "soldier" (*MT 0581* :A.2, :B = *TLTD II* :434.9—11 ; *MT a*, *iv*, 00128 :B.6 = *TLTD II* :159.18; *MT a*, *iv*, 00131 :.2 = *TLTD II* :252.20—21). In such cases Thomas, *TLTD II* :160.5, .22—23, :252.28, :434.12, gives the translation "soldiers called up, made the levy of soldiers" (cf. also *TLTD I*, p. 284, II, p. 424). Then the meaning "made the levy" is used by Thomas, *TLTD II* :4.13, and in his wake also by Bacot, *DTH* :37.24—38.1, for the translation of the above-quoted sentence of the *Ann. I* :.114, though the noun *so* does not occur here (see also Bacot, *DTH*, p. 37 n. 7 ; cf. also the alternative translation of *Ann. I* :.110—111 = *DTH* :17.23 suggested by Thomas, *TLTD II* :269.4—10). It was then the translation "after levying" and "ayant levé" of *bskos-nas* that made it necessary to attribute to the subject '*brog*' the meaning "nomad" and not "pasture", though the verb *sko* in the sense "establish, settle, assign" in Old Tibetan was used also to non-persons.

79, 82, 85; *Dam-pa'i chos-kyi byuñ-chul*, see *IT IV* 1, p. 87; *BAInd.*, p. 36a; *Biography of Blo-gsal Rgya-mcho Grags-pa*, see *TPS II*, p. 738b; *Kloñ-rdol bla-ma's* first list of horns according to Das, *Dict.*, p. 1156b and *TPS II*, p.

This can be attested by the sentence *khab-so'i khrald-pa bskos* of the report of A. D. 726 in *Ann. I* :.240 (= *DTH* :23.33—34), translated by Bacot himself, *DTH* :47.24—25, as „f i x a le tribut des fonctionnaires”. Similarly in *SkRdor* :.40—41 (= *TTK* : 106.16—107.1) ~ *SkEd*. (= *TTK* :102.17—18): *bčom-ldan'-das-kyi riñ-lugs rtag-tu bsko-žin* || *bčom-ldan'-das-kyi riñ-lugs byed-pa'i rnams* (*SkEd*, throughout *i*) which is translated by Tucci, *TTK* :53.21—22 as “those who are always e s t a b l i s h e d in the teaching of the Blessed one and practise the teaching of the Blessed one”. More important, however, for our discussion are the two passages of the *Ch. 82, iv* :B in which the verb *sko* is in semantic, though not predicative, relation with the substantive 'brog, namely: *na-ni(=niñ)-gže-niñ-sna* (*AFL* : *sañ*; cf. *Chr.* :.233, .240 = *DTH* :108.3, .14—15) | *gnam-gyi ya-bla dguñ-gi ya-steñs-(sa crossed out)nas rje* (ba crossed out) *yab-bla-bdag* (ba crossed out) *drug* | *mgon-chun-pyvas* | -'is (= *pyva'is*, see *AFL*, p. 12 n. 15) *bskoste* | *rta-yul ni 'brog yin-ba'i rigs g-yag-yul ni* | *byañ* (yu crossed out) *yin-ba'i rigs-na* (.59—61 = *AFL* :12.16—20) “if a s s i g n e d before yesteryear and before the last year but one from the highest Summit of Heaven, the Highest Top of the Middle by the Lords, the six Masters of the Highest Summit, the Protective-Tutelary Gods, the Fates, the country of the horse should be the p a s t u r e s, the country of the yak should be the North, then...”; *rje ya-bla-bdag drug Mgon-chun-pyvas* (*AFL*: *phyvas*) *bskoste* | *rta-yul 'brog yin gyañ* (*AFL*: *kyañ*) *bden g-yag-yul pyañ* (= *byañ*, see *AFL*, p. 12 n. 18) *yi[n] gyañ bden* | -*na* (*Ch. 82, iv* :B.62—64 = *AFL*:12.21—24) “even if it is true that a s s i g n e d by the Lords, the six Masters of the Highest Summit, the Protective-Tutelary Gods, the Fates, the country of the horse is the p a s t u r e s and if it is also true that the country of the yak is the North, then...” (Thomas, *AFL* :24.5, .10, has a similar translation for *bskoste*: “by appointment”, and so has A. Róna-Tas, *A nyolcszirmú lótusz, Tibeti legendák és mesék* [The Eight-Petaled Lotus, Tibetan Legends and Tales], Budapest 1958 :8.14, .19: “végzéséből, végzése úgy rendelkezett: by order of, his order disposed so that”). Consequently, the word 'brog in the *Ann. I* :.114 need not be translated as “nomads”, and the sentence in question can be translated as “the pastures of Great *Rcañ* were assigned”.

The word *mkhos* has so far been known from the *Ann.* only, in which we read about the making of the *mkhos* (*mkhos/mkos bgyis/bgyis*) of *Žañ-žuñ* in the years 662, 675 and 724 A. D., of 'A-ža in 696, 714 and 742, of *Mton-sod* in 730, of the 'brog-sog of the Four Horns in 746 (see below p. 47 and nn. 34—35); as well as the making of the great *mkhos* (*mkos/mkhos čhen-po bgyis*) of *Sum-ru* in 702 (see below p. 50), of *Mdosmad* in 715, of the towns (*khrom*) in 741, and of the soldiers, viz. the Four Horns in 744 (*Ann. I* :.40—41, .63, .123, .140, .194, .200, .233, .257, .285, .290, .298, .303—304 ~ *Ann. II*, 1 :.3, .8 = *DTH* :14.19, :15.18—19, :18.8—9, :19.2, :21.18, .29, :23.19—20, :24.29, :26.6, .14, .27, .38, :55.8, .20; *TLTD* II :5.2, .15—16, :7.9—10, :268.4—5). Thomas, *Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan I. The Ha-za* [sic!] : *JRAS* 1927 :54.13, .19—22, had the idea to relate the phrase *mkhos bgyis* to the verb 'gas and to translate it “defeating”, though mentioned as a possible alternative its connection with the verb *sko*. Later, discarding his earlier suggestion, he thought of connecting this phrase — as another alternative — with the word family *mkho-ba* “necessary”: 'khos “value, importance” (*DTH* :67.21—25; *TLTD* III :21.25—28). Nevertheless, in translating the corresponding passages, *TLTDII* :5.4, .20, :7.11, :268.6 and *DTH* :62.11—12, .26—27,

682 n. 52 ; *MkhyG* :8.7<sup>16</sup> ; Hermanns, *Himmelsstier*, p. 46 : "Yo ru" according to the *A-mdo* pronunciation ; *ČhGr.*, p. 811b) || *G-yu-ru* (*Atiśā'i rnam-thar*, see Das, *Dict.*, p. 911b ; *BAInd.*, p. 35b ; the first list of horns in the *GS Gl.* I : 38b = *ÉTG* :196.31 ; *MkhyG* :11.10) || *G-yor* (*BAInd.*, p. 36a) || *G-yon-ru* (the first and second list of horns of the *Bk.*, see *TPS II*, p. 738b.; *VDL* :53.18—19 : *G-yon-ru-Phra-'brug*, see above, n. 10 ; *Kloñ-rdol bla-ma*'s first list of horns according to *TPS*, p. 738b ; the second list of horns in the *GS Gl.* I : 40a = *ÉTG* :197.39)<sup>17</sup>. We know also of a common noun *g-yon-ru* used later<sup>18</sup> as a military term (*SXXQBB I*, p. 295; Jäschke, *Dict.*, pp. 520a; 531a ; Das, *Dict.*, p. 1185b ; *ČhGr.*, pp. 812a, 834a).

*G-yu-ru* is by no means a wrong form (sic Ferrari, *MkhyG*, p. 77 n. 2) but comes from *G-yo-ru* by regressive vocalic assimilation and is the result of a late but regular phonetic development (cf. *Acta Orient. Hung.* II [1952], pp. 202—203). The same *G-yo-ru* has a secondary form due to shortening of members in compounds *G-yor* (cf. above, p. 36) which, however, seems to have been used later as a separate word derived by means of back-formation (e.g. *BA I* :95.32, II :693. 20, :695.21). The first part of *G-yon-ru* can readily

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he used one alternative only, now with, now without a question mark after his translation "levied, were levied, a levy was made", which naturally necessitated, here too, the interpretation of 'brog as "nomads". Bacot, *DTH*, p. 32 n. 6, relying on the meaning, "levy", suggests a wider interpretation for *mkhos* : "inspection" (cf. also *DTH* :32.9 :33.20, etc.). All these etymologies and interpretations should be considered hypothetical since the above-quoted passages of *Ann.* offer little material basis for determining the meaning of this word. Fortunately not long ago Tucci succeeded in demonstrating this word in the form of *khos* in three passages of the *Dp.*, all of them going back to old traditions, and relying on these passages could state that the word had been used to denote a wide range of administrative activities. Accordingly, he suggests such translations as "institution", "to administrate a country" or "settlement" (*PR*, pp. 76 n. 1, 88, 90 and n. 1, 105—106, cf. also below, n. 35). This gives us a sound basis for relating the noun *mkhos* / *mkos/khos* "administration, settlement" to the verb *sko* "to settle, establish, assign, appoint" and for establishing an etymological connection between these and the verbs 'god' : pf. *bkod* "to design, found, establish, put, fix, rule, govern" and 'khod' "to sit, dwell, to be put, established" (cf. *DTH*, p. 37 n. 7). And as to the initial problem underlying our whole argument, we can state that the word *mkhos* does not involve the necessity of ascribing the meaning of "nomads" to its attribute 'brog.

<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the translation of this passage, *MkhyG* :46.8, is *G-yu-ru*, hence the index contains this form alone (p. 187a).

<sup>17</sup> We have not included in the above enumeration the passages where *G-yon-ru* stands for the name *Ru-lag* and *G-yo-ru/G-yon-ru* for *G-yas-ru* (cf. above, n. 9).

<sup>18</sup> According to Thomas' translation and glossary, *TLLD* II :69.30 and III, p. 180b, the common noun *g-yon-ru* occurs also in one of the Tun-huang documents, *Ch.* 73, xv, 10 :5 (= *TLLD* II :68.5—6 ; cf. also the translation of lines 10 and 51 of the same document : *TLLD* II :69.35, :70.4—5). I cannot agree with Thomas' interpretation, as is to be seen from my forthcoming paper : *Notes on a Tibetan Military Document from Tun-huang* published in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XI (1960).

be accounted for by the word *g-yon-pa* "left" well known from the classical language which, however, yield no similar explanation for *G-yo-ru*. Hence it is obvious that the interpreters start from the form *G-yon-ru*, accounting for the absence of *n* in *G-yo-ru* > *G-yu-ru* by elision (Ferrari, *MkhyG*, p. 77 n. 2) or by corruption (Petech, *MkhyG*, p. 117 n. 160). This, however, does not seem to hold good because the elision of the final *n* is unknown in Tibetan phonetic history, on the one hand, and the hypothesis of corruption is inconsistent with the fact that the forms *G-yo-ru/G-yu-ru/G-yor* occur in great many sources of different epochs, in several isolated passages within the same source. Finally, the data of the *Ann.* leave no doubt about the original name of the horn having been *G-yo-ru*. Some later historiographers and scribes then thought — independently of one another — this form to be incorrect and replaced it by the living common noun *g-yon-ru*.

Beside the word (or stem) *g-yon* "left" (see *TLTD* III, vocabulary, p. 180b) in Old-Tibetan we find also *g-yos* in the same sense : *g-yas-g-yos* "right and left" (*FPT* 1042 :28—29, .31—34, .45, etc. = Lalou : *Journ. As.* 1952, pp. 343—344, etc. and pls.; *Mi. xiv*, 119 :1—2 = *TLTD* II :354.34), *g-yasu...g-yosu* "to the right ... to the left" (in a prosodical parallelism : *SC* 69 :76—83b.258 = *AFL* :73.1—2)<sup>19</sup>. By detaching from the pair *g-yon* : *g-yos* the fossil suffixes *-n* and *-s* (cf. S. N. Wolfenden, *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, London 1929, pp. 58—64 ; A. H. Francke—W. Simon, *Addenda* : Jäschke, *Tibetan Grammar*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin 1929, pp. 120—121) we may derive a form \**g-yo* "left" which gives a perfect explanation for the name *G-yo-ru* in every respect and corroborates the common interpretation of this name "Left Horn"<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas seems to have regarded the form *g-yos* as incorrect because in the *TLTD* III :96.20 and vocabulary, p. 180b as well as in the *AFL*, index, p. 186a he made an emendation by inserting an *-i*, resp. *-n* before the *-s*.

<sup>20</sup> The name *G-yo-ru* seems to have been isolated morphologically at latest by the end of the 8th century and its meaning had thus become obscured. In itself it may seem incidental that the word \**g-yo* "left" does not occur in the sources known so far as a common noun. Yet even the form *g-yos* appears only in a compound with *g-yas* "right" or in parallelism with it : its survival must have been promoted by the character of stem gemination of the compound, and by the prosodically determined form. Even in texts in which the compound *g-yas-g-yos* occurs, the word *g-yon-pa* was used to convey the meaning independently (e.g. *FPT* 1042 :106—107 = *Journ. As.* 1952, p. 346 and pl.). What more, by the end of the 8th or 9th century the compound *g-yas-g-yos* itself can be demonstrated to have become obsolete. In the Khotan manuscript "Tm" representing the original version of the Tibetan *Saddharmaṇḍarīka* the Skr. *dakṣinavāmatas* is still translated by *g-yas-g-yos-na*, but this form was replaced at the beginning of the 9th century at the time of the Great Revision by *g-yas-g-yon-na*, as can be seen from the Tun-huang manuscript "Th" = *FPT* 572 (N. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien* I, Uppsala 1957 :163.3, .13—14 ; the author seems to regard *g-yos* as erroneous, cf. :162.21, and therefore omits to register the relevant change of the revision in the commentaries).

4. The "Right Horn" does not occur in the *Ann.*, though beside the "Central Horn" and the "Left Horn", this horn must also have obviously existed.

As early as the 11th—12th century, in the *Samada* inscription of *Čhos-blos* (:4 = *IT* IV 2 :5.6), then in the *AC* and in all the other late sources its name is written *G-yas-ru* without exception (*AC I* :8b.3, cf. *TLTD I* :278.6, cf. also *G-yas-ru-stod* and *G-yas-ru-smad*, *AC I* :8b. 4—5, .6, *TLTD I* :278.13, .21; *AC II* and *CBH*, see *PR*, pp. 78—79, 82, 85; *TPS II*, pp. 738b and 682 n. 52; *IT* IV 1, p. 87; *BAInd.*, p. 35b; *VDL* : 53.19; the second list of horns in the *GS Gl. I* :40a = *ÉTG* :197.39; *MkhyG*, index, p. 187a; Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 518a; Das, *Dict.*, p. 1152a; Hermanns, *Nomaden*, p. 1 and *Himmelsstier*, p. 46: "Yas-ru") and the same form is used as common noun (*SXXQBB I*, p. 296; Jäschke, *Dict.*, pp. 518a, 531a; Das, *Dict.*, p. 1185b; *ČhGr.*, pp. 808a, 834a; finally *GS Gl. II* :27a = *ÉTG* :234.36 in which *g-yas-ru* seems to denote a region in *Mdo-khams* and may derive from a local system of horns). In addition to this, the form *g-yas-ru* appears in a document from Tun-huang whose initial lines alone are published (Lalou, *Inventaire II*, no. 981) and can therefore not be ascertained whether it refers to the Central Tibetan "Right Horn" or to a Kan-su unit. Hence we have no reason to presume that not the form *G-yas-ru* was used in the 7th to 9th centuries. There is one instance, however that makes us accept this conclusion with reservation only. J. Klaproth and others in his wake (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 518a; E. Hänisch, *Eine chinesische Beschreibung von Tibet vermutlich von Julius Klaproth nach Amiot's Übersetzung bearbeitet*: Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet IX*, Stockholm 1922, pt. iv, p. 42 and n. 2) relate to the name *G-yas-ru* the first member of the colloquial name *Yaru-cañbu* (Klaproth?, see Hänisch, *loc. laud.*), *Yarucañpo* (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 433a) ~ *Ye-ru cáñ-po* (*op. cit.*, p. 518a), *Yeru Cañpo* (Das, *Dict.*, p. 1000b) of the river *Gcañ-po* (or a stretch of it). If this etymology is correct, which is by no means improbable, then beside the name *G-yas-ru* (> colloq. *Yeru-*) and the word *g-yas(-pa)* "right", we must assume the existence of an original \**G-ya'-ru* (> colloq. *Yaru-*) and \**g-ya'* similarly to the pairs \**g-yo* : *g-yos* and *dbu* : *dbus*.

5. The fourth horn, the *Ru-lag*, is mentioned only once in the *Ann.*, in the report on the winter meeting of 709: '*dun-ma 'On-čañ-dor*<sup>21</sup> *'duste | Ru-lagi žugs-loñ dmar-pho brc̄is* (*Ann. I* :172 = *DTH* :20.17—18) "the conference having been assembled in '*On-čañ-do*, the red *žugs-loñ*<sup>22</sup> of *Ru-lag* was accounted".

<sup>21</sup> *DTH* : *tor*.

<sup>22</sup> The term *žugs-loñ* occurs also in the reports from 674 and 691 of the *Ann.*: *žugs-loñ dmar-pho brc̄is-par lo gčig* (*Ann. I* :60 = *DTH* :15.14); *žugs(DTH : zugs)-loñ dmar-poe* (*DTH* : *po*) *rkañ-ton bgȳis-par lo gčhig* (*Ann. I* :109 = *DTH* :17.20—21). Thomas, *TLTD II*, p. 419, relying on the reports of the Chinese sources on the Tibetan

The name of the horn — unless replaced by, or contaminated with, *G-yon-ru* (see above, n. 9) — is in all sources *Ru-lag* (*PR*, pp. 78—79, 83, 85; *TPS* II, p. 738b; *BA* I :160.18—19, :205.21; *VDL* :53.19; second list of horns in the *GS Gl.* I :40a = *ÉTG* :197.40; *MkhyG*, index, p. 187b; Hermanns, *Nomaden*, p. 1) or its spelling variant *Ru-lags* (*GnWP* I :.7 = *TPS* II :762.18), and only the form in the *AC I* has raised certain problems.

The passage in the *AC I*, relating to the first horn, is introduced by *Gcañ-ru-lag*, :8a.5, followed by the list of the four thousand-districts and other data concerning the first half-horn. Then after the introductory *Ru-lag-smad*, :8b.1, the thousand-districts and other data of the second half-horn can be found enumerated. Hence Thomas, *TLTD* I, pp. 281—282 and II, p. 418, has concluded that *Gcañ* is the name of the horn as a whole, *ru-lag* being a common noun, the technical term for the half-horn, and that each horn had consisted of two *ru-lags* (cf. also H. Hoffmann, *QGBR*, p. 245 n. 3 and *Tibets Eintritt in die Universalgeschichte: Saeculum* I [1950], p. 265). The fact, however, remains that in the *AC I* the half-horns of the other three horns are never termed *ru-lag* but are always referred to by individual compound names (the name of the horn + *stod* “upper” or *smad* “lower”). Hence it is obvious that the *AC I* uses a complete form *Gcañ-ru-lag* (see more details below, § 8) and its short form *Ru-lag* (in *Ru-lag-dmag-dpon* “army commander of *Ru-lag*”, *AC I* :8a.6, cf. also *Ru-lag-smad* ‘Lower *Ru-lag*’, *AC I* :8b.1, .2) for the denomination of the whole horn, and the denomination \**Ru-lag-stod* is missing from between the name of the horn and the enumeration of the regiments of the first half-horn. Consequently, the translation “brigade-division” of the name *Ru-lag* suggested by Thomas, *TLTD* I :276.24, :277.6, .13, .18 (cf. also I, p. 282, II, p. 418) cannot be approved of since it is based upon his above considerations. We believe it to be more correct to regard the name *Ru-lag* as denoting a unit of the same order of magnitude as the other three horns, and this brings us to Tucci’s translation “supplementary wing” in *TPS* II, p. 738. Though the sense “supplement” of the noun *lag* cannot be evinced by immediate quotations, this difficulty can easily be surmounted.

Tucci, *PR*, p. 78, applies an essentially identical term “supplementary banner” to the Horn of the *Sum-pa*, a formation situated in fact beyond the borders of Tibet. The full name of this horn, according to the *CBH* (see *PR*,

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fire tidings (cf. S. W. Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources: JRAS* n. s. XII [1880], p. 441) translates this term as “fire-tidings [corps]” (cf. *žugs* “fire” [resp.] and *lon* “notice, tidings, message”). The alternation *-n/n̄* resorted to by Thomas for the explanation of this case and others (cf. *TLTD* II :123.9—10, III :97.35—36) does not, however, seem to be supported by sufficient evidence (cf. also below, note 23). Nor do the Tibetan passages offer any such material proof as would support either Thomas’ translation “fire-tidings [corps]”, or the sense “résidence” suggested by Bacot’s informant, the *dge-bšes Bka'-čhen Don-grub*, *DTH*, index, p. 202.

p. 79), is *Yan-lag-Gsum (= Sum)-pa'i Ru*. There is indeed a connection between the names of the two horns, though *Ru-lag* is not likely to be the compound of *ru* and *yan-lag* because the primary compound is represented in a secondary one, as a rule, by the first member. The second member in this function is used only if the use of the first member were to involve misunderstanding, which can hardly be the case here. Nevertheless, there is an undoubted semantic parallelism, the identity of the attitude revealed in the names *Ru-lag* and *Yan-lag-Gsum-pa'i Ru*. The word *lag* means "hand, arm", but in compounds it also means "a separate small part of something": *mcho-lag* "arm of the sea : gulf, bay"; *gliñ-lag, yul-lag* "tongue of land" (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 541a—b). The original and transferred meanings of the compound *yan-lag* (< : *yan-pa* "free, vacant, unoccupied; separate, apart" + *lag*) have developed in much the same way: "member, limb ; branch of river, branch of a tree, appendage, appendix, supplement, etc." (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 507a). Consequently, the word *lag* in *Ru-lag* and *yan-lag* in *Yan-lag-Gsum-pa'i Ru* seems to indicate that we have to do with formations connected to, though in some respects detached from, the "main body" of the system of horns, i.e. the "Middle Horn", "Left Horn" and "Right Horn". Therefore the name of *Ru-lag* can indeed be translated by "Horn-Supplement", "Supplementary Horn"<sup>23</sup>.

**6.** The conclusion that can be drawn from the names of the horns, namely that *Ru-lag* had originally been a unit independent of the other three horns is supported by historical data of the *Ann.* inasmuch as only "Three Horns" are mentioned in earlier times. Thus in A. D. 712 *dgun-dun Skyi-Dra-cal-du'bon Da-rgyal-dañ | blon čhen-pho Khri-gzigs-gyis bsdusñe | Ru Gsum-gyi khram dmar-pho brcis* (*Ann. I* :185—186 = *DTH* :21.2—4) "the winter conference having been assembled by the Nephew, the *Da-rgyal* and the Great Councillor *Khri-gzigs* in *Dra-cal* of *Skyi*, the red tally of the Three Horns was drawn up". In the winter of A. D. 718 *Ru Gsum-gyi rje-žiñ-glññs-gyí pyiñ-ríldāñ*<sup>24</sup> | sog-

<sup>23</sup> F. W. Thomas himself thought of some kind of relation between *Ru-lag* and the word *yan-lag*. The horn name *Yan-lag-Gsum-pa'i Ru* must have been unknown to him, but he came across the form *ru-yañ-lag* in two Mirān documents (*Mi. xxvi, 1* :A.2 = *TLTD II* :435.20 : *ru-yañ-lag-pa'*; *Mi. xxx, 8* :4 = *TLTD II* :146.26 : *ru-yañ-lag-smad*). He then identified *yan-lag* with the word *yan-lag* and the full phrase *ru-yañ-lag* with *Ru-lag* (*TLTD II*, p. 435; III, vocabulary, pp. 178a, 182b). Relying on these identifications of words he rendered *ru-yañ-lag* in the translation of the documents, *TLTD II* :147.23 and :435.24, as "brigade-division", and in the vocabulary, III, p. 182a, as "horn (brigade)-annex". I do not deny the possibility of the etymological identifications suggested by him, yet I feel they involve considerable difficulties. On the one hand, the alternation *-n/i* is not supported by sufficient evidence (cf. above, n. 22), while, on the other, the text of the document *Mi. xxvi, 1* is absolutely fragmentary and the context itself in the less fragmentary *Mi. xxx, 8* does not fully justify the assumed meaning of *ru-yañ-lag* either.

<sup>24</sup> Compendiously for *ríld-dañ*; *DTH* : *ríl dañ*.

*rīld bgyīs* (*Ann. I* :.207—208 = *DTH* :22.4—5) “the *phyiñ-rīld* and the *sog-rīld* of the royal fields (cf. Bogoslovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 326—329) of the Three Horns was made”. Finally in A. D. 719 *dbyar-dun Dra'*<sup>24a</sup> *Zar-phur žañ Bcan-to-re-dañ | blon Khri-sum-rjes bsduste | Ru Gsum-gyi rje-žiñ-gyi phyiñ-rīl-gyi rcis-dañ | sog-ma'i rcis-dañ | Ru-yoñ Phyi-gseñ gum-ste | bruñ-pa Señ-go Mon-bu bchug-pa'i rcis bgyīs* (*Ann. I* :.209—211 = *DTH* :22.7—11) ‘the summer conference having been assembled by the Uncle *Bcan-to-re* and the Councillor *Khri-sum-rje* in *Zar-phu* of *Dra*, the account of the *phyiñ-rīld* and the account of the straw (or grain) of the royal fields of the Three Horns as well as an account (or writing) was made concerning the appointment of the *bruñ-pa Señ-go Mon-bu* after the death of *Ru-yoñ*<sup>25</sup> *Phyi-gseñ*<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>24a</sup> *DTH* : 'dra'i.

<sup>25</sup> *DTH*, p. 45 n. 1 : “*Ru-yoñ* es peut-être un des trois ru” (what Bacot has in mind is probably a clan-name derived from a geographical name). My arguments in the present paper are, I believe, sufficient to prove that *Dbu-ru*, *G-yo-ru* and *G-yas-ru* alone could have been the Three Horns.

The clan-name *Ru-yoñ* is known from other sources as well : two queens have come from this clan (cf. *AHE*, pp. 50—51). *Ru-yoñ-za Stoñ-rgyal Mcho-ma/Ru-yoñ-bza' Stoñ-rgyal Na-mo-cho* was the wife of king *Khri Thog-brean/Khri Rje-thog-bean* and mother of the legendary king *Lha Tho-do Sña-brean/Lha Tho-tho-ri Gñan-bcan* (*Gen.* :.55 = *DTH* :82.14—15 ; *VDL* :22.11—14). Another *Ru-yoñ-bza'* — whose individual name is not known — was, according to traditions, one of the wives of *Khri Stoñ-brean Sgam-po* (*VDL* :61.1, cf. Tucci, *The Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition : India Antiqua*, Leyden 1947, p. 317 and *TTK*, p. 59).

<sup>26</sup> In my opinion, the last part of the sentence relates to the reports on the accounts inasmuch only as both the accounts and the appointment took place in connection with the assembly (Bogoslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 328, is obviously of the same opinion because when quoting this passage he marks with dots this part of the sentence). On the other hand, Bacot in his translation, *DTH* :45.5—8, tries to find a closer connection between the reports in question : “On fit le compte des champs et des céréales des domaines seigneuriaux des Trois Bannières. *Ru-yoñ phyi-gseñ* étant mort, ce fut *Señ-go mon-bu*, nommé *bruñ-pa* à sa place, qui fit le compte”. He comments, p. 45 n. 2 : “Il faut vraisemblablement bchug-pas et non bchug [sic!] -pa'i”.

Considering the sentence in itself, Bacot's interpretation would be indeed possible, provided the genitive and the instrumental had become syncretic in the colloquial language as early as the time of the *Ann.* Yet in the *Ann. I* we can find several sentences of similar construction not preceded by any report on other accounts : winter A. D. 723 : *khud-pa čhen* (*DTH* : čhen-i)-*pho blon Khri-sum-rjes | žañ Khri-mñes Smon-zui-la phulba'i reis bgyīs* (*Ann. I* :.229 = *DTH* :23.11—12) “Le grand trésorier ministre *Khri-sum-rje* fit un état de ce qu'avait reçu le žañ *Khri-mñes smon-zuñ*” (*DTH* :46.28—47.1) ; in my translation : “an account (or writing) was made concerning the delivery of (the post of) the *khud-pa čhen-po* by the Councillor *Khri-sum-rje* to the Uncle *Khri-mñes Smon-zuñ*”. Cf. winter A. D. 713 : *Gnubs Khri-mñen Mon-can gum-nas | khud-pa čhen-phoe 'bañs Khri-sum-rje Rcañ-bzer-la phul-bar lo čhig* (*Ann. I* :.190—191 = *DTH* :21.11—13) “after the death of *Gnubs Khri-mñen Mon-can*, the subjects (or the storehouse?) of the *khud-pa čhen-po* was delivered to *Khri-sum-rje Rcañ-bzer*, so one year”. — Winter A. D. 730 : *Koñ-čoe blon Čhog-ro Žin-koñ phyuñ-ste | Lañ-gro Khon-rcan bčug-pai*

Later, however, the *Ann.* mention only "Four Horns": winter A. D. 733 *blon chen-po Čuñ-bzañ<sup>27</sup>-gyis | Lhas-gañ-chal-du bsdusṭe | Ru Bži rabs-čhad brcis* (*Ann. I* :265—266 = *DTH* :25.7—8) "(the conference) having been assembled by the Great Councillor Čuñ-bzañ in *Lhas-gañ-chal* a census of the extinct families of the Four Horns was made". In A. D. 744 *dgun-dun Skyř-Šo-ma-rar | blon-če Čuñ-bzañ-dāñ | 'Bal Ldoñ-cab gñis-gyis bsdusṭe | Ru Bži mkhos bgyis-par lo čhig* (*Ann. II*, 1 :3 = *DTH* :55.6—8) "the winter conference having been assembled by the Great Councillor Čuñ-bzañ and 'Bal Ldoñ-cab,

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*rečis bgyis* (*Ann. I* :256—257 = *DTH* :24.27—28) "La princesse impériale renvoya le ministre Zin[sic!]-kon de Čhog-ro comptant le remplacer par Lañ-gro khoñ-rean" (*DTH* :48.30—49.2); in my translation: "an account (or writing) was made concerning the appointment of *Lañ-gro Khoñ-rean* after the dismissal of Čhog-ro Žin-kon, Councillor of the Princess Imperial". — Winter A. D. 731: *Rcañ-chen-gyř bruñ-pa | Ža-sia Thaři-rean byuñ-nas | Señ-go Mon-bu bčug-pař reis bgyis-par* (*DTH*: bar) *lo gčhig* (*DTH*: chig) (*Ann. I* :259—260 = *DTH* :24.33—34) "Il renvoya Ža-sia thaři-rean, bruñ-pa du Rean[sic!]-čhen, et les sorts désignèrent Señ-go mon-bu pour être mis à sa place. Une année" (*DTH* :49.8—10); in my translation: "an account (or writing) was made concerning the appointment of *Señ-go Mon-bu* after the dismissal of Ža-sia *Thaři-rean*, bruñ-pa of Great *Rcañ*". — A. D. 742: *Zlor Šud-pu Khoři-zuři-dāři | Lañ-gro Khoñ-rean* (*DTH*: *rcran*) *gñš | 'byuñ-čugř reis bgyiste* (*Ann. I* :289 = *DTH* :26.12—13) "Zlor-šud-pu khoñ-zuři et Lañ-gro khoñ-rean ayant compté les sorties et entrées" (*DTH* :51.18—20); in my translation: "in Zlo, an account (or writing) was made concerning the dismissal and appointment of Šud-pu *Khoři-zuři* and Lañ-gro *Khoñ-rean*". — Winter A. D. 745: *bruñ-pa žaři Tre-goř phyuñ-ste | Čog-ro Rma-goř bčug-pa-dāři | Señ-go 'Phan-la-skyes phyuñ-sle | Myaň 'Dus-khoň bčug-pař reis bgyiste* (*Ann. I* :300—301 = *DTH* :26.31—33) "Ayant renvoyé le bruñ-pa et žaři Tre-goř, il nomma à sa place Rma-goř de Čog-ro. Il renvoya Señ-go 'phan-la-skyes calculant de nommer à sa place Myaň-'dus-khoň" (*DTH* :52.14—16); in my translation: "an account (or writing) was made concerning the appointment of Čog-ro *Rma-goř* after the dismissal of the *bruñ-pa* Uncle *Tre-goř* and concerning the appointment of *Myaň 'Dus-khoň* after the dismissal of (the *bruñ-pa*) *Señ-go 'Phan-la-skyes*".

In connection with the meaning of the word *reis* as here given, we refer in the first place to Róna-Tas: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VI, p. 169 n. 37, according to whom the word *reis* "counting, numbering, numeration, etc." in Old Tibetan also meant "to write by incising lines". Hence the passages in question may equally relate to the accounts, inventory taken when entering office, or to the document of appointment. It is worthy of attention that the drafting of the *reis* is mentioned in the *Ann.* only in connection with appointments to certain posts (Councillor of the Queen, *khud-pa čhen-pho*, *bruñ-pa*), probably because the task of these dignitaries was partially or wholly the management of property. As to the functions of these offices the sources are rather reticent, which alone makes uncertain the interpretations, suggested on etymological grounds, of dignitary names (for *khud-pa čhen-po* "Great Treasurer [?]", see *TLTD* II :105.36, *DTH*, p. 43 n. 4; for *bruñ-pa* "secretary [?]", see F. W. Thomas, *Law of Theft in Chinese Kan-su, a IXth—Xth Century Fragment from Tun-huang*: Z. Vergl. Rechtsw. L [1935—1936], p. 286 n. 35, cf. also Bacot, *DTH*, p. 35 n. 6).

<sup>27</sup> *DTH* : bžañ.

these two, in *Šo-ma-ra* of *Skyi*, the administration of the Four Horns was made". Lastly in A. D. 746 *blon čen-po Čuñ-bzañ-dāñ blon Skyes-bzañ Ldon<sup>28</sup>-cab gñls-gyis | dgun'-dun Skyi-Byar-liñs-cal-du bsdueste<sup>29</sup> (= bsdus-te) | Ru Bži'i 'brog-sog-gi mkhos bgyis* (*Ann. I* :.302—304 = *DTH* :26.36—38) "the winter conference having been assembled by the Great Councillor *Čuñ-bzañ* and the Councillor *Skyzes-bzañ Ldon-cab*, these two, in *Byar-liñs-cal* of *Skyi*, the administration of the pastures and fallow lands of the Four Horns was made" ~ *mdun<sup>30</sup>-ma Skyi-Bya-rlin-caldu<sup>31</sup> blon-če Čuñ-bzañ<sup>32</sup>-dāñ | 'Bal Ldon-cab-dāñ Lañ Myes-zigs gsum-gyis bsduste | Ru Bži 'brog-sogi<sup>33</sup> mkhos bgyis* (*Ann. II*, 1 :.7—8 = *DTH* :55.18—20) "the conference being assembled by the Great Councillor *Čuñ-bzañ* and '*Bal Ldon-cab* and *Lañ Myes-zigs*, these three, in *Bya-rlin-cal* of *Skyi*, the administration of the pastures and fallow lands<sup>34</sup> of

<sup>28</sup> *DTH* : *ldon*.

<sup>29</sup> *DTH* : *bsduste*.

<sup>30</sup> *DTH* : *'dun*.

<sup>31</sup> *DTH* : *cal [du]* but *du* is clearly visible on the microfilm and there is no doubt about the conjunct writing of the two syllables.

<sup>32</sup> *DTH* : *bzan*.

<sup>33</sup> *DTH* : *sog*.

<sup>34</sup> The term '*brog-sog* (for other occurrences see below, n. 35) was translated by Bacot, *DTH* :52.21—22 and .28, as "(les) pasteurs mongols" and "les nomades mongols". Thomas, *DTH* :62.26 and :63.5—6, avoiding the anachronistic "Mongol", gives "the Nomad Sog", having in mind a hitherto unidentified nomadic people of Central Asia; see *DTH* :68.34—38.

In this connection let me quote A. H. Francke's opinion, *Notes on Sir Aurel Stein's Collection of Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkestan : JRAS* 1914, p. 45, according to which in the Old Tibetan documents "*Sog-po* would refer to Mongolia". Bacot relates to the above also the *Sog-dag* of the *Ann. I* :116 = *DTH* :17.33, considering it a plural and translating by "les Mongols" (*DTH* :38.5), but he himself suggests, *DTH*, p. 38 n. 2, that "sog ne peut désigner ici qu'une des peuplades qui formeront plus tard l'ensemble mongol". Yet *Sog-dag* (~ Skt. *Sogdaka* < Sgd. *swydyk*) is the name the Sogdians and has, been known as such for long from the *Li-yul-čhos-gyi lo-rgyus* : *FPT* 960 (= *FPT* pr. 254); see *TLTD* I :319.8, :320.1—2, .5 etc., III, p. 20 and esp. I, p. 319 n. 4 (for other occurrences and variants of this people name in different languages see V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, Helsingfors 1896 : *MSFOU*. V, p. 154 n. 38 and index, pp. 200b, 208a; F. C. Andreas, *Zwei soghdische Exkurse zu Vilhelm Thomsens : Ein Blatt in türkischer Runenschrift* : *SPA*W 1910, pp. 308—309; R. Gauthiot : *Journ. As.* 1910 I, pp. 541—542; R. Gauthiot, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne* I, Paris 1914—1923, pp. i, v—vi; F. W. K. Müller, *Tozri und Kuišan (Küsän)* : *SPA*W 1918, p. 576 and n. 2; P. Pelliot, *Tokharien et koutchéen* : *Journ. As.* 1934 I, pp. 34—36; L. Ligeti, *Tibeti források Közép-Ázsia történetéhez* [Tibetan Sources to the History of Central Asia] : *KCsA* I. Erg.-Bd. [1935—1939], pp. 91—92; T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge 1937, index, p. 131; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*<sup>2</sup>, New Haven, Conn. 1953 : *Amer. Or. Ser.* XXXIII, p. 209b; I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, Oxford 1954 : *Publ. of the Philol. Soc.* XVI, index, pp. 283a, 284a).

Both Francke, Thomas and Bacot failed to take into account P. Pelliot's finding that the name *Sog-po* is given in the bilingual *FPT* pr. 2762 as the equivalent of the Chinese *Hu* denoting at that time the Iranian — hence agricultural — population of the Tarim Basin (*Les noms tibétains des T'ou-yu-houen et des Ouigours : Journ. As.* 1912 II, p. 522 and n. 3 ; cf. also *CL*, p. 296 n.). And even if the name *Sog-po* (and *Hu*) had been transferred to denote the — then nomadic — Turks of the Tarim Basin (Pelliot, *loc. laud.*), we have no reason to assume that this name has ever been applied to the herdsmen of the Four Horns, i.e. of Central Tibet.

The key to the compound '*brog-sog*' may be found in the *ŽRdor.* :N.51—52 (= *AHE* :28.15—16) and the *ŽvRdor.* W :42—44 (= Richardson : *JRAS* 1952 :153.8—10) in which the king ensures the privileged that the *bran-žiñ-'brog-sog-chal* owned by their descendants on the male line and other properties will not be confiscated and given to other persons. Richardson, *AHE* :30.35—36, translates this compound as "the servants, fields, high pastures, grassland" (omitting "forest"!) giving his reasons as follows : "'*sog*' means 'hay or straw'. Here there is a distinction between '*hbrog*' 'upland grazing grounds' and '*sog*' 'land on which grass is grown for cutting as fodder'" (*AHE*, p. 34 n. 22). It is, however, impossible to demonstrate the existence of any derivative or compound meaning "grass land, meadow" formed with the radical *sog*. Nor is it very probable that regular mowing and foraging should have been carried on in 8th century Tibet. It was presumably these difficulties that induced Richardson a year later to translate the compound in question as "the bondsmen, fields, pastures, grass, forest" (*JRAS* 1953 :3.17—18). This translation was also adopted by Bogoslovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 330, attributing, however, to the word *sog-ma* the sense "зерно: grain" attested also in Old Tibetan, instead of the meaning "hay, grass" which is indeed rare and seems to be a secondary one. The new interpretation advanced by Richardson and Bogoslovskij, unfortunately, disregards the correct recognition inherent in Richardson's original translation, namely that both before and after the stem *sog* only immovables are listed and consequently the stem *sog* needs must denote a concept of this kind. And we know of only one word like this and even that from a late source : *SXXQBB* II, p. 2908 : *žii-sog*. This word may be defined as "fallow, waste land" partly on account of its second member, *sog/gsog//sob/gsob* "null, void, vain, empty" (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 580a), partly, and in the first place, on account of its equivalents in the *SXXQBB* : Manchu *buysa* "прогалины, проталины, лужи по местам ; орех — овсев на пажне, не засеянное, не запаханное место : glade, thawed patch, pools here and there ; neglected plot of land or crops in the field, fallow, untilled spot, etc." (И. З а х а р о в, Полный маньчжурско-русско словарь, СПбг. 1875, p. 524a) ~ Mong. *čolid* "mare, une place sans glace sur une rivière" (Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français*, Kasan 1844—1849, p. 2204b) ~ Turki *aćıq yer* "open field" ~ Chin. *wei ko ching ti* "not distributed virgin soil". The fact that the primary compound *žii-sog* is represented by the second member *sog* in the secondary compound involves no difficulties here because if the first member *žiñ* were to be used as the abbreviated form of *žiñ-sog* "fallow, waste land", it would inevitably lead to misunderstanding. This becomes obvious if we confront the above compound '*brog-sog*' "pastures and fallow lands" and the compound *žiñ-'brog* "fields and pastures" appearing in the *MchRdor.* :.19 (= *TTK* : 88.5) and in the *RkRdor.* :.18 (= Richardson, *A Ninth Century Inscription from Rkoñ-po : JRAS* 1954, pl.; cf. also *žiñ-'brog-čhe* "vastes pâturages", correctly "large fields and pastures" in *FPT* 1283 [= pr. 246] :.67—68 = J. Bacot, *Reconnaissance en Haute Asie Septentrionale par cinq envoyés ouigours au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : Journ. As.* 1956 :143.6).

the Four Horns was made”<sup>35</sup>. It should also be remembered that the phrase *Ru Bži* “Four Horn”, combined with *Dbus-Gcañ* “the provinces Dbus and Gcañ: Central Tibet, Tibet proper” or with *Bod(-yul)* “Tibet”, but also without them as the equivalent of these names, frequently recurs in the later literature (*GnWP I* :6 = *TPS II* :762.17; *BA I* :160.19, :162.29, :165.21—22; *GT*, p. 3; *GS Gl.* I :38b, :40a, II :26b = *ÉTG* :196.31—32, .38—39, :197.39, :234.23; Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 531a; Hermanns, *Nomaden*, p. 1 and *Himmelsstier*, p. 46).

7. Hence, according to the above, *Ru-lag* became part of Tibet proper as late as A. D. 719—733, and this was how the Three Horns became Four Horns<sup>36</sup>. But is this statement not inconsistent with the 759 report of the *Ann. II*, I :35 (= *DTH* :57.32) which, according to Thomas’ translation, *DTH* :64.32, again speaks of the “Three Horns”?

In the passage in question of the *Ann. II*, I we find *Sum-ru* and not *Ru Gsum*, and the form recurs also in the *Ann. I* :140 (= *DTH* :19.2) where Bacot translates it, *DTH* :40.6, as “(les) bannières de Sum-pa” and, to support this interpretation, he refers to the morphological difference between the forms *ru-sum* [sic!] and *sum-ru* (p. 40 n. 3). Though the morphological difference could easily be explained, the historical data fully corroborate Bacot’s view.

It can readily be seen from the above-quoted passages of the *Ann.* that *Dbu-ru-šod* was the place where assemblies of Tibet proper were held and that *G-yo-ru*, *Ru-lag*, *Ru Gsum* and *Ru Bži* are always mentioned after such assemblies, in connection with their dispositions. The only exception is the winter of A. D. 718 when there is no report on the winter assembly of Tibet proper, but even here the dispositions concerning the Three Horns precede the report on the winter meeting of *Mdo-smad*. On the other hand, *Sum-ru*

<sup>35</sup> The subsequent report, summer A. D. 747, reads as follows: ’*brog-sogi* (*DTH* : *sog*) *rcis-gyi* (*DTH* : *kyl*) *mj(u)g bčade* (*Ann. II*, I :11 = *DTH* :56.3—4; for the emendation see Thomas, *DTH* :69.9) “the account of the pastures and fallow lands was finished” ~ ’*brog-sog* *gčod-pa’i riñ-lugs so-sor bkye* (*Ann. I* :306 = *DTH* :27.4—5) “an order concerning the end of (the account of) the pastures and fallow lands was proclaimed” (cf. *Ann. I* :239—240 = *DTH* :23.31—32: *mian-mched brgyad-las bžir bčos-pa’i zlugs-gy় riñ-lugs bkye* “an order publishing the reduction of the eight elder *mian* to four was proclaimed”). This report mentions obviously the conclusion of the operation recorded in the report on the winter of the previous year quoted above. It also follows that the *mkhos* “administration” of the pastures and fallow lands involved their account (*rcis*).

<sup>36</sup> Concerning the date of incorporation of the *Ru-lag* we have to rely on the latest reference to the Three Horns in 719 and the earliest mention of the Four Horns in 733. I would suggest hypothetically the year 733 for the date of incorporation which, I think, is reflected in the fact that the census for the extinct families was ordered to cover the Four Horns. Should this not have been the case, the *Ann.* would presumably have mentioned this event.

is mentioned in both instances after the conference of *Mdo-smad* in connection with the measures taken there : in A. D. 702 *Mdo-smad-gyī dgun-'dun Nam-lدون-prom-du Khu Mañ-po-rje Lha-zuň-daň | blon Mañ-r-can Ldoň-žis bsdusťe | Sum-ru'i mkos čhen-po bgyis* (*Ann. I* :139—140 = *DTH* :18.38—39.2) “the winter conference of *Mdo-smad* having been assembled by *Khu Mañ-po-rje Lha-zuň* and the Councillor *Mañ-r-can Ldoň-ži* in *Nam-lدون-prom*, the great administration of *Sum-ru* was made”. In A. D. 759 *Mdo-smad-gyī dbyar-'dun blon Khri-sgra-daň blon Mdo-bžer-gyis Dbu-ler bsdus-te Sum-ru pal-po-čhe yig-gcaň scal* (*Ann. II*, 1 :34—35 = *DTH* :57.30—32) “the summer conference of *Mdo-smad* having been assembled by the Councillor *Khri-sgra* and the Councillor *Mdo-bžer* in *Dbu-le*, diplomas have been bestowed upon many (men belonging to) *Sum-ru*”<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas, *DTH* :64.32—33 : “the Three Horns in general sent written accounts”. Yet the respectful verb O. T. *scal* : pf. *scald/scal* ~ Cl. T. *scol* : pf. *scol* is used “when the person that gives is respectfully spoken to” (Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 441b). In addition to this, Tucci, *PR*, p. 84 n. 3 and pp. 88—89, has recently shown on the basis of one of the catalogues preserved in the *Dp.*, dating from the royal epoch (as earlier suggested as a hypothesis by Demiéville, *CL*, p. 285 n.) that the word *yig-gcaň/caň* (occurrences listed in *TLTD III*, vocabulary, p. 179a) in the 7th—9th century denoted the “coloured letters”, i.e. turquoise, golden, silver-gilt, silver, brass and copper diplomas and/or insignia of ranks, granted together with the different civil and military grades and mentioned in other sources as *yi/ge* “letter, note, card, bill, document ; epistle”; cf. *CL*, p. 284 n. 2 ; A. Róna-Tas, *Social Terms in the List of Grants of the Tibetan Tun-huang Chronicle : Acta Orient. Hung.* V (1955), p. 265 n. 40 ; Lalou : *Journ. As.* 1955, pp. 171—212 *passim* and esp. p. 210 s. v. *yi/ge*.

In the above-quoted sentence of the *Ann. II*, 1 the double nominative preceding the predicate *scal* may seem problematical. This construction is, however, justified by the subsequent sentence in the report of the *Ann. I* :129 (= *DTH* :18.20—22) from the winter of A. D. 699 : *dgun bean-pho Dold-gyī Mar-ma-na bžugs-štiň | glo-ba ňe-ba yig-gcaň-dan bya-sga scald*. Bacot presumes this sentence to be related in content to the preceding one telling of the homage rendered to the king by the Chinese envoy *Je'u žan-šo* (= Chin. *shang shu*, Pelliot, *DTH*, p. 39, n. 4), therefore he translates the sentence in question as follows : “En hiver, le roi étant à Mar-ma de Dold, donna (à l’envoyé chinois) un écrit d’alliance et des présents” (*DTH* :39.8—9). It must, however, be remembered that some six months elapsed between the audience of the envoy and the events narrated in the sentence in question, and in the meantime the king also changed his residence. Nor can the meaning of the word *yig-gcaň*, as established by Tucci, be made consistent with Bacot’s translation. That is why we believe the following translation to be correct : “In the winter the King being resided in *Mar-ma* of *Dold*, diplomas and grants were bestowed upon loyal (persons)”. Similarly, a double nominative occurs also in the report from the winter A. D. 727 in the *Ann. I* :245 (= *DTH* :24.5—6 and *TLTD II* :6.16—17) : *'A-ža phal-pho(TLTD:po)-čhe bya-sga scald*. In Thomas’ translation, *TLTD II* :6.23—24, this sentence reads as follows : “The Ha-ža for the most part sent presents”, an this is also Bacot’s translation, *DTH* :48.5—6 : “Le peuple 'aza [sic!] lui [viz. to the king] donna des présents”. Yet on the ground of what has been said above, it can hardly be doubted that the correct translation of this sentence is : “grants were bestowed upon many 'A-žas”.

Let us supplement the data of the *Ann.* by referring to the fact that a fifth horn<sup>38</sup> — to the north-east of Tibet proper — is mentioned in the *AC II* and the *CBH* under the name of *Sum-pa'i ru ~ Yan-lag-Gsum* (= *Sum-pa'i Ru*) (*PR*, pp. 78—79, 84, cf. also pp. 76, 83, 105). And this name differs from the *Sum-ru* of the *Ann.* in being a phrase unlike the later which is a compound. Consequently, the *Sum-ru* mentioned in the *Ann.* does not refer to the Three Horns of Tibet proper but denotes the horn composed of the *Sum-pa*<sup>39</sup> tribes and belonging to the territory of *Mdo-smad*.

8. As we have seen, in the winter of A. D. 718 “the *phyiñ-rild* and the *sog-rild* of the royal fields of the Three Horns was made”, and at the summer conference of A. D. 719 “the account of the *phyiñ-rild* and the account of the straw (or grain) of the royal fields of the Three Horns ... was made” according to the *Ann. I*. The report of this same year goes on as follows : *dgun-dun*<sup>40</sup> *Chāñ-bāñ-snār žāñ Bcan-to-re-dāñ | blon Khri-sum-rjēs bsdus* ... | ... | *Rhēgs Žamañ-žam* (= *Mañ-žam*<sup>41</sup>) *Stag-cab-gyis | Rcañ*<sup>42</sup>-*čhen-gyi rje-*

<sup>38</sup> A reminiscence of the five horns may have been preserved in the *GS Gl. III* : 82b = *ÉTG* :329.45—46 where *Ge-sar* explains the second syllable *ru* of his name *Jo-ru* as follows : *ru-ba byams-pa'i gñen-la ru || ru-šog lñia-yi dpon-po yin* “Comme *ru*, je *ru* les parents et amis ; je suis le chef des cinq ailes (divisions, *ru*, *cog-lñia*)” (*ÉTG* :124.22—23).

<sup>39</sup> For this people and their name Tib. *Sum/Gsum-pa* > Chin. *Sun-po* ~ Khotanese *Supiya*, Niya Prakrit *Supiye*, Chin. *Su-p' i* > Tib. *So-byi*, see S. W. Bushell, *op. cit.* p. 473 and pp. 531—532 n. 42 ; P. Pelliot, *Note sur les T'ou-yu-houen et les Sou-p'i II*, *Les Sou-p'i : T'oung Pao* XX (1921), pp. 330—331 ; *TLTD* I, pp. 9—10, 42, 78 n. 8, 156—159, etc.; F. W. Thomas, *Some Notes on the Kharoṣṭī Documents from Chinese Turkestan : Acta Orient.* XII (Leyden 1934), pp. 54—58 ; E. Leumann—M. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, Leipzig 1933—1936 : *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XX, p. 208 and *Glossarium*, p. 513 ; L. Ligeti, *op. cit.*, p. 91 ; T. Burrow, *op. cit.*, index, p. 131 ; *DTH*, index, p. 188a ; *Nam*, pp. 17—19, 152 ; *CL*, p. 38 n. 3 and index, p. 393a ; H. W. Bailey, *Hārahñā : Asiatica, Festschrift Weller*, Leipzig 1954, p. 19 ; B. C. В о р о б ъ е в - Д е с я т о в с к и й, Новые листы сакской рукописи “Е” : Кратк. Сообщ. Инст. Вост. XVI (1955), p. 68 н. 2 ; *AFL*, pp. 4—6, 103—106 ; *PR*, p. 76 н. 1 and p. 91 ; R.-A. Stein : *Journ. As.* 1956, p. 464.

<sup>40</sup> *DTH* : 'duñ.

<sup>41</sup> Emendation based on that of Bacot, *DTH*, p. 45 n. 3. Yet in my opinion, *ža* preceding the syllable *mañ* is a simple misspelling by the copyist under the effect of the syllable *žam* following *mañ*, which is by no means uncommon in the Tun-huang manuscripts. At variance with this, Bacot has the dignitary name *žai* in mind, the correctness of which in my opinion is highly improbable in this context. In the *Ann. I*, on the one hand, the clan name is never attached — unlike in other sources — to the title *žai*. On the other hand, the person in question is never mentioned with the title *žai* either in the *Ann. I* or in the *Chr.* : *Ann. I* :236—237 = *DTH* :23.27—28 : *Rhēgs Mañ-žam Stag-cab* (appointed Great Councillor in the spring [following] A. D. 725) ; *Ann. I* :238, .240, .243 = *DTH* :23.30, .32—33, :24.2—3 : *blon čhen-pho/po Mañ-žam* (in A. D. 726 he convenes the summer, then the spring conference, dies in the summer

*žin<sup>43</sup>-gyi pyiñ-ril btab* (*Ann. I* :.211—213 = *DTH* :22.11—14) “the winter conference having been assembled by the Uncle *Bcan-to-re* and the Councillor *Khri-sum-rje* in *Chañ-bañ-sna*, . . . the *pyiñ-ril* of the royal fields of Great *Rcañ* was established by *Rnëgs Mañ-žam Stag-cab*”. Then in A. D. 720 *dbyar-dun Duñs-gyi Mkha'-bur žan Bcan-to-re-dañ | blon Khri-sum-rjes bsdušte | Rcañ-chen-gyi<sup>44</sup> rje-žin-gliñs-gyi pyiñ-rild-gyi rcis bgyis* (*Ann. I* :.214—215 = *DTH* :22.18—20) “the summer conference having been assembled by the Uncle *Bcan-to-re* and the Councillor *Khri-sum-rje* in *Mkha'-bu* of *Duñs*, the account of the *pyiñ-rild* of the royal fields of Great *Rcañ* was made”. The chronology of the dispositions seems to indicate that the measures concerning the fields had first been taken and carried out in relation to the Three Horns, and only later were similar measures taken and carried out (cf. *DTH*, p. 45 n. 6) as regards the Great *Rcañ*.

A similar sequence of events can be detected in the report from A. D. 686—687 preserved in the *Ann. I*. In 686 *dgun Bra-ma-thañ-du 'dušte | Šañs man-čhad-du žin-gyi phyiñ-rild btab-phar lo gčig* (*Ann. I* :.94—95 = *DTH* :16.32—33) “in the winter (the conference) having been assembled in *Bra-ma-thañ*, the *phyiñ-rild* of the fields was established as far as *Šañs*<sup>45</sup>, so one year”, and in 687 *dgun Rcañ-čhen-gyi phyiñ<sup>46</sup>-rild btab* (*Ann. I* :.96—97 = *DTH* :16.35—36) “in the winter the *phyiñ-rild* of Great *Rcañ* was established”.

*Šañs* is the valley of the lower reach of the *Šañs-čhu* (Shangchu) which discharges into the *Gcañ-po* from the north some twenty kilometres below *Gžis-ka-rce* (Shigatse) (*MkhyG*, p. 159 n. 600 and index, p. 188a; *GT*, p. 18). According to the *AC*, *Šañs* was a small thousand-district and *Šañs-sten* “High *Šañs*” (*AC I*) ~ *Šañs-čhen* “Great *Šañs*” (*AC II*) was a thousand-district in *G-yas-ru* (*AC I* :8b.4 = *TLTD I*, p. 278 and n. 3; *TPS II*, p. 738a; *AC II* = *PR*, p. 82). According to the *CBH* even the centre of *G-yas-ru* was on

of 727); *Chr.* :.110 = *DTH* :102.10: *Rnëgs Mañ-žam Stag-cab*. (*Mañ-žam Stag-cab* figuring in the *Ann. I* :.81 = *DTH* :16.10—12, as the one who assembled the winter conference in A. D. 682 should probably be excluded from these considerations for chronological reasons. This name may be a misspelling of [*Mgar*] *Mañ-ñen Stag-cab* who is mentioned in the winter report of 681 and the summer report of 685 in the *Ann. I* :.78, .89—90 = *DTH* :16.6, .24). Besides, we have no knowledge of the members of the *Rnëgs* clan having borne the title *žan*; cf. *TTK*, pp. 58—61; *AHE*, pp. 50—51; *PR*, pp. 87, 90.

<sup>42</sup> *DTH* : *rcañ*.

<sup>43</sup> *DTH* : *šiñ*.

<sup>44</sup> *DTH* : *gyis*.

<sup>45</sup> *DTH* :36.14—15: „Tous les champs du bas Šais furent délimités”. This translation could be accepted only in case the text would read \**Šañs-man-čhad-kyi*. Besides, the word *man-čhad* known as a geographical common noun and self-contained proper name (see Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 411a) never occurs as the second member of a geographical proper name.

<sup>46</sup> *DTH* : *pyiñ*.

the territory of *Šaṇs* (*PR*, p. 78). To the south of *Šaṇs*, on the right bank of the *Gcaṇ-po* we find *Myaṇ/Naṇ-ro* (*IT*, IV 1, pp. 47—50; cf. also *TTK*, p. 64, *AFL*, pp. 6, 9) which, according to the *AC*, was one of the thousand-districts of Lower *Ru-lag* (*AC I* :8b.1 = *TLTD* I, p. 277, *TPS* II, p. 737b; *AC II*, see *PR*, p. 83; cf. also *GnWP I* :.6—8 = *TPS* II :762.17—19; Ferrari, *MkhyG.*, p. 155 n. 562, wrongly places the border between *G-yas-ru* and *Ru-lag* at *Jo-naṇ*, i. e. to the west of *Myaṇ-ro*).

Consequently, as recorded in the *Ann. I*, the territory of the Three Horns reached until *Šaṇs* beyond which lay the Great *Rcaṇ*<sup>47</sup>. According to the *AC*, *Šaṇs* was situated at the south(west) border of *G-yas-ru*, and *Ru-lag* was said to lie to the south (and west). Hence we may identify the Great *Rcaṇ* with the territory of *Ru-lag*<sup>48</sup> which, at the same time, accounts for the fact that in the *AC I* the westernmost horn is termed *Gcaṇ-ru-lag* “Horn-Supplement of *Gcaṇ*”.

9. Summing up our investigations we come to the conclusion that Tibet proper originally comprised the territory of the *Ru Gsum* “Three Horns”, namely of *G-yo-ru* “Left Horn”, *Dbu-ru* “Middle Horn” and *G-yas-ru* (< \**G-ya'-ru*) “Right Horn” only. To this territory two supplementary horns were attached, namely the *Gcaṇ-ru-lag* “Horn-Supplement of *Gcaṇ*” or briefly *Ru-lag* “Horn-Supplement” comprising the territory of the *Rcaṇ-čhen*, on the one hand, and the *Yan-lag-Gsum-pa'i Ru* “Supplementary Horn of the *Sum-pa*” or briefly *Sum-pa'i Ru/Sum-ru* “Horn of the *Sum-pa*” in *Mdo-smad*, on the other.

A geographical name containing the name of the Middle Horn appears as early as 684. The first mention of the Left Horn dates from 690 and the Three Horns together are first referred to in 712. The name of the Right Horn does not occur in the *Ann.* It necessarily follows from the semantics of the names of

<sup>47</sup> The name *Rcaṇ-čhen/čen//Rcaṇ Čhen-pho/Rcaṇ Čen-po* is mentioned also in the following reports of the *Ann. I*: winter A. D. 684, 687, 690 and 693, summer 715 and winter 731 (.88, .97, .98, .105, .114, .198, .259 = *DTH* :16.22, .35, .38, :17.13, .29, :21.25, :24.33, cf. above pp. 37, 38 n. 15, 45—46 n. 26).

<sup>48</sup> The identity of the territories of *Ru-lag* and the Great *Rcaṇ* may be corroborated also by data referring to the epoch preceding the establishment of the system of horns and the formation of the Tibetan kingdom. Namely, as M. Lalou ascertains relying on the versions of the *Catalogue of Principalities*, “le *Rcaṇ-pho/Rcaṇ-ro/Scaṇ-stod* se soit appelé aussi *Myaṇ-ro*” (*Fiefs, poisons et guérisseurs : Journ. As.* 1958, pp. 159—161, 197) and, on the other hand, *Myaṇ-ro* belonged, as we have seen it, to *Ru-lag* and even the complete or partial identity of the *Rcaṇ-pho/Rcaṇ-ro/Scaṇ-stod* with the Great *Rcaṇ* is obvious (according to the *Ann. I* :104—105 = *DTH* :17.12—14 the conference of A. D. 690 establishing the red tally of Great *Rcaṇ* was held in *Rcaṇ-gyī Glin-kar-chal*; cf. also *AFL*, p. 11 and Lalou, *op. cit.*, pp. 159—160).

the horns that all three of them must have existed as early as 684. The Supplementary Horn of the *Sum-pa* is first mentioned in 702 and the one of *Ru-lag* in 709. The latest mention of the "Three Horns" dates from 719, and from 733 on the sources speak of *Ru Bži* "Four Horns", which means that *Ru-lag*, i.e. *Rcañ-čhen* was incorporated into Tibet proper in one of the years between 719 and 733, though most probably in 733.

In the *Ann.* the horns are almost invariably mentioned in connection with the measures taken at the conferences. It was the conference of Tibet proper that had taken the necessary measures concerning the Three, later the Four Horns, as well as *Ru-lag*, i. e. *Rcañ-čhen* even before this horn, i.e. region was attached to Tibet itself. On the other hand, the *Sum-pa* was ruled by the decisions taken at the autonomous conference of *Mdo-smad*.

The character of some measures relating to the horns is not quite clear because the relevant term in the text either denotes some rather general concept or refers only to the formalities of the accounts, or else cannot be interpreted for the time being in any satisfactory way. This applies to the great administration (*mkos čhen-po*) of 702 of the Horn of *Sum-pa* as well as to the accounts of 712 of the red tally (*khram dmar-pho*) of the Three Horns and to the 709 conscription of the red *žugs-loñ* of *Ru-lag*. In the majority of the reports, however, the character of the measures can be explained in a more or less satisfactory manner. Many of them are clearly of an economic (financial) character. In the winter of A. D. 690 we have a report about the *phyiñ-ril* of the fields of the Left Horn, in A. D. 718 and 719 about the *phyiñ-rild* and the *sog-rild*, i. e. the straw (or grain, *sog-ma*) of the royal fields of the Three Horns. In the report of A. D. 709 we read about the administration (*mkhos*) of the pastures ('*brog*) of the Left Horn, in that of 746, about the administration (*mkhos*; in this passage this equals *rcis* "account", see above n. 35) of the pastures and fallow lands ('*brog-sog*) of the Four Horns. On the other hand, the winter 744 administration of the Four Horns (*mkhos*) was undoubtedly of a military kind as demonstrated by Róna-Tas: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII, p. 323, by collating the two versions in the *Ann.*: unlike the term *Ru Bži* „Four Horns" in *Ann. II, I :3* (= *DTH* :55.8), the parallel passage of the *Ann. I :298* (= *DTH* :26.27) has *dmag-myi* "soldier(s)". It was presumably in connection with the military functions of the horns that in the summer of A. D. 759 diplomas (*yig-gcañ*) were bestowed upon the men of the Horn of the *Sum-pa*, because the text stresses the large number (*pal-po-čhe*) of privileged persons and, on the other hand, tells of a series of victories scored over the Chinese during the preceding three years (*Ann. II, I :13, .15, .21—22, .28—29, .32—33 = DTH :56.8—10, .14, :56.28—57.2, :57.16—18, .26—28*, cf. Bushell, *op. cit.*, p. 475). The census of the extinct families (*rabs-čhad brcis*) of the Four Horns in the winter of 733 may have served both military and financial purposes.

Consequently, the horns were the units of both military and economic (financial) administration as early as the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 8th. As territorial units, they comprised also such regions as the *Dbu-ru-śod* "the Low Tract of the Central Horn", the immediate property of the sovereign, which in respect of organization did not closely belong to the horn.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- AC* = the *Army Catalogue*, with the versions : *AC I* = the one preserved in the *Bk.*, according to the India Office Xylograph, Lhasa Expedition, J16, ca : 8a.5—9b.4 ; *AC II* = version preserved in the *Dp.*
- AHE* = H. E. Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa and the Mu Tsung/Khri Gtsug Lde Brtsan Treaty of A. D. 821—822 from the Inscription at Lhasa*, London 1952 : *RAS Prize Publication Fund XIX*.
- AFL* = F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Folk-Literature from North-Eastern Tibet*, Berlin 1957 : *Abh. d. Dtsch. Akad. Wiss. Berlin, Kl. f. Spr., Lit. u. Kunst* 1952, Nr. 3.
- Ann.* = *The Royal Annals of Tibet* from Tun-huang, with the versions : *Ann. I* = Bibliothèque Nationale MS, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, no. provisoire 252, lines 1—52 + India Office MS, Stein Collection, Tun-huang 103 (19 viii 1), lines 53—306 ; *Ann. II, 1* = British Museum MS, Or. 8212 (187), lines 1—11 (inversely at the beginning of the MS) + 12—61 (in the middle of the MS) ; *Ann. II, 2* = other copyist at the end of the same MS, lines 1—31.
- BA* = G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals I—II*, Calcutta 1949—1953 : *RASB Monogr. Ser. VII*.
- BAInd.* = T. V. Wylie, *A Place Name Index to George N. Roerich's Translation of the Blue Annals*, Roma 1957 : *SOR XV*.
- Bk.* = *Bka'-thañ-sde-lna*.
- CBH* = *Catalogue of the Boundaries of the Horns* as preserved in the *Dp.*
- Ch. (+ italic figures)* = India Office MS, Stein Collection, Ch. . . . (document from *Ch'ien-jou-tung* at Tun-huang).
- ČhGr.* = *Dge-bšes Čhos-kyi Grags-pas brcams-pa'i Brda-dag-min-chig gsal-ba bžugs-so*, Peking 1957.
- Chr.* = the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* from Tun-huang : Bibliothèque Nationale MS, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, no. provisoire 250, lines 1—536.
- CL* = P. Demiéville, *Le Concile de Lhasa I*, Paris 1952 : *Bibl. de l'Inst. des Hautes Ét. Chin. VII*.
- DTH* = J. Bacot—F. W. Thomas—Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940—1946 : *Ann. du Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'Ét. LI*.
- Dp.* = *Čhos-'byun mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* by *Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag Phreñ-ba*.
- ÉTG* = R. A. Stein, *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling*, Paris 1956 : *Ann. du Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'Ét. LXI*.
- FPT (+ italic figures)* = Bibliothèque Nationale MS, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, no. . . . (document from Tun-huang).

*FPT pr. (+i-*

*italic figures)* = Bibliothèque Nationale MS, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, no. provisoire ... (document from Tun-huang).

*Fr. (+ italic*

*figures)* = India Office MS, Stein Collection, Fr. ... (fragmentary document from Tun-huang, *Ch'ien-fo-tung*).

*Gen.*

= *List of the Ancient Principalities and Genealogy of the Kings of Tibet*: Bibliothèque Nationale MS, Fonds Pelliot tibétain, no. provisoire 249, lines 1-69.

*GnWP I*

= *Gnas-gsar* wall-painting inscription no. I.

*GS Gl.*

= *Gesar Saga, Gliñ* version, vols. I-III.

*GT*

= В. В а с и л ь е в, География Тибета, перевод из тибетского сочинения Миньчжул Хутукты, СПбг. 1895.

*IT*

= G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica I-IV*, Roma 1932-1941: *R. Accad. d'Italia, Studi e Documenti* I.

*MchRdor.*

= the inscription of the *rdo-riñ* at *Mchur-phu*.

*Mi. (+ italic*

*numbers)* = India Office MS., Stein Collection, Mi. (or M.I.) ... (document from Mirān fort).

*MkhyG*

= A. Ferrari-L. Petech-H. Richardson, *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, Roma 1958: *SOR XVI*.

*MT (+ italic*

*lower-case  
letters and*

*figures)* = India Office MS, Stein Collection, M. Tāgh ... (document from Mazār-Tāgh).

*Nam*

= F. W. Thomas, *Nam, an Ancient Language of the Sino-Tibetan Borderland*, London 1948: *Publ. of the Philol. Soc.* XIV.

*PR*

= G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Roma 1956: *SOR X, Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture* 1.

*QGBR*

= H. Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*, Mainz-Wiesbaden 1950: *Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit., Abh. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl.* 1950, Nr. 4, pp. 125-443.

*RkRdor.*

= the inscription of the *rdo-riñ* at *Rkon-po-De-mo-sa*.

*SC (+ italic*

*figures :ro-*

*man figures)* = India Office MS, Stein Collection, vol. ..., fol. ... (a document without indication of provenance, presumably from Tun-huang, among those of the third expedition of M. A. Stein).

*SkEd.*

= the edict of *Khri Lde-sron-b(r)can* in the time of the foundation of the *Skar-čhuñ* (*Dkar-čhuñ*, Karchung) chapell as preserved in *Dp*.

*SkRdor.*

= the inscription of the *rdo-riñ* of the *Skar-čhuñ* chapell.

*SXXQBB*

= *Xan-i araya Sunja ḥačin-i xergen qamčiḥa manju gisun-i buleku bitxe — Rgyal-pos mjad-pa'i Skad lha ḥan-sbyar-gyi mañju'i skad gsal-ba'i me-loñ* I-III, Peking 1957.

*TLTD*

= F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan I-III*, London 1935-1955: *Oriental Translation Fund n. s.* XXXII, XXXVII, XL.

*TPS*

= G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls I-III*, Roma 1949.

- TTK = G. Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Roma 1950 : SOR I.
- VDL = *Chronicle of the Vth Dalai Lama*, according to the edition *Gāns-čan-yul-gyi sa-la spyod-pa'i mtho-ris-kyi rgyal-blon-geo-bor brjod-pa'i deb-ther rjogs-ldan-gžon-nu'i dga'-ston dpyid-kyi rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyaṇs žes-byā-ba bzugs-so*, Peking 1957.
- ŽRdor. = the inscription of the *rdo-riṇ* at Žol, Lhasa.
- ŽvRdor. W = the inscription of the western *rdo-riṇ* at Žva'i lha-kaṇ.

The *AC I*, the versions of the *Ann.*, the *Chr.*, the *Gen.*, the *Ch. 82, iv* and the *SC 69 :76—83b* are quoted from photoprints and microfilms of the original xylograph and MSS made available by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the British Museum Library, London, and the India Office Library, London, for me through the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Széchenyi Library. I avail myself of the opportunity to express my thanks for their courtesy. I refer to the relevant passages of the text publications even in case of photoprints and films. The other texts are quoted from the text publications (in some cases translations or references) indicated in the relevant place of my paper.



# THE REAL 'OMAR KHAYYĀM

BY

B. CSILLIK

[*The Rubā'iyāt of 'OMAR KHAYYĀM edited from a newly discovered Manuscript dated 658 (1259—60) in the possession of A. Chester Beatty, Esq., by A. J. ARBERRY . . . with comparative English versions by Edward FitzGerald, E. H. Whinfield and the Editor. London, Emery Walker, Ltd., 1949 (University Press, Cambridge) ; small quarto, VII, [4], 172 [8] pages, with a facsimile.*]

This edition, as the Author-Editor himself tells us in his Introduction, had to fulfill the purpose of quickly presenting to the public, with a minimum of critical apparatus, the newly discovered facts in order to give share to others in the exciting work of further research. Beside the Introduction the book contains nothing but the printed text of the MS with the critical apparatus, the English versions and an alphabetical list of the quatrains. The Editor restored the dotted *dāl*'s wherever the copyist omitted them by obvious inadvertency and — what the copyist did not even try to do — he distinguished the *pā* and *gāf* letters from the *bā* and *kāf* letters. This peculiar employment of the *dāl*, *bā* and *kāf* letters speaks for the antiquity of the MS. The dots supplied by the Editor are not indicated, and this may be regretted in view of the potential hints which the presence or absence of the dots of the *dāl*'s might have given to the student of phonology and linguistic history.

In the way of a Bibliography a number of 'Omar Khayyām publications known to English readers are listed by the editor, viz. the translation by FitzGerald (1st and 4th editions, 1859 resp. 1879) ; E. H. Whinfield, *The Quatrains of Omar Khayyam*, 1883 ; E. Heron Allen, *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, 1898 ; F. Rosen, *Rubā'iyāt-i ḥakīm- 'Umar-i-Khayyām*, 1925 ; A. Christensen, *Critical Studies in the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám*, 1927. A. G. Potter, *A Bibliography of the Rubá'iyát of Omar Khayyám*, 1929 ; F. Rosen, *The Quatrains of 'Omar Khayyām*, 1930 ; V. Minorsky, 'Omar Khayyām, in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 3, pp. 985—989 ; M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq, *The Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i-Khayyām*, Calcutta 1939 ; M. A. Furughi (and Q. Ghani), *Rubā'iyāt-i ḥakīm Khayyām-i-Nishāpūrī*, Tehran 1942 ; an article by an anonymous author : *Qadīmtarīn-i nuskahāyi Rubā'iyāt-i Khayyām*, Yādgār, vol. 3, no. 3, Tehran, October 1946, pp. 48—53.

In addition to these works, there is also a separate list of the most important MSS, 11 in number.

The title-page and the Introduction take up pages I to VII. Then two unnumbered pages follow with the Bibliography and the List of MSS., each one page. The next unnumbered page carries the text of p. 1a of the MS. and that part of the text of p. 1b which contains the title. On p. 1a of the MS. we read: *From the Sayings of the Paragon of the Wise*, 'Umar-i Ḥayyām-i Niṣāpūrī — May Mercy and Forgiveness Be upon Him! On p. 1b of the MS. we read what is the title proper: *Ruba'iyāt-i ḥakīm 'Umar-i Ḥayyām-i Niṣāpūrī*. Then a line of invocation follows under which the *rubā'i*'s begin, arranged by two lines in the MS., written in *bait*'s: on p. 1b  $5 + \frac{1}{2}$ , on the following pages  $\frac{1}{2} + 5 + \frac{1}{2}$ , on p. 15b  $\frac{1}{2} + 4$  quatrains, with the colophon underneath. Between the quatrains — I am speaking of the last page only the photograph of which is in the Edition — the connecting phrase *wa-lahu aidan* is written in a bold hand, with bigger characters. In the colophon we find a pious closing formula in Arabic and the date of the completion of the copy, also in Arabic, fully written out in words: in the 658th year of the *hiğra*. The dating takes up the entire last line. The lines of the colophon are more compressed and shorter than those of the text, thus leaving space on both sides for the vertically written inscriptions: on the right side for the words: "with the hand of the dust of the feet" and, on the left, for the name of the copyist: Muḥammad al-Qawām al-Niṣāpūrī.

On opening the book it is the photo-copy that first catches one's eye and immediately raises a number of questions. Was it indeed in 658 that this copy was made? Was it not longer or shorter originally? Was not the lower part of the page, under the third line of the colophon, originally left blank? Also in that case the vertical lines could form, without any difficulty, the sequence, and it might be assumed that the last line with the date is a later addition. The photo-copy does not show clearly whether or not the ink of the colophon is identical with that of the foregoing writing. The vertical line on the right side occupies only three horizontal lines, while that on the left is half a line longer. It is possible that the original colophon consisted of the three horizontal lines only and — perhaps — of the vertical lines. All these may puzzle the scrutinizing eye. Why is the longer vertical line on the left compressed, while the shorter line on the right looks distended and loosely written? Why is the line on the left darker, while that on the right of a lighter shade? Why is it exactly that the name of the copyist is especially compressed? Why does the ink of the word *tasliman* — especially in the letter *lām* — show running? Was this caused by moisture? By the wet of the *wa-lahu aidan* on the back of the page? Or is it the result of erasure, rubbing or chemical treatment? A clever manipulator takes pains to cover up his tracks. So then could not we use the running of the ink as an argument for the intactness of the

MS? But supposing the man was not skilled enough? Why does another *wa-lahu aidan* show through above the colophon, whereas none of the *wa-lahu aidan*'s between the quatrains do this? Did not the original writing end further up or further down? Was not originally yet another quatrain at the end of the page with a simple *tamma* underneath? Is not the pale, crooked, vertical line under the word *taslīman* the trace of an obliterated *tamma*? Or is it due to crumpling of the paper? Or the shadow of it? Were not  $1 + \frac{1}{2}$  quatrains obliterated at the end of the page, with the idea of making a pleasingly complete page and covering some defect of the MS? There was yet space left large enough for one or two pious quatrains at the end of the text as counterparts to the pious verses at the beginning of the text. Was not the obliteration of some text the cause of the running of the ink in the characters and the showing-through of the text from the back page as indicated above? (Above the colophon and covered by the third line.) Was not the original MS composed of more pages or even sheets? Was not it from the next — now missing — page that the two — then still wet — *wa-lahu aidan*-s left their blotches which we now observe? Why is it only the *abadan* which has its nunation, while the other accusatives miss theirs? Is the *nisba* in the name of the copyist indeed *Nišāpūrī*? Is not it *Širāzī*? The British Museum has an 'Omar Khayyām text with a Hāfiẓ divan in which every poem is followed by a *rubā'ī* of 'Omar Khayyām (British Museum Or. 10 910), and the scribe of the text, Muḥammad al-Qiwām, is named Širāzī (v. Rempis, *Beiträge*, p. 38, note). It is curious that, on the title-page, the *nisba* of the author, and also that of the copyist, in the colophon, is *Nišāpūrī*, and that it is exactly in connection with 'Omar Khayyām that this phenomenon occurs. In the handwriting there is no punctuation in the *nisba*. A dot is discernible; it can be taken for the dot of a *zā* or the head of a *wāw*. The centre of the *nisba* is covered by a smudge. The domed, rigid, hard *nashī* writing of the MS seems to point to an age prior to 1550 when the MS of the British Museum was written. The upper corner of the page seems to suggest a pencil-written Arabic 28, or should this too be taken for a crease? I posed these and some other minor questions to Professor Arberry himself. I took it for certain that he too was aware of these problems. But since he, in his Introduction, made no reference to these problems, which might also arise in the minds of others, I thought it proper to ask for his own comments on my doubts and queries. Prof. Arberry replied that he too faced the question as to whether the MS was an original or a forgery. He had dealt with thousands of Arabic and Persian MSS, including a number of forgeries, and it was only after a most careful investigation that he was led to the conclusion that the MS was, in every respect, original. The MS has an ancient binding. Everything seems to indicate that it is an independent volume, not a part of an anthology and no component piece of a collection or colligation. Neither was it longer, nor shorter than it is now. The dating is fully original. The colophon is written with the

same hand and ink as the rest of the MS. No trace of erasure can be found. The paper is of a rather poor quality. In several places it shows the effects of steam and has some worm-eaten holes in it. The fact that only the *abadan* has the nunation is not unusual ; on the contrary, an overall nunation would rather be suspicious. The writing of the word *Nišāpūrī* can be seen somewhat more clearly in the original than in the reproduction. On this point he consulted two other experts and they came to the unanimous conclusion that the *nisba* is *Nišāpūrī*.

Beside the colophon, on the lower right hand side, someone wrote down his calculation, in 1205 (that is, in 1790—91), indicating that the MS was then 547 years old. So the MS must have had on it its dating at that time. Thus we are in the position to accept the MS as having the original date 658 = 1259—60. 658 = 18th Dec., 1259 to 5th Dec., 1260. We may safely assume that it was written in 1260.

Prof. Arberry makes no proposal about the designation of the MS. I choose the abbreviation *A* for this purpose. Dealing with a MS of a private collection, after its text has been published, the most practical way of designating it is to take the initial of the family name of the Editor, as the domicile and library marking of the MS may change and thus become less convenient for the purpose of identification.

The date of *A* is very important, for the great significance of this MS has two aspects one of which is particularly enhanced by the MS' relatively early date of origin. This significance lies in the fact that *A*, as early as about 658, identifies 172 *rubā'i*'s with the name of 'Omar Khayyām, as extracts from his sayings. If only 8 of these are actually extant in the *Yādgār* (now *CA*) MS, then the number of quatrains attributed to 'Omar Khayyām, within 137 years after his death, if we fix it in the year 1123, would come up, while allowing for repeated occurrences, to 415. And this number, together with a few quatrains found in other earlier sources, suggests a poet of considerable oeuvre. This is the significance of the MS as far as the history of Persian literature is concerned. According to a communication of Prof. Arberry, the number of *rubā'i*'s of firmly established authorship in the MSS of the VIIth = XIIIth century, by virtue of the close connection between the two MSS, amounts to about 250. In view of the early date, this seems to be a very considerable number.

Every page of the text-edition presents one *rubā'i*, printed in four lines, i. e. by *mīṣrā'*s. Under every quatrain there is a reference, according to the ordinals of the quatrains, not so much to other MSS as rather to other *Rubā'iyyāt* publications. The MSS are quoted not according to their places of custody or their usual abbreviations but by the names of their respective editors.

In the way of a critical apparatus Prof. Arberry gives the variant readings of the indicated sources, in some instances merely referring to the variants of Christensen. After these data the fine prose translation of Prof. Arberry is printed, followed by the version of FitzGerald — when corresponding transla-

tions by him exist — (1st and 4th editions) and finally by the translations of Whinfield.

The text with the critical apparatus and the English versions takes up 172 pages. On this follows the original text of the colophon with an English translation and finally an alphabetical index of first lines arranged according to the rhyme letters and the initial characters of the quatrains on seven unnumbered pages — a first-class aid in collating the text with other MSS.

Prof. Arberry carried out his task in a masterly manner : he satisfied the wishes of the owner, the learned public and himself by publishing the text quickly, excellently, with a small but very valuable critical apparatus, while keeping clear of the tangles and dangers which beset the problems of the 'Omar Khayyām oeuvre. The Introduction is written in a light and spirited vein, but always of a perfectly scientific quality, and the whole work is an eminently expert job, a very valuable contribution to the 'Omar Khayyām literature. We are deeply indebted for it to the learned editor as well as to the owner of the MS who undertook to meet the expenses of this fine edition.

The MS was published at the right moment. Its text belongs to the MSS which — either from the viewpoint of their subject-matter or that of their form — lack a precise arrangement. Its length is moderate. At first the „full” collections were sought after. Then the small MSS of possibly great age received increasing attention. Now MSS of medium length, with well-sifted yet still comprehensive contents, not arranged at all or arranged according to subject-matter have come to the foreground of interest. The latter preference is justified. According to the *Quellennachweis* of Rempis (1935) the first known MSS are not alphabetically arranged. The MS of the Bodleian Library has its contents in a double alphabetical arrangement which was prepared from a text not alphabetically arranged. The next 4 MSS, in chronological succession, arrange their quatrains according to subject-matter, 1 has a double alphabetical, 1 a single alphabetical arrangement, followed by MSS wavering between the viewpoints of subject matter and alphabet in their textual arrangements and it is only after 1550 that the alphabetically arranged MSS begin to appear in appreciable numbers, yet even in this later period 7 MSS are arranged according to subject matter. After 1600 it is only sporadically that MSS without alphabetical arrangement appear. In the XVIIth century we find one (*Ramp III*) arranged according to a mixed principle, one in the second half of the XVIIIth century arranged according to the initial letters of the quatrains (*P III*), but even the end of the XVIIIth century and the middle of the XIXth century witness to the occurrence of some large texts arranged according to the themes of the quatrains (*Leningrad I*, 454qq, *H IV*, 575qq).

In his *Critical Studies* (1927) A. Christensen noted that in a group of the MSS the *rubā'ī*'s are intermingled, in another group the arrangement is according to the themes, in another according to the alphabetical sequence of the

rhyme letters, in still another group, within the former arrangement, according to the first letters of the first lines, and he points out that this type of arranging the quatrains gives a decisive clue as to the date of the MS concerned, and even to the date of its predecessor. According to Blochet it was first with the quatrains of Sa'di (1184—1291) that the arrangement of the text according to the alphabetical principle was effected. Christensen assumes that Sa'di himself introduced this kind of textual arrangement. (According to Rempis it is in 1297 that we have a single-alphabetical divan, that of Mağdu'-d-din Hamgar, *British Museum Or. 3713, II, IV, VII*). He maintains that the oldest texts are not arranged, the younger ones arranged according to themes (catch-words). The basic MS of the single-alphabetical arrangement is not later than the beginning of the XVth century, but it may be of a considerably earlier origin. The basic MS of the double-alphabetical principle is not later than the middle of the XVth century. He made a Group *A* for the MSS without alphabetical arrangement and a Group *B* for those arranged according to this principle. He put the texts without any arrangement into a subgroup *A*<sub>1</sub> and those arranged according to themes into a subgroup *A*<sub>2</sub>. It would have been logical to make a special *B*<sub>1</sub> subgroup for the texts of the single-alphabetical, and a subgroup *B*<sub>2</sub> for those of the double-alphabetical arrangements. However, when he made his classification, the only known text of the latter category was Bodl. I which he, in view of its contents, assigned to subgroup *A*<sub>2</sub>. He also made a subgroup *A*<sub>3</sub> for the single-alphabetical part of MS *BN IV (PA)* which is a transitional type between Groups *A* and *B*. Then he set up a special Group *C* for *R III* that is independent of the other MSS. According to Rempis (1937) the emergence of the group of unarranged texts was due to the mixing up of the pages of the texts arranged according to themes (poetic moods) — this being attested by the MSS of cognate contents. He puts the texts without alphabetical arrangement into Group *A*, those of the single-alphabetical principle into Group *B*, and those of the double-alphabetical arrangement into Group *C*. He sets up a special Group *D* for Tabrizi's redaction of thematic grouping. (It is to be regretted that the capital letters are also used by Rempis to indicate the sections of the first part of his work, giving his preliminary operations under *A*, the treatment of group *A* under *B*, that of group *B* under *C*, *C* under *D*, and the discussion of Group *D* under *E*. It would have been better to present the preliminary operations under a separate heading).

The fusion of the unarranged texts may also be explained by supposing that shorter texts expressing certain moods were copied together so that their boundaries got blurred. It was from these texts of apparently unarranged character that Tabrizi felt the need for making his systematically arranged edition in 1462.

The texts arranged according to moods or themes are short. The collector or epitomizer copies the material in which he is particularly interested,

taking only one or two groups from texts of varied poetic moods. The scribe of an alphabetical collection takes pains to have the complete set of rhyme letters. The alphabetic principle has an inherent drive towards completion, while the topical arrangement calls for a strikingly marked general profile of the contents.

There is but a slight degree of interrelation in the smaller MSS. The topically arranged small MSS *Pa*<sub>1</sub> (56<sup>qq</sup>, 1448), *Pg* (28<sup>qq</sup>, 1507), *Pb* (75<sup>qq</sup>, 1541) and *Pf* (60<sup>qq</sup>, XVIth century) — if taken together and thus compared with MS *A* — fail to have a single *rubā'i* which were common to *A* and all of these four MSS. 1 is found in 3 of the MSS (*A* 51), 2 in 2 (*A* 28, 166). The total stock of the four small MSS, 219 *rubā'i*'s yield 158 entries in the 1213 entries of the Christensen List (= *CL*), yet do not possess a single *ruṭā'i* that were common to the *CL* and all the four MSS. 1 (*CL* 474) is found in 3, 10 (*CL* 77, 92, 100, 218, 342, 416, 454, 554, 783, 873) in 2. The others appear each in one of the small Paris MSS. Of the contents of *Pf* I have 39 (Rempis has 28) unique quatrains. In the stock of *Pa*<sub>1</sub> there are 4, in *Pg* also 4 unique quatrains. The 75 *rubā'i*'s of *Pb* can all be found in *CL* since Christensen incorporated the whole *Pb* in his list. For the purpose of the present experiment I took over the 47 quatrains of Rempis *BN VII* (*Pa*<sub>2</sub>) from the *Hauptvergleichstabelle*, and there occurred only 4 instances in which I did not have to make a new entry ; Rempis has also 11 entries which are unique quatrains. The other *rubā'i*'s do not have their equivalents in the other 4 MSS. With the aid of these 4 *rubā'i*'s we may locate *CL* 218 and 723 in three MSS, *CL* 12 and 968 in two MSS, i.e., we have to avail ourselves of a small MS of 47 *rubā'i*'s in order to find 4 new relationships to 219 *rubā'i*'s. One might assume that friends and listeners of 'Omar Khayyām preserved smaller collections of poems of various times of composition, with only a few popular poems common to all of these collections, and that it was then these surreptitiously handled small MSS that were copied together in a more liberal age. As to the way in which the larger MSS emerged, we have Berlin II, dated prior to 1795. In this MS we have 9 blank spaces at the end of the *alif* rhymes, 1 at the end of the *šin* rhymes, 1 at the end of the *mīm* rhymes and 1 at the end of the *nūn* rhymes — obviously for well-known *rubā'i*'s which happened to be momentarily unavailable. Of the small Paris MSS *Pg* is of similar characteristics, with *wa-lahu* signs, without *rubā'i*'s.

According to Rempis, at the time when *Bodl. I.* came into existence, the total available stock already amounted to the gross of 504<sup>qq</sup> which, after the subtraction of the wandering quatrains, yields a net of 393. This increased to 1123 and 827 resp., by 1554 and, according to a recent statement of his, by 1460, already to 1038.

The utilisation of the unique quatrains is a difficult matter. Reports are published telling us the number of hitherto unknown *rubā'i*'s in some new MS, but they fail to publish their texts, and thus we cannot use them. Prof. Arberry

struck the right path. He published the full text, including the 8 unknown *rubā'i*'s (*A* 15, 34, 78, 88, 99, 101, 142, 156). These 8 unique quatrains can also be found in *CA*, though many of the well-attested *rubā'i*'s are not in this MS. Research requires publications of full MSS, with unaltered texts, with the original sequence of the verses, so that we may have before us the full text of every MS with its separate individuality.

I proposed in my work on the *Principal Manuscripts* (p. XXVII, note) the setting up of four groups for the classification of the MSS according to length : occasional records, preserved as smaller specimens in early anthologies or quotations, 1—10*qq* > somewhat larger specimens in anthologies or smaller independent texts to fill up blank pages or margins in MS volumes, 10—50*qq* > smaller collections as independent components of MS volumes ca 50—100*qq* > larger collections (divans) over 100*qq*. Rempis standardizes these groupings under the designations *Blütenlesen* and *Beispiele* resp. *Auslesen*, and *Auszüge* and *Sammlungen* resp. He is right in maintaining that, in establishing relationship between the MSS, the divergence or agreement of readings can be used to ascertain connections within a specific group of MSS only. Importance should be attached to the stock of quatrains in the MSS concerned and to the major or lesser degree of agreement between them as regards the sequence of the quatrains. Useful is his working principle of widening the concept of the "hermit" (*Einsiedler*) quatrains, thus classifying certain *rubā'i*'s as unique quatrains even if they can be found, within a certain group, in several MSS (MS-unique ; group unique).

Its non-arranged character notwithstanding, MS *A* exhibits in some places certain traces of arrangement. Identical rhyme letters follow one another, as though an alphabetical source had existed already in 1260 : *yā* : 3—4, *tā* : 16—17, *yā* : 22—23, *dāl*, *ḍāl* : 30—31, 36—37, 48—49, 54—55—56, *yā* : 57—58—59, *śin* : 68—69, *nūn* : 72—73, *tā* : 77—78, 83—84, 96—97—98—99, *dāl* : 113—114, *yā* : 118—119, *tā* : 120—121, *dāl* : 129—130, 135—136—137—138, *mīm* : 147—148, *dāl* : 152—153—154 in neighbouring quatrains. The *tā* rhyme series of quatrains 96—99 has backwards an inverted double alphabetical character with the initial letters *bā*, *čīm*, *dāl*, *zā*. In some instances it is only a single discordant rhyme that prevents the formation of a series. But, taken as a whole, MS *A* is not arranged according to rhyme letters.

There are also traces of connexions established by words and expressions. E. g. : *A*. 3—4 : *hasīs* and *bīhirad* have cognate meanings, 18—19 *raftanam*, *raftam*, 43—44 *andēša*, 44—45 *rōz*, 48—49 *mai*, *bāda*, 49—50 *ṭarab*, *ṭarabnāk*, 51—52—53 *mai*, 57—58 *sabō*, 61, 63—64 *mai*, *bāda*, 63—64 *bulūrī*, 64, 65 *ğān*, 68—69 *dōš*, 73—74 *‘udr*, *ma’ḍūr*, 76—77 *ǵamhā*, *ǵam*, 80—81 *ustuhwān*, *ustuhwānhā*, 95—96 *kār*, 100—101 *asrārī*, *rāz*, 103—104—105 *čirḥ*, *dahr*, 107—108 *raw*, *raft*, 111—112 *dai*, 123—124 *‘āšiq u mai-parast*, *mai u ma’šūq-parast*, 140—141 *dastam*, *az dast*, 142—143 *mai ḥwar*, *mai nōš kunīm*, 144—145

*ḥwaš bāš*. All this is interesting but too little to be regarded as a definite principle of arrangement as regards the entire MS.

It is good that beside the ordinals of the quatrains the original pagination is also published by Prof. Arberry, as, in certain instances, an apparent series seems to be broken up by an inserted *rubā'i*, thus raising the question whether or not we are dealing with the mixing up of the pages. However, the pages begin with the second *bait*, and so the original order of the pages is fixed, not barring the possibility that the order of the pages had already been changed in the basic MS from which the copy was made, or that it was in the process of copying that interpolations were made, or that the scribe confused the original order.

The learned Editor publishes his text as he found it in the MS, and this makes his edition particularly useful. I say this in view of the peculiar fate which have so far beset the non-alphabetical MSS.

Already at the time of the writing of *Bodl. I.*, or even at the time when its basic MS was made, the process consisted in recasting a non-alphabetical handwriting of about 158 quatrains — probably through the mediation of a single-alphabetical MS — into the scheme of a double alphabetical text. This was the natural process of evolution, but it obliterated for us the original pattern of textual arrangement. We have the curious case of MS *PA* which indicates the subsequent stage of development when the text was enlarged with the contents of another MS. Then, in haste, the supplement was added to the double alphabetical base in a single alphabetical manner, employing, as regards the rhyme letters, a mixed principle of redaction.

The non-alphabetical MS *PB* (Bibl. Nat. Anc. Fonds 349) has already figured in the 'Omar Khayyām research. E. Heron Allen speaks of it in his Preface to the Edition of *Bodl. I.*, noting that it is non-alphabetical, but does not realize the significance of this fact. Christensen merely mentions it in his *Recherches* (1905), and it is only 25 years later that he places it at the head of his list, as the MS which is most faithful in preserving the original sequence of the *rubā'i*'s. Nevertheless, it had not succeeded in finding either a publisher or a translator until I began the publication of the MSS of the Bibliothèque Nationale. (It was from my publication that the MS was translated by Prof. Gabrieli in the series *La Meridiana*, Firenze, 1944).

Hüsein Daniş has published in 1922, then again in 1927, an Istanbul MS of the *Rubā'iyāt* — a redaction of Tabrizi. However, he did not adhere to the original sequence of the *rubā'i*'s but — in a fusion with the text of *Bodl. I.*, — he gave his own topical grouping of the poems. Since he failed to give even a subsidiary numbering to indicate the order found in the MS, he too obliterated the original sequence. He made three groups : original quatrains, 1—249 ; quatrains of doubtful authenticity though attributed to 'Omar Khayyām, 250—276 ; spurious quatrains, although attributed, also in the ancient MSS,

to 'Omar Khayyām, 277—396. The quatrains of the first group are again classified under the following headings : agnosticism, vanitas mundi, nihilism, pessimism, opportunism, scepticism, ironical verses, — thus imputing for his Turkish readers a Western outlook to the poems of 'Omar Khayyām, whereas he could have merged the contents of Bodl. I. with the Tabrizī text in a manner which would have given to the poems of *Bodl. I.* a topical arrangement of contemporaneous character, while, at the same time, preserving the original order of the Istambul MS.

There existed in the twenties of the present century a *Rubā'iyyāt* MS of 329 quatrains in the possession of the Berlin lady Katherina von Oheim. Its text had a presumably topical arrangement. It was edited by F. Rosen, for the sake of the Eastern readers in a double alphabetical order, without indicating the original arrangement. The MS has since been lost sight of. We do not know its original order. As to its contents, it is closely related to the PC and to the Tabrizī redaction.

Of the large MSS of the Bibliothèque Nationale I have published the non-alphabetical *PB* and *PC* MSS. But the MS *PE*, a Tabrizī recension copied about 1550, which ought to be discussed together with the former two, was prevented from being published by World War II and, together with the large MSS *PD* and *PF*, still awaits the press.

*Leningrad I* (Publitschnaya Biblioteka, Dorn 473), a MS made about 1795, had been mistakenly known as the work of "Merakhiya", until V. Rozen proved the real name of its author. Then, for quite a time, it was listed in the *Quellennachweis* of Rempis (nr. 90) as an alphabetically arranged text. Now, that I am collecting the texts for the edition of all the existing *rubā'i*'s, I received a film of this MS from Leningrad and I was surprised to see that this is an independent non-alphabetical text of 454 quatrains differing essentially from the other non-alphabetical texts. This MS will surely deserve special attention.

Another fortunate feature of Prof. Arberry's Edition is that it is an excellently got-up book of exquisite taste. But we miss in it a clearly tabulated synopsis — at least a tabulated collation with Christensen's *Concordance* or the *Hauptvergleichsliste* of Rempis. The addition of this would have been a merely manual piece of work and would have spared many of us the trouble of manufacturing our own tabulations.

Now I should speak about the principles which guided the work of the redactor of our text. The reader himself is enabled, by Prof. Arberry's careful translation which pursues the ideal of perfect faithfulness to notice the gradual glide in the poems from one circle of ideas to another, leading to those sombre ideas which render the version of FitzGerald so awesomely sublime. For in *A* we find the connexion of ideas of Fitz Gerald's translation. This line of progress is not the same in the two texts. The quatrains are not the same. We do

not find here that studied sequence of cogently interlinked ideas, now slowing down, now dissolving a quatrain into two or three, then speeding up again and fusing two or three quatrains into one, which marks the structural technique of the XIXth century European poet. Yet the text of *A*, though quieter and less obvious in showing the threads connecting its ideas, nonetheless its quatrains achieve the same cumulative effect of a subtly hidden sequence. It resembles the German metrical version of Rempis : *Die Vierzeiler 'Omar Chajjāms in der Auswahl und Anordnung Edward FitzGeralds*. At the beginning and at the end of the text we find a few religious — though rather tendentious quatrains — as “sponsoring verses”, obviously meant for the “censor” (*A* 1, 2, 169. — *A* 170—172 is probably an appendage or it was here that the copyist made up for what was left out in the foregoing text). Had MS *A* been known earlier, the charge against FitzGerald of tampering with the original Persian would have never even been suggested. Now this settles the issue of having two different *Rubā'īyāt*'s.

The second problem concerns the poet himself. We owe the scholarly exposition of this problem to Zhukovsky. Its widest effect is seen here in the following translation by E. Denison Ross :

“He” (*scil.* Omar Khayyam) “has been regarded variously as a freethinker, a subverter of Faith ; an atheist and materialist ; a pantheist and a scoffer at mysticism ; an orthodox Musulman ; a true philosopher, a keen observer, a man of learning ; a bon vivant ; a profligate, a dissembler, and a hypocrite ; a blasphemer — nay, more, an incarnate negation of positive religion and of all moral beliefs ; a gentle nature more given to the contemplation of the things divine than to worldly enjoyments ; an epicurean sceptic ; the Persian *Abū-1-'Alā, Voltaire and Heine*”. (The writer has in view the wellknown criticisms of Hammer, Renan, Ethé, Nicolas, Garcin de Tassy, Whinfield, Aug. Müller, and others. E. D. Ross’ note). “One asks oneself, whether it is possible to conceive, not a philosopher, but merely an intelligent man (provided he be not a moral deformity) in whom were commingled and embodied such a diversity of convictions, paradoxical inclinations and tendencies, of high moral courage and ignoble passion, of torturing doubts and vacillations? And if not, whence are such radical differences of opinion to be traced?”

To the question whether it is possible to conceive, not a philosopher, but merely an intelligent man of this description, we may reply, with our present knowledge of psychology, in the affirmative. Regarding the radical differences of opinion, let us think of the fanatical religious, political and learned sects of the poet’s age, and consider in general what a gamut of conflicting views must have developed in the insensitive environment of an outstanding man of the age. When this problem was raised, serious concern was caused by the following twin questions : was it possible that all these quatrains were written by the same 'Omar Khayyām? Was the living, real 'Omar Khayyām

really like the personality reflected in his poems? The first question concerns the poetic oeuvre of 'Omar Khayyām, the second the character of the author of the *Rubā'iyyāt*.

The presentation of the problem — even if on the level of lay opinion — has had the merit of prompting the publication of learned works, such as the study by Zhukovsky which then has given rise to a definite trend of research and has resulted in the discovery of a great number of new data. The main effort of the systematic work following the initiative of Zhukovsky has been concentrated on the study of the wandering quatrains. The objective has been to identify and eliminate the *rubā'i*'s erroneously attributed to 'Omar Khayyām while, in fact, originating from works of poets living before 'Omar Khayyām, and also those quatrains which were purposefully placed under the name of 'Omar Khayyām from later poetic works.

In this effort MS *A* gives us essential help. Zhukovsky, on the basis of the edition of Nicolas, identifies 82 wandering quatrains. Of these MS *A* has 13 (*Zh* 8, 13, 16, 38, 45, 50, 53, 60, 61, 63, 68, 70, 74 = *A* 91, 83, 161, 124, 134, 169, 24, 170, 143, 67, 90, 19, 50). This amounts to 7.5%. Five quatrains by Hāfiẓ and Afdal-i Kāšī are to be omitted. The time of their activity was considerably later than the origin of MS *A*. So there remain 8 wandering quatrains. That is a mere 4.65%.

Rempis raised the number of wandering quatrains to 239. Of these MS *A* has 31 (*R* 16, 24, 31, 41, 66, 67, 72, 77, 87, 90, 92, 99, 111, 114, 118, 127, 135, 140, 142, 148, 151, 166, 171, 173, 177, 184, 192, 195, 198, 210, 238 = *A* 161, 17, 91, 146, 83, 168, 92, 5, 153, 127, 153 var., 18, 164, 46, 160, 124, 137, 134, 39, 169, 24, 170, 150, 67, 11, 157, 139, 73, 19, 74, 80.) This is 18%. Of this number 7 (Afdal-i Kāšī and Hāfiẓ) must be at once put to the credit of 'Omar Khayyām, thus leaving 24 wandering quatrains, *i. e.* 14.5%. Even the latter must yet be checked, as one cannot judge their authenticity by considering when the work of the other poet or the work attributing the quatrain concerned to another author came into existence but only by ascertaining the date of the latter works' MSS in which the quatrain in question begins to figure under a name other than 'Omar Khayyām. That is to say, MS *A* secures the authorship for 'Omar Khayyām even against earlier poets, provided it is only the MSS dated later than 1260 that attribute the quatrains in question to a predecessor, — no earlier MSS do this, or such MSS do not exist at all. The wandering quatrains of MSS *A* and *CA* which are not convincingly attributable to other authors should be claimed as genuine quatrains of 'Omar Khayyām, even if they would not fit into the picture we have of 'Omar Khayyām. The poet might have a richer and more complicated soul than the critic would admit.

MS *A* has many — though not all — the quatrains which, by strict standards, are regarded as genuine. Of the first 14 genuine quatrains of Christensen MS *A* has 4 (that is 28.5% of 14 and 2.3% of 172). Of the 23 genuine

quatrains of Rosen MS *A* has 11 (that is 47.8% of 23 and 5.2% of 172). Of the 121 genuine quatrains of Christensen MS *A* has 53 (that is 43.8% of 121, 30.8% of 172). Of the most ancient 29 quatrains of Rempis our MS has 7 (that is 24.1% of 29, 4.0% of 172). Of the 53 genuine quatrains of Rempis we have here 15 (that is 32.0% of 53, 9.8% of 172). We have in MS *A* 69 of the 178 genuine quatrains of Furughi (that is 38.7% of 178, 40.1% of 172). The genuineness is not decided by theories but by facts. It is revealed, as the result of our collation, that 3 genuine entries of Christensen are missing from the *apparatus criticus* of Prof. Arberry : *A* 36, 46, 121 = *Chr.* I, XXX, LXXXVI. Of E. Heron Allen's quoted cases 5 are left out : *A* 48, 68, 106, 125, 168 = *H. A.* 69, 103, 109, 155, 44. Then Rempis overlooked that his Nos. 37 and 39 are in the Christensen list, although he had been aware of the incorporation of the full *R III* in the list.

One branch of the investigation into the question of the wandering quatrains deals with the anonymous (= *herrenlos*) quatrains. Rempis has collected 75 quatrains which, without being attributed to any author, wander about in the old anthologies, though, in some instances, they also appear under the name of 'Omar Khayyām. In the *Mirṣādu-l-ibād* of Naǵmu-'d-din Rāzī we have 12 quatrains of this category. Nos. 8 and 12 of Rempis are found in MS *A* under 82 and 146 resp. Although the work in question is of a date earlier than that of MS *A* — it came into existence in 1223 —, Rempis had but the Berlin copy which was made 87 year later than *A* at his disposal. The copies in the British Museum are still younger (XIVth and XVth centuries). In view of these facts, the quatrains of this work should be ascribed to 'Omar Khayyām until a copy earlier than 1260 of this work will be discovered. In the *Muhtār-nāma* of 'Attār we have 37 anonymous quatrains. 'Attār died in 1230. Rempis perused the copy of the Bibliothèque Nationale dated 1605, together with the MSS of the British Museum dated 1473 and the Oxford Elliot dated 1611. Of the contents of these MSS 32 quatrains are claimed for 'Omar Khayyām — with respective datings of 1341, 1384, 1400, 1448, 1460, 1528 — that is, from dates earlier than the oldest MS of the *Muhtār-nāma*. In addition to these, quatrains under nos. 25, 32, 41, 42, since these are also found in MS *A* under Nos. 60, 28, 90, 50, should henceforth be attributed — with the date of 1260 — to 'Omar Khayyām. (The problem of the 6000 or 3000 *rubā'i*'s, to which the note of Rempis refers, is solved by the preface to *Brit. Mus. Or.* 353 [vide Rieu, vol. II, p. 577] according to which the 6000 *rubā'i*'s had yet been unsorted when the author himself undertook to reduce the number to 5000 and out of these poems he prepared for his friends a selection now in the MS). The anthology *Nuzhatu-l-maǵālis* contains 18 quatrains which also figure under the name of 'Omar Khayyām. The *quatrains of Rempis* Nos. 56, 57, 61, 63 and 68 are to be omitted, since these, under Nos. 111, 14, 40, 155 and 118 of MS *A*, had been secured already 71 years earlier for 'Omar Khayyām as their author.

Of the 3 quatrains associated with the name of 'Ubaid-i-Zākānī, who died in 1370, No. 76 = A 110 had been claimed already 110 years earlier for 'Omar Khayyām as its author.

In his discussion of the „unclaimed” quatrains Rempis pointed out that ideas, poetic images, expressions may appear repeatedly without establishing the identity of the quatrains concerned. We may add to this that the custom of versifying a subject already worked on by another poet is by no means alien to Persian literature. Plagiarism (*sariqat*) itself has its separate treatment in the works on poetry. The questions concerning overt (*zāhir*) and covert (*gair zāhir*) plagiarism have their own full-orbed theory. The *tawārud* — which is to have, without intentional plagiarism, the same idea that another poet already had — is permitted. On the other hand, the *nash* = copying out, or, by another name, *intihāl* — theft, is forbidden. The *iğāra* = onslaught, or *mash* = remodelling may be accepted if it produces a better work than the former one. Also admissible is the full taking over of the idea if only a part of the words is taken over. In the case of the hidden or latent plagiarism the poet avails himself of a poetic idea, but changes the form of expression, gives a more general turn to the idea, a new meaning to it thereby rendering it even more beautiful. This is permitted. Also permitted is the *tađmīn*, quotation, with or without acknowledgement, possibly in a longer elaboration, making stanzas out of the lines. These questions are discussed in detail by Rückert and also by Garcin de Tassy. A quatrain should be attributed to 'Omar Khayyām in all the permitted cases of open or latent plagiarism. Hence it is improper simply to speak of borrowings, interpolations, unclaimed or wandering quatrains. (Prof. Weir says that certain quatrains of 'Omar Khayyām make the impression of being parodies of the devout verses of Sūfi poets.)

In the wake of these investigations into the wandering and unclaimed quatrains a climate of general scepticism has arisen with regard to the authenticity of the *Ruba'iyāt* of 'Omar Khayyām. Let us mention but two names to indicate the most extreme consequences of this trend of research. Prof. Ritter (OLZ 1929, Nr. 3, pp. 156—163), having stated that there is no 'Omar Khayyām MS that could be regarded as a *textus receptus* forming the matrix for interpolations, comes to the conclusion that the *Ruba'iyāt* is not the literary creation of 'Omar Khayyām but a collection of folk songs. It is a colourful collection like others of this type in which — with no regard to the persons of the poets — folk songs gathered by various principles vary in their contents according to the taste and preference of the collectors, having only one feature in common, namely, that, they generally all have the choicest folk songs. The *ruba'i* is the Persian folk song, and 'Omar Khayyām is but a name under which the contents are assembled (*Sammelname*). The late Prof. Schaeder (ZDMG 88, N. F. 13, Heft 2, pp. 25\*—28\*) concludes that the name of 'Omar Khayyām is simply to be erased from the history of Persian literature. The

*rubā'i*'s reflect a sceptic-gnostic view of life which characterizes the non-*Sūfi* poetry of the Mongol Period, exhibiting the hedonism of that poetry, whereas the scholarly attitude of 'Omar Khayyām is marked by the resolutely positive approach of a man dedicated to a passionately penetrating investigation into the nature of the physical, ethical and metaphysical universe. Thus 'Omar Khayyām rises to the ranks of the great Persian representatives of that free science which flourished in the Xth—XIth centuries A. D., and then, under the double onslaught of orthodoxy and *Sūfi* mysticism, collapsed. He followed in the footsteps of Avicenna, but gave up the attempt to present systematically rounded and architectonically constructed expositions and devoted himself instead to the task of dealing with sharply defined detail problems (*Einzelprobleme*) of metaphysics. — Now this is the end station to which the speculative approach of literary history to the 'Omar Khayyām problem must, of necessity, take us.

In the meantime, however, news began to reach us from the East about ancient MSS of the *Rubā'iyyāt* and some unexploited MSS in European libraries. Professor Ritter too has reported on several Istanbul MSS (*S I*, *S II*, *S V*, *S III*, *S IV*, *S VI*, *S VII*). To these comes now the *CA*, and we may add MS *A* before us. These are facts which have destroyed what were but theories. As against the folk song hypothesis, which hypothesis later Prof. Ritter himself also gave up, it has been established that, under the name of 'Omar Khayyām, we have MSS of considerable size, two in number, one of them dated about 85, the other about 137 years after the death of the poet. We cannot expect the discovery of earlier and larger MSS, since we are back in the time of Gazzāli's reform of religion and philosophy which meant a double onslaught upon free scientific thought — as also mentioned by Prof. Schaefer — by orthodoxy and mysticism, leading to the victory of the latter and introducing, with regard to the assessment of the data concerning 'Omar Khayyām, that peculiar change on which Rempis made some very valuable observations, and which may also account for the destruction of many a copy of the *Rubā'iyyāt*.

From the viewpoints of the themes, the style and the grammatical and phonetic phenomena we must accept 'Omar Khayyām as he actually was. This is a requirement of realism. He was a healthy character, with great inner contradictions. There is an English saying to the effect that no man is strong unless he bears within his character antitheses strongly marked. So we must not try to mould him into the pattern of a poetic character in harmony with the European idea of what a poet should be. This would be a dangerous distortion. Whinfield would exclude a part of the love and wine songs, Christensen the amorous and mystical quatrains, Anet all the poems which have theological references, while Rempis would not spare any of the quatrains that would resist an interpretation in the *Sūfi* sense. By a combined application of these principles of exclusion one might reduce the whole *Rubā'iyyāt*

to nil. After the first 14 original quatrains of Christensen, the 23 quatrains of Rosen, the second 121 of Christensen, the 53 of Rempis and the 178 original quatrains of Furughî, the criticism which is led by objective considerations has now taken a more positive attitude as regards the authenticity of the *rubâ'i*'s. Rosen is right in saying that the imitator and the interpolator are at pains to adapt themselves to the spirit of the original. So we are justified to take the whole *Ruba'iyyât* for a basis, in the form in which we have it before us in the MSS. Also in the opinion of Rempis : the 53 sifted-out quatrains too may be divided in two groups : in the first 'Omar Khayyâm appears as the *qalandariya*-master, a thinker and sage with a leaning towards mysticism, while in the other we have him as an unhappy worldling and a materialist. (The latter expression by Nağmu 'd-din Râzî.)

Again, from the viewpoint of the themes, we must admit the possibility that anything fit to be the subject of a poem — or, specifically, in our case, of a *rubâ'i*, might have inspired our poet — whatever we may think of the poet's character and mind. It is wrong to study the themes just in order to eliminate something ; we should also pursue the objective of tracking and identifying, among the wandering and unclaimed quatrains, the genuine compositions of 'Omar Khayyâm. One of the fundamental problems of 'Omar Khayyâm concerns the absurdity of the theological thesis according to which man determined bodily by creation and morally by predestination is accountable for his deeds and eternally punishable. If this teaching is true there is no choice for man but to escape into a state of unconsciousness. This is a familiar problem of modern medical psychology and, from this angle, we have to deal with something different from cynical hedonism. This is the search of a savant for an escape and solution who is under the external and internal pressure of hostile and inexorable circumstances. In Europe where the drinking of wine is not forbidden one cannot understand how wine-drinking may become the symbol of liberty, that of the freedom of thinking, investigation and teaching ; how it may promise the solution for a scholar in an insufferably tragic situation and how one may choose wine-worship (*mai-parastî*, *bâda-parastî*) as the slogan of spiritual liberation. This is not a case of alcoholism but a struggle for freedom against Islâm's prohibitions and the shackles it put on life. The advice *mai hwar* does not ask man to make himself unfit for the service of humanity but calls upon him to liberate himself, in every respect, in the fields of scientific thinking, research and teaching, from the oppressing domination of dogmas. The other general theme, the worship of beauty (idolatry, the worship of the woman = *but-parastî*) is also to be judged from the viewpoint of the man of the ancient East. The real 'Omar Khayyâm is the man who, with a tragic audacity, calls for a war of independence against the fetters in which dogma kept life ; we see him, at the turn of the Vth and VIth centuries A. H., in the period of *Gazzâlî*'s reform of religion, marching in the ranks of

free-thinkers against the threatening slavery of a reform of morals and life as advanced by the *Iḥyā'u 'ulūmi'-d-dīn* (*Revivification of the religious sciences*) and the *Tahāfutu -l-falāsifa* (*Destruction of the philosophers*). Science then lost this war of liberty. The religious science of Gazzālī, just as Thomism in later European history, prevailed over Greek science, but also brought with itself spiritual decay. Sūfī mysticism too has to be considered in this connection. 'Omar Khayyām could yet see in it an ally against orthodox religiosity. He employs Sūfī imagery, this trend representing for him at that time the freedom of the soul against the religious formalism sponsored by official quarters.

The problem of the choice of themes is also related to the repeated emergence, often in the form of variants, of certain motifs such as wine, love, rapture, the transmigration of the body and material (a conscious existence of feeling and thinking state of being transformed into a jug or cup [metensarkosis]). It is too much to require of a non-professional XIIth century A. D. poet to present every poem of his, on every occasion, in the same form or to create at once the final and unalterable form of his poem. A number of the variants may be regarded as representing various stages in the process of 'Omar Khayyām's shaping the form of his poems, or as reproductions by heart at various times, or as texts adapted to various occasions of poetic performance, or as records of various verbal communications by literary friends, or as misreadings of what had then become obsolete genres, or as resulting from the scribe's attempt to supply words in making up the illegibly corrupt writing of a line or stanza, or as a result of replacing archaisms by modern expressions. And let us not forget that there were also poets among the copyists. (It seems that Hāfiẓ, too, had the habit of copying MSS. This is attested by a datum published by Semenov : the State Library at Taskent has a MS the colophon of which asserts that it was copied by "the most humble of Allāh's creatures, Muhammad, who is also called Šamsu-l-Hāfiẓ Širāzī"). And in those days people had little respect for the individuality of the original (see the variants of the Firdawsī MSS), and this too may account for some of the poetic alterations effected by the copyists.

The linguistic and rhyme researches of Rempis deserve recognition. But we must realize that the MS tradition does not assure us that the original text was, in all its parts, the same as its extant copies. We cannot be sure of this even in the case of the rhyme words. Rempis writes that in MS *H* XXV, which was copied in 1758 from a MS dated 1384 (we do not know even the name of the copyist of the 1384 basic MSS, as the word for his name can be read either *Bāmi* or *Bassāmī*), the copyist left blank spaces where he found the text illegible and supplied surprisingly inappropriate words wherever he believed that he could decipher the faded or very archaic writing. To account for this phenomenon, Rempis offers the explanation that the large MSS of a more original character had been lying hidden for a long time when the small MSS

were in vogue, and when there was again a demand for the larger MSS, it turned out that their writing had faded to the degree of illegibility, or that people were no longer able to read the unfamiliar handwriting of centuries past. The small MSS contain more correct readings because they were more often copied. The *Main List* of Rempis considers the following quatrains of later origin : Nos. 99, 169, 275, 318, 327, 335, 397, 398, 441, 626, 640, 743, 746, 787, 797, 820, 930 and also Nos. 1074 and 1079 of the *Nachtrag*. Of these 99, 397 and 820 can be found in MS A under Nos. 42, 145, and 59, — hence these too are to be attributed to 'Omar Khayyām.

Also the *Hauptvergleichsliste* designates the following quatrains as being more reliably attributable to other authors : 243, 247, 321, 366, 450, 505, 511, 513, 593, 757, 828, 843. — 513 = A 66. However, the latter is attributed in 1222 by Aufi to Abū-'l-fath 'Utmān Harawī, but it is questionable whether this assertion of his was actually in the original composition of his work.

Investigations into the language and style should also be extended to include the scientific terms and technical terminology in order to find in them a basis for attempting to determine the dies a quo or the dies ad quem as regards the time of composition and authorship. But here too one must be careful to keep in mind that the author may consciously use old technical terms or that the copyist may substitute new ones for the old terms. We might rely on the changes that had occurred in Persian and Arabic vernacular and in the meanings of the language of the literature, high culture and various branches of specialized knowledge. Already Horten stressed, in another connection, the importance of these semantic stratifications.

Modern psychological investigations into our problem should also be desirable. A physician made the interesting observation that, in certain quatrains of 'Omar Khayyām, the juxtaposition or visual combinations of thoughts and images betray the working of an enraptured or inebriated man's mind, while the elaboration of the quatrains concerned seems to be the work of a perfectly sober person. Whether this is based on self-observation or on observing a company of revellers, we cannot tell. Phenomena of this kind can also be observed in our MS, particularly in quatrains Nos. A 7, 19, 20, 55, 60, 64, 86, 98, 102, 107, 161.

By the end of the XIIIth century A. D., we have about 250—300 quatrains sufficiently attested as the works of 'Omar Khayyām. Among the extant MSS we have no standard MS of the *Ruba'iyāt*. The content and length of the works of classical Greek and Latin authors are reliably attested either by the extant works themselves or, at least, by reports about them. But we are absolutely uncertain as to the original length of the *Ruba'iyāt*. The chances of a given MS' loss or survival in the XIIth to XIIIth centuries A. D., can be expressed by the ratio of at least 2 to 1. That is, of 100 MSS at least 66 were

lost and probably 33 have survived. This seems to be an arbitrary figure, but being a realistic minimum, it might be helpful. Now the foregoing proportion holds true not only of the MSS but the quatrains also. If we are justified in disproving, in certain instances, the authorship of 'Omar Khayyām, we are also justified in crediting him with at least 500 to 600 latently existing quatrains. By adding these ; we get the total of 750 to 900 quatrains. We may either assume that the collection of 'Omar Khayyām's poems began with private records of various size from which later on such components as MS *A* or MS *CA*, with their 172 and 251 quatrains resp., have subsequently disappeared, or we may adopt the view that the extant non-alphabetical small MSS are actually extracts from lost or disappeared large MSS of earlier dates : — in both cases we get the same result. If we suppose that the poetic activity of 'Omar Khayyām comprised at least 50 years of his long life, then we may attribute at least 1000 quatrains to him. The Concordance of Christensen has, on the basis of 19 MSS, 1213 entries. The *Hauptvergleichsliste* of Rempis, on the basis of the litographed edition of Hyderabad XXIII in 1893, has 1032 entries, with 100 supplementary entires of group uniques in the Nachtrag, thus making a total of 1132 entries. Unfortunately, Rempis does not publish the copied MS uniques which are in his hands, and does not give us even a rough estimate of their number, saying that no one would profit by their enumeration. Yet even the number of the quatrains he has exceeds 1200.

The real problem is not the quantity of the quatrains. The 'Omar Khayyām problem is an inverted Shakespeare problem. As some refuse to believe that Shakespeare the actor, with his supposed lack of learning and experience, was actually the author of those literary creations which are commonly attributed to him, and they are on the lookout for one or the other of the great man of the age as the real author — great enough to have written those magnificent works : with the same logic — only in the reverse — many people doubt that 'Omar Khayyām, undoubtedly one of the greatest men of his age, with so much and so deep learning and so high ideals, could actually stoop to the production of such masses of often cynical and hedonistic, then, at other times appallingly sad quatrains, — and so the search begins again for men of smaller calibre, either in the preceding or in the subsequent centuries. This question, however, would require separate treatment.



# A CLASSIFICATION OF GYPSIES IN HUNGARY

BY

K. ERDŐS

The study of Gypsies in Hungary began in the second half of the last century. A number of more or less scientific articles in various periodicals were followed at the end of the century by a few comprehensive works of which the *Gypsy-grammar* of Archduke Joseph<sup>1</sup> and Wlislocki's<sup>2</sup> books (partly published outside Hungary) are worth mention. Archduke Joseph's work contains the first attempt at classifying the Gypsies in Hungary. He distinguishes three dialects linguistically viz. the Carpathian, Transdanubian and Wallachian. A somewhat earlier attempt at classification<sup>3</sup> made by Ferenc Sztojka of Nagyida, a poet of Gypsy extraction, regarded as a criterion nationality only in determining various groups of Gypsies. However, his grouping is far from exhaustive, and his criteria are open to serious criticism. In our opinion a classification is important for both Hungarian ethnography and the international investigations into the problem of Gypsies, seeing further that a work of this kind might prove helpful to future research-work. I have decided to make a fresh attempt at a new classification of the Gypsies in Hungary.

In what follows, both linguistic and ethnographical considerations have been taken into account.

At present two kinds of Gypsies are distinguished in Hungary :

- A) Gypsies whose mother tongue is the Gypsy (Romany) language ;
- B) Gypsies with a non-Gypsy (Romany) mother tongue.

The first main group consist of two sharply distinct sub-groups :

A<sub>1</sub>) Mother tongue : the so-called Carpathian or Hungarian Gypsy language ;

A<sub>2</sub>) Mother tongue : the so-called Wallachian Gypsy language.

Within the Carpathian Gypsies (sub-group A<sub>1</sub>) we can distinguish three kinds :

<sup>1</sup> Archduke Joseph, *Gypsy Grammar* (Budapest 1888).

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich v. Wlislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg 1890); *Volks-glaube und religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner* (Münster 1891); *Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner* (Berlin 1892).

<sup>3</sup> F. Sztojka, *Magyar és Czigánynyelv Gyökszótára* [Hungarian-Gypsy Dictionary of Etymons] Kalocsa 1886.

- a) those living in the county of Nógrád;
- b) those living around Budapest (Páty, Csobánka, Pomáz, Zsámbék, Pilisvörösvár, Bia, Pesthidegkút, Budakalász) and in Transdanubia (Pécs, Mohács, Versend, Dunaszekcső);
- c) "knife-grinder" and "merry-go-round" Gypsies; these are roaming all over the country and call themselves "German" or "Wendish" Gypsies. The dialect spoken by the members of the above sub-division a) is somewhat different from that spoken by the members of the categories b) and c).

Carpathian Gypsies are unable to speak with members of the Wallachian subgroup on account of the essential differences between their languages.

The Wallachian (Vlax, Vlašika [ $A_2$ ]) sub-group falls into a number of sub-divisions (tribes), many of which are sharply separated from one another :

- a) *Lovāra* : horse dealers
- b) *Colāra* : carpet dealers
- c) *Khelderāša* : coppersmiths, kettlemenders
- d) *Cerhāra* : nomads ("those living in tents")
- e) *Māšāra* : fishermen
- f) *Fodozōvo* : panmakers, tinkers (Gurvāra)
- g) *Romano rom* : coppersmiths
- h) *Bodōca* : metal-workers
- i) *Kherāra* : casual workers (house-owners)
- j) *Bugāra* : knackers
- k) *Čurāra* : cutlers
- l) *Patrināra* : kettlemenders
- m) *Drizāra* : footpads

The more important Gypsy clans are as follows : *Hercegešt'e*, *Čokešt'e*, *Ducešt'e*, *Kodešt'e*, *Dudumešt'e*, *Čirikl'i*, *Pirancešt'e*, *Mugurešt'e*, *Šošoješt'e*, *Markulešt'e*, *Trabdešt'e*, *Ruva*, *Buzešt'e*, *Grancešt'e*, *Neneka* etc.

The second main group likewise consists of two sub-groups :

*B<sub>1</sub>* Gypsies whose mother tongue is Hungarian,

*B<sub>2</sub>* Gypsies whose mother tongue is Rumanian.

To sub-group *A<sub>1</sub>* belong, as has been said, those Gypsies whose mother tongue is the so-called Carpathian Gypsy language. This is the most archaic dialect.<sup>4</sup> To replace forgotten words or express new ideas, they use loan-words taken mostly from the Hungarian language.

The Wallachian Gypsies, who form sub-group *A<sub>2</sub>*, replace forgotten words and express new ideas by borrowing words mostly from the Hungarian and Rumanian languages-Gypsies of this sub-group are scattered all over Hungary.

Members of sub group *B<sub>1</sub>* (Gypsies with Hungarian mother language) are descendants of Carpathian and Wallachian Gypsies who, presumably for

<sup>4</sup> Communication made by J. Vekerdi.

the sake of easier assimilation, have not been taught the Gypsy language by their parents and forefathers. These two strains have become so mixed that it would be impossible to separate the present members of the sub-group according to descent (intermarriage, common domicile, adoption of new occupations, etc.), although individual questioning as to their customs or stock of melodies does furnish some clue regarding their origin, no serious investigator would dare set up definite categories within the sub-group.

Members of sub-group *B<sub>2</sub>* (Gypsies with Rumanian mother language) live mostly in two communities, these being in the county Békés : Elek and Méhkerék. They are agricultural labourers.

There exists a category of Gypsies the *Balajäre* (*i. e.* "tubber Gypsies") which, too, belongs to this sub-group, although it is still a matter of controversy among non-Hungarian authors whether its members are of Gypsy origin<sup>5</sup> (the present author regards them as Gypsies beyond doubt, although further extensive investigations would be required to furnish a scientifically valid proof in this respect). Three kinds of tubber Gypsies (*Balajäre*, *Bojāš*, *Beāš*, *Lingurār*) live in Hungary :

- a) Those of the „Tiszahát”-region in the nort-eastern part of the country—these have the comparatively highest culture, neglect and gradually forget their mother tongue.
- b) The “smoky” Gypsies who — living at Füzesabony, Tiszafüred, Békéscsaba — form an intermediate link between categories *a)* and *c)*.
- c) The so-called “Danube” Gypsies — these live in very primitive conditions —, many of the men have long hairs reaching to their shoulder, while the women wear necklaces made from tiny sea-shells and pearls.

\*

The members of sub-group *A<sub>1</sub>*, *i. e.* the Carpathian Gypsies, constitute the best-assimilated and most “honest” layer. Their men are musicians, factory hands, basket-weavers, etc. Their women are either kept busy by household work or pursue various professions as collectors of medicinal herbs, old-clothes-women, fortune-tellers, and even as wood-merchants. — “National” food : goulash with dumplings (*humer maseha*). They are also fond of gophermeat (*pekenuca*) and do not despise horse-flesh —. The Carpathian Gypsies have a much more intense emotional life than other Gypsies, for instance the Wallachian Gypsies, they are strongly superstitious and believe in ghosts, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Block Martin, *Die Zigeuner, Ihr Leben und ihre Seele* (Leipzig 1936), p. 168. — Jon Chelcea, *Rudari* (Bucureşti, 1944); Jon Chelcea, *Ein ethnographisches “Rätsel” die Stangenmacher* (Bucureşti 1944).

The members of sub-group  $A_2$ , *i. e.* Wallachian Gypsies, regard themselves alone as "genuine" Gypsies (*čičo rom*) and have deep contempt for all those who do not speak the Gypsy language. — "National" food: cabbage and *bokol'i*.<sup>6</sup> The flesh of the hedgehog is regarded as a delicacy. They will eat carrion but never touch horse-flesh. — They are definitely mistrustful and unwilling to fraternize with strangers.

<sup>6</sup> A flat loaf of bread baked in dying fire.

TETRALEMMA IN DER MISCHNA  
DER EINFLUSS EINER GRIECHISCHEN LOGISCHEN  
FORMEL AUF DAS TALMUDISCHE DENKEN

von  
G. NÁDOR

I

Ein hervorragender rumänischer Forscher, ARAM M. FRENKIAN hat in jüngster Zeit das Augenmerk auf das Tetralemma, auf die vier alternative Möglichkeiten berücksichtigende Denkform gelenkt. In seiner Arbeit: Der griechische Skeptizismus und die indische Philosophie<sup>1</sup> suchte er nachzuweisen, daß die griechische Philosophie, namentlich der Skeptizismus das Tetralemma der indischen Philosophie entlehnt hat. In der griechischen Philosophie ist das Tetralemma eine seltene Form. Am häufigsten kommt es bei Sextus Empiricus vor (Ende des 2. und Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts u. Z.), der in diesem vermutlich die alte Überlieferung der skeptischen Schule bewahrt hat. Durch Nebeneinanderstellung der bei Sextus Empiricus bewahrten und der aus der indischen Philosophie bekannten Tetralemmata erörtert FRENKIAN, daß, während alle vier Glieder des Tetralemmas in der indischen Philosophie vollen Sinn und Inhalt haben, die Viererform beim griechischen Autor oft bloß eine Konvention ist. Auf Grund dieses inneren Argumentes macht FRENKIAN glaubhaft, daß die Form aus Indien stammt. Auch für den wahrscheinlichen Zeitpunkt der Übernahme erhalten wir einen Fingerzeig: der Begründer der skeptischen Schule, Pyrrhon (ca. 365—275) nahm an dem indischen Feldzug Alexanders des Großen (333—323) als Begleiter teil. Es ist anzunehmen — schreibt FRENKIAN — daß er während dieser elf Jahre mit indischen Philosophen in Berührung kam und durch mündlichen Ideenaustausch mit einer interessanten Form der indischen Philosophie, mit dem Tetralemma bekannt wurde. Dies ist FRENKIANS interessante Hypothese.

Ob wir FRENKIANS Ansicht annehmen, oder — mit anderen Forschern übereinstimmend — das griechische Tetralemma der stoischen Logik zugute halten (diese Ansicht vertritt z. B. MATES, Stoic logic. Berkeley and Los

<sup>1</sup> ARAM M. FRENKIAN, Scepticismul grec si filozofia indiana (Bucuresti 1957). Eine Variante in deutscher Sprache ist in der *Bibliotheca Classica Orientalis*, 1958, Nr. 4. erschienen.

Angeles 1957, *passim*) — soviel ist allerdings Tatsache, daß die griechische Philosophie des hellenistischen Zeitalters diese Denkform bekannt und angewendet hat. In diesem Punkte knüpfen sich unsere Erörterungen an das Gesagte und wir untersuchen die weiteren Erscheinungen bzw. Vorkommen dieser logischen Form in der jüdischen Literatur des Altertums.

Zwischen den Kulturen zogen die geistigen Beziehungen, Wirkungen immer weitere Kreise. Auch der Weg des Tetralemmas nahm bei den griechischen Stoikern, beziehungsweise Skeptikern kein Ende. Von dem Zeitalter des Hellenismus an schlagen die Wellen der griechischen Kultur zum Nahen Osten hinüber. Der Einfluß der Ethik der hellenistischen Zeit, besonders der der stoischen Ethik auf das Judentum wurde schon oft untersucht.<sup>2</sup> Weniger befaßte man sich mit dem Einfluß der griechischen Logik. Beim Weiterverfolgen des Weges des Tetralemmas wird Licht über eine interessante Episode des Zusammentreffens der griechischen und jüdischen Kultur verbreitet. Obwohl es sich nur um eine Teilfrage handelt, ist es doch ein wichtiges Problem, denn es macht uns aufmerksam, daß das talmudische Judentum nicht nur die griechischen Systeme der Ethik, sondern ganz gewiß auch einiges von den Lehren der aristotelischen Logik bekannt hat. Bei der Bearbeitung der talmudischen Logik müssen wir, sogar nicht zuletzt, auch diese Beziehung in Betracht ziehen.

## II

Die bei Sextus Empiricus erhaltenen skeptischen Tetralemmata weisen eine feste Konstruktion auf : selbst in der Reihenfolge der Aufzählung der vier Möglichkeiten. Wir wollen einige charakteristische griechische Tetralemmata ansehen :

„Es gibt vier Kombinationsmöglichkeiten der hypothetischen Urteile : erstens, wenn es mit einem wahren Urteil beginnt und einem wahren Urteil endet ; zweitens, wenn es mit einem falschen Urteil beginnt und einem falschen endet ; drittens, wenn es mit einem falschen Urteil beginnt und einem wahren endet ; viertens, dessen Gegenteil, wenn es mit einem wahren Urteil beginnt und mit einem falschen endet.“<sup>3</sup> In Tabellenform dargestellt :

1	1
0	0
0	1
1	0

<sup>2</sup> Siehe z. B. HUGO BERGMANN, Die stoische Philosophie und die jüdische Frömmigkeit : Hermann Cohen Festschrift, *Judaica*.

<sup>3</sup> Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* 8, 247.

(Der Einfachheit halber wollen wir im nachstehenden diese Bezeichnungsweise zur Bezeichnung der Glieder des Tetralemmas gebrauchen : 1 soll immer die Behauptungen mit positivem Inhalt, 0 aber dieselben mit negativem Inhalt bezeichnen, nicht nur die wahren, beziehungsweise die falschen.)

„Der demonstrative Sillogismus ist entweder offenbar und beweist Offenbares, oder zweifelhaft und beweist Zweifelhaftes, oder zweifelhaft und beweist Offenbares, oder aber offenbar und beweist Zweifelhaftes.“<sup>4</sup>

Das Schema des Tetralemmas ist wieder :

1	1
0	0
0	1
1	0

Bei den Skeptikern ist meistens dies die Reihenfolge der Fälle im Tetralemma (Form A), obwohl auch andere Reihenfolgen vorkommen : besonders das Vertauschen der beiden letzten Fälle (Form B). Also :

1	1
0	0
1	0
0	1

### III

Die in der talmudischen Literatur erhaltenen Tetralemmata, die wir hier erwähnt haben, stammen aus der Mischnasammlung *Aboth*. In Anbetracht dessen, daß der Zeitpunkt der Redigierung der Mischna das Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts ist, konnte die Quelle nicht Sextus Empiricus oder irgendein späterer griechischer Verfasser sein. Der oder die anonymen Verfasser der in der Mischna vorkommenden Tetralemmata mochten unter dem Einfluß der früheren griechischen Literatur gestanden haben. Dieser Einfluß war, wie wir es später sehen werden, wahrscheinlich ein indirekter.

Die Mischna zählt mehrere Erscheinungsgruppen auf wo gerade vier Kombinationsmöglichkeiten, vier Typen vorkommen: es gibt vier Typen von Menschen (im Verhältnis zum Eigentum), vier Arten von Freigebigen, vier Typen von Gemütszuständen, vier Kategorien der Schüler usw.

Das viergliedige Schema selbst weist die Konstruktion der bei den Griechen bekannten Tetralemmata auf : die aufgezählten vier Fälle erschöpfen alle Möglichkeiten der untersuchten Erscheinung völlig.

<sup>4</sup> Adv. math. 8, 391.

Zur Popularität dieser Gliederung hat außer dem Gesichtspunkt der Logik gewiß auch der Umstand beigetragen, daß die Zahl vier sowohl bei den Griechen als auch bei den Juden mit Gefühlselementen verbunden war, die in der Zahlenmystik wurzelten.

Untersuchen wir die in der Mischna vorkommenden Tetralemmata auf die in ihnen befolgte Weise der Aufzählung. Fünf Tetralemmata folgen nacheinander. Wir bringen die Texte und die schematische Skizze :

(1)

„Es gibt vier Typen von Menschen :

Wer sagt : was mein ist, ist mein, was dein ist, ist dein — ist von mittlerem Charakter

Wer sagt : was mein ist, ist dein, und was dein ist, ist mein — der vertreibt die Auffassung des gemeinen Volkes

Wer sagt : das Meine ist dein, und das Deine ist dein — ist fromm

Wer sagt : das Deine ist mein und das Meine ist auch mein — ist bösartig.”<sup>5</sup>

Die Aufzählung beginnt mit den durchschnittlichen, am häufigsten vorkommenden Fällen, dann geht sie auf den günstigsten Fall über, und zum Schluß erwähnt sie den unvorteilhaftesten Fall. Der Ausgang von den mittelmäßigen Fällen gibt der Aufzählung eine realistische Basis : diese Reihenfolge können wir die Reihenfolge der auf den Realismus gegründeten Auffassung nennen. Die Mischna folgt also hinsichtlich der Reihenfolge der Aufzählung dem Beispiel der griechischen Tetralemmata nicht.

(2)

„Hinsichtlich der Affekte gibt es viererlei Menschen :

leicht erzürnende, leicht versöhnliche,

schwer erzürnende, schwer versöhnliche,

schwer erzürnende, leicht versöhnliche,

leicht erzürnende, schwer versöhnliche.”<sup>6</sup>

Hier kann man in Hinsicht auf den Inhalt an den entfernten Einfluß der griechischen Typenlehre von den vier Arten des Charakters denken. Die

<sup>5</sup> Aboth V/13 :

ארבע מדרות באדם. האומר של שלי  
ושלך שלך וו מדת בינהות ויש אומרים זו מדת סחוט. שלוי שלך ושלך  
שלוי העין. שלוי שלך ושלך חסיד. שלך שלוי ושלוי שלוי רשע.

<sup>6</sup> Aboth V/14 :

ארבע מדרות בעדויות. גוח לביעום ונוח לריצות . . . קשה  
לבעום וקשה לריצות . . . קשה לביעום ונוח לריצות . . .  
נוח לביעום וקשה לריצות.

Reihenfolge ist hier dieselbe wie im vorigen : von ethischem Gesichtspunkt mittlere Fälle, bester Fall, schlechtester Fall. Schematisch :

0	1
1	0
1	1
0	0

(3)

„Hinsichtlich der Intelligenz gibt es vier Typen von Schülern :

er faßt leicht auf und vergißt leicht,...

er faßt schwer auf und vergißt schwer,...

er faßt leicht auf und vergißt schwer,...

er faßt schwer auf und vergißt leicht...”<sup>7</sup>

Im Grunde genommen ist die Reihenfolge hier dieselbe wie die vorigen : mittlere Fälle, bester Fall, schlechtester Fall. Schematisch ausgedrückt :

1	0
0	1
1	1
0	0

(4)

„Es gibt vier Typen der Almosengeber :

wer will, daß er gebe und andere nicht geben,...

daß andere geben und er nicht gebe,...

daß er gebe und andere auch geben,...

daß er nicht gebe und andere auch nicht geben...”<sup>8</sup>

Schematisch dargestellt :

1	0
0	1
1	1
0	0

<sup>7</sup> Aboth V/15 :

ארבע מדרגות של תלמידים. מהיר לשפטו  
ומהיר לאבד... .... קשה לשפטו וקשה לאבד... ....  
מהיר לשפטו וקשה לאבד... .... קשה לשפטו ומהיר לאבד.

<sup>8</sup> Aboth V/16 :

ארבע מדרגות בנותני צדקה. הרוצה שיתן ולא יתנו אחרים... ....  
יתנו אחרים והוא לא יתן... .... יתן ויתנו אחרים... .... לא יתן... ....  
ולא יתנו אחרים... ....

(5)

„Es gibt vier Typen von Besuchern des Lehrhauses :  
 er besucht es, ist aber nicht wohltätig...  
 er ist wohltätig, besucht es aber nicht...  
 er besucht es, und ist wohltätig...  
 er besucht es nicht und ist nicht wohltätig...”<sup>9</sup>

Nach unserem Schema :

1	0
0	1
1	1
0	0

Die in der Mischna vorkommenden Tetralemmata gebrauchen also nicht die bei den Griechen beobachtete Reihenfolge. Während die Reihenfolge bei den Griechen bei den extremen Fällen beginnt und zum Schluß auf die mittleren Fällen übergeht (in *diesem* stimmen die Versionen A und B völlig überein), beginnen die in der Mischna vorkommenden Tetralemmata die Aufzählung mit den mittleren, durchschnittlichen Fällen und beenden sie mit den extremen Fällen.

In etwas späterer Zeit kommen in der talmudischen Literatur auch Tetralemmata mit anderer Reihenfolge vor. So z. B. a) eine hierarchisch absteigende Reihenfolge : bester, mittlerer, schlechtester Fall.<sup>10</sup> Das Schema lautet :

1	1
1	0
0	1
0	0

<sup>9</sup> Aboth V/17 :

אָבָע מְרוֹת בַּחֲלֵבִי לְבֵית דָמֶרֶשׁ הַוְלֵךְ וְאֵינו עִוָשֶה . . .  
 . . . עִוָשֶה וְאֵינו הַוְלֵךְ . . . הַוְלֵךְ וְעִוָשֶה . . . לֹא הַוְלֵךְ וְלֹא עִוָשֶה

<sup>10</sup> Ein solches ist z. B. das folgende :

„Ein Mensch, der will, daß er lerne und auch andere lehrt,  
 Ein solcher, der will, daß er lerne, aber andere nicht,  
 Ein solcher, der will, daß andere lernen, er aber nicht,  
 Ein solcher, der will, daß weder er noch andere lernen.“ (Aboth de Rabbi  
 Nathan, ed. SCHECHTER, Cap. 46. — Version B).

und seltener b) die bei den Griechen beobachtete Form *B*,<sup>11</sup> d. h.

1	1
0	0
1	0
0	1

Wir können also feststellen, daß die älteste, in der Mischna vorkommende Aufzählung<sup>12</sup> die bei den Griechen bekannte und gewohnte Reihenfolge nicht befolgt, und die späteren Aufzählungen auch nur bisweilen. Welche Schlußfolgerungen ergeben sich hieraus für die talmudische Logik und für das Verhältnis der Meister des Talmuds zur griechischen Logik?

Die Meister des Talmuds (aus der Mischna-Zeit) lernten die griechische Philosophie und Logik hauptsächlich durch mündliche Überlieferung kennen, in erster Linie aus den Vorträgen der Wanderphilosophen oder aus den Gesprächen, die sie mit ausländischen, in der Philosophie bewanderten Gelehrten führten. Auf solchem Wege mochte das Tetralemma zu den Meistern der Mischna gelangt sein.

Die Mischna befolgt nicht die von den Griechen eingeführte Reihenfolge, sondern eine solche, die von den im Leben am häufigsten vorkommenden, durchschnittlichen Fällen ausgeht und erst danach auf die extremen Fällen übergeht. Der Gesichtspunkt ist ein moralischer Blickpunkt, der die Erscheinungen der ethischen Welt mit Realismus betrachtet und wertet. Daher die Reihenfolge der Aufzählung: mittlere Fälle, moralisch hervorragender, moralisch verletzender Fall. Die Verfasser übernehmen also die Form und passen sie ihrer moralischen Weltanschauung, ihren Kategorisierungen mit ethischem Gesichtspunkt an.

Vom Gesichtspunkt der Kulturgeschichte aus und unter dem Blickwinkel des Zusammentreffens verschiedener Kulturen betrachtet ist es aber keine unbedeutende Tatsache, daß die Gelehrten des Judentums der Mischna-Zeit nicht nur die griechischen ethischen Lehren, sondern auch einige Formen der griechischen Logik kannten.

<sup>11</sup> Ein solches ist das folgende :

„Es gibt vier Typen von Freigebigen :  
er gibt und wünscht, daß andere auch geben,  
er gibt nicht und wünscht, daß andere auch nicht geben,  
er gibt und wünscht, daß andere nicht geben,  
er gibt nicht und wünscht, daß andere geben.“

(Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, ed. SCHECHTER, Cap. 45 — Version *B.*)

<sup>12</sup> In der rabbirischen Literatur kann man — außer den hier aufgezählten — mehrere Tetralemmata finden. Viele sind zu finden in Aboth de Rabbi Nathan. Der Verfasser bearbeitet dieses Material in einer Studie betitelt: Zahlkategorien in der rabbirischen Literatur.



ISAAC IBN CHALFON'S PANEGYRIC POEM  
ADDRESSED TO SAMUEL HAN-NAGID  
FROM THE KAUFMANN GENIZA

BY

A. SCHEIBER

Isaac Ibn Chalfon (born about the middle of the 10th century, died after 1020) was one of the pioneers of the Hebrew poetry of the Spanish-Jewish heydays. His father went to Spain from North Africa, and he himself wandered about Spain, in search of patrons. Among other cities he also sojourned at Cordova, where he made friends with the much younger Samuel han-Nagid (993—1056), later the Vizier and Chancellor of Granada and Prince ("Nagid") of the Granada Jews. In case of need the poet could always rely on him. Samuel endeavored to dissuade the poet from divorcing his wife; on the other hand, the old poet consoled Samuel han-Nagid with beautiful lines when the latter was removed for a short period in 1020.<sup>1</sup>

Fate decreed it so that his works too were tossed about. His *Diwan* was mentioned in an old booklist, probably from the 12th century;<sup>2</sup> yet its fragments have only recently turned up from the Geniza.

However, the Kaufmann Geniza too has a share in that. On the basis of the Catalogue of S. Widder,<sup>3</sup> S. Abramson supposed Nr. 72 of the Kaufmann Collection, containing 13 poems, to be also the work of Ibn Chalfon.<sup>4</sup> His hypothesis came true when I published<sup>5</sup> the texts of the poems.<sup>6</sup> In 1957 Ch. Schirmann found 11 more poems in a Cambridge manuscript (T.—S. Misc., Box 23, K 16 c), and another 4 ones in the Elkan N. Adler Collection of New York (No. 2946).<sup>7</sup> So far altogether 72 poems are known by him.

This time I would like to publish the 73th poem, MS. 128 of the Kaufmann Collection.<sup>8</sup> It is only one leaf, with the text on one page, whereas the

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Schirmann, *השינה העברית בספרות ספרד ופורטוגל* I (Tel-Aviv 1954), pp. 66—67; II (Tel-Aviv 1956), p. 677.

<sup>2</sup> S. Assaf: *Kirjath Sepher* XVIII (1941/42), p. 275. No. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw* (Budapest 1947), Hebrew Section: pp. 57—58. No. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Sinai* XIII (1949/50), No. 3—4., pp. 205—208.

<sup>5</sup> *Sinai* XIV (1950/51), No. 9—10., pp. 217—220.

<sup>6</sup> S. Abramson: *Sinai* XIV (1950/51), No. 13—14., p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> *Tarbiz* XXVIII (1958/59), pp. 330—342; XXIX (1959/60), p. 111. Cf. Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*. Second edition (Oxford 1959), p. VIII.

<sup>8</sup> S. Widder: *loc. cit.*, p. 80. No. 128.

other page is blank. It is folded, so that it was certainly meant for mailing, from which it can be safely inferred that we have to do with the autograph of the poet.

The initials of the last words in the last line give the name בָּלְפִין, from which S. Widder correctly inferred that its author was Isaac Ibn Chalfon. He held the addressee to be Samuel han-Nagid, the poet's friend. S. Abramson had his doubts because the initials did not contain the name Isaac, and the poem might have been addressed to the Egyptian Samuel han-Nagid as well.<sup>9</sup> However, the identity of the author and the addressee is established by the text itself.

It appears from the poem itself that it was meant as a greeting for Purim addressed by the poet to Samuel han-Nagid. Both the father Joseph (בֶּן פָּרוֹת)<sup>10</sup> and the bride (בָּת שִׁיחָה) of the addressee<sup>11</sup> are mentioned; I have not found the latter's name anywhere else. The prince's linguistic knowledge,<sup>12</sup> kindness, and integrity are equally praised. Reference is made to the Nagid's escape from disaster. He wishes him to have sons, and not daughters, and wishes his enemies to be drunken with venom (יִרְוָה מַלְעֵנָה), the same wish figuring in other passages in Isaac Ibn Chalfon in connection with Samuel han-Nagid.<sup>13</sup>

In the Arabic postscript the poet complains of the exhaustion of his poetic gift, for which reason he is unable to appear with a worthy poem before the prince. However, thinking of the prince's benefacts he wishes him longevity and blessed Purim.

We think this synopsis of the contents explicitly proves the identity of Samuel han-Nagid, and the text the authorship of Isaac Ibn Chalfon. Consequently, we have one more poem by the latter in praise of the Nagid.<sup>14</sup>

Samuel han-Nagid was praised by Hebrew<sup>15</sup> and Arab writers<sup>16</sup> alike. Numerous allusions in their works coincide with the contents of the present poem.

I am indebted to Dr. N. Allony of Jerusalem for his kind help.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Sinai* XIII (1949/50), No. 3—4., p. 208, note 16.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. XLIX. 22. In connection with his son, Jehoseph : *Diwan of Shemuel Han-naghid*, ed. D. S. Sassoon (Oxford—London 1934), p. 3. No. 5, line 5 ; S. M. Stern : *Zion* XV (1950), p. 144, line 14 ; Ch. Schirmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 174, line 34 ; F. P. Bargebuhr : *The Alhambra Palace of the Eleventh Century : Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XIX (1956), p. 241.

<sup>11</sup> It concerns only Samuel han-Nagid's bride because Jehoseph, who was born in 1035, married after 1050 and the poet had died long before that time. Cf. S. Abramson : *Tarbiz* XXVI (1956/57), pp. 52—53.

<sup>12</sup> F. P. Bargebuhr : *loc. cit.*, p. 196.; Ch. Schirmann : *Samuel Hannagid. The Man, the Soldier, the Politician : Jewish Social Studies* XIII (1951), pp. 99—126.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. Sassoon, p. 49. No. 71, line 3 ; Ch. Schirmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 72. No. 19, line 3.

<sup>14</sup> Ch. Schirmann : *Tarbiz* XXVIII (1958/59), p. 336.

<sup>15</sup> S. M. Stern : *Zion* XV (1950), pp. 135—145.

<sup>16</sup> J. Ratzhabi : *Orlogin* XIII (1957), pp. 270—275.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. N. Allony : *אַיִלָּה הַיּוֹדֵעַ בְּפָרַד I* (Jerusalem 1959), p. 61.

ירומם . . . . . [נות]	עדֵי בָּחוֹר . . . . . מְקִים
ובן פורת[ת עלי עין ובנות]	דְמֹות חַהְדֵד וְמַהוּדוֹ יָרְשָׁו
בתפהו בכ[ר]ם עלי עינית[	יְפָה יוֹפִי בְּבֵל מְעֵשׂ מְחֻזֶּב
וכשבחו בו יבין הלאשיות	הַדְּסֵם רִיחָו וְמוֹר שִׁיחָו וְפִצְחָו
יניצל ממנחות ואסונות	5 בְּפִנִים יָצַהּלוּ נָגֵד בְּנֵי אִישׁ
ברבות המריקים מעינות	נְקִי הַכְּפָה [נדיב לב ע]רִי לוּ
ובנת שרה בנבדות קצינות	אֲדוֹנוּנוּ נָגִיד עִם אֶל יְלָדוֹ
להוויה בוקנתו ששונות	בְּבָלְתָהוּ יַזְבְּחוּ רָאוֹתָו
במו חזקן ואל יבלם בכנות	וּבְכָה יְהֹוה בְּנֵי בְּחִיקָה
קרב עם גלית העפניות	10 רָאִיתָנוּ בְשְׁכָלָל בֵית אֲרִיאָל
ואת אויביו יורה מלענות	כְּבָדוֹ יְעָטָה עַל [ד]יְהָוָה
ויטיב לו [כתב השיר להטיב לנפש פור ונורלות נכונות	וַיְטִיב לְוּ [כְּתָב הַשִּׁיר לְהַטִּיב לְנֶפֶשׁ פָּר וְנוּרָלוֹת נְכוֹנוֹת

<sup>2</sup> ובן פורת[ת עלי עין] פט, בג. השווה מה שבתבמי בתקרבה.

<sup>3</sup> מחוטב[ת] ממשי, ג, טו.

<sup>4</sup> בון[ת] ודר קרא: "יט".      בין[ן] אצל ודר: "יבון". עלי בתקרבה.

<sup>5</sup> נקי הכה[ת עלי תה] כה, ד.      נדיב לב[ת] שפטה לה, בג.      ברכות[ת] מלאכי, ג, ז.

<sup>8</sup> בבלתו[ת] אצל ודר: "בלבתו".

<sup>10</sup> בית אֲרִיאָל[ת] = בית המקדש. עלי יש' כט, א.

<sup>11</sup> יורה מלענות[ת] איבת, ג, טו. עלי בתקרבה.

<sup>12</sup> פור ונורלות[ת] עלי אסתה, ט, גה.

ולמָא אֲדֵי<sup>1</sup> בְּאַתְּ קְרִיחַתִּי כְּדֵמָתֶת מִן אֶל הַמּוֹם וְלֹמַתְּקָדֵר עַלִּי [שער]<sup>2</sup>

יצַלְחָ אָנִי יַקְאַבֵּל בְּהַסִּידְנָא אֶל נְגִיד רָאַתִּי אָנִי אַחֲזָה בְּדָבָרְךָ

בְּחַסְכָּ אֶל דָאַלְהָ<sup>3</sup> עַלִּי תְּפִצְלָה אַלְדָה<sup>4</sup> לִם יוֹל פָאַסְלָ אַלְלָה תַּעַן אָנִי

לֹא יוֹל עַן חַצְרָה<sup>5</sup> סִידְנָא אֶל נְגִיד נְעַמָּה וַיְגַעַלְךָ מִן

5 תְּנַאַל מִנוּ[לְתָה...] רַה<sup>6</sup> אֶל עַמְרָ אֶל טַיְל וַיְגַעַל הַדָּא אֶל פּוֹרִים

עַלִּיךְ אַבְרָהָם אֶל אַוְקָאת וַאֲסֻדָּה וַיְשַׁלְמָךְ יְרוּם לְעֵד סְלָה.

## תרגם

ובאשר היה בשרון יצירתי כבר נעדר בגלל הדאנות ולא היה יכול להצלחה (בכתיבת) שיר שיש בו לקرم אדוננו הנגיד<sup>7</sup>, השבתי כי אחיזתו על ידי זברך

מתוך העזה (נסמבי) על הסדריך אשר לא יבלו, ועל בן אבקש ה' כי

לא יסוד מבבוד אדוננו הנגיד נעמי וישימך מלאה

5 שהשינה מעלהם ... החיים הארכויים וישים את הפורים היה

עליך הומן המבורך והמאשר ביוור וישלומך ירום לעד סלה.

<sup>1</sup> צירוף זה נמצא בפלשון העברית יהודית.

<sup>2</sup> ההשלמה מידי ד"ה ל. קוֹפֶּקֶת, שלפני אפשר נט להשלמים "טָא".

<sup>3</sup> צירוף זה נמצא גם בפתוחת של שיר, שנפתח במס' יידי ד"ה יהודיה קומליש (חביב ביד ב"ג, מש"ה, עמ' 548),

שם דפס: "סְכָם אַלְדָאַלָה", ואילו בכה": "סְכָם אַלְדָאַלָה", לא תירום שם כמו שתרגמתי.

<sup>4</sup> הנקודה הדיאקritisית היא השירד היחיד של המלה.

<sup>5</sup> השלמים קוֹפֶּקֶת.

<sup>6</sup> יש ריש ברורה בכה", ואף גראה קאזו של אית' נטפת לפניה והוא ען או חי.

<sup>7</sup> (אמ"ר המשורר טודור אבו אלעפיה): "בְּשִׁי לְהַלֵּךְ עַמְקָתְנוֹתָה / מִצְעָדָה, לוֹ תְּחַזֵּק בְּךָ חִתָּה" (ן המשלים מהחידות, ח"ב, ג"א, עמ' 4, שורה 19).

הו. כהלוּן . ינְסִיס . טוֹרֶן  
לטולן הילן ואלהוּרַיְשָׁן . אַמְּרָן  
ויהי ז' ב' עיר אחות עט . כהן  
הדא ריאוּנוּ וחוּר שיאוּר ופְּאָהוּ . אַפְּסָפָהוּ טִיכְוָה לְלִזְוָנוּין  
בְּעוּרָה . בְּרִיאָה . בְּרִיאָה . בְּרִיאָה .  
רְחֵי הַדָּבָר . יְמִינָה . צְדֻקָּה חֲדִידִים . וְעַלְעָרָה  
אַרְיוּעָה . גְּלָעָה . סְמִינָה . אַדְלָה יְרָאָה גְּדָדָה וְרָחָם עַלְעָרָה  
בְּדָלָה . יְלָה . לְאָהָה .  
כְּבָה יְחִילָה בְּעָה . פְּחִילָה .  
כְּהָאָה . בְּאָה . בְּדִילָה בְּדִילָה .  
רְאִוָּה . בְּרִכָּה . בְּרִכָּה . בְּרִכָּה .  
בְּפִירָה . יְזִירָה . אַלְרָה .  
וְעַדְלָה . סְרִיחָה . בְּלָדָה . כְּרִיבָה . אַדְלָה . נְדוּרָה .  
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וְלָהָא אֶרְיךָ אֶבְלָה טִיבָה . נְעָדָה . יְאָהָה . בְּאָהָה אֶבְכָּה  
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לְמִזְלָה . סְיִדָּה . נְאָבָד . בְּרָהָה . אַדְלָה . וְעָלָה  
תְּלָה . אָרוּד . בְּגָעָה . נְאָה . וְאָרָה . הַמְּאָה . נְפָהָה  
עָלָה . אָפָּה . נְאָלָה . וְאָשָׁה . וְאָלָה . וְוָה . לְעָזָה

A kiadásért felel az Akadémiai Kiadó igazgatója

Műszaki szerkesztő: Farkas Sándor

A kézirat beérkezett 1959. XII. 1. — Terjedelem: 8,25 (A/5) iv, 1 ábra

1960.50452 — Akadémiai Nyomda, Budapest — Felelős vezető: Bernát György

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I N D E X

A. RÓNA-TAS : A Study on the Dariganga Phonology .....	1
G. URAY : The Four Horns of Tibet According to the Royal Annals .....	31
B. CSILLIK : The Real 'Omar Khayyām .....	59
K. ERDŐS : A Classification of Gypsies in Hungary .....	79
G. NÁDOR : Tetralemma in der Mischna .....	83
A. SCHEIBER : Isaac Ibn Chalfon's Panegyric Poem .....	91

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# SOME CHINESE TEXTS IN TIBETAN SCRIPT FROM TUN-HUANG

BY

B. CSONGOR

## Abbreviations

### Sources:

- C — the 千字文 *Ch'ien tzü wén* with pronunciation notations in Tibetan writing, the facsimile found in P. Pelliot—T. Haneda, *Manuscrits de Touen-houang... série in folio I—IV*, Kyōto 1926.
- K — the 金剛經 *Chin kang ching* in Tibetan writing, microfilm of the original, by the courtesy of the India Office Library,
- O — the 阿彌陀經 *O mi t'o ching* in Tibetan writing, microfilm of the original, by the courtesy of the India Office Library,
- OA — another version of the preceding, microfilm of the original, by the courtesy of the India Office Library,
- T — the 大乘中宗見解 *Ta shéng chung tsung chien chieh* with pronunciation notations in Tibetan writing, microfilm of the original, by the courtesy of the India Office Library.

### Publications:

- Lo Ch'ang-p'ei — 羅常培 Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *The Northwestern Dialects of Tarn and Five Dynasties*, Shanghai 1933.
- Thomas K — F. W. Thomas—G. L. M. Clauson, *A Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Writing*: *JRAS* 1926, p. 508—526.
- Thomas O — F. W. Thomas—G. L. M. Clauson, *A Second Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Characters*: *JRAS* 1927, p. 281—306.
- Thomas T — F. W. Thomas—S. Miyamoto—G. L. M. Clauson, *A Chinese Mahāyāna Catechism in Tibetan and Chinese Characters*: *JRAS* 1929, p. 37—76.

### Other sources:

- ChGU — B. Csongor, *Chinese in the Uighur Script of the T'ang-period*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* II, p. 73—121.
- DTch — H. Maspero, *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang*: *BEFFEO* XX, 2.
- EPhCh — B. Karlgren, *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise*,
- GSR — B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*: *BMFEA* 29
- Hauer — E. Hauer, *Das Ts'sien-tzé-wen in vier chinesischen Schriftformen mit einer monogolischen Übersetzung*: *MSOSO* XXVIII 1925, p. 1—47.
- Kuang-yün — 沈兼士 Shēn Chien-shih, *廣韻聲系* *Kuang yün shéng hsi* I—II, Peking 1945.

*SH* — the Chinese text of the *O mi t'o ching* as found in Siiō-Hitosi, *Rigakusya to Amidakyoo*, Nagoya (1929).

*W* — 敦煌石室出唐人寫經漢川吳氏藏金剛般若波羅蜜經 *Tun huang shih shih ch'u T'ang jen hsieh ching*, *Han-ch'uan Wu shih tsang Chin kang pan jo po lo mi ching*, Peking.

The texts under treatment, except *Oa*, have already been published and subjected to a phonological evaluation. The latter work has been done by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, who has pointed out for the first time to my knowledge the connexion between T'ang dialectal peculiarities and some northwestern dialects of to-day in a systematic way. The reasons that I venture to work up this materials once more, might be summarized as follows:

The originals were not accessible to Lo Ch'ang-p'ei. While reading the microfilms I was able to discover a number of cases which need emendation.

The methods followed by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei in grouping the material may be subjected to a certain criticism. He has arranged it according to the homophones in initials and finals as they appear in the Tibetan transcription itself. One has rather to begin with the reverse process: the phonological categories as given in the *Ch'ieh-yün* and as established by Karlgren and their whole system must serve as points of departing for a further comparison.

The material embraced in this paper differs somewhat from that worked on by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei. Both the bilingual inscription of Lhasa and the *K'ai mēng yao hsün* are omitted, in order to preserve the homogeneous character of the material. On the other hand, the hitherto unpublished material of *Oa* is also treated here. By the time of the discovery of *O*, *Oa* must have been covered up by the text of *O* on a major part as it is stated in the Thomas *O* that between parts of *O* some fragmentary lines of the same text are to be seen, written by another hand. The microfilm of *O* however, as obtained from the India Office contains a two page text hitherto unedited which turned out on a closer scrutiny to be closely related to *O*, differing from it in minor points only. This text which is put down by me as *Oa* and is shorter than *O* by the major half of lines 1—16 only, must have been stuck to the back of *O* originally. In the followings I wish to mark the differences only of the two texts *O* and *Oa*.

To sum up: in spite of the great merits of Lo Ch'ang-p'ei in the treatment of the material, and in despite of the fundamental phonological conclusions he could draw, there is still a chance in my opinion for a further treatment from a different angle. This has been made possible by the access to the original texts which was denied to him. May this work endeavouring to push farther on the tracks beaten by him serve as a modest tribute to the untimely deceased, much regretted great scholar.

### Emendations

#### 1. *Ch'ien tzü wen*

The Chinese text of *C* shows some divergences from that of Hauer: in 1.9, as it can be ascertained from the Tibetan glosses, 獸 is missing, 29.5,6 *C* 事儀, Hauer 史魚; 35.9 *C* 河, Hauer 荷; 38.8 *C* 廂, Hauer 箱; 46.4 *C* 洛, Hauer 洛; 46.11—13 *C* 口犢駭, Hauer 犢特駭; 48.11 *C* 鈎, Hauer 鈎; 50.3 *C* 研, Hauer 嫌; 52.2 *C* 祐, Hauer 祐.

One of these is worth of a closer scrutiny: in 29.5,6, Hauer obviously gives the original text as it is a personal name (Hauer p. 42). If we compare the ACh. forms with one another — Hauer 史魚 *\*si ngiwo* ~ *C* 事儀 *dz'i ngjie* — it turns out that the copyist of the Chinese text of *C* committed an error in confusing homophones i. e. he spoke a Chinese dialect in which 1. the ACh. *chuang* initial was missing altogether, the more, its dialectal counterpart was voiceless (cf. *ChGU* p. 88), 2. ACh. *-iwo* coincided with the *k'ai k'ou* finals of the ACh. *chih* rime (cf. P. Pelliot, *Neuf notes sur les questions d'Asie Centrale: TP XXVI* 1929, p. 221—225), 3. ACh. *shang shêng* and *ch'ü shêng* coincided (cf. *DTch* p. 110n). These dialectal peculiarities are well-known already from T'ang dialectal material; now it can be stated that they occurred together in the same dialect in the T'ang-period in northwestern China. Of course it is a totally different question whether this dialect of the copyist of the Chinese text was or was not of the same kind as that of the writer of the Tibetan glosses.

Some readings given by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, must be emended as follows:<sup>2</sup>

9.8 禽 [ <i>g(i)m</i> ] <i>gim</i>	24.7 恒 [ <i>h(e)n?</i> ] <i>he()</i>
10.11 庶 [ <i>syig</i> ] <i>syeg</i>	33.5 解 [ <i>ka'</i> ] <i>ga'</i>
12.9 典 [ <i>tya(n)</i> ] <i>tyan</i>	37.7 鵠 [ <i>kun</i> ] <i>kuon (sic!)</i>
11.3 昇 [ <i>šeñ</i> ] <i>šiñ</i>	37.10 凌 [ <i>leñ</i> ] <i>lìñ</i>
20.10 趙 [ <i>ja'u</i> ] <i>j(e)'u</i> <sup>3</sup>	42.7 巾 [ <i>kin</i> ] <i>ken</i>

In addition to the glosses as contained in Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, the following cases can still be read on the facsimile: 1.1 而 *ži*; 1.2 益 "*i()*"; 3.10 懷 (*)e()*;

<sup>1</sup> The part containing the Chinese character is missing in the *MS*. — The numbers before the point refer to the respective line of *C*, that after the point to the place of the word.

<sup>2</sup> The forms to be emended are put in square brackets at the left, the emended forms stand at the right. In *C* and *T*, as the *MS* contains the Chinese characters also, these are put before the forms to be emended — if they are also to be emended, they are found inside the brackets.

<sup>3</sup> The upper part of the paper is missing.

9.13 靈 *l( )n*; 23.11 州 *( )u( )*; 29.10 幾 *( )i*; 35.11 歷 *l(i)( )*; 36.8 桐 *( )o( )*;  
37.13 霽 *se( )*; 39.13 飫 *"u'(o)*.

Some of the Tibetan glosses contained in *C* cannot be explained by pure phonological methods:

11.9 疑 <i>'gu</i> ACh. <i>ngji</i>	27.9 假 <i>šug</i> ACh. <i>tš'žuk</i>
24.3 秦 <i>jen</i> ACh. <i>dz'žen</i>	41.4 繢 <i>cig</i> ACh. <i>tsiek</i>
27.1 治 <i>li</i> ACh. <i>d'ži</i>	

Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 26) takes 24.3 and 41.4 as simple mistakes in writing instead of regular *zen* and *cig*. This is obviously correct. His explanations, however, in another cases, cannot be accepted. 27.1 is, according to him (p. 5) a dialectal form and by way of explanation he adduces a similar phenomenon from the Amoy-dialect. Now, the correspondence ACh. *d'ž* ~ *l* does not exist in fact in the Amoy vernacular,<sup>4</sup> and we find it in no other text from the T'ang-period. According to me, 27.1 治 *li* is a case of taboo-reading, 治 being the personal name of T'ang Kao Tsung; the original reading was avoided and 理 was read instead of it.<sup>5</sup>

27.9 was interpreted by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 22) as having been suggested by the phonetic part of the character. There is, however, another, more plausible way of explanation in this case. According to the 詞海, the character when occurring in the compound 假裝, stands for the character 東 (ACh. *šiwok*). This compound is attested in the *Wén hsüan* already. Now, as 假 is of a rather rare occurrence even in ancient texts, it mostly occurs only in the compound mentioned above. It can be easily realized that from this compound the ACh. *šiwok* reading was adopted for general use in T'ang-time already.

11.9 疑 *'gu* ~ ACh. *ngji* is perhaps due to a synalephe of 疑爲 (ACh. *ngji jwieg*) as this must be the meaning of 疑 in everyday speech in the respective line of *C*: 异轉疑星. This way of word-formation is well-known in Chinese, from the archaic 之乎>諸 up to modern 不用>甬. Mixing up forms of common speech with the original, classical readings of a text is attested in other places too of our texts also.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, 廈門音系 *Hsia mén yin hsi*, Peking 1956, pp. 55—56. The annexed tables show two cases of ACh *t* ~ Amoy *l*, and one of ACh *t'ž* ~ Amoy *l*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Pelliot—P. Benveniste, *Le sūtra des causes et des effets du bien et du mal : Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale*, Série in-quarto 2. vol. II. part 1, Paris 1926, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> That *C* was read by the gloss maker in the vernacular and by no means in some kind of „high, literary style” can be ascertained by the fact that its original rimes show very faint traces of riming in the Tibetan transcription.

2. *Chin kang ching*

Divergences between the Chinese text as given by Thomas *K* and *W*:  
*K*3.7, 8 信布, *W* 信心布; *K*6.9; 10.1; 12.20; 16.19; 19.4 授, *W*受; *K*8.18 法,  
*W*Ø; *K*13.6; 14.1 經, *W*輕; 26.8 心, *W*Ø; *K*28.16 ? (*deñ*), *W*Ø; *K*32.18 生,  
*W*然.

Readings in Thomas *K* that should be emended:

2.7 [phu]	<i>pu</i> <sup>7</sup> 布	29.4 [’me]	[’m(e)g] 貌
3.7, 8 [sin pu]	<i>sin sim pu</i> 信心布	34.15 [’mag]	[’meg] 貌
5.9 [(co)ñ]	č( )ñ? 稱	36.7 [he’i]	hi’i 虛
5.12 [phyen]	<i>pyen</i> <sup>7</sup> 邊	42.2 [’ca]	[’cañ] 莊
10.22 [kyen]	<i>ken</i> 間	43.6 [cin]	čin? <sup>9</sup> 真
12.6 [sañ]	<i>san</i> 散	43.7 [šir]	ši <sup>10</sup> 是
after 16.18 one may still find	’tig (?)	44.1 [cin]	con 尊
after 17.18 one may still find	”ir  (—?)	45.15 [de’i]	badly mutilated, rather (h)e’i 慧
24.4 [žen]	šeñ 生	47.14 [že]	ži 如
25.5, 7, 10, 13 [pyañ]	<i>syañ</i> <sup>8</sup> 相	16.17; 19.1 未	’bar is due to a con- fusion of 未 with 未. <sup>11</sup>
after 26.6 <i>K</i> still gives <i>nog ta la sam</i>			
’meg sam bu ( <i>W</i> 菩多羅三藐三菩)			
28.1 [(ž)i]	( )i 如		

3. *O mi t'o ching*

Emendations of the Chinese text as given by Thomas *O*: Thomas *O*:  
*A*7.4—7 阿鞞跋致, *SH* 阿鞞跋致; *A*14.3 挂, *SH* 在; *B*2.4—6 阿闍鞞, *SH*  
 阿闍鞞; *D*2.9—15 (not identified in Thomas *O*) čhi ’bur ši šwar myi gib kyi,  
*SH* 諸佛所說名及經;<sup>12</sup> *D*3.7 之 (*guñ*), *SH* 共.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The characteristic lower right part of the Tibetan *ph* is much more prominent in other cases in our text than here.

<sup>8</sup> In this MS the *s* may be distinguished from *p* on account of its more peaked lower left part.

<sup>9</sup> There is a hole in the paper after č, thus the presence or absence of the distinctive mark for *c* cannot be established.

<sup>10</sup> The *r* is cancelled.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. P. Pelliot, *Le sâtra des causes et des effets* vol. II. p. 96 2 note. — The *h* in *hun* (22.6, 10; 26.15); *šuhi* (28.13), *šihu* (31.7) are obviously misprints for an ’a-chün.

<sup>12</sup> *SH* gives still a 名 after 經; there is no equivalent in *O*.

<sup>13</sup> There are still divergences between the Chinese text of Thomas *O* and *SH*: *B* 10.15; *C* 6.8, but, being homophones in ACh, they are irrelevant for the Tibetan transcription, — Cl. 17 (*k*)u (the corresponding part of *o*a, AV 3.2 gives clearly *ku*) cannot be derived neither from Thomas *O* 沫, nor from *SH* 沫. Perhaps some of them was confused with 沫 (ACh. *kuot*)?

## Emendations of the Tibetan transcription of Thomas O:

A2.10—12	[čan'gi ši]	čan'ge še	C1.7	[ke]	k( ) 界
		障礙是	C1.17	[ku]	( )u 沮?
A3.12	[gab]	kab 劫	C4.5	[tañ]	(t)añ 當
A5.1;8.1	['heñ]	'neñ 能	C4.7;8.16;		
A6.3	[chañ]	'chañ 莊	D12.21	[ši]	še 是
A7.2	[ge]	ke 皆	C5.9	[še]	( )e 世
A8.3, 4	[''i tan]	čhi dan 之但	C5.15,16,		
A9.23	[hwe]	h( )e 會	17	[mi 'bwun	myi 'bun ( )
A11.16	[da]	da 隘		'bur]	名聞佛
A11.18	[žib]	žyib 持	C6.8	[žwañ]	žwañ 嘉
A11.20	[me]	illegible 名	C6.15	[tin]	( )ñ 等
A14.5	[jon]	zen 前	C10.1	[šañ]	(š)añ 上
A15.7	['bur]	bur 佛	C10.10	[vañ]	wañ 王
B2.6	[kyi(?)]	( )yi 韓	C12.1	[sa]	(sa) 婆
B2.16	[''bye'i]	'bye'u 妙	C12.4	[wañ]	wa(ñ) 王
B3.3	[tiñ]	ti( ) 等	C12.12—13	[che'i gi]	che 'gi 切義
B5.6	[še]	ši 所	C14.1	[syáñ]	( )ñ 相
B6.1	[žir]	(žir) 日	C15.1	[ši]	( ) 是
[B7.1,2	[bu lyañ]	B6.17,18	D2.3,21	[či]	ci 子
		'bu ( )ñ無量	D8.10	[ša]	D9.1 ša 舍
[B7.3	coñ]	B7.1 ceñ 精	D9.9	[či]	D9.10 čhi 諸
[B7.16]	''u	B7.14 ku <sup>14</sup>	D14.2	[ta]	da 多
		於	D14.5	[myag]	yag 蔑
B12.15;			D14.9	[''u]	wu 爲
C3.5;7.12	[kwoñ]	kwañ 廣	D15.4	[gyi]	kyi 經
B13.14;			D15.12	[khye'u]	'khe'u 丘
C4.2;8.11	[teñ]	tiñ 等	D16.11	[bun]	'bun (?)
C1.2—4	[li 'bur pug]	l( ) ( )ug			
		利弗北			

## 4. Ta shêng chung tsung chien chieh

1.12;5.17	[定 žug]	肉 žug <sup>15</sup>	5.19	硬 [ge'u]	'ge( )
2.10	之 [ci (či?)]	či	7.22	五 [(go)]	'go
4.1	別 [phar]	( )r	7.16	風 [puñ]	phuñ

<sup>14</sup> A lapsus, due possibly to the preceding *kag* (各).<sup>15</sup> Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, on logical grounds, proposed this emendation (p. 215). Strictly speaking, the original has 肉 in both cases which is a usual form of the 肉 during the T'ang, cf. Ed. Chavannes—P. Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine: JAS* 1911 p. 508 note.

8.4;9.12	相 [syōn]	syañ	83.11	[擅 than]	壇 than
8.9	[蘊]	'un	84.19	[視]	視 ši
9.18	想 [syōn]	syañ	84.20	門 [(mo)n]	min
14.5	香 [ho(ñ)]	ho	89.4	精 [coñ]	ciñ <sup>19</sup>
17.2	眼 ['gwan]	'gyan	89.9	惠 [hvwe]	hwe
17.3	等 [diñ]	tiñ	91.8	由 "ihu	yi'u?
18.15	愛 ["i'i]	"e'i	92.12	着 ſag	čag?
23.16	違 [wu('u?)]	'u	93.6	[汗 "o]	汚 "o
24.19	稱 [(khyiñ)]	( )yi( ) <sup>16</sup>	96.19	壞 [he]	hwe
31.17	納 ['da(b)]	'dab	97.5	只 [(čiñ)]	čir
32.11	別 [(phar)]	phar	97.12	藥 ['ag]	yag?
32.17	[文 (čh)o(ñ)] 文 (čh)o(ñ) <sup>17</sup>		98.19	苦 [kho(n)]	kho <sup>21</sup>
33.8	教 [ke'u]	ke'()	98.20	海 [ke]	he
36.2	狀 [choñ]	čhoñ	99.9	免 ['en]	men
37.7	紙 [ci]	či	101.15	門 [mon]	min
37.9	竹 [c(i)g]	( )g	103.18	亦 [yi'u]	yig
37.11	以 [(yi)hu]	no gloss	105.3	[繼 khoñ]	强 khoñ
43.8;	[喙 or 嘴	喚 hwan <sup>17</sup>	105.20	[曇 hwa]	喚 hwa
106.16;	hwan]		109.1	亦 [(yi'u)]	yig
107.4;			112.11	變 [kyen]	byen
109.12			121.3	[谷 (俗) swog]	俗 swog
48.1	寂 [chi(g)]	chig	121.7	幻 [hyan]	hwan
53.4	要 [ye'u]	"e'u <sup>18</sup>	123.11	者 [ja]	no gloss
54.19	緣 [yuan]	ywan	123.12;		
62.13	彼 [byi]	bi	126.9	遠 lwan	wan
62.14	得 [tig]	ti	123.14	[捐 syoñ]	相 syoñ
67.11	[冥 li]	異 li	123.19	益 [i'u]	"ig
75.20	受 ['žuhu]	šu'	125.8	第 [deñ]	de
78.1	精 [coñ]	ceñ	125.9	[(一)]	"ir
80.10	癡 [cha]	chi	127.10	[第 diñ]	等 diñ <sup>21</sup>
82.10;					

<sup>16</sup> This gloss is rather blurred. The indistinct contours that led Thomas to read a *khy* in brackets, might indicate a čhy as well. The theory propounded by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei referring to the *khyin* form (p. 144) remains then without any material basis.

<sup>17</sup> Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 215) proposed this emendation. The microfilm corroborates it.

<sup>18</sup> In *T*, "a-čhen and *yod* cannot be distinguished always with certainty. Here we decided in favour of the former, on account of the ACh. initial of the word.

<sup>19</sup> Originally written *ceñ* which was emended to *ciñ*.

<sup>20</sup> A superfluous *u* crossed out.

<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately the microfilm copy at our disposal does not contain ll. 56—69. Thus it is difficult to decide whether 57.5 殺 *bur* truly reflects the original or not.—99.14 緣 *yuan* in all probability is to be emended into *ywan*, like 54.19 where the somewhat rounded and seemingly open *wa-zur* was taken for a fragmentary *u*.

So far the mistakes of Thomas *T* might be regarded as having been emended. There still remain some scribal errors to be emended in the original itself as the *MS* is a very faulty one, full of insertions, of incorrect characters, and misplaced glosses. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 215) made many improvements of this kind, the overwhelming majority of which cannot but be accepted. The following improvements can still be suggested:

24.18 側 č̥eg. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei was for 愻. For textual and phonological reasons one should rather decide in favour of 測.

36.14 住 siñ. In the original we find 住, this strange form effected in the queer reading.

47.14 懒 'de. The absence of the final 'u is certainly due to the close nearness of the preceding line.

57.5 穀 bur. The gloss belongs either to the preceding or to the subsequent 不 which stand without glosses. In this case, however, even the 不 bur equation being apparently incorrect, the 不 was perhaps mistaken for a 弗.<sup>22</sup>

63.3 持 tig. Mistaken for a 得 ?

65.8 聲 pun bu. Perhaps it is a colloquial explanation of the character like 37.14 削 the'i (emended 剃), 49.16 無 'der phan (emended into 涟般 — both of these emendations were propounded by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei), and can be equated to 吻咐.

79.8, 9 不見 tha and 80.8 他 phu kya(n) were mutually exchanged.

83.11—13 墓能攝 (than) do (šab) is due to 82.10—12 墓土攝 (than) do (šab).

85.15 體 khoñ. The gloss belongs to the subsequent 空.

87.2 sqq. 油有信心能施財物名爲資生也 yi — sin — niñ ši che bur — — ci — — Translation (by S. Miyamoto, Thomas *T* p. 72): „To perform Liberality (*dāna*) through faith is Provision.” Thomas *T* gives after 油, by way of emendation, a 唯 in brackets. On grammatical and phonological reasons 以 would fit in perhaps better.<sup>23</sup>

88.5 施 žig. To be emended into žin, a repetition of the preceding gloss.

89.10 攝 šan. Due to 88.11 生.

101.14 對持 due čhi. Due to 100.4, 5 and 15, 16 對治 due čhi.

<sup>22</sup> One can find similar cases in the Chinese *Vajra-prajñā-pāramitā* written in Brāhmī (ed. F. W. Thomas: *ZDMG* 91).

<sup>23</sup> The glosses in *T* give no evidence for a phonological possibility of mistaking 油 for a 以 — but the writer of the Tibetan glosses was not under all circumstances the very same person who copied the Chinese text itself. ACh. -ižu final gives sometimes i in Uighur script e. g. 甘州 qamči, 宿州 sūgči, cf. Radloff—Malov, *Svarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* edition, preface.

105.13 分 *phuṇ* (*phur?*). To be emended into *phur*, being due to 105.14  
別 *phar*.

Some cases, as being entirely inexplicable from a phonological point of view, must be excluded from further treatment:<sup>24</sup> 113.16 變 *kyen*; 116.16 對 *de'u*.

## Chinese phonetics

### A. Initials

#### I. Plosives and affricates

1) Voiceless unaspirated:

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh.	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i> (35)	<i>k</i> (16,73)	<i>k</i> (16,43)
		<i>g</i> (9)	<i>g</i> (9, 26)	<i>k</i> (18,102) <sup>25</sup>
		:	<i>kh</i> (1,1)	
			<i>k/g</i> (2,11/6)	<i>k/g</i> (1,2/1)
			<i>k/h</i> <sup>26</sup> (2,6/2), <i>k/h</i> (1,2/1)	
			<i>g/h</i> (1,2/6)	

<sup>24</sup> Thomas *T* contains the following interpolated forms: 天 'de, 不 'bu, 而 'gyar. Neither of these exists in *T* nor in any Chinese text in transcription of a similar kind.—We have still to put aside as fictitious the following data adduced by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 35): 可 *kho*; 我 'go. The second of them does not exist at all, 我 goes along with the gloss 'ga in nine cases, in one more case the gloss is rather blurred but no trace of *o* can be found. The 可 occurs three times in *T* but always without a gloss. It is true that beside 45.7 知 stands *kho* which was emended by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei in a somewhat hesitating manner into 可 (in the two more cases adduced by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 215) there is in fact no gloss beside 知). The explanation of the obviously wrong 知 *kho* equation of the *MS* lies, however, in quite another direction, for after 45.7 知 *kho* we find four Chinese characters without any glosses, the fifth one is 呂 *kho*. The explanation is obvious: this correct gloss was wrongly anticipated by five characters and then once more put in the right place. Thus the theory of Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 150, 162) resting on these data lacks any evidence.

<sup>25</sup> The first number in brackets, before the comma, refers to the number of the respective Chinese characters, the second after the comma to the number of the glosses. In *C* each character occurs only once, the number of characters and of glosses is the same.

<sup>26</sup> The *k/h* alternation in *K* and the *g/h* alternation in *T* occurs in 解, which in turn has a double reading in ACh.: *kai'* and *χai'*, only the occurrences do not follow the semantic difference belonging to the two pronunciations. The other occurrences of *h* in *T* are perhaps due to graphic reasons: in the *MS* *k* and *h* are not always easy to distinguish.

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh. <i>t'</i>	<i>č(1)</i> <i>ž(2)</i>	<i>č(3,5)</i>	<i>č(2,5)</i>	<i>č(3,6)</i> <i>č/čh(1,1/1)</i>
ACh. <i>ts'</i>		<i>ž(1,4)</i>	<i>c(1,1)</i> <i>c'/c(1,1/3)</i>	<i>'čh(1,1)<sup>27</sup></i>
ACh. <i>ts'</i>	<i>č(8)</i>	<i>č(4,16)</i> <i>ž(2,24)</i> <i>č/ž(2,6/5)</i>	<i>č(5,23)</i>	<i>č(4,13)</i> <i>žy(1,1)</i> <i>čh(2,14)</i> <i>č/čh(1,4/1)</i> <i>č/'č<sup>28</sup>/²čh(1,8/1/17)</i>
ACh. <i>t</i>	<i>t(11)</i> <i>d(1)</i> <i>t/d(2,4/4)</i>	<i>t(2,31)</i> <i>d(4,15)</i>	<i>t(8,50)</i>	<i>t(8,52)</i> <i>t/d<sup>29</sup>(1,2/4)</i>
ACh. <i>ts</i>	<i>c(15)</i> <i>ž(9)</i> <i>ch(1)</i> <i>ch/ž(1,1/3)</i> <i>c/ch(1,3/1)</i> <i>c/ch/ž(1,2/4/1)</i>	<i>c(6,11)</i> <i>ch(1,3)</i>	<i>c(6,24)</i>	<i>c(6,19)</i>
ACh. <i>p</i> <sup>30</sup>	<i>p(9)</i> <i>b(3)</i>	<i>p(6,33)</i> <i>b(5,8)</i> <i>p/ph(1,2/1)</i>	<i>p(4,8)</i> <i>p/ph(1,12/4)<sup>31</sup></i>	<i>p(7,38)</i> <i>'ph(1,1)</i>

The following conclusions can be drawn: 1. *C* and *T* resemble each other closely in the respect that both give voiceless correspondences only in ACh. *p'ing* and *ju shēng* while in *shang* and *ch'ü shēng* they mix up both

<sup>28</sup> The 'a-čhūn in OA5.3 諸 'ču is due to the subsequent 善 'bu (?), ACh. b'uo. I find, however, no explanation for the form 'bu.

<sup>27</sup> The 'a-čhūn in OA6.3 莊 'čhan is due to the subsequent 嚴 'gem, in K 42.2 (莊 'chan) also.

<sup>29</sup> In O, 多 *da* occurs four times in the transcription of *anuttara* only while 多 *ta* is met with only in the original meaning of the word.

<sup>30</sup> The cases developing a labiodental initial in MCh. are dealt with separately,

<sup>31</sup> The alternance *p/ph* occurs in K in the word 不 only. On a closer scrutiny it turns out that cases with *ph* — 27.17, 18; 46.14; 47.13 — occur only in those syntactical positions (at the end of an interrogative sentence and in the answer) where one would rather expect a 否. Similar phenomena may be observed in the Chinese *Vajraprajñā-pāramitā* in Brāhmī script edited by Thomas in *ZDMG* 91.

voiceless and voiced ones.<sup>32</sup> This was stated already by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei who assigns it to the interference of ACh. and Old Tibetan tones (p. 27—28). 2. *K* gives voiceless (and unaspirated) correspondences only, *O* gives, on the whole, also but voiceless (but sometimes also aspirated) cases with the exception of A11. 18 執 *ÿib* ACh. *t'siəp*,<sup>33</sup> D14.13 間 *gan* ACh. *kan*.<sup>34</sup> The reasons of grouping of our texts in this way remains to be explained.<sup>35</sup>

2) Voiceless aspirated:

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh. <i>k'</i>	<i>kh</i> (20)	<i>kh</i> (7,16)	<i>kh</i> (4,10)	<i>kh</i> (2,12) ' <i>kh</i> (1,1) <sup>36</sup>
ACh. <i>t'</i>	<i>čh</i> (3)	<i>čh</i> (2,13)	no data	no data
ACh. <i>ts'</i>	<i>čh</i> (3)	<i>čh</i> (2,4) <i>ch</i> (1,3)	no data	<i>č</i> (1,1)
ACh. <i>ts'</i>	<i>čh</i> (4)	<i>čh</i> (4,19)	<i>čh</i> (1,4) <i>čh/č</i> (1,1/1)	<i>čh</i> (3,16)
ACh. <i>t'</i>	<i>th</i> (2)	<i>th</i> (5,28) <i>d</i> (1,2)	<i>th</i> (3,4) <i>d</i> (1,1)	<i>th</i> (4,12)
ACh. <i>ts'</i>	<i>ch</i> (13)	<i>ch</i> (7,13)	<i>ch</i> (4,17)	<i>ch</i> (4,29)
ACh. <i>p'</i>	<i>ph</i> (3)	<i>p</i> (1,1)	<i>ph</i> (1,2)	no data

The cases of *T*82.11; 83.12 and *K*42.5 土 *do* (ACh. *t'uo*) were adduced by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 22) to prove that Tibetan voiced plosives were aspirated, the more so, as the word occurs in *C* and *O* also in the 'regular' *tho* form. These examples, however, are too scanty in number when compared with the regular cases. One is rather inclined to assume that in *T* and *K* the pronunciation of 土 followed another reading (ACh. *d'uo*) which, in fact, may

<sup>32</sup> There are, however a few exceptions in *T*: 23.17; 27.12; 28.8,15 爭 *jen* ~ ACh. *tṣeng*, 85.1 乍 *zag* ~ ACh. *tsāk* (this latter has very curious and hitherto inexplicable alternations also in 10.6; 104.1 乍 *eag*; 105.21; 106.17; 109.3, 12 *chag* which in turn agree with the general rule laid down above).

<sup>33</sup> Due in all probability to the following 持 *ji* ACh. *d'i*.

<sup>34</sup> There is a curious divergence in this case between *O* and the closely resembling *Oa*; 間 gives in two more cases in *O* *kan* (D13.1) and *ken* (D15.16) respectively while in *Oa* there is *ken* everywhere.

<sup>35</sup> The aspirated cases in *T* and *O*, being inexplicable from the Chinese, must be of Tibetan origin. It is curious that in *O* 衆 in the compound 衆生 occurs only as *čhün* (ACh. *t'siung*) and 諸 in the compound 諸佛 only as *čhi* (ACh. *t'siwo*), while in other cases 諸 is found with unaspirated initials also. (In *Oa* 衆生 shows the same behaviour while the 諸 in 諸佛 is quite inconsequent.) As both of these are religious terms of prime importance, it is perhaps not too hazardous to assume that aspiration was due in these cases to an emphatic pronunciation (of Tibetan character?).

<sup>36</sup> D15.11,12 比丘 'byi 'kheu, ACh. *b'ji k'ięu*. In *Oa* without initial 'a-*čhün*.

be found in the Kuang-yün. Unfortunately this second reading is associated with a totally different meaning of the word: nevertheless, 土 must have had an ACh. (dialectal?) reading also of this kind as in go-on we find the form *do* only, without any discrimination in meaning.<sup>37</sup>

3) Voiced aspirated:

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh. <i>g̚</i>	<i>g(10)</i>	<i>kh(6,8)</i>	<i>g(5,7)</i>	<i>g(5,17)</i>
ACh. <i>d̚</i>	<i>j(6)</i>	<i>j?, č?(1,1)<sup>38</sup></i>	<i>j(5,9)</i>	<i>j(4,15)</i>
		<i>čh(6,25)</i>		
ACh. <i>dž̚</i>	<i>čh(1)<sup>39</sup></i>	<i>čh/jš(1,1/1)<sup>40</sup></i>		<i>ž(1,1)</i>
		<i>š(2)</i>	<i>š(2,2)</i>	<i>š(1,1)</i>
ACh. <i>dž̚</i>	<i>š(2)<sup>41</sup></i>	<i>š(5,23)<sup>42</sup></i>	<i>š(2,7)<sup>43</sup></i>	<i>š(2,12)<sup>43</sup></i>
ACh. <i>d̚</i>	<i>d(14)</i>	<i>d(8,27)</i>	<i>d(6,45)</i>	<i>d(3,15)</i>
		<i>th(5,22)</i>		
ACh. <i>dž̚</i>	<i>ž(6)</i>			<i>'d(1,1)<sup>44</sup></i>
		<i>ch(11,37)</i>	<i>ž(5,8)</i>	<i>d/'d(2,3/12)<sup>45</sup></i>
		<i>s(1,1)</i>		<i>ž(4,4)</i>
				<i>c(1,1)<sup>46</sup></i>
				<i>z(1,1)</i>

<sup>37</sup> The cases of *K*5.9 稱 *č̚(j)n* (ACh. *tš'jəng*), in front of 7.13 *čhiñ*, — OB2.5 閼 *čog* (ACh. *tš'juk*), T77.9 破 *pa* (ACh. *p'uā*) are due perhaps to the same fact as those mentioned under n. 35, i. e. that in Old Tibetan the *akṣara* denoting allegedly unaspirated voiceless plosives and affricates denoted sometimes aspirated ones also.

<sup>38</sup> T92.12 着 *jag?čag?* ~ ACh. *d'ak*. The gloss is somewhat blurred.

<sup>39</sup> 42.12 床 *čho* ~ ACh. *dž̚jəng*, *p'ing shéng*. The other cases under this ACh. initial in *C* are *shang* and *čh'ü shéng* respectively.

<sup>40</sup> 53.19 莊 *šon* vs. 36.2 *id.* *čhoñ* (ACh. *dž̚jəng'*). The *š* is slightly blurred. As it is rather difficult to realize a *čh/š* alternation within the very same text, 53.19 is perhaps to be read *čhyoñ*, see n.17.

<sup>41</sup> 6.5 神 *šin* ACh. *dž̚jən*, although *p'ing shéng*, has nowhere an affricate initial in modern dialects (*EPhCh* p. 784). The second gloss of *C* under this heading is *ju shéng*. — In *C*, Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 195) compares 12.4 *žk̚ ſeñ* with an ACh. *dž̚jəng* form of the word, but GSR gives *žjəng*.

<sup>42</sup> The data for *p'ing shéng* are 24.15 神 *šin* and 97.10 蛇 *ša* — the same as in *C*, see n. 40.

<sup>43</sup> No data for *p'ing shéng*.

<sup>44</sup> OC6.4 達 *'dar* ACh. *d'át* — the ' is due to the following 麻 *ba* ~ (ACh. *muá*) to which the *'a-čhūñ* originally belonged.

<sup>45</sup> These cases occur in the transcriptions of *Amida*, *dhārañi*, *sambodhi* only, cf. n. 36.

<sup>46</sup> OC1.12 最 *cwe* ~ ACh. *dž̚uái*. *Oa* the same.

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh. <i>b</i> <sup>f</sup>	<i>b</i> (8)		<i>b</i> (2,40)	<i>b</i> (2,2)
		<i>ph</i> (5,6)		
		<i>ph/p</i> (2,8/4)		
				<i>'b</i> (1,1) <sup>36</sup>
				<i>b/b</i> (1,3/2) <sup>29, 45</sup>

From the lists above, two separate groups may be distinguished: 1. *C, K, O* where we generally find voiced equivalents, 2. *T* where the number of aspirated and voiceless correspondences is overwhelming when compared with the voiced ones; in exact numbers, without the fricative cases, 34, 100: 8, 27. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei is of the opinion (p. 70) that 2. points to a comparatively late stage in the development of the respective ACh. initials and might be regarded in some respect as the forerunner of present-day northern Chinese forms. One might as well to bring into connexion this phenomenon in *T* with the voiceless equivalents in kan-on which are generally regarded as being of middle T'ang.

The equivalents of ACh. 狀 *chuang* initial show 1. in *C* and *T* a coincidence with present-day northern dialects, not with the *Ch'ieh-yün*, 2. in *K* and *O* there are no data for *p'ing shêng* under this heading, the question must be left undecided.<sup>47</sup>

### II. Fricatives

#### 1) Gutturals:

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh. <i>χ</i>	<i>h</i> (3)	<i>h</i> (10,19)	<i>h</i> (2,2)	<i>h</i> (5,6)
ACh. <i>γ</i>	<i>h</i> (17)	<i>h</i> (15,52)	<i>h</i> (10,26)	<i>h</i> (9,33)
			<i>'h</i> (1,1)	<i>'h</i> (1,1)

#### 2) Cerebrals and palatals:

ACh. <i>ʂ</i>	<i>ʂ</i> (4)	<i>ʂ</i> (4,17)	<i>ʂ</i> (3,10)	<i>ʂ</i> (7,55)
			<i>ʂ/s</i> (1,7/5)	

In *K* there is a slight tendency to distinguish between cerebrals and palatals also among the affricates. *T* gives a single data of this kind under in. 穿 *ch'uan*.

<sup>47</sup> The curious equivalents of ACh. in. 澄 *ch'êng* and 從 *ts'ung* in OC6.8 隰 *žwan* ~ ACh. *d'âng* and OC11.8 雜 *zab* ACh. *dz'âp* (the same cases in *Oa*, and a case of 長 *žan* ACh. *d'iang* in addition vs. regular *jan* in OB7.20) are hard to explain.

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh. <i>ś</i>	<i>ś(14)</i>	<i>ś(12,67)</i>	<i>ś(5,30)</i>	<i>ś(8,60)</i> <i>s(1,1)<sup>48</sup></i>
ACh. <i>ż</i>	<i>ś(11)</i>	<i>ś(8,47)</i> <i>ś/ż(2,6/2)</i>	<i>ś(8,44)</i>	<i>ś(9,48)</i> <i>ś/ż(1,1/1)</i> <i>ż(1,10)</i>

3) **Dentals:**

ACh. <i>s</i>	<i>s(17)</i>	<i>s(17,60)</i>	<i>s(16,72)</i>	<i>s(13,58)</i>
ACh. <i>z</i>	<i>s(9)</i>	<i>s(3,8)</i>	<i>s(1,5)</i>	no data

Among fricative initials it is only in cerebrals, palatals and dentals that the Tibetan alphabet is able to distinguish between voiced and voiceless sounds. Now, there are only *T* and *O* that show traces of this distinction. These data are, however, not beyond suspicion. In the rather cursive writing of *T*, Tibetan *ś* and *ż* can be easily mistaken for one another. In *O*, being written in *dbu čan*, the *akṣaras* are perfectly legible, only in ten cases of total eleven there is always a word with a voiced initial following that with *ż*. Being not versed in Tibetan phonetics, I dare not to draw any definite conclusion from this fact, but it reminds me of the cases of superfluous initial '*a-čhuṇ*' in these texts where the overwhelming majority of the cases is due to the initial '*a-čhuṇ*' of the subsequent word.

The *p'ing shéng* data of ACh. initial 禪 *shan*, in contradiction to the behaviour of the initial 狀 *chuang* (*v. supra*), show no trace of a development into affricate and in this respect agree fully with the *Ch'ieh-yün*.

*III. Labiodentals*

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
MCh. <i>f</i>	<i>ph(6)</i>	<i>ph(8,27)</i>	<i>ph(2,18)</i> <i>ph/ph(1,3/2)</i> <i>ph/b(1,1/2)</i>	<i>ph(1,3)</i> <i>ph/ph(1,1/1)</i>
MCh. <i>f'</i>	<i>ph(1)</i>	<i>ph(1,1)</i>	no data	<i>p(1,1)</i> <i>'ph/h(1,4/2)</i> <i>'bw(1,7)</i> <i>'b/b(1,22/1)</i> <i>'ph(1,6)</i>

<sup>48</sup> OD10.13 穔迦 *ska* (sic!) ACh. *śjök ka*. The same in *o-a*, but at the end of a line. 穔 gives in *K* *śj*, *śi*.

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
MCh. <i>v</i>	<i>ph(1)</i>	<i>ph(2,5)</i>		
	<i>b(6)</i>	<i>b(2,3)</i>	<i>b(2,20)</i>	<i>b(1,1)</i>
			<i>'b(1,2)</i>	<i>'b(2,69)</i>
MCh. <i>w</i>	<i>'b(5)</i>	<i>'b(2,10)</i>	<i>'b(3,17)</i>	<i>'b(2,17)</i>
		<i>b(4,37)</i>		
		<i>'b/b(1,1/1)</i>		
		<i>b/'(1,3/2)</i>		
				<i>'bw(1,1)</i>

This richness of sound notation here is certainly due to the fact that labiodental sounds were alien to Tibetan and the scribes were forced to make various experiments in denoting them. It cannot be decided whether these truly represent labiodental fricatives or still affricates (like *pf*, etc.) which obviously must have been the transitory stage.<sup>49</sup> It is clear, however, that at least the correspondents of MCh. *v* and *w* respectively were different from *f* and *f'* as it may be seen from the list above.<sup>50</sup>

#### IV. Nasals

##### a) Before nasal finals:<sup>51</sup>

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh. <i>ng</i>	<i>'g(4)</i>	<i>'g(3,9)</i>	<i>'g(3,16)</i>	<i>'g(2,10)</i>
				<i>'gw/w(1,6/2)<sup>52</sup></i>
ACh. <i>ńz</i>	no data	<i>ż(3,4)</i>	<i>ż(2,23)</i>	<i>ż(1,10)</i>
ACh. <i>n</i>	<i>n(3)<sup>53</sup></i>	<i>n(2,14)</i>	<i>n(2,5)</i>	<i>n(3,13)</i>
	<i>'n(1)<sup>53</sup></i>	<i>'n(1,1)<sup>54</sup></i>		<i>'n(1,4)</i>
		<i>'d(1,2)</i>	<i>'d(1,3)</i>	<i>'d(1,6)</i>

<sup>49</sup> The *'a-chūn* in *'b*, nevertheless, points to the fact that MCh. in. *wei* must have contained a nasal element (*m̥*).

<sup>50</sup> The occurrence of *b* among these data suggests a sound value like *w*, *β* of this *akṣara* in Old Tibetan. This is further corroborated by the evidence of the alternative glosses of 妾 (ACh. *mīwang*) in *T*: 58.9; 115.12; 116.7 *bon*, 113.3; 114.1 *'on* respectively.

<sup>51</sup> For this division cf. *DTch* p. 35—36.

<sup>52</sup> OA9.6;16.11 賴 *wen* ACh. *ngiwn* while OA9.5;16.10;D5.4,7,10;D8.6 賴 *'gwan*. In *Oa* we find *wan* or *wen* everywhere in the respective places. As both texts are closely related to one another, *O* must be a text containing a mixture of various dialectal (or chronologically different?) forms of one and the same word, *Oa* must be also a mixed text as both texts contain (OB6.2) 月 *'gwar* ~ ACh. *ngiwt*.

<sup>53</sup> C27.4 農 *'non* was read by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei as *non*. The *'a-chūn* is due to the subsequent 務 *'bu*. C27.11 南 *nam* was read by Maspero (*DTch* p. 33) as *'nam*. In these cases the correct forms are *'non* and *nam* resp.

<sup>54</sup> T53.6 難 *'nan*, due to the subsequent 悟 *'go*.

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh. <i>n̄</i>		n o d a t a		
ACh. <i>m</i>	<i>m(9)</i> ' <i>b(1)</i>	<i>m(7,18)</i>	<i>m(1,4)</i>	<i>m(3,11)</i>

b) Before other finals:<sup>51</sup>

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh. <i>ng</i>	' <i>g(10)</i>	' <i>g(9,40)</i> ' <i>g/g(1,10/1)</i> <sup>55</sup>	' <i>g(6,22)</i>	' <i>g(7,22)</i>
ACh. <i>n̄z</i>	<i>ž(5)</i>	<i>ž(6,42)</i>	<i>ž(7,41)</i>	<i>ž(6,47)</i>
ACh. <i>n</i>	' <i>d(2)</i>	' <i>d(4,14)</i> ' <i>n(1,1)</i>	' <i>d(1,1)</i> ' <i>n(1,1)</i>	' <i>d(1,1)</i>
			' <i>n/n(1,4/9)</i> <sup>56</sup>	<i>n/l(1,3/1)</i> <sup>57</sup>
ACh. <i>n̄</i>			' <i>j(1,4)</i>	' <i>j(2,6)</i>
ACh. <i>m</i>	' <i>b(1)</i>	' <i>b(4,12)</i> <i>m(2,3)</i> <sup>58</sup>	' <i>b(3,8)</i>	' <i>b(3,3)</i> <i>m/'b(1,10/4)</i> <sup>59</sup>
			<i>m/'m/'y/y(1,2/6/1/1)</i> <sup>60</sup>	<i>y(1,4)</i> <sup>61</sup>

The well-known tendency to oralization of the nasal initials in MCh. appears in our texts as follows:

1. ACh. *ng* and *n̄z* had undergone a total oralization.<sup>62</sup>
2. Other ACh. nasal initials follow generally the rules laid down in *DTch* p. 35—36, i. e. remained nasals before finals with a nasal ending and became oralized in other cases. ACh. *n̄* had apparently at this time still a

<sup>55</sup> T17.21 外 *gue* is evidently a slip.

<sup>56</sup> 舜 *'nog/nog* in the transcription of *anuttara*.

<sup>57</sup> 舜 *nog/log* in the transcription of *anuttara*. As *Oa* gives *log* only in all cases, this mixing up of various dialectal forms in *O* must be similar to that in n. 50.

<sup>58</sup> T43.11 讲 *ma* and 106.1; 109.15 没 *ma* in the compounds 舜讲, 舜没 (modern 舜麼). Evidently already during the T'ang it was pronounced as a binom.

<sup>59</sup> In *O*, 羯 is *myi* in the transcription of *Amida*, 'byi in *Sumeru*. The two transcriptions are very probably of different origin. Cf. n. 50, 55.

<sup>60</sup> In *K*, the *meg*, 'meg, 'yag, *yag* equivalents of 舜 occur in the transcription of *samyak*, the variations are due to sandhi.

<sup>61</sup> In *O*, 舜 *yag* occurs in *samyak*, see preceding note.

<sup>62</sup> It is interesting to note that in *T* we find 15.16,17; 18.2, 3 十二 *sim ži* ACh. *žižəp hži*, and 12.9; 10; 12.20, 21; 15.10, 11 十八 *sib par* ACh. *žižəp pwat*; now this alternation in the final cannot be attributed to sandhi only, it can be explained merely by the nasalizing effect of the *ž*. This means that ACh. *n̄z*, though oralized in MCh., preserved still a faint nasal prothesis like other oralized nasal initials. — For the determination of the phonetic values of Tibetan 'g, 'd, 'b cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 29—30.

sound value of its own. The exceptional cases are to be attributed, on the one hand, to sandhi (in cases where nasal initial was preserved before other than nasal finals), and on the another hand they (the cases showing oralized initials even before nasal finals) point to a later stage of development, in the direction to developing into something like the modern dialects of P'ingliang, Wênsui, Hinghien (cf. *EPhCh*).

3. Generally speaking, the equivalents of the MCh. 微 *wei* initial and the oralized cases of ACh. *m* cannot be distinguished from one another with the help of the Tibetan transcriptions.<sup>63</sup> From this fact, two conclusions may be drawn: a) The equivalents of the ACh. *wei* initial preserved a faint nasal prothesis or else they would have been marked simply throughout with the Tibetan *wa* which is strictly assigned to note the *ho k'ou* cases of the ACh. in.喻 *yü* in our material, b) perhaps oralization preceded the development of the labiodental initials, and in the dialect(s) of our texts there was no proper equivalent to of MCh. in. *wei*.

4. The main dialect which served as a basis for the copying of the *Oa* text and *O* (see note 50) had lost ACh. *ng* already in *ho k'ou* cases.

#### V. ACh. 影 *ying* and 喻 *yü*.

	<i>C</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>O</i>
ACh.	"(12)	"(14,42)	"(7,54)	"(7,57)
<i>g</i> (1) <sup>64</sup>	"/'(1,10/3) <sup>65</sup>	<i>y</i> (1,1) <sup>66</sup>	"/'(1,2) <sup>67</sup>	

<sup>63</sup> The same applies to the Chinese glosses in Uighur script, cf. *ChGU* p. 89, 91.

<sup>64</sup> C9.1 鬱 *gur* ACh. ·*quət*. This strange case in my opinion cannot be put down as a mere slip as 1. in Hakka 鬱, beside regular *yut* has a *ngut* reading also (cf. MacIver, *A Chinese—English Dictionary, Hakka Dialect*, New. Ed., Shanghai 1926, p. 1142) and there are no more equivalents with *ng-* of. ACh. · in this dictionary, 2. 鬱 occurs in the Chinese name for curcuma (鬱金). — B. Laufer (*Sino-Iranica*, p. 321—323), though, rejects the foreign origin of 鬱金, on account of three facts: 1. about the foreign origin of the word no mention is made in Chinese sources, 2. the word is met with as early as in the *Shuo-wén* and is referred to as a plant indigenous to China, 3. the phonetic equation of foreign \**kurkum* with ACh. ·*quət* *kiam* is very poor. There are, however, some weak points in this argumentation: 1. it is stated by Laufer that Chinese sources often relate the foreign origin of the plant, 2. the early editions of the *Shuo-wén* give 鬱 only in the place referred to (Laufer p. 323). — The textual history of the *Shuo-wén* is rather complicated, cf. g. the preface of 馬敘倫 Ma Hsü-lun to his 說文解字六書疎證 *Shuo wén chieh tzu liu shu shu chéng*, Peking 1955). As for the other early source, the *Shui ching chu* adduced by Laufer, on a close scrutiny it turns out that in the places where mention is made of 鬱金 as of a plant indigenous to China, the quotations from the *Shui ching chu* found in the 太平御覽 *T'ai p'ing yü lan* give 鬱 only at the respective places (cf. 楊守敬 Yang Shou-ching, 水經注疏 *Shui ching chu shu*, Peking 1955, 36. chüan, fol. 37). Considering the generally accepted corrupted character of

	C	T	K	O
ACh. " <i>k'ai k'ou</i> III.	<i>y(3)</i> " (1)	<i>yy(1)</i>	" (1,22)	<i>y(3)</i> " (2,17)
		<i>y'(1,6/1)</i>		
<i>k'ai k'ou</i> IV.	<i>y(13)</i> <i>y/''(?) (2,5/2)</i> " (?) (1,1) <i>y/sy(1, 2/1)<sup>68</sup></i> <i>yi/i(1,5/6)</i>	<i>y(6,16)</i>	<i>y(5,16)</i>	<i>y(4,11)</i>
<i>ho k'ou</i> III.	<i>w(5)</i> " <i>u(1)</i>	<i>w(1,3)</i> " <i>u(4,20)</i>	<i>'u(3,21)</i>	<i>w(1,2)</i> <i>w/u(1,1/4)</i> <i>'bw(1,1)<sup>69</sup></i>
<i>ho k'ou</i> IV.	<i>w(2)</i> <i>y(3)</i>	<i>y(6,28)</i>	<i>y(2,2)</i>	— <i>y(3, 4)</i>

On the whole, ACh. *ying* is denoted by "a-čhen, yü by 'a-čhuñ or *y*. The cross-correspondences (" for yü, and *y* for *ying*), as the former ones occur

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the actual text of the *Shui ching chu*, it is probable that it was the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* that preserved the original text in this case. In my opinion, Old (Chou time) Chinese 龍金 as a denomination of an indigenous Chinese plant has nothing to do with the sense of 龍金, the explanation of the latter as "gold of Yü" adduced by Laufer must be some kind of a popular etymology, 3. the phonological difficulties disappear in view of the data adduced above: as for foreign\*-*kum* ~ ACh. *kíəm*, it must be noted that ACh. -m is never preceded by 'ho k'ou, this correspondence has to be put down as a sound-substitution. I hold that 龍金 represents a foreign word of something like \**gur kum*. Thus it may be adduced, together with Hakka *ngut*, for the corroboration of the genuineness of our gloss. As it is a unique case in this material, it would be difficult to make any further comments on its basis on the history of ACh. in *ying*: it can simply be stated with sufficient evidence that 龍, beside regular *ȝuat*, must have had another reading also in ACh., something like \**ngiət* (?).

<sup>65</sup> T7.23; 8.9; 114.18 蘭 'un ACh. 'jüən (in front of the regular "un in ten cases) is probably due to the fact that all the three exceptional cases occur in the compound 五蘆, a technical term in Buddhism.

<sup>66</sup> K4.10 要 ye'u ACh. 'jäu belongs to the IV. category.

<sup>67</sup> OD11.11; D13.15 惡 "ag ACh. 'ák (*Oa* gives simply "ag); the 'a-čhuñ marks here in my opinion the right sequence of sounds in order to avoid a "ga (?) reading. It may be referred to a similar role of the 'a-čhuñ, though in the inverted sense, under the cases of the ACh. rime 果 *kuo*.

<sup>68</sup> T103.15; 104.16 爾 ya vs. 105.11 *sya*. The two readings in ACh.: ja and zja however, are kept apart from one another as regards sense and, at the same time, the meaning attested in T (interrogative particle) has the reading ja only. Can this case be regarded perhaps as a trace of the cases discovered by P. Nagel: *TP XXXVI* 1940—42, p. 108, and Lo Ch'ang-p'ei: *HJAS* 14 1951, p. 285—290?

<sup>69</sup> OA14.16 往 'bwai ~ ACh. *jíwang*; one more proof of the cases adduced in n. 50.

always in the div. III. and the latter ones in div. IV., must be regarded as complementary phenomena of the general features i. e. that div. IV. is apparently yodized while div. III. is not.<sup>70</sup> As regards *ho k'ou*, *w* marks throughout a semi-vocalic *ho k'ou* in ACh. while '*u*' or '*w/u*' occurs always in cases where the *ho k'ou* element became the chief vowel.

ACh. *l* is denoted in all texts by *l*: *C*(22), *T*(17,62), *K*(5,38), *O*(9,44).

### B. Finals<sup>71</sup>

ACh. 果 *kuo* rime (1—50).

The final '*a-čhuñ*' in 4b, 9 obviously secures the reading of the final *-a* as there is also an initial '*a-čhuñ*' in these words to be met with. In 1, 10a, 12b, 15, 17, 19a, 23a, 26a, I do not think that it denotes the length of the vowel as it was somewhat hesitatingly proposed by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 34). The parasitic final consonants in 8b, 8c, 11c are due to the effect of the context.<sup>72</sup> The *ho k'ou* element vanished before labial initials.

ACh. 止 *chih* rime (51—154).

In *k'ai k'ou* (51—129) 85, 116a of *C* with double *i* are *p'ing shêng*, 99 of *K* in *ch'ü shêng*. These data are too scanty to admit any definite conclusion. The sparse occurrences of *-e* (74, 90a, 92, 97, 106d, 115a, 119b, 123c), altern-

<sup>70</sup> It was Prof. Ligeti who kindly directed my attention upon this fact cf. his paper entitled *Les initiales ying et yu dans le Mong kou tseu yun* read at the congress of orientalists held at Munich sept. 1957. As this lecture, dealing with these problems *in extenso*, will appear in print shortly, I abstain from further researches in this respect including the question of yodization.

<sup>71</sup> The numbers cited below refer to the index.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 34. — 8c 阿闍 "ar with subsequent 797 čog in the context reflects something like "*ačč(h?)oy*" of the Chinese pronunciation in connected speech of the first two syllables of 阿闍鞞, final *-č* being unknown to Tibetan. It is to be concluded then that the actual phonetic value of Tibetan *-r + č-* has been something like *čč(h?)*.

<sup>73</sup> In *C*, however, there is an interesting phenomenon to be dealt with; after dental and cerebral affricate and fricative initials we find *-i* in 69a, 70, 71, 94, 122, 123a, 128, 129, *-e* in 115a, and it is only in 114 that there is an *-i* to be met with. Now it is commonly known that towards the end of T'ang ACh. *-i* has developed already into a mixed *l* after these initials (cf. e. g. *Acta Orient. Hung.* IX 1 1959, p. 78). Although *-i* occurs in *C* with other initials also, it may be perhaps assumed that the absolute prevalence of *-i* and *-e* after these initials denotes the existence of this *l* in the dialect of *C* also. Of course I do not mean to say that Old Tibetan *i* had a similar value in Old Tibetan also: it is probable that *i*, the specific sound value of which (if ever there was any) had surely become obsolete by that time, was simply adopted by the scribe of the glosses of *C* for denoting MCh. *l* by the simple reason that its graphic form was different from common *i*.

ating sometimes with *-i* remain also to be explained, and so do the occurrences of *-i*.<sup>73</sup> Neither can I offer an explanation for the *-g* in 84b.

In *ho k'ou* (130—154) the *-u-* is dropped after labiodentals and labials. In the other cases, the frequent absence of final *-i* recalls the similar phenomenon in the Chinese glosses in Uighur script (ChGU p. 99).

ACh. 蟹 *hsieh* rime (155—218).

There is a marked tendency under this rime towards *-e* in div. I—II. The most radical are *O* and *T* in this respect while *K* and *C* are rather conservative. This phenomenon is well-known from modern dialects, especially from Hsinghsien (*EPhCh* p. 737—743). This divergency among our texts is certainly due to dialectal (or chronological?) differences. *Ho k'ou* was dropped after labial initials, and after *'d* in one case.<sup>74</sup>

ACh. 咸 *hsien* rime (219—239).

Concerning 219 *gwam* cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 53. The difference in 237a *nem*, 237b *nyam* is certainly not due to a dialectal divergence as a similar case (297a *syan*, 297b *sen*) occurs within one and the same text. This *-ya/-e* alternation must be then of Tibetan origin.

ACh. 深 *shén* rime (240—250).

246 offers some problems to be explained: 246d *šin* (*T* 106.18) is in all probability a mutilated form instead of regular *šim* as the preceding line in the *MS.* lies too near to the gloss. 264a *šib* occurs in the binomial interrogative pronoun 莫沒 (*T* 105.22;106.1) of which modern Mandarin still possesses a double form 莫(麼) ACh. *zjəm* and 什(麼) ACh. *zjəp*; at least in writing. It may be concluded perhaps from the double correspondence 莫 *šim*, *šib* occurring in *T* that *šib ma* is merely a variant of regular *šim ma* and the difference is due to the alternation of emphasis in speech.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> 202a 內 *'de'i* C12.1. The actual written form in the *MS.*, however, shows *'do*; we followed the emendation given by Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 4). This emendation, however, implies the conclusion that the Tibetan glosses in *C* — at least a part of them — are not „original“ but were copied from written source(s).

<sup>75</sup> It must be borne in mind that final nasals — at least in modern dialects — are implosives in Chinese. The history of modern 莫(麼), besides, is rather interesting. 孫常叙 Sun Ch'ang-hsü e. g., in his 漢語詞彙 *Han yü tz'u hui*, Ch'angch'un 1957 p. 390, cites the T'ang-time forms 是勿, 什麼, and adduces 拾沒, 莫(麼) from the Sung-period. According to him, the *Chi yün* enlists a 母果 *fan ch'ieh* (ACh. *muá*) to 没 in these cases. P. Demiéville (*TP* XL 1—3 p. 18) cites the form 是沒 from the T'ang-period in addition. According to Demiéville, 没 in these cases is to be derived from an original negative particle (p. 21). Considering the ACh. pronunciations of the variations adduced above, it seems probable that the original form was something like 是沒 (ACh. *zjə muá*), analogous to classical 是非. Because of sandhi, the first word was given a final *-m* in the later development, which, in turn, changed into *-p* under certain conditions.

ACh. 山 *shan* rime (251—325).

The two cases of dropping the final *-n* (281b, 304b), as they occur in alternative cases only, are probably to be attributed to slips — which are not uncommon in the text of *T* — rather than to Chinese phonological backgrounds. The difference between the vowel of div. I. and that of the div. II. is apparently marked in *T*, *K*, *Oá* (and *O?*). Unfortunately, the data are too few under the *hsien* rime for giving sound evidence for this fact. The frequent *-en/-yen/-yan* alternation in 266—299 as they occur within the same text and in the same words in 286a,b, 297a,b, are apparently of Tibetan origin. 314 *kwon* is rather different from the occurrences of the same final in *O*, *Oa* — perhaps it is to be explained by the mixed character of these texts (cf. n. 52). *Ho k'ou* is dropped after labials.

ACh. 臻 *chén* rime (326—371).

The manifold correspondences in *ho k'ou* cases (347 *kuon*, 349 *lon* (*C*), 353b,c *bun*, *bin*, 354a,b *mon*, *min* (*T*), 355 *win*, 360 *cun* (*C*), 358 *lin*, 359 *lun* (*T*), 363 *gun*, 364 *gwin* (*C*)) are to be explained mainly as marks of the aversion of the Tibetan phonetic system to diphthongs. The difference of 363 *gun* and 364 *gwin* in *C* nevertheless, as both are homophones in ACh., is perhaps due to the difference in tone, the former being *p'ing*, the latter *ch'ü shéng*. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei adduces 355 and 364 as proofs for the fact that Tibetan *u* stands sometimes instead *ü* also (p. 55). This is certainly not the case in these data, the vowel of 355 and 364 is anything but *ü*. Besides, modern Wênhui shows similar alternations under these finals on account of the difference in tones (cf. *EPhCh* p.790, n.10).

ACh. 梗 *kēng* rime (372—438).

The absence of final *-ng* is to be met with in *C* in the greatest number, while *K* shows only one word of this sort. We need not take, however, this difference at face value as the greater amount of cases where *-ng* is preserved in the other texts may be due simply to the fact that, being coherent texts, *-ng* had a greater chance to remain perceptible on account of sandhi, while *C* was in all probability not read (and supplied with pronunciation notes) as a coherent text, but rather as a thesaurus of single characters, at best of binoms, and thus each, or most of the characters in *C* were read one by one. That *-ng* did not disappear entirely may be proved by the nasal character of the initial in 416, 422, 434, 438b etc. (cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 39). The differences in the notation of vowels are very likely mostly of Tibetan origin. On the whole, the presence or absence of the *-ng* in notation agrees with the material in Uighur script. *Ho k'ou* is dropped after labials.

ACh. 岩 *t'ang* rime (439—492).

Final *-ng* is not noted in the greatest number in *C* (cf. the preceding rime). ACh. *-ang*, *-iang* has, besides, counterparts in *-o* in the glosses in Uighur script also (*ChGU* pp. 115—116). The cases in *-o*, *-oñ* respectively occur in *C*, *T*, they certainly represent a dialectal peculiarity (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 55). Finals with rounded vowels can be met with in modern Northwestern dialects also (*EPhCh* p. 807—817, esp. in Wēnshui). *Ho k'ou* as usually, is dropped after labials; the reasons for the absence of it in 485 are not clear. The equivalents of ACh. *-ång* (481—484) clearly show that this final follows here the general rules that may be observed in modern northern dialects (cf. *EPhCh* p. 815—816) *viz.* that they develop a palatal vowel after guttural initials and *ho k'ou* after palatal ones. The vowel of 481 being a velar one, it perhaps represents an earlier stage of *C*.

ACh. 教 *hsiao* rime (493—530).

The *-e'u* in div. I. is of Tibetan origin, cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei pp. 50—51. The inconsistencies under this rime are certainly due to the fact that diphthongs and triphthongs occur very seldom in Tibetan. 519, 520b are to be explained in all probability as attempts to denote the difference between the equivalents of ACh. *-äu*, *-au* (*-e'u*) and of ACh. *-iäu* (*-i'u*) in *O*. These *-i'u* finals certainly do not express an identity between the successors of ACh. *-iäu* and *-ižu*.

ACh. 柳 *liu* rime (531—571).

Inconsistencies for the same reasons as in the foregoing paragraphs. The *-i* in the *-i'u* of div. I. is a sound-substitution instead of original *-ə*. The cases in *-u* occur after labiodental initials.

ACh. 遇 *yü* rime (572—639).

In div. I. ACh. *-uo* seems to have been preserved except after labials (Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 153).<sup>76</sup> The equivalents of ACh. *-iwo* give sometimes *-i*, sometimes *-u*,<sup>77</sup> those of ACh. *-iu* give exclusively *-u*. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (p. 45) explains the former cases from an original *-io*; in my opinion the original must have been a narrow *-ü* (cf. P. Pelliot, *Neuf notes...: TP XXVI* p. 221—225), while the *-ü* (or sometimes *-u*) equated to ACh. *-iu* had a broader pronunciation. Taking our texts one by one we find that *K* gives *-i* only in place of ACh. *-iwo*, *O* gives *-i* in nine, *-u* in five cases, *C* has eight *-i* and seven *-u* while *T* shows only three cases of *-i* (one of which alternates with *-u*) in

<sup>76</sup> The only exceptional case, 576 *'gu* occurs in *C* 36.7, 8 梧桐, i. e. in sandhi.

<sup>77</sup> 599b *khe*, 618d, 619d *že* are in my opinion secondary forms, due to an *i/e* alternation in Tibetan.

front of eleven *-u*.<sup>78</sup> This difference between our texts point rather to a difference of dialectal than of chronological origin.

629b *šo* in my opinion is a case of 輕音 *ch'ing yin* as it occurs in the text in the compound 算數 only.

ACh. 通 *t'ung* rime (640—665).

Considering the general *-oñ* correspondences in div. I we have to accept the opinion of Lo Ch'ang-p'ei who postulated ACh. *-ong* in all these cases instead of the twofold *-ung*, *-uong* finals of Karlgren. This *-ong* is generally to be met with in Sino-Korean, kan-on and Sino-Annamite (cf. *EPhCh.* pp. 848—851), — it is only questionable whether the *Ch'ieh yün* is also to be counted among these cases or not.

ACh. 入咸 *ju hsien* rime (666—679).

For 666a cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 53. 674 and 675 are very similar to 297a,b in denoting the vocalism.

ACh. 入深 *ju shēn* rime (680—685).

For 683b *śim* cf. n.62.

ACh. 入山 *ju shan* rime (686—711).

699, 710c—f ending in *-d* represent an older stage of development than commonly occurring *-r*. These cases are to be met with in *O*, *Os* but, as it was shown that these texts are of mixed origin (cf. n. 52, 57, 59), they cannot be adduced as proofs for the relatively older origin of the whole text. *Ho k'ou* is surprisingly missing in 698. On account of the rather cursive writing in *T*, this *thar* is perhaps to be emended into *dwar*, although neither Sino-Korean, nor kan-on shows any trace of *u*. 711 *hyar*, also without *ho k'ou*, is to be met with in several modern Northwestern dialects also without any trace of an *u* (cf. *EPhCh* p. 872).

ACh. 入臻 *ju chēn* rime (712—726).

712b,c in *K*, *O*, *Os* occurs in the compound 一切 only.

ACh. 入梗 *ju kēng* rime (727—770).

761 occurs in the transcription of *Cakya*, 761c is written in the *MS sk*, denoting perhaps the subsequent 18 also. This compendium litterae is to be

<sup>78</sup> The manifold cases of 615 were not counted. As 所 occurs throughout in these cases either as a relative pronoun or as forming part of the conjunction 所以, I think that this inconsistency in denoting the vocalism of this word is due to its unstressed character in speech. 615e *śa* (*K* 48.8) is certainly a slip, under the effect of 48.10 *śa* (沙).

deciphered either as *sak*, or as *sa ka* (or perhaps it is a slip instead of original *sag ka?*). The *-u-* in 731, 732 is certainly due to the labial initials.

ACh. 入宕 *ju t'ang* rime (771—789).

778 *ma* occurs in *T 43.11* in the compound 范謨 (cf. n. 75). The behaviour of 785—789 (ACh. *-åk*) is closely similar to that of 481—484 (ACh. *-ång*).

ACh. 入通 *ju t'ung* rime (790—818).

794d *lo* is evidently a slip for *log*. ACh. div. Ia, b (*-uk*, *-uok*) offer the same uniform *-o-* vowel as the corresponding finals under the *t'ung* rime. The difference between ACh. *-iuk*, *-iwok* was apparently still preserved, although 816 *cug* is exceptional, and so is 814 *šug*.

## Index according to ACh. finals

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
1.	哥	<i>kâ</i>	<i>ka'</i>	C	14.	左	<i>'tsâ</i>	<i>z̥a</i>	C
2.	軻	<i>k'â</i>	<i>kha</i>	C	15.	佐	<i>tsâ'</i>	<i>z̥a'</i>	C
3.	可	<i>k'â</i>	<i>kha</i>	K(6), O(11), Oa(9)	16.	娑	<i>sâ</i>	<i>sa</i>	O(2), Oa(2)
4.	我	<i>ngâ</i>	<i>'ga</i>	T(9), O(6), Oa(4)	17.	嘉	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka'</i>	C
			<i>'ga'</i> <sup>79</sup>	K(11)	18.	迦	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	K, O, Oa
5.	何	<i>γâ</i>	<i>ha</i>	C, T(17), K(12), O(5)	19.	假	<i>'ka</i>	<i>ga'</i>	C
6.	河	<i>γâ</i>	<i>ha</i>	C, K(3), O(6), Oa(6)	20.	稼	<i>ka'</i>	<i>ka</i>	C
7.	荷	<i>γâ</i>	<i>ha</i>	K	21.	駕	<i>ka'</i>	<i>ga</i>	C
8.	阿	<i>'â</i>	<i>'a</i>	K(3), O(14), Oa(5)	22.	雅	<i>nga</i>	<i>'ga</i>	C
			<i>'an</i> <sup>80</sup>	K(11), O(4), Oa(4)	23.	下	<i>γa</i>	<i>ha'</i>	C
			<i>'ar</i> <sup>81</sup>	O, Oa	24.	差	<i>ts̥a</i>	<i>cha</i>	T(3)
9.	那	<i>nâ</i>	<i>'da'</i>	K	25.	沙	<i>sa</i>	<i>ša</i>	C, K(3), O(6), Oa(6)
10.	羅	<i>lâ</i>	<i>la'</i>	C	26.	杷	<i>b̥a</i>	<i>ba'</i>	C
			<i>la</i>	T(6), K(14), O(8), Oa(6)	27.	耶	<i>ja</i> <sup>85</sup>	<i>ya</i>	T(2)
11.	多	<i>tâ</i>	<i>ta</i>	C, T(3), K(13), O(3), Oa(7)	28.	也	<i>ja</i>	<i>ya</i>	K, T(2)
			<i>da</i>	O(4), <sup>82</sup> Oa(2)	29.	野	<i>ja</i>	<i>ya</i>	C
			<i>dar</i> <sup>83</sup>	T	30.	者	<i>'ts̥ia</i>	<i>ja</i>	T(21)
12.	他	<i>t'â</i>	<i>tha</i>	T				<i>ča</i>	K(13), O(9), Oa(4)
			<i>tha'</i>	K	31.	蛇	<i>dz̥ia</i>	<i>ša</i>	T
13.	陀	<i>d'â</i>	<i>'da</i> <sup>84</sup>	O(10)	32.	捨	<i>šia</i>	<i>ša</i>	T(2)
			<i>da</i>	O, Oa(2)	33.	舍	<i>šia</i>	<i>šya</i>	C
					34.	且	<i>ts̥ia</i>	<i>chya</i>	O(22), Oa(25)
					35.	寫	<i>sia</i>	<i>sya</i>	C, T(3)
					36.	謝	<i>zia</i>	<i>sya</i>	C

<sup>79</sup> Final *'a-čhui* serves to avoid an *'ag* reading.<sup>80</sup> In the transcription of *anuttara*.<sup>81</sup> In the transcription of *akṣobhya*.<sup>82</sup> In O, *da* occurs in the transcription of *anuttara* only.<sup>83</sup> Cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 215. The *-r* is due to the preceding *'byir*.<sup>84</sup> In the transcription of *Amida* and *dhārani* only.<sup>85</sup> Cf. p114, n.68.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
37.	果	‘kuâ	gwa	T(5)	64.	二	n̄zi	ži	C
			kwa	K				ži	T(3), O, Oa
38.	過	kuâ’	kwa	T(3), K(2)	65.	尼	ńi	ji	O(2), Oa
39.	火	χuâ	hwa	T(2)	66.	刹	lji	li	O(22),
40.	和	yuâ	hwa	C, T(2)					Oa(12)
41.	墮	d’uâ	dwa	K				li	O, Oa(3)
42.	波	puâ	pa	T(6)	67.	地	d̄i	di	T
43.	頗	p’uâ	pha	C	68.	資	tsi	ci	T(3)
44.	破	p’uâ’	pa	T	69.	次	ts’i	chi	C
45.	婆	b’uâ	pa	O, Oa	70.	自	dz’i	chi	K
46.	磨	muâ	’ba	C	71.	肆	si	si	C
47.	摩	muâ	’ba	C, T	72.	四	si	si	T(5), O
			ba <sup>86</sup>	O, Oa	73.	比	pji	bi	K
48. <sup>87</sup>	沒	muâ	ma	T(2)			b’ji	’byi <sup>90</sup>	O, Oa
49.	化	χwa	hwa	T(2)	74.	枇	’pji	be	C
50.	華	χwa	hwa	K, O(2), Oa(2)	75.	譬	p’ji	phyi	K
51.	機	kj̄ei	ki	C	76.	鼻	b’ji	phyi	T(2)
52.	幾	’kj̄ei	gi	T	77.	寐	mji	(pyi)	T
			()i	C	78.	綺	k’jie	’b̄i	C
53.	既	kj̄ei’	gi	C	79.	祇	g’jie	’gi	C
			gyi <sup>88</sup>	T	80.	儀	ngjie	’gi	K
54.	希	χjei	hi	O, Oa	81.	義	ngjie	’gi	O
55.	依	’jei	”i	T				’gi	C
56. <sup>89</sup>	衣	’jei	”i	T	82.	議	ngjie	’gi	T(11), O, Oa
57.	飢	kji	ki	C				’gi	K(2)
58.	伊	’i	”yi	C				’gi	K(3), O(9), Oa(8)
59.	致	t̄i	či	O				’gi	K
60.	祇	t̄si	či	C					
61.	至	t̄si	či	K					
62.	師	ši	ši	O, Oa					
63.	視	’ži’	ši	T(2)					

<sup>86</sup> In *dharma*, written ’dar ba. The ’a-čhuñ obviously belongs to ba.

<sup>87</sup> The ACh. form is from the *Chi yün* cf. p.116, n.75.

<sup>88</sup> Written 記.

<sup>89</sup> Written 依.

<sup>90</sup> In the transcription of *bhikṣu*.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
83.	知	<i>tie</i>	'gi'	K T, K(3), O(3), Oa	100.	起	<i>k'ji</i>	<i>khi</i>	C T(2)
84.	智	<i>tie</i>	či	T(3) <sup>91</sup>	101.	其	<i>g'ji</i>	gi	C, K, Oa(2)
85.	馳	<i>d'sie</i>	ji'i	C				gi	K, O(10), Oa(5)
86.	支	<i>t'sie</i>	či	T(2)	102.	疑	<i>ngji</i>	'gi'	T
87.	紙	<i>t'sie</i>	či	T				'gu <sup>97</sup>	C
88.	侈	<i>t'sie</i>	čhi	C	103.	喜	<i>zji</i>	hi	T(2), O, Oa
89.	施	<i>sie</i>	ši	T(8), K(2)	104.	意	<i>z'i</i>	''i	T(6), K(7), O(2), Oa
90.	是	<i>'zie</i>	ši	T(18), K(22), O(19), Oa(12)	105.	貽	i	yi	C
			ši	K(2), O(4), Oa(2)	106.	以	i	yi	T(6), <sup>98</sup> K(5), O(2), Oa
			še	O(7), Oa(8)				yi	K(5)
91.	兒	<i>nzie</i>	ži	C				ye	O
92.	爾	<i>nzie</i>	že	K	107.	已	i	yi	K, O(2), Oa
93.	離	<i>lje</i>	li	C, T(9) <sup>92</sup>	108.	異	i	yi	Oa
94.	紫	<i>tsie</i>	cí	C				yi	C
95.	此	<i>tsie</i>	chi	T(2), K(5), O(4), Oa(2)	109.	癡	<i>t'i</i>	čhi	T(6)
			chi	K	110.	持	<i>d'i</i>	ji	T(11)
			'chi	Oa				ji	C
96.	鞞	<i>pjieg</i>	pyi	O <sup>93</sup>				čhi	T(9)
			'byi <sup>94</sup>	Oa	111.	治	<i>d'i</i>	čhi	T(3)
97.	疲	<i>b'jie</i>	be	C	112.	值	<i>d'i</i>	ji	K
98.	彌	<i>mjie</i>	<i>myi</i> <sup>95</sup>	O(10), Oa(3)				čhi	T
			'byi <sup>96</sup>	O(4), Oa(4)	113.	之	<i>t'si</i>	či	T(6), K, O(4), Oa(3)
99.	記	<i>kji</i>	ki'i	K				čhi	O
			(ke'i)	K					

<sup>91</sup> In one case či-g.<sup>92</sup> In T in one case written as 異, cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p.215.<sup>93</sup> In one more case ( )yi.<sup>94</sup> In *akṣobhya*.<sup>95</sup> In *Amida*.<sup>96</sup> In *Sumeru*.<sup>97</sup> Cf. p.100.<sup>98</sup> In one case written 油, cf. p.104, n.23.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
114.	士	'dž'i	ši	C, T	139.	肥	b'jwəi	bj	C
115.	事	dž'i	še	C, O, Oa	140.	微	mjwəi	'byi	C
			ši	T, K, O, Oa	141.	昧	mjwəi	'byi	T
116.	時	ži	š'i	C				byi	T
			ši	T, K, O	142.	鳩	'kjwi	gu	T(4)
117.	市	ži	ši	C				gu'i	T
118.	侍	ži	ši	C				gu'u	T
119.	而	nži	ži	O(2), Oa(2)	143.	維	wi	yu	T(2)
			že	C, K(2)	144.	惟	wi	yu	T(2)
120.	耳	nži	ži	C	145.	水	šwi	šu	T(2)
			ži	T(3)	146.	誰	žwi	švi	C
121.	理	lji	li	C, <sup>99</sup> T(3)	147.	累	ljwi	lu	C
122.	茲	tsi	cí	C	148.	翠	ts'wi	chwe	C
123.	子	tsi	cí	C	149.	悲	pjwi	pyi	T(3)
			ci	O(5), Oa(3)	150.	爲	jwieg	'u	T(15),
			ce	K(4), O, Oa					K(11), O(4),
124.	慈	dz'i	chi	T(3)					Oa(4)
125.	思	si	si	T(5), K(3),				wu	O
				O(9), Oa(8)	151.	吹	t's'wieg	čhu	C
			si	Oa	152.	隨	zwig	su'i	C
126.	死	si	si	T(2)	153.	碑	pjwieg	pi	C
127.	似	zi	si	T	154.	彼	'pjwieg	bi	T
128.	嗣	zi	si	C				pi	O(9), Oa
129.	祀	zi	si	C				pi	Oa
130.	歸	kjwəi	ku	T				pe	O
131.	威	'jwəi	"u'i	C				be	Oa
132.	畏	'jwəi	"u'i	C	155.	礙	ngâi	'ge	T, O
			"u	T	156.	海	žâi	he	T
133.	違	jwəi	'u	T(3)	157.	愛	'âi	"e'i	T
134.	匱	jwəi	'u	K				"e	T(2)
135.	煥	jwəi	we	C	158.	乃	nâi	'ne'i	K
136.	謂	jwəi	'u	T	159.	來	lâi	le	T(2),
137.	非	pjwəi	phyi	T, K(2), O,					K(13), O
				Oa				le'i	K(4)
			phyi	K(2)				le'i	K
			'phyi	O	160.	殆	'd'âi	da'j	C
138.	飛	pjwəi	phe	C	161.	怠	'd'âi	de	T

<sup>99</sup> Written 治.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
162.	宰	ts̪ai	z̪a'i	C	180.	稽	k̪iei	khye	C
163.	再	ts̪ai <sup>2</sup>	cha'i	C	181.	溪	k̪iei	khya'i	C
164.	載	ts̪ai <sup>2</sup>	z̪a'i	C	182.	啓	k̪iei	khye	C
165.	綵	ts̪ai	cha'()	C	183.	翳	ie'i	"ye'i	C
166.	財	dz̪ai	che	T(3)	184.	泥	niei	'de	T
167.	在	'dz̪ai	che	T	185.	禮	liei	le	K, O, Oa
					186.	隸	liei	le'i	C
168.	蓋	kai	(ke)	T	187.	諦	tiei	de	T(7)
					188.	體	t̪iei	the	T(13)
169.	害	γai	he	T(4)				the'i	T(2)
170.	岱	d̪ai	da'i	C	189 <sup>101</sup> .	剗	t̪iei	the'i	T
171.	大	d̪ai	de	T(10), O(13), Oa(10)	190.	提	d̪iei	de'i	K(24)
								de'i	K(4)
								de	K(5), O(2), Oa(3)
								'de	O(2), Oa
					191.	弟	d̪iei	de	O
					192.	第	d̪iei	de	T
172.	塞	sai	sa'i	C	193.	凡	ts̪iei	che	T(2), O(12), Oa(12)
173.	階	kai	ke'i	C				che'i	K(7)
								che'i	C
174.	皆	kai	ke'i	K(3)				se	O, Oa
					194.	西	siei	sye	
175.	界	kai	ke	T, 0(6), Oa(4)	195.	細	siei	si	T
					196.	陸	b̪iei	be'i	C
176.	戒	kai	ke	T(6), O(11), Oa(11)	197.	藥	ngjai	'ge'i	C
					198.	世	šiai	še	T(8), K, O(15), Oa(15)
177.	解	'kai	ga'	C				še'i	K(7)
								še'i	K(2)
					199.	祭	ts̪iai <sup>2</sup>	z̪e'i	C
178.	雞	kiei	kye	C	200.	弊	b̪iai	be'i	C
					201.	迴	yuai	hwa'i	C
					202.	內	nuai	'de'i <sup>102</sup>	C

<sup>100</sup> In the MS *k* and *h* cannot always be distinguished.<sup>101</sup> Written 剗.<sup>102</sup> Written 'do'.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
203.	對	<i>tuâi</i>	' <i>dwe</i>	T(10)	225.	籃	<i>lám</i>	<i>lam</i>	C
			<i>twa'i</i>	C	226.	擔	<i>tâm</i>	<i>tam</i>	K
			<i>dwe</i>	T(6)	227.	三	<i>sâm</i>	<i>sam</i>	T(11), K(21),
			<i>deu</i>	T					O(15), Oa(14)
204.	退	<i>t'uâi</i>	<i>thwa'i</i>	C	228.	咸	<i>yăm</i>	<i>ham</i>	T
			<i>thwa</i>	O(2)	229.	巖	<i>ngam</i>	' <i>gam</i>	C
			<i>thwe</i>	Oa(2)	230.	厭	<i>jiäm</i>	" <i>em</i>	C
205.	罪	<i>dz'uâi</i>	<i>zwe'i</i>	K(2)	231.	炎	<i>jiäm</i>	<i>yyam</i>	T
206.	杯	<i>puâi</i>	<i>pa'i</i>	C	232.	餲	<i>jiäm</i>	<i>yam</i>	O(3), Oa(3)
207.	背	<i>puâi</i>	<i>ba'i</i>	C	233.	廉	<i>liäm</i>	<i>lem</i>	C
208.	陪	<i>b'uâi</i>	<i>ba'i</i>	C	234.	嚴	<i>ngiäm</i>	' <i>gem</i>	K(3), O(2), Oa
209.	每	<i>muâi</i>	' <i>be</i>	T	235.	染	<i>nízivm</i>	<i>žam</i>	T(2)
210.	外	<i>nguâi</i>	<i>'gu()</i>	C	236.	謙	<i>k'iem</i>	<i>khyam</i>	C
			<i>'gwe</i>	T(10)	237.	念	<i>niem</i>	<i>nem</i>	K, O(8), Oa(8)
211.	會	<i>yuâi</i>	<i>hwa'i</i>	C					
			( <i>)e</i>		238.	凡	<i>b'iwvm</i>	<i>bam</i>	T(3)
212.	最	<i>dz'uâi</i>	<i>cwe'i</i>	K	239.	梵	<i>b'iwvm</i>	<i>bam</i>	T, O, Oa
			<i>cwe</i>	O, Oa	240.	今	<i>kjəm</i>	<i>kim</i>	K, O(5), Oa(3)
213.	槐	<i>ywâi</i>	<i>hwe()</i>	C	241.	禽	<i>g'jəm</i>	<i>gim</i>	C
214.	壞	<i>ywâi</i>	<i>hwe</i>	T	242.	音	<i>jəm</i>	" <i>im</i>	C, O(4), Oa(3)
215.	畫	<i>ywai</i>	( <i>)wa</i>	C	243.	蔭	<i>jəm</i>	" <i>im</i>	T
216.	惠	<i>yiwei</i>	( <i>)e</i>	C	244 <sup>104</sup>	姪	<i>žém</i>	<i>yim</i>	T
			<i>hwe</i>	T(3)	245.	箴	<i>tšiəm</i>	<i>čim</i>	C
			<i>hywe</i>	T(3)	246.	甚	<i>žiəm</i>	<i>šim</i>	T, O(3), Oa(2)
217.	慧	<i>yiwei</i>	<i>h(<i>)e'i</i></i>	K					
218.	稅	<i>šiwâi</i>	<i>šwe'i</i>	C					
219.	感	<i>kâm</i>	<i>gwam</i> <sup>103</sup>	T(7)					
220.	龜	<i>k'âm</i>	<i>kham</i>	T					
221.	南	<i>nâm</i>	<i>nam</i>	C, O, Oa					
222.	男	<i>nâm</i>	<i>nam</i>	K(4), O(4), Oa(2)					
223.	耽	<i>tâm</i>	<i>tam</i>	C					
224.	貪	<i>t'âm</i>	<i>tham</i>	T(11)					

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 53. Written 敢 four times.<sup>104</sup> Written 姮.<sup>105</sup> Cf. p.116.<sup>106</sup> Cf. p.116.T<sup>105</sup>šib<sup>106</sup>

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
247.	臨	<i>līəm</i>	<i>lim</i>	O	273.	翦	<i>ts'jän</i>	<i>cyan</i>	C
248.	林	<i>līəm</i>	<i>l( )m</i>	C	274.	遷	<i>ts'jän</i>	<i>chyan</i>	T
249.	心	<i>siəm</i>	<i>sim</i>	C, T, K(5), O(3)	275.	踐	<i>dz'jän</i>	<i>zyan</i>	C
250.	尋	<i>zjəm</i>	<i>syim</i>	C	276.	賤	<i>dz'jän</i>	<i>zen</i>	K(2)
251.	漢	<i>χān</i>	<i>han</i>	C, O	277.	仙	<i>siän</i>	<i>syan</i>	C
252.	韓	<i>γān</i>	<i>han</i>	C	278.	幕	<i>b'jän</i>	<i>byen</i>	C
253.	難	<i>nān</i> <sup>107</sup>		T	279.	綿	<i>mjän</i>	<i>myen</i>	C
			<i>'dan</i>	O(6), Oa(5)	280.	勉	<i>mjän</i>	<i>myan</i>	C
254.	丹	<i>tān</i>	<i>tan</i>	C	281.	免	<i>mjän</i>	<i>men</i>	T
255.	旦	<i>tān'</i>	<i>dan</i>	C	282.	面	<i>mjän</i>	<i>myan</i>	C
256.	歎	<i>t'ān</i>	<i>than</i>	O, Oa	283.	言	<i>ngiavn</i>	<i>'gen</i>	T(3), K(7), O(8), Oa(7)
257.	壇	<i>d'ān</i>	<i>than</i>	T(2)	284.	堅	<i>kien</i>	<i>kyan</i>	C, T
258.	但	<i>'d'ān</i>	<i>dan</i>	O					
259.	讚	<i>tsān</i>	<i>can</i>	O(8), Oa(8)	285.	肩	<i>kien</i>	<i>kyen</i>	O(3), Oa(2)
260.	喰	<i>ts'ān</i>	<i>chan</i>	C	286.	見	<i>kien</i>	<i>kyan</i>	C, T(8)
261.	散	<i>sān</i>	<i>san</i>	C, K					T, K(4), O(3), Oa(2)
262.	間	<i>kăń</i>	<i>kan</i>	O	287.	鴈	<i>ngien</i>	<i>'gan</i>	C
			<i>gan</i>	O	288.	絃	<i>yien</i>	<i>hyan</i>	C
			<i>ken</i>	T(4), K, O, Oa(3)	289.	現	<i>yien</i>	<i>hyan</i>	T
263.	眼	<i>ngăń</i>	<i>'gen</i>	K(5), T(3)					O
			<i>'gyen</i>	T	290.	讌	<i>'ien</i>	<i>"yan</i>	C
			<i>'gyan</i>	T	291.	顛	<i>tien</i>	<i>tyan</i>	C
264.	閑	<i>γăń</i>	<i>han</i>	C					O, Oa
265.	山	<i>săń</i>	<i>(s)an</i>	O	292.	典	<i>tien</i>	<i>tyan</i>	C
			<i>šan</i>	Oa					K
266.	遣	<i>k'jän</i>	<i>khyan</i>	C	293.	天	<i>t'ien</i>	<i>then</i>	K(2), O
267.	筵	<i>ÿän</i>	<i>yan</i>	C	294.	田	<i>d'ien</i>	<i>dyan</i>	C
268.	禪	<i>žjän</i>	<i>šan</i>	C, T(2)	295.	千	<i>ts'ien</i>	<i>chyan</i>	C
			<i>žan</i>	T					K(2), O(12), Oa(12)
269.	善	<i>žjän</i>	<i>šan</i>	K(8), T(3)					
			<i>žan</i>	O(10), Oa(6)	296.	前	<i>dz'ien</i>	<i>chyan</i>	T(5)
270.	膳	<i>žjän</i>	<i>šan</i>	C					K, O
271.	然	<i>nžjän</i>	<i>žen</i>	K(3)	297.	先	<i>sien</i>	<i>syan</i>	T
272.	聳	<i>liān</i>	<i>lyan</i>	C					T, K(2)

<sup>107</sup> Due to subsequent 'go.'

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
298.	徧	pien	pyan	O(6), Oa(6)	325.	邊	piwen	pyan	T(2), K, O(2)
299.	眠	mien	myan	C				pyen	K
300.	冠	kuān	kwan	C				phyan	T
301.	觀	kuān'	kwan	C, T(3), O	326.	根	kən	kin	T(4), O
			gwan	T(4)	327.	巾	kjěn	ken	C
302.	翫	nguān	'gwan	C	328.	銀	ngjěn	'gjin	C
303.	歡	zuān	hwan	C, O, Oa	329.	因	'jěn	"in	T(5), O
304.	喚	zuān	hwan	T(3)				"yin	Oa
			hwa	T	330.	引	jěn	yin	T(2)
305.	桓	yuān	hwan	C				"in?	T
306.	暖	nuān	'd()	T(2)	331.	塵	d'jěn	čhin	T(5)
307.	乏	luān	lwan	T, O	332.	真	tsjěn	cín?	K
			lwen	K	333.	振	tšjěn	čin	C
308.	斷	'tuān	dwan	T	334.	嗔	t's'jěn	čhin	T(11)
309.	算	suān	swan	K, O(2), Oa	335.	神	džjěn	šin	C
310.	礮	b'uān	ban	C				šin	T
311.	盤	b'uān	phan	T(2)	336.	身	šjěn	šin	T(6), K(4),
312.	幻	ywān	hwan	T				O, Oa	
313.	還	ywan	hwan	T	337.	人	nžjěn	žin	K(16),
314.	卷	kjwān	kwon	O, Oa				O(10), Oa(7)	
315.	員	jjwān	wen	C				žin	K(3)
316.	緣	q̥wān	ywan	T(17), O,	338.	忍	nžjěn	žin	T
				Oa	339.	津	tsjěn	cín	T
317.	轉	t̥iwān	žwen	C	340.	晉	tsjěn'	žin	C
			čwan	O(2), Oa	341.	進	tsjěn	cín	O, Oa
318.	宣	siwān	swan	C				čhin	T
319.	變	p̥iwān	byen	T				žin	T(3)
320.	願	ngiwan	'gwan	O(6)	342.	親	ts'jěn	čhin	C
			wen	O(2), Oa(5)	343.	秦	dž'jěn	žen <sup>108</sup>	C
			wan	Oa(2)	344.	新	šjěn	šin	C
321.	垣	jiwān	wen	C	345.	信	šjěn	sin	T(2), K(2),
322.	遠	jiwān	wan	C, T(2)					O(11),
			wen	T					Oa(11)
323.	煩	b̥iuvn	ban	C, Oa	346.	謹	kjən	kj̥n	C
			'ban	O	347.	昆	kuən	kuon	C
324.	萬	m̥ucvn	'ban	K(2)	348.	溫	'uən	"on	T(2)

<sup>108</sup> Written jen.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
349.	論	<i>luən</i>	<i>lon</i>	C				<i>hiñ</i>	K(3), O(5),
350.	敦	<i>tuən</i>	<i>ton</i>	C					Oa(6)
351.	頓	<i>tuən</i>	<i>ton</i>	C	373.	能	<i>nəng</i>	<i>niñ</i>	T(10)
352.	尊	<i>tsuən</i>	<i>con</i>	K(2)				' <i>neñ</i>	O(2)
353.	本	<i>puən</i>	<i>pon</i>	C				' <i>niñ</i>	O(2), Oa(2)
			<i>bun</i>	T(2)				' <i>din</i>	K(2)
			<i>bin</i>	T				' <i>din</i>	K
354.	門	<i>muən</i>	<i>mon</i>	T	374.	燈	<i>təng</i>	<i>tiñ</i>	K(4)
			<i>min</i>	T(2)				<i>tiñ</i>	K
			' <i>bun</i>	C				<i>teñ</i>	O(2), Oa
355.	尹	<i>jjuēn</i>	<i>win</i>	C	375.	等	<i>təng</i>	<i>diñ</i>	T(3)
356.	順	<i>dž'juēn</i>	<i>šun</i>	T				<i>tiñ</i>	K(3), O(13),
357.	潤	<i>ńzjuēn</i>	<i>žun</i>	T					T, Oa(12)
358.	倫	<i>ljuēn</i>	<i>lin</i>	T				<i>tiñ</i>	Oa
359.	輸	<i>ljuēn</i>	<i>lun</i>	T				<i>teñ</i>	O, Oa
360.	遵	<i>tsjuēn</i>	<i>cun</i>	C	376.	增	<i>tsəng</i>	<i>ceñ</i>	C
361.	筭	<i>sjuēn</i>	<i>sun</i>	C				<i>chiñ</i>	T(3)
362.	軍	<i>kjuən</i>	<i>ku()</i>	C	377.	憎	<i>tsəng</i>	<i>ciñ</i>	T
363.	群	<i>g'juən</i>	<i>gun</i>	C	378.	憎	<i>səng</i>	<i>siñ</i>	T(2)
364.	郡	<i>g'juən'</i>	<i>gwin</i>	C	379.	爭	<i>tʂəng</i>	<i>jeñ</i>	T(4)
365.	蘊	' <i>juən</i>	" <i>un</i>	T(10)	380.	更	<i>kvng</i>	<i>keñ</i>	C
			' <i>un</i> <sup>109</sup>	T(3)	381.	硬	<i>ngvng</i>	' <i>ge</i> '	T
366.	云	<i>jjuən</i>	' <i>un</i>	T, K(9), O(2)	382.	行	<i>γvng</i>	<i>heñ</i>	T(4)
367.	運	<i>jjuən</i>	' <i>un</i>	C				' <i>he</i>	O, Oa
368.	分	<i>pjuən</i>	<i>phun</i>	T(5), K	383.	生	<i>svng</i>	<i>šeñ</i>	T(2), K(6)
			<i>pun</i>	T				<i>ši</i>	O(17),
			<i>phuñ</i>	T					Oa(10)
			<i>b'juən'</i>	<i>bun</i>				<i>še</i>	O(5), Oa(5)
				C	384.	笙	<i>svng</i>	<i>še</i>	C
369.	墳	<i>b'juən</i>	<i>bun</i>	C	385.	烹	<i>p'vng</i>	<i>phe</i>	C
370.	聞	<i>mjuən</i>	<i>bun</i>	K, O(7), Oa(3)	386.	盲	<i>mvng</i>	<i>meñ</i>	T
				T(8), Oa(2)	387.	孟	<i>mvng</i>	<i>meñ</i>	C
371.	問	<i>mjuən</i>	<i>bun</i>	T(14)	388.	輕	<i>k'jäng</i>	<i>khyeñ</i>	K(2)
372.	恒	<i>γəng</i>	<i>heñ</i>	O	389.	纓	' <i>jäng</i>	<i>khye</i>	C
			<i>he()</i>	C	390.	楹	<i>jiäng</i>	" <i>e()</i>	C
							<i>yeñ</i>		C

<sup>109</sup> In 五蘊 '*go* 'un.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
391.	聲	šiäng	šeñ	T(8), O	414.	刑	yieng	hye	C
392.	聖	šiäng	šeñ	O	415.	形	yieng	hyeñ	T
			še	Oa				heñ	T
393.	成	čiäng	šeñ	K, O(2)	416.	寧	nieng	ne	C
394.	誠	čiäng	šeñ	O(6), Oa(6)	417.	靈	lieng	l( )ñ	C
395.	聆	liäng	lye	C	418.	庭	d'ienç	de	C
396.	領	liäng	leñ	T	419.	定	d'ienç'	deñ	T(4)
397.	令	liäng	leñ	T	420.	青	ts'ienç	cheñ	T
398.	精	tsiäng	ceñ	T(2), O				che	C
			ciñ	T	421.	星	sieng	sye	C
			cye	C	422.	銘	mieng	me	C
			c(i)	Oa	423.	應	'iøng	"iñ	K(5), O(3), Oa
399.	情	dz'iäng	cheñ	T(8)	424.	蒸	t'siøng	čiñ	C
			že	C	425.	證	t'siøng'	čiñ	T
400.	淨	dz'iäng	cheñ	T(8)				jiñ	T(3)
			žeñ	O, Oa	426.	稱	t's'iøng	čhiñ	K(2), O(8), Oa(8)
401.	性	siäng	señ	T(3)				č( )ñ	K
			syenñ	T(3)	427.	乘	d'z'iøng	šiñ	T(16), K(2)
402.	往	?	siñ	T	428.	昇	šiøng	šeñ	C
403.	并	piäng	pye	C	429.	勝	šiøng	šiñ	T(2), O, Oa
404.	名	miäng	meñ	O(2), Oa	430.	承	žiøng	šeñ	C
			myiñ	Oa				šiñ	K
			mye	T(6), K(2)	431.	橫	γwøng	hwe'e	C
			myi	T, K, O(3), Oa(2)	432.	傾	k'žwøng	khwe	C
			myi	K	433.	營	žwøng	we	C
405.	京	kipng	ke	C	434.	命	mžwøng	me	T(2)
406.	驚	kipng	keñ	C				meñ	O(2), Oa
407.	境	kipng	keñ	T(5)	435.	兵	pžwøng	pe	C
			heñ <sup>100</sup>	T	436.	秉	pžwøng	pye	C
408.	竟	kipng	keñ	T	437.	平	p'žwøng	pheñ	T
409.	敬	kipng	keñ	K	438.	明	mžwøng	meñ	C, O(4), Oa(4)
410.	慶	k'ipng	kheñ	T				mye	T
411.	英	'ipng	"e	C	439.	康	k'âng	khañ	C
412.	盟	mipng	meñ	C	440.	糠	k'âng	khañ	C
413.	經	kieng	kyeñ	T(2), K(6)	441.	抗	k'âng	kho	C
			kyanñ	K(2)					
			kyi	O(14), Oa(10)					

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
442.	囊	<i>nâng</i>	<i>no</i>	C	467.	量	<i>liang</i>	<i>lyon</i>	T(4)
443.	當	<i>tâng</i>	<i>tañ</i>	K(8), O(13), Oa(11)				<i>lyan</i>	K(5), O(5), Oa(4)
444.	額	<i>sâng</i>	<i>so</i>	C	468.	將	<i>tsiang</i>	<i>cyo</i>	C
445.	傍	<i>bâng</i>	<i>bo</i>	C	469.	壙	<i>dz'iang</i>	<i>zyo</i>	C
446.	卽	<i>mâng</i>	<i>mo</i>	C	470.	廂	<i>siang</i>	<i>syo</i>	C
447.	強	<i>g'iang</i>	<i>khoñ</i>	T	471.	相	<i>siang</i>	<i>syo</i>	C
448.	香	<i>xiang</i>	<i>hoñ</i>	T				<i>syon</i>	T(6)
			<i>ho</i>	T				<i>syan</i>	T(4), K(4), O(7), Oa(8)
449.	向	<i>xiang</i>	<i>hoñ</i>	T	472.	想	<i>siang</i>	<i>syon</i>	T
450.	陽	<i>iang</i>	<i>yoñ</i>	T				<i>syân</i>	T(2)
			<i>yañ</i>	O	473.	象	<i>ziang</i>	<i>sy'o</i>	C
451.	養	<i>iang</i>	<i>yañ</i>	K(3)	474.	像	<i>ziang</i>	<i>syan</i>	T(2)
452.	帳	<i>t'iang</i>	<i>čon</i>	C				<i>syon</i>	T(3)
453.	腸	<i>d'iang</i>	<i>jo</i>	C	475.	光	<i>kwâng</i>	<i>kwañ</i>	O(7), Oa(5)
454.	長	<i>d'iang</i>	<i>jañ</i>	K, O(6), Oa(4)	476.	廣	<i>kwâng</i>	<i>kwañ</i>	K, O(5), Oa(5)
			<i>žañ</i>	Oa				<i>kwoñ</i>	O
			<i>čhoñ</i>	T	477.	曠	<i>k'wâng</i>	<i>kho</i>	C
455.	莊	<i>t'siang</i>	<i>cañ</i>	K(3)	478.	煌	<i>ywâng</i>	<i>ho</i>	C
			<i>'cañ<sup>110</sup></i>	K	479.	黃	<i>ywâng</i>	<i>hwoñ</i>	T
456.	障	<i>t'siang</i>	<i>čañ</i>	O	480.	誇	<i>pwâng</i>	<i>boñ</i>	T(2)
457.	唱	<i>t's'iang</i>	<i>čho'o</i>	C	481.	絳	<i>kâng'</i>	<i>gañ</i>	C
458.	床	<i>d'iang</i>	<i>čho</i>	C	482.	降	<i>yâng</i>	<i>'heñ</i>	K
459.	狀	<i>d'iang</i>	<i>čhoñ</i>	T	483.	憧	<i>d'âng</i>	<i>žwañ</i>	O, Oa
			( <i>joñ</i> )	T	484.	幢	<i>d'âng</i>	<i>žwañ</i>	O, Oa
460.	觴	<i>šiang</i>	<i>šo</i>	C	485.	狂	<i>g'iwang</i>	<i>gañ</i>	K
461.	賞	<i>šiang</i>	<i>šo</i>	C	486.	王	<i>jiuwang</i>	<i>wañ</i>	O, Oa(2)
462.	嘗	<i>žiang</i>	<i>šo</i>	C	487.	往	<i>jiuwang</i>	<i>'bwañ</i>	O
463.	常	<i>žiang</i>	<i>šon</i>	T(7)	488.	方	<i>p'iwang</i>	<i>'bwañ</i>	O(7), Oa(5)
			<i>š(y)oñ</i>	T	489.	紡	<i>p'iwang</i>	<i>pho'o</i>	C
464.	上	<i>žiang</i>	<i>šañ</i>	K, O, Oa	490.	綱	<i>miwang</i>	<i>'bwañ</i>	O
			<i>žañ</i>	O, Oa	491.	忘	<i>miwang</i>	<i>boñ</i>	T(3)
465.	糧	<i>liang</i>	<i>lyo</i>	C	492.	妄	<i>miwang</i>	<i>boñ</i>	T(3)
466.	兩	<i>liang</i>	<i>lyo</i>	C				<i>'on</i>	T(2)
			<i>lyon</i>	T(3)	493.	高	<i>kâu</i>	<i>ke'u</i>	C

<sup>110</sup> Due to subsequent 'gem.'

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
494.	臯	kāu	k( )'u	C	521.	遶	n̄zjäu	že'u	K
495.	稿	kāu	ke'u	C	522.	逍	sjäu	s( )a'u	C
496.	告	kāu	ke'u	K	523.	小	sjäu	se'u	K
497.	好	χāu	ha'u	C	524.	表	p̄jäu	bye'u	T
498.	號	γāu	he'u	K(2), O(3)	525.	飄	p'jäu	phyā'u	C
499.	惱	nāu	'de'u	O, Oa	526.	妙	m̄jäu	'bye'u	T(3), O, Oa
			'de	T	527.	寥	lieu	le'u	C
500.	勞	lāu	la'u	C	528.	了	lieu	le'u	T(7)
501.	老	lāu	le'u	T	529.	條	d̄ieu	dya'u	C
502.	倒	tāu	te'u	O, Oa	530.	消	sieu	se'u	K
			de'u <sup>111</sup>	T	531.	口	'k̄əu	kha'o	C
503.	道	d̄āu	de'u	T(4), K	532.	後	'γəu	ha'o	C
504.	盜	d̄āu	de'u	T	533.	樓	ləu	le'u	C
505.	糟	tsāu	ca'o	C	534.	投	d̄əu	de'u	C
506.	操	ts'āu	che'u	C	535.	奏	tsəu'	ʒe'u	C
507.	造	dz'āu	che'u	T	536.	九	'kiżu	gu'u	C
508.	寶	pāu	pe'u	T(17), O(3), Oa(3)	537.	久	'kiżu	gi'u	T(3)
			peu	T	538.	丘	k̄iżu	'khe'u <sup>112</sup>	O
509.	交	kau	ke'u	C, T(2)				khe'u <sup>112</sup>	Oa
510.	教	kau	ke'( )	T	539.	求	ḡiżu	gi'u	C
511.	飽	'pau	ba'o	C	540.	舊	ḡiżu	gi( )	C
512.	矯	'kiżu	ga'u	C	541.	休	χiżu	hi'u	T
513.	要	'jäu	"e'u?	T	542 <sup>113</sup>	憂	'iżu	"i'u	T
			ye'u?		543.	友	j̄iżu	"i'u	C
			ye'u	K	544.	有	j̄iżu	"i'u	K(22),
514.	遙	jiżu	ya'u	C					O(12),
515.	飴	jiżu	ye'u	C					Oa(12)
516.	超	t̄jäu	čhe'u	T(2)					"i'u
517.	趙	d̄iżu	ž( )'u	C					Oa
518.	招	t̄iżu	ča'u	C					"e'u
519.	照	t̄iżu	či'u	O	545.	右	j̄iżu	yu	O(2)
520.	少	śiżu	še'u	T	546.	又	j̄iżu	"i'u	T
			śiżu	O	547.	由	iżu	yi'u	(7)
			śiżu'	C	548.	猷	iżu	yu	T(3), K

<sup>111</sup> Written 到.<sup>112</sup> In the transcription of *bhikṣu*.<sup>113</sup> Written 怖.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
549.	猶	<i>iqu</i>	<i>yu</i>	C	577.	五	<i>nquo</i>	<i>'go</i>	T(2), O(3), Oa(2)
			<i>y'i'u</i>	T					
550.	遊	<i>i<u>z</u>u</i>	<i>yu</i>	C	578.	悟	<i>nquo</i>	<i>'go</i>	T(8)
					579.	狐	<i>yuo</i>	<i>ho</i>	K
551.	攸	<i>i<u>z</u>u</i>	<i>y<i>ü</i>'o</i>	C	580.	謹	<i>yuo</i>	<i>"o</i>	O(8), Oa(8)
					581.	汚	<i>uo</i>	<i>ho</i>	T
552.	輶	<i>i<u>z</u>u</i>	<i>y<i>ü</i>'o</i>	C	582.	路	<i>luo</i>	<i>lo</i>	C
					583.	土	<i>t'uo</i>	<i>tho</i>	C, O(8), Oa(6)
553.	畫	<i>t<u>z</u>u</i>	<i>je'u</i>	C	584.	途	<i>d'uo</i>	<i>do</i>	T(2), K
					585.	圖	<i>d'uo</i>	<i>duo</i>	C
554.	抽	<i>t'izu</i>	<i>che'u</i>	C	586.	杜	<i>d'uo</i>	<i>do</i>	C
					587.	度	<i>d'uo</i>	<i>do</i>	K(4)
555.	咒	<i>t'sizu</i>	<i>či'u</i>	O(2)	588.	組	<i>tsuo</i>	<i>zo'o</i>	C
					589.	麤	<i>ts'uo</i>	<i>cho</i>	T(2)
556.	手	<i>sizu</i>	<i>še'u</i>	C	590.	素	<i>suo</i>	<i>so</i>	C, T(2)
					591.	補	<i>puo</i>	<i>'phu</i>	O
557.	守	<i>sizu</i>	<i>ši'u</i>	C	592.	布	<i>puo</i>	<i>pu</i>	T(2), K(2)
					593.	菩	<i>b'uo</i>	<i>bu</i>	K(39), O(3), Oa(2)
558.	受	<i>zizu</i>	<i>ši'u</i>	T(6), K(6), O(2), Oa(2)					O, Oa
			<i>šu'</i>	T					
559.	壽	<i>zizu</i>	<i>ši'u</i>	K(2), O, Oa					
					594.	茂	<i>muo<sup>115</sup></i>	<i>'bu</i>	C
560.	流	<i>li<u>z</u>u</i>	<i>l(i)u</i>	T	595.	居	<i>k<u>ü</u>wo</i>	<i>ki</i>	C
					596.	車	<i>k<u>ü</u>wo</i>	<i>ki</i>	C
561.	酒	<i>tsizu</i>	<i>žu'u</i>	C	597.	舉	<i>k<u>ü</u>wo</i>	<i>gu'u</i>	C
					598.	據	<i>k<u>ü</u>wo'</i>	<i>gi</i>	T
562.	就	<i>dzizu</i>	<i>ži'u</i>	K, O	599.	去	<i>k'üwo</i>	<i>gu</i>	T
					600.	渠	<i>g'üwo</i>	<i>gu</i>	C
563.	修	<i>sizu</i>	<i>si'u</i>	T(2), K, O, Oa	601.	鉅	<i>g'üwo</i>	<i>gi</i>	C
					602.	語	<i>ngüwo</i>	<i>'gu</i>	T(3)
564.	岫	<i>zizu</i>	<i>s(i)'u</i>	C					
565.	不	<i>pizu</i>	<i>pu</i>	K(12), O(15), Oa(14)					
566.	否	<i>pizu</i>	<i>phu</i>	T(2), K(4)					
567.	富	<i>pizu</i>	<i>phu</i>	C					
568.	覆	<i>p<u>ü</u>z u</i>	<i>phu</i>	T					
			<i>'phu</i>	O(6), Oa(5)					
569.	阜	<i>b'izu</i>	<i>phu</i>	C					
570.	婦	<i>b'izu</i>	<i>bu</i>	C					
571.	牟	<i>mizu</i>	<i>'bu</i>	K, O, Oa					
572.	姑	<i>kuo</i>	<i>ko</i>	C					
573.	古	<i>'kuo</i>	<i>go</i>	C					
574.	故	<i>kuo'</i>	<i>go</i>	C					
			<i>ko</i>	T(8), K(8), O(6), Oa(2)					
575.	苦	<i>k'uo</i>	<i>kho</i>	T(6)					
576.	梧	<i>nquo</i>	<i>'gu<sup>114</sup></i>	C					

<sup>114</sup> In the 梧桐 compound.<sup>115</sup> Cf. *K'ang-hsi kǔ tien*.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
603.	御	<i>ngiwo</i>	'gu	O	619.	汝	<i>nžiwo</i>	ži	O(2)
604.	虛	<i>žiwo</i>	hu	T(2)				ži	Oa
			h̄i	K				žu	T(3), O(7),
605.	於	<i>iwo</i>	"u	C, T(10),					Oa(6)
				O(11),	620.	女	<i>n̄iwo</i>	že	K(2)
				Oa(11)					K(4), O(4),
			"i	T(2), K(15),	621.	慮	<i>liwo</i>	lu	Oa(3)
				O(2)	622.	俱	<i>k̄iu</i>	ku	C
606.	飮	<i>iwo</i>	"u'(o?)	C	623.	驅	<i>k̄žiu</i>	khu	O
607.	譽	<i>iwo</i>	ȳi	C	624.	具	<i>ḡžiu</i>	ku	T
608.	興	<i>iwo</i>	ȳi	T(4), K					C, K
			ȳi	O, Oa	625.	愚	<i>nḡiu</i>	'gu	T(2)
			yu	O	626.	寓	<i>nḡiu</i>	'gu	C
609.	豫	<i>iwo</i>	yu	C	627.	喻	<i>žiu</i>	yu	K
610.	諸	<i>tšiwo</i>	ču	C, T(7)	628.	住	<i>d̄žiu</i>	čhu	T(4)
			'ču	O				žu	K
			či	K(2), O(8),	629.	數	<i>šižiu</i>	šu	K
				Oa(13)					
			čhi	O(17), Oa(9)	630.	殊	<i>žižiu</i>	šo	O(9), Oa(6)
611.	初	<i>tš̄iwo</i>	čhu	T(3)	631.	樹	<i>žižiu</i>	šu	T(3)
612.	楚	<i>tš̄iwo</i>	čhi	C	632.	取	<i>tš̄ižiu</i>	šu	O, Oa
613.	處	<i>tš̄iwo</i>	čhi	K(4), O(2)	633.	聚	<i>džižiu</i>	chu	T(2)
614.	疎	<i>šiwo</i>	ši	C	634.	須	<i>šižiu</i>	su	T
615.	所	<i>šiwo</i>	ši	K(2), O(6),					T, K(21),
				Oa	635.	夫	<i>p̄iu</i>	phu	O(4), Oa(4)
			šu	T(6), K(3), O	636.	扶	<i>p̄iu</i>	phu	C, T(3)
			šu'i	K	637.	無	<i>m̄iu</i>	'bu	O
			še	O(8), Oa(10)					T(2), K(14),
			ša	K	638.	无	<i>m̄iu</i>	'bu	O(9), Oa(6)
			se'i	K(4)	639.	務	<i>m̄iu</i>	'bu	T(8)
			se	K	640.	功	<i>kung</i>	ko()	C
616.	黍	<i>šiwo</i>	ši	C					K(5), O(10),
617.	庶	<i>šiwo</i>	ši	C					Oa(7)
618.	如	<i>nžiwo</i>	ži	O(6), Oa					Oa(2)
			ži	K(2), O(5),	641.	公	<i>kung</i>	ko()	C
				Oa(7)	642.	貢	<i>kung</i>	koñ	C
			žu	T(14), O, Oa					
			že	K(21)					

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
643.	空	<i>k<sup>e</sup>ung</i>	<i>khoñ</i>	T(5), K	669.	雜	<i>dz<sup>e</sup>āp</i>	<i>zab</i>	O, Oa
644.	孔	<i>k<sup>e</sup>ung</i>	<i>khoñ</i>	C	670.	塔	<i>t<sup>e</sup>āp</i>	<i>thab</i>	K
645.	東	<i>tung</i>	<i>toñ</i>	C, O, Oa	671.	甲	<i>kap</i>	<i>kab</i>	C
646.	通	<i>t<sup>e</sup>ung</i>	<i>thoñ</i>	T	672.	葉	<i>zäp</i>	<i>yab</i>	C
647.	同	<i>d<sup>e</sup>ung</i>	<i>thoñ</i>	T(4)	673.	攝	<i>śiäp</i>	<i>śab</i>	T(6)
648.	動	<i>d<sup>e</sup>ung</i>	<i>doñ</i>	C	674.	接	<i>tsiäp</i>	<i>ceb</i>	C
649.	洞	<i>d<sup>e</sup>ung'</i>	<i>doñ</i>	C	675.	妾	<i>ts<sup>e</sup>iäp</i>	<i>chyab</i>	C
650.	夢	<i>mung</i>	<i>moñ</i>	T	676.	刼	<i>k<sup>e</sup>v<sup>e</sup>p</i>	<i>keb</i>	K
651.	農	<i>nuong</i>	<i>'noñ<sup>116</sup></i>	C				<i>kab</i>	O(3)
652.	宗	<i>tsuong</i>	<i>coñ</i>	C, T(3)	677.	業	<i>ngiwp</i>	<i>'geb</i>	T(4), K(2)
			<i>choñ</i>	T	678.	俠	<i>γiep</i>	<i>hyab</i>	C
653.	恐	<i>k<sup>e</sup>iung</i>	<i>khuñ</i>	T	679.	法	<i>piwvp</i>	<i>phab</i>	C, T(12),
654.	中	<i>t<sup>e</sup>iung</i>	<i>čuñ</i>	T, K(2), O					K(14),
			<i>čhuñ</i>	O, Oa					O(3), Oa(4)
655.	寵	<i>t<sup>e</sup>iung</i>	<i>čhuñ</i>	C	680.	給	<i>k<sup>e</sup>iəp</i>	<i>keb</i>	C
656.	終	<i>t<sup>e</sup>iung</i>	<i>čhuñ</i>	O(2)	681.	及	<i>g<sup>e</sup>iəp</i>	<i>gib</i>	K(2), O(3),
657.	種	<i>t<sup>e</sup>iung</i>	<i>juñ</i>	T(4)					Oa(3)
658.	衆	<i>t<sup>e</sup>iung</i>	<i>čuñ</i>	T(5), K(6)				<i>khib</i>	T(2)
			<i>juñ</i>	T	682.	執	<i>t<sup>e</sup>iəp</i>	<i>žyib</i>	O
			<i>čhuñ</i>	O(12), Oa(9)	683.	十	<i>žiəp</i>	<i>šib</i>	T(3), O(2)
659.	充	<i>t<sup>e</sup>iung</i>	<i>čhuñ</i>	C				<i>šim<sup>118</sup></i>	T(2)
660.	風	<i>piung</i>	<i>phuñ</i>	T(2)	684.	入	<i>nžiəp</i>	<i>žib</i>	T(17)
661.	供	<i>kiwong</i>	<i>kuñ</i>	K(4)	685.	集	<i>dz<sup>e</sup>iəp</i>	<i>žib</i>	C
662.	共	<i>g<sup>e</sup>iwong</i>	<i>guñ</i>	O, Oa				<i>chib</i>	T
			<i>khuñ</i>	T	686.	達	<i>d<sup>e</sup>āt</i>	<i>dar</i>	C, T
663.	用	<i>iwong</i>	<i>yoñ</i>	T(2)				<i>'dar<sup>119</sup></i>	O, Oa
			<i>yuñ</i>	C	687.	薩	<i>sāt</i>	<i>sar</i>	T, K(5), O
664.	鍾	<i>t<sup>e</sup>iuwong</i>	<i>čuñ</i>	C	688.	殺	<i>šāt</i>	<i>šar<sup>120</sup></i>	T
665.	誦	<i>ziwong</i>	<i>suñ</i>	K(5)	689.	察	<i>ts<sup>e</sup>at</i>	<i>čhar</i>	C
666.	合	<i>γāp</i>	<i>hwab<sup>117</sup></i>	T(2)	690.	舌	<i>d<sup>e</sup>z iät</i>	<i>šar</i>	T(41), O(5),
			<i>hab</i>	T					Oa(5)
667.	納	<i>nāp</i>	<i>'dab</i>	C, T(2)	691.	設	<i>śiät</i>	<i>šir</i>	O
668.	答	<i>tāp</i>	<i>tab</i>	T(13)				<i>šar</i>	C, T

<sup>116</sup> Due to subsequent 'bu.<sup>117</sup> Cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 53.<sup>118</sup> In 十二.<sup>119</sup> In 'dar ba. The 'a-čhuñ belongs to ba.<sup>120</sup> Written 雖. Cf. Lo Chang-p'ei p. 216.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
692.	別	<i>b'jät</i>	<i>bar</i>	T	713.	逸	<i>jët</i>	<i>yir</i>	C
			<i>par</i>	T					C
			<i>pyar</i>	T(2)					K(5), O(6),
			<i>phar</i>	T(6)					Oa(6)
693.	滅	<i>mjät</i>	<i>'byar</i>	C	715.	日	<i>nžjët</i>	<i>žir</i>	O(8), Oa(2)
			<i>'byter</i>	T(7), K(5)					O
694.	絜	<i>kiet</i>	<i>kyar</i>	C	716.	七	<i>ts'jët</i>	<i>chir</i>	K(3)
695.	涅	<i>niet</i>	<i>'der</i>	T(2)	717.	悉	<i>sijet</i>	<i>sir</i>	T
696.	節	<i>tsiet</i>	<i>cer</i>	C	718.	畢	<i>pijet</i>	<i>pyir</i>	C
697.	切	<i>ts'jet</i>	<i>cher</i>	C	719.	蜜	<i>mijet</i>	<i>'bir</i>	T(3)
698.	脫	<i>d'uât</i>	<i>thar</i> <sup>121</sup>	T				<i>'byir</i>	T
699.	跋	<i>b'uât</i>	<i>bad</i>	O				<i>byir</i>	T(2)
700.	末	<i>muât</i>	<i>'bar</i>	K(2)	720.	骨	<i>kuøt</i>	<i>kor</i>	T
701.	八	<i>pwat</i>	<i>par</i>	T(3), K, O	721.	出	<i>ts'juët</i>	<i>čhur</i>	T(3), O(6),
702.	拔	<i>b'wat</i>	<i>phar</i>	T				<i>oa(5)</i>	Oa(5)
703.	悅	<i>žwät</i>	<i>war</i>	C	722.	鬱	<i>.žiuøt</i>	<i>gur</i> <sup>122</sup>	C
704.	說	<i>šiwät</i>	<i>šwar</i>	T(8), K(12), O(18), Oa(14)	723.	弗	<i>pžiuøt</i>	<i>phur</i>	C
								<i>'bur</i>	O(22), Oa(14)
705.	劣	<i>liwät</i>	<i>lywar</i>	T				<i>bur</i>	O
706.	絕	<i>dz'žwät</i>	<i>chwar</i>	T(2)	724.	佛	<i>b'žiuøt</i>	<i>phur</i>	T(4)
707.	厥	<i>kìwvt</i>	<i>kwar</i>	C				<i>bur</i>	K(19)
708.	月	<i>ngìwvt</i>	<i>'gwar</i>	O, Oa				<i>'bur</i>	O(68),
709.	髮	<i>pìwvt</i>	<i>pha(r)</i>	T					Oa(59)
710.	發	<i>pìwvt</i>	<i>phar</i>	K(3)	725.	勿	<i>mìuøt</i>	<i>'bur</i>	C
			<i>'pher</i>	K	726.	物	<i>mìuøt</i>	<i>bur</i>	T(10)
			<i>'phad</i>	O(4), Oa(2)	727.	刻	<i>k'øk</i>	<i>kheg</i>	C
			<i>'had</i>	O(2) Oa	728.	得	<i>tøk</i>	<i>tig</i>	T(16),
			<i>had</i>	Oa					K(15),
			<i>'bad</i>	Oa					O(7), Oa(4)
711.	血	<i>žiwet</i>	<i>(hyar)</i>	T				<i>ti</i>	T(2)
712.	一	<i>žjët</i>	<i>"ir</i>	T(2), K(2), O(4), Oa(2)	729.	德	<i>tøk</i>	<i>tig</i>	K(5), O(12),
			<i>"i</i>	T(2), K(8), O(9), Oa(8)	730.	則	<i>tsøk</i>	<i>cig</i>	Oa(11)
			<i>"j</i>	O(3), Oa(5)	731.	北	<i>pøk</i>	<i>( )ug</i>	T(2), K(8)
								<i>pug</i>	Oa

<sup>121</sup> Cf. p. 119.<sup>122</sup> Cf. p. 113—114 n. 64.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
732.	默	<i>mək</i>	'bug	C	759.	稽	<i>śiək</i>	śig	C
733.	宅	<i>d'vək</i>	đeg	C	760.	識	<i>śiək</i>	śig	T(15)
734.	佰	<i>pək</i>	peg	C				śeg	T
735.	百	<i>pək</i>	peg	C	761.	釋	<i>śiək</i>	śi	K
			<i>pig</i>	K(2)				śi	K(2)
			<i>pig</i>	K				sa?	O, Oa <sup>126</sup>
736.	白	<i>b'vək</i>	<i>big</i>	K				sak?	
737.	帛	<i>b'vək</i>	<i>ph(e)g</i>	T	762.	寔	<i>źiək</i>	śig	C
738.	策	<i>tʂ'ek</i>	<i>cheg</i>	C	763.	稷	<i>tsiək</i>	cig	C
739.	逆	<i>ngiəpk</i>	'gig	T, K	764.	卽	<i>tsiək</i>	cig	T, K(3), O
740.	益	<i>iäk</i>	"ig	T	765.	息	<i>siək</i>	sig	T(2)
741.	易	<i>iäk</i>	<i>yig</i>	C				<i>syig</i>	T
742.	亦	<i>iäk</i>	<i>yig</i>	T(2), O(3), Oa(2)	766.	逼	<i>piək</i>	<i>pig</i>	C
			<i>yi</i>	T(2)	767.	國	<i>kwək</i>	<i>kog</i>	O(17), Oa(12)
743.	赤	<i>tʂ'iäk</i>	<i>čhig</i>	T	768.	惑	<i>γwək</i>	<i>hog</i>	T
744.	適	<i>śiäk</i>	śig	C	769.	或	<i>γwək</i>	<i>hog</i>	K
745.	夕	<i>zjäk</i>	<i>syig</i>	C	770.	號	<i>kwək</i>	<i>kweg</i>	C
746.	席	<i>zjäk</i>	<i>syig</i>	C	771.	各	<i>kâk</i>	<i>kag</i>	O(6), Oa(2)
747.	的	<i>tiek</i>	<i>tig</i>	C				' <i>kag</i>	Oa(4)
748.	嫡	<i>tiek</i>	<i>tig</i>	C	772.	惡	' <i>ák</i>	" <i>a()</i>	T(2)
749.	績	<i>tsiek</i>	<i>cig</i> <sup>123</sup>	C				" <i>ag</i>	K, Oa(2)
750.	戚	<i>ts'iek</i>	<i>chig</i>	C				" <i>ag</i>	O(2)
751.	感	<i>ts'iek</i>	<i>chig</i>	C	773.	落	<i>lák</i>	<i>lag</i>	C
752.	桓	<i>dz'iek</i>	<i>z̥ig</i>	C	774.	樂	<i>lák</i>	<i>lag</i>	T(5), O(2), Oa
			<i>chig</i>	T(2)					
753.	極	<i>g'ięk</i>	<i>gig</i>	C, O(2)	775.	作	<i>tsák</i>	<i>cag</i>	T(2), K(6), O(2), Oa(2)
			<i>khig</i> <sup>124</sup>	T				<i>chag</i>	T(4)
754.	億	<i>iäk</i>	"ig	K(2)				<i>z̥ag</i>	T
755.	効	<i>t'iäk</i>	<i>čhig</i>	C	776.	索	<i>sák</i>	<i>sag</i>	C
756.	直	<i>d'iäk</i>	đig	C	777.	漠	<i>mák</i>	' <i>bag</i>	C
757 <sup>125</sup>	測	<i>ts'iäk</i>	<i>čheg</i>	T	778.	謨	<i>mák</i>	<i>ma</i> <sup>127</sup>	T
758.	色	<i>śiək</i>	śeg	T(8), Oa					
			<i>śig</i>	O					

<sup>123</sup> Written čig.<sup>124</sup> Written 緣 cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei p. 215.<sup>125</sup> Written 側.<sup>126</sup> 釋迦 written ska.<sup>127</sup> In 謨謨.

No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences	No.		ACh.	Tibetan	Place and number of occurrences
779.	藥	žak	yag?	T	795.	毒	d'uo <sup>k</sup>	lo	Oa
			"ag?					thog	T(14)
780.	着	d'žak	žag?	T	796.	竹	tžuk	č( )g	T
			čag?		797.	閱	tš'žuk	čog	O, Oa
781.	著	d'žak	žag	K	798.	叔	šiuk	šug	C
782.	若	nžiak	žag	K(10), O(15), Oa(9)	799.	熟	žiuk	šug	C
					800.	孰	žiuk	šug	C
783.	弱	nžiak	žag	C	801.	肉	nžiuk	žug	T, K
784.	爵	tsiak	cyag	C	802.	六	lžuk	lug	T(13), O, Oa
785.	覺	kák	kag	T(5)	803.	宿	siuk	sug	O, Oa
786.	獄	ngák	'gag	C	804.	福	piuk	pug	O
787.	濁	d'ák	žwag	O(7), Oa(6)	805.	伏	b'žuk	bug	K
788.	邈	mák	'byag	C	806.	復	b'žuk	'bug	K(2)
789.	藐	mák	'meg <sup>128</sup>	K(7)	807.	牧	mžuk	'bug	C
			meg <sup>128</sup>	K	808.	目	mžuk	'bug	C
			'yag <sup>128</sup>	K	809.	睦	mžuk	'bug	C
			yag <sup>128</sup>	K, O(4), Oa(3)	810.	曲	k'žwok	khwag	C
					811.	欲	žwok	yog	T, O, Oa
790.	穀	kuk	kog	C	812.	燭	tš'žwok	čwag	C
791.	祿	luk	log	C	813.	觸	tš'žwok	čhog	T(3)
791.	讀	d'uk	dog	C, K(4)	814.	餛	ši <sup>129</sup> wok	šug	C
793.	獨	d'uk	dog	C	815.	辱	nži <sup>129</sup> wok	žw( )	C
			thog	T	816.	足	tsžwok	cug	C
794.	耨	nuok	nog	K(9), O(3)	817.	續	zižwok	swag	C
			'nog	K(4)	818.	俗	zižwok	swog	T(2)
			log	O, Oa(3)					

<sup>128</sup> In the transcription of *Samyak*.<sup>129</sup> Cf. p. 100, for 東.

### Index of ACh. initials

- ACh. *k*: 1, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 37, 38, 51, 52, 53, 57, 99, 130, 142, 168, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177a, 178, 179, 219, 240, 262, 284, 285, 286, 300, 301, 314, 326, 327, 346, 347, 362, 380, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 413, 475, 476, 481, 493, 494, 495, 496, 509, 510, 512, 536, 537, 572, 573, 574, 595, 596, 597, 598, 622, 640, 641, 642, 661, 671, 676, 680, 694, 707, 720, 767, 770, 771, 785, 790.
- ACh. *k'*: 2, 3, 78, 100, 180, 181, 182, 220, 236, 266, 388, 410, 432, 439, 440, 441, 477, 531, 538, 575, 599, 623, 643, 644, 653, 727, 810.
- ACh. *g'*: 79, 101, 241, 363, 364, 447, 485, 539, 540, 600, 601, 624, 662, 681, 753.
- ACh. *ng*: 4, 22, 80, 81, 82, 102, 155, 197, 210, 229, 234, 263, 283, 287, 302, 320, 328, 381, 576, 577, 578, 602, 603, 625, 626, 677, 708, 739, 786.
- ACh. *χ*: 39, 49, 54, 103, 156, 251, 303, 304, 448, 449, 497, 541, 604, 711.
- ACh. *γ*: 5, 6, 7, 23, 40, 50, 169, 177b, 201, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 228, 252, 264, 288, 289, 305, 312, 313, 372, 382, 414, 415, 431, 478, 479, 482, 498, 532, 579, 580, 666, 678, 768, 769.
- ACh. *·*: 8, 55, 56, 58, 104, 131, 132, 157, 183, 230, 242, 243, 290, 329, 348, 365, 389, 411, 423, 513, 542, 581, 605, 606, 712, 722, 740, 754, 772.
- ACh. *”*: 27a, 28, 29, 105, 106, 107, 108, 133, 134, 135, 136, 143, 144, 150, 231, 232, 244, 267, 315, 316, 321, 322, 330, 355, 366, 367, 390, 433, 450, 451, 486, 487, 514, 515, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 607, 608, 609, 627, 663, 672, 703, 713, 741, 742, 779, 811.
- ACh. *t'*: 59, 83, 84, 317, 452, 553, 654, 796.
- ACh. *t''*: 109, 516, 554, 655, 755.
- ACh. *d'*: 85, 110, 111, 112, 331, 453, 454, 483, 484, 517, 628, 733, 756, 780, 781, 787.
- ACh. *ts*: 332, 379, 455.
- ACh. *tś*: 30, 60, 61, 86, 87, 113, 245, 333, 424, 425, 456, 518, 519, 555, 610, 656, 657, 658, 664, 682, 812.
- ACh. *ts'*: 24, 611, 612, 689, 738, 757, 797.
- ACh. *tś'*: 88, 151, 334, 426, 457, 613, 659, 721, 743, 813.
- ACh. *dz'*: 114, 115, 458, 459.
- ACh. *dz''*: 31, 335, 356, 427, 690, 714.
- ACh. *s*: 25, 62, 265, 383, 384, 614, 615, 629, 688, 758, 759.
- ACh. *ś*: 32, 33, 89, 145, 198, 218, 336, 391, 392, 428, 429, 460, 461, 520, 556, 557, 616, 617, 673, 691, 704, 744, 760, 761, 798, 814.
- ACh. *ż*: 63, 90, 116, 117, 118, 146, 246, 268, 269, 270, 393, 394, 430, 462, 463, 464, 558, 559, 630, 631, 683, 762, 799, 800.
- ACh. *ńż*: 64, 91, 92, 119, 120, 235, 271, 337, 338, 357, 521, 618, 619, 684, 715, 782, 783, 801, 815.
- ACh. *n*: 9, 158, 184, 202, 221, 222, 237, 253, 306, 373, 416, 442, 499, 651, 667, 695, 794.
- ACh. *ń*: 65, 620.
- ACh. *l*: 10, 66, 93, 121, 147, 159, 185, 186, 225, 233, 247, 248, 272, 307, 349, 358, 359, 395, 396, 397, 417, 465, 466, 467, 500, 501, 527, 528, 533, 560, 582, 621, 705, 773, 774, 791, 802.
- ACh. *t*: 11, 187, 203, 223, 226, 254, 255, 291, 292, 308, 350, 351, 374, 375, 443, 502, 645, 668, 728, 729, 747, 748.
- ACh. *t'*: 12, 188, 189, 204, 224, 256, 293, 583a, 646, 670.
- ACh. *d'*: 13, 41, 67, 160, 161, 170, 171, 190, 191, 192, 257, 258, 294, 418, 419, 503, 504, 529, 534, 583b, 584, 585, 586, 587, 647, 648, 649, 686, 698, 792, 793, 795.

- ACh. *ts*: 14, 15, 68, 94, 122, 123, 162, 163, 164, 199, 259, 273, 339, 340, 341, 352, 360, 376, 377, 398, 468, 505, 535, 561, 588, 652, 674, 696, 730, 749, 763, 764, 775, 784, 816.
- ACh. *ts'*: 34, 69, 95, 148, 165, 193, 260, 274, 295, 342, 420, 506, 589, 632, 675, 697, 716, 750, 751.
- ACh. *dz*: 70, 124, 166, 167, 205, 212, 275, 276, 296, 343, 399, 400, 469, 507, 562, 633, 669, 685, 706, 752.
- ACh. *s*: 16, 35, 71, 72, 125, 126, 172, 194, 195, 227, 249, 261, 277, 297, 309, 318, 344, 345, 361, 378, 401, 402?, 421, 444, 470, 471, 472, 522, 523, 530, 563, 590, 634, 687, 717, 765, 776, 803.
- ACh. *z*: 27b, 36, 127, 128, 129, 152, 250, 473, 474, 564, 665, 745, 746, 817, 818.
- ACh. *p*: 42, 73a, 74, 96, 149, 153, 154, 206, 207, 298, 319, 325, 353, 403, 435, 436, 480, 508, 511, 524, 591, 592, 701, 718, 731, 734, 735, 766.
- ACh. *p'*: 43, 44, 75, 385, 437, 525.
- ACh. *b*: 26, 45, 73b, 76, 97, 196, 200, 208, 278, 310, 311, 445, 593, 692, 699, 702, 736, 737.
- ACh. *m*: 46, 47, 48, 77, 98, 209, 279, 280, 281, 282, 299, 354, 386, 387, 404, 412, 422, 434, 438, 446, 526, 571, 594, 650, 693, 700, 719, 732, 777, 778, 788, 789, 807, 808, 809.
- MCh. *f*: 137, 138, 368a, 488, 565, 566, 567, 635, 636, 660, 679, 709, 710, 723, 804.
- MCh. *f'*: 489, 568.
- MCh. *v'*: 139, 238, 239, 323, 368b, 369, 569, 570, 724, 805, 806.
- MCh. *w*: 140, 141, 324, 370, 371, 490, 491, 492, 637, 638, 639, 725, 726.

# MONGOLISCHE DIALEKTE IN CHINA

von

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Die zahlreichste Gruppe unter den mongolischen Völkerschaften der Chinesischen Volksrepublik bilden die Mongolen der Inneren Mongolei. Zum Unterschied von Monguoren, Tung-hsiang, Pao-an und Dahuren, mit welchen sie das Gesamt der mongolischen Völkerschaften Chinas bilden, werden sie bisweilen auch »eigentliche Mongolen« genannt.

Entsprechend den Angaben der chinesischen Volkszählung von 1953/54 leben im Lande insgesamt 1 462 952 Mongolen, hauptsächlich in den Aimaks der Innenmongolischen Autonomen Region:

1. im Aimak *Chulunbuir* — Barguten und Burjaten (in den Choschunen Šine-bargu, Bargu an der Ostflanke, Khūčin-bargu, Solon), Khorčin (in den Choschunen Khorčin an der Ostflanke bzw. Khorčin an der Westflanke) und Ĵalaiten (im Choschun Ĵalait);

2. im Aimak *Jerim* — Khorčin (im Choschun Khorčin an der Westflanke, ferner in Khorčin an der Ostflanke, in Ĵarut, Naiman und Khūrē);

3. im Aimak *Jō-uda* — Bārin (Choschun Bārin an der West- und der Ostflanke), Arkhorčin (Choschun Arkhorčin), Ognuten (Choschun Ognūt), Kešikten (Choschun Kešikten); Kharčin (Choschun Kharčin an der Ostflanke, Choschun Kharčin an der Westflanke im Kreis Ningch'eng) und Tumuten (Kreis Ch'aoyang);

4. im Aimak *Šilingol* — Újümčin und Khūčit (Choschun des Östlichen Verbandes), Abaga und Abaganar (Choschun des Westlichen Verbandes), Suniten (Choschun Sunit an der Westflanke und Sunit an der Ostflanke);

5. im Aimak *Čakhar* — Čakhar (Choschun Šand-khōwōt-šar, Choschun Šulūn-khōwōt-čagān, Choschun Gol-khök, Choschun Taiwas an der linken Flanke, vereinigter Choschun Mingan-taiwas-barūn);

6. im Aimak *Ulāncab* — Uraten (Choschun Urat an der vorderen Flanke, vereinigter Choschun Urat an der mittleren und der hinteren Flanke), Dürben-khūkhet (Choschun Dürben-khūkhet), Darkhan-mingan (Choschun Darkhan-mingan);

7. im Aimak *Ike-žū* — Ordos (in den Choschunen Otok, Ūšin, Ĵasak, Wang, Khangin, Ĵungar und Dalat);

8. im Aimak *Bayin-nūr* — Mongolen in den Choschunen Alaša und Etsin-gol.

Ein Teil der Mongolen lebt noch in folgenden Provinzen Chinas: 1) *Heilungchiang* — Dürbüt und Gorlos (Dürbüt—mongolischer Autonomer Kreis); 2) *Chilin* (Girin) — Gorles (Autonomer Kreis Ch'ienkoerloch'i); 3) *Liaoning* — Tümut (Kreis Fuhsing); 4) *Ch'inghai* — Kukunormongolen (Honanmongolischer Autonomer Kreis; Mongolisch—Tibetisch—Kasachischer Autonomer Bezirk Haihsı); 5) *Kansu* — Mongolen im Norden der Provinz Kansu (Supeimongolischer Autonomer Kreis).

Außerdem leben noch folgende Gruppen in der *Autonomen Region Hsinchiang-Uigur*: a) Torgüt (Bayingolmongolischer Autonomer Bezirk; Khubuksarmongolischer Autonomer Kreis), b) Khošüt (Bayingolmongolischer Autonomer Bezirk), c) Ölöt (Bezirk Tarbagatai), d) Čakhar (Borotalmongolischer Autonomer Bezirk).

Die Mongolen sind in der Innermongolischen Region (besonders in den Aimaks Šilingol, Ulāncab, Chulunbuir und Bayin-nūr) sowie in den Provinzen Kansu und Ch'inghai und in der Autonomen Region Hsinchiang-Uigur vor allen Dingen Viehzüchter. In einigen anderen Orten (in Teilen von Čerim und Čo-uda sowie in einigen anderen Aimaks) in der Inneren Mongolei beschäftigen sich die Mongolen mit Ackerbau. In den letzten Jahren nahm auch die Industrialisierung der Inneren Mongolei gewaltig zu.

Die Sprache der Mongolen in China, die in der Innermongolischen Autonomen Region und in den Provinzen Heilungchiang, Chilin, Liaoning, Kansu und Ch'inghai sowie in der Autonomen Region Hsingchiang-Uigur leben, war bis vor kurzem nur unzulänglich erforscht. In der einschlägigen Literatur gab es nur einige fragmentarische Belege aus verschiedenen Mundarten der östlichen Inneren Mongolei und eine Beschreibung der ordosischen Mundart.<sup>1</sup>

Material über die mongolischen Mundarten der östlichen Inneren Mongolei wurde zuerst von A. D. RUDNEW im Jahre 1903 gesammelt. A. D. RUDNEW zeichnete einige Proben aus den östlichen Mundarten der Inneren Mongolei auf,<sup>2</sup> hauptsächlich aus den Mundarten Dürbüt-beise, Arkhorčin, Gorlos, Tümut und Ordos, und stellte die grundlegenden Merkmale der Laut- und Formenlehre dieser Mundarten fest.

A. D. RUDNEW wollte die Stellung der östlichen Mundarten im Aufbau sämtlicher Mundarten der mongolischen Sprache klarstellen, indem er »die Entsprechungen der Schriftsprache in den östlichen Mundarten« untersuchte.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. D. RUDNEV, Материалы по говорам Восточной Монголии [= Materialien aus den Mundarten der Östlichen Mongolei]. St. Pbg. 1911; A. MOSTAERT, Le dialecte des Mongols Urdus (Sud): Anthropos 22 (1927).

<sup>2</sup> RUDNEV hat Charbin, Tsitsikar, Kuangchentze und Mukden besucht. Er war sogar im Stabsquartier Durbut-beise.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. RUDNEV, a. a. O., S. 210.

Die erste ernsthafte Klassifikation der mongolischen Dialekte stammt ebenfalls von A. D. RUDNEV, aus dem Jahre 1908.<sup>4</sup> Er hat damals die Mongolen nach ihren Dialekten in einen östlichen, einen nördlichen, einen westlichen und einen unbestimmten (westlichen) Zweig gegliedert.

Wir wollen hier nur auf seine Klassifikation der ostmongolischen Mundarten eingehen.

Die Ostmongolen teilen sich nach A. D. RUDNEV in eine *Südgruppe* (Ordos, Čakhar, Tümüt, Sunit usw.) und eine *Nordostgruppe*, Welch letztere aus drei Untergruppen besteht: 1. im Südosten (Khorčin, Kharčin, Ognūt, Bärin, Kešikten, Újúmčin u. a.), 2. im Nordosten (Gorlos, Dürbü — zwischen Cicikar, Charbin und Bodune) und 3. aus den Chalcha (A. im Osten; B. im Westen).<sup>5</sup>

Nach der Bearbeitung des gesammelten ostmongolischen Materials kam er jedoch auf den Gedanken, »eine neue Behelfseinteilung des Mongolischen in drei Hauptgruppen (Süd, Zentrum — Chalcha — und Nord)« vorzuschlagen. In die Südgruppe nahm er die Kalmücken auf sowie alle südmongolischen Stämme (Mogol, Sarī-yögur u. a.), Ordos und Ostmongolen, die nach seiner Meinung »den Übergang bildeten zu den Nordmongolen, d. h. den Burjaten.«<sup>6</sup>

Abgesehen vom großen Wert des von A. D. Rudnew gesammelten Materials war infolge der damaligen unzulänglichen Kenntnis der übrigen zahlreichen mongolischen Mundarten unmöglich, eine absolut klare Karte über die Verbreitung der Mongolen nach Dialekten und Mundarten zu entwerfen.

Die Mundart der Ordos wurde erst in den zwanziger Jahren dieses Jahrhunderts von einem belgischen Forscher, A. MOSTAERT untersucht. Er bot eine sehr feine Beschreibung der Phonetik und ein umfangreiches Wörterbuch der Mundart der Ordos.<sup>7</sup>

Trotz der Veröffentlichung der Arbeiten von A. MOSTAERT sind jedoch viele mongolischen Dialekte und Mundarten unerforscht geblieben.

An Hand einer Zusammenfassung der älteren Ergebnisse der mongolischen Mundartforschung hat B. J. VLADIMIROV festgestellt: »Die südmongolischen Mundarten (II. 6) gliedern sich in mehrere Gruppen. Es sei

<sup>4</sup> A. D. RUDNEV, Опыт классификации монголов по наречиям [= Ein Versuch zur Klassifikation der Mongolen nach ihren Mundarten]. S. den Anhang zu RAMSTEDTS Werk: G. J. RAMSTEDT, Сравнительная фонетика монгольского письменного языка и халхаско-ургинского говора [= Vergleichende Phonetik der mongolischen Schriftsprache und der Chalchasisch-urginischen Mundart]. St. Pbg. 1908, S. IV ff.

<sup>5</sup> A. D. RUDNEV, Опыт классификации usw. Bei RAMSTEDT a. a. O., S. IV.

<sup>6</sup> A. D. RUDNEV, Материалы usw., S. 231.

<sup>7</sup> A. MOSTAERT, Le dialecte des Mongols Urdus (Sud). Anthropos 22 (1927); Ders., Dictionnaire Ordos, Bd. 1—3. Peking 1941—44.

ansonsten gleich anfangs erwähnt, daß diese Mundarten noch bei weitem nicht genügend erforscht sind. Die Mundartgruppen des südmongolischen Dialektes sind folgende: Östlich (*A*), Kharčinisch (*B*), Čakharisch (*C*) und Ordosisch (*D*).<sup>8</sup>

Im weiteren hob er hervor, daß »von all diesen Dialekten bloß die Mundarten der Ordos und der Östlichen Gruppe untersucht wurden« (II. 6. A. D.) und auch die nicht in genügendem Maße. Von den übrigen Mundarten liegt nur unbearbeitetes Material vor. Im Hinblick auf diese Lage muß die Klassifikation der Mundarten des südmongolischen Dialektes (II. 6) vielleicht noch weiteren Änderungen und Ergänzungen unterzogen werden.«<sup>9</sup>

Zu den völlig unbestimmten und unerforschten Dialekten zählte B. J. VLADIMIRCOV zum Beispiel den Bargu-burjatischen Dialekt: »Der bargu-burjatische Dialekt (II. 4) ist absolut unzulänglich erforscht; es stehen keine Angaben zur Verfügung, um über die Mundarten ein Urteil bilden zu können. Das einzige Bekannte über die Sprache der mongolischen Bevölkerung von Bargi am Chulunbuirsee ist, daß diese Sprache ein besonderer Dialekt ist, der eine Zwischenstellung einnimmt zwischen der südburjatischen Gruppe, der Chalchagruppe (II. 7. A. B.) und den südmongolischen Mundarten (II. 6).«<sup>10</sup>

Ähnlicherweise unbekannt waren einige Gruppen der oiratischen Stämme, die in verschiedenen Gegenden Asiens beheimatet sind, zum Beispiel am Tien-schan, in der Umgebung von Kukunor, in Alaschan und in anderen Orten. B. J. VLADIMIRCOV bemerkte, daß »... ihre Sprache beinahe ganz unbestimmt und unerforscht ist. Nur von einigen unter ihnen darf gesagt werden, sie sprächen eine der oiratischen Mundarten, die der Mundart Torgut nahe steht. — Alt. (I. 1. B—C) derart sind die Mundarten der Torguten, die am Kobuksari nomadisieren und die Mundarten der alaschanischen Oiraten«.<sup>11</sup>

Nach dem letzten Besuch A. D. RUDNEVS bei den Ostmongolen ist beinahe ein halbes Jahrhundert verstrichen. Erst nach der Schaffung der Chinesischen Volksrepublik, in den Jahren 1955 und 1956 wurde die allseitige und eingehende Untersuchung sämtlicher mongolischen Sprachen und Dialekte in China in Angriff genommen, und zwar von einer besonderen sprachwissenschaftlichen Expedition, die von der Zentralen Akademie der Nationalen Minderheiten in Peking, dem Institut für Sprachwissenschaft an der Chinesischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der mongolischen Sprache in der Inneren Mongolei organisiert wurde.

<sup>8</sup> B. JA. VLADIMIRCOV, Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхасского наречия [= Vergleichende Grammatik der mongolischen Schriftsprache mit dem Chalcha-Dialekt]. Ленинград 1929, S. 8.

<sup>9</sup> B. JA. VLADIMIRCOV, a. a. O., S. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Ebd., S. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Ebd., S. 7.

Auf Grund des sprachlichen Materials, das wir persönlich und in Zusammenarbeit mit den mongolischen Expeditionen von 1955 und 1956 gesammelt hatten, scheint uns möglich, folgende Klassifikation der in der Chinesischen Volksrepublik verbreiteten mongolischen Dialekte und Mundarten vorzulegen:

1) Bargu-burjatischer Dialekt im Aimak Chulunbuir in den Innermongolischen Autonomen Region, mit den Mundarten: a) Khūčinbargu, b) Šine-bargu und c) Burjatisch;

2) Östlicher Dialekt in den Aimaks Žō-uda, Žerim und Chulunbuir in der Innermongolischen Autonomen Region sowie in den angrenzenden Provinzen Liaoning, Heilungchiang und Girin, mit den Mundarten: a) Arkhorčin-Bārin, b) Khorčin und c) Kharčin-Tümüt;

3) Zentraler Dialekt in den Aimaks Šilingol, Čakhar, Ulāncab und Ike-žū in der Innermongolischen Autonomen Region sowie in der Administrativen Region P'ingtich'uan usw., mit den Mundarten: a) Šilingol, b) Čakhar und c) Ordos;

4) Westlicher Dialekt im Aimak Bayin-nūr in der Innermongolischen Autonomen Region und in den Provinzen Ch'inghai und Kansu, mit den Mundarten: a) Alaschan-Etsin-gol und b) Kukunorisch;

5) Oiratischer Dialekt in der Autonomen Region Hsin-chiang-Uigur, mit den Mundarten: a) Torgūt und b) Ölöt.

Diese Gliederung der mongolischen Dialekte und Mundarten ist nicht nur durch phonetische, sondern auch lexikalische und grammatische Angaben bedingt. Dies bedeutet wiederum nicht, daß es in ihnen nicht überall Erscheinungen geben kann, die auch in den übrigen Dialekten vorkommen.

### Grundzüge der Phonetik der Dialekte

Vokalismus. Bekanntlich gibt es in der gegenwärtigen mongolischen Literatursprache, die auf der Grundlage des Chalcha-Dialektes entstanden ist, vierzehn Vokale vollkommener Bildung: sieben Kürzen — *a, o, u, ö, ü, e, i* und dementsprechend auch sieben Längen. Der Chalcha-Dialekt besitzt auch Diphthonge: *aę, oę, uę, üę, eę*. Das Gesetz der Vokalharmonie wird in ihm streng durchgeführt.

In Hinsicht auf den Vokalismus fallen der Bargu-burjatische Dialekt sowie die šilingolische und die čakharische Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes mit dem Chalcha-Dialekt völlig zusammen.

Was den Vokalismus der übrigen Dialekte und Mundarten anbelangt, läßt sich folgendes feststellen:

1) im Östlichen Dialekt sind außer den Vokalen *a, o, u, ö, ü, e, i* als selbständige Phoneme auch die Vokale *ä, ö, ü* vorhanden, die folgendermaßen charakterisiert werden können:

a) ä ist ein illabialer Vokal der vorderen Reihe, offen, z. B. arkhor. *tänä* 'erkennen, kennen', khor. *sälzen* 'Wind', khar. *ärwán* 'viel': im Tumutischen steht anstatt ä der übrigen Mundarten der Vokal e.

b) ö ist ein labialer Vokal der vorderen Reihe, halboffen, und kommt im Worte in allen Stellungen vor: arkhor. *mör* 'Pferd', khar., tum. *χörmö* 'unterer Saum (am Kleid)', khor. *örö* 'Abend'.

c) ü ist ein labialer Vokal der vorderen Reihe, geschlossen, und kommt im Vergleich zu ä und ö in einer geringen Anzahl von Wörtern vor, z. B. arkhor. *üsgär* 'Langeweile', khar. *unä* 'fallen';

2) in der ordosischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes steht für ö der übrigen Mundarten desselben ein labialer Vokal der vorderen Reihe, mehr geschlossen, der als ö (ȫ) auftritt, z. B. *örgön* 'breit', *ödör* 'Tag', *tsölö* 'Freiheit', *ösö* 'Rache'. Alle übrigen Vokale der ordosischen Mundart stimmen mit jenen der übrigen Mundarten des betreffenden Dialektes überein.

3) auch in der alaschan-etsin-golischen und der kukunorischen Mundart sind die vorderen Vokale ä, ö, ü vorhanden, z. B. *täri* 'pflanzen', *ämışzäl* 'Seufzer', *nüd* 'Auge', *dürs* 'Form, Gestalt', *köl* 'Fuß, Bein', *ötšögđör* 'gestern'.

4) im oiratischen Dialekt können ä, ö, ü in allen Stellungen im Worte als selbständige Phoneme der vorderen Reihe auftreten, z. B. *malä* 'Peitsche' *kösig* 'Vorhang (am Bett)', *üdn* 'Tür', *šürwsn* 'Sehne, Flechse', *χumχä* 'Zeigefinger', *örlä* 'Morgen' u. dgl.

5) im oiratischen Dialekt und in der alaschan-etsin-golischen Mundart des Westlichen Dialektes sind die mittleren Vokale ö, ü — die in den übrigen mongolischen Dialekten vorhanden sind — unbekannt.

6) für alle Mundarten des Östlichen Dialektes ist es charakteristisch, daß der mittlere, labiale, offene Laut ö in vielen Wörtern in ü übergeht: *dürē* 'Steigbügel', *ülsé* 'hungrig werden', *üše* 'Rache'. Selten wird ö zu e: khor., *jal*. *ebdég* 'Knie', khor., tum. *ěx* 'Speck'.

Für den Vokal ö steht in der khučin-bargutischen und der burjatischen Mundart ü (in der ersten Silbe des Wortes) und e (in den übrigen Silben): bur. *üdér* 'Tag' — š.bargu *ödör*.

Wie aus den Beispielen hervorgeht, entsprechen dem Vokal der ersten Silbe der mongolisch-literatursprachlichen Wörter in den einzelnen mongolischen Dialekten und Mundarten der Chinesischen Volksrepublik qualitativ verschiedene Vokale. Dieser Umstand läßt sich mit der dog. i-Brechung historisch erklären: *nilbusun* 'Träne' ~ arkhor. *nöliws* ~ khar., tum. *nölimös* ~ torg. *nülmsn*; *jirüken* 'Herz' ~ kh. bargu *zürχ* ~ tum. *džürχ* ~ torg. *zürkn*.

Nur in einigen wenigen Fällen erscheint der Vokal i der ersten Silbe schriftmongolischer Wörter unverändert in den einzelnen Mundarten der Mongolen in China, wobei er dem Vokal der folgenden Silbe nicht angeglichen

wird, z. B. *cereg* 'Krieger' ~ š.bargu, kh.bargu, bur. *serēg* ~ torg., ölöt. *cerēg* ~ khor. *širēg* ~ tum., čakh. *tširēg*, šil. *cerēg*.

Kürze und Länge der Vokale sind in allen Dialekten phonematisch: *orō* 'tritt ein!' — bargu-bur. *orō* '(er) trat ein', östl. *ulā* 'Sohle' — *ūlā* 'Berg', zentr. *derē* 'Kissen, Polster' — *dērē* 'oben', oir. *im* 'Mal, Merkmal' — *īm* 'solcher' u. dgl. m. A. D. RUDNEVS Behauptung, »die langen Vokale zeigen in allen östlichen Mundarten die Tendenz zur Kürzung und ihre Zahl ist bereits gering«<sup>12</sup> wird vom gesammelten Material nicht bestätigt.

Charakteristisch ist für den Östlichen und den oiratischen Dialekt, daß sie nur lange Vokale besitzen an Stellen, da die übrigen Dialekte Diphthonge und lange Vokale aufweisen, z. B. bargu-bur., zentr., westl. *dalaę* 'Meer' ~ khor. *dälä* ~ tum. *delē* ~ oir. *dalä*, burgu-bur., zentr. westl. *mogoę* östl. *mögö* ~ oir. *moyä*.

Das Verhältnis einiger Vokale je nach Dialekten kommt in folgender Tabelle zum Ausdruck:<sup>13</sup>

Bargu-bur. Dialekt		Östl. Dialekt		Zentr. Dialekt		Westl. Dialekt		Oir. Dialekt
bur., kh. bargu	š. bargu	khor.	arkhor., khor., khar., tum.	čakh., šil.	ord.	al- ets.	k.-nor.	torg., ölöt
ö	ö (ö)		ö (ö)	ö (ö)			ö (ö)	
ü (ü)		ü (ü)		ü (ü)		ü (ü)		
		ä (ä)				ä (ä)	ä (ä)	
		ö (ö)		ö (ö)		ö (ö)	ö (ö)	
		ü (ü)				ü (ü)	ü (ü)	

Das Gesetz der Vokalharmonie wird in den Dialekten streng durchgeführt.

Konsonantismus. Die mongolischen Dialekte Chinas besitzen folgende Konsonanten:

1) bilabiale: *b*, *p*, *m*; 2) labiodentale: *w*, *f*; 3) vorderlinguale: *t*, *d*, *dz*, *dž*, *z*, *ts*, *tš*, *s*, *š*, *n*, *l*, *r*, *k*; 4) mittellinguale: *j*; 5) hinterlinguale: *g*, *γ*, *y*, *χ*; 6) gutturale: *h*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> A. D. RUDNEV, a. a. O., S. 195.

<sup>13</sup> Die Vokale *a* (ä), *o* (ö), *u* (ü), *i* (i) und *e* (ē) stimmen in sämtlichen Dialekten überein. Einigermaßen abweichend ist die Qualität von *e* im Östlichen, im Zentralen und im Bargu-burjatischen Dialekt.

<sup>14</sup> Es sei angemerkt, daß die Konsonanten *t*, *tš*, *ts*, *χ* in den mongolischen Dialekten, aber insbesondere in jenen der Innermongolischen Autonomen Region stets aspiriert sind.

In ihrem Konsonantenbestand stimmen die mongolischen Dialekte im großen und ganzen überein. Unterschiede lassen sich bloß hinsichtlich der Affrikaten *dz*, *ts*, *tš* sowie der Spiranten *z*, *s*, *ž*, *h* und des vorderlingualen Explosivlautes *k* ermitteln.

1. Die Affrikate *dz* des Westlichen Dialektes und der širongolischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes entspricht demselben Laut des Chalcha-Dialektes. Hingegen fehlt sie im Östlichen und im oiratischen Dialekt sowie in der čakharischen und der ordosischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes. Für die Affrikate *dz* steht im Östlichen Dialekt sowie in der čakharischen und der ordosischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes in allen Stellungen die Affrikate *dž*, bzw. im oiratischen und im bargu-burjatischen Dialekt die Spirans *z*. Nachstehende Beispiele veranschaulichen diese Entsprechung: westl. Dialekt; šil. *dzalχū* 'faul'; östl. Dialekt, čakh., ord. *džalχū*; bargu-bur., oir. *zalχū*; westl. Dialekt, šil. *χadzār* 'Zaum, Kandare'; östl., čakh., ord. *χadžār*; bargu-bur., oir. *χazār*.

2. Der Affrikate *ts* des Westlichen und des oiratischen Dialektes sowie der šilingolischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes entspricht in der arkhorčinischen und der kharčinisch-túmütischen Mundrat des Östlichen Dialektes ferner in der čakharischen und der ordosischen Mundrat des Zentralen Dialektes die Affrikate *tš*, in der khorčinischen Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes die Spirans *š*, im bargu-burjatischen Dialekt dagegen die Spirans *s* bzw. *š*. Beispiele: westl., oir.; šil. *tsōχör* 'pockennarbig'; östl.: čakh. und ord. *tšōχör*; bargu-bur.; khor. *šōχör*; westl.; šil. *tsamts* 'Hemd', arkhor., khar. *tšämtš*; khor. *šämš*; sil. *tserēg* 'Heer'; bargu-bur. *serēg*.

3. Die Affrikate *tš* ist im bargu-burjatischen Dialekt und in der khorčinischen Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes unbekannt. Der Affrikate *tš* entspricht in ihnen die Spirans *š*, vgl. bargu-bur. *šana-* 'kochen', khor. *šänä-*. Zum Unterschied von den übrigen Mundarten wird in der khorčinischen anstatt des Phonems *tš* das Phonem *š* verwendet.

4. Ein Sondermerkmal der įalaitisch-dúrbútisch-khorčinischen Mundart ist das Fehlen der Spirans *s*, die hier durch die Explosive *t* ersetzt wird, vgl. *tā-* 'melken', *dawtlā-* 'salzen', *botō-* 'aufstehen', *džagät* 'Fisch', *tolyō* 'Links-händer', *šut* 'Blut', *šat* 'Schnee', *taχäl* 'Bart' usw.

5. Kennzeichnend für die burjatische Mundart ist die Spirans *ž*: *ažäl* 'Arbeit', *žolō* 'Zügel', *ži-* 'die Beine ausstrecken' u. dgl.

6. Der bargu-burjatische Dialekt (die šine-bargutische und die burjatische Mundart) besitzt die Gutturale Spirans *h*. Im Khučin-bargutischen wurde die Spirans *h* im Anlaut zur hinterlingualen Spirans *χ*, während im Inlaut die Spirans *χ* ausgestoßen wird, z. B. šil. *säräl* 'falb', š. bargu und bur. *häräl*, kh. bargu *χäräl*; šil. *oěms* 'Strümpfe', š. bargu *oěmhū*, bur. *oěmhōj*, kh. bargu *oěmu*.

7. Die Explosive *k* ist im oiratischen, im Westlichen und zum Teil Zentralen und im Östlichen, im Dialekt vorhanden, vgl. oir. *kür-* 'erreichen', im westl. *ikē* 'groß', ord. *ükür* ~ *üxür* 'Kuh'.

Die Entsprechungen der Affrikaten und der Spiranten in den mongolischen Dialekten fassen wir in folgender Tabelle zusammen:<sup>15</sup>

Chalcha-Dialekt	Bargu-burjatischer Dialekt			Östlicher Dialekt		Zentraler Dialekt		Westlicher Dialekt	Oiratischer Dialekt
	kh. bargu	š. bargu	bur.	arkhor., khar., tum.	khor.	čakh., ord.	šil.	al.-ets., k.-nor	torg., ölot.
<i>dz</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>dž</i>		<i>dž</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>z</i>
<i>ts</i>	<i>š, s</i>			<i>tš</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>tš</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts</i>
<i>ts</i>	<i>š</i>						<i>tš</i>	<i>tš</i>	<i>tš</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>χ, o</i>	<i>h</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>dž</i>	<i>ž</i>			<i>dž</i>		<i>dž</i>		<i>dž</i>	<i>dž</i>

Wie aus obiger Tabelle hervorgeht, melden sich die größten Unterschiede im Gebrauch der Affrikaten *dz*, *ts*, *tš* in den mongolischen Dialekten der Chinesischen Volksrepublik sowohl im Vergleich untereinander, als auch zum Chalcha-Dialekt.

Von den sonstigen Besonderheiten heben wir folgende hervor:

1. Der bargu-burjatische Dialekt besitzt zwei Reihen palatalisierter und nicht palatalisierter Konsonanten, die selbständige Phoneme darstellen: *nür* 'See' — *ńür* 'Gesicht'; *alā* '(er) schlug tot' — *alā* 'neckisch' u. dgl.

2. Im Zentralen und im Östlichen Dialekt wechseln *t* und *χ* mit *d* und *g* ab, vgl. *χadă-* ~ *gadă* 'mähen', *χeutér* ~ *gewtér* 'Nest (der Tiere)', *tūši-* ~ *dūši-* 'sich lehnen o. stützen'.

3. In einigen Wörtern wird anlautendes *n* im Östlichen Dialekt durch *l* ersetzt, z. B. *nawtš* 'Blatt (am Baum)', arkhor. *läwtš*, khor. *läbš*, khar., tum. *lewtš*; *nogtlö-* 'ausnützen, mißbrauchen', arkhor., tum. *loxtlō-*, khor., khar. *logtlō-*; *naqdă-* 'hoffen', arkhor., khor. *lädă-* und noch einige.

4. Im Oiratischen wird in der Sprache der Khosuten hinterlinguale *j* in einigen wenigen Wörtern bemerkbar, wo die Torguten und die Ölötens palatalisiertes *l* haben, vgl. *tol'* 'Spiegel' ~ *toj*; *üli-* 'weinen' ~ *üj-*; *dolgān* 'Welle' ~ *dojgān*; *tūl'* 'Rätsel' ~ *tūj*; *mälä* 'Peitsche' ~ *mäjä*; *dol'* 'wechsle !' ~ *doj*; *üll* 'Sache, Fall' ~ *üj* u. a. m.

<sup>15</sup> Alle übrigen Konsonanten, d. h. *w*, *b*, *g*, *d*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *η*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *χ*, *j*, *γ* stimmen in sämtlichen mongolischen Dialekten überein.

5. Die Phoneme *g* und *γ* bzw. *n* und *ŋ* werden im oiratischen Dialekt streng auseinandergehalten, vgl. *ugā* 'nein, nicht' — *uyā-* 'waschen'; *kürn* 'Iltis' — *kürŋ* 'braun'; *olŋ* 'viel' — *olŋ* 'vorderes Sattelgurt'.

6. Nur in der khorčinischen Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes wird *n* durch *j* ersetzt: arkhor., khar., tum. *inē-* 'lachen', khor. *ijē-*; arkhor., khar., tum. *χōn* 'Schaf' ~ khor. *χoj*; arkhor. *nimgēn* 'dünn', khar., tum. *minnēn*, khor. *jinŋēn*.

Der Wortakzent ist in sämtlichen Dialekten gebunden und steht in der Regel auf der ersten Silbe des Wortes. Die Betonung ist exspiratorisch und beruht auf der Hervorhebung des einen oder des anderen Vokals im Worte durch stärkeren Atemdruck. Demzufolge hat der Vokal der ersten Silbe immer einen klaren, deutlichen Klang.

Die Betonung ist mit der quantitativen Seite des Vokals im Worte — d. h. mit Kürze oder Länge — in keiner Weise verbunden.

### Grundzüge der Grammatik der Dialekte<sup>16</sup>

Die Kategorie des Numerus. Der Plural der Substantiva wird durch Hinzufügung der nach ihrer Bedeutung entsprechenden Pluralsuffixe zum singularen Wortstamm gebildet. Solche Kennzeichen des Plurals sind in den mongolischen Dialekten folgende:

1. *-d*: khar., tum. *nōχōr* 'Kamerad, Genosse' — *nōχōd* 'Kameraden, Genossen'; kh. bargu, bur. *üwgēn* 'Greis' — *üwgēd* 'Greise'; čakh. *maltšě* 'Viehzüchter' — *maltšid* 'Viehzüchter Pl.'; šil. *gītši* 'Gast' — *gītšid* 'Gäste'; al.-ets. *odōn* 'Stern' — *odōd* 'Sterne'; k.-nor. *nojīn* 'Fürst' — *nojīd* 'Fürsten'; torg. *kōwūn* 'Knabe' — *kōwūd* 'Knaben'; khor. *adūn* 'Gestüt' — *adūd* 'Gestüte'.

Aus den Beispielen geht hervor, daß das Kennzeichen *d* in allen Dialekten dort auftritt, wo der Stamm des betreffenden Substantivs auf *n* (bzw. bisweilen auch auf *l* oder *r*) auslautet, das bei der Pluralbildung wegfällt.

2. *-ūd*, *-ūd* (-*ūd*): arkhor. *arād* 'Werktätiger' — *ardūd* 'Werktätige Pl.'; khar., tum., čakh. *nom* 'Buch' — *nomūd* 'Bücher'; šil., khor., torg. *ulās* 'Volk' — *ulsūd* 'Völker'; ord. *ger* 'Jurte' — *gerūd* 'Jurten'; al.-ets. *mal* 'Tier' — *malūd* 'Tiere'.

<sup>16</sup> Die mongolischen Sprachen und Dialekte in der Chinesischen Volksrepublik besitzen dieselben Wortarten wie die gegenwärtige mongolische Literatursprache (Chalcha-Sprache), und zwar Substantiva, Adjektiva, Pronomina, Numeralia, Verba, Adverbia, Postpositionen, Partikeln, Konjunktionen und Interjektionen. Im vorliegenden Aufsatz geht die Verfasserin nur auf die charakteristischen Eigenschaften der grammatischen Struktur der behandelten Dialekte ein.

Dieses Kennzeichen wird verwendet, wenn der Nominalstamm auf Konsonanten ausgeht.

3. *-nūd, -nūd*: š. bargu, kh. bargu, bur. *ger* 'Haus' — *gernūd* 'Häuser'; šil. *jamān* 'Ziege' — *jamānūd* 'Ziegen'; al.-ets. *gažā* 'Schwein' — *gažānūd* 'Schweine'. Das Kennzeichen *-nūd* bzw. *-nūd* kann sowohl nach auslautendem Vokal, als auch nach auslautendem Konsonanten des Nominalstammes stehen.

Diese Form ist im oiratischen Dialekt nicht gebräuchlich.

4. *-mūd, -mūd*: oir. *gal* 'Feuer' — *galmūd* 'Feuer Pl.'; *der* 'Kissen, Polster' — *dermūd* 'Kissen, Polster Pl.'; westl. *gol* 'Fluß' — *golmūd* 'Flüsse'. Dieses Suffix ist nur im oiratischen und im Westlichen Dialekt bekannt und wird in Nomina mit auslautendem Konsonanten (außer mit *n*) verwendet. In den übrigen Dialekten kommt dieses Suffix nicht vor.

5. *-s*: čakh. *nerě* 'Name' — *nerěs* 'Namen Pl.'; khar., tum. *emě* 'Frau' 'Frau' — *eměs* 'Frauen'; al.-ets. *kükěn* 'Kind' — *kükěs* 'Kinder'; torg. *degā* 'Angel' — *degās* 'Angeln'; bur. *ixě* 'gross' — *ixěs* 'Altere Pl.'. Es steht bei Nomina, die einen Vokal oder — seltener — ein *n* im Auslaut des Stammes haben.

Wie die Beispiele zeigen, werden die angeführten Pluralzeichen bei Lebewesen und Gegenstände bezeichnenden Nomina ohne Unterschied gebraucht.

6. *-nūs, -nūs*: kh. bargu, š. bargu *manūs* 'wir'; kh. bargu, bur. *tednūs* 'sie Pl.'; čakh. *bidnūs* 'wir'; šil. *tanūs* 'ihr Pl.'; k.-nor. *ednūs* 'diese Pl.'; al.-ets. *bidnūs* 'wir'; torg. *tadnūs* 'ihr Pl.'

Zum Unterschied von anderen Suffixen kommt dieses vor allen Dingen bei Pronomina vor.

7. *-šūd, -šūd (-tšūd, -tšūd, -tšūd)*: š. bargu, kh. bargu, bur. *zalū* 'jung' — *zalūšūd* 'Jugend'; arkhon. *bažă* 'jung' — *bažtšūd* 'Jungen, Jungs, Jünglinge'; khor. *džalū* 'jung' — *džalūšūd* 'Jugend'; šil. *bajän* 'reich' — *bajatšūd* 'Reiche Pl.'; al.-ets. *eměgtē* 'Frau' — *eměgtētšūd* 'Frauen'; k.-nor. *mongöl* 'Mongole' — *mongoltšūd* 'Mongolen'; torg. *berě* 'Schwieger Tochter' — *bertšūd* 'Schwieger Töchter'.

Dieses Suffix des Plurals hat in Wörtern wie *zalūšūd* 'Jugend' zu *zalū* 'jung' eine wortbildende Bedeutung.

8. *-šūl, -šūl*: kh. bargu, š. bargu *hač* 'bevorrechtes' — *hačšūl* 'Bevorrechtes Pl.'; arkhon. *daržan* 'Schmied' — *daržatšūl* 'Schmiede Pl.'; čakh. *erě* 'Mann' — *erětšūl* 'Männer'; šil. *bajän* 'reich' — *bajatšūl* 'Reiche Pl.'

Dieses Pluralzeichen ist im Westlichen und im oiratischen Dialekt sowie in einigen Mundarten des Östlichen Dialektes nicht mundläufig.

9. *-när, -när (-nṛ)*: kh. bargu, š. bargu, bur. *bagšā* 'Lehrer' — *bagšänär* 'Lehrer Pl.'; khor. *emš* 'Arzt' — *emšnär* 'Ärzte'; čakh. *dū* 'jüngerer Bruder'

— *dūnär* 'jüngere Brüder'; al.-ets. *dzē* 'Neffe' — *dzēnér* 'Neffen'; k.-nor. *egtši* 'ältere Schwester' — *egtšinér* 'ältere Schwestern'; torg. *ēdži* 'Mutter' — *ēdžinr* 'Mütter'.

10. *-năd, -nĕd*: *axanăd* 'ältere Brüder', *dūnăd* 'jüngere Brüder' u. dgl. Dieses Suffix ist nur dem bargu-burjatischen Dialekte eigen, in den übrigen mongolischen ist es unbekannt.

Die Suffixe *-nūs, -năs, -tšūd, -tšăd, -šūl, -šăl, -năr, -năr, -năd, -năd* verleihen den Leute bezeichnenden Nomina eine kollektive Bedeutung.

Es soll angemerkt werden, daß eine genaue Abgrenzung beim Gebrauch der Pluralzeichen unmöglich ist. Deshalb kann vorkommen, daß in den Dialekten zu ein und demselben Nominalstamm verschiedene Pluralsuffixe hinzugefügt werden, vgl. čakh. *nomud* ~ *nomnūd* 'Bücher', al.-ets. *malūd* ~ *malnūd* 'Tiere', torg. *terzēs* ~ *terzēmūd* 'Fenster Pl.' u. a. Diese Durcheinander beim Gebrauch der Pluralzeichen läßt sich in sämtlichen mongolischen Dialekten Chinas belegen.

In den Dialekten sind Doppelformen des Plurals häufig, die aber die Bedeutung des betreffenden Wortes nicht modifizieren: khor. *emšnărūd* 'Ärzte', ord. *noxōđūd* 'Hunde', torg. *noxāsmūd* 'Hunde', al.-ets. *tānărūd* 'ihr Pl.', khor. *nōxōdnărūd* 'Freunde', khar.-tüm. *mōrdūd* 'Pferde' u. dgl. m.

Ein Sondermerkmal des oiratischen Dialektes ist die Bewahrung von auslautendem *n* in der Form des Nominativs der Substantiva vom Typus *tsasŋ* 'Schnee', *tsāsŋ* 'Papier', *modŋ* 'Baum, Holz', *altn* 'Gold', *narŋ* 'Sonne', *jasŋ* 'Knochen' usw., usf. Die teilweise Bewahrung dieses *n* konnte in Wörtern desselben Typus auch in der burjatischen Mundart verzeichnet werden, obwohl nicht so regelmäßig wie im Oiratischen.

In den meisten mongolischen Dialekten kommt *n* im Auslaut der Wörter vom Typus *mod* 'Baum, Holz', *šas* 'Schnee' u. ä. nur vor, wenn das betreffende Wort im Satz eine Bestimmung ist, z. B. *modōn baęšiŋ* 'hölzernes Haus (Blockhaus)' usw.

Die Kategorie des Kasus. Überall in den mongolischen Dialekten sind sieben Grundkasus verbreitet: Nominativ, Genitiv, Dativ—Lokativ, Akkusativ, Instrumentalis, Ablativ und Komitativ. Außerdem gibt es auch Kasus mit beschränktem Gebrauch, die jedoch nur in einigen Dialekten und Mundarten vorkommen. Zu diesen gehören: Soziativ, Direktiv und Terminativ.

Bildung und Gebrauch des Nominativs, des Dativ—Lokativs und des Instrumentalis sind im allgemeinen in allen Dialekten und Mundarten gleich. Somit wollen wir uns hier auf die Besonderheiten bzw. Funktion der übrigen Kasus beschränken.

Kasus	Dialekt												
	Bargu-burjatisch			Östlich			Zentral			Westlich			
	Mundart												
	kh. bargu	š. bargu	bur.	arkhor.	khor.	khar., tum.	čakh.	šil.	ord.	al.- ets.	k.-nor.	torg.	ölot.
Genitiv				- <i>ī</i>			- <i>īn</i>			- <i>n</i>			
				- <i>ač</i>		- <i>nā</i>	- <i>nē</i>	- <i>nač</i>	- <i>ač</i>	- <i>ā</i> , - <i>āč</i>	- <i>ā</i>	- <i>ā</i>	
Akkusativ			- <i>ī</i> , - <i>īg</i> , - <i>g</i>		- <i>ī</i> , - <i>gī</i> , - <i>g</i>			- <i>ī</i>	- <i>īg</i> , - <i>g</i>		- <i>īg</i> , - <i>g</i>		
									- <i>gī</i>				
Ablativ	- <i>ā</i>		- <i>hā</i>				- <i>ās</i>			- <i>ās</i> , - <i>ās</i>			
Komitativ	- <i>tī</i>		- <i>tač</i>		- <i>tā</i>		- <i>tē</i>		- <i>tač</i>	- <i>tā</i> , - <i>tē</i>	- <i>tā</i>	- <i>tā</i>	
Soziativ				- <i>lā</i>			- <i>lē</i>			- <i>lā</i>	- <i>lā</i>	- <i>lā</i>	
Direktiv	- <i>rū</i> , - <i>rū</i>							- <i>rū</i> (- <i>lū</i> )		- <i>rū</i> (- <i>lū</i> )		- <i>ūr</i>	
Terminativ									- <i>tsē</i>	- <i>tsā</i>	- <i>tsā</i>	- <i>tsā</i>	

Die grundlegende Funktion dieser Kasus besteht — nach Dialekten bzw. Mundarten — im folgenden:

### 1. Genitiv.

a) Bezeichnung der Zugehörigkeit (Genitivus possessivus): bur. *nūžerej čarāndāš* 'der Bleistift des Kameraden o. Genossen', khor. *dūgīn pīr* 'die Feder des jüngeren Bruders', šil. *gotnoe žoń* 'die Schafe des Chotons', al.-ets. *axīn ger* 'die Jurte des älteren Bruders', torg. *kōwūnā degtr* 'das Buch des Knaben';

b) Bezeichnung des Ortes (Genitivus appositivus): khar. *χušūnē χurāl* 'die Versammlung des Choschuns', torg. *gazrīn öwsn* 'Gras (in) der Steppe', čakh. *aeltīn kūn* 'Mann vom Ail';

c) Genitivus partitivus: š.bargu *morinoe hūl* 'Pferdeschwanz', khor. *gutlīn χoŋšor* 'Spitze des Stiefels', tum. *modnē lewtši* 'Blatt des Baumes', sil. *dēlīn χormoe* 'unterer Saum des Pelzmantels', čakh. *gerīn tōno* 'Rauchzug der Jurte', al.-ets. *dalaqen köwō* 'Strand des Meeres', torg. *aryāmdžīn üzür* 'Ende des Strickes';

d) Genitivus qualitatis: šil. *tūlaqen tšinē mortoę* '(er) hat ein Pferd wie ein Hase', čakh. *ajagīn tšinē nūdtei* 'mit Augen wie eine Tasse', al.-ets. *χāsān tšinēn amtā* 'mit einem Mund wie Kessel', tum. *ōlīn tšinē bar* 'ein Tiger wie ein Berg (so groß)', š. bargu *temēnē šinēn bijtē* 'mit der Größe eines Kamels';

e) Genitivus temporalis: ord. *odōgin* χӯҗен 'jetziges Mädchen', al.-ets. *namrīn tsag* 'herbstliches Wetter', ölöt. *zunā җowtsp* 'sommerliches Kleid'.

### 2. Akkusativ.

Der Akkusativ drückt nicht nur das direkte Objekt aus, sondern er kann auch zur Bezeichnung des logischen Subjekts dienen in Partizipial- und Gerundialkonstruktionen, vgl. im oiratischen Dialekt: *arsṇ kürm šal-wriг üwldě bas ümsnā* 'im Winter trägt man auch Rock und Hose', *tš iterē gazāk širāmūd orūlād ögē* 'trage (ins Haus) die Tische, die auf der Straße stehen', *nämäg gertäṣṇ garxđā terē jowād ugā bilā* 'als ich aus dem Haus hinausging, war er noch nicht weggefahren', *tšämäg irxłā terē bas irx* 'wenn du kommst, kommt auch er'.

### 3. Ablativ.

a) Ablativus separativus: tūm. *ēlās irdž* 'er kam vom Ail zurück', kh. *bargu bī endēhē abāb* 'ich nahm von hier', ord. *bēdžingēs mordōw* 'er fuhr weg aus Peking', al.-ets. *ūlin oroęgōs mal būdž irlē* 'das Vieh kam von der Höhe des Berges herunter', čakh. *goršōnōs awāw* 'kaufte in der Genossenschaft', torg. *Dörwldžnās irsṇ kün* 'ein Mann, der aus Dörbeljin hergereist ist';

b) Ablativus temporis: bur. *bī nügđděrhē jabnāb* 'ich werde übermorgen fahren', tūm. *adžlān ūdēs ūmnē bardž* 'schließ die Arbeit bis Mittag ab', al.-ets. *śinīn negnēs dūsgānā* 'die Arbeit wird in den ersten Tagen des Monats erledigt', khar. *tawān šagās χōš* 'nach o. in fünf Stunden';

c) Ablativus partitivus: ord. *golin usnās ūjā* 'wir trinken vom Wasser des Flusses', š. *bargu hūlnēhē tatā* 'zog am Schwanz', torg. *żormyāsm bitšā bär* 'packe mich nicht am Saum (des Kleides)';

d) Ablativus causae: al.-ets. *kükēs nozoęgōs āldž es irnā* 'die Kinder werden, erschreckt von den Hunden, nicht kommen', šil. *temēnēs boldž moř ūrgēw* 'das Pferd bekam Angst vor dem Kamel', ord. *jadūgās mūdāwā* 'wurde vom Mangel verstimmt', khar. *terē jawxāgue tšōtgōrēs ēn* 'er geht nicht hin, er fürchtet die Teufel';

e) Ablativus comparationis: šil. *ūlnās óndōr* 'höher als ein Berg', al.-ets. *altān móŋnōs künd* 'schwerer als Gold und Silber', khor. *śasnās šayān* 'weißer als Schnee', arkhor. *gaŋnās ʐatū* 'härter als Stahl', bur. *altānhā šarā* 'gelber als Gold', ord. *usnās ʐarā* 'schwärzer als Wasser', torg. *tsāsnās nimgn* 'dünner als Papier'.

### 4. Komitativ.

Der Komitativ bezeichnet nicht nur das Objekt, sondern verweist auch auf attributiv-prädikative Beziehungen. Diese Funktion des Komi-

tativs ist in sämtlichen Dialekten dieselbe. Z. B. arkhor. *bī Dordžitē jawnā* 'ich gehe mit Dordži', šil. *āwtaę sumändü otsıx genū?* 'willst du mit deinem Vater zum Sumun gehen?', al.-ets. *neg kükntä tanıltśdžę* 'machte mit einem Mädchen Bekanntschaft', tüm. *badātaę ajäg bēnē* 'es findet sich eine Tasse mit Essen', š. bargu *hütī togō awādirę* 'bringe den Kessel mit Milch' u. dgl.

#### 5. Soziativ.

Dieser Kasus ist im oiratischen und im Westlichen Dialekt, ferner in der ordosischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes, in der arkhorčinischen und der kharačinisch-tümütischen Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes vorhanden. Er bezeichnet die Person oder den Gegenstand, die bzw. der von einer anderen Person oder einem anderen Gegenstand in eine Handlung gezogen wird, z. B. khar. *Batūlā irěw* 'kam mit Batu', ord. *öwgönlē jarıltš!* 'rede mit dem Greis!', al.-ets. *bergěnlā tülā tūw* 'sammelte Brennstoff mit der Frau des älteren Bruders', ölü. *tuyäl ükrlā nildž* 'die Kälber vermengten sich mit den Kühen'.

#### 6. Direktiv.

Dieser Kasus erfreut sich einer ziemlich beschränkten Verbreitung. Er ist nur im oiratischen, im bargu-burjatischen und im Westlichen Dialekt sowie in der šilinolischen und der ordosischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes vorhanden. Im Oiratischen besitzt er das Formativ *-ūr*, *-ūr*, während in den übrigen *-rū*, *-rū (-lū, -lū)*, also eigentlich eine gekürzte Form der Postposition (bzw. Adverbs) *urū* 'zu, her-, hinunter, nach unten', vgl. kh. bargu, š. bargu *xaelär rū (-urū) jabnăb* 'ich fahre nach Xailar', ord. *narā garăx džug rū* 'in der Richtung der aufgehenden Sonne, gegen Sonnenaufgang', al.-ets. *dzam rū ordž jawnā* 'er geht in der Richtung des Weges, er geht zum Weg', ölü. *älür orwā* 'ging zum Ail'.

#### 7. Terminativ.

Der Kasus ist dem oiratischen und dem Westlichen Dialekt sowie der ordosischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes bekannt. Er wird nur bei einer geringen Anzahl von Wörtern gebildet, die die Grenzen der Handlung bezeichnen. Nomina im Terminativ haben innerhalb des Satzes die Funktion der Ergänzung. Beispiele: al.-ets. *tašātsā usān* 'Wasser bis zur Hüfte', ord. *χüdžütše usu* 'Wasser bis zum Hals', torg. *gerin orātsā tsasñ* 'Schnee bis zum Dach der Jurte', ölü. *terę minī ēmtsā* 'er reicht mir bis zur Achsel' u. a.

In den Dialekten werden einige Kasusformen nicht nur vom Nominalstamm, sondern auch von anderen Kasus gebildet, wodurch sie die Form der doppelten Deklination erhalten. Als Stämme zur doppelten Deklination treten in sämtlichen Dialekten der Genitiv und der Komitativ hervor. Der

Stamm im Dativ—Lokativ kommt allein mit der Form des Ablativs vor. Bildung und Bedeutung der doppelten Kasus sind in allen Dialekten dieselben.

In allen Dialekten ist die reflexiv-possessive Deklination verbreitet, die dem Gegenstand die Bedeutung der Zugehörigkeit im weiteren Sinne verleiht. Ihre Suffixe sind entweder reflexiv (mit der Bedeutung: »sein eigen«) oder personal (mit der Bedeutung der Zugehörigkeit).

Die reflexiven Suffixe haben mit Ausnahme des Bargu-burjatischen in sämtlichen Dialekten *n* im Auslaut:

Kasus	Dialekt		
	Bargu-burjatisch	Oiratisch	Zentral, Östlich, Westlich
Genitiv	-γā	(-nān, -nāñ)	-χān, -nān
Dat.—Lokativ		-ān, -āñ	
Akkusativ	-ā	-γān, -γāñ	-ān
Instrumentalis, Ablativ		-n	
Komitativ	-γā	-γān, -γāñ	-γān

Die possessiven Suffixe sind im Bargu-burjatischen, im Östlichen, im Zentralen und im Westlichen Dialekt im großen und ganzen einander gleich, mit Ausschluß des Oirstischen. Sie werden nach Kasus nicht abgeändert und stehen abgesondert vom Nomen in allen Dialekten, mit Ausnahme des Oiratischen:

Zahl	Person	Dialekt	
		Oiratisch	Übrige Dialekte
Sg.	1.	-m	miń
	2.	-tšñ	tšiń ~ šiń
Pl.	1.	-mdñ	māń
	2.	-tñ	tāń
Sg. und Pl. 3.	-ń (im ölüöt. -j)	-ń	

Vgl. die oir. Beispiele: *degtr* 'Buch' — *degtrm* 'mein Buch', *degtrtšñ* 'dein Buch', *degtrndñ* 'unser Buch', *degtrtñ* 'euer Buch', *degtrý* 'sein ihr Buch'.

In der ölüötischen Mundart steht bei Substantiva, Adjektiva, Numeralia und Converba als Suffix der dritten Person nicht -ń (wie in der torgutischen).

Mundart), sondern *-j*: 'seinen älteren Bruder' ~ torg. *axīn*, ölöt. *axīj*; 'einen von ihnen' ~ torg. *negīn*, ölöt. *negīj*; 'seine Ankunft' ~ torg. *irsiñ*, ölöt. *irsīj*; 'der rote von ihnen' ~ torg. *ulāñ*, ölöt. *ulāj*; 'wenn er kommt' ~ torg. *irzłāñ*, ölöt. *irzłāj* u. dgl.

Das Adjektiv drückt Qualität oder Merkmale des Gegenstandes aus und läßt sich in den einzelnen Dialekten nicht unterscheiden. Die Komparation der Gegenstände geschieht mit dem Ablativ des Substantivs der vom unveränderten Stamm des Adjektivs begleitet wird, vgl. bur. *hūnhē sayāñ* 'weißer als Milch', kh. *bargu ūlnā ûndēr* 'höher als ein Berg', al.-ets. *morinōs žurdāñ* 'schneller als ein Pferd', šil. *dalaęyās gūn* 'tiefer als das Meer', torg. *odnās gerltā* 'heller als die Sterne', khor. *žudägās gūn* 'tiefer als ein Brunnen'.

Die Intensität der Qualität wird ausgedrückt: 1) durch Voranstellung des Wortes *xamäg*, seltener *tujäl* 'meist' im Genitiv vor dem Adjektiv, z. B. kh. *bargu žamgīñ zolō* 'der weiteste', arkhor. *žamgīñ zatū* 'der härteste', šil. *tujlin saěn moř* 'das beste Pferd', čakh. *žamgīñ žütštej* 'der stärkste', ölöt. *žamgīñ üntā* 'der teuerste', al.-ets. *žamgīñ amār* 'der leichteste'; 2) durch den Gebrauch von Wörtern, die einer unvollkommenen Verdoppelungen des Adjektivs zufolge entstanden sind, z. B. šil. *uw ulāñ* 'rot — sehr rot (schön)', *žuw žüjtēñ* 'kalt — sehr kalt', al.-ets. *tsab tsayāñ* 'weiß — sehr weiß', *žab žarā* 'schwarz — sehr schwarz', torg. *šaw šarā* 'gelb — sehr gelb', *kōw kögšñ* 'alt — sehr alt' usw.

**Personalpronomina.** Die Personalpronomina sind in den einzelnen Dialekten nicht nur in phonetischer Hinsicht, sondern auch in bezug auf ihre Stämme in verschiedenen Kasus unterschiedlich.

Zur Veranschaulichung führen wir die Deklination des Personalpronomens der 1. Person Sg. an, mit der Bemerkung, daß die übrigen Pronomina bei der Deklination in sämtlichen Dialekten denselben Stamm aufweisen, z. B. das Pronomen der 2. Person Sg. *tši* 'du', zeigt vom Dativ—Lokativ angefangen den Stamm *tšam* ~ *šam*, das Pronomen der 1. Person Pl. *bidē* 'wir' hingegen vom Genitiv an die beiden Stämme *bidă* bzw. *man*.

Dementsprechend sind in den abhängigen Kasus die drei Stämme *-nad*, *nam*, *nan* in den Dialekten vorhanden. *nad* ist für den Zentralen und den Westlichen Dialekt sowie für die arkhorčinische und die khorčinische Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes bzw. für die beiden bargutischen Mundarten des bargu-burjatischen Dialektes charakteristisch, während *nam* die burjatische Mundart, *nan* dagegen den oiratischen Dialekt und die kharčinisch-tumutische Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes auszeichnen.

Die Dialekte besitzen keine Pronomina der 3. Person und ersetzen diese durch die Demonstrativa *ene* 'dieser', *tere* 'jener, er', *edēn* 'diese Pl.' und *tedēn* 'jede sie, Pl.'

Kasus	Dialekt					
	Bargu-burjatisch		Östlich		Zentral und Westlich	Oiratisch
	Mundart					
	kh. bargu, š. bargu	bur.	arkhor., khor.	khar. tum.	sämtliche Mundarten	sämtliche Mundarten
Nominativ	<i>bi</i>		<i>bi</i>		<i>bi</i>	<i>bi</i>
Genitiv	<i>minī</i>		<i>minī</i>		<i>minī</i>	<i>minī</i>
Dativ—Lokativ	<i>nadădă</i>	<i>namdă</i>	<i>nadădă</i>	<i>namdă</i>	<i>nadădă</i>	<i>nandă</i>
Akkusativ	<i>namī</i>	<i>namaq</i>	<i>nadi ~ nămăg</i>	<i>nämäg ~ nemēgi</i>	<i>namaq (~ nadī)</i>	<i>nämäg</i>
Instrumentalis	<i>nadār</i>	<i>namār</i>	<i>nadār</i>	<i>nanār</i>	<i>nadār</i>	<i>nanār</i>
Ablativ	<i>nadā</i>	<i>nadhā</i>	<i>nadās</i>	<i>nanās</i>	<i>nadās</i>	<i>nanās</i>
Komitativ	<i>nadtī</i>	<i>namtaq</i>	<i>nadtă</i>	<i>nantă</i>	<i>nadtaq</i>	<i>nantă</i>
Soziativ				( <i>nanlă</i> )	( <i>nadlă</i> )	<i>nanlă</i>
Direktiv			( <i>nadrū</i> )		( <i>nadrū</i> )	( <i>nanūr</i> )
Terminativ						<i>nantsă</i>

**N u m e r a l i a.** Die Numeralia stimmen, was ihre Bildung und Verwendung anbelangt, im wesentlichen in sämtlichen Dialekten überein. Sie gliedern sich in mehrere Gruppen, so in Kardinalia, Ordinalia, Kollektiva, Distributiva u. a. m.

Abweichend von allen übrigen Dialekten haben im Oiratischen die Kardinalia von eins bis zehn (außer *χojır* 'zwei') und sämtliche Benennungen der Zehner ein *n* im Auslaut: *tawṇ* 'fünf', *dalṇ* 'siebzig', *zuryān* 'sechs', *najṇ* 'achtzig' usw.

Die Distributiva und die Kollektiva werden in allen Dialekten in derselben Weise gebildet. Einige Unterschiede lassen sich aber bei den Ordinalzahlen feststellen. Neben dem Kennzeichen *dugār*, das in allen übrigen Dialekten zu hören ist, zeigen die Ordinalzahlen im Bargu-burjatischen *-dăx̥i ~ dĕx̥i*, im Oiratischen *dăgtš*, z. B. b.-bur. *tabădăx̥i* 'der fünfte', oir. *χojirdăgtš* 'der zweite'; dagegen *tawădăgār* 'der fünfte', *χojirdăgār* 'der zweite' in den übrigen Dialekten.

**V e r b.** Transitive und intransitive Verba werden in den Dialekten durch keinerlei besondere Kennzeichen unterschieden. Die Möglichkeit der Verbindung eines Verbs mit dem Akkusativ des direkten Objekts hängt ausschließlich von der lexikalischen Bedeutung des Verbs ab.

Die in den Dialekten vorhandenen Genera der Verba (Verba factitiva, passiva, cooperativa und reciproca) weisen in ihrer Bildung und Bedeutung untereinander keine Unterschiede auf, abgesehen von den phonetischen Verschiedenheiten: die Verba cooperativa haben z. B. im oiratischen und im Westlichen Dialekt sowie in der širongolischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes das Suffix *-lts*, in der čakharischen und der ordosischen Mundart des Zentralen sowie in der arkhorčinischen und der kharčinisch-tümütischen Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes *-lš*, im bargu-burjatischen Dialekt *-lsā*, in der khorčinischen Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes dagegen *-lš*.

Von allen Dialekten gibt es nur im Bargu-burjatischen und im Oiratischen persönliche Kennzeichen der Prädikativität (gekürzte Formen des Personalpronomens), deren Rolle äußerst wichtig ist. Sie sind sehr beweglich und können nicht nur den Verben, sondern auch den Hauptwörtern angehängt werden.

Als Kennzeichen der Prädikativität kommen folgende vor:

Zahl	Person	Dialekt	
		Bargu-burjatisch	Oiratisch
Sg.	1.	<i>-b</i>	<i>-w (-b)</i>
	2.	<i>-š</i>	<i>-tš</i>
Pl.	1.	<i>-bdī</i>	<i>-wdn (-bdn)</i>
	2.	<i>-t</i>	<i>-t</i>

Beispiele: b.-bur. *bi unšänäb* 'ich lese', *ši unšänäš* 'du liest', *bidě unšänäbdī* 'wir lesen', *ta unšänät* 'ihr lest'; oir. *bi jownāw* 'ich gehe', *tši jownātš* 'du gehst', *bidŋ jownāwdŋ* 'wir gehen', *ta jownāt* 'ihr geht'. In den übrigen Dialekten ist nur ein und dieselbe Form des Verbs vorhanden, die sich in gleicher Weise auf alle drei Personen beziehen kann. Die Form der Person wird hier durch selbständige Personalpronomina ausgedrückt, die dem Verb vorausgehen, vgl. östl. *bi irlē* 'ich kam', *ši irlē* 'du kamst', *bidā irlē* 'wir kamen', *ta irlē* 'ihr kamt'.

Es soll angemerkt werden, daß diese Kennzeichen der Prädikativität im Burjatischen streng und folgerichtig gebraucht werden, während ihr Gebrauch in den beiden bargutischen Mundarten einen fakultativen Charakter trägt.

Die Indikativformen der Verba sind in den einzelnen Mundarten einigermaßen verschieden nach ihrer Bildung, hingegen einheitlich nach ihrer Bedeutung:

1) Präsens-Futurum: im Bargu-burjatischen mit dem Suffix *-n*, *-nă'* im Östlichen Dialekt mit *-n*, *-nă*, im Zentralen Dialekt mit *-n*, *-nă* im Westlichen Dialekt und im Oiratischen mit *-nă*, *-nă*;

2) Präteritum: im Bargu-burjatischen mit dem Suffix *-wā* (*-bā*), im Östlichen Dialekt mit *-w* (*-b*), im Zentralen und im Westlichen sowie im Oiratischen Dialekt mit *-w* (*-b*), *-wā*;

3) Perfekt: im Bargu-burjatischen mit dem Suffix *-lā* (kh. bargu), *-laq* (š. bargu, bur.), im Östlichen Dialekt mit *-lā*, *-lē*, im Zentralen mit *-lā*, im Westlichen und im Oiratischen mit *-lā*, *-lā*;

4) Plusquamperfekt: im Bargu-burjatischen mit den Suffixen *-ā*, *-ē*, *-ō*, *-ō*, im Östlichen Dialekt mit *-džē*, *-džā*, *-dž* (*-tš*), im Zentralen mit *-džē* (*-tšē*), im Westlichen mit *-džī* (*-tšī*), *-dž* (*-tš*), im Oiratischen mit *-dž*.

Im bargu-burjatischen Dialekt ist der Gebrauch der verbalen Nomina Perfecti auf *-ā*, *-ē*, *-ō*, *-ō* mit der Bedeutung des Präsens bekannt.

Im oiratischen Dialekt und in einigen Mundarten des Östlichen und des Zentralen Dialektes fällt die Form des Plusquamperfekts mit jener des Converbium Imperfecti zusammen.

Das Präteritum mit den Kennzeichen *-w* (*-b*), *-wā* (*-bā*), *-wā* wird im bargu-burjatischen, im Östlichen und im oiratischen Dialekt seftener gebraucht, als die übrigen zwei Formen desselben Tempus.

Im Oiratischen und im Bargu-burjatischen treten die Kennzeichen der Prädikativität zu ihnen, jedoch fehlen diese in den übrigen Dialecten, in welchen die Indikativformen auf die beliebige der drei Personen beider Zahlen der Verba bezogen werden.

Die häufigaten Negationen bei Indikativformen sind *es* 'nicht' und *lū* 'nicht', die vor dem Verb stehen.

Die Imperativformen bestehen aus eigentlichen Imperativformen und aus Optativformen.

Die eigentliche Imperativform enthält einen kategorischen Befehl zur Ausführung irgendeiner Handlung und bezieht sich auf die 2. Person beider Zahlen, hat aber kein besonderes morphologisches Kennzeichen, sondern stimmt mit dem Verbalstamm überein: *sū* 'setze dich, setzt euch', *garā* 'geh hinaus, geht hinaus', *jawā* 'geh, geht' im Östlichen, im Zentralen und im Westlichen Dialekt, *hū* 'setze dich', *bešē* 'schreibe' im Bargu-burjatischen, *od* 'geh', *χälā* 'schau' im Oiratischen.

Die Imperativformen sind in den einzelnen Dialekten verschieden, sie können selbst die Person der Handlung ausdrücken, d. h. sie wenden sich an irgendeine streng bestimmte Person. Sie sind: 1) Imperativ der 1. Person, 2) Imperativ der 2. Person, 3) Imperativ der 3. Person, 4) Voluntativformen aller Personen. Diese Formen sind in den einzelnen Dialekten entweder nicht vollzählig vorhanden, oder sie werden durch andere ersetzt, oder aber sie sind zwar dieselben, heben sich aber durch ihre Lautung von denen in

den übrigen Dialekten ab. Vergleichshalber führen wir folgende Zusammenfassung an:

Formen	Dialekt												
	Bargu-burjatisch			Östlich			Zentral			Westlich		Oiratisch	
	Mundart												
	kh. bargu	š. borgu	bur.	khor.	arkhor.	khar., tum.	čakh.	šil.	ord.	al.-ets	k.-nor	torg.	ölot.
1. P.	- <i>ij</i> , - <i>jā</i>	- <i>jē</i>		- <i>jā</i> , - <i>i</i>			- <i>ij</i> , - <i>jā</i>		- <i>ij</i> , - <i>jā</i>		- <i>ij</i> , - <i>jā</i>		
	- <i>gtūn</i>	- <i>gtī</i>										- <i>tŋ</i>	
2. P.	- <i>ārae</i>	- <i>āri</i>	- <i>ārae</i>	- <i>ās</i>	- <i>ātš</i>		- <i>ā</i>	- <i>ārae</i>		- <i>tān</i>			
	- <i>āstī</i>	- <i>āš</i>	- <i>iš</i>					- <i>ātš</i>				- <i>ūtš</i> , - <i>it</i>	
3. P.	- <i>g</i>			- <i>g</i>			- <i>g</i>		- <i>g</i>		- <i>g</i>		
	- <i>tūgae</i>	- <i>tāgae</i>		- <i>tūgē</i>			- <i>tūgae</i>		- <i>tγā</i>	- <i>tūgā</i>	- <i>tχā</i>		
Dubitativ	- <i>ūzae</i>						- <i>ūdžin</i>		- <i>ūdzā</i>		- <i>ūzā</i>		
Voluntativ	- <i>sae</i>	- <i>hae</i>		- <i>āslā</i>			- <i>āsae</i>			- <i>āsae</i>	- <i>sā</i>		

Die spezifische Form auf -*āslā* kommt in der arkhorčinischen Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes vor und ist auch der Sprache der Ognuten nicht unbekannt: sie drückt den Wunsch zur Vollendung der Handlung aus, vgl. arkhor. *tši malā olōslā sēn* 'es wäre gut, wenn du dein Vieh finden würdest', *borōn orōslā* 'es wäre gut, wenn es regnen würde', ogn. *terē irēslā* 'es wäre gut, wenn er käme'.

Bildung und Bedeutung der Verbalnomina zeigen in den verschiedenen Dialekten keine wesentlichen Unterschiede. Ihre Formen sind:

- 1) Nomen Futuri (Suffix -*χ* -*χā*, -*χū*);
- 2) Nomen Präsens (Suffix -*ā* in sämtlichen Dialekten);
- 3) Nomen Perfecti (-*sān* -*sŋ* im Östlichen, im Zentralen und im oiratischen Dialekt, -*ā* [kh. bargu], -*hān* [š. borgu, bur.] im Bargu-burjatischen);
- 4) Nomen Usus (-*dag* in allen Dialekten).

Die Verbalnomina werden nach Kasus dekliniert. Im Satz kann ihnen die Rolle der Bestimmung, der Ergänzung, des Subjekts oder des Prädikats zufallen.

Converba. Die Converba bezeichnen eine zweitrangige Nebenhandlung zur verbalen Handlung und haben keine Zeitkategorie. Das Tempus der Konverben wird durch das Tempus der ihnen folgenden abschließenden Verbalform bestimmt.

Die Converba Imperfecti, die Converba Modalia und die Converba Perfecti sind in den Dialekten gemäß ihrer Bedeutung und Lautung einheitlich.

Einige Besonderheiten besitzen in den einzelnen Dialekten folgende Konverben:

1) **C o n v e r b u m A b t e m p o r a l e.** Es bezeichnet eine Handlung, mit welcher in gleicher Zeit eine andere Handlung vollendet wird. Im Östlichen, im Zentralen, im Westlichen und im oiratischen Dialekt sowie in der khučin-bargutischen Mundart des Bargu-burjatischen wird es durch die Hinzufügung des Suffixes *-sār* zum Verbalstamm gebildet (nach dem Gesetz der Vokalharmonie), in der šine-bargutischen und der burjatischen Mundart dagegen mit Hilfe des Suffixes *-hār*;

2) **C o n v e r b u m S u c c e s s i v u m.** Dieses Konverb fällt im wesentlichen nach seiner Bedeutung mit dem Converbum Präparativum zusammen, jedoch mit dem Unterschied, daß es eine Handlung bezeichnet, in deren Vollendungsmoment eine andere Handlung einsetzt. Es wird mit dem Suffix *-χälär* im Bargu-burjatischen, mit *-χlär* im Zentralen und im Westlichen bzw. mit *-χlärŋ* im oiratischen Dialekt gebildet. Im Unterschied zu ihnen finden wir in sämtlichen Mundarten des Östlichen Dialektes das Suffix *-χlā* ( $\sim$  *-χlē*) in den Converba Successiva: *jawäχlā* 'sobald er geht' u. ä. Im oiratischen Dialekt wird das Suffix des betreffenden Konverbs mit einem auslautenden *-n* ergänzt (*jowχlärŋ* 'sobald er geht', *irχlärŋ* 'sobald er kommt'), worin sich die Form des Konverbs dieses Dialektes von den übrigen Dialekten auch unterscheidet;

3) **C o n v e r b u m P r ä p a r a t i v u m.** Dieses Konverb bezeichnet den Moment des Abschlusses einer Handlung, wonach eine andere Handlung in Angriff genommen wird. Seine Bildung ist in den einzelnen Dialekten nicht einheitlich:

im Bargu-burjatischen geschieht sie mit *-msā* (kh. bargu) bzw. *-msār* (š. bargu, bur.);

im Zentralen und im Westlichen Dialekt mit *-mägtš* ( $\sim$  *mägts*, *-mts*)

im Östlichen Dialekt dagegen gibt es zwei Formen nebeneinander — *-mägtš* und *-närān* (nach dem Gesetz der Vokalharmonie).

Das Suffix *-närān* ist für den Östlichen Dialekt charakteristisch und wird in dessen ganzem Geltungsbereich gebraucht. Beispiele: arkhor. *nar garnärān bidě*, *jawlā* 'sobald die Sonne aufgeht, wollen wir fahren', khor. *bi šämīgī údžnérēn tändžā* 'als ich dich erblickte, erkannte ich dich sofort'.

Im oiratischen Dialekt gibt es kein Converbum präparativum: seine Bedeutung wird mit anderen Mitteln wiedergegeben, und zwar durch die Verbindung des Converbum Modale mit dem Wort *tsatsū* 'gleich, gleichzeitig, gleichförmig': torg. *tšämīg jowŋi tsatsū terě irlā* 'sobald du weggingst, kam er'; *mörän tožm tsatsū terě mordwā* 'sobald er sein Pferd aufsattelte, fuhr er weg'.

4) Converbum Conditionale. Es bezeichnet eine Handlung, die die Voraussetzung für eine andere Handlung ist. Dieses Konverb wird in sämtlichen Dialekten mit Hilfe des Suffixes *-wäl* (*-bäl*, *-wl*) gebildet. Nur im oiratischen Dialekt und in der ordosischen Mundart des Zentralen Dialektes sind noch die parallelen Formen ord. *-χūlā* bzw. torg. *-χlā* vorhanden;

5) Converbum Concessivum. Das Converbum Concessivum wird in sämtlichen Dialekten mit Hinzufügung des Suffixes *-wtš* (*-wš*) zum Verbalstamm gebildet. Allein im Östlichen Dialekt sind auch parallele Formen vorhanden: khor. *-jāš*, arkhor., khar., tum. *-jātš*, z. B. khor. *odō borōn orjōš tusūgūž* 'es ist nutzlos, wenn es jetzt auch anfängt zu regnen, khar. *χarajātš sonsōχgūž* 'er hört es nicht, obwohl man ihn schilt';

6) Converbum Contemporale. Es ist ein Konverb, das auf eine mit der Haupthandlung gleichzeitige Handlung hinweist. Dieses Konverb wird mit dem Suffix *-ŋgā* im Bargu-burjatischen, bzw. mit, *ŋgūt* im Zentralen und im Westlichen Dialekt gebildet. Im oiratischen und im Östlichen Dialekt ist es unbekannt;

7) Converbum Finale. Dieses Konverb wird mit Hilfe des Suffixes *-χā*, *-χār* gebildet. Es ist in sämtlichen Dialekten vorhanden, allerdings ist seine Bildung in der arkhorčinischen und der kharčinisch-tumutischen Mundart eine andere, indem in diesen das Suffix *-χuă* (*-χue*) dazu verwendet wird, vgl. *terē badā idχuă jawdžā* 'er ging, um zu essen', *axā tulē abχuă gardž* 'der ältere Bruder ging hinaus, um Brennstoff zu bringen' u. dgl.

Nachstehend fassen wir die Suffixe der Konverba nach den einzelnen Dialekten in einer Tabelle zusammen:

**A d v e r b i a.** Sie sind im wesentlichen in allen Dialekten einheitlich. Unter den Adverbien lassen sich zwei grundlegende Gruppen hervorheben: 1) primäre, die aus dem bloßen, unabzuändernden Stamm ohne jegliche, heute noch lebendige Suffixe bestehen, vgl. zentr. *odō* 'jetzt', *ert* 'früh, zeitig', *χajā* 'selten', *araē* 'kaum', *nāš* 'her, hierher', westl. und oir. *nār* 'her', *tsār* 'hin, dorthin', *gazā* 'draußen', *orā* 'spät', b.-bur. *urdā* 'früher, eher', *gazā* 'draußen', usw. und 2) sekundäre, die von verschiedenen Wortarten gebildet werden durch die Hinzufügung von Suffixen zu ihrem Stamm. Besonders stark verbreitet sind sekundäre Suffixe, die aus sprachhistorischen Ursachen in der Form des einen oder des anderen Kasus bewahrt geblieben sind, vgl. östl. *endē* ~ *mendē* 'hier', *tendē* ~ *metendē* 'dort', *mendēs* 'von hier, daher', *metendēs* 'dorther, von dort'; *endē*, *tendē*, *endēs*, *tendēs* in den übrigen Dialekten.

Die Bedeutung der Adverbien sowie ihre Gruppen sind in den einzelnen Dialekten dieselben. Es gibt außerdem eine Reihe von Wörtern in den Dialekten, die von der gegebenen semantisch-syntaktischen Funktion abhängig, bald als Adverbien, bald als Postpositionen auftreten.

Konverben	Dialekt										
	Bargu-burjatisch			Östlich			Zentral			Westlich	
	Mundart										
	kh. bargu	š. bargu	bur.	khor.	arkhor.	khar., tum.	čakh.	šil.	ord.	al.-ets.	k.-nor.
Converbum Imperficti	-džă	-žă		-dž			-dž		-dž	-dž	-dž
Converbum Modale		-n		-n			-n		-n	-n	-n
Converbum Perfecti		-ād		-ād			-ād		-ād	-ād	-ād
Converbum Präparativum	-msā		-msār		-mägtš		-mägtš	-mts	-mägtš	-mägtš	
		-ūt			-nārān						
Converbum Abtemporale	-sār	-hār		-sār			-sār		-sār	-sār	-sār
Converbum Successivum		-χālār		-χlā			-χlār		-χlār	-χlān	-χlārn
Converbum Contemporale		-ηgā					-ηgūt		-ηgūt		
Converbum Conditionale	-ηāl	-bāl		-wāl			-wūl	-wāl	-wāl, -bāl	-wl	-χālā
					-wš	-wtš		-wtš		-wtš, -btš	-wtš
					-jāš	-jātš					
Converbum Finale		-χā		χār-		-χā		-χār		-χār	-χār
						-zuā					
Converbum Terminale		-tār		-tāl	-tār	-tāl, -tēr	-tār	-tāl	-tāl	-tl	

Auf Wortarten wie Postpositionen, Bindewörter, Partikeln oder Interjektionen wollen wir nicht näher eingehen. Unwesentliche Abweichungen zeigen diese Kategorien im bargu-burjatischen und im oiratischer Dialekt im Vergleich zu den übrigen Dialekten.

### Einige Probleme der Syntax der Dialekte

#### Die Satzglieder und ihre Stellung im Satz

Das Subjekt steht im allgemeinen am Satzanfang, wenn aber Subjekt und Prädikat im Satz mit sekundären, sie erklärenden Satzgliedern zusammen auftreten, werden sie durch letztere in der Regel voneinander abgetrennt.

Im oiratischen und im bargu-burjatischen Dialekt, die besondere Kennzeichen der Prädikativität besitzen, gibt es Sätze ohne Subjekt, das durch ein besonderes Wort (ein Pronomen) ausgedrückt wird, vgl. torg. *bidŋ Dörwldžin tal jowčča sanātāwdŋ ~ Dörwldžin tal jowčča sanātāwdŋ* 'wir wollen nach Dörbeljin fahren'; bur. *bi ažhāgā neg mori abčāb ~ ažhāgā neg mori abčāb* 'ich nehme mir ein Pferd von meinem älteren Bruder'.

In Wendungen mit Verbalnomina und Konverben wird das logische Subjekt grammatisch durch den Genitiv, den Akkusativ oder den Nominativ wiedergegeben: b.-bur. *šinī ošičlōr bi jawjā* 'ich fahre, sobald du fährst', *ši jawbāl bi bahā jawān* 'wenn du gehst, gehe ich auch', khor. *šinī širēgt jawsāndā bi ižē bajäldžēn* 'es freut mich, daß du zur Armee gehst', *menēg irwāl endēs garād jawsān ūen bē?* 'wer ist jener, der wegging, als ich kam?'; torg. *nämäg irč gedž tšamda ken kelwē?* 'wer hat dir gesagt, daß ich komme?', *tši jabčālā bi basā jabnāw* 'wenn du gehst, dann gehe ich auch'.

Im Unterschied zu den übrigen Dialekten steht das Subjekt im Oiratischen in Wendungen mit Verbalnomina und Konverben hauptsächlich im Genitiv. Das logische Subjekt als Genitiv ist hier unmöglich.

Das Prädikat steht in der Regel am Ende des Satzes. Es ist entweder einfach (verbal oder nominal) oder zusammengesetzt. Im letzteren Falle wird es durch die Verbindung eines Substantivs, eines Adjektivs, eines Zahlwortes oder eines Verbalnomes mit der Kopula ausgedrückt, bzw. durch die Verbindung eines zusammengesetzten Verbs oder Verbalnomens mit der Kopula (oder einem Hilfsverb), vgl. al.-ets. *terē kün žadzārān awād irdži* 'jener Mann griff nach seiner Kandare', al.-ets. *dū miň suryuldā odlō* 'mein jüngerer Bruder ging zur Schule', šil. *bid. margātār sūmrū jawjā* 'morgen gehen wir zur Kirche', čakh. *žojör jamā mórgoldödž bačen* 'zwei Ziegen stoßen sich (mit den Hörnern)', khor. *enē ūlā ūndēr* 'dieser Berg ist hoch', *Dordž ewlēlin gišün boldž* 'Dordži wurde Mitglied des Jugendverbandes'.

Es kann in den Dialekten, wenn auch sehr selten, beobachtet werden, daß das Prädikat an die Spitze des Satzes gestellt wird. Dadurch wird die vom Prädikat ausgedrückte Handlung äußerst betont hervorgehoben.

Wie in allen mongolischen Sprachen, steht die *attributive Bestimmung* auch in den mongolischen Dialekten Chinas vor dem zu bestimmenden Worte. Sie stimmt mit dem letzteren weder in der Zahl noch im Kasus überein. Sie wird durch verschiedene Wortarten ausgedrückt, so durch Substantiva, Adjektiva, Pronomina, ja auch Numeralia und Verbalnomina; tūm. *minīžū adān žīžūč itšin* 'mein Sohn geht arbeiten', arkhor. *ūlnās irěžtšidin žuwtšās endē bān* 'hier ist die Kleidung jener, die von den Bergen kommen', ord. *azin tanil jawdž bačenā* 'der Bekannte des älteren Bruders will wegfahren', al.-ets. *terē žojörin jabsān dzam* 'der Weg, auf dem jene zwei fuhren'.

Kennzeichnend für die Dialekte ist die Verwendung von Substantiva als attributive Bestimmungen in drei verschiedenen Kasus (Nominativ, Genitiv und Komitativ): khor. *terē šulūn ger tednē ger* 'jenes steinernes Häuschen ist ihr Haus', torg. *gerin gazā irād būsq̥ kemb̥i*, *χälältšk* 'schau, wer gekommen und bei der Jurte stehen geblieben ist', šil. *gotnoq̥ xoñ ʐaetšlăx bollō* 'die Zeit ist gekommen, die Schafe des Ails zu scheren', čakh. *barūn aelīn nozqoq̥ zetšū* 'die Hunde des rechten Ails sind böse'.

Wie in den anderen mongolischen Sprachen, ist auch in den mongolischen Dialekten Chinas möglich, mehrere aufeinander folgende, gemäß ihrer Zusammensetzung übereinstimmende oder verschiedene Bestimmungen bei einem zu Bestimmenden nebeneinander zu stellen.

**O b j e k t** und **E r g ä n z u n g e n** werden durch verschiedene Wortarten in abhängigen Kasus ausgedrückt. Das Objekt steht im Satz in der Regel unmittelbar vor dem Prädikat: khar. *bi tšinī badāgī iddženī dā* 'ich esse dein Essen', bur. *bi uggle ʐot ornōb* 'ich fahre in der Frühe in die Stadt', khor. *terē odō mal adūldžen* 'er beschäftigt sich jetzt mit Viehzucht'.

Abgesehen von dieser Beziehung zum Prädikat kann das Objekt von ihm abgetrennt werden durch andere sekundäre Satzglieder bzw. durch verschiedene Adverbien. Die Stellung von Objekt und Ergänzung in ein und demselben Satz ist nicht fest; sie können einander vorausgeschickt, aber auch nachgestellt werden im Zusammenhang mit dem auszudrückenden Gedanken und der Richtung der Aussage schlechthin. Wir führen einige Beispiele an: š. *bargu ta adūndă ošix ū?* 'fahrt ihr um das Gestüt?', khor. *enē ǔdēr ʐoršöndă ʐenši odsängüe* 'heute ist niemand in die Genossenschaft gegangen', šil. *ʐoetä goldă temē ǔdž baen* 'die Kamele trinken Wasser am Fluß an der Nordseite', aňă *ʐórōgōr mod ʐórōddžé* 'der ältere Bruder sägt Holz mit der Säge', čakh. *bid saʐjan Bâtrâs sonin ulgér sonsow* 'wir haben von Batyr unlängst eine interessante Erzählung gehört', al.-ets. *ta enē ʐõgi keděn dzösär absán bī?* 'um wieviel (Geld) habt ihr dieses Schaf erstanden?', arkhor. *terē ʐoršögō ősin gertégā edil ʐerlänā* 'er verhält sich zur Genossenschaft wie zum eigenen Haus', torg. *tüg asxndän irüll* 'zwingen ihn, heute abend zu kommen', *enē nämäg örünäs nárän külädz* 'er wartete seit Morgen' usw.

**D i e A d v e r b i e n** bezeichnen verschiedene Beziehungen — räumliche, zeitliche, mit der Ursache bzw. dem Zwecke verbundene — sowie Charakteristika der Ausführung einer Handlung. Gemäß ihrer Bedeutung werden die Adverbien in verschiedene Gruppen eingeteilt. Jede Gruppe der Adverbien faßt einen bestimmten Bedeutungskreis zusammen und besitzt auch besondere morphologische Mittel des Ausdrucks.

Die adverbialen Bestimmungen werden in den Dialekten durch Adverbien bzw. verschiedene grammatische Formen des Nomens (Kasus der Substantiva mit und ohne Postpositionen) und des Verbs (Verbalnomina und Konverben im entsprechenden Kasus) ausgedrückt.

Die verschiedenen adverbialen Bestimmungen stehen durchaus nicht in der gleichen Beziehung zum Prädikat. Adverbia modi stehen z. B. vorwiegend vor dem Prädikat, während Adverbia loci und temporis, die außerhalb der Hauptglieder des Satzes bleiben, am Satzanfang zu stehen kommen, vgl. khar. *neg ódör ölöndä ixé selxin selxildž* 'einmal erhob sich ein starker Wind in den Bergen', šil. *bi šiliŋ gotōs ótšögdör garsän* 'ich bin gestern aus der Stadt Šiliŋ weggefahren', čakh. *bi ajāndä sarār jawdžē* 'ich war einen Monat unterwegs', al.-ets. *modōn dēgür šuwūn nistš baen* der Vogel fliegt über die Bäume' u. dgl.

### Einige lexikalische Besonderheiten der Dialekte

Der grundlegende Wortschatz sämtlicher mongolischen Dialekte Chinas ist zweifelsohne mit dem gemeinsamen Wurzelbestand verbunden und daher ähnlich und verständlich bei der Mehrzahl der mongolischen Bevölkerung. Aber infolge des Umstandes, daß einzelne Gruppen der Mongolen schon längere Zeit in der Umgebung anderer Völker leben, haben die mongolischen Dialekte von den einzelnen Nachbarsprachen viele Wörter übernommen.

So weist zum Beispiel der Wortschatz der mongolischen Bevölkerung im Osten der Innermongolischen Autonomen Region eine große Menge von chinesischen Entlehnungen auf. Diese Entlehnungen sind verschiedener Art und beziehen sich auf die gesellschaftlichen und familiären Verhältnisse, auf Leben, Wirtschaft und Kultur jener Landstriche. Besonders groß ist die Zahl der chinesischen Entlehnungen in der khorčinischen und der kharčinisch-tumutischen Mundart des Östlichen Dialektes. Vgl. *guntšan* 'Fabrik, Werk' (chin. *kung-ch'ang*), *denzua* 'Telephon' (chin. *tien-hua*), *ušenden* 'Radio, Rundfunk' (chin. *wu-hsien-tien*), *gambu* 'Kaderarbeiter' (chin. *kan-pu*), *dē* 'Tabakspfeife' (chin. *yen-tai*), *lūs* 'Herd' (chin. *lu-tze*), *guafu* 'Witwe' (chin. *kua-fu*), *džintū* 'Kissen, Polster' (chin. *chen-t'ou*), *is* 'Seife' (chin. *yi-tze*), *bōgō* 'Bericht' (chin. *pao-kao*), *suandī* 'sauer' (chin. *suan-ti*), *šušū* 'Vetter, Onkel' (chin. *shu-shu*), *peŋ* 'Scheune' (chin. *peng*) usw. usf.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß Entlehnungen aus dem Chinesischen auch in allen übrigen mongolischen Mundarten vorhanden sind, aber in einer bedeutend kleineren Anzahl. Die in die mongolischen Mundarten aufgenommenen chinesischen Wörter werden in der Regel einer Beeinflussung durch das phonetische System der betreffenden Mundarten unterzogen und erhalten eine neue, von der chinesischen abweichende Lautung.

Es kommen auch Fälle des parallelen Gebrauchs von fremdsprachlichen Entlehnungen und echtmundartlichen Wörtern zur Bezeichnung ein und desselben Begriffes vor, z. B. khor. *mās* (chin. *ma-tze-ti*) ~ *šōxör* 'pockennarbig', khar.-tüm. *džōx* ~ *lūs* (chin. *lu-tze*) 'Herd', čakh. *derě* ~ *džintū*

(chin. *chen-t'ou*) 'Kissen, Polster', torg. *gany* (chin. *kang*) ~ *bold* 'Stahl', ölöt. *sad* (uig. *sa*) ~ *tsag* 'Zeit' u. a. m.

Neben den chinesischen Entlehnungen gibt es in geringer Anzahl auch tibetische Lehnwörter im Westlichen Dialekt, vor allen Dingen bei den Kukunormongolen. Im oiratischen Dialekt konnten dagegen Entlehnungen aus verschiedenen Türksprachen wahrgenommen werden. Im bargu-burjatischen Dialekt ist eine gewisse Anzahl von russischen Lehnwörtern vorhanden, die meistens Bezeichnungen von Gegenständen des häuslichen Lebens sind, vgl. *bolnīs* 'Spital' (russ. *дольница*), *üstūl* 'Stuhl' (russ. *стул*), *pulād* 'Tuch' (russ. *платок*), *pōršök* 'Pulver' (russ. *порошок*), *lōm* 'Brecheisen' (russ. *лом*) u. a. im Burjatischen; *χārtā* 'Spielkarte' (russ. *Карта*), *χarāndāš* 'Bleistift' (russ. *карандаш*), *zawūd* 'Fabrik, Werk' (russ.  *завод*) im Šine-bargutischen; *mārk* 'Marke' (russ. *марка*), *χomīs* 'Kommission' (russ. *комиссия*) im Khūčin-bargutischen.

Somit sind die Unterschiede im Wortschatz der einzelnen mongolischen Dialekte mit der Bereicherung ihrer Lexik aus dem Wortschatz der Nachbarvölker, bzw. mit dem kulturell bedingten sprachlichen Einfluß der letzteren verbunden.

Allerdings tragen die verschiedenen Dialekte auch den Stempel ihrer selbständigen Entwicklung, sie spiegeln die lokalen Naturzustände, die eigenen Sitten, die eigene Arbeit und Kultur sowie die sozialen Verhältnisse, die kennzeichnend sind für den Geltungsbereich der einzelnen Dialekte bzw. für Leben, Geschichte, Lebensform und Produktionstätigkeit der Sprecher.

Bei der Untersuchung des Wortschatzes verschiedener mongolischer Dialekte kann man des öfteren feststellen, daß sie ein und denselben Gegenstand mit verschiedenen Wörtern bezeichnen. Entsprechend dem phonetischen Bestand der Dialekte werden diese Wörter bisweilen auch phonetisch in verschiedener Weise gestaltet, z. B. 'Tabak' — östl., zentr. *damāg*, westl. *tämχi*, b.-bur. *tamχi*, oir. *tämkē*; 'Kessel' — b.-bur., östl., zentr. *toyō*, westl. *χās*, oir. *χīsp*; 'Hemd' — b.-bur. *samsā*, östl. *tšämtš*, zentr. *tsamts* ~ *χandōs* ~ *tšamtš*, westl. *kiliŋ*, oir. *kiliq*; 'Mutter' — b.-bur. *exē* ~ *mōm*, östl. *exē* ~ *mōm* ~ *ēj*, zentr. *ēdži* ~ *mōm*, westl. *ēdži* ~ *ādzā*, oir. *ēdži* ~ *ēkē*; 'Abend' — b.-bur., östl., zentr. *ūděš*, westl. *asχān*, oir. *asχn*; 'Mücke' — östl., zentr. *šumūl*, westl., oir. *bökūn*; 'Rosa, Rosen-' — b.-bur., östl., zentr. *jayān*, westl., oir. *ōsig*; 'Unterlage, Stütze' — b.-bur. *tabsān*, östl. *χorēg*, westl. *ērgēnēg*, oir. *täbūr*; 'Gast' — b.-bur. *zošōn*, östl., zentr. *džotšin*, westl., oir. *gītš*; 'Fenster' — b.-bur. *sonχō*, östl., zentr., westl. *tšonχō*, oir. *terzē* usw.

Ab und zu kommen in ein und demselben Dialekt Synonyme vor zur Bezeichnung ein und derselben Gegenstände. So wird z. B. der Begriff 'Bär' in den Mundarten des oiratischen Dialektes durch *ajū* (torg.) und *ötēg* (ölöt.) wiedergegeben. Vgl. noch: 'gefrorener Mist' — torg. *ötkē*, ölöt. *kidtsn*; 'Wolf' —

torg. *tšonă*, ölöt. *bōχildā*; 'rübenartiger Lauch' — torg. *sönnū*, ölöt. *džayāmäl* usw.

In allen mongolischen Dialekten sind zwei Mittel der Wortbildung — das morphologische und das syntaktische — weit verbreitet.

Die von uns untersuchten, verschiedenen (mehr als sechzig) Wortbildungssuffixe, mit deren Hilfe hauptsächlich von Substantiva und Verba Substantiva und Adjektiva gebildet werden, beweisen, daß all diese Suffixe nach Bildung und Bedeutung im wesentlichen in sämtlichen mongolischen Dialekten übereinstimmen. Nur in einigen Mundarten, so z. B. in der khorčinischen, der burjatischen, der šilingolischen und der torgutischen kommen vereinzelt Wortbildungssuffixe vor, die im Vergleich zu den übrigen Mundarten eine gewisse Eigenständigkeit an den Tag legen.

Die dem Stamm angehängten Wortbildungssuffixe verleihen dem neuen Wort eine bzw. auch mehrere Bedeutungen im Zusammenhang mit der Bedeutungssphäre der Stämme, die doch die Grundlage bilden zur Bildung neuer Wörter.

Das andere Mittel zur Bildung neuer Wörter stellt die einfache Verbindung zweier Nomina dar, wodurch die Bedeutung der zusammengefügten Elemente erheblich erweitert wird. Dieses Mittel der Wortbildung ist sämtlichen mongolischen Dialekten bekannt, vgl. oir. *usn̥ tsasn̥* 'Niederschlag' (aus *usn̥* 'Wasser' und *tsasn̥* 'Schnee'), b.-bur. *emēl χazār* 'Pferdegeschirr' (aus *emēl* 'Sattel' und *χazār* 'Kandare, Halfter'), östl. *gadžir usă* 'Gebiet, Territorium' (aus *gadžir* 'Land, Erde, Boden' und *usă* 'Wasser'), westl. *aχă dū* 'Brüder, Gebrüder' (aus *aχă* 'älterer Bruder' und *dū* 'jüngerer Bruder') u. dgl. m.

#### A b k ü r z u n g e n

al.-ets.	= alašan-etsingolisch	oir.	= oiratisch
arkhor.	= arkhorčinisch	ord.	= ordosisch
b.-bur.	= bargū-burjatisch	ölöt.	= ölötisch
bur.	= burjatisch	östl.	= Östlicher Dialekt
chin.	= chinesisch	russ.	= russisch
čakh.	= čakharisch	š. bargu	= šine-bargutisch
jal.	= jalaitisch	šil.	= šilingolisch
khar.	= kharčinisch	torg.	= torgūtisch
'kh. bargu	= khūčin-bargutisch	tüm.	= tümütisch
khor.	= khorčinisch	uig.	= uigurisch
k.-nor.	= kukunorisch	westl.	= Westlicher Dialekt
ogn.	= ognütisch	zentr.	= Zentraler Dialekt



## DARIGANGA FOLKLORE TEXTS

By

A. RÓNA-TAS

The collection of texts published below is meant to illustrate the characteristics of the Dariganga dialect (cf. *Acta Orientalia Hung.* X [1960], pp. 1—29). The tale *Emegen*, the folk songs *vžorō* and the variant *B* of the *vžāchan šargač* were recorded in the Dariganga sumun, the rest in the Asgat sumun.

I have endeavoured to record the folklore texts in several variants, from different informants. In case of variants with slight deviations, only one of the texts is published, while the deviations are given in notes and marked *B*. Variant *B* of the tale *Emegen* is from a Dariganga informant who has lived for a long time in the capital and his speech displayed strong Khalkha influences. A growing Khalkha influence can be observed in the speech of the younger generation, particularly in men, and to a lesser extent, in women. The extent of the Khalkha influence depends also on education; the schools play an important part in the formation of the new standard language. Finally, the effect of the Khalkha varies with the distance from, and the connections with, the sumun centres.

### *Emegen*<sup>1</sup>

er't үрд negin saen ts'ag't ү! ermeg χүжен armaq ts'awiddar morťāasar ςojir šar noχoęt'ā ējpžt'ęgę sūdag bājdžē. ermeg χүжenī ējpž in üχüχ boldžē. eż in ükəsē<sup>2</sup> ömön χүжenpē sūlag šür ςojirię öxtšē.,,en ςojir jumyndu bododž sansan ςereglez jumān sansan josōr büt'ędež ilébt'ę Gedž öxtšē. χүжen in ermeg utšir bajin ςāni adünd jawadž emneg<sup>3</sup> surgačdaq<sup>4</sup> bjär tš'adalt'ā χүжen bājpžē. t'er ςāni polōn ςün örgödž delpeggüi darwagač ςar nymig qants'ärä örgödöök χүжen baępžē. χүжen ςolin ajinu jawadž baęgad manqast'ā<sup>5</sup> dārildān χүжen vergede baęsan ςojir vžandan modon dēr qarts'ē baęgad ςojir

<sup>1</sup> B: *emgen*

<sup>2</sup> B: üχüχsē

<sup>3</sup> B: *elmeg*

<sup>4</sup> B: *surgadaq*

<sup>5</sup> B: *manqastā*

šar noxoe in irdž wē. t'ünēs mangas<sup>6</sup> aedž nūxend ordžē. xojir noxoe in<sup>7</sup>: „en nūxenēs үlān dzus قاروال mangas<sup>6</sup> üxsen gedž bodōrae! šar dzus<sup>8</sup> قاروال bīd xojiriç üxsen gedž bodōrae!“ gedž xelēd nūxend ordžē. ene xūxenig modnōs būxud үlān dzus<sup>8</sup> قارذے noxoe in قارذ irdžē. en xūxen ergidž nūfagħā irdžē<sup>9</sup> am saexanbā dżaraqdžē.

### Wedding songs

*M a g n ā t' ü r g e n*

magadin amraq ēnžidē  
 mart'ašguj xolos dzoriorā  
 ergend үrøgsan xjagi t's in  
 ebdēd awxa n xälbar  
 erdē ògsón xū t'samaeq<sup>10</sup>  
 ergülēd awxa<sup>11</sup> n զyndž in džā.  
 xadand үraçsan xälgħi t's in  
 xadād awxa n xälbar šū  
 xaridā ògsón xū t'samāq<sup>10</sup>  
 xarulād awxa<sup>11</sup> n զyndž in džā  
 xadam būgd in զat'ū [šū]  
 xaqiħildž xündeldž jawārae  
 xaqiħildž xündeldž jab bol  
 xaqert'ā saenig olan [šū]  
 xunī զadzar cüts'ünġu  
 cüts'ildž xelwel զo'tshi  
 xùlēdž xündeldž jawārae  
 xùlēdž xündeldž jab bol  
 xündelē saenig olan [šū]  
 dzān gets'ū bolob'tš  
 dzamār órōd jawan  
 dzaxiżā n gets'ū bolob'tš  
 xōrgiñ óngħor bolon [šū].

<sup>6</sup> B: *mangas*

<sup>7</sup> B after *in* inserts: xūxend xeldžē

<sup>8</sup> B: *ts'us*

<sup>9</sup> B: inserts: *saen saexan amdardž*

<sup>10</sup> B: *t'samaeqā*

<sup>11</sup> B: *awDaq*

*χ̄ðl ðgn̄i d̄ ȳ*

*morin p̄žiχ χojirχan  
mordoxin χ̄p̄ndaq<sup>D</sup> ȳur̄wχan  
morilād irsen ȳrḡȳd min  
od̄ morilād būts̄'āraē  
    ūnigen p̄žiχ χojirχan  
    ūdin χ̄p̄ndaq<sup>D</sup> ȳur̄wχan  
    ūlēd irsen ȳrḡȳd min  
    od̄ morilād būts̄'āraē.*

### Funny questions

*q̄alq̄uī b̄ūts̄'aldaq t̄oq̄ō χedet̄ē wē  
q̄alȳ nažāni sūḡē šačsan b̄ūšlaq χedet̄ē wē*

*aŋt̄s̄'in gor̄ot̄s̄'in aet̄'el  
num sādaq t̄s̄'in alaq̄ j̄um  
arq̄alts̄'in t̄'ulect̄'in aejed  
araq̄ sawar t̄s̄'in alaq̄ j̄um  
arq̄al in t̄s̄'ān  
arxäjt̄'l-sarxäjt̄'l<sup>12</sup>  
j̄ȳ ḡedž b̄ūwā.*

*ū d i n ū g*

*ali ger s̄ȳpaq nyt̄aq̄t̄ā  
aχ t̄omōt̄ ni t̄s̄'in ner χen cedea wē.*

### Benedictions

*gerīn j̄ōr̄ol*

*sūj̄ldžmūr sačjan t̄ōn p̄ēr  
sūld t̄enjer delegdž ēdž  
barȳn dzūn χanin t̄s̄'in t̄olgoęgōr  
bat̄'alaq̄ sūldin pelcer in  
bat̄'alaq̄ sūldiŋχān at̄s̄'ār  
baqt̄s̄'ȳl χūχen pelgernē*

<sup>12</sup> B: χ̄ür̄z̄et̄'l

χādaq nēdeq χālqār  
 χarīn ojūnīan ts'uglān  
 χarīn ojūnīanīχān atšār  
 χamūq χūχed bolobsūran  
 ówgón gōkšin nast'ant'ā  
 ḥrin üjin nōχpōt'ē  
 órgón dōlēn ts'enget'ēn  
 ódūr šōngūj ts'engetdeq  
 jörōl t'awix tawjā.

*Arχin jōrōl*

t'engetē narni baęqūlsan  
 badma linχuaen χelwert'ē  
 ba't saęchan bürχerīg  
 barćulan ix t'oqōn dēr t'alibdž ēdž.  
 ajrič ts'ačān dēgēr qarsan  
 ajrič saęchan sarkad'ā  
 arban qyrban t'oqōn dēgēr barđdz ēdž.

**Praising song**

*morni maq t'āl*

dzā! dōrwón sojōt'ā  
 dzasmal dōrwón t'ūraqt'ā  
 ts'olmyn χojir nūnei'ē  
 t's'onin χojir džiχt'ē  
 үr't saęchan χūdzūt'ē  
 үrcümal saęchan sūlt'ē  
 būnūn t's'ülünd būdūrdgūj  
 būct's'im<sup>13</sup> χalünd sādadgūj  
 qabt'agaę t's'ülünd būdūrdgūj  
 qan χalünd sādadgūj  
 qaeχānt'ā saęchan χolōg.

<sup>13</sup> B: *Bügt'mel*

### Folksongs

D Ž o r ū n

džorōn džorōn үlān šū  
džolōqī n dōmōd mordōraę  
dzorsan qadzaran χol šū  
džorigō bit'ē moxōraę  
t'alin χónni arwin šū  
t'awidž naťād jawāraę  
t'anil nōxōdō tš'in olon šū  
dzorigō bit'ē moxōraę  
éngér qadzarin χol šū  
ert'elsējēd mordāraę  
engin nōxōdō tš'in olon šū  
dzorigō bit'ē moxōraę.

D Ž āχ a n ša r q a e A.

džāχan šarqalin džoqšōnd in  
t'omō mūχāę pasarād waen  
džāχan t'uni āśind in  
džet'el mūχaę gūnād waen  
χojir mort'ē garāraę  
χongorin širē damdžārā  
χonsonguiğī n bodbol  
χojir nūdenpē nūlmyst'ā  
dewedž baęqā dēwri tš'in  
dēsēr bariađ parūlāšdā  
deqeldzēđ irsen dzet'elī tš'in  
odō jūqār doqł'ono  
ūχrīn džigni tš'ülü  
ūjir dārād jāχü  
ūjin χojir t'anarię  
ūgeldž zelēđ jāχü  
T'aq širē nūfag tš'in  
t'awun óηgōr naęqadž waen.

*Džāχan šarq a e B.*

*Džāχan šarq a e n alχānd in  
t'omō mūχa e pasaran  
χojir mortē garan  
Xoŋgorin širē damdžin  
χonsongu i g in bodbol  
χojir nūdendē nuilmus tā  
T'a q il širē nu l'a q in  
t'awu n oŋgōr naqran  
t'an k' il ba q χūnī ūr in  
t'aniχq u i χūnēs daedždag bilē.*

*Džāχan šarq a l C.*

*Džāχan šarq a l n džog sōd  
t'omō mūχa e pasaran  
Džāχan t'ūni ašind  
sedgel mūχa e qūnān  
χojir mortē garārā  
Xoŋgrin širē damdžāra e  
χonsongu i g in bodbol  
χojir nūdendē nuilmus tā  
dewedž ba ega dēwirigēn  
dēsni u dzürēr doqt' o e dž  
deŋgildzedž ba ega sedgil i g  
odō jūgar doqt' ono q  
buylād irsen t' emēgen  
buylād irsen t' emēgen  
buligal dž ba ega sedgil in  
odō jūgar doqt' ono q wā.*

*The lady*<sup>14</sup>

Once upon a time in the good old days [it happened]! Once there was a manly girl who had a strong<sup>15</sup> whitish horse, two *asar*<sup>16</sup> yellow dogs and lived with her mother. The manly girl's mother was about to die. Before she died she gave the girl a pail and a broom [with these words]: „If you think of these two things, what you think and what you need will be fulfilled as you think of them, they have such magic power!“

Owing to her manliness, the girl took a job in the stud of Khan Bayin to break in the unbroken horses, so strong was that girl! She was such a girl as could bend alone that huge black bow of this khan, which not even two men could lift and bend.

Once when the girl set out for a long journey, she met the Mangus and [escaped by] going up two santal trees that were before her, and then the two yellow dogs appeared. The Mangus was scared of them and ran into a cave. The two dogs said: „Mind you! If red blood comes out of this cave,

<sup>14</sup> The word *emegen* is used by the Darigangas not only in the sense 'old woman, old lady' but also as a respectful denomination in general for any woman irrespective of age. The tale belongs to the so-called "dragon-killer" type (cf. Aarne—Thompson, *The Types of the Folktales*, FFC 74 1928, Type 300; cf. also Eberhard—Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, Type 220; Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen des Brüder Grimm I*—V, Leipzig 1913—1931, I p. 547). For the motifs of vessel and broom, probably not belonging to this type, cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Indiana Univ. Press, printed in Copenhagen, 1955—1957; and Thompson—Balys, *The Oral Tales of India*, Bloomington 1958, no. D 1171.1.19, cf. also D 1470.1.19; W. Eberhard, *Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen* FFC 120, no. 63; Eberhard—Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Typ. 173. For the motif of the strong women cf. Thompson, *Motif-Index*, and Thompson—Balys, *The Oral Tales* no. F 610.0.1.1. For the motif of the helping dog cf. Thompson, *Motif-Index*, Thompson—Balys, *The Oral Tales* nos. B. 421, B. 524.1.1; Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen I*, pp. 548—550; Aarne—Thompson, *The Type*, p. 45.

<sup>15</sup> The Dariganga *armaq* is most probably the detached derivative member of the doublet *ermeq-armaq* 'manly, strong'. This seems to be supported by the fact that on asking the meaning of the word, the informant immediately referred to the doublet *ermeq-armaq*. For the individual use of the second members in doublets, having had no original meaning, see L. Bese, *Zwillingswörter in Mongolischen: Acta Orient. Hung.* VII (1957), pp. 209—210. It may be of interest to note that the word *ermeq* occurs in this same sentence.

<sup>16</sup> Neither my story-teller nor any other Dariganga informant of mine could explain what kind of a dog the *asar* would be. According to one of my Southern-Khalkha informants, the *asar-basar noxog* is a particularly strong and wild dog often mentioned in folktales. In Mostaert's Ordos dictionary the word is registered in the form of *asar* with the meaning 'nom de chien' (*Dictionnaire*, p. 32b). My informants felt no connection between this word and the word *asar* 'very, immensely' (LM *asuri*, *asuru*). The latter word recurs in Ordos in the form *asur* (*Dictionnaire*, p. 33b).

the Mangus is dead. Mind you ! If yellow blood comes, we two are dead" — and went into the cave. The girl descending from the tree, red blood was flowing out and the dogs were already appearing.

The girl, returning, went home<sup>17</sup> and was glad that her life had taken a turn for the better.

### Wedding songs<sup>18</sup>

*Farewell song to the new wife sung by her father called maçnā t'ürgeñ*

To your much-beloved mother  
 Even from very far<sup>19</sup> you should come back.  
 You, the grass grown on the side of the ditch  
 Can easily be cut [with sickle].  
 You girl, given in marriage,  
 Are impossible to have returned.  
 You, the nettle grown on rock,  
 Are easy to cut with sickle, indeed !  
 You girl, given to a stranger,  
 Are impossible to get back.  
 The kin of your husband are hard [inded] !  
 Treat them with love and respect,  
 If you treat them with love and respect,  
 You will find kindly goodness.  
 At a strange place [you] the weak  
 When [you are] treated with strength and mocked,  
 [Yet] treat them with tolerance, respect,  
 And if you treat them with tolerance, respect,

<sup>17</sup> Variant B inserts a more profuse closing formula: ... leading a good life...

<sup>18</sup> During my stay among the Darigangas I succeeded in recording abundant material on the local wedding customs. Since I intend to publish this material in the second half of the present series of papers, I shall restrict myself to the most important relations concerning the texts here published. On the day following the wedding feast the relatives go to see the young couple who had moved in a new yurt. On this occasion another game of funny questions and answers is played, samples of which can be found in the 'funny questions' published below. The relatives praise the beauty, the wealth of the new wife, especially the so-called *ădñi* *χin* must distinguish himself. Afterwards the mother of the new wife gives presents to the relatives of the young husband. Then they drink the farewell toast and the relatives are called on to leave (*χölögnī pü*). Having sung this, the father of the young wife sings a farewell song to the bride, the *maçnā t'ürgeñ*. The young wife is not allowed to accompany the guests to the door.

<sup>19</sup> Literally 'from unforgettably far'. It is used to express exaggeration.

You will find respectful goodness [indeed] !  
 If it were terribly bad<sup>20</sup> for you,  
 Just go along your way<sup>21</sup>  
 Should your [lot of] subordination be bad  
 It will be just like the colour of the snuffbox<sup>22</sup> [indeed] !

*The farewell song called "Expelling song"*

The horse has two ears,  
 Our farewell cups are three,  
 Relatives of ours who deigned to come<sup>24</sup>,  
 Please deign now to leave.

The fox has two ears  
 Our farewell cups are three,  
 Relatives of our who were kind enough to come,  
 Please deign now to leave.

*Funny questions*

How many cauldrons have you in which you can cook  
 without fire?

How much cheese do you have made of goose and  
 hen milk?

Being hunters and game-chasers,  
 Why have you not bows and quivers?  
 Being dung-gatherers and fuel-collectors,

<sup>20</sup> DZĀN gets'ū literally 'so very bad as the big elephant'. Degree of exaggeration.

<sup>21</sup> DZAMĀR örđD jawa- 'to go along the way' i.e. against your fate. Cf. Kalm. örzə- 'gegen etw. gehen' (Ramstedt, *KalmWb.*, p. 299b).

<sup>22</sup> The last line of the song seems to be an oracular formula. According to a Mongol popular belief, as a Southern-Khalkha informant of mine has told me, one's destiny can be foreseen from the changes in the colour of the snuff-box. The line means: fate has determined your way, your life will be such as appointed by fate, as shown by the change of the colour of the box.

<sup>23</sup> The Dariganga word χđlđG is derived from χđ- 'to drive, pursue, expell' (LM köge-).

<sup>24</sup> morilāD ire- is a phrase of respect meaning nothing more than 'deigned to come' and not 'came riding'. Cf. below *morilad buts'araq*, KhL *chojmor morilz suugtun* 'пожалуйте на почетное место' (inside the tent). Ord. *gert'e morilo-* 'veuillez entrer dans la maison' (*Dictionnaire*, p. 467b). The verb *ügle-* in the phrase *ügled irsen* below has the same function.

Why have you no baskets, shovels?  
 Beyond the manure  
 Higgledy-piggledy,  
 Why have you settled down?<sup>25</sup>

*The question at the door*

In what tent do you live, which is your native land?  
 What are the names of the respected elder members of your family?<sup>26</sup>

*Tent benediction<sup>27</sup>*

Above the plaited beautiful top-ring of the tent  
 Spreads himself the protecting spirit.<sup>28</sup>  
 At the head of your right and left tent-lattice  
 The strong protecting spirit has spread himself.  
 And thanks to the strong protecting spirit<sup>29</sup>  
 The little ones, the children are increasing.  
 At the closing-opening door  
 The foreign sages<sup>30</sup> are gathering.  
 Thanks to the foreign sages,  
 Every child is developing.  
 With the old, white-haired, aged people,  
 With their mates of like age  
 In great peace, happy with one another  
 Being glad day in day out together  
 To this I pronounce my benediction !

<sup>25</sup> Part of the wedding guests make themselves comfortable between the fire-place and the door, in front of the box containing the manure for fuel.

<sup>26</sup> *az t'omō't* literally 'your esteemed elder brothers'. The question here refers to the name of the clan. Cf. Ord. *i'k'ye't'en t'omō't'on* 'les autorités, les chefs responsables, les notables' (*Dictionnaire*, 667b).

<sup>27</sup> This is said when a new tent is dedicated to use. The texts of two Khalkha tent benedictions in my possession, running into 69 and 61 lines resp. are more detailed and also different from this Dariganga variant. They dwell upon even the smallest part of the tent.

<sup>28</sup> For the *suld t'enegr* cf. W. Heissig, *Mongolisches Schrifttum in Linden-Museum : Tribus* VIII (1959), pp. 41—50, which see for further literature.

<sup>29</sup> i. e. 'to its benediction, protection'.

<sup>30</sup> This has to be a lamaist term like *suld t'enger*, but it is from other sources unknown to me.

*Brandy benediction<sup>31</sup>*

The celestial sun-made  
 Lotus-flower-shaped  
 Strong nice evaporating cone  
 Was placed on a supporting cauldron,  
 Made from the buttermilk of koumiss,  
 The wunderful koumiss-wine<sup>32</sup>  
 was obtained from above thirteen cauldrons.

*Praising of the horse*

Hey ! Four-eye-teethed,  
 Tamed four-hoofed,  
 Two-morning-star-eyed,  
 Two-wolf-eared,  
 Fine, long-necked,  
 Fine bushy tailed,  
 Not stumbling over big stone,  
 Not recoiling in oppressive heat,  
 Not stumbling over a flat stone,  
 Not recoiling in arid heat —  
 Wonderful, beautiful saddle-horse !

*The ambler*

Ambler, ambler, red, hey !  
 Ride with the reins kept tight !  
 The distance of the place where you are going to, hey !  
 Do not slacken in your endeavour !  
 Many are the valleys of the plain, hey !  
 Go, slackening-tightening !<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> A truncated cone (*Bürzer*) made of playwood is put over a cauldron on a fire-place. A vessel with a handle is hung into it, then the whole is covered with another vessel filled with cold water, having a spherical bottom. Koumiss buttermilk (*ajrig ts'ağān*) is poured into the cauldron. That the spirit is distilled thirteen times is, of course, a poetical exaggeration; doing it two or three times is considered sufficient for everyday purposes.

<sup>32</sup> This is, in fact, koumiss buttermilk further fermented.

<sup>33</sup> Viz. the rein. An expression for very quick riding.

Many are your familiar friends, hey !  
 Do not slacken in your endeavour !  
 The distance to the southern side of the hills, hey !  
 Start riding early<sup>34</sup>  
 Many are your common comrades, hey !  
 Do not slacken in your endeavour !

*The little yellow-boy  
 (Variant A)*

The trot of my little yellow-boy,  
 His gait<sup>35</sup> has turned bad<sup>36</sup>  
 Because of the little one's character  
 My heart is badly distressed.  
 Go away with the two horses  
 Ride over the top<sup>37</sup> of the Khongor  
 Remembering the unspent night  
 My two eyes are tearful  
 The flapping roof-top felt  
 Is fastened with a rope<sup>38</sup>  
 Your heart having become unsteady  
 What shall I now calm it with?  
 A cattle-sized stone  
 How would be shifted by the torrent?  
 How would you two, of the same age  
 Be spoken [ill] of?  
 The top of the Tag,<sup>39</sup> the native land,  
 Their five colours blend.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Contraction from *ert'els* *χīged* 'to get up early, to begin early' cf. Ord. *ert'eles ge-* 'faire quelque chose assez matinalement' (*Dictionnaire*, p. 248a).

<sup>35</sup> *t'omō* 'acquired ability, persistence' cf. LM *tomuya* refers here to the persistence, the tenancy of the horse. Cf. Ord. *t'omō pasuradži* '(le malade [a perdu l'usage de ses membres] a l'agonie ou par paralysie)' *Dictionnaire*, p. 667a.

<sup>36</sup> *mūχaq* 'bad, awful, imperfect'. Cf. LM *mayugai*. Here: 'to become very bad'.

<sup>37</sup> The word *śirē* meaning 'table, low, flat little table' is also used for denoting ground forms. It also means the top of a mountain resembling the surface of a table, the form of a coffin. Cf. KhL *śirē* 'возвышенность'.

<sup>38</sup> *Darūlāšdā*, instead of *Darūlāts'dā*.

<sup>39</sup> A geographical name Teg can be found in Kazakevič's map, *op. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> Because his eyes are filled with tears. Cf. Variant B.

*The little yellow-boy  
(Variant B)*

The step of the little yellow-boy,  
His gait has turned bad.  
Going away with two horses,  
When riding over the top of the Khongor  
I think of the unspent night,  
My eyes fill with tears.  
The top of the Tag, the native land  
Their five colours blend into one,  
The spoilt little child  
Is scared away from unknown people.

*The little yellow-boy  
(Variant C)*

The trot of the little yellow-boy  
His gait has slackened very much.  
On account of the little one's character  
My heart is badly distressed.  
Go away with two horses,  
Ride over the top of the Khongor  
Remembering the unspent night  
My two eyes are tearful.  
The flapping roof-top felt  
Is fastened with the end of the rope.  
Your wavering heart,  
What shall I now calm it with?  
The camel coming howling<sup>41</sup>  
Is fastened with the end of the halter,  
My palpitating<sup>42</sup> heart  
What shall I now appease it with?

<sup>41</sup> *bujla-* 'to howl (as a camel)' cf. KhL *bujlach* 'реветь, кричать (о верблюдах)'; or according to another variant 'pegged'. Cf. *bujl* 'peg, put through the nose of the camel for attaching the leading rope' (LM *buyila*), cf. KhL *bujllach* 'продевать кляп в ноздри верблюда'. In this sense the translation would be: 'a camel coming with a peg'.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. LM *bulgila-* 'monter en bouillonant (eau de source), palpiter, battre violement (coeur)', Ord. *Džüre'k'ye Būlgilapži wān* 'le coeur bat violement, le cœur palpite' (*Dictionnaire*, pp. 94a—b).



# TEXTES TURCS DU RHODOPE

PAR

G. HAZAI

## 1. *Gaz masalı<sup>a</sup>*

bì gadinïn bì gazdžā vāmîš, gazî dîl gizi vāmîš. bu giz en evveli čamašillâni, nesi vāmîš, goymuš arabayîn içine, gitmiš čamašillâni yïkamâ. bì beyin ïlu gelmiš atinî sulamîš, gâşidan bakamîš. gaz gabîndan çikmîš, şeyini gabînî çikamîš, undan sôra yïkamâa başlamîš čamaşillâni. beyin ïlu gâşidan bakamîš. sôra beyin ïlu ašik olmuš una. bu hep gözletmiš, bakam nerâ giçcek diye. gene giymiš gabînî gaz. beyin ïlu gelmiš gazin evine, bakmîš unun nümeresine. ane — demiš — git — demiš — filân gariyîn filân kapîda — demiš — ne bilen, unun — demiš — gizinî iste bâ demiš. ôlur çödžüüm demiš. salmîš anasını. u eve ãmiš. sän — demiš — gizinî istemî geldim çödžüüm demiš. bäm gizim yoktur, bì gazdžamîs vâ demiš. gazinî veredzâsin demiš. ôlur demiš. sôra filân gün düünü şey etmişlâ, goymuşlâ. düünü goyduktan sôra gazî goymuşlâ arabayîn içine, götümüşlâ. gaz gitmiš arabaylen. gidze olmuš, çödžük demiš: ben seni gôdüm — demiš — sen — demiš — çiksana gabîndan demiš. çikman demiš. çödžük gene durmuš, gene demiš: çiksana gabîndan džanîm demiš, ben seni gôdüm, demiš, hep čamašillâni yïkadîn, gözeldze dûdüün, demiš, ben sâ bakadîm demiš, çikâ gabînî bakam şûle, demiš, isân gibi isân ol, demiš. giz istemezmiš. üle sülemeš, üle sülemeš, galmaš. bì gün, beş gün, on gün hiç gabîndan çikmamîš. hep yalvâmiš una, yalvâmiš, sôra bì paşayîn gizina nişannanmîš. ben, demiš, paşayîn gizinî aldžan — demiš —, nişannandîm — demiš — sen gabîndan çik demiš, ben şindi — demiš — nişanî brakadžan, ačan demiš. mïkîdimik

<sup>a</sup> C'est par magnétophone que j'ai noté les textes des récits faits par trois personnes. C'est ainsi que m'aidèrent Fatma H. Eminova (née en 1892), Kerime A. Šadullova (née en 1914) et Zeliha B. Hadžimestânova (née en 1916). Toutes trois font partie de la population habitant là depuis longtemps, sans avoir pour ainsi dire jamais quitté Kîrdžali. Leur langue a conservé toutes les particularités du dialecte. Le concours de ces trois personnes m'a également été précieux lorsqu'il s'est agi pour moi de rassembler les données qui figurent dans mon résumé phonétique et grammatical. L'élabotation phonétique et grammaticale de ces textes se trouve dans mon article intitulé *Les dialectes turcs du Rhodope* [Acta Orientalia Hung. IX : 2 (1959) 205—229].

demiş, istemezmiş. sōra almış paşayın gizini, almış, düünnen almış,unu atmış mutfā, kümese. u mutfakta durmuş, kümeste. paşayın gizi gelin olmuš. gabından čik demiş, bu paşayın gizini geri yollidžan, sennen geçindžen, demiş. giz mäkik-mükidi, olmaz, demiş. sōra ište geçirmiş bir iki ay, ne ise bì düün olmuš gomşuda. u paşayın gizini čärmišlā, gitmiş. sōra u ulu gas čikmiş gabından, sōra demiş — geldi bì arap — bì gat al elbise istiverin, demiş. ī, pekälä demiş. al elbise, al payton demiş. al elbiseye giymiş, al paytona pinmiş, girgirgin gitmiş u düün evine. iki güzel dünyā güzel gibi imiş, öyle güzelmiş. bikere u paşayın gizi da bakmiş kim büle bu gadā güzel demiş. oturmuş asčik, efendim bu gadā müsâde vādi demiş. gene paytona pinmiş, gelmiş eve, u paşayın gizinden evvel, gene girmiş gabına, sōra gene gaz olmuš. sōra godžasına demiş: efendim — demiş — al paytonnan, al elbiselen — demiş — bì hanım geldi, eme — demiş — bì dünyā güzel gibi imiş — demiş —, kimin hanımı bilemedik demiş. biras šüpelendiş beyin ölu. sōra gene bì düün olmuš. dur bakēn ben buna demiş. kapıdan čikmiş gözleček una okardan. pencereden bì delik delmiş, bakmiş. bakām şindi gaza bakčak. sōra gitmiş, paşayın gizi gitmiş u şeye. senden demiş, şindi — čikmiş gene gabından —, senden şindi — demiş — yeşil čidemle yeşil meneşše renkte elbise istiverin — demiş —, yeşil de payton demiş. ondan sōra hemen yeşil elbiseleri giymiş, gene gitmiş u şeye, düüne gitmiş. hey čalgılā, malgilā hepsi durmuşunu gördünen, üle güzelmiş, gene geldi bu hanım diye. sōra u beyin ölu okardan bakāmış, almış gabını, ateşe atmış, ateşe atinen undan sōra kurtuldžāmış. ateşe atinen kokusu buruna gelmiş, yanmış gabı. sōra iki iskemle goymuş avlıya, beklemiş hanımı. etā bu gadā, efendim bu gadā müsâde vādi demiş. gene pinmiş paytona. geliken bì de bakmiş ki godžası bekleyipturu. hayde demiş, bām gabım yaktın demiş, şinden sōra ben sān demiş, ölüne gadā. öbürü galmiş. iki unnā iskemleye otullāmış. yine öbür — paşayın gizi — ačmiş kapığı, bì de baksa ki: urdan gelen gis. ā — demiş — ben yandım demiş. üle bayılmış galmiş paşayın gizi. ā demiş, sen ne gadā vakıt geçirdin! — demiş. ben sā hič bì şey demedime — demiş —, sen bām üstüme geldin! — demiş gas. ben bayılmadıma, sen nasıl payıldı — demiş —, hayde bakām sen kapıdan gra demiş. undan sōra, şinden sōra artik bis hayat yaşıdžas demiş. unnā berāber, bis čikalım selāmete. ište bu gadā.

FATMA H. EMINOVA

## 2. Hodža masalı

bì hodžayın gaz džanı istemiş. ī eme mektepte talebe okudurmuş, u mektepte mālimmiş, gazi talebeläden yollamış: götürün bu gazi demiş, temizlesin, bişirsin, ben vādinen — demiş — hazır olsun auşama demiş. ī eme bu gazi talebelä götürümüş, garisiına vāmış. garisi ne apmiş, gazi temizlemiş, paklamış, bişirmış, bikere yimiş bu gazi. eve gelmiş adam. garı — demiş — iscadžik ekmek

aldim — demiš, getī bakam̄ bu gazī yiyām̄ bu aušam̄ demiš. be nāp gaz bül̄ u demiš, hič evde gaz gōmedim demiš, sen gastan gassin̄ demiš. be nāp lāf üle u, ben gizannādan gas yolladim. hayir ben gaz gōmedim. hodža sabası̄ gitmiš, talebelere sormuš: siz gazī nerā göttüs? ā be sān eve göttük hodža. ne ise bì tā almış yine gas. u gazī ne apsin̄ hodža, čam̄ sıriüna, udžuna bālamış, herkez gōsün: bu gazī — demiš — ben eve yollivarın̄. talebelā gazī čam̄ sıriüna, udžuna bālamış, götürmüš. hodža demiš: bu gazī temizlesin̄, paklasin̄, bişirsin̄, yimā vādžan ben aušam̄ demiš. ne ise bişirmiš, yimiš gene u gazī gari. be gari — hodža gelmiš eve — be garı̄, getī bakam̄ šu gazī yiyēn̄, ī oldu mu? be džanım̄ ben gaz gōmedim, sen nāp ısanśin̄. gene ikindži gazī gene imiš. üçündžü gazī gene yollamış, čam̄ sıriüna, udžuna, gene bì surü talebelen. demiš: bu gazī bişirsin̄ ingen̄, yimā vādžan. ôlur, demiš gari, dżop vāmis. almış üçündžü gari. āretliim geldzek, sakın̄ bişirsin̄ demiš gizannara. gelmiš āretlii, gündüzden gelmiš, gas tendžerede bişamış. almış bì tokmak, gizdirmiš gari atešte. geberesi hodžası̄ pek penadir, pek edepsistir! atešte tokmā hep kizdirmiš. geberesi hodžası̄ pek edepsistir, pek hinzirdir, hodžadir ama pek edepsistir, pek hinzirdir. ā džanım̄ sen neden büle patürdīvarsın? demiš āretlii. nāp patürdamidžan, hep gelene bu tokmā gizdiri, kafasına tokmaklan gizgın̄, gizgın̄ hurù hep demiš. āretlii ne apmiš, gačmiš, beni de hurdžaga deye. gelen misafirleri hurur, garī demiše. gašinen adam gelmiš. gazī gene saklamış gari. adam gelmiš eve: be — demiš — gari! getī bakam̄ gazī, āretliim nerde, ben ak ekmek aldim yiyām̄ diye. āretliin — demiš — tendžereden gazī aldi, gaštī demiš. sōra: be nāp lāf üle, u ne zaman gitti. şindidžik gitti demiš. tendžereyi saklamış gene gari, āretliin aldi deye aldatmiš hodžayi. almış bì parča ekmek; be āretlik — čikmiš yola — gačamış āretliin arkasından, be āretlik, gel bir ăzimdžik bālim ben de banzirēn<sup>1</sup> bu gastan. üle dediise de, tā çok kačamış, beni erdžek te, hurdžak tokmaklan deye. bu gadā

ZELIHA B. HADŽİMESTĀNOVA

### 3. Ekindži čodžük

bì vakkan, bì yokkan, evvel zamandakan, galbur zamandakan bì ekindži buba vāmış; ölmüş, bì čodžüü galmış. čodžüü büyümüş, ane — demiš — bām bubamın̄ zanati ned? — demiš. ekindžilikti čodžüüm demiš. vāsen bā para da ben giseme, ekin alsama demiš. al čodžüüm šu on lirayı — demiš — git, ekin al — demiš, alişveriš yap — demiš. gidäken bì de yolun üstünde bì kedi öldürtüllāmiš. bu kediyi neden öldürversin? — demiš. u kedi bizim hep zararlarımızi yapparı evin içinde demiš, her şeyi čalvari demiš, biz unu öldürčez demiš. aman al šu on lirayı da, öldürme šu kediyi demiš. vāmış on lirayı, kediyi

<sup>1</sup> banzırmak «goûter, saucer».

āzād ettirmiš. kediyi almış kendine; eve gelmiş. anası demiş: čödžüüm aldin  
 mi ekin? — demiş. aldım ana geledzek demiş. ātesi aften olmuš, anne — demiş —  
 gene on lira vā demis. gene almış on lira, gene gitmiş. bì de yolun üstünde bì  
 köpek öldürtüllāmiš. bu köpā neden öldürversin siz? — demiş. bize bu köpek  
 zarar yappari, bize isirvari gelen gomşulari demis. al şu on lirayı ve āzād edin  
 şunu! — demiş. gene unu da āzād ettirmiš, sōra gelmiş eve. geldinen anasına  
 demiş: ana geledzek, aldım demis. ī čödžüüm, demis anası gene. gene ātesi aften  
 olmuš, üç aften, gene almış on lira, gene gitmiş. gidäken bì de baksa ki yılanı  
 öldürtüllā. ne öldürsün bu yılanı? — demiş. bu yıldandan korkvarız biz — demiş —  
 hep geliveri bizim evlerimize demis. al şu on lirayı ve öldürmeyin şu yılanı  
 demis. vāmiš on lirayı, gitmiş. yılan demis: iste benden ne istiversin. sān sālīnni  
 istiversin demis. bām sālīndan sā fayda yok demis, sen iste benden demis. sōra  
 demis: hayde, demis, dakil arkama. ikisi, yılanın ikisi gitmişlā. gitmişlā,  
 gitmişlā. u gene şā merānın yavrusumuš. ana demis: buna sen — demis —  
 bì ne lāzımsa yap demis. ne istiversin čödžüüm benden?, evlādīm kurtarmišin  
 demis. ben bi şeydžik istemiverin demis. iste, iste — demis. sā — demis —  
 bì altın yüzlük dakēn barmāna, u yüzlüyü yaladın mi ben sān imdadına geldzän  
 demis. ī, pekālā demis. geliken sōra yalamış yüzlüyü: kirk, elli araba ekin dolmuš  
 — ekindžilik yappari demise ya — ekinlā hep gelmiş, gelimiš, hep eve dolamiš.  
 sōra anası: hā čödžüüm — demis — ekinlā gelveri. gelveri ane demis. git, bā  
 pātšāhın gizini istiver! — demis. čödžüüm! biz — demis — fikarayız — demis —  
 u gadā para nerden buldżaz demis, pātšāh gizini veredzek mi bize? — demis.  
 veredzek ane demis. bì odadžii vāmiš, bì göz odası. sōra utanacak garı gitmiş,  
 vāmiš pātšāhın gizina. selām aleyküm. aleyküm selām, hoş geldin itiyār vālide,  
 demis pātšāh, ne istiversin? sān gizini istemā geldim — demis — allahın emrinlen  
 bām čödžüume demis. pekii, olur itiyar vālide demis, sān čödžüün — demis —  
 bām sarayım gibi bì saray yaptırısa ben gizimi verdzän demis. garı sōra eve  
 gelmiş. čödžüüm! oladżak şey dēil bu demis, bām sarayım gibi bì saray yaptırısa  
 — dīveri pātšāh — verin demis. bu iş çok kolay ane demis, yalamış yüzlüyü,  
 pātšāhın sarayından ī saray yapılımıš, kurulmuş. gitmiş sōra gene garı: čödžüüm  
 — demis pātšāha — yaptırdı. pegii demis, şindi — demis — bām sarayımda,  
 guneşti gōmiverin ben dālādan, tepeləden demis, u dāları tepeleri düz yapāsa,  
 ben gizimi verdzän. garı gelmiş gene eve: čödžüüm! — demis — pātšāh dīveri:  
 »dāları, tepeleri düz yapāsa ben gizimi verdzän.« olur anadžim demis. gene  
 yalamış bì yüzlüyü, bì de baksa ki dālā, tepelā dümdüz olmuš. sabālen kalkmış  
 pātšāh, bakmış pençereden, guneş evin içine hurmuš. hā — demis — bunda  
 kerāmet vā, ben gizimi una verdzän. vāmiš gizini una. kirk gün kirk gidze bì  
 düün yapmışlā, vāmiš gizini. vādikten sōra bì gün u giz demis: sen erkeksin  
 — demis — bā u yüzlüyü versene demis. ā — demis — sen her şey iste, yüzlüyü  
 isteme, u yüzlük bām kerāmetim demis. hayır, hayır vā de ben dakēn demis.  
 yüzlüyü vādinen u dālā, tepelā hepsi yerine gelmiş, şitān almış, gitmiş. sōra  
 bì de atmişlā zindāna čödžüü. sōra zindānda duruken kedilen köpā himir himir

*hümür gelirmiš unun imdādına. sen ne apparsın borda iſte zindānda? ben — demiš — burā kisildüm — demiš. bā yüzlüü ner dese bulun, getirin demiš. sōra ardada<sup>2</sup> balık tutallāmiš balıkçılā. ardayın içine atmış şitān gidäken yüzlüyü, bì de oradan bì balüün ičinden yüzlüyü bulur, köpä bulur takır takır yirken, ázında bulur yüzlüyü. buldunen hemen gelir gene u zindānın kapısına: ač, ač — demiš — kapiyi, ben görēn demiš. sān kedinnen köpänden biktüm de. ač, ač görēn demiš. ačmiiš bì de: »ben yüzlüyü buldum« demiš köpek. hemen almış, barmāna dakimiiš, yalamış yüzlüyü, gene zindān kapısı açılmış, zindāndan čikmiş, gene saraylā, hepsi dälā, tepelā gene yerine gelmiş. sōra pātşāhīn gizi gelmiş čödžüün yanına. unnā erdi murādına his čikalım selāmete.*

FATMA H. EMINOVA

#### 4. Āshedžik ve fatmedžik

*bì vakkan bì yokkan evvel zamandakan, galbur zamandakan āshedžik ve fatmedžik vāmiš. bu āshedžik analikmiš, birindži anası olmuš. i eme analik bunu istemezmiš, āshedžii. bubaśına demiš: aman bunu nerä götürsen götür — demiš — ben istemen evin içinde demiš. i ama: ben ne apēn? garı yapma büle! hayır istemen, götür bunu demiš. aman ne yapsak: hāde gizim — demiš — urgana almış, paltaya almış, oduna gidäm demiš. i eme, vāmiš bì dīmenin içine, goymuš unu auşam garangisında. hā gizim demiš, sen rahat otur — demiš — ben seni — demiš — yarıń sabā almā geldžän demiš. i ama gidžeylen — gidže yarisi olmuš — »hürtarāsin, zürtarāsin, sen burada ne arāsin?« demiš — perilā gelmişlā. hič tünmamiš. »hürtarāsin, zürtarāsin sen burada ne arāsin?« gene hič tünmamiš. sabā olmuš: gïngirigi horozlā ötmüş, perilā gačmiš. gaštiktan sōra buna altıń, elmas, para yūmuşlā<sup>3</sup> yanına. sabā olmuš, horoz ötämış: gïngirigi — demiš — āshedžik altınnarı getiremez — demiš — şangır, şangır bì čuval yüklenmedi — demiš — čabuk kāşıya čik demiš. hāde geberesi horoz demiš, analik kizmiš tā — iſte āshedžiin kafası bì şeydžik kalmadı — demiš —, geberedi, gitti u demiš. bu şindi hürslanmıš analiktan. ii ama bì de baksa ki āshedžik yüklenmiš altınnarı, bütün altın, geliveri. geldin, geč kızim, baš köşeye oturtmuş bunu. čabuk demiš bubaśına: āshedžiin göttüün yere fatmedžii de göçčasin. götümüş. yapma, itme — götürtmüş. götürdüktən sōra goymuš una da dīmene. gene »hürtarāsin, zürtarāsin« perilā gelmiş. »ne arāsin sen borda?« demiš perilā. hāde gidin şurdan demiš. azallāmiš, azallāmiš, bì öldürmüşlā. ama orda kafasını dīmenin oluna goymuşlā. ölmüş. gïngirigi horoz demiš: sīn fatmedžiin — demiš —*

<sup>2</sup> Le nom du fleuve le plus important du massif du Rhodope.

<sup>3</sup> yūmak «fourrer, mettre».

*kafası sebedin içinde, güdesi oluun içinde demiş. geberiverisi horozu! azinii hayıra aşana — demiş — gülamiş horozu. adam čabık var, hāde bakām bu horoz ne diye bûle demiş. gitmişlā, bakmışlā, dedi gibilzene. bu gadā.*

ZELİHA B. HADŽİMESTĀNOVA

### 5. Masal

*bì vakkan bì yokkan, galbur zamandakan bì gis čiček sulāmiš. gelmiş bì beyin ölu, garşidan bakāmiš. pesländži gizi demiş, peslānün yaprā kaş demiş? beyim demiş, yazı yazasın, gurān okusun gökte yıldıs kaş demiş? peslānün yaprā sayılır mü, gökte yıldıs sayılır mü demiş. güzel olan yārinin džilvesinden doyulur mu demiş. bu gadā bitti.*

ZELİHA B. HADŽİMESTĀNOVA

### 6. Tekerleme

*neppe goyunnā nerde?  
ulu dāda!  
ne yir? — yemişken!  
ne sičar? — gümüşken!  
al taşı altından,  
üs taşı üstünden,  
ferādžesi puldan,  
sübürgesi telden.  
kaş ta taul, kaş zurna?  
gā, gā, gā, guvan yok,  
hambara vādim, dari yok,  
eve geldim, gari yok,  
gızan āladī, beşik yok,  
tarna daştı, kaşik yok,  
gā, gā, gā, gū, ište!*

### 7. Tekerleme

*čagādur, čagādur.  
sān tavandan bakādur.  
her üünnerim bülledir,  
her günnerim bülledir.  
üünüm yarıım yūkadır,  
gelinim beni oynadır.*

KERİME A. ŠĀDULLOVA

### 8. Ayše hanımün destāni

*bin dokus yüz gürögü senesi göstüm bu dünyadan,  
künäfumu af itmiştir bizi yaradan.  
ā gardaşlām unutmayın bizi hayır duvadan!  
ālasın anam bubam genç ayşem diye.*

vakıssız karpız görüverin ben ana,  
 helāl it āret hakkini sem\_bā.  
 vālidem hasta yattı bì zamān,  
 u kaltı ben yattım hemān.  
 ālasın gardaşlām bā ah ablamız diye.  
 nişannim külüdü kahramān,  
 evinizde bulunmadım bì zamān.  
 kāve istedim içmek nası̄p olmadı.  
 temelen görüşmek kismet olmadı.  
 yansın gomşulām bā genç ayşe deye.  
 urbalām hazır giymek nası̄b olmadı;  
 doktora götürdülā ilāč fayda itmedi!  
 ah anam bubam bā güdžünüs yetmedi!  
 ālasın gardaşlām bā genç ayşem diye.  
 on dokus yaşında nişannidim,  
 murādima ermeden giderim.  
 dört ay hasta oldum dermān bulamadım.  
 yansın anam bubam genç kuzum diye.  
 anam bubam oturunuz bām gāşıma,  
 gana, gana bakın gözüme, kaşıma.  
 gelin siz, gardaşlām,  
 ālaşa ālaşa helāllaşām!  
 giz dostlām gelsinnā görsünnā beni,  
 helāl isinna āret hakkini!  
 bekir gardaşım yemiš yiveri anadžim;  
 yedi gardaştan ana ve bubadan ayrıladžan.  
 yansın anam bubam genç ayşem diye.  
 yalandžilik beyandžilik čekilveri,  
 benden ise džan čekilveri.  
 anam bubam hep ālasın,  
 dālā taşlā innetsin,  
 yansın gardaşlām genç ablamız diye.  
 anam biraz beni de kaldır,  
 hoşça tutup gezdir.  
 mezārımı yol üstüne gassinnā,  
 tārihimi baş udžuma yassınnā!  
 dünyādan pek gençedžik gitmiş desinnā!  
 džümle gomşulā gelinis,  
 bām de garip hālimi siz de görünüs!  
 yoktur iki şeyin ilādži:  
 gençlikte ölmek gāyet adži!  
 yansın anam bubam genç kuzum deye.

tātamī avluda hazırlā agalā;  
 anamīn bubamīn yüredzii sızlā.  
 ālaşmayin boynum buruluvari,  
 siyā saçlarim hep ürülüveri.  
 ālasın bā gomşulām gençedzik deye.  
 gomşulām geliveri bölük bölük,  
 bārim deliniveri delik delik.  
 kayin vālidem hepsi bile,  
 ah beni mezārima kim indire?  
 hazırānīn sekizindži günü  
 semāya čiktī anamīn bubamīn ünū.  
 bekir, ömer, osmān gardaşlām,  
 dökülüveri bām gözyaşlām;  
 hāzen, hayriye, habbe, fatme,  
 nasıl dayansinnā hasretime?  
 mezārımı agalā gassinnā!  
 gara yere bì ev düssünnā!  
 yansın güllerim bā genç ablamız diye.  
 teneşir tātası boylu boyumdža,  
 suyumu goysunnā gagam dolundža.  
 hasta oldum, anam beni yatır,  
 giz dostlarimī yanıma getir!  
 yansinnā bā gençedzik diye.  
 nişannī idim tam bì sene,  
 bì de gara toprak čektilā üstüme.  
 kondža güldüm, koptum budaktan.  
 gözlerime kan doldu ālamaktan,  
 kimse čare bulamadı bu firaktan.  
 yansın anam bubam genç kuzum diye.  
 anam beni hayır duvadan unutmayın, sakın!  
 ölüm imiš bizlere elde yakın.  
 helāl idin bā āret hakkını!  
 nişannım görüşmem ārete kaldžak,  
 nişannım yansın bā genç ayşem diye.  
 ayşe hanımın ruhuna üç elhām okuyun!

ZELİHA B. HADŽİMESTĀNOVA

## 9. Düün

şindi meselā bì gizi düünde beyenillā, anaları çödžüün, hisim akrabası bakallā, şu giz güzel. ātesi gün, tā ātesi gün buna gidellī bakmā. beyendin mi? beyendim u gizi! s̄ıllēlā ev alkina, anasına, ingelere: gizinizi beyendik, allah kismet id̄lse demek çödžüümə istem̄ geldim, filān. ī, gizin anası dā, allah kismet dāse olur, bubası bilir. ne ise üle gonušullā, muappet yapallā, yemek yillā bunnarı gözeldže, gidellā unnā. gissin mi arkadan çödžüün yahut agası, yahut bubası gizin bubasının gonušur, der: bizim ev sāpları sizin gizinizi beyenmiş, allahın emrine gizinizi istiveris. şindi gizin bubası da demek çödžük tarafını beyenirse,» pek ī, pek ālā, olur diye džop veri. sōra nāb oldžak bu mesele bakām, gonušam der çödžuk bubası. nāb oldžak? üč bin lev ārlık der, üč bin lev buba hakkı. ā baška? kirk metro hasse,<sup>4</sup> elli metro amerikan.<sup>5</sup> ā? onbeş okka daranık yapā, sekiz okka pelemek,<sup>6</sup> ip, yorgan, döşek yapıldžak. ā? bì čiň kondura giza, agalara beş čift kondura, ingelere yaşmak, ana topu,<sup>7</sup> anaya bì gat top, pāzen. ā! pek čok bin be džanım! bu, bu üč bin leften iki bin lef olsa yā! falanın gizi dört bin lev istedi, ben dört bin lev istem̄iverine! üč bin lef kesek laf, yarāsa sā bu giz al! ā!... hāde olsun! bu hasselāden ne yapçasin? yorgan, döşek yapçan. be pek čok bin bu! yarāsa...? džanım yarāsa olur mu bu? bak be, sen bu gizi ölündžā geçinm̄ alvarsın, pek čok bin mi desene! yarāsa bu iş dostum,... beş bin lev v̄idi baškası, v̄amedim ben. üč bin lef kesek, üč bin leften üč lef isik olsun almassın — gizin bubası büle sūliveri. olur, tamām. parayı ātesi gün getirvellā, išleri, pamıkları getirvellā. iš, pamık ne gadā? iš, pamık dolasiya, ne gadā lāzımsa, seksen okka mi, yüz okka mi? olur. gitvellā, urba düzvellā, her şeyllā tamām itvellā, hepsini yappallā, itvellā, düünü goyvallā. iki sofra geze divellā, bì sofra erkek, bì sofra garı, onbeşer kişiden otus kişi. be džanım bu pek čok diil mi, ne bu? bizim džinsimiz galabadır d̄iveri. sōra düünü goyvallā. meselā bì şemşiyesi yok, yahut eldirben. yok mu? ničin bu yok? hayde alay geri şemşije istiveriz düün sābina. para alaydžilādan alvari, bì şemşije goyvarı, veriveri gelinine, al bu galsın. yappałla düünü, pindirillā şeye, beygire pindžek şindi. davıl meselā yoksa, davıl istiveris d̄ivelllā. davılı demek čabulžak bulvallā, pindirvellā. āl̄vari nāb büle gādik. ingesi gelinin una: āla, āla diveri, āladıvari. ellāni öpperi agaları. şerbet atvallā alay čekiliken. agalā para ververi geline elini öp̄ken. para sačvari gaynata, şeker sačvari, para sačvari. gelini teslim id̄ken para istivellā. para elli lev mi veredžeklā, yüz lev mi veredžeklā, gandıradžak agayı. gaynata veriveri agaya parayı, alvari gelini eline, yedek beygirin urgani. ondan keri čekilvellā yolā. urgan gervellā, küün içinden čikāken tamām. yapma, itme! verin bu gadā para! vervellā. kū

<sup>4</sup> hāsse «sorte de toile».<sup>5</sup> amerikan «sorte de toile».<sup>6</sup> pelemek (< felemenk) «sorte de fel».<sup>7</sup> ana-topu «un vêtement complet quel a mère de la jeune fille reçoit du fiancé».

*içinde şindi bì davıl čalāsa, bì de oyun oynāsa u alaydžilā: bì sopa, bì sopa gırasiya birbirini, alaydžiları, kū içinde ničin oyun olurmuš. demek bu mu da. gitvellā unnā, goyvallā čodžüün yanına. u auşam bì toplantı olvari, yemek yenir, bütün kū, gomşuları, eš dost. sabā gadā bì oyun olvari, bì oyun olvari. bitti bu gadā.*

ZELIHA B. HADŽİMESTANOVA

### 10. İramazān bayrami

türklerin ıramazān bayrami vādir. ıramazānda bì ay ramazān vādir. sabā gāşı davıl čalā, millet kalkā, sabā gāşı yemek yir. undan keri beş vakıt namaz gılallā, auşam ezānında ordžu bozallā, yemek yellā demek yā. sōra biras ramazān tuttun mu, demek bayram akşamsı, aya bakallā. ay görünüşe bayram olur, görünmesse yapmazlā. ay göründü mü, istäse gidzelen olsun fişeklā atılır, demek sabālen artik bayram. erkekłā sabālen erkenden gidā džāmiye, namaz gılallā orda, bayram namazin. fişeklā küldür, küldür atılır džāmide. evde gene gidžken gözeldze herkes sübürgesinnen süpürü, pampadžik gençlā giyinì, temiz, pāk. godžalarını gāşıya čikallā, ellāni öpellā, bayramlaşillā, bütün ev alkii. demek yemek yellā. gizannā šeker gezā. para vāsa, para vāsin, šeker vāsa, šeker vāsin. sōra misafirin gelir, eš dost gelir, demek datlı gösün, šeker verisin, dediim gibi ikrām idāsin. gulaş<sup>8</sup> bişirisin bayrama, bì gün vakkan gulaş bişillā; sōra gizannā gulač gezā, bayrama bì gün vakkan, ārife deriz una. bayram auşamsı, herkez anasına gidā, gençlā urda muappet yapallā, yemek yellā, datlı, kapama, her ne yemek vāsa, hepsini kuvveti yetti yetti gadā demek. sōra bì hafta gizlā oynam, undan sōra čodžuklā şennik yapallā. bu gadā.

ZELIHA B. HADŽİMESTANOVA

### 11. Gurbān bayrami

ıramazān bayrami iki bučuk ay geşin mi gurbān bayrami gelir. gurbān bayramında sabāsi gidellā erkekłā demek džāmiye. džāmiden čiktin mī gene fişeklā atılır herkez gelir, bayramlaşır gene ev alkinnan. gurbanı kesellā, kimse yemek yimes kesmeyindzesine. gurbāni kim kesveri demek — meselā bā adam kesveri — u bürāni kim kestise u yir. gurbānın sā tarafından, iyā<sup>9</sup> tarafından bì čirāni paylaşırınsın, yedi pay gomşulara verisin, kimin yoksa. bayramlaşırınsın gene auşam yemek yirsin, toplaşırınsın, demek üč gün, beş gün, gene bì bayram olur, ište bu gadā.

ZELIHA B. HADŽİMESTANOVA

<sup>8</sup> gulač «sorte de galette»

<sup>9</sup> iye (SDD II 563; eye «kaburga kemigi») «côte».

12. *Panayır*

*panayır vakti misāfir künden dolu, čapaktan vā, alkayadan vā, erdžiliden vā, durannādan vā.*<sup>10</sup> iſten geliverin misāfir dolu ičersi. ne yapčan: šaširvarin. sōra ne apām, ne apām! ondan sōra ekmek vā, firündan iſcadžik ekmek alvaris, ondan sōra geldinen bì de yapparis. ne apčasın? pirlinš biširdim biras, biras da gene pīnir goydum, yimürtaya goydum ičine. ondan sōra fasila biširverdim, hazır. bì gač okka da üzüm aldič. tā undan sōra ne yaptik biz mā? iſi čorba yaptim, yimürtayi goydum misāfirlāmin öönüne: yiyin bakām, kusura bakmayin dedim unnara. yidirdim, ičirdim, panayira götürdüm, unnara üzüm alvar-dim, iſte bu gadā.

KERİME A. ŠĀDULLOVA

13. *Hikāye*

*sabālen saat sekiste baſlıvarin iſe. baſlidža sabālen gičez iſe. allah kiſmet id̄iſe en evveli kim demek yatvari bì aušam deištiris čarşafları, kim demek durūsa orda bì hafta, bì kere deištiris čarşafları, kim demek bu aušam geliveri sabālen deištiriveris. sen de gaſtin bu aušam bizim otelden, upravitel<sup>11</sup> sā dariladžak, bì kere tā lăzüm oldunen bulabiledžen mi bakām. sen gittin mi arkadan čarşafları deištirdik. gidăſen git, yarın gene geledžasin ben aldžan mi bakām ičeri, gürda galadžasın, sōra garišman. yataklarıi yapcas, ondan sōra iſte toz alvaris, mifkalarıi<sup>12</sup> yikivaris, šiſeleri yikivaris, bādaklarıi yikivaris. undan sōradžim apsāneleri yikivaris, liska yapparis.<sup>13</sup> aušama gadā iſliveris. bordan, ordan toz alvaris, demek yelleri šakatvaris,<sup>14</sup> aba parçasınnan sürtveris. undan sōra hayde erken gidām, erken bitirām diye bitmiveri. iſ bitā mi? aušama gadā saat beš buluvari čikman. beſte čikvaris. gînindže mînindže alti oluvari. anam diveri eve geldinen: sen nerde galidin gene? ne apām dedim ben gene geč galidim, iſ bitā mi? undan sōra eve geliverin, su alvaris, süpürverin gene, yemek yapparin, yemek götürverin, adam iſte gidže smenasında<sup>15</sup> sabā gadā. undan sōra gene iſlemi iſtemiveri. iſle, iſle dīverin ben, iſlemeden ekmek nerden. ben ne apēn, ben de iſlivarın, evin iſi de bām dīverin, čamaſir da bām, bulaſik da bām, yemek te bām, undan sōra ne apām dīverin, ölündžeye yaſidžas. sōra yatmamiz onbiri,*

<sup>10</sup> Čapak, Alkaya, Erdžili, Duranlar: petites localités situées à côté de Kirdžali.<sup>11</sup> upravitel (bulg. управител «directeur»). «id.»<sup>12</sup> mifkala (< bulg. мивка «canal d'écoulement, déversoir») «id.».<sup>13</sup> liska yapmak (< bulg. лъскам «je fais briller») «astiquer».<sup>14</sup> šakatmak «nettoyer, balayer» (SDD III 271: šakitmak «süpürmek, temizlemek»).<sup>15</sup> smena (< bulg. sm'ana ~ smena (смяна) «échange, relève, équipe») «id.».

*onikiyi bulvarı. gene gidiveriz mürje ablamıza, oturvarız, gonušvariş, sōra fatme engeyi čärvariş, sōra uykum gelmiveri. išten geldinen išan görən dīverin, bām de džanım yok mu dīverin. bu gadā.*

KERİME A. ŞADULLOVA

#### 14. Gonušma

- selām aleyküm!
- aleyküm selām!
- hoš geldin mā zelidžiklerim!
- hoš bulduk mā kerimedžiklerim!
- anā hele seni gödüm şükür, gečmiš olsun ne oldun sen?
- pek hasta oldum ben kerimedžim māazada.
- hele, hele vā sende bì šey, čāra čāra getiremedim seni.
- sen ne apparsin?
- iyigin, ben de ište išliverin.
- kerimedžim hep hastayin ben.
- gene māaza yaramadı sā
- yürām pek oynadı da, doktor üč gün pučinka<sup>16</sup> vādi bā.
- sükinti mi, sükinti mi?
- her halde gene.
- zor mu? masada mi išliversis, yerde mi?
- pek siki išlā bu sene. yedi okka istivelłā, ama išlā çok siki, kačustalā<sup>17</sup>... yedi yere ayrivariş. bu sene išlā indže, kafa kaldirmiňvariş hič.
- yerde mi išliversin, masada mi?
- yerde išliveris.
- ä, ustabašinis kim?
- ustabašimis kalina. gene peki, ii ama tütünnä üle ii diil bu sene, garišik çok.
- sabraşlarinis<sup>18</sup> kim?
- hep gene pildiklerin.
- kār vellā mi?
- ište išlā indže dīverin sā, annamıňvarsın laftan? sen nāp?
- bām ište hep ev iši. sabālen gitverin, süpürverin, yatak yapparin, deiširverin, mifka yükivarın, bādak yükivarın, apsāneleri yükivarın, şiše yükivarın, liska yapparin, hem iš, iš, ne apām gardaşım.
- üle, üle ne apām? sālik olsun, gene hepsi golay bulundžak dīl mi?

<sup>16</sup> pučinka (< bulg. почивка «repos, villégiature, vacances») «id.».

<sup>17</sup> kačusta (< bulg. качество «qualité, propriété, nature») «sorte».

<sup>18</sup> sabraş (< bulg. събиращ «collectionneur») «id.».

— *okkan bâlim čikarabiledžā misin?*

— *hič čikarabiledžām bellî diil. vâdîm doktora. doktor dedi: pensiya<sup>19</sup> čikčak sâ dedi, sen dedi çok eski išçisin dedi. yûrâm oynîvari dedim. sen bu hastalii nâp gavraddin dedi. ben de üle eskiden išçiyin. kač senedir išlîversin dedi, kač gîzanin vâdir sordu. ey sôra: şindi pensiya čikčak gibi durvari, bakâsak...*

— *ey defterlâni verdin mi?*

— *her defterlerini getî, dokumetlere bakâm dedi, dù bakâm, sâ bî pensiya čikčak gibi durvari dedi.*

— *topla, topla gardaşım. sân hakkîn vâ, bâ da veredžek doktor, ama yaşin yok dîveri. zayîfin dîverin. zayîfsan, zayîf ol, sâlamsin dîveri, išine bak sen dîveri. ben zayîfin dîverin. ondan sôra: zayîfsan, sâlamsin! dîveri. ne zamân hasta olursan pensiya vâ sâ, mât hasta dêilsin dîveri. ne apâm gardaşım išlidžes, išlemedinen yok.*

— *džâvitçin ne appar?*

— *îdir. džâvitçim de iştendir, şükrü de iştendir, belâya galâdim.*

— *bak, bak mâšallâ sen išini düzmüşün be kerimedžim!*

— *düzdüm, düzdüm! ama ne apâm! išlemidzen dîveri. undan sôra išle, išle dîverin, ben de išlîverin, sân džanin vâdir, bâm yok mu dîverin. undan sora ne apâm, yavaş yavaş olündžâ gada dîl mi išlidzân dîveri u da.*

— *ben de kerimedžim üle dîverin doktora. ben gene alîşmîşim tâ gücük yaştan beri mâazada. golay geliveri bâ mâaza. baška iš hič yapamîdžan.*

— *sen ayak iše dayanamassin!*

— *ben tepeşemîverin ottuum yerden, ne apâm.*

— *sân seksen beş okkasina!*

— *ne apâm, ben gardaşım, şîşmanin ama hič hâlim yok, kufun, mâazaya zor varvarin, gelverin. hâni bereket normalâ<sup>20</sup> u gadâ siki diil.*

— *sen de okkanî čikâ da, kač para alîrsan al!*

— *üle dîverize, bereket versin gene!*

— *â şâdiyen gelir mi, mîsan ne apâ, gelindžiin ne apâ?*

— *gelindžiim de îdir, ama gîzandžinnan ūraşır...*

— *gîzandžii ii midir?*

— *pekipidir mâšallâ.*

— *şâdiye gelir mi?*

— *iše girdi şâdiye de.*

— *ne iš yapâ?*

— *işte terziye girmiš orada.*

— *bak sen bak! mümün güvâ ne apâ?*

— *îdir, mektepte, u da iše, gîzannarîn başında mâlim.*

— *hâde, hâde küde durutturmasin, borâ gelsin gâdik!*

<sup>19</sup> *pensiya* (< bulg. пенсия «retraite», «id.»).

<sup>20</sup> *norma* (bulg. норма «norme») «id.».

- kerimedžim iki gönü'l bì oldunen, vāsın, kū olsun...! unnā biribillāni  
pek sevveri yā! gečinedžeklā! ne apām!
- ālem kūden kasabaya geliveri...
- geldžege, geldžege!
- geldžege, geldžege, ama ne zaman geldžek?
- yazin geldžeklā, tādilde.
- dōru, dōru zelidžiklerim, gardaşciklarim, bì evlādimi küve vermiňdžane,  
istäse vezir olsun!
- ne apēn gardaşcim, sevdilā birbillāni, eh golayinii bulabildin mi, hāde,  
hāde giččän dedi anadžim. sevâse veredžäsin! u da čodžüü sevveri. vādžän dedim  
ben de, ne apēn. gidäsen giččäsin, vādžes dedim. rezillik oladžak korttum. bašinii  
bāladik, sōra gaymā ūraştik, gayamadik. gaştı, gitti. ne apām, sā olsunnā gene!
- i džanım, şindi biraz urda, sōra bore gelsinnä, bì ev yaptırsinnä!
- ne yapčäsin! unnarin evi hazıra hazıra borda!
- nūridžik ne apā?
- undžaz da pegidir.
- kadriye īli, sidiķa īli, hepsini čārdim bōşam, şükür toplandik, görüsٹük.  
fatme ingem īli, čavuš īli, bubam īli, ne diyēn gayrikin ben sā! şindi šākir  
borda...
- ben bileidim gelindžimi de getireidim, gizanımı, ne ii oladžämış!
- yarın auşam da bordayız, gene gonušuruz. bak sen bak, geçen auşam  
gabak hurduk, bişirdik.
- beni nā čārmadın kerimedžim?
- her auşam geliverin, mā ane zelīha gelmedi mi? hayır! vā unda bì  
şey! undan sōra gabā kestik, hā mā mürfe abla bu gabā kesversene! ben yapan-  
man, ben hastayin dedi. biz una vādik gāyet işen engin bize geldi, hasta oldu.
- ak kabak mi?
- ak kabak.
- evvā ak kabā pek de sevverin, gene ak kabā! bì dilim bā nāb brak-  
madın evvā!
- bilememišin gardaşcim, hāde baška zamān. ādle ablám geldi, gabak-  
ları yikadın mi dedi. ben de bakıra aldım, sōra gabakları yikadım.
- pegii yapmıšına.
- undan sonradžim mürfe ablám sen yapm̄idžäsina, ādle ablám bālim  
yapā! ādle ablám dedi: geti, geti ben bālim yapēn. ādle ablám kesti, dūradi.  
goyduk ateše, ben kömür doldurdum sobaya, manda bile bişcek, gabā brak!
- helvet, helvet ateşten gelir, odundan gelir, helvet kömür raatlıkmışa yā.
- aptalmišiga, bì şey bilmiveriz zāten džanım! undan sōradžim şükür  
onbire gadā ottuk, gonuštuk. māppet, masal... gayrikin siz dedim aylakčisiz  
dedim, ben dedim iše giččän sabālen. ondan sōra ādle ablám: tā oččamışs. ādle  
ablámın hič gitmek niyeti yok. ondan sōradžim ne apčäsin? az čok oturām da  
dedi, misāfire git demezlā dedi. tā asčik tā oturām da dedi. gidām zāten hastayin

*ben dedi mürfe ablam. südika geldi, kadriyeyi čardii, eve gitti. Südika gene geldi. bekledik mā, südika seni istemā geldilā, yōsa? hayır mā hayır misāfir vā, eništem geldi džebelden. vā bì šey sende, bì dünürlük vā, sūlemiversiz bā. ondan sōra yok bì šey. kadriye gene geldi, biras tā māppet yaptik, gabā sūsun diye bekle-dik, sūk, isčak yidirdim ben unnara gissin diye, biktīm gādik, ne apēn!*

- *isānün badzā kūden oldinen misāfir isik olmaz bām de başimda yā!*
- *helbet yā yā üle oluvarı, hāde lafım bōlām gādik!*
- *hāde allah ismarladik.*
- *hāde güle güle.*

KERİME A. ŠĀDULLOVA—  
ZELİHA B. HADŽİMESTĀNOVA

### Traduction des textes

#### 1. *Le conte de l'oie*

Une femme avait une petite oie, ce n'était pas une oie, c'était sa fille. Une fois, cette fille mit son linge et tout ce qu'elle avait sur une voiture, et elle alla laver son linge. Vint le fils d'un bey. Il faisait boire son cheval et regardait d'en face. L'oie se dépouilla de son enveloppe, puis elle se mit à laver son linge. Le fils du bey la regardait d'en face, et le fils du bey tomba amoureux d'elle. Il la suivit des yeux pour voir où elle pouvait bien aller. Le fils du bey alla jusqu'à la maison de l'oie, il regarda le numéro de la maison.

— Mère, dit-il, va trouver telle femme, à telle porte, pour, comment dire, pour lui demander sa fille, pour moi, dit-il.

— Bien, mon enfant, dit-elle.

Il a envoyé sa mère. Elle arrive à la maison.

— Je suis venue demander ta fille pour mon fils, dit-elle.

— Moi, je n'ai pas de fille, nous avons une petite oie, qu'elle dit.

— Tu vas me donner ton oie, dit-elle.

— Bon, qu'elle dit.

Ensuite, un jour, on a célébré les noces. Après la noce, on a mis l'oie sur une voiture et on l'a emmenée. L'oie est partie avec la voiture. La nuit est arrivée; le garçon dit alors:

Moi, je t'ai vue, dit-il, alors sors de ton enveloppe, dit-il.

— Je n'en sors pas, qu'elle dit.

Le garçon s'est entêté, de nouveau il a dit:

Sors donc de ton enveloppe, ma belle, dit-il, moi je t'ai vue, dit-il, une fois tu lavais ton linge, tu le battais bien, dit-il, je te regardais, dit-il. Enlève ton enveloppe, qu'on te voie comme ça, dit-il, sois un être humain comme les autres, dit-il.

La fille ne voulait pas. Il a eu beau dire et redire, elle est restée (comme ça). Un jour, cinq jours, dix jours passèrent, elle ne sortait pas du tout de l'enveloppe. Il l'en pria de plus en plus, l'en suppliait; finalement, il s'est fiancé à la fille d'un pacha.

— Moi, dit-il, je vais épouser la fille du pacha, dit-il, je me suis fiancé, dit-il, sors de ton enveloppe, et je vais jeter la bague, je me marierai avec toi.

— Mikidimik, qu'elle dit; elle ne voulait pas.

Alors il épousa la fille du pacha, il l'épousa, l'épousa avec une noce. Elle, il la mit à la cuisine, à l'office. Elle passait son temps à la cuisine, à l'office. La fille du pacha fut sa femme.

— Sors de ton enveloppe, dit-il, je renverrai au pacha sa fille, je vivrai avec toi, dit-il.

La jeune fille dit: mikikmikidi, ça n'est pas possible.

Ensuite il se passe un ou deux mois, et voilà qu'une fois il y a une noce dans le voisinage. On a invité la fille du pacha, elle y est allée. Alors voilà cette grande oie qui sort de son enveloppe, puis elle dit:

Je veux que tu me donnes une robe rouge — il y avait un Arabe qui passait par là —

— Bien, très bien, dit-il.

— Une robe rouge, un phaéton rouge, qu'elle dit.

Elle est montée dans l'attelage rouge, girgirgir elle est allée dans la maison où avait lieu la noce. Elle était belle, belle comme le jour, plus belle même. Tout d'un coup, voilà que la fille du pacha la regarde aussi: Qui est cette femme qui est si, si belle? dit-elle. Elle est restée assise très peu de temps: C'est ce que mon mari m'a permis, a-t-elle dit; elle est remontée dans le phaéton, elle est rentrée à la maison avant la fille du pacha, elle s'est remise dans son enveloppe et la voilà de nouveau une oie. Ensuite elle (la fille du pacha) dit à son mari: Cher époux, dit-elle, il y a une dame qui est venue avec un phaéton rouge et une robe rouge, dit-elle, elle était belle comme le jour, dit-elle, de qui est-elle la femme? personne ne le savait. Le fils du bey est resté un peu pensif. Ensuite il y eut de nouveau une noce. Allons, que j'aille voir ça moi aussi. Il est sorti par la porte pour la guetter d'en haut. Il a fait une fente dans la fenêtre, y a mis son oeil. Attendons un peu, maintenant il regarde l'oie. Ensuite la fille du pacha est partie, elle est allée à la chose.

— Maintenant je veux, qu'elle dit — elle était de nouveau sortie de son enveloppe — je veux que tu me donnes — qu'elle dit — une robe de la couleur d'une colchique verte et d'une violette verte, qu'elle dit, et une voiture verte. Ensuite aussitôt elle a mis la robe verte, de nouveau elle est allée à ce comment dire, à cette noce. Eh! la musique et tout le reste s'est arrêté quand ils l'ont vue, tellement elle était belle: voilà que cette dame est revenue. Ensuite le fils du bey qui regardait d'en haut, a enlevé l'enveloppe et l'a jetée dans le feu; maintenant qu'elle est dans le feu il en sera débarrassé.

L'ayant jetée dans le feu, l'odeur le prit au nez, l'enveloppe brûlait. Puis il a mis deux chaises dans la cour, une table, il a attendu sa femme. C'est assez comme ça, c'est tout ce que mon mari m'a permis dit-elle, elle est remontée dans sa voiture. En arrivant voilà qu'elle aperçoit son mari qui l'attend. Alors qu'elle dit, tu as brûlé mon enveloppe, qu'elle dit, à partir de maintenant je suis tienne, qu'elle dit, jusqu'à la mort. L'autre était restée (à la noce). Ils se sont assis sur des chaises. L'autre — la fille du pacha — a ouvert la porte et elle les voit: voilà la fille qui vient de là-bas (de la noce)! Ah! dit-elle, je suis perdue, dit-elle. La fille du pacha est restée comme ça, à moitié évanouie. Eh! quoi, qu'elle dit, combien de temps tu as passé ici, et je ne t'ai rien dit, tu as fait la grande dame avec moi — dit l'oie. Moi, ma foi, je ne me suis pas évanouie, comme tu t'es évanouie, toi, qu'elle dit, voyons un peu, disparais par la porte. Ensuite à partir de maintenant qu'elle dit, nous, nous allons vivre (ensemble). Ils vivent ensemble, et nous, que nous arrivions au salut. Voilà tout.

## 2. *Le conte du hodja*

Un jour un hodja désira (manger) de l'oie. Bon, mais il enseignait les élèves à l'école, il était instituteur à l'école. Il a fait emporter l'oie par les élèves: emportez cette oie, dit-il, nettoyez-la, faites la rôtir, quand j'arriverai, qu'elle soit prête pour le soir, dit-il. Très bien, les élèves ont emporté cette oie, ils l'ont donnée à sa femme. Sa femme qu'est ce qu'elle a fait: elle a plumé l'oie, l'a vidée, l'a fait rôtir et l'a mangée en une seule fois. L'homme rentre: femme — dit-il — j'ai acheté du pain chaud, dit-il, voyons, apporte un peu cette oie, mangeons-la ce soir.

— Eh quoi, qu'est ce que c'est que cette oie, dit-elle, je n'ai vu aucune oie dans la maison, dit-elle, tu es plus oie qu'une oie, dit-elle.

— Qu'est ce que tu dis là, j'ai fait envoyer une oie par les enfants.

— Non, moi je n'ai vu aucune oie, dit-elle.

Le hodja s'en est allé le matin, il a dit aux élèves: Eh bien vous, où avez-vous emporté l'oie.

— Tiens, mais dans ta maison, hodja !

Alors quoi le hodja acheta encore une fois une oie. Cette oie — que pouvait faire le hodja, — il l'attacha à une perche en sapin, au bout de la perche, pour que tout le monde la voie: cette oie — dit-il — je l'envoie à la maison. Les élèves attachèrent l'oie au bout de la perche, l'emportèrent. Le hodja dit: qu'on plume cette oie, qu'on la vide, qu'on la fasse rôtir, je reviens ce soir, pour le repas, dit-il. Eh bien la femme l'a fait rôtir, elle a de nouveau mangé cette oie.

— Alors femme — le hodja est rentré à la maison. — alors femme, voyons, apporte un peu cette oie, mangeons-la, est-ce qu'elle est réussie?

— Mais mon âme, moi je n'ai pas vu d'oie, quel homme es-tu donc?

Encore une fois il en a été de même de la deuxième oie. La troisième oie, il l'a de nouveau envoyée au bout de la perche, avec de nouveau tout une bande d'élèves. Il dit: que ma femme fasse rôtir cette oie, je rentrerai pour le repas.

— C'est bien, dit la femme, (c'est ainsi qu')elle répondit. La femme prit la troisième oie.

— Mon ami viendra, fais la rôtir sans faute, dit-il aussi aux élèves.

Son ami arriva, il arriva dans la journée. L'oie rôtissait sur le feu dans le plat. La femme prit une barre de fer, la fit rougir dans le feu. Cet hodja n'est bon qu'à périr, il ne vaut rien, il est très mal élevé.

De plus en plus elle faisait rougir chauffer la barre dans le feu. Ce hodja n'est bon qu'à périr, il est très mal élevé, c'est un cochon. Le hodja est quand même très mal élevé, c'est un cochon.

— Mais mon âme, pourquoi es-tu si en colère? dit l'ami.

— Comment est-ce que je ne serais pas en colère: pour tous ceux qui viennent ici, il fait chauffer cette barre et avec cette barre, il leur donne sur la tête des coups, toujours plus en colère, dit-elle.

L'ami, qu'est-ce qu'il a fait? Il s'est sauvé disant: «Moi aussi il va me battre» — la femme avait dit qu'il battait tous les invités qui arrivaient. Il s'était à peine sauvé qu'arrive le mari. La femme de nouveau avait caché l'oie. L'homme rentre à la maison.

— Alors femme, voyons, apporte un peu l'oie; où est mon ami? j'ai acheté du pain blanc, mangeons, dit-il.

— Ton ami, dit-elle, a enlevé l'oie du plat et s'est sauvé, dit-elle.

— Qu'est-ce que c'est que ça? quand est-ce qu'il est parti?

— Il vient justement de partir, dit-elle.

La femme cacha de nouveau le plat en disant: «ton ami l'a enlevée», elle en contait à son mari. Celui-ci prit un morceau de pain, il alla dans la rue: «Eh ! l'ami !». Il courut après son ami: «Eh ! l'ami !, viens un peu, que je goûte moi aussi un petit morceau de cette oie.»

A peine avait-il dit cela que l'autre courut plus fort, disant: «Il va me rattraper, et moi aussi il va me battre avec cette barre.»

C'est tout.

### 3. *Le fils du laboureur*

Il était une fois un laboureur; il mourut, un fils restait. Le fils grandit.

— Mère, dit-il, quel était le métier de mon père? dit-il.

— Il était laboureur, mon fils, dit-elle.

— Est-ce que tu me donnerais de l'argent pour que j'aille acheter des graines? dit-il.

— Prends ces dix lires, dit-elle, va, dit-elle, achète des graines, dit-elle, fais des affaires, dit-elle.

— Il s'en alla et sur la route tout à coup, (il vit) qu'on faisait tuer un chat.

— Pourquoi tuer ce chat? dit-il.

— Ce chat nous fait toujours du mal dans la maison, dit-il, il nous vole tout, dit-il, nous le faisons tuer.

— Allons, prends ces dix lires, ne tue pas ce chat, dit-il.

Il donna les dix lires, on lâcha le chat, il prit le chat; il arriva à la maison.

La mère dit: mon enfant — dit-elle — as-tu acheté des graines?

— J'en ai acheté, mère, elles vont venir.

La semaine suivante arriva.

— Mère, dit-il, de nouveau, donne-moi dix lires, dit-il.

De nouveau il prit les dix lires, de nouveau il partit. Tout à coup sur la route (il vit) qu'on faisait tuer un chien.

— Eh bien ! pourquoi tuer ce chien? dit-il.

— Ce chien nous fait du mal, il mord les voisins qui viennent, dit-il.

— Prends ces dix lires et qu'on le lâche, dit-il.

De nouveau celui-là aussi fut relâché. Ensuite il arriva à la maison.

En arrivant il dit à sa mère: elles vont venir, je les ai achetées, dit-il.

— C'est bien mon enfant, dit de nouveau la mère. La semaine suivante arriva de nouveau, trois semaines (déjà), de nouveau il prit dix lires, de nouveau il partit. En s'en allant, tout à coup, il vit qu'on faisait tuer un serpent.

— Pourquoi faites-vous périr ce serpent? — demanda-t-il.

— Nous avons peur de ce serpent, dirent-ils, il vient toujours dans nos maisons, dirent-ils.

— Prends ces dix lires et qu'on ne tue pas ce serpent, dit-il.

Il donna les dix lires et s'en alla. Le serpent dit: tu peux avoir de moi ce que tu veux.

— Je te souhaite une bonne santé, dit-il.

— De ma santé tu ne peux tirer aucun profit, dit-il. Demande-moi quelque chose, dit-il, puis il lui dit: cramponne-toi à moi, dit-il.

Tous deux, le serpent et lui s'en allèrent. Il allèrent, allèrent; or c'était le petit du chah Meran.

— Mère, dit-il — pour lui, dit-il, fais ce qu'il faut, dit-il.

— Que veux-tu de moi, mon fils? tu as sauvé mon enfant, dit-elle.

— Moi, je ne demande rien, dit-il.

— Demande, dit-elle. Viens, dit-elle, que je te mette une bague d'or au doigt, dit-elle. Dès que tu lècheras cette bague, je viendrai à ton secours.

— Bien, très bien, dit-il.

— Quand il fut arrivé, il lécha la bague: quarante à cinquante voitures de graines — car il avait dit qu'il s'occupait d'agriculture — et toujours davantage de (voitures) de graines arrivèrent, arrivèrent, toutes se rassemblèrent devant la maison.

Ensuite la mère dit: eh! bien mon enfant, elles viennent les (voitures de) graines.

— Elles viennent, mère, dit-il. Va demander pour moi la fille du padischah, dit-il.

— Mon enfant nous sommes pauvres, dit-elle, où trouverons-nous autant d'argent, dit-elle, le pādischah nous donnera-t-il sa fille?

— Il nous la donnera, mère, dit-il.

Il avait une petite chambre, une unique petite chambre. Ensuite la mère s'en alla, honteuse, elle s'en alla trouver la fille du padischah.

— Salut à toi!

— Salut à toi! Sois la bienvenue, vieille mère, dit le padischah, que veux-tu?

— Je suis venue demander ta fille pour mon fils, sur l'ordre de dieu.

— C'est bien, très bien, la petite mère, dit-il; si ton fils, dit-il, fait un palais qui soit comme mon palais, dit-il, je te donne ma fille.

Ensuite la femme retourna à la maison.

— Mon enfant ce n'est pas là une chose possible, dit-elle, «s'il fait construire un palais qui soit comme mon palais» dit le padischah, «je la lui donne» a-t-il dit.

— C'est une chose très facile mère, dit-il.

Il lécha la bague: un palais plus beau que le palais du padischah apparut tout construit. Ensuite la mère s'en alla de nouveau:

— Mon fils l'a fait faire, dit-elle au padischah.

— C'est très bien; maintenant, dit-il, dans mon palais je ne vois pas le soleil à cause des montagnes, des collines. S'il aplani ces montagnes ces collines, je lui donnerai ma fille.

La femme de nouveau retourna chez elle

— Mon enfant ! dit-elle, le padischah a dit: «s'il aplani les montagnes, les collines, je lui donnerai ma fille», dit-elle.

— C'est bien, petite mère, dit-il.

De nouveau il lèche une fois la bague, et tout à coup il s'aperçoit que les montagnes et les collines sont devenues une plaine parfaite. Le matin le padischah se leva, il regarda par la fenêtre: Le soleil brillait jusque dans l'intérieur de la maison.

— Eh ! eh !, dit-il, il y a là-dedans une force qui tient du prodige, je donnerai ma fille à celui-là.

Il lui donna sa fille. Pendant quarante jours et quarante nuits, ils célébrèrent les noces, il lui a donné sa fille. Après qu'il lui eut donné sa fille, un jour cette fille lui dit: Tu es un homme, dit-elle, donne-moi cette bague, dit-elle.

— Ah !, dit-il, demande-moi tout, mais pas cette bague; cette bague me donne cette force extraordinaire, dit-il.

— Non, non, donne-la moi, que je la mette, dit-elle.

Dès qu'il lui eut donné la bague, ces montagnes, ces collines, tout cela revint en place. Le diable avait pris (la bague). Il partit. Ensuite voilà qu'un jour, on mit le garçon en prison. Puis tandis qu'il était en prison, le chien et le chat accoururent vite, vite à son secours.

— Qu'est-ce que tu fais ici dans cette prison.

— Moi, dit-il, j'ai été pris, dit-il; où que soit la bague, trouvez-la et apportez-la moi ici, dit-il.

Or voilà que les pêcheurs prennent un poisson dans l'Arda. En partant, le diable avait jeté la bague dans l'Arda. Voilà qu'on trouve la bague dans les entrailles d'un poisson, le chien la trouve, en les mangeant gloutonnement, il trouve la bague dans sa gueule. A peine l'eut-il trouvée qu'il alla de nouveau à la porte de la prison.

— Ouvre, ouvre la porte, dit-il, que je le voie, dit-il.

— J'en ai assez de ton chien et de ton chat.

— Ouvre, ouvre, que je le voie, dit-il.

Il ouvrit, et tout d'un coup: «j'ai trouvé la bague» dit le chien. Tout de suite il la prit, il la mit à nouveau, il lécha la bagues, la porte de la prison s'ouvrit de nouveau, il sortit de la prison, le palais, les montagnes, les collines étaient de nouveau comme avant. Ensuite la fille du padischah vint retrouver le garçon. Ils avaient atteint leur but, et nous, que nous arrivions au salut.

#### 4. *Aïschè et Fatmè*

Il était une fois une petite Aïschè et une petite Fatmè. Cette petite Aïschè était à moitié orpheline, sa mère était morte. C'est bien, mais sa marâtre ne voulait absolument pas d'Aïschè. Elle dit à son père: Eh bien ! emmène-la où tu veux, dit-elle, moi je ne la veux pas dans la maison.

— C'est bien, mais que faire? Ne fais pas cela, femme.

— Non, non, je n'en veux pas, emmène-la, dit-elle.

— Allons, mais que faire, allons ma fille — dit-il — il prit la corde, il prit la hache, allons chercher du bois, dit-il.

C'est bien, mais il arriva dans un moulin, il la laissa là dans l'obscurité du soir.

— Eh ma fille, dit-il, sois tranquille, dit-il, je vais venir te chercher demain matin, dit-il.

— C'est bien, mais la nuit — il était déjà minuit — «hirtarasin-zirtarasin, que cherches-tu ici?» dirent-elles, elles étaient venues les fées. Elle ne

broncha pas. «Hirtarasin-zirtarasin que cherches tu ici?» De nouveau elle ne broncha pas. Le matin arriva, les coqs chantèrent, cocorico, les fées disparurent. En partant, elles mirent à côté d'elle de l'or, des diamants, de l'argent. Le matin arriva, le coq ne cessait de chanter.

— Cocorico, dit-il, Aïschè ne peut emporter l'or, dit-il, sonnant, sonnant un sac s'en remplit, dit-il, va vite au-devant d'elle, dit-il.

— Va-t-en d'ici coq bon à crever, dit-elle, la marâtre entra en fureur, hélas de la tête de la petite Aïschè il ne reste rien, elle a péri, elle est partie, dit-elle. Cette fois il est en colère contre la marâtre. C'est bien et voilà qu'elle voit venir la petite Aïschè qui a fait un paquet de l'or, de tout l'or.

— Viens ma fille, viens ma fille; elle l'a fait asseoir à la meilleure place. Vite elle dit à son père: tu vas emmener la petite Fatmè là où tu as emmené la petite Aïschè.

— Ne le fais pas, ne le fais pas.

— Elle l'a fit emmener, il l'emmena. Après l'avoir emmenée, il la laissa elle aussi dans le moulin. De nouveau «hirtarasin-zirtarasin» les fées arrivèrent. «Qu'est-ce que tu cherches ici?» dirent les fées. Allez-vous en d'ici, dit-elle, elle les injuria, tant qu'elles la tuèrent. Mais elles mirent sa tête, là, dans la remise du moulin. Elle est morte.

— Cocorico, dit le coq: la tête de ta petite Fatmè est dans le panier, son corps dans la remise, dit-il.

— Coq bon à crever, dit-elle, ouvre le bec pour dire des choses agréables, dit-elle, et elle a chassé le coq.

— Va vite voir, mon homme, dit-elle, pourquoi ce coq a parlé comme ça.

Ils y sont allés, ils ont vu que c'était comme le coq l'avait dit. Voilà, c'est tout.

### 5. *Conte*

Il était une fois une jeune fille qui arrosait des fleurs. Vint le fils d'un bey, il la regarda d'en face. Jeune fille au basilic, dit-il, combien de feuilles a le basilic? Seigneur, dit-elle, tu sais écrire, tu lis le Coran, combien d'étoiles y a-t-il dans le ciel? Est-ce qu'on peut compter les feuilles du basilic, les étoiles du ciel? Est-ce que le beau garçon se contente des coquetteries de sa bien-aimée. C'est tout, c'est fini.

### 6. *Tekerleme*

Neppe ! où sont les moutons? | Sur la haute montagne ! | Que mangent-ils? — Des sortes de fruit. | En quoi sont leurs crottes? — En espèce d'argent. | Sa pierre inférieure par en bas, | Sa pierre supérieure par en haut, | Son féredjé est en écailles, | Son balai en fils de fer. | Combien de tambours, combien de

zurnas? | Ga, ga, ga, point de banne, | Je suis allé au dépôt, point de gruau, | Je suis rentré chez moi point de femme, | L'enfant pleurait, point de berceau, | Le potage s'est sauvé, point de cuiller, | Ga, ga, ga, gou, et voilà.

### 7. *Tekerleme*

Tchagadour, tchagadour, | C'est ton assiette qu'elle observe. | Il en va ainsi de tous mes repas, | Il en va ainsi de toutes mes journées. | Ce que je mange est une moitié de (portion de) pâtes, | Ma bru me fait marcher.

### 8. *Le «destan» de mademoiselle Aïchè*

En l'année dix-neuf cent quarante-deux je suis partie de ce monde, | Mon péché, celui qui nous a créés l'a pardonné. | Oh, mes frères et soeurs ne m'oubliez pas à cause de la prière bienfaisante! | Que ma mère, mon père, pleurent, disant: ma jeune Aïschè! | J'ai l'air d'un melon qui n'est pas mûr ma mère, | Rends légitime pour moi le droit à l'autre monde. | Ma mère, malade, a gardé le lit pendant un certain temps; | Elle s'est levée, et aussitôt, moi, je me suis couchée. | Que mes frères et soeurs pleurent pour moi, disant: ah notre soeur! | Mon fiancé était du village, un héros; | Je ne suis jamais restée dans votre maison. | Je voulais du café, il ne me fut pas donné d'en boire. | Le sort n'a pas permis de rencontrer ma belle-mère. | Que mes voisins brûlent (de douleur) à cause de moi, disant: jeune Aïchè. | Mes vêtements sont prêts, il ne m'a pas été donné de les mettre. | On m'a emmenée chez le docteur, les médicaments n'ont été daucune utilité! | Oh ma mère, mon père, vos soins ont été en vain! | Que mes frères et soeurs pleurent pour moi, disant: notre jeune Aïschè! | A l'âge de dix-neuf ans, j'étais fiancée, | Je pars sans avoir réalisé mon désir. | J'ai été malade pendant quatre mois, je n'ai pas trouvé de remède. | Que ma mère et mon père brûlent, disant: notre jeune agneau! | Ma mère, mon père, asseyez-vous en face de moi, | Regardez-moi bien dans les yeux, regardez encore mes cils. | Venez, vous aussi, mes frères et soeurs, | En pleurant, en pleurant, pardonnons-nous l'un à l'autre! | Que les jeunes filles, mes amies, viennent, qu'elles me voient, | Qu'elles rendent légitime pour moi le droit à l'autre monde! | Mon frère Bekir mange des fruits, ma petite mère; | Je me séparerai de sept frères et soeurs, de ma mère, de mon père. | Que ma mère, mon père brûlent, disant: notre jeune Aïschè! | Le mensonge et le bavardage s'en vont, | Et de moi c'est l'âme qui s'en va. | Que ma mère, que mon père ne cessent de pleurer, | Qu'ils fassent résonner les montagnes et les pierres, | Que mes frères et soeurs brûlent, disant: notre petite soeur! | Ma mère, soulève-moi, moi aussi, un petit peu, | Fais-moi faire

une promenade en me dorlotant. | Qu'on creuse ma tombe le long du chemin, | Qu'on écrive mes dates près de ma tête ! | Qu'on dise qu'elle est partie bien jeunette du monde ! | Venez, tous les voisins, | Voyez, vous aussi, mon triste état ! | Il y a deux choses pour lesquelles il n'y a pas de remède | Il est très triste de mourir jeune ! | Que ma mère, mon père brûlent, disant: mon jeune agneau ! | Les frères préparent ma planche dans la cour; | Le petit cœur de ma mère, de mon père fait très mal. | Ne pleurez pas de voir que mon torse se ratatine, | Que tous mes cheveux noirs s'emmêlent. | Que mes voisins pleurent pour moi, disant: jeunette ! | Mes voisins viennent par groupes, | Mon sein se déchire en lambeaux. | Ma belle-mère, et puis tous les autres, | Qui descendra (mon cercueil) dans la fosse ? | Le huitième jour de juin, | La fierté de mon père, de ma mère s'est envolée au ciel. | Bekir, Eumer, Osman, mes frères, | Mes larmes coulent; | Hazen, Hayriye, Habbe, Fatmè, | Comment supporteraient-ils le désir qu'ils auront de me voir? | Que mes frères creusent ma tombe ! | Qu'ils bâtissent une maison à l'endroit noir ! | Que mes roses brûlent pour moi, disant; notre jeune soeur aînée ! | La planche pour laver les cadavres est déjà le long de mon corps, | Qu'on mette mon eau (pour laver les cadavres) jusqu'à ce que s'emplisse ma gorge ! | Je suis tombée malade, ma mère, mets-moi au lit, | Amène mes amies à mes côtés ! | Qu'elles brûlent pour moi, disant: jeunette ! | J'étais fiancée il y a juste un an, | Bientôt on me couvrira de terre noire. | J'étais un bouton de rose, j'ai été arrachée de la branche | Du sang est monté à mes yeux à force de pleurer, | Personne n'a trouvé de solution contre cette séparation. | Que brûlent mon père, ma mère, disant: mon jeune petit agneau ! | Ma mère, ne m'oubliez pas grâce à la prière bienfaisante, prenez garde ! | La mort était très près de nous, | Rendez légitime pour moi le droit à l'autre monde ! | Mon fiancé, notre rencontre est remise à l'autre monde, | Que mon fiancé brûle pour moi, disant: ma jeune Aïschè ! | Pour le salut de mademoiselle Aïschè dites trois elham.

#### 9. Noce

Maintenant par exemple, une jeune fille leur plaît à la noce, la mère du jeune homme, sa famille voient que la jeune fille est jolie. Le lendemain (ou) le jour qui suit celui-là, ils vont la voir. Elle t'a plu? Mais bien sûr qu'elle m'a plu ! On le dit aux gens de la maison, à la mère, aux tantes: votre fille nous a plu, si dieu le voulait, je suis donc venue vous la demander pour mon fils, etc., etc. Bien, dit la mère de la fille, si dieu aussi le voulait ainsi, c'est bien, le père le sait. Ils bavardent, ils se distraient, ils mangent bien, (ensuite) ils s'en vont. Ils étaient à peine partis que le frère ou le père du garçon parle avec le père de la jeune fille, il dit: Votre fille a plu aux gens de notre maison, sur l'ordre de dieu, nous vous demandons votre fille. Puisque la famille du

garçon plaisait déjà au père de la fille, «très bien, très bien, c'est possible», telle est la réponse. Ensuite, qu'est — ce qu'il en sera de l'affaire, voyons un peu, parlons-en — dit le père du garçon. Ce qu'il en sera? Une dot de trois mille leva, trois mille leva apportés au père. Bon, ensuite? Quarante mètres de toile «hasse», cinquante mètres de toile américaine. Bon, et encore? Quinze kilos de laine peignée, huit kilos de «pelemek»; du fil, on fera des couvertures, des oreillers — Bon, et encore? — une paire de chaussures pour la jeune fille, cinq paires de chaussures pour ses frères, un fichu de tête pour les tantes, les habits pour sa mère, pour sa mère une robe en basin. Oh! mon bon, ça ferait beaucoup de mille, ces trois mille leva, si on pouvait les réduire à deux mille! La fille de quelqu'un voulait quatre mille, moi je ne veux pas quatre mille! Trois mille, c'est mon dernier mot, si la fille te convient, prends-la! Ça va, qu'il en soit ainsi! Que feras-tu avec cette toile «hasse»? Je ferai des couvertures, des oreillers! C'est beaucoup de mille ça! Si ça te va,...? Mon bon, même si ça me va, est ce que c'est possible comme ça? Ecoute un peu, tu prends cette fille pour vivre avec elle jusqu'à ta mort et tu dis encore que c'est beaucoup de mille? Si la chose te convient, l'ami... Un autre voulait donner cinq mille leva et je ne l'ai pas donnée. Trois mille est mon dernier mot! S'il manque quelque chose aux trois mille leva, tu ne l'as pas — C'est ainsi que parle le père de la jeune fille, ça va, c'est bien. Ils apportent l'argent le lendemain, les chiffons, la ouate. Combien les chiffons et la ouate? Les chiffons, la ouate, jusqu'à en craquer, tant qu'on en veut, quatre-vingt kilos, cent kilos? C'est bien.., Ils s'en vont, on arrange les vêtements, on règle tout, on finit tout, on fait les noces. Un banquet avec deux tables dit-on, une table pour les hommes, une table pour les femmes, chacune de quinze, en tout trente. Mais mon bon, c'est beaucoup, non, qu'est ce que c'est que cela? Dans notre famille, il y a beaucoup de monde, dit-il. Ensuite on célèbre le mariage. Par exemple elle n'a pas d'ombrelle ou de gants. Elle n'en a pas? Pourquoi n'en a-t-elle pas? Que le cortège retourne, nous voulons une ombrelle pour les parents de la mariée. Il demande de l'argent aux participants au cortège, il tend une ombrelle, il la donne à la fiancée, prends, garde-la. On célèbre les noces, on la fait monter sur le... comment dire, maintenant elle va monter sur le cheval. Si par exemple il n'y a pas de tambour, nous voulons un tambour, disent-ils. On découvre donc vite un tambour, on le met (sur le cheval). Elle pleure, pourquoi en est-il donc ainsi. La tante de la fiancée lui dit: pleure, pleure, elle la fait pleurer. Ses frères lui bissent la main, ils boivent des sorbets, quand le cortège se met en route, les frères donnent de l'argent, lorsqu'ils bissent les mains de la fiancée. Le beau-père jette de l'argent, jette des sucreries, jette de l'argent. Quand on donne la fiancée, on demande de l'argent: on donne de l'argent, que ce soit cinquante leva, que ce soit cent leva, on les donne. Le beau-père donne de l'argent au frère, il prend la fiancée par la main, il prend aussi la longe du cheval de réserve.

Ensuite ils se mettent en route. Ils tendent une corde, juste quand ils sortent du village. Ne le fais pas, ne le fais pas ! Donne tant d'argent ! Ils le donnent. Maintenant, si dans le village le tambour retentit, les gens de la noce se mettent à danser: un bâton, un bâton, tant qu'ils ne se battent les uns les autres ceux de la noce, parce qu'on dansait au village. Donc c'est cela. Ils s'en vont, ils la mettent à côté du garçon. Ce soir là il y a une réception, on mange, tout le village, les voisins, la famille, les amis. Jusqu'au matin on danse, on danse. C'est fini, c'est tout.

#### **10. La fête du Ramadan**

Les Turcs ont la fête du Ramadan. Pendant le Ramadan, on jeûne un mois durant. Vers le matin le tambour retentit, les gens se lèvent, vers le matin ils mangent. Ensuite dans la journée ils prient à cinq reprises, à la prière du soir ils cessent de jeûner, donc ils mangent. Ensuite, aussitôt qu'ils ont jeûné un peu, donc le soir, la veille de la fête, ils regardent la lune, si la lune se voit, il y aura fête, si la lune ne se voit pas il n'y aura pas de fête. Dès que la lune est apparue, même si c'est la nuit, ils font partir des pétards, donc, jusqu'au matin c'est la fête. Les hommes le matin de bonne heure vont au djami, là, ils prient, ils font leur prière de fête. Ils font partir les pétards dans le djami, dans un grand, grand bruit. Quand de nouveau ils retournent chez eux, chacun balai soigneusement avec son balai, les jeunes gens revêtent de somptueux habits, des habits bien propres, éclatants. (Les femmes) vont au devant de leurs maris, ils leur baissent les mains. On fait la fête, donc tous les gens de la maison mangent. Les enfants demandent des sucreries, de l'argent. Si on a de l'argent, on donne de l'argent, si on a des sucreries, on donne des sucreries. Ensuite les invités viennent, la famille, les amis, on met là des sucreries, on donne des bonbons, comme je l'ai dit, on offre (toute sorte de choses). On fait des galettes pour la fête, on fait les galettes un jour d'avance; et les enfants demandent des galettes un jour avant la fête, on appelle cela la veille. Le soir de la fête, chacun va voir sa mère; là, les jeunes s'amusent, mangent des sucreries, de la viande, ce qu'il y a à manger, tout, jusqu'à ce qu'ils n'en peuvent plus. Ensuite, une semaine durant, les filles dansent, les garçons s'amusent. C'est tout.

#### **11. La fête du Kourban**

Comme tu es deux mois et demi après la fête du Ramadan, c'est la fête du Kourban qui vient. Le matin de la fête du Kourban, les hommes s'en vont, c'est-à-dire au djami. En sortant du djami, ils font partir des pétards, chacun

vient, et souhaite bonne fête aux gens de la maison. On immole la victime, personne ne prend d'aliment tant qu'on n'a pas immolé la victime. Celui qui immole la victime — par exemple pour moi c'est mon mari qui me l'immole — celui qui l'a immolée, mange les rognons. On découpe un quart du côté droit de la victime, du côté des côtes, on le partage en sept parties et on les donne aux voisins qui n'en ont pas. On va souhaiter une bonne fête, le soir de nouveau on mange, on se réunit, donc pendant trois jours, pendant cinq jours, de nouveau ce sera la fête. Voilà c'est tout.

### **12. La foire**

Au moment de la foire, nous sommes remplis d'hôtes qui viennent du village. Il y en a de Tchapak, d' Alkaya, d' Erdjili, de Duranlar. Je reviens du travail, et la maison est pleine d'hôtes. Qu'est-ce que je vais faire, me voilà embarrassée. Ensuite que faire, eh oui que faire! Ensuite il y a du pain, on prend dans le four (chez le boulanger) du pain chaud, ensuite en revenant, nous ferons quelque chose. Que feras-tu? J'ai fait cuire un peu de riz, j'y ai mis un peu de fromage, j'y ai mis un oeuf. Ensuite j'ai fait cuire des haricots. C'est prêt. J'ai encore acheté quelques kilos de raisin. Ensuite, eh bien! qu'avons-nous fait encore? J'ai fait une soupe aigre, j'ai mis des oeufs devant mes hôtes: mangez, allons, ne regardez pas ce qui n'est pas bien, leur ai-je dit. Je leur ai donné à manger, je leur ai donné à boire, je les ai emmenés à la foire, je leur ai acheté du raisin. Voilà c'est tout.

### **13. Récit**

Je me mets au travail le matin à huit heures. Généralement c'est le matin que nous allons au travail. Si dieu le veut, avant tout donc, celui qui a couché là une nuit, on lui change ses draps. Celui donc, qui reste une semaine, on lui change ses draps une fois. Donc celui qui vient ce soir, on les lui change le matin. Toi aussi tu t'es sauvé ce soir de notre hôtel. Le directeur t'en voudra: un jour, quand tu auras besoin de lui de nouveau, on verra bien si tu le trouves! A peine étais-tu parti, que nous avons changé tes draps. Si tu veux t'en aller, va-t-en, tu reviendras demain, nous verrons si je t'accepte (si non), tu restes dehors, ensuite je ne m'en mêle pas. Nous faisons les lits, ensuite, eh bien, nous enlevons la poussière, nous lavons les lavabos, nous lavons les carafes, nous lavons les verres. Ensuite nous lavons les cabinets, nous astiquons. Nous travaillons jusqu'au soir. Ci et là nous enlevons la poussière, nous nettoyons toutes les pièces, nous les essuyons avec des morceaux de chiffon. Ensuite, dépêchons-nous, terminons de bonne heure, partons de bonne heure; nous ne finissons (quand même) pas. Est-ce que le travail a une fin?

Jusqu'au soir il sera cinq heures — je ne sors pas. A cinq heures, nous nous en allons. On s'habille, on rassemble ses affaires et il est six heures. Quand je rentre à la maison ma mère dit: où t'es-tu attardé de nouveau? Que faire, ai-je dit, de nouveau je suis en retard, est-ce que le travail a une fin? Ensuite j'arrive à la maison, je prends de l'eau (dans le puits), je balaie de nouveau, je fais à manger, j'apporte à manger, et l'homme est dans l'équipe de nuit jusqu'au matin. D'ailleurs il ne veut pas travailler. Travaille, travaille, que je lui dis, sans travail, où (prendre) le pain. Que faire, moi aussi je travaille. Le travail de la maison aussi c'est pour moi, le linge aussi c'est pour moi, la vaisselle à faire c'est aussi pour moi, les repas c'est aussi pour moi, tout est pour moi. Ensuite je dis: que faire, nous vivrons jusqu'à notre mort. Ensuite il est onze heures, minuit, deux heures, quand nous nous couchons. De nouveau nous allons chez ma tante Murfè, nous restons là à bavarder, ensuite nous invitons la tante Fatmè. Ensuite le sommeil ne vient pas. Quand je reviens du travail, que je voie un peu quelqu'un, je dis, est-ce que je n'ai pas une âme, moi aussi? je dis. C'est tout.

#### 14. Conversation

- Salut à toi !
- Salut à toi !
- Sois la bienvenue ma petite Zeliha !
- C'est dieu qui t'a amenée ma petite Kérimè !
- Eh bien, j'ai la chance de te revoir qu'es-tu devenue?
- Je suis tombée très malade, Kérimè, dans la manufacture.
- Eh bien, eh bien, tu as quelque chose. Je t'ai appelée, je t'ai appelée, je n'ai pas pu te faire venir.
- Toi, comment vas-tu?
- Je vais bien, eh oui, moi aussi je travaille.
- Moi, ma petite Kérimè je suis tout le temps malade.
- De nouveau la manufacture ne t'a pas servi !
- J'avais de terribles battements de coeur, le docteur m'a donné trois jours de vacances.
- De l'angoisse peut-être, de l'angoisse ?
- Sans doute de nouveau (cela).
- Est-ce difficile? Est-ce sur une table que vous travaillez ou bien par terre?
- Les travaux sont très durs cette année, on veut sept kilos, mais le travail est très fatigant, les espèces... nous les trions en les mettant à sept endroits. Les travaux sont délicats cette année, nous ne pouvons jamais lever la tête.
- Travailles-tu par terre, sur une table?

— Nous travaillons par terre.

— Qui est votre contremaître?

— Notre contremaître est Kalina. C'est d'ailleurs très bien, mais les tabacs ne sont pas aussi bons cette année, ils sont très mélangés.

— Vos collecteurs sont qui?

— Toujours les mêmes que tu connais.

— Est-ce que c'est par mauvaise volonté qu'ils vous le rendent?

— Les travaux sont délicats, je te le dis, ne comprends-tu pas ce qu'on dit? Toi, comment vas-tu?

— Mon travail c'est tout le travail de la maison. Le matin je m'en vais, je balaie, je fais les lits, je change (le linge), je lave le lavabo, je lave les verres, je lave les cabinets, je lave la carafe, je fais tout briller, tout ça c'est beaucoup de travail, que faire, petite soeur?

— C'est ça, c'est ça, que faire? le principal c'est d'avoir la santé, et le reste sera de nouveau facile, n'est-ce-pas?

— Tu peux au moins faire ton kilo?

— Il n'est pas du tout sûr que je pourrai le faire. Je suis allée chez le docteur. Le docteur a dit: tu as droit à une retraite, qu'il a dit, toi, qu'il a dit, tu es une très vieille travailleuse. Mon coeur bat très fort, j'ai dit. Comment as-tu attrapé cette maladie, a-t-il dit. Moi aussi je suis un travailleur depuis longtemps. Depuis combien d'années est ce que tu travailles? a-t-il dit. Combien as-tu d'enfants? a-t-il demandé. Et puis ensuite: maintenant, c'est comme ça qu'il en sort une retraite. Voyons un peu...

— Eh bien! tu lui as donné tes livrets?

— Il a dit, apporte tous tes livrets, voyons les papiers, attends, voyons un peu, tout ça a l'air qu'il en sortira une retraite, qu'il a dit.

— Réunis (tous tes papiers,) ma petite soeur, tu y as droit. A moi le docteur m'en donnera une, mais il dit: tu n'es pas assez âgée. Je suis faible, je dis. Si tu es faible, sois faible, mais tu es forte, dit-il, regarde ton travail, toi, dit-il, comme ça. Moi je suis faible, je dis. Puis: Toi faible! mais tu es forte! dit-il. Si tu es malade, tu as droit à une retraite, dit-il. Mais tu n'es pas malade, dit-il. Que faire, ma petite soeur, nous travaillerons, nous ne sommes pas sans travail.

— Ton petit Djàvit, comment va-t-il?

— Il va bien! Djàvit aussi est au travail, Chukru aussi est au travail, je suis restée dans la gêne.

— Vois-tu, vois-tu, si dieu le veut, toi tu as arrangé tes affaires, ma petite Kérimè.

— Je les ai arrangées, je les ai arrangées! Mais que faire? Je ne travaillerai pas qu'il a dit. Ensuite: travaille, travaille, moi aussi je travaille, toi tu as une âme, moi je n'en ai pas? je dis. Ensuite: que faire, lentement, lentement, jusqu'à la mort je travaillerai n'est-ce pas, dit-il lui aussi.

— Moi aussi Kérimè, c'est ce que je dis au docteur. Moi je suis habituée depuis l'enfance à la manufacture. La manufacture me paraît facile. Je ne pourrai pas faire d'autre travail.

— Toi, tu ne supportes pas le travail debout !

— Moi je ne bouge pas de la place où je suis assise, que faire ?

— Eh bien avec tes quatre-vingt-cinq kilos !

— Que faire, moi ma petite soeur je suis grosse, mais je n'ai pas de force, je suis vide, je vais, je viens difficilement à la manufacture. Mais quand même, dieu merci, les normes ne sont pas si serrées que ça.

— Toi aussi, fais donc ton kilo, ce que tu touches, tu le touches.

— C'est ce que nous disons, dieu merci.

— Eh, est-ce que ton Chadiyè vient ? Missa comment va-t-il ? Ta petite bru comment va-t-elle ?

— Ma petite bru aussi va bien, mais elle est occupée avec son enfant.

— Son enfant va bien ?

— Très bien, si dieu le veut.

— Ta Chadiyè vient ?

— Chadiyè a commencé à travailler.

— Qu'est-ce qu'elle fait ?

— Eh bien elle est entrée chez un tailleur là-bas.

— Tiens, tiens ! Ton gendre Mumune, comment va-t-il ?

— Il va bien, (il est) à l'école, lui aussi travaille, il est instituteur à la tête des enfants.

— Allons, allons ne les retiens pas dans le village, qu'ils viennent donc ici !

— Kérimè quand deux coeurs sont devenus un, que ce soit (dans) un village... ! — Ceux-là s'aiment beaucoup ! Ils vivront ensemble ! Que faire ?

— Les gens viennent du village en ville...

— Ils viendront, ils viendront !

— Ils viendront, ils viendront, mais quand viendront-ils ?

— Ils viendront en été, pendant les vacances.

— C'est bien, c'est bien, ma petite Zeliha, ma petite soeur, je ne donnerais pas un de mes enfants dans un village, même si c'était pour être vizir.

— Que faire ma petite soeur, ils s'aimaient. Est-ce qu'il y a un moyen ? Allons, allons j'irai ma petite mère, qu'elle a dit. Si elle l'aime, tu la lui donneras ! Elle aussi elle aime le garçon, moi aussi j'ai dit que je la lui donnais, que faire. Si tu veux t'en aller, va-t-en on te donnera (à lui). J'avais peur que ce ne soit une honte. On lui a mis sur la tête le fichu (des femmes), ensuite nous nous sommes efforcées de la persuader, nous n'avons pas pu la persuader, elle s'est sauvée, elle est partie, que faire ! Le principal c'est qu'ils aient la santé !

— C'est bien mon âme, maintenant (qu'ils restent) un peu là-bas, ensuite qu'ils viennent ici ! Qu'ils fassent construire une maison !

— Que vas-tu faire ! Leur maison est là, toute prête !

— Nouri, comment va-t-il ?

— Lui aussi va bien !

— J'ai invité tout le monde pour ce soir, les Kadriyé, les Sidika, dieu merci, nous nous sommes réunis, nous nous sommes rencontrés. La famille de ma tante Fatmè, de Tchavouche celle de mon père, qu'est-ce que je te dirais d'autre encore. Maintenant Chakir est ici...

— Si j'avais su, j'aurais amené aussi ma petite bru, mon enfant, comme ça aurait été bien !

— Demain aussi nous sommes ici, nous bavarderons de nouveau. Dis donc, toi dis-donc, hier soir nous avons coupé un potiron, et nous l'avons fait cuire au four.

— Pourquoi est-ce que vous ne m'avez pas invitée ma petite Kérimè ?

— Tous les soirs je viens, (je demande) allons Mère, Zeliha n'est pas venue ?

— Non ! Elle a quelque chose ! Ensuite nous avons découpé un potiron, eh bien quoi tante Murfè ! tu pourrais bien découper ce potiron ! Moi je ne peux pas le faire, moi je suis malade, dit-elle. Nous quand nous sommes allées la chercher, elle est venue chez nous joyeusement, de bonne humeur et elle est tombée malade.

— Du potiron blanc ?

— Du potiron blanc.

— Oh, j'aime beaucoup le potiron blanc, justement le potiron blanc ! Comment ne m'en avez-vous pas laissé un morceau.

— Je ne savais pas ma petite soeur, une autre fois ! Ma tante Adlè est venue. Est-ce que tu as lavé les potirons qu'elle a dit. Moi je les ai mis dans un plat les potirons, ensuite je les ai lavés.

— Tu as très bien fait.

— Tiens, tante Murfè, toi tu ne le fais pas, ma tante Adlè au moins le fait. Ma tante Adlè a dit : apporte, apporte que je le fasse. Ma tante Adlè l'a découpé en morceaux. Nous l'avons mis au feu. Moi j'ai mis du charbon dans le fourneau. Le bufle aussi cuit, pas seulement le potiron !

— Bien sûr, bien sûr ça vient du feu, ça vient du bois ! Pour sûr le charbon conserve bien la chaleur.

— Nous étions bêtes, car nous ne savons rien mon âme. Ensuite, dieu merci, nous sommes restés assis jusqu'à onze heures, nous avons bavardé, nous avons bavardé. Gaîté, conte, à la fin j'ai dit : Vous, vous ne travaillez pas, moi je vais au travail, le matin. Ensuite ma tante Adlè a dit : nous allons rester assis encore un peu. Ma tante Adlè n'avait pas du tout l'intention de s'en aller. Ensuite que faire ? Nous restons assises encore un petit peu, on

ne dit pas aux invités de s'en aller. Restons assises encore un peu, qu'elle a dit. Allons qu'elle a dit, car moi je suis malade, dit ma tante Murfè. Sidika est arrivée, elle a invité Kadriyè, elle est rentrée chez elle. Sidika est revenue. Nous t'attendions, Sidika, c'est toi qu'on est venu demander, ou peut-être? Mais non, non, j'ai un invité, mon beau-frère est venu de Djebel. Il y a quelque chose chez toi, il y a une visite pour préparer les fiançailles vous ne me le dites pas. Mais il n'y a rien. Kadriyè est revenue, nous nous sommes amusés un tout petit peu, nous avons attendu que le potiron refroidisse. Froid, chaud, je le leur ai fait manger, pour qu'ils s'en aillent, j'en avais assez, que faire!

— Quand on est lié au village, les invités ne manquent pas, j'en ai aussi chez moi, voyons!

— Naturellement, eh, eh c'est ainsi, voyons, mettons déjà fin aux paroles!

— Dépêchons-nous, dieu soit avec toi.

C'est bien, au revoir.

### Glossaire<sup>b</sup>

<i>ā, aa</i>	aga, propriétaire terrien	[ <i>aşa</i> ]	<i>ālā</i>	très bon, excellent
<i>aač v. āč</i>			<i>āla-</i>	pleurer
<i>aas v. ās</i>			<i>ālaš-</i>	pleurer qn.
<i>aba</i>	espèce d'étoffe grossière		<i>ālat-</i> <i>ālat</i>	ensemble faire pleurer vite
<i>abla</i>	soeur aînée			[SDD I 92: <i>alat</i>
<i>āč</i>	arbre	[ <i>ağaç</i> ]		«acele» ]
<i>ač-</i>	ouvrir		<i>alay</i>	colonne de
<i>adam</i>	homme			marche, défilé
<i>Ādle</i>	nom de personne	[ <i>Adile</i> ]	<i>alaydži</i>	qui défile, qui
<i>adži</i>	pénible, douloureux		<i>aldat-</i>	célèbre
<i>af itmek</i>	pardonner	[ <i>afetmek</i> ]	<i>ālem</i>	tromper
<i>afta</i>	semaine	[ <i>hafta</i> ]		le monde, les
<i>aga</i>	frère aîné	[ <i>aşa</i> ]	<i>ālentrik</i>	gens
<i>agromon</i>	(bulg.) agronome		<i>aleyküm</i>	(bulg.) électricité
<i>ah</i>	ah, o		<i>selām</i>	répétition de la
<i>ak</i>	blanc			formule de
<i>akraba</i>	parent			salutation
<i>al</i>	rouge		<i>ališ-</i>	<i>selām aleyküm</i>
<i>al-</i>	enlever			s'habituer
			<i>alk. v. halk</i>	

<sup>b</sup> Le glossaire comprend également les données figurant dans l'élaboration grammaticale (v. les notes a.). Nous donnons entre parenthèses les équivalents dans la langue courante et dans les dialectes. Ces indications manquent naturellement là où il s'agit de formes identiques ou de formes ne figurant pas encore dans les dictionnaires.

<i>allah</i>	dieu		<i>ayak</i>	pied
<i>alma</i>	pomme	[elma]	<i>ayır-</i>	séparer
<i>altın</i>	or (métal)		<i>aylakči</i>	journalier <i>aylakçı</i>
<i>ama v. eme</i>			<i>ayril-</i>	se séparer
<i>aman</i>	ah, eh bien, mais alors		<i>Ayşe</i>	nom de personne
<i>amerikan</i>	une espèce de toile		<i>âkek</i>	homme [erkek]
<i>anā</i>	allons donc, voyons !		<i>âr</i>	si [eğer]
<i>ana v. anne</i>			<i>âtesi</i>	le lendemain [ertesi]
<i>ana topu</i>	vêtement complet que la mère de la jeune fille reçoit en cadeau de la famille du fiancé à l'occas- sion des noces		<i>bā</i>	vigne; jardin [bağ]
<i>analik</i>	beaux enfants; marâtre		<i>bāče</i>	jardin [bahçe]
<i>anna-</i>	comprendre	[anla-]	<i>bādak</i>	verre à boire [bardak]
<i>anne</i>	mère		<i>baİR</i>	sein [bağır]
<i>ap- v. yap-</i>			<i>bak-</i>	regarder
<i>aptis</i>	ablution religieuse	[abdest]	<i>bakır</i>	cuir; récipient en cuivre
<i>är</i>	lourd	[ağır]	<i>bāla-</i>	attacher [bağla-]
<i>araba</i>	voiture		<i>bāli, bālim</i>	au moins [bari]
<i>arap</i>	arabe		<i>balık</i>	poisson
<i>āret</i>	l'autre monde	[ahret]	<i>banzırmak</i>	goûter qc., saucer
<i>āretlik</i>	ami		<i>barābar</i>	ensemble [beraber]
<i>ārike</i>	veille de la fête		<i>barıt</i>	poudre à canon [barut]
<i>arka</i>	partie de derrière, partie postérieure		<i>barmak</i>	doigt [parmak]
<i>ārlîk</i>	dot	[ağırlık]	<i>baš</i>	tête, chef
<i>artîk</i>	déjà		<i>baška</i>	autre
<i>arzuvâl</i>	requête	[arzuhal]	<i>bašla-</i>	commencer
<i>ās</i>	bouche	[ağız]	<i>başlıdža</i>	surtout, en général
<i>asčik</i>	un peu, un tout	[azıcık]	<i>bat-</i>	plonger
	petit peu		<i>bayā</i>	abondamment, [bayağı]
				suffisamment,
<i>āsir-</i>	éternuer	[aksır-]		pas mal,
<i>ašā</i>	en bas	[aşağı]	<i>baygın</i>	inconscient
<i>āsik</i>	amoureux		<i>bayıl-</i>	s'évanouir, avoir
<i>at</i>	cheval		<i>bayram</i>	le vertige
<i>at-</i>	jeter, rejeter			fête
<i>ateş v. hateş</i>			<i>bayramlaš-</i>	souhaiter une
<i>avlı</i>	cour	[avlı]		bonne fête
<i>āzād it-</i>	libérer	[azad et-]	<i>Bekir</i>	nom de personne
<i>azal'l'a-</i>	injurier	[azarla-]	<i>bekle-</i>	attendre
<i>ay</i>	mois		<i>bel'ā</i>	mal, souci, chagrin
			<i>ben</i>	je, moi
			<i>berāber v.</i>	
			<i>barābar</i>	
			<i>bereket</i>	bénédiction
			<i>beš</i>	cinq
			<i>besik</i>	berceau
			<i>bey</i>	seigneur, bey
			<i>beyāndžılık</i>	bavardage
			<i>beyas</i>	blanc [beyaz]
			<i>beyen-</i>	plaire [begen-]

<i>béyen</i> v. <i>beyen</i>			<i>bülür</i>	cristal	[billâr]
<i>beygir</i> v.			<i>bûn</i>	aujourd'hui	[bugün]
<i>bîgir</i>			<i>bûrâ</i>	rein	[böbrek]
<i>bik-</i>	être rassasié, avoir assez de qc.		<i>bütün</i>	complet	
<i>biydar</i>	blé	[buğday]	<i>büü-</i>	croître	[büyü-]
<i>bî, bi</i>	un	[bir]	<i>büün</i> v. <i>bûn</i>		
<i>bič-</i>	couper		<i>čabîk, čabuk</i>	rapide	[çabuk]
<i>bîgir</i>	cheval de somme	[beygir]	<i>čagâdur</i>	mot de remplis- sage	
<i>bîkere</i>	une fois	[birkere]	<i>čal-</i>	jouer d'un instru- ment de musique	
<i>bil-</i>	savoir		<i>čalgi</i>	musique	
<i>bile</i>	aussi, également, en même temps		<i>čam</i>	sapin	
<i>bile-</i>	aiguiser		<i>čamaşîr</i>	linge	
<i>bin</i>	mille		<i>čamîr</i>	boue	[çamur]
<i>binâ</i>	édifice		<i>čampara</i>	écrevisse	[çalpara]
<i>bis</i>	nous	[biz]	<i>čär-</i>	appeler, faire	[çağır-]
<i>bişir-</i>	faire cuire, faire	[pişir-]	<i>čare</i>	venir	
	la cuisine		<i>čarşaf</i>	issue	
<i>bit-</i>	se terminer		<i>Čavuş</i>	linge	
<i>bitir-</i>	terminer		<i>ček-</i>	nom de personne	
<i>biyen-</i> v. <i>beyen-</i>			<i>čekil-</i>	tirer	
<i>borâ, borê</i>	ici (direction)	[buraya]		se mettre en	
<i>borda</i>	ici (localisation)	[burada]	<i>čibîk</i>	route, partir	
<i>bos</i>	gorge	[boğaz]	<i>čik-</i>	pipe	[çubuk]
<i>boz-</i>	gâter		<i>čikâ-</i>	sortir	
<i>bozul-</i>	se gâter		<i>čiçek</i>	enlever	[çikar-]
<i>boylu</i>	le long de mon corps		<i>čiči</i>	fleur	
<i>boyumdža</i>			<i>čidem</i>	paysan, laboureur	[çiftçi]
<i>boyun</i>	cou		<i>čift</i>	celchique	[çığdem]
<i>böber</i>	piment	[biber]	<i>čirek</i>	couple	
<i>bödžâ</i>	insecte	[böcek]	<i>čok</i>	quart	[çeyrek]
<i>böl-</i>	couper		<i>čorba</i>	beaucoup	
<i>bôle, bôle</i>	ainsi	[böyle]	<i>čödžük</i>	potage, soupe	
<i>böyük</i>	groupe		<i>čölmek</i>	fils	[çocuk]
<i>brak-</i>	laisser	[birak-]	<i>čuğa</i>	poterie, récipient	[çömlek]
<i>bu</i>	celui-ci		<i>čuval</i>	en terre	
<i>bü-</i>	étrangler	[boğ-]	<i>da v. de</i>	vêtement	[çuha]
<i>buba</i>	père	[babâ]	<i>dâ</i>	sac	
<i>budak</i>	branche		<i>dabruka</i>		
<i>bul-</i>	trouver		<i>dak-</i>	montagne	[dağ]
<i>bulaşik</i>	sale, crasseux		<i>daranîk</i>	sorte de	[darbuka]
<i>bulun-</i>	se trouver		<i>dardžava</i>	trompette	
<i>burâ</i> v. <i>borâ</i>			<i>daş-</i>	pendre	[tak-]
<i>burul-</i>	ratatiner		<i>daş-</i>	peigné	
<i>burun</i>	nez		<i>daş-</i>	(bulg.) État	
<i>buzâ</i>	fers, entrave	[buzağı]	<i>daş-</i>	se sauver (soupe)	[taş-]
<i>bük</i>	grand	[büyüük]	<i>datlı</i>	porter, livrer	[taşlı]
				sucrerie	[tatlı]

<i>davıl</i>	tambour	[ <i>davul</i> ]	<i>dümdüs</i>	tout à fait lisse, plat	[ <i>dümdüz</i> ]
<i>dayan-</i>	supporter		<i>düme</i>	bouton	[ <i>düğme</i> ]
<i>de-</i>	dire		<i>dünürlük</i>	première visite	
<i>de</i>	aussi, eh bien, donc, et			d'un représentant de la famille	
<i>dede</i>	ancêtre			du fiancé aux parents de la fiancée	
<i>defter</i>	cahier				
<i>dēl v. dil</i>					
<i>del-</i>	percer		<i>dünyā</i>	monde	
<i>delik</i>	fente		<i>düs</i>	lisse, plat	[ <i>düz</i> ]
<i>delikanni</i>	jeune	[ <i>delikanlı</i> ]	<i>düün</i>	noce	[ <i>dügün</i> ]
<i>delin-</i>	se percer, se fendre, se déchirer		<i>düün goy-</i>	célébrer des noces	[ <i>dügün yap-</i> ]
<i>demek</i>	done		<i>düün sābi</i>	beaux-parents	[ <i>dügün sahibi</i> ]
<i>dermān</i>	remède				
<i>destān</i>	ballade		<i>düz-</i>	arranger, ranger	
<i>devriš</i>	derviche	[ <i>derviş</i> ]	<i>düzel-</i>	rentrer dans l'ordre	
<i>diil</i>	non	[ <i>değil</i> ]	<i>džāmi</i>	djami	
<i>dilim</i>	tranche		<i>džan</i>	âme	
<i>dīmen</i>	moulin	[ <i>değirmen</i> ]	<i>Džāvit</i>	nom de personne	
<i>dīnne-</i>	écouter	[ <i>dinle-</i> ]	<i>džiplak</i>	nu	[ <i>çiplak</i> ]
<i>doktor</i>	docteur		<i>džilve</i>	coquetterie	
<i>dokumet</i>	(bulg.) document		<i>džingene</i>	tzigane	[ <i>çingene</i> ]
<i>dokus</i>	neuf	[ <i>dokuz</i> ]	<i>džins</i>	espèce, race	
<i>dol-</i>	s'emplir		<i>džomat</i>	communauté	[ <i>cemaat</i> ]
<i>doldur-</i>	remplir		<i>džop</i>	réponse	[ <i>cevap</i> ]
<i>dost</i>	ami		<i>džümle</i>	tous, tout	
<i>doyul-</i>	se rassasier		<i>edepsis</i>	mal éduqué,	[ <i>edepsiz</i> ]
<i>döküll-</i>	couler			sans éducation	
<i>dölā</i>	melon	[SDD I 470: <i>dövlek</i> » <i>kavun</i> »]	<i>efendi</i>	seigneur	
<i>dön-</i>	revenir, se tourner, se retourner		<i>ekindži</i>	semence, récolte	
<i>dört</i>	quatre		<i>ekindžilik</i>	agriculteur,	
<i>döşek</i>	matelas			laboureur	
<i>dū-</i>	naître	[ <i>doğ-</i> ]		agriculture, travail	
<i>dur-</i>	tenir debout, résister		<i>ekmek</i>	du laboureur	
<i>dūra-</i>	découper	[ <i>doğra-</i> ]	<i>elbise</i>	pain	
<i>dūru</i>	juste, droit	[ <i>doğru</i> ]	<i>eldirben</i>	vêtement	
<i>duruttur-</i>	faire stationner longtemps, retenir		<i>elhām</i>	gant	[ <i>eldiven</i> ]
<i>dus</i>	sel	[ <i>tuz</i> ]	<i>el'l'eštir-</i>	prière	
<i>dussus</i>	sans sel	[ <i>tuzsuz</i> ]	<i>elli</i>	mettre qc. à sa place	[ <i>yerleştir-</i> ]
<i>duva</i>	prière	[ <i>dua</i> ]	<i>elmas</i>	cinquante	
<i>dū-</i>	frapper, battre	[ <i>döv</i> ]	<i>elpāze</i>	pierre précieuse	
<i>düdük</i>	sifflet		<i>eme</i>	éventail	[ <i>yelpaze</i> ]
			<i>emir</i>	mais, toutefois	[ <i>ama</i> ]
			<i>engeč</i>	commandement	
			<i>engin</i>	écrevisse	[ <i>yengeç</i> ]
			<i>enište</i>	gai	
				beau-frère	

<i>er-</i>	arriver quelque		<i>ganbur</i>	bossu	[ <i>kambur</i> ]
	part		<i>gandır-</i>	convaincre	[ <i>kandır-</i> ]
<i>erdžāil</i>	viola tricolor	[ <i>hercai</i>	<i>gara</i>	noir	[ <i>kara</i> ]
		<i>menekşe</i> ]	<i>garangi</i>	obscurité	
<i>eš dost</i>	parents, connais-		<i>gardaš</i>	frère, soeur	[ <i>kardeş</i> ]
	sances		<i>garı</i>	femme	[ <i>kari</i> ]
<i>et- v. it-</i>			<i>garimdža</i>	fourmi	[ <i>karınca</i> ]
<i>et-</i>	suffire	[ <i>yet-</i> ]	<i>gariş-</i>	intervenir	[ <i>kariş-</i> ]
<i>ev</i>	maison		<i>garişik</i>	mélangé, mêlé	[ <i>karişik</i> ]
<i>ev sāpları</i>	ceux de la maison	[ <i>ev sahip-</i>	<i>garıp</i>	triste, étrange	
		<i>leri</i> ]	<i>gas</i>	oie	[ <i>kaz</i> ]
<i>evl'at</i>	enfant		<i>gāši</i>	en face, contre	[ <i>karşı</i> ]
<i>evvā, evvah</i>	oh, oh; allons		<i>gāšlik</i>	chose faite en	[ <i>karşılık</i> ]
	donc; voyons !			retour, en	
<i>evvel</i>	d'abord, aupara-			revanche	
	vant		<i>gat</i>	couche (de terre	[ <i>kat</i> ]
<i>ezzāna</i>	pharmacie	[ <i>eczane</i> ]		etc.); un	
<i>ezzānedži</i>	pharmacien	[ <i>eczaneci</i> ]		vêtement	
<i>fasila</i>	haricot	[ <i>fasulye</i> ]	<i>gavırma</i>	espèce de viande	[ <i>kavurma</i> ]
<i>Fatme</i>	nom de personne			cuite à	
<i>fayda</i>	profit, utilité			l'étuvée	
<i>fayše v. vayše</i>			<i>gavra-</i>	attraper (une	[ <i>kavra-</i> ]
<i>fenā</i>	mauvais			maladie)	
<i>ferādže</i>	féredjé		<i>gaz-</i>	bêcher	[ <i>kaz-</i> ]
<i>Ferat</i>	nom de personne	[ <i>Ferhat</i> ]	<i>gazan-</i>	se procurer,	[ <i>kazan-</i> ]
<i>fikara</i>	pauvre	[ <i>fukara</i> ]		gagner	
<i>fırın</i>	four; boulangerie		<i>gay-</i>	convaincre	[ <i>kay-</i> ]
<i>fızlan-</i>	s'accélérer	[ <i>hzlan-</i> ]	<i>gāyet</i>	très, beaucoup	
<i>fızlı</i>	rapide	[ <i>hzlı</i> ]	<i>gaynata</i>	beau-père	[ <i>kaynata</i> ]
<i>fil'an</i>	tel		<i>gayrikin</i>	finalement, enfin	
<i>fildžān</i>	tasse	[ <i>fincan</i> ]	<i>geber-</i>	périr	
<i>firāk</i>	séparation		<i>geč-</i>	traverser	
<i>firenk</i>	Européen	[ <i>frenk</i> ]	<i>gečin-</i>	vivre	
<i>firyās</i>	cri perçant	[ <i>feryat</i> ]	<i>geçir-</i>	passer le temps	
<i>fišek</i>	pétard		<i>gedže v. gidže</i>		
<i>gā gā gā gū</i>	onomatopées		<i>gel-</i>	venir	
<i>gab</i>	enveloppe		<i>gelin</i>	fiancée	
<i>gaba</i>	grossier	[ <i>kaba</i> ]	<i>genč</i>	jeune	
<i>gabak</i>	potiron	[ <i>kabak</i> ]	<i>gene</i>	de nouveau, de	
<i>gač</i>	s'évader, s'enfuir	[ <i>kaç-</i> ]		même, pareille-	
<i>gadā</i>	c'est tout;	[ <i>kadar</i> ]	<i>ger-</i>	ment, justement	
	jusqu'à		<i>geri</i>	tendre, distendre	
<i>gadā</i>	verre à boire	[ <i>kadeh</i> ]	<i>geti-</i>	en arrière	
<i>gādīk</i>	déjà		<i>gez-</i>	apporter	[ <i>getir-</i> ]
<i>gaga</i>	gorge		<i>gezdir-</i>	se promener	
<i>gal-</i>	rester	[ <i>kal-</i> ]		faire faire une	
<i>galaba</i>	populeux, plein	[ <i>kalaba</i> ]		promenade à	
<i>galbur</i>	tamis	[ <i>kalbur</i> ]		qn.	
<i>gan-</i>	se régaler, être	[ <i>kan-</i> ]	<i>geze</i>	banquet de noces	[SDD II
	persuadé				623:

<i>göle-</i>	<i>geze</i>	<i>gös</i>	oeil	[ <i>göz</i> ]
<i>göngörögü</i>	«gerdek	<i>götür-</i>	porter	
<i>gör</i>	ten sonra	<i>gözel</i>	beau	[ <i>güzel</i> ]
	oğlan ve	<i>gözlet-</i>	suivre des yeux, surveiller	
	kız ev-			
	lerinin	<i>gra</i>	interjection	
	karşılıkla	<i>gula-</i>	chasser qn. de	[ <i>kovala-</i> ]
	verdikleri		qqpart	
	ziyafet» ]	<i>gulač, gulaš</i>	sorte de galette	
<i>gölg-</i>	faire	[ <i>kul-</i> ]	<i>gurān</i>	le Koran
<i>göngörögü</i>	onomatopée		<i>gurbān</i>	victime, bête
<i>gör</i>	champ; tout lieu			[ <i>kurban</i> ]
	situé en	[ <i>kir</i> ]	<i>gurnas</i>	destinée
	dehors de la			au sacrifice
	maison		<i>guvan</i>	[ <i>kurnaz</i> ]
<i>gör-</i>	briser	[ <i>kir-</i> ]	<i>güč</i>	ruche à panier
<i>görgögü</i>	quarante-deux	[ <i>kirkiki</i> ]		force, effort,
<i>görgögün</i>	onomatopée			difficulté
<i>göz-</i>	en vouloir à qn.,	[ <i>kız-</i> ]	<i>güčük v.</i>	
	se mettre en		<i>küçük</i>	
	colère		<i>gölde</i>	corps
<i>gözan</i>	enfant	[ <i>kızan</i> ]	<i>gül-</i>	[ <i>gövde</i> ]
<i>gözdir-</i>	chauffer à blanc	[ <i>kızdır-</i> ]	<i>gümüšken</i>	rire
<i>gözgin</i>	en colère	[ <i>kızgın</i> ]		espèce d'argent
<i>gibi,</i>	comme		<i>gün</i>	(métal)
<i>gibidžene</i>			<i>gündüz</i>	jour
<i>gidže</i>	la nuit			dans la journée,
<i>gidže yarisi</i>	minuit	[ <i>gece</i> <i>yarısı</i> ]	<i>gönek</i>	le jour
<i>gön- v. giyin-</i>			<i>güneš</i>	chemise
<i>gör-</i>	entrer, pénétrer		<i>gönnük</i>	[ <i>gömlek</i> ]
<i>git-</i>	aller			le soleil
<i>giy-</i>	mettre (un vêtement)			salaire pour une
<i>giyin-</i>	s'habiller		<i>güreš- v.</i>	[ <i>gönlük</i> ]
<i>go-</i>	mettre, placer	[ <i>ko-</i> ]	<i>küreš-</i>	journée
<i>godža</i>	mari	[ <i>koca</i> ]	<i>güs, güüs</i>	
<i>godžuman</i>	puissant	[ <i>kocaman</i> ]	<i>güvā</i>	sein, poitrine
<i>golay</i>	léger, facile	[ <i>kolay</i> ]	<i>hā</i>	[ <i>göğüs</i> ]
<i>gomšu</i>	voisin	[ <i>komşu</i> ]	<i>Habbe</i>	gendre
<i>gonuš-</i>	converser	[ <i>konuş-</i> ]	<i>haber</i>	[ <i>güvey</i> ]
<i>goy-</i>	mettre, placer	[ <i>koy-</i> ]	<i>hačan</i>	eh bien !
<i>goyun</i>	mouton	[ <i>koyun</i> ]	<i>Hačče</i>	nom de personne
<i>göč-</i>	émigrer, partir		<i>hade</i>	[ <i>Habibe</i> ]
<i>gök</i>	ciel		<i>hak</i>	nouvelle
<i>gönül</i>	coeur		<i>häl</i>	lorsque
<i>gör-</i>	voir		<i>halk</i>	nom de personne
<i>görün-</i>	être visible, avoir l'air		<i>hambar</i>	[ <i>Hatrice</i> ]
<i>görüš-</i>	se rencontrer		<i>hangi</i>	allez-y; hors (de
			<i>hanım</i>	[ <i>hayde</i> ]
			<i>hasret</i>	là); loin (d'ici)
				droit
				état, force
				peuple
				dépôt
				quel ?
				[ <i>hangi</i> ]
				dame, demoiselle
				désir, convoitise

<i>hasse</i>	sorte de toile	<i>īramazān</i>	mois de Ramazan	[ <i>ramazan</i> ]
<i>hasta</i>	malade	<i>īs̄ak</i>	chaud	[ <i>sicak</i> ]
<i>hastalik</i>	maladie	<i>īs̄ir-</i>	mordre	
<i>hastane</i>	hôpital	<i>[hastahane]</i>	commander	
<i>hateş</i>	feu	<i>[ateş]</i>	recommandé à	
<i>Häzen</i>	nom de personne	<i>īsmarladîk</i>	Dieu, Dieu soit avec lui	
<i>hazır</i>	prêt	<i>ī</i>	bon	[ <i>iyi</i> ]
<i>hazırla-</i>	apprêter	<i>ič-</i>	boire	
<i>hazırın</i>	juin	<i>ičir-</i>	donner à boire	
<i>hayat</i>	vie	<i>ii, ii v. ī</i>	deux	
<i>hayır</i>	bon, bienfaisant	<i>iki</i>	offrir	[ <i>ikram et-</i> ]
<i>hayır</i>	non	<i>īkrām it-</i>	cuvette, récipient	[ <i>leğen</i> ]
<i>Hayriye</i>	nom de personne	<i>ilâne</i>	destiné aux	
<i>helâl it-</i>	rendre légitime	<i>[helâl et-]</i>	ablutions ou à	
<i>helâllaş-</i>	se pardonner		la lessive	
	mutuellement		citron	[ <i>limon</i> ]
<i>helbet</i>	en effet,	<i>[elbette]</i>	aide	
	certainement		laisser descendre,	
<i>hele</i>	enfin, tout de		faire descendre	
	même, quand		fin, exquis	
	même		(bulg.) ingénieur	
<i>helvet</i> v.		<i>indže</i>	belle-soeur, tante	[ <i>yenge</i> ]
<i>helbet</i>		<i>indžiner</i>	émovoir,	[ <i>inlet-</i> ]
<i>hemân,</i>	tout de suite	<i>inge</i>	ébranler	
<i>hemen</i>		<i>innet-</i>	(bulg.) intelligent	
<i>hep</i>	tout: sans cesse	<i>inteliget</i>	fil	
<i>her</i>	chaque, chacun	<i>ip</i>	abominator, avoir	[ <i>iğren-</i> ]
<i>her halde</i>	certainement	<i>īren-</i>	en horreur	
<i>herkes</i>	tout le monde	<i>īrenč</i>	abominable,	[ <i>iğrenç</i> ]
<i>hümîr hümîr</i>	onomatopée		dégoûtant	
<i>hünzir</i>	pore, cochon	<i>irende</i>	râpe, lime	[ <i>rende</i> ]
<i>hırsız</i>	brigand	<i>[hırsız]</i>	homme	[ <i>insan</i> ]
<i>hırslan-</i>	se fâcher, se		vingt	[ <i>yirmi</i> ]
	mettre en	<i>isān</i>	incomplet	[ <i>eksik</i> ]
	colère	<i>irmi</i>	chaise	
<i>hırtarâsin</i>	onomatopée	<i>isik</i>	vouloir, désirer,	
<i>zırtarâsin</i>		<i>iskemle</i>	demander	
<i>hısım</i>	parent	<i>iste-</i>	travailleur,	
<i>hič</i>	rien		ouvrier	
<i>hiyânet</i>	trahison,	<i>išči</i>	gai	[ <i>şen</i> ]
	infidélité		gaîté	[ <i>şenlik</i> ]
<i>hodža</i>	maître d'école,	<i>išen</i>	acide, aigre	[ <i>ekşi</i> ]
	maître	<i>išennik</i>	travailler	
<i>hontal</i>	gauche, lourd,	<i>[hantal]</i>	voilà	
	grossier	<i>iši</i>	faire	[ <i>et-</i> ]
<i>horos</i>	coq	<i>[horoz]</i>	vieux	[ <i>ihtiyar</i> ]
<i>hoš</i>	agréable	<i>it-</i>	côte	[SDD II 563: eye]
<i>hökümet</i>	gouvernement,	<i>[hükümet]</i>		
	État	<i>ītiyâr</i>		
<i>hur-</i>	battre, frapper	<i>iyâd</i>		

<i>kab</i> v. <i>gab</i>		»kaburga kemiği»]	<i>kibalṭik</i> <i>kibirt</i>	distinction allumette	[ <i>kibarlık</i> ] [ <i>kibrit</i> ]
<i>kabak</i>	potiron		<i>kim</i>	qui?	
<i>kač</i>	combien		<i>kimse</i>	quelqu'un, personne	
<i>kačusta</i>	(bulg.) qualité, espèce		<i>kiši</i>	une personne	
<i>Kadriye</i>	nom de personne		<i>koku</i>	parfum	
<i>kafa</i>	tête		<i>kombil</i>	pomme de terre	
<i>kahramān</i> v.			<i>kondža</i>	bouton de rose	
<i>kāraman</i>			<i>kop-</i>	se détacher	
<i>kaldır-</i>	élever, lever		<i>kor-, kork-</i>	craindre	
<i>kalk-</i>	se lever		<i>kömür</i>	charbon	
<i>kałlan-</i>	éprouver une grande douleur	[ <i>kahırlan-</i> ]	<i>köpek</i>	chien	
<i>kan</i>	sang		<i>köše</i>	coin	
<i>kap-</i>	ravir		<i>kuf</i>	vide	[ <i>kof</i> ]
<i>kap-</i>	fermer		<i>kuja</i>	seau	[ <i>kova</i> ]
<i>kapama</i>	sorte de viande		<i>kujar</i>	(bulg.) valise	
<i>kapı</i>	porte		<i>kufne</i>	(bulg.) cuisine	
<i>kār</i>	souci, chagrin, peine, malveil- lance	[ <i>kahir</i> ]	<i>kundura</i>	chaussure	
<i>kāraman</i>	héros	[ <i>kahraman</i> ]	<i>kurbetlik</i>	séjour loin de	[ <i>gurbet</i> ]
<i>karpış</i>	pastèque	[ <i>karpuz</i> ]	<i>kurot</i>	son pays	
<i>kasaba</i>	ville			(bulg.) station	
<i>kaš</i>	les cils			balnéaire, lieu	
<i>kaš</i> v. <i>kač</i>	cuiller			de villégiature	
<i>kaşık</i>				sauver	
<i>kāve</i>	café	[ <i>kahve</i> ]		échapper, être	
<i>kaz-</i> v. <i>gaz-</i>				sauvé	
<i>kayın válide</i>	belle-mère			être construit	
<i>kaynana</i>	belle-mère			faute	
<i>kayri</i>	autre, en dehors	[ <i>gayri</i> ]		force	
<i>kā/sis</i>	de mauvaise humeur	[ <i>keyifsiz</i> ]		agneau, agneau	
<i>kedi</i>	chat			village	[ <i>köy</i> ]
<i>kefin</i>	linceul	[ <i>kefen</i> ]		petit, petiot	[ <i>küçükçük</i> ]
<i>kerāmet</i>	miracle, forcee magique			petit	[ <i>küçük</i> ]
<i>keri</i> v. <i>geri</i>				onomatopées	
<i>Kerime</i>	nom de personne		<i>külü</i>	servant à ex- primer un	
<i>kes-</i>	couper		<i>kümes</i>	grand bruit	
<i>kesek</i>	déterminé, clos			(v. Ronzevalle: Journ. As.	
<i>kılıč</i>	épée		<i>künäf</i>	1911, p. 435)	
<i>kirk</i>	quarante		<i>küreş-</i>	villageois	[ <i>köylü</i> ]
<i>kisil-</i>	être pris		<i>laf, läf</i>	bergerie, poulailleur,	
<i>kismet</i>	destin, partage			porcherie	
<i>kız-</i> v. <i>gız-</i>			<i>laf, läf</i>	pêché, crime	[ <i>günah</i> ]
				lutter	[ <i>güres-</i> ]
				parole, discours, bavardage	
			<i>lä/güdžu</i>	potinier	

<i>lāna</i>	chou	[lahana]	<i>mezār</i>	tombe, fosse	[mezar]
<i>l'āzim</i>	nécessaire		<i>mezārlık</i>	cimetière	
<i>lef</i>	(bulg.) lev (unité monitaire bulg.)		<i>meyāne</i>	cabaret, taverne	[meyhane]
<i>liska</i> ( <i>yap-</i> )	(bulg.) astigner, rendre luisant		<i>mīfka</i>	(bulg.) tuyau d'écoulement, canal déversoir	
<i>līlek</i>	cigogne	[leyiek]	<i>mīkīdīmīk</i>	onomatopée	
<i>lira</i>	lire		<i>mīkīkmīkīdī</i>	onomatopée	
<i>löbetçi</i>	(personne qui est d'inspection, de service)	[nöbetçi]	<i>mītlak</i>	absolu, absolument	[mutlak]
<i>lüzg'är</i>	vent	[rüzgär]	<i>mīdān</i>	place	[meydan]
<i>mā</i>	eh bien !		<i>millet</i>	peuple	
<i>mādzır</i>	émigrant	[muhacir]	<i>mīmān</i>	invité, hôte	[mihman]
<i>māle</i>	quartier de ville	[mahalle]	<i>mināre</i>	minaret	
<i>mālim,</i> <i>mallim</i>	instituteur	[muallim]	<i>Misā</i>	nom de personne	[Musa]
<i>māmele</i>	procédé	[muamele]	<i>misāfir</i>	invité, hôte	
<i>mandā</i>	buffle		<i>mişin</i>	peau tannée	[meşin]
<i>mapiś</i>	emprisonné, prisonnier	[mahpus]	<i>mördiven</i>	escalier	[merdiven]
<i>mappet</i>	amitié, amour	[muhabbet]	<i>murāt</i>	dessein, but, désir	
<i>mapus</i> v. <i>mapiś</i>			<i>muşamma</i>	imperméable	[muşamba]
<i>mārebe</i>	lutte, guerre	[muharebe]	<i>mutfak</i>	cuisine	
<i>masa</i>	table		<i>mühtü</i> v. <i>mültü</i>		
<i>masal</i>	conte		<i>Mümün</i>	nom de personne	[Mümin]
<i>māsara</i>	siège	[muhasara]	<i>Mürje</i>	nom de personne	[Mürefeh]
<i>māsus</i>	particulier	[mahsus]	<i>müsāde</i>	permission	[müsaade]
<i>māsallā</i>	que c'est beau !	[maşallah] bravo !	<i>mütiş</i>	redoutable	[müthiş]
<i>māšer</i>	foule, multitude	[mahşer]	<i>müttü</i>	mufti	[müftü]
<i>māza</i>	manufacture (de tabac)	[mağaza]	<i>nāb</i> v. <i>nāp</i>		
<i>māyene</i>	contrôle	[muayene]	<i>namaz</i>	prière	
<i>mayyen</i>	certain	[muayyen]	<i>namīs</i>	poul	[nabız]
<i>mektep</i>	école		<i>nāp</i>	de quelle sorte ?	
<i>melmer</i>	marbre	[mermer]	<i>nasıl</i>	de quelle facon ?	
<i>meneşše</i>	violette	[menekşe]	<i>nasīp ol-</i>	comment ?	
<i>merāmet</i>	pitié	[merhamet]	<i>naşırpa</i>	échouer en	
<i>Merān</i>	nom de personne, pers. شاه	[shah]	<i>ne</i>	partage	
<i>mergüs</i>	narcisse	[nergis]	<i>nasırpa</i>	récipient en cuivre pour boire	[maşrapa]
<i>mesel'ā</i>	par exemple		<i>nene</i> v. <i>nine</i>	quo ? qui ?	
<i>mesele</i>	question, affaire		<i>Neppe</i>	nom de personne	
<i>mesepl</i>	secte		<i>nine</i>	grand-mère	
<i>meşür</i>	célèbre	[meşhur]	<i>nişanna-</i>	fiancer	[nişanla-]
<i>metro</i>	mètre	[metre]	<i>nişanni</i>	fiancé, -e	[nişanlı]
<i>mezal'l'ik</i> v. <i>mezarlık</i>			<i>niyet</i>	dessein	
			<i>nōma</i>	(bulg.) norme de travail	
			<i>Nūri</i>	nom de personne	

<i>nümere</i>	nombre, numéro d'une maison	[numara]	<i>patırda-</i>	être en colère, maugréer	
<i>oda</i>	chambre		<i>patladžan</i>	aubergine	[patlucan]
<i>odun</i>	bois; acquisition de bois		<i>pātšāh</i>	padischah	[padişah]
<i>oftika</i>	(bulg.) opticien		<i>pāzen</i>	basin (tissu)	
<i>okarī</i>	en haut	[yukarı]	<i>paygīn</i> v.		
<i>okka</i>	unité de poids		<i>baygīn</i>		
<i>oklā</i>	rouleau à pâtisserie	[oklava]	<i>payıl-</i> v.		
<i>oku-</i>	lire, étudier		<i>bayıl-</i>		
<i>okut-</i>	enseigner		<i>payton</i>	phaéton	[fayton]
<i>ol-</i>	être, devenir		<i>pek</i>	très, beaucoup	[bekle-]
<i>olhamīr</i>	tilleul	[əhlamur]	<i>pekle-</i>	attendre	[felemenk]
<i>oluk</i>	remise, écurie	[SDD III 1089: oluk *ahırə ]	<i>pelemek</i>	sorte de fil	[pehlivan]
<i>on</i>	dix		<i>pelevān</i>	lutteur	
<i>orā, ore</i>	lè (direction)		<i>penā</i> v. <i>fenā</i>		
<i>orudž</i>	jeûne		<i>pençere</i>	fenêtre	[pencere]
<i>Osmān</i>	nom de personne		<i>oluk</i>	(bulg.) retraite,	
<i>otel</i>	(bulg.) hôtel		<i>pensiya</i>	pension	
<i>otur-</i>	être assis, s'asseoir		<i>peri</i>	fée	
<i>oul</i>	fils	[oğul]	<i>peslān</i>	basilic	[jesleğen]
<i>oynat-</i>	faire danser		<i>püčak</i>	cənif	[biçak]
<i>oyun</i>	danse		<i>pÿika</i>	(bulg.) dinde	
<i>öbür</i>	l'autre		<i>pīdā</i>	événement, apparition	[peyda]
<i>öde-</i>	payer		<i>pil-</i> v. <i>bil-</i>		
<i>öküs</i>	boeuf	[öküz]	<i>pilič</i>	poussin	
<i>öldür-</i>	tuer		<i>pinā</i> v. <i>binā</i>		
<i>öldürt-</i>	faire tuer		<i>pin-</i>	monter	[bin-]
<i>öl-</i>	mourir		<i>pindir-</i>	faire monter	
<i>ôle, öle</i>	de cette façon-là	[öyle]	<i>pīnir</i>	fromage	[peynir]
<i>ölüm</i>	mort		<i>pirinč,</i> <i>pirinš</i>	riz	
<i>Ömer</i>	nom de personne		<i>piš-</i>	cuire (intrans.)	
<i>öp-</i>	embrasser		<i>pučinka</i>	(bulg.) repos	
<i>örümđzä</i>	araignée	[örümcek]	<i>pudala</i>	sot	
<i>öt-</i>	chanter		<i>pul</i>	écaille	
<i>paalı</i>	cher	[pahalı]	<i>pul-</i> v. <i>bul-</i>		
<i>pāk</i>	pur		<i>putret</i>	(bulg.) tableau, portrait	
<i>pakla-</i>	nettoyer		<i>pütün</i> v.		
<i>palta</i>	hache	[balta]	<i>bütün</i>		
<i>pamık</i>	coton, ouate	[pamuk]	<i>raatlık</i>	calme; qui garde bien le	[rahatlık]
<i>pampadžik</i>	propre, brillant			feu	
<i>panayır</i>	foire		<i>rahat</i>	tranquille	
<i>para</i>	argent (monnaie)		<i>ramazān</i>	jeûne	
<i>parča</i>	pièce		<i>rāmet</i>	pluie	[rahmet]
<i>paşa</i>	pacha		<i>renk</i>	couleur	
			<i>rezillik</i>	honte	
			<i>rūh</i>	âme	

<i>sā</i>	droit	[sağ]	<i>sis</i>	vous	[siz]
<i>sač</i>	cheveux		<i>siyā</i>	noir	[siyah]
<i>sač-</i>	semier, répandre		<i>smena</i>	(bulg.) relève, équipe	
<i>sabraš</i>	(bulg.) celui qui rassemble, qui recueille		<i>soba</i>	le poêle	
<i>sadžā</i>	trépied pour poser le chaudron	[sacayağı]	<i>sofra</i>	table	
<i>safīn</i>	savon	[sabun]	<i>sokak</i>	rue	
<i>sakin-</i>	faire attention, être sur ses gardes		<i>sonradžim</i> <i>v. sōra</i>		
<i>sakla-</i> <i>sal-</i>	garder, cacher laisser partir, congédier		<i>sōra,</i> <i>sōradžik,</i> <i>sōradžim</i>	après, plus tard	[sonra]
<i>sālam</i>	sain, bonne santé	[sağlam]	<i>sū-</i> <i>sük</i>	refroidir	[soğu-]
<i>sālik</i>	santé	[sağlık]	<i>sula-</i> <i>savan</i>	froid	[soğuks]
<i>sāmsak</i>	ail	[sarımsak]	<i>sū-</i>	abreuver	
<i>sandık</i>	caisse		<i>sübürge</i>	oignon	[soğan]
<i>sap-</i>	dévier, s'écartez du chemin		<i>süle-</i> <i>sündür-</i>	gronder qn.	[söv-]
<i>saray</i>	palais		<i>süpü-</i> <i>sürt-</i>	balai	[süpürge]
<i>saat v.</i> <i>sāt</i>			<i>sūt, süüt</i>	dire	[söyle-]
<i>sāt</i>	heure, montre	[saat]	<i>şā</i>	éteindre	[söndür-]
<i>sat-</i>	vendre		<i>Şadiye</i>	balayer	[süpür-]
<i>sebet</i>	corbeille	[sepet]	<i>şakat-</i>	frotter	
<i>sekseen</i>	quatre-vingts			saule	[söğüt]
<i>sel'ām</i>	formule de aleyküm			chah	[şah]
<i>sel'āmet</i>	salut de l'âme			nom de personne	
<i>semā</i>	ciel			nettoyer, balayer	[SDD III 271: şakitmak
<i>sen</i>	tu, toi				«süpür- mek, temizle- mek»]
<i>sene</i>	année		<i>şākir</i>	nom de personne	
<i>sepet v.</i> <i>sebet</i>			<i>şāş-</i>	être étonné	
<i>sev-</i>	aimer		<i>şāşır-</i>	s'étonner, se confondre	
<i>sevin-</i>	se réjouir		<i>şavik</i>	lumière	
<i>sičira-</i>	sautiller	[sığra-]	<i>şefteli</i>	pêche	[şeftali]
<i>Sidika</i>	nom de personne		<i>şeker</i>	sucré	
<i>sikī</i>	étroit		<i>şeker gez-</i>	ramasser du	
<i>sikinti</i>	angoisse			sucré, quêter	
<i>sirik</i>	perche, bâton		<i>şemşeye</i>	ombrelle	
<i>sirsinti</i>	secousse	[sarsıntı]	<i>şennik</i>	gaîté, divertis- sement	[şenlik]
<i>silk-</i>	effacer		<i>şerāt</i>	la loi «şeriat»	[şeriat]
<i>sīr</i>	inspection, contemplation	[seyr]	<i>şerbet</i>	sorbet	
<i>sīrek</i>	rare	[seyrek]	<i>şezzāde</i>	prince	[şehzade]

<i>şey</i>	chose, truc, quelque chose			<i>tete</i>
<i>sindi</i>	maintenant	[ <i>şimdi</i> ]		«teyze, hala,
<i>sindidžik</i>	juste maintenant			baba-
<i>siše</i>	bouteille			anne» ]
<i>şıšman</i>	gros		<i>tezg'ā</i>	atelier
<i>şôle, şole</i>	ainsi	[ <i>şöyle</i> ]	<i>tınma-</i>	ne souffler mot
<i>şu</i>	celui-ci		<i>titire-</i>	trembler [titre-]
<i>şurā</i>	ici (direction)	[ <i>şuraya</i> ]	<i>tize</i>	tante [teyze]
<i>Şürükü</i>	nom de personne		<i>tokmak</i>	marteau
<i>şükür</i>	reconnaissance		<i>tolu</i>	la grêle [dolu]
<i>şüpe</i>	doute	[ <i>şüphe</i> ]	<i>topalıak</i>	rond [toparlak]
<i>şüpelen-</i>	douter	[ <i>şüphelen-</i> ]	<i>topla-</i>	recueillir,
<i>tā</i>	encore	[ <i>daha</i> ]		rassembler
<i>tabüt</i>	cercueil	[ <i>tabut</i> ]	<i>toplantıi</i>	réunion
<i>tādil</i>	vacances, congé	[ <i>tatıl</i> ]	<i>toplaş-</i>	se réunir
<i>tak- v. dak-</i>			<i>tos</i>	poussière [toz]
<i>takır takır</i>	onomatopée		<i>toyur-</i>	rassasier [doyur-]
<i>talebe</i>	élève		<i>töybe</i>	le repentir [tövbe]
<i>tālıh</i>	fortune		<i>tut-</i>	prendre, attraper
<i>tam</i>	exact, exactement		<i>tü</i>	plume [tüy]
<i>tamām</i>	complet, prêt		<i>tükān</i>	magasin, bouti- [dükkân]
<i>tāne</i>	pièce			que
<i>tanı-</i>	connaître		<i>tümbelek</i>	corps de la [dümbelek]
<i>taraʃ</i>	côté, moitié			chaudière
<i>tārih</i>	moment, date		<i>türk</i>	ture
<i>tarna</i>	soupe aux pâtes	[ <i>tarhana</i> ]	<i>türüs</i>	dur, ferme [dürüst]
<i>taš</i>	pierre		<i>tütün</i>	tabac
<i>tāta</i>	planche, planche	[ <i>tahta</i> ]	<i>u</i>	lui (elle), celui [o]
	pour laver			(celle)-lā
	les cadavres		<i>udž</i>	bout, angle de qc.
<i>tauk</i>	poule	[ <i>tavuk</i> ]	<i>ufā</i>	petit [uʃak]
<i>taul v. davıl</i>			<i>ulak</i>	chevreau [oğlak]
<i>tava</i>	assiette		<i>ulu</i>	grand
<i>te v. de</i>			<i>undžas</i>	lui, sa seigneu- [oncağız]
<i>tel</i>	fil			rie (iron.
<i>tembì</i>	avertissement	[ <i>tembih</i> ]		et dim.)
<i>temizle-</i>	nettoyer		<i>unut-</i>	oublier
<i>tendžere</i>	casserole		<i>upravitel</i>	(bulg.) directeur
<i>teneşir tātası</i>	planche pour laver les	[ <i>teneşir</i>	<i>urba</i>	robe [rubá]
	cadavres	<i>tahtası</i> ]	<i>urgan</i>	corde
<i>tep-</i>	pousser du pied,		<i>urumeli</i>	Roumélie [Rumeli]
	pousser		<i>uryā</i>	rêve [rüya]
<i>tepe</i>	colline		<i>ustabaşı</i>	maître, contre-
<i>tepeş-</i>	remuer	[ <i>tepis-</i> ]	<i>uşa-</i>	maître
<i>terzi</i>	tailleur		<i>utan-</i>	caresser [okşa-]
<i>teslim it-</i>	transmettre	[ <i>teslim et-</i> ]	<i>uyku</i>	avoir honte
<i>tete</i>	belle-mère;	[SDD III	<i>ü-</i>	rêve
	grand-mère	1438:		louer, faire des [ög-] éloges

<i>üč</i>	trois			
<i>ăkelen-</i>	être fâché	[ <i>öfkelen-</i> ]		prendre, se faire attraper
<i>ün</i>	gloire		<i>yap-</i>	faire
<i>ăren-</i>	apprendre	[ <i>öğren-</i> ]	<i>yapā</i>	laine [i] <i>yapağı</i>
<i>ürül-</i>	s'emmêler	[ <i>örül-</i> ]	<i>yapıl-</i>	se produire, être
<i>Üsēn</i>	nom de personne	[ <i>Hüseyen</i> ]		produit, construit
<i>ăsür-</i>	tousser	[ <i>öksür-</i> ]		lettre
<i>ăsüs</i>	orphelin	[ <i>öksüz</i> ]	<i>yaprak</i>	faire faire
<i>üün</i>	repas	[ <i>ögün</i> ]	<i>yaptır-</i>	aime, maîtress
<i>üzüm</i>	raisin		<i>yār</i>	sa'dapter, convenir
<i>vakit</i>	temps		<i>yara-</i>	créer
<i>vălide</i>	mère			demain
<i>var</i>	il y a		<i>yarat-</i>	
<i>var-</i>	atteindre, arriver		<i>yarin</i>	larame
<i>vayše</i>	prostituée	[ <i>fahıse</i> ]	<i>yaš</i>	vivre
<i>ve</i>	et		<i>yaşa-</i>	fichu
<i>ver-, vér- v. vir-</i>			<i>yašmak</i>	être couché, se coucher
<i>vezir</i>	vizir, chef		<i>yat-</i>	lit
<i>vir-</i>	donner	[ <i>ver-</i> ]		lent
<i>vuraska</i>	(bulg.) cravate		<i>yatak</i>	petit d'un animal, rejeton
<i>zamān</i>	temps		<i>yavaš</i>	écrire
<i>zāmet</i>	fatigue, chagrin	[ <i>zahmet</i> ]	<i>yavru</i>	été
<i>zanat</i>	industrie, métier	[ <i>zanaat</i> ]		écriture
<i>zarar</i>	dommage		<i>yaz-</i>	en été
<i>zăten</i>	en effet		<i>yaz</i>	réserve
<i>zayıf</i>	faible		<i>yazı</i>	sept
<i>Zeliha</i>	nom de personne		<i>yazıñ</i>	local [i] <b>yerli</b>
<i>zenzele</i>	tremblement de	[ <i>zerzele</i> ]	<i>ye- v. yi-</i>	fruit
	terre		<i>yedek</i>	sorte de fruit
<i>zerbes</i>	libre	[ <i>serbest</i> ]	<i>yedi</i>	endroit
<i>zindān</i>	prison		<i>yelli</i>	vert
<i>Zînep</i>	nom de personne	[ <i>Zeynep</i> ]	<i>yemiš</i>	
<i>zor</i>	lourd, difficile		<i>yemişken</i>	
<i>zuāl</i>	question	[ <i>sual</i> ]	<i>yer</i>	
<i>zurna</i>	instrument de		<i>yeşil</i>	
	musique ressemblant au hautbois		<i>yet- v. et-</i>	
<i>Zülmān</i>	nom de personne	[ <i>Süleyman</i> ]	<i>yika-</i>	laver
<i>Zăre</i>	nom de personne	[ <i>Zühre</i> ]	<i>yilan</i>	serpent
<i>yafidî</i>	juif	[ <i>yahudi</i> ]	<i>yıldis</i>	étoile
<i>yahut</i>	ou		<i>yimırta</i>	oeuf [i] <b>yumurta</b>
<i>yak-</i>	brûler		<i>yimişak</i>	mou [i] <b>yumuşak</b>
<i>yala-</i>	lécher		<i>yın, yün</i>	tas [i] <b>yrın</b>
<i>yalandžilik</i>	mensonge, série de mensonges		<i>yırak</i>	loin, lointain [i] <b>ırak</b>
<i>yalniš</i>	erroné	[ <i>yanlış</i> ]	<i>yı-</i>	manger [i] <b>ye-</b>
<i>yalvar-</i>	supplier		<i>yidir-</i>	faire manger, donner à man-
<i>yamač</i>	pente			ger
<i>yan-</i>	être brûlé, se faire			passer son temps, s'amuser [i] <b>eğlen-</b>
			<i>yine</i>	de nouveau

<i>yok</i>	il n'y a pas	<i>yüklen-</i>	être chargé, se
<i>yol</i>	chemin		remplir
<i>yolla-</i>	envoyer	<i>yürek</i>	coeur
<i>yōsa</i>	ou bien, par ailleurs	<i>yüz</i>	cent
<i>yū-</i>	mettre, poser	<i>yüzlük</i>	baguette
			[ <i>yüzük</i> ]

A kiadásért felel az Akadémiai Kiadó igazgatója

Műszaki szerkesztő: Farkas Sándor

A kézirat nyomdába érkezett: 1960. III. 19. — Terjedelem: 11,75 (A/5) ív

1960.51028 — Akadémiai Nyomda, Budapest — Felelős vezető: Bernát György

The *Acta Orientalia* publish papers on oriental philology and culture in English, German, French and Russian.

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I N D E X

B. CSONGOR: Some Chinese Texts in Tibetan Script from Tun-Huang .....	97
B. CH. TODAEVA: Mongolische Dialekte in China .....	141
A. RÓNA-TAS: Dariganga Folklore Texts .....	171
G. HAZAI: Textes turcs du Rhodope .....	184

# LES ANCIENS ÉLÉMENTS MONGOLS DANS LE MANDCHOU\*

PAR

L. LIGETI

Il est notoire que la principale difficulté de l'hypothèse altaïque consiste en ce contact pour ainsi dire ininterrompu qui existait d'une part entre le mongol et le mandchou-tongous, d'autre part entre le turc et le mongol. En conséquence de ce contact prolongé, on observe une influence réciproque importante dans le domaine de la grammaire et du lexique de ces langues. Ce qui est particulièrement frappant, c'est l'influence de la langue turque sur le mongol et celle du mongol sur le mandchou-tongous. Plus les vestiges de ces influences remontent loin, plus on court le risque de confondre les éléments grammaticaux et lexicaux provenant de l'emprunt, avec les éléments primitifs, d'origine génétique.

Au point de vue de l'élucidation de la parenté linguistique altaïque, il est donc extrêmement important de pouvoir séparer les concordances linguistiques de deux provenances différentes.

Partant de ces considérations-là, qu'il me soit permis de formuler quelques remarques sur certains problèmes concernant les éléments mongols anciens du lexique mandchou.

Avant d'aborder le problème proprement dit, il me paraît utile de définir deux termes de plus près. Je me servirai du terme mandchou dans une acceptation un peu plus large. Sous cette étiquette j'entendrai aussi le djurtchen, puisque cette langue possède des particularités qui la séparent nettement des autres langues de la branche méridionale, et la rattachent étroitement au mandchou; en fin de compte, le mandchou doit être considéré comme un des dialectes du djurtchen. Sous la définition «anciens éléments mongols» j'entendrai cette fois ceux qui ont pénétré dans le mandchou (ou le djurtchen) depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à l'époque de la formation du mongol classique, c'est à dire jusqu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ajoutons encore que, dans ce qui suit, nous nous bornerons à des questions de vocabulaire et de phonétique.

Ces remarques préliminaires faites, on peut poser la question: y a-t-il moyen de séparer les anciens éléments mongols du mandchou des éléments

\* Communication faite au XXVe Congrès International des Orientalistes à Moscou, le 10 août 1960.

primitifs d'origine altaïque du vocabulaire mandchou, et peut-on distinguer ces mêmes anciens éléments mongols des emprunts faits au mongol par le mandchou après le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle ? Il me semble qu'en général, sous certaines réserves, on puisse répondre par l'affirmative.

La détermination des emprunts mongols les plus anciens demeure sans doute extrêmement difficile, puisque, selon nos connaissances actuelles, au point de vue phonétique, ceux-ci ne diffèrent guère des éléments primitifs du lexique altaïque conservés et dans le mandchou et dans le mongol.

En ce qui concerne la solution des problèmes qui se posent sous ce rapport, nous sommes obligés de nous en remettre presque exclusivement au témoignage de la géographie linguistique. Plus exactement, nous devons considérer combien le mot en question est répandu dans les langues mandchoues-tongouses. On observera qu'un terme n'est connu que par le mandchou (et le djurtchen) et est ignoré par les autres langues mandchoues-tongouses; en ce cas il est fort probable qu'on ait affaire à un mot d'emprunt. Bien entendu il ne faut pas oublier que les conclusions de cet ordre n'ont pas toujours une valeur absolue.

En ce qui concerne la couche la plus jeune des anciens éléments mongols du mandchou, il convient de faire remarquer qu'au point de vue de la linguistique comparative altaïque, il est parfaitement indifférent que certains éléments mongols aient pénétré dans le mandchou au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle ou au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, voire même plus tard. Ce n'est pas un soin philologique outré qui nous a amenés à établir cette ligne de démarcation chronologique, mais c'est le souci de l'histoire de la langue mongole qui, pour une bonne part, nous a incités à soulever la question sous la présente forme.

Le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle inaugure dans l'histoire de la langue mongole l'époque du mongol récent qui, dès le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle nous offre une période amplement documentée. L'étude de cette dernière époque de langue mongole paraît une tâche moins urgente que celle des époques antérieures. Les XV<sup>e</sup>—XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles — période du mongol moyen — présentent relativement peu de documents, par contre beaucoup de problèmes. C'est l'étude de la langue de cette époque qui doit nous permettre de répondre à plusieurs questions non sans importance, telles que: comment, par quelles étapes intermédiaires, la langue mongole des XIII<sup>e</sup>—XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles a-t-elle abouti à la formation de la langue classique ? Comment les langues et dialectes mongols d'aujourd'hui se sont-ils formés pendant cette époque de transition ? Dans ces conditions, il n'est guère indifférent de trouver les moyens d'approcher cette période intéressante de la langue mongole, par exemple aussi à travers les mots d'emprunt mongols dans la langue mandchoue.

Il n'est pas sans intérêt non plus de rassembler quelques matériaux sur le premier siècle de la période du mongol moderne, en partant de ce côté-ci. Dans le même ordre d'idées, il ne serait pas moins utile d'étudier la manière

dont la langue mongole des XIII<sup>e</sup>—XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles se reflète dans les mots d'emprunt du mandchou. Il faut accorder une attention particulière aux informations que nous livre le mandchou, plus exactement le djurtchen, sur la langue mongole et ses dialectes des époques antérieures au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: ce sont les seuls témoignages qu'on possède actuellement sur cette époque de l'histoire de la langue mongole.

Nous essaierons de dégager les problèmes de deux côtés, notamment du côté du lexique et du côté de la phonétique historique; le but que nous nous sommes proposé dans les deux cas est de parvenir à une conclusion chronologique. A la base des matériaux dont nous disposons aujourd'hui, nous examinerons séparément le côté lexicologique et le côté phonétique de la question.

Le témoignage chronologique des éléments lexicologiques est, dans un sens, irréprochable: tel ou tel mot mongol n'a pu être adopté par le mandchou qu'à une époque antérieure à celle dans laquelle le document mandchou contenant le mot en question a vu le jour. Il y a lieu d'attribuer une valeur spéciale à cette délimitation chronologique au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, époque où l'on commençait à fixer le mandchou par écrit. Aujourd'hui nous ne sommes toujours pas en mesure d'établir avec précision le rôle qu'ont joué certains dialectes mongols orientaux, comme par exemple, le gorlos, dans l'influence qu'a subie la langue mandchoue parlée et écrite.

En principe on dispose d'un bon nombre de sources datant du début de la dynastie mandchoue et fournissant des matériaux fort intéressants à ce point de vue. Il suffit de rappeler les documents en écriture «sans points et sans cercles» d'avant 1632 (*tongki fuqa aqô xergen*), en particulier les *lao-tang*,<sup>1</sup> ou les œuvres mandchoues, d'avant 1700. Parmi celles-ci on trouve entre autres trois dictionnaires (l'un d'eux en deux éditions), pas moins de 24 textes pouvant être datés exactement, textes qui, le plus souvent, sont traduits du chinois.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. Ligeti, *A propos de l'écriture mandchoue*, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* II (1952), pp. 235—301 et *Deux tablettes de T'ai-tsung des Ts'ing*, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* VIII (1958), p. 213, notes 1 et 2. Cf. encore Shunju Imanishi, *Study on the sound [û] in Manchu*, dans *Monumenta Orientalia* I (Tenri 1959), pp. 17—52 (en japonais) et IX—X (résumé en anglais); *On some of the specific Manchu letters and their romanisation*, ibid., pp. 53—66 et X—XI; *The catalogue of Man-wen Lao-tang*, ibid., pp. 67—88 et XI—XII; *Date of the copying of Man-wen Lao-tang*, ibid., pp. 89—93 et XII; *The part of the 3rd year of Ch'ung-tê of Man-wen Lao-tang*, ibid., pp. 94—100 et XIII; *Correction of the Photographic Album: part of Ta [T'ai]-tsung regime of Man-wen Lao-tang*, ibid., pp. 101—103 et XIII; *Translation and explanatory notes to the Ch'ien-lung annotations of Man-wen Lao-tang*, ibid., pp. 104—219 et XIV. Voir encore *Tongki fuqa aqu xergen-i bidxe* (sic), reproduction photographique augmentée d'un avant-propos en mongol par Prof. Dr. Rintchen, publiée comme Tome V, fasc. 1. du *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum* (Ulaanbaatar 1959), pp. 2 + 118 + 70 + 81 + 76.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Fuchs, *Beiträge zur mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur* (Tôkyô 1936), pp. 124—130.

Il semble que dans la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle on doive compter avec une influence mongole particulièrement forte, se faisant valoir surtout dans le domaine de la pratique des chancelleries.<sup>3</sup> Il est fort probable qu'à cette époque aussi, bon nombre d'éléments mongols avaient passé dans le lexique mandchou. Bien entendu, les éléments mongols contemporains attestés dans les documents mandchous du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle ne peuvent pas être séparés mécaniquement des éléments antérieurs, uniquement à la base de la chronologie de ces mêmes documents.

Par contre, du côté du lexique, les documents de la langue djurtchen peuvent nous fournir dès maintenant des renseignements fort utiles pour l'étude de la question.

Avant tout, on constatera non sans quelque surprise, qu'une partie considérable des éléments mongols de la langue mandchoue se retrouve dans le djurtchen de l'époque Ming. Dans certains cas, les éléments mongols sont attestés sous la même forme dans le djurtchen et dans le mandchou:

dj. *irge-n*, dans *irge-be* «peuple (acc.)» (Gr. n° 843); ma. *irgen* ~ mong. *irgen*, Hs, Hy *irgen*, Hs *irge*; Ks *irgen* (*Journ. As.* 1930 II, 258); 'Ph. *'irgen*; MA *hirgen*, *irgen*; kalm. *irgn*; ord. *īrgen*; khor., djas., gor. *irgen*, *irgən*, *jirgen*, *jirgən*; khal. *irgēn*;

dj. *arki* «eau de vie» (*Niu-tche kouan yi-yu* = Ny 44a); ma. *arki* (nanaï, ol., orok, or. *araki*, ud. *'au*; mgr. *arakí*; ngd. *ajaxi*; sol. *araxi*, *arxi*; tong. dial. orient. *arakī*) ~ mong. *araki*, *ariki*; dah. *ařgi*, *ařiy*, *arigi*; kalm. *ärkə*; ord. *aričkxi*; khal. *archi(n)*; bour. *ariki* (c'est un mot voyageur typique).

Dans d'autres, la forme phonétique du mot mongol accuse une faible différence par rapport au mandchou:

dj. *nemürge* «manteau en feutre» (Ny 42b); ma. *nemergen*, *nemerxen* «capote» (*nemereku* est un néologisme composé de *nemerxen* et de *etuku*; cf. Hauer, p. 693) ~ mong. *nemürge*, «manteau» < *nemür-*, *nömür-*<sup>4</sup> «jeter sur soi (un vêtement), endosser, revêtir, mettre»; Hs *nemürge* «chemise en feutre», Yy *nemerke* «tunique courte en feutre»; mgr. *niämbierge* «manteau, caban, couverture»; kalm. Ö *nemrgə* «enveloppe, voile; toit, couverture»; ord. *nömörgö*

<sup>3</sup> A ce sujet voir mes remarques, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* VIII, pp. 201–239, surtout pp. 207–211 et 228–234. Cf. encore N. P. Šastina, Письма Лубсан-тайджи в Москву (Из истории русско-монгольских отношений в XVII в., dans Филология и история монгольских народов (Памяти академика Бориса Яковлевича Владимицова. Москва 1958), pp. 275–288. Les deux documents suivis d'une traduction et de commentaires publiés par Mme Šastina sont extrêmement intéressants, car ils comprennent des particularités de langue parlée caractéristiques de l'exercice des chancelleries de l'époque.

<sup>4</sup> Le verbe *nemür-* est dérivé du thème *nemü-*, *neme-*. C'est à cette dernière forme qu'il faut rattacher Hy *nembe-* «couvrir», Hs *nembe'e* «couverture», *nembüle* «cabane» (cf. mong. *embül-ün ger* «hameau construit en paille», Kow.); dah. *nembūs* «vêtement», *nembēlgē* «toit», *nembuzú*, *nimbū* «couvrir»; mgr. *niämbie-* «se couvrir, porter un habit sur ses épaules comme un manteau».

«manteau ou autre pièce d'habillement qu'on se jette sur les épaules pour se garantir de la pluie»; khal. *nōmrōg* «pèlerine; housse»; bour. *nēmērgē*. La différence phonétique et sémantique du mot mandchou et djurtchen remonte dans les deux cas à un précédent mongol.

dj. *medige* «nouvelle, information» (Gr. n° 483); ma. *međige* (le nanaï *mędę* < \**medē* est un emprunt fait à un autre dialecte mongol) ~ mong. *medege* «nouvelle, chose qu'on entend, chose qu'on veut savoir, avis, information; rapport» < *mede-* «savoir, connaître»; Hs *mede'e*; kalm. *medē* «savoir, connaissance, conscience»; ord. *medē* «la conscience qu'on a de l'exercice de ses facultés, connaissance; capacité de sentir, sensibilité; avis, message, nouvelle»; khal. *mēdēē*; bour. *mēdēē(n)*. Le mot mandchou répond exactement au mot djurtchen, le développement *di>ji* s'explique par le mandchou, où il est normal. Le ma. *medege*, *medexe*, id. représente le même terme mongol, emprunté à une époque plus récente.

Il ne peut faire aucun doute que les mots djurtchen et mandchous suivants doivent être ramenés à des antécédents mongols différents:

dj. *χudira* «croupière» (Gr. n° 228); ma. *qōdaryan*, *qōdarṣan* ~ mong. *qudurya*; Hs *qudurqa*; kalm. *χudryv*; ord. *χudurqā*; DB *χuduryā*; khal. *chudraga*; bour. *chudarga*;

dj. *χaliu* «loutre de mer» (Gr. n° 179); ma. *χailun* «loutre» ~ mong. *qaliyu(n)* «espèce de loutre; castor»; Hy, Tk *qali'un*; MA *qali'un*; kalm. *χälün*; ord. *χaliūn*; khal. *chaliu(n)*; bour. *chaljun*; NU *kaļu*, Kh, T *χalun*, *χalun*, S *χalū* (C). Le même mot est encore attesté dans une troisième source mongole sous la forme suivante: ma. *qaliyun (morin)* «cheval qui a la crinière et la queue noires, le corps tirant sur le gris-clair»; Hs *gali'un* «cheval brun qui a la crinière et la queue noires»; kalm. *χälün*; ord. *χaliūn*; khal. *chaliun*.

Rappelons encore l'importance particulière qui revient aux éléments mongols du djurtchen de l'époque Ming pour lesquels on ne trouve pas de recoupements dans le mandchou. Tels sont:

dj. *ϳasa-* «régler, statuer, ordonner», dans *ϳasara* (Gr. n° 782) ~ mong. *ϳasa-* «corriger, réparer; gouverner; ordonner, statuer; régler; etc.»; Hs, Hy *ϳasa-*; 'Ph *ϳasa[ul-]*; MA, IM *ϳasa-*, MA *yasa-*; mgr. *sa-*; kalm. *zas-*, *jas-*; ord. *džasa-*, *jasa-*; khor. *ϳas-*, *ϳasa-*; khal. *zasa-*; bour. *zaha-*;

dj. *qūr* «espèce d'instrument à cordes» (Ny 27b) ~ mong. *quyur*, *quur* «balalaïka, guitare, luth»; Ty *qubur*; MA *qu'ur*; kalm. *χūr* «instrument à cordes; violon»; ord. *χūr* «violon à quatre cordes»; khor., djas. *χūr*, *χūr* «violon chinois (*hou-kin*)»; darkh. *χūr*; khal. *chuur*; bour. *chuur*; NU *kur*, T, S, Kh *zur-* (C);

dj. *nayaču* «frère de la mère» (Ny 29b) ~ mong. *nayaču* «oncle maternel»; Hs, Hy, Ty, Tk *naqaču* «frère de la mère»; dah. *naqtš'ü* «1. frère cadet de la mère; 2. femme du frère cadet de la femme»; kalm. *nayptsn* Ö, *naktsn* «parents du côté maternel»; oïr. dial. *nayats*; ord. *nagats'i* «parent du côté maternel»,

*nagatš'a*, id.; darkh. *nagacă*; toum. *nagačči* «frère aîné de la mère». DB *nagé načči* «frère cadet de la mère»; khal. *nagac*; bour. *nagsa*; NU, T *nagasa*, Kh *nagaso*, S *nagoco* (C). Le ma. *nača* (<*nāča*) «frère aîné de la femme» remonte au même mot mongol, mais provient d'un autre temps et d'un autre dialecte. En tout état de cause la chute de -γ- en position intervocalique dans ce mot est aberrante.

Parmi les éléments mongols des documents djurtchen des Kin, même les plus jeunes sont valables en général pour le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la majorité de ces éléments mongols, bien entendu, remonte à une époque encore plus ancienne. Parmi les éléments mongols des Kin nous avons en transcription chinoise:

dj. *χuriyan* «agneau» (*houo-li-han*), Kin-che CXXXV, 12a ~ mong. *qurayan*, *quryan*, *quriyan*; Hs *quriqan*, *quriqa*, Hy *quriqan*, Ty *qurqan*, Yy *quryan* (*hou-eul-ngan*, le 2<sup>e</sup> car. est altéré), Ls *quriqan* (le 2<sup>e</sup> car. est altéré); MA *qurayan*; mgr. *χorqa*; oïr. lit. *χuraya*, *χuryun*; kalm. *χuryṇ*; oïr. dial. *χuryan*; ord. *χurga*; darkh. *χurigāη*; gor. *χuraya(n)*, toum. *χurak*; khal. *churga(n)*; bour T, Al, B *churigan*, *χurigan*, S *χurga* (Podg.); T *χurega*, *χuregan*, Kh *χuragan*, S *χuragu* (C). Sont empruntés au mong.: tél., sag., koib., katch., kmd. *qurayan* (Radl. II, 922); evk. Nertch. *kurkan* (Vasilevič, 223).

Le mot est inconnu au mandchou, et il n'est pas attesté non plus dans les documents de l'époque Ming.

Il n'est peut-être pas sans intérêt de constater qu'à l'aide des documents épigraphiques, on est en mesure de faire remonter jusqu'au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle l'histoire de toute une série de mots djurtchen de l'époque Ming. Ainsi, par exemple, on retrouve dans l'inscription de 1185 en «petit écriture» djurtchen des mots comme *irge* «peuple», *jaša-* «ordonner», etc.<sup>5</sup>

Du côté du lexique, l'étude des éléments mongols trouvera une aide précieuse dans les documents mongols des XIII<sup>e</sup>—XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles, où l'on rencontre un assez grand nombre de mots, soit parfaitement inconnus dans d'autres sources mongoles, soit donnant un élément jusqu'ici inconnu au point de vue sémantique. Ces éléments du lexique de l'ancien mongol ont souvent leur parallèle dans le mandchou.

A titre d'exemple on peut relever dans *l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*:

mong. Hs *bitü-* «aller le long des rives, marcher en bordure d'une rivière»; mong. *bitü-* «errer, roder ça et là, voyager par austérité» (Kow.) ~ ma. *bitu-* «umgeben, einfassen, am Rande hingehen» (Gab.); «einfassen, (um)säumen, umrändern, entlanggehen, verzieren», *birai bitume* «am Flusse entlang» (Hauer), *bitume yabu-* «иду по берегу, вдоль берега» (Zakh.).

mong. Hs *bura tara* «überallhin, verstreut, durcheinander» (Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 22, la leçon *hara* [*qara*] pour *tara* est hors de cause) ~ ma.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tamura Jitsuzō, *Daikin Tokushōda shōhi no kenkyū*, dans *Tōyōshi kenkyū* II, p. 413 (ligne XI) et p. 416 (ligne XXI).

*buran taran* «Trennung, Zwist; in Unordnung» (Gab.), «Hals über Kopf» (Hauer), «в смятении, расстроистве после разбития (бегу), *buran taran burula-* «в смятении обращаюсь в бегство, разбегаюсь» (Zakh.);

mong. Hs *bili*- «streichen, streicheln». Kozin (p. 598) rattache le mot au mong. *ili*- «toucher avec la main, tâter ou frotter doucement avec la main, caresser» (Kow.). Haenisch (*Wörterbuch*, p. 16) y a voulu retrouver, quoique non sans hésiter, la forme méthatétique du mong. *ilbi*- «frotter doucement avec la main; caresser, flatter» (Kow.). Sans nul doute, les formes *ili*- et *ilbi* sont inséparables de *bili*-, mais il n'est pas moins certain que cette dernière forme reste authentique: ma. *bilu*- «freundlich sein, freundlich aufnehmen, zur Ruhe bringen, in Ruhe halten», (Gab.), «1. streicheln, hätscheln, liebkosen»; 2. liebenswürdig sein, sich annehmen, sorgen für; 3. besänftigen, beschwichtigen» (Hauer); les dérivés en sont: *bilubu*- «streicheln lassen, hätscheln lassen, *biluqô* «durch Liebenswürdigkeit bestechender Schwindler», *biluša*- «immerzu zärtlich streicheln» (Hauer).

La phonétique historique nous permet de nous approcher encore davantage de la chronologie des éléments mongols, ou ce qui revient au même: de commencer à retracer les contours de quelques-unes des couches principales des emprunts au mongol.

Nos observations de cet ordre ont pour point de départ le fait que certains phénomènes de la phonétique historique mandchoue peuvent être relevés dans tel mot d'emprunt et pas dans tel autre, en fonction de l'époque où les éléments mongols en question ont pénétré dans le mandchou ou le djurtchen. Pour illustrer les conclusions qui s'offrent sous ce rapport, il suffira des exemples suivants.

L'initiale *p*-. Elle a donné dans les mots mandchous originaux normalement *f*-; dans le djurtchen de l'époque Ming on trouve également *f*-, dans celui de l'époque Kin on a par contre *p*- . Quant au mongol, d'aucuns attribuent l'initiale *p*- au pré-mongol, d'autres au proto-mongol. A mon avis, la chronologie de cette initiale doit être fixée à une époque sensiblement plus basse, le *p*- dans cette position pouvant être, en effet, attesté dans le khitan. Ceci revient à dire que l'initiale *p*- d'un mot emprunté au khitan s'est conservée inchangée dans le djurtchen des Kin, cependant qu'à partir de l'époque Ming — tout comme l'initiale *p*- des mots mandchous proprement dits — elle a donné *f*- et dans le djurtchen et dans le mandchou.

C'est dans cette catégorie que rentre, à mon avis, le mot *fon* «temps», complètement isolé dans le mandchou:

ma. *fon* «temps»; dj. *fou-wan-to* (Gr. n° 81), lire *fo-on-do*, à la rigueur *fo-n-do* (donc *fo-n* «temps»,<sup>6</sup> *do* désinence du dat.-loc.) < \**po-n*, emprunt fait

<sup>6</sup> Dans le vocabulaire sino-joutchen du Bureau des Interprètes (*Niu-tche kouan yi-yu*) ce mot n'est pas relevé, par contre on y trouve *eri*, au sens de «temps (*che*)» (f. 12a). Par ailleurs, dans le lexique sino-joutchen publié par Grube (n°. 89), le même mot est

très probablement au khitan. Le mot khitan, en transcription chinoise, est en tout cas bien assuré, sous la forme de *po*, au sens de «temps»; cf. *K'i-tan kouo tche*, ch. XXVII, pp. 336, 341; *Leao che*, ch. CXVI, 15a, 15b. Le mot est inconnu des autres langues mandchoues-tongouses. ~ Hs, Hy *hon* «année», Ty *hon* (*houang*), Tk *hon*, Yy *hun* (*houo-wen*), Ls *hon*, Phy *hon*, dans *šini hon*; 'Ph *hon*; AL, IM, MA *hon*; mgr. *fän*, *χüän*, santch. *huan*, šrg. *χuan*, *χon*, *fuan*; dah. *χuan*, *χon*, Ts *χø*; mong. *on*; ord. *on*; kalm. *on*; khal. *on*, bour. *on*. Cf. encore, P. Pelliot, dans *Journ. As.* 1925 I, 218—219; G. D. Sanžeev, *Mančzuro-mongoljskie jazykovye paralleli*, p. 702; N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian comparative studies*, p. 96; G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* I, 53 (cor. *pom* «printemps» n'a toutefois rien à y voir).

C'est dans la même catégorie (et non dans le vocabulaire altaïque) qu'il faut assigner, à mon avis, la place du ma. *fulgiyan* «rouge»:

ma. *fulgiyan* «rouge»; dj. *fulagian* (Gr. n° 624), *fuljan* (lire *fulgian*; Ny 47a)<sup>7</sup> ~ mong. *ulayan* «rouge», Hs, Hy, Tk *hula'an*, Ty *hulā*, Yy *fula'an*, Ls *hula'an*, *fula'an*; Py *ulān*; AL *hula'an*; IM *hulān*, MS *hula'an*, *hulān*, *ulān*; dah. *ulāñ* (Poppe), *χulá* (Ivanovskij), *χulā* (Ligeti); mgr. *fulān*, šrg. *χulan*, *fulyan*, *χulan*; mog. *ulōn* (Ramstedt), *ulān*, *ulā* (Ligeti); kalm. *ulān*; ord. *ulān*; khor., djas., toum. *ulān*; darkh. *ulāñ*; khāl. *ulaan*; bour. *ulaan*.

Le mot connu sous la forme *fulgian* même dans le djurtchen des Ming, remonte à un \**pula-yān* primitif; un aboutissement régulier de la même forme est *hula'an*, id., des XIII<sup>e</sup>—XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles.

Quoique l'initiale des deux mots soit identique, on doit considérer *fulgiyan* comme un emprunt beaucoup plus ancien que *fon*. Cette hypothèse est appuyée par deux critères qui figurent dans le terme *fulgiyan*. L'un c'est la

traduit par «saison (*ki*)». Le terme ma. *erin* possède les deux acceptations («Jahreszeit, Zeit», Hauer, p. 253).

<sup>7</sup> Sont des emprunts faits à d'autres dialectes mongols: nanaï *folgen* (Grube); ud. *χulaligi*; mgr. *olarén*, *ularín*, *χulán*; ngd. *χulain* (< \**χularin*); sol. *ularin*; evk. *χulama*, *χolbama*, *χularin*, *ōlarin*, *ularin*, *χolarin*; ev. *χulanja*; cf. GM. Vasilevič, Эвенкийско-русский словарь, Moskva 1958. W. Kotwicz, *Contributions aux études altaïques I—III*, dans *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* VII, p. 226, considère aussi bien les termes tongous septentrionaux que mandchou et djurtchen comme des emprunts faits au mongol. Selon G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* I, p. 53, les mots mandchous-tongous invoqués plus haut font partie du fond primitif du lexique altaïque. Je ne pourrais pas partager l'opinion de Ramstedt, mais il n'en reste pas moins intéressant de constater que le terme alt. \**pula-* «rouge» posé par lui n'est attesté, sauf le mandchou et le djurtchen, dans aucune des langues de la branche méridionale (le terme nan. *folgen* est sans aucun doute un mot d'emprunt assez tardif au mandchou; ud. *χulaligi* remonte à un des dialectes septentrionaux). A mon avis, il faut chercher un rapport direct entre ma. *fulgiyan* et mong. \**pula-yān*, tout comme dans le cas des autres noms de couleur traités plus haut.

diphongue, en face de la voyelle longue primitive; cette diphongue paraît très ancienne. Voici encore des éléments mongols du même genre:

ma. *genggiyen* «clair, brillant, luisant, éclatant»; dj. *gengien* (Ming), lire *ηengien* (Kin), id. (Gr. n° 608) ~ mong. *gegegen*, *gegen*; Hs *gege'en*, *gegen*, Hy *gege'en*, *gege'e'en*; Ls *gege'en*, *gegēn*; 'Ph *gēgēn*; MA *gēgēn*; mgr. *gēgēn*; kalm. *gēgēn*; ord. *gēgēn*; gor. *gēgēñ*; darkh. *gēgēñ*; khal. *gēgēé(n)*; bour. *gēgēé(n)*;<sup>8</sup>

ma. *šanggiyan* «blanc»; dj. *šangjan* (Gr. n° 619), *šangia* (Ny 47b)<sup>9</sup> ~ mong. *čayan*, Hs *čaqa'an*, *čaqān*, Hy, Tk, Ty, Ls *čaqān*; 'Ph *čaqa'an*, *čaqān*; AL *čaqān*, IM *čayān*, *čayan*; MA *čayān*, *čaqān*, *čiyān*, VI *čayān*; dah. *čiyán* (Ivanovskij), *tš'iyā*; mgr. *tš'iyan*, šrg. *čikan*, sanctch. *chékan*; mog. *chaghān* (Leech), *čayōn* (Ramstedt), *čayān*, *čayāñ* (Ligeti; cf. *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV, 130); kalm. *tsayān*; ord. *tš'aqān*; toum. *čagān*, DB, udj., B, Khor. *čagan*, DB *sagan*, *sayn*, *šayan*, ogn. *sagan*, dj. *šagan*, *čšagan*; darkh. *cagāñ*; khal. *cagaan*; bour. *sagaan*;

ma. *χamgiya* «absynthe» ~ mong. *qamqay* «espèce d'absynthe de couleur jaune»; kalm. *χamχvq*; ord. *χamχak*; khal. *chamchag*. La longue primitive *ā* ne s'est pas maintenue dans les dialectes mongols actuels. Cf. mong. *qamqauul* «la soude, Marie vulgaire, Salicotte (*salsola*)»; Hs *qamqa'ulsun*, Hy, Tk *qamqa'ul* (orthographié *kamqa'ul*); mgr. *χāŋqü*; kalm. D *χamχūl*; ord. *χamχūli*; khal. *chamchuul*; bour. *chamchuul*.

L'autre critère est le fait que le -γ- intervocalique s'est maintenu inchangé, en revanche, la première voyelle est tombée, tout comme dans une série d'autres mots d'emprunt mongols:<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Il est extrêmement intéressant de constater que tandis que ma. (dj.) *genggiyen* se rattache directement au mong. *gegēn*, le radical *ge-* semble être très ancien et dans le mongol (*ge-gēn*, *ge-yi-*, *ge-re-l*, etc.) et dans le mandchou-tongous. L'initiale primitive du mot a été maintenue non dans le mongol, mais dans le mandchou-tongous. Cf. ma. *ge-xun* «1. hell, klar, deutlich; 2. Helligkeit», *ge-le-rje-* «flimmern», *ge-l-mer-je-* «schimmern, glitzern, blinken», *ge-re-* «hell werden», *ge-nnggiyen*; nanaï *ŋemji* «светлее», *ŋegjēn* «светлый», KurUr *ŋemdi*- «luire»; ol. *ŋegjēn* «reluisant», *ŋeje-* «éclairer»; orok *ŋegdę*, *negdę*; ud. *ŋei*; ngd. *ŋejil-* «briller»; sol. *nēri* «aube»; evk. *ŋeril-* «luire», ev. *ŋēril-*, id.; cf. Cineius, *Sravniteljnaja fonetika*, pp. 985, 969. L'initiale *ŋ-* peut être attestée aussi dans le djurtchen du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, voir L. Ligeti, *Note préliminaire sur le déchiffrement des «petits caractères» joutchen*, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* III, pp. 224—225.

<sup>9</sup> Le mot est généralement connu dans les langues et les autres dialectes de la branche méridionale: nanaï *čakjean*, KurUr *čakjañ*, sam. *čagja*, or. *čagja*, *čjaligi*; ud. *čaligi*. Selon W. Kotwicz, *op. cit.*, p. 227, ces mots sont empruntés au mongol. Cf. Ramstedt, *Einführung I*, p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> Il est intéressant de faire remarquer que dans certains dialectes vivants le -γ- (-g-), en position intervocalique, disparaît et cède la place à une voyelle longue, tandis qu'en d'autres dialectes, dans les mêmes mots, il reste inchangé. Cf. B. Ja. Vladimirov, Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхаского наречия, pp. 235—237.

ma. *gurgu* «fauve, gibier» ~ mong. *görügesü(n)* «bête sauvage, quadrupède»; Hs *görö'e*, *görö'esü(n)*, *görögesün* (cette dernière forme est un *hapax legomenon*); 'Ph *görö[ed]* (pl.); IM, MA *görësün*; mgr. *k'uorose*; oïr. lit. *görösün*, kalm. *görē*, *görēsñ*, oïr. dial. *görēs*, *görēsñ*; ord. *görös* «gibier, animal sauvage», *görö* «chasse»; darkh. *göröséñ*; gor., khor., DB, *görös*, gor. *gürös*, DB, khor. *gürğes*; khal. *göröös(ón)* «antilope», *göröö* «chasse»; bour. *gürööhé(n)*;

ma. *aryan* «dent» ~ mong. *araya* «dent molaire»; Hs *ara'a*; IM *arā*; mgr. *arā*; oïr. lit. *arān*, kalm. *arān*, oïr. dial. *aran*; ord. *arā*; darkh. *arā*; khal. *araa(n)*; bour. *araa(n)*;

ma. *serguwen* «frais» ~ mong. *serigün*, *seregün* «frais, raffraichissant»; Hy, Tk, Yy *seri'ün*, Ls *seri'ün* (le 2<sup>e</sup> car. est altéré); 'Ph *seri'ün*; MA *seri'ün*, *serūn*; dah. *serūñ*; mgr. *sarin*; kalm. *serūn*; D *sirūn*; khal. *seriün*; bour. *hērjuün*.

Ce phénomène phonétique est d'autant plus intéressant qu'il renvoie — selon nos connaissances actuelles — à des dialectes sien-pi autres que le khitan.

Dans un certain nombre de mots, l'initiale *p-* apparaît, contrairement au développement général, sous forme d'un *χ-*. Tel est:

dj. des Kin *χulaxu* «rouge» (*Kin che* CXXXV, 12a) ~ ma. *fulaxōn* «rouge; nu». (Pour le suffixe, cf. ma. *ša-χōn* «blanc; blanchâtre», *ge-xun* «brillant, lumineux», *nio-χon* «verdâtre», etc.).

Dans ce mot on s'attendrait normalement à trouver à cette époque une initiale *p-*, tout comme dans cet autre terme de la liste:

dj. des Kin *puladu* «aux yeux rouges» (*Kin che* CXXXV, 11a) ~ ma. *fulata* «mit roten Rändern um die Augen, rotäugig»; cf. Pelliot, dans *Journ. As.* 1925 I, 263 (voir encore khal. *ults'ē-* «avoir des yeux rouges», Ramstedt, dans *JSFOu* XXVIII 8, p. 57). Ce mot aussi remonte au *pula-* «rouge». Il s'ensuit que le terme dj. *χulaxu* ne provient pas du même dialecte mongol que le terme dj. *puladu*.

Encore d'autres exemples montrent que des mots mongols ont été adoptés par le mandchou même à une époque où l'ancienne initiale *p-*, voire le *h-* (*χ-*) avaient déjà disparu dans le mongol. A titre d'exemple on rappellera:

ma. *odontu*, «ayant des étoiles», dans *odontu qailun* «cheval aux mouchettes semblables aux étoiles» (Zakharov, Hauer) ~ mong. *odun*; Hs, Hy, Tk, Yy, Ls *hodun*, Ty *hudo*, Py *odu*; en écriture tibétaine *ho.dun* (*T'oung Pao* XXVII, 168); IM *hodun*, *idun*, MA *hodun*, pl. *hodud*, *hodut*; Kir. *hutut*; mgr. *fodi*, šyög. *hotun*, santch. *hotu*,.snp. *hoton*, šrg. *χotu*, *χotun*, *fotu*, *χodun*; dah. *χotó*, Ts *χodq*; ord. *ɥdu*; darkh. *odoŋ*; kalm. *odñ*; khal. *od(on)*; bour. *odo(n)*.

Les combinaisons *-rg-* et *-rk-* primitives, à l'intérieur du mot, ont donné dans le mandchou *-j-* et *-č-*. Ce développement paraît à premier abord, sinon

jeune, du moins fort régional, ne pouvant être attesté, en dehors du mandchou, que dans le oltcha. Dans les autres langues mandchoues-tongouses on observe les correspondances suivantes:

\*-rk-> nan. -jk-, -k-, -r- ; orok. -t- ; ud. -k-, -jg- ; or. -kk- ; sol. -rk-, -kk- ; ngd. -jk-, -tk-, šk- ; evk., ev. -rk- ;

\*-rg-> nan. -jg-, -g- ; orok -d- ; ud. -g- ; or. -gg- ; sol. -rg-, -gg- ; ngd. -jg-, -dg-, -jg- ; evk., ev. -rg-. Cf. V. I. Cincius Сравнительная фонетика тунгусо-маньчжурских языков, pp. 230—231, 236—237; J. Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen*, pp. 995—996.

Il est en tout cas fort intéressant de voir que dans les mots mandchous proprement dits ces combinaisons de consonnes *rk* et *rg* sont d'apparition secondaire et de date toute récente. Telles sont: ma. *erku* «balai» < \*eri-ku < *eri*- «balayer»; ma. *ergen* «haleine, souffle; vie» < \*eri-gen (cf. djurtchen des Ming *eri-ge*, Gr. n° 517); ma. *dorgi* «intérieur, ce qui se trouve à l'intérieur» < \*do-ergi ; ma. *birya* «petit fleuve, ruisseau» < \*bira-ya. Nombreux exemples témoignent de ce que les combinaisons *-rk-*, *-rg-* récentes ne sont pas antérieures aux XV<sup>e</sup>—XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. Malheureusement les matériaux actuellement à notre disposition sont trop pauvres pour nous permettre d'établir de façon certaine les correspondants des anciennes combinaisons *-rk*, *-rg* dans le djurtchen du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ce qui est certain, c'est que dans le djurtchen des Ming on doit déjà compter avec le développement -č-, -j- identique au mandchou; cf. mes remarques à propos du dj. *üjen* «lourd» dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* IX, p. 271.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le développement *-rk-, -rg-> -č- et -j-* peut aussi être observé dans le cas de quelques mots, empruntés au mongol:

ma. *fajan* «excrément des animaux (chameaux, bêtes à cornes, oiseaux)» < \*paryal ~ mong. *aryal* «arghal, fiente des animaux dont les Mongols se servent en guise de combustible, après l'avoir fait sécher et durci au soleil»; IM, MA *haryl*; mgr. *χarqar*, šrg. *χargal*; oř. lit. *aryasun*, kalm. *aryvṣṇ*, oř. dial. *aryasan*, *aryasun*, *àraqsun*, *aryas*; ord. *argal*; darkh. *argăl*; khal. *argal*; bour. *argal*. Cf. Pelliot, dans *Journ. As.* 1925 I, 207; Ramstedt, *Einführung* I, 125;

ma. *nujan* «poing»<sup>11</sup> ~ mong. *nidurya* «poing», *nudura-*, *nidura-* «frapper

<sup>11</sup> Nous avons dans les autres langues mandchoues-tongouses: ol. *ńuja*; or. *nuga*; or. *nuga*; ngd. *nurga*; evk. dial. *nurka* (< \*nurga); cf. Sanžeev, *Mančzuro-mongoljskie jazykovye parallelji*, p. 675; Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* I, 77. C'est ici qu'il faut faire intervenir encore les formes turques suivantes: turc. anc., ouig. *yudurug*, Kāšy. *yuðruq*; alt., léb., bar., krm. *yudrug*, tél. *t'ydruq* (Radl. III, 565); sag., chor *nuzruq* (Radl. III, 707); koib. *numzuruk*, karag. *ńuduruk*, soy. *tuduruk*, knd. *munzuruk* (Castrén). Une fois de plus il y a lieu de se demander quel est le rapport réciproque de ces mots dans les trois groupes altaïques? Ma. *nujan* (de même que ol. *ńuja*) est caractérisé non seulement par le développement *j* < *rg*, mais par la chute de *-d-*. En effet, dans le mandchou il est assez fréquent que dans des mots de trois syllabes la voyelle de la deuxième syllabe s'amuisse; dans ces cas-ci, le *-d-* de la deuxième syllabe disparaît généralement devant la consonne (double) de la troisième syllabe. Par exemple,

du poing»; Hs, Hy *nudurqa*, Yy, Ls *nudurya*, Ty *nuduryan*; MA *nudurqa*, *nuduryala-*; mgr. *nudurqa*; oïr. lit. *nudurya*, kalm. *nudryv*; ord. *nudurqa*; khal. *nudarga(n)*; bour. *njudarga(n)*; NU *nodergo*, T *nodorgo*, S. Kh *nodorgo* (C.);

ma. *xužuku* «soufflet» <*xužu-* «souffler (avec un soufflet)» < \**körgö*<sup>12</sup> ~ mong. *kögörge*, *kögerge* «soufflet de forge; soufflet ou tuyau dans lequel on souffle pour allumer le feu»; Hs *küürge*, *gürge* (*gürege*, leçon de M. Haenisch n'est pas à retenir) «soufflet de forge»; IM *körgö*; oïr. lit. *körgö*, *körgö*, kalm. *kōrōg*, *kōrgō*, oïr. dial. *kōrūg*; ord. *kōrgō*; khal. *chōörög*; bour. *chōörögé*; T, Al *χōrgō*, B *χōrχö* (Podg.).

Par contre, il existe un nombre remarquablement grand d'éléments mongols dans lesquels les combinaisons *-rq-* (-*rk-*) et *-ry-* (-*rg-*) se sont conservées inchangées:

ma. *čarki* «castagnettes» ~ mong. *čargil* «nom d'un instrument qui a quelque rapport avec nos castagnettes»; Hy, Tk *čargi*; ord. *tšargi* «espèce de castagnette»; khal. *cargil* «кастаньеты»;

ma. *urkuži*, *urkulži* «toujours la même chose» (la forme *urkuži* est secondaire et est due à l'évolution interne mandchoue) ~ mong. *ürgülži* «toujours, de suite, l'un après l'autre, sans laisser d'intervalle, sans interruption, sans relâche»; Hs *ürgülži*; dah. *urk'üldž*; oïr. lit. *ürgülži*; kalm. *ürguldži*; ord. *ürguldži*; khal. *ürgelž*; bour. *ürgelžé*;

ma. *yolča* «botte» < \**yudul-ča*. Ce phénomène phonétique est inconnu dans les autres langues mandchoues-tongouses. Aussi Benzing, *Die tungisischen Sprachen*, p. 98, § 43, est-il muet à ce sujet. Dans certaines langues mongoles occidentales, par ex. dans l'oïrate, ainsi que dans quelques-uns des dialectes moghols, le *-d-* de la deuxième syllabe disparaît également devant le *-s-* de la troisième syllabe; cf. Poppe, *Introduction*, pp. 107—108 et Ligeti, *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV, 132. Il est en tout cas frappant que dans le cas présent, le *-d-* soit tombé non seulement dans le mandchou, mais encore dans les recoupements olcha, orotche, voire négidal et evenki (dial.). Quoi qu'il en soit, il est certain que les formes mongoles et mandchoues-tongouses se rattachent étroitement les unes aux autres, soit que les mots mongols et mandchous-tongous proviennent d'une même langue commune, soit que le terme mongol ait passé, à un temps très ancien, en tant que mot d'emprunt dans le mandchou et plus tard du mandchou dans les autres langues mandchoues-tongouses (à l'heure actuelle j'opterais moi-même pour cette dernière possibilité). En tout état de cause, les formes turques ne peuvent être rattachées directement qu'aux formes mongoles.

<sup>12</sup> Dans les autres langues mandchoues-tongouses on a: nanaï *kuegge* et *kuęge-*; ol. *kueję*; orok *koddo*, *kudu*; or. *kugge*; ud. *kuge*; ngd. *kuję*, *kudę*; evk. *kurge*; ev. *kürge*; cf. Sanžeev, *Mančzuro-mongoljskie jazykovye parallelji*, p. 996; Benzing, *Die tungisischen Sprachen*, p. 685. C'est un mot de civilisation typique, n'existant dans les langues considérées (à l'exception du mandchou et du nanaï) que sous forme de nom dérivé. C'est pourquoi, malgré les formes turques pouvant éventuellement entrer en ligne de compte, ils ne peuvent pas être considérés comme éléments du fond primitif du lexique altaïque.

ma. *irge* «bélier châtré», *irge χoni* «mouton» ~ mong. *irge* «mouton châtré»; Hs *irge* «mouton», Ty, Yy, Ls *irge*; mgr. *yerge* «bélier châtré»; kalm. *irgə*; oïr. dial. *irig*, *irgə*; ord. *irge*; dj. *irek χöni*; khal. *irég*;

ma. *mergen* «sage, habile, intelligent» ~ mong. *mergen* «sage, expérimenté, savant, connaissant son affaire; chasseur habile»; Hs, Hy, Tk *mergen*; 'Ph *mergen*; mgr. *miergän*; kalm. *mergn*; ord. *mergen*; DB, khor. *mergen*; khal. *mérgén*; bour. *mérgé(n)*;

ma. *sirge* «fil se soie; cordon, lacet; corde» ~ mong. *sirkeg* «soie écrue»; oïr. lit. *širkeq*; kalm. *širkəg*, *širkəg*; ord. *širkəg* «des fils d'un tissu, le grain d'une pierre, les fibres du bois»; khal. *šircheg* «fibre, fil»; bour. *šérchég*;

ma. *terge* «char» ~ mong. *tergen*; Hs, Hy, Tk *tergen*; Ty *tergen* (le 3<sup>e</sup> car. est altéré); 'Ph *terged*, pl.; MA *tergen*; mgr. *t'iérge*; dah. *t'ergé*, *t'éreg*; kalm. *tergn*; ord. *t'erje*; DB *terge*, khor., DB *terge*, gor. *t'erje*; darkh. *tergē*; khal. *térēg*, *térēn*; bour. *térēg(n)* (ma. *sejen* paraît être un emprunt fort ancien fait au même mot mongol).

Si l'on peut croire au témoignage des documents épigraphiques du djurtchen (c'est à la base de ceux-ci que nous avons cité plus haut le mot dj. *irge-n* «peuple»), les combinaisons *-rg-*, *-rk-* sont relativement anciennes dans le mandchou (dans le djurtchen), plus exactement le changement *rk* > *č*, *rg* > *ž* a dû avoir lieu dans le mandchou (le djurtchen) bien avant le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Parmi les critères phonétiques il y a lieu de noter le traitement de l'initiale *\*k-*. L'histoire de cette initiale dans les mots mandchous originaux n'a malheureusement pas encore été suffisamment éclaircie. Selon l'avis de Mme Cincius, Сравнительная фонетика, pp. 215—218, l'initiale ma.-tong. *\*k-* a donné dans le mandchou *q-* (*k-*) et aussi *χ-* (*x-*). En fin de compte, elle semble inclinée à admettre que le traitement *q-* (*k-*) est plus ancien que le traitement *χ-* (*x-*). (Benzing, Die tungusischen Sprachen, p. 976 ne s'est pas occupé des causes des deux types de traitement.) Il me semble que, si l'on n'a pas trouvé une solution satisfaisante à cette question jusqu'à ce jour, c'est parce que les mots d'emprunt mongols n'ont pas été séparés comme il se devait des termes mandchous proprement dits; encore moins a-t-on tenté de distinguer les groupes d'emprunts mongols provenant de diverses époques et de différents dialectes.

Les mots d'emprunt mongols du mandchou offrent en tout cas trois sortes de traitements. Le premier en est *q-* (*k-*) > *ø* qui peut être illustré par l'exemple bien connu: ma. *orin* «vingt», mong. *qorin*.

La voie du développement a été, bien entendu, *q* > *χ* > *ø*. On a peu d'exemples mongols rentrant dans cette catégorie, fort probablement parce qu'il s'agit là d'un traitement très ancien. Pour cette époque, on doit, dans les autres mots mandchous originaux, de même que dans les emprunts mongols, poser l'initiale *q-* (*k-*); en effet, si ces mots avaient comporté l'initiale

$\chi$ - ( $x$ -), comme aujourd’hui, celles-ci auraient également disparu, comme dans *orin* «vingt» et *edun* «vent», etc. De ce point de vue Mme Cincius a certainement raison: le  $q$ - ( $k$ -) est effectivement ancien.<sup>13</sup>

Cependant, je suis d’avis que cet état des choses ne s’est pas maintenu inchangé. Un certain temps (dont il est impossible de préciser la durée aujourd’hui) après que le passage  $\chi > \emptyset$  fut révolu, un développement  $q- (k-) > \chi-$  ( $x$ -) s’amorça. Toutefois ce développement fut perturbé du fait que le mandchou adopta — certainement pendant longtemps et à maintes reprises — de nouveaux mots à initiale  $q-$  ( $k$ -), voire  $\chi-$  ( $x$ -), pris d’une part à d’autres dialectes mandchous-tongous, d’autre part à des dialectes mongols.

En ce qui concerne le développement de l’initiale  $q-$  ( $k$ -) en mongol, dans ses grandes lignes il est parfaitement élucidé. La question peut se résumer en ce que la tendance générale du développement était:  $q- > \chi-$  et  $k- > \chi-$ . Dans le premier cas, le développement doit être considéré, en principe, comme terminé dans les dialectes d’aujourd’hui, à l’exception du moghol et du bouriat de Nižneudinsk, ainsi que de certains dialectes khalkha méridionaux et de parlers de la Mongolie Intérieure, où son souvenir s’est conservé dans  $q- (k- > q-)$  résultant d’une dissimilation (khalkha méridional, darigangga; ordos, *üjümčin*, *čazar*, etc.); à cause des conditions d’accent différentes, le monguor donne, dans d’autres positions, également  $q-$ ). Dans le second cas, le traitement  $k- > \chi-$  est encore loin d’être général; le  $k$ - primitif s’est conservé dans toute une série de dialectes, comme par exemple dans les dialectes oïrates, dans le kalmouck, l’ordos, etc. Compte tenu de cette tendance du développement, il faut une fois de plus donner raison à Mme Cincius lorsqu’elle considère l’initiale  $q-$  et  $k-$  comme plus ancienne dans le mandchou que  $\chi-$ ,  $x$ .<sup>14</sup>

Cependant, il me faut ajouter deux petites remarques à cette esquisse de l’évolution générale de l’initiale  $q-$  ( $k$ -).

La première remarque se rapporte au mongol des XIII<sup>e</sup>—XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Pour cette époque, on doit effectivement poser une initiale  $q$ - et  $k$ - dans les documents mongols en écriture ’phags-pa, parmi les documents en transcription chinoise dans l’*Histoire secrète* et le *Houa-yi yi-yu*, ainsi que dans les documents en écriture arabe (le témoignage des signes correspondants des documents en écriture ouigoure-mongole est ambigu). On a donc l’impression que l’initiale  $q$ - et  $k$ - du pré-mongol et du proto-mongol se soit conservée inchangée jusqu’aux XIII<sup>e</sup>—XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Je dois dire que cette interprétation ne me semble pas justifiée.

La transcription chinoise — pour autant qu’on l’interprète de façon mécanique — suggère pour le mongol des XIII<sup>e</sup>—XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles l’initiale  $\chi$ - et  $k$ .

<sup>13</sup> V. I. Cincius, *Sravniteljnaja fonetika*, pp. 215—218.

<sup>14</sup> B. Ja. Vladimirov, *Sravniteljnaja grammatika*, pp. 403—405; G. D. Sanžeev, *Sravniteljnaja grammatika I*, pp. 89—90; N. Poppe, *Introduction*, pp. 129—146; G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung I*, p. 42.

Cependant, en ce qui concerne le *χ*-, la transcription chinoise en cette occurrence est ambiguë, puisqu'elle peut répondre non seulement à un *χ*-, mais aussi à un *q*- (en chinois on ne possède pas d'autre moyen non ambigu pour la transcription du *q*- vélaire étranger). Je ne pourrais pas m'associer à cette restitution (*χ*-, *k*-) adoptée par plusieurs de nos confrères pour l'*Histoire secrète* et le *Houa-yi yi-yu* (la discussion du problème nous mènerait ici trop loin), mais je n'en admets pas moins la possibilité dans les transcriptions de l'époque des Yuan (*Yuan-che*, *Tche-yuan yi-yu*, etc.), à la rigueur dans une partie des vocabulaires sino-mongols des Ming. A plus forte raison, il en est de même pour l'initiale *χ*- des mots mongols (en premier lieu khitan) qui nous ont été transmis à une époque antérieure au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>15</sup>

Si nous avons opté pour cette hypothèse, c'est entre autres — et surtout — parce que dans une série de mots d'emprunt mongols dans le mandchou l'initiale *χ*- (voire *x*-) paraît être assez ancienne. C'est que ces mots accusent encore d'autres particularités phonétiques renvoyant à une date reculée:

ma. *χadala* «bride, rêne» < \**χadal* (cf. sol. *χadal*, or.-sol. *kadála*, *χadála*, emprunté au mandchou; evk. dial. [Zeya] *kadal*, evk. dial. [Barg, Nerč] *kadamar*) ~ mong. *qaⱫayar*, *qaⱫiyar*; Hs, Hy, Ls *qada'ar*, Tk *qata'ar* (lire *qada'ar*), Ty, Yy *qadār*, Py *qaⱫär*; AL, MA, VI *qadār*; dah. *χadála* (Iv.), *χadālă* (emprunté au ma.; Poppe); mgr. *qadar*, šyög. *kadyr*; mog. *qadār* (Ramstedt), *qadar* (Ligeti), oïr. lit. *χazār*; ord. *χadžär*; dj. *χajär*; khal. *χazaar*; bour. *χazaar*; NU *kazar*, T, Kh *χazar*, S *χazar* (C);

<sup>15</sup> En ce sens il va de soi que la preuve principale reste toujours que la source du ma. *orin* «vingt» ne pouvait être que le mongol *χorin*. Dans cette occurrence, l'initiale mongole *χ*- remonte à un temps fort ancien: au temps des plus anciens mots d'emprunt mongols. On est d'ailleurs assez mal renseigné sur l'état phonétique de la langue mongole de cette époque révolue. En ce qui concerne quelques noms propres du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Pelliot soulève un problème fort intéressant: «les choses se passent comme si *Onggirat* avait été la forme khitan du nom, et *Qonggirat* la forme jürchin». Ce que nous savons de la langue djurtchen nous suggère le contraire de l'hypothèse de Pelliot: le djurtchen présente déjà au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle une initiale vocalique en face de l'initiale *χ*- des mots mandchous-tongous primitifs et des mots d'emprunt mongols. Pelliot (*op. cit.*, p. 94) avait encore pensé que le, mong. *qorin* était passé dans le mandchou et dans une partie des langues mandchoues-tongouses avec une initiale vocalique. Ceci est impossible. Il n'y a aucun doute que l'initiale primitive *χ*- (> *h*-) a disparue dans toutes les langues mandchoues-tongouses d'aujourd'hui, sauf dans le nanaï, l'oltcha et l'orok; cf. Cincius, *Sravniteljnaja fonetika*, pp. 142, surtout Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen*, pp. 990—991. Toutefois la question la plus importante reste toujours ouverte: quelle est la langue mongole qui possédait l'initiale *χ*- déjà bien avant le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. En d'autres termes, quelle est la langue mongole qui offrait la forme *χorin*, source du ma. *orin* «vingt»? Cf. P. Pelliot, *Les formes avec et sans q- (k-) initial en turc et en mongol*, dans *T'oung Pao* XXXVIII, pp. 73—101, surtout p. 77, note 1. A propos de quelques problèmes fort importants qui s'offrent surtout dans le domaine des langues kiptchak, voir T. Halasi Kun, *Orta Kıpçakça q-, k- > ø meselesi*, dans *Türk dili ve tarihi hakkında araştırmalar* I (Ankara 1950), pp. 45—61.

ma. *χōsi-* «couvrir, envelopper» ~ mong. *quči-* «couvrir»; Hs, Hy *quči-*; MA *quči-*; mgr. *χoύži-*; mog. *quči-*; kalm. *χutši-*; ord. *χutši-*; khal. *chuči-*; bour. *chuša-*; pour le turc, cf. ouig., tchag., kūr., kar. T *quč-*, id. (Radl. II, 1007); etc.;

ma. *χōlχa* «voleur, brigand» < \**χulaχai* (cf. dj. *χulaχai*, Gr. n° 336; nanaï *χolχá*, *holhai*; or. *χurχa*; mgr. *kolaká*; les formes nanaï et manegir sont empruntées au mandchou) ~ mong. *qulayai*; Hs, Hy *qulayai*; MA *qulayai*; 'Ph *qulayai* (orthographié *qulaqayi*); mgr. *χorχuę*; dah. *χualaya*; mog. *qulayxi*; kalm. *χulχā*, *χulχā*; ord. *χulχā*; khal. *chulgaj* «vol; voleur»; bour. *chulgaj* «vol». En mongol ce nom est dérivé du verbe *quluγ-*, *qulay-* «voler, dérober»;

ma. *χalχón* «chaud» < \**χalayun* ~ mong. *galayun* «chaleur, chaleur étouffante; brûlant, chaud, ardent»; Hs, Hy, Ls *qala'un*, Yy *qalawu*; 'Ph *qala'un*; IM, MA *qala'un*; mgr. *χalōη*; dah. *χalon* (IV.), *χalōη*, *χalūη* (Poppe); mog. *qalūn*, *qalōun*; kalm. *χalūn*; ord. *χalūn*; DB *χalūn*; khal. *chaluu*; bour. *chaluu(n)*;

ma. *xu᷑uku* «soufflet» ~ mong. *kögürge*; cf. supra;

ma. *xefeli* «ventre» < \**xeweli* < \**xebeli* < \**kebeli* (cf. dj. *XEFE LI*, en transcription chinoise *hei-fou-li*, Gr. n° 508) ~ mong. *kebeli*, *kegeli* «ventre, estomac, panse; le sein»; Hs, Hy, Tk, Ls *ke'eli*; IM *kehel(i)*, MA *kēli*; dah. *kéli* (IV.), *k'ēl*; mgr. *k'ēlie*, šrg. *keli*; kalm. *kēli*, B *kewl'*; ord. *k'eweli* «matrix, sein», *k'ēl* «foetus (chez les animaux); intérieur (de puits)»; khal. *chēēl*; bour. *chēēli*.

L'autre remarque concerne le mongol des XV<sup>e</sup>—XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles, plus exactement les dialectes mongols avec lesquels le mandchou a été en contact à cette époque. Malheureusement, on est actuellement insuffisamment renseigné sur ces dialectes, et à plus forte raison, on est encore moins informé sur leurs particularités phonétiques. Il semble toutefois que certaines circonstances permettent de conclure que du moins certains de ces dialectes mongols présentaient à cette époque une initiale *q-* (et *k-*).

Evidemment il n'est pas difficile de chercher un fondement linguistique dans le fait que l'écriture réformée mandchoue a adopté le signe mongol *q-* (*k-*) sans altération, sous sa forme originale, avec la valeur *q-* (*k-*), alors que le même signe a été affecté d'un signe diacritique (un cercle) lorsqu'il servait à marquer un *χ-* (*x-*). Il est en outre frappant qu'un grand nombre de mots d'emprunt mongols présentent une initiale *q-*; plus une couche de mots d'emprunt est ancienne, moins elle est riche en termes. Enfin parmi les éléments mongols appartenant à cette catégorie abondamment documentée, on n'en trouve aucun qui présente d'autres critères phonétiques caractéristiques des anciens emprunts; par contre il y en a qui comportent des suffixes attestés uniquement dans des emprunts plus ou moins récents (par exemple *-sun*, *-sün*). En voici quelques exemples:

ma. *qatara-* «courir au trot» ~ mong. *qatari-*, id.; Hs *qatara-*, «trotter, courir au trot»; kalm. *χatṛ-*; ord. *qat'ari-*, *qat'ira-*, *qat'iri-*; khal. *chatira-*; bour. *chatar* «trot»;

ma. *qatun* «reine» ~ mong. *qatun* «reine, princesse; grande dame; épouse»; Hs *qatu(n)*, *qadun*, Hy *qatut* (pl.); IM *qatun*, MA *χatun*; mog. *χotun* «femme»; oïr. lit. *χatun*, kalm. *χatṇ*; ord. *qat'un*; khal. *chatan*; bour. *chatan*;

ma. *qoīqa* «la peau sur la tête» ~ mong. *quyiqa* «la peau de dessus la tête des hommes»; kalm. *χūχv*; ord. *χuiχa* «de cuir chevelu»; khal. *chuich*; bour. *chuicha*, *chuucha*; sont empruntés au mongol: soy. *quiχa* «la peau sur la tête», sag. *koib.*, katch. *quiχa* (Radl. II, 890), tél. *quyuqa*, id. (Radl. II, 906), yak. *kūjāχa*, *kunjaχa*, *kīnjaχa*, id. (Pek. I, 1199);

ma. *qomo* «pièce de feutre qu'on met sous le bât des chameaux» ~ mong. *qom* «pièce de feutre qu'on met sous le bât»; IM *qom*; oïr. lit. *χom*, kalm. *χom*; ord. *χom*; khal. *chom*; bour. *chom*; pour le turc, cf. tar., kirg. (= kazak), alt., tél., tchag. *qom* (Radl. II, 667); etc.;

ma. *qomso* «peu» ~ mong. *qomsa* «peu, en petit nombre, pas beaucoup»; Hs *qomsa*, dans *qor qomsa* «manque, défaut; gaspillage»; oïr. lit. *χomso* «perte, dommage», kal. *χomsv*; ord. *χomso*; khal. *choms*;

ma. *qonjōsu* «derrière» ~ mong. *qongjusu*, id., *qondolai* «cuisse, partie supérieure d'une cuisse»; Hs *qonjiyasun*; mgr. *χuänbžiäse*, *χonbžiosę*, šrg. *konjösy*; oïr. lit. *χondolai*, kalm. *χoη*, *χondvlä*; ord. *χondolñ*; khal. *chondloj*; bour. *chondoloj*;

ma. *qoča* «bélier» (cf. ma. *γoča*) ~ mong. *quča* «bélier, agneau qui n'est pas encore châtré»; Hy, Tk, Yy, Ls *quča*; IM *quča*, MA *γuča*, *quča*; mgr. *χubžiä*; oïr. lit. *χucu*, oïr. dial. *χuts*, kalm. *χutsv*; ord. *χutš'a*; DB *χose*, *χoši*, dj. *χoši*; khal. *chuc*; bour. *chusa*; alt., tél. chor, sag. *quča*, id. (Radl. II, 1007), kuér. *quža* Radl. II, 1012) sont empruntés au mongol. Les formes turques proprement dites sont *qoč* et *qočqar*;

ma. *qōtan* «pélican» ~ mong. *qutan* «pélican onocrotale»; kalm. *χutṇ*.

On pourrait encore rappeler nombre de questions intéressantes: le traitement de -γ- (-g-) intervocalique dans les éléments mongols de la langue mandchoue, le double traitement de č et b primitifs (č et š; b et f), la «fracture» (breaking) de la voyelle i de la première syllabe, les suffixes d'origine mongole les emprunts morphologiques, etc.

Il me semble cependant que ce qui a été dit plus haut suffit à montrer que l'étude des divers traitements des consonnes (et des voyelles) du proto-mongol, de même que celle de l'histoire du lexique peut, plus d'une fois, nous aider à séparer les différentes couches des anciens éléments mongols du mandchou. Je tiens à insister sur le fait que les différences phonétiques et autres ne peuvent en aucune façon être expliquées exclusivement par des raisons chronologiques; elles sont souvent d'origine dialectale.

Parmi les nombreux problèmes surgissant au cours de ces recherches, je me contenterai d'attirer l'attention sur un point en particulier. Selon le témoignage actuellement bien connu des contacts historiques, condition fondamentale des contacts linguistiques, nous avons toutes les raisons de compter dans le mandchou avec un nombre considérable d'emprunts khitan, transmis par l'intermédiaire du djurtchen. L'identification de ces éléments khitan est une des tâches les plus belles et les plus intéressantes qui mérite de faire l'objet de recherches approfondies.

# SUR DEUX CANONS CHINOIS DES TS'ING

PAR

G. KARA

C'est le souvenir du grand soulèvement antiimpérialiste de la Chine, au début de ce siècle, que perpétuent les deux canons chinois conservés au Musée de l'Histoire Militaire de Budapest. Leur histoire illustre fort bien une époque, déjà close aujourd'hui, concernant les rapports sino-européens.

Les canons échouèrent en Europe au temps du soulèvement de 1900, comme «butin» des troupes interventionnistes européennes, et furent remis plus tard au Musée de l'Histoire Militaire de Budapest.<sup>1</sup>

Les deux canons sont placés devant l'entrée principale du Musée; sur leurs affûts à deux roues, non originaux, on lit les chiffres 22 et 23. Tous les deux se chargent par la bouche, leur tube est en bronze.<sup>2</sup> Le canon n° 22 est plus grand; le calibre du tube est de 14 cm, la longueur de 330 cm. Celui qui porte le chiffre 23 a un tube d'un calibre de 12 cm et d'une longueur de 300 cm.<sup>3</sup> Leur trou d'allumage est disposé au milieu d'un billot carré, assez près de la culasse. Des deux côtés, deux anses parallèles relient le billot au tube. La mire des canons manque.

Les tubes des canons portent un riche ornement en bosse, composé de motifs chinois et européens, et disposé en anneau. Le canon n° 22, le plus grand, est aussi plus décoré. Dans les rainures et sur les anneaux on trouve en partant de la bouche les éléments suivants: rangée de perles (hémisphériques, symbolisant des boulets de canon), rangée continue de pétales, rangé,

<sup>1</sup> Renseignement dû à l'obligeance du colonel Csillag, directeur du Musée de l'Histoire Militaire, à la base de documents des archives du Musée.

<sup>2</sup> Sur des canons chinois en fer de la fin de l'époque Yüan voir 馮家昇 *Fong Kia-cheng*, 火藥的發明和西傳 *Houo-yao ti fa-ming houo si-tch'ouan* (Pékin 1954), pp. 41—43. Pour l'histoire de l'artillerie chinoise cf. encore l'article du même auteur, 回教國爲火藥由中國傳入歐洲的橋梁, *Houei-kiao-kouo wei houo-yao you Tchong-kouo tch'ouan-jou Ngeou-tcheou ti kiao-leang*; 史學集刊 *Che-hiotsi-k'an*, 6 (Pékin 1950), 古今圖書集成 *Kou kin t'ou chou tsit'eng*, 攻守諸器部 *Kong cheou tchou k'i pu*. — On trouve la description d'un canon chinois en fer, du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle chez A. Pozdneev, 《Китайская пушка, хранящаяся в С.-Петербургском Артиллерийском Музее: ЗВОРАО I》 (1886), pp. 121—126.

<sup>3</sup> Données de l'inventaire du Musée de l'Histoire Militaire.

de grandes fleurs multipétalées, rangée de perles (de nouveau sur anneau), des deux côtés rangées opposées de perles alternant avec des trois horizontaux; le même ornement se répète des deux côtés d'un anneau à bord cannelé, ensuite rangée de petites fleurs quadripétales, à milieu rond (de caractère européen), rangée de trois horizontaux alternant avec des perles, entre deux anneaux une rangée continue de pétales courts, triples tresses lâches, anneau, anneau à bord cannelé, deux rangées opposées de trois horizontaux alternant avec des perles, entre les deux, ornement de fleurs bordée d'un anneau: rangée de grandes fleurs à douze pétales, à milieu rond; rangée de feuilles d'acanthe tournées vers la bouche, anneau à bord cannelé, rangée de dragons stylisés imitant les ornements des bronzes de l'époque Tcheou, triple rudenterie au milieu de l'anneau, puis, après une rainure et un anneau, des grecques dirigées vers la gauche.

Sur le canon n° 23: rangée de fleurs quadripétales, à milieu rond et à sépales, rangée continue de pétales, anneau à bord cannelé, rangée de perles avec des pyramides de perles, rangée de cercles entrelacés entre deux anneaux, rangée continue de pétales, rangée de perles sur l'anneau, anneau à bord cannelé, des deux côtés, rangée de feuilles tricuspidées et de perles, rangée de fleurs rappelant la fleur de lys, rangée de perles, anneau et feuilles rappelant l'acanthe.

Les deux canons portent une inscription de 11 lignes en mandchou et d'autant de lignes en chinois. L'inscription mandchoue se trouve sur la partie supérieure de la culasse à gauche, l'inscription chinoise à droite. La partie inférieure de la culasse est ornée de fleurs à rinceaux (pivoine ou dahlia stylisée ?); le bouton sphérique terminant le cul-de-lampe émerge d'une fleur unique multipétalée. (La forme de la fleur est différente sur les deux canons, sur le canon n° 22, elle est lotiforme.)

L'inscription mandchoue du canon n° 22 est la suivante:

L'inscription chinoise du canon n° 22:

1. 大清康熙二十八年
2. 鑄造
3. 武成永固大將軍印
4. 藥六觔八兩
5. 生鐵砲子十三觔
6. 星高九分一量
7. 製法官南懷仁
8. 鑄造官佛 保
9. 穎思泰
10. 作官王之臣
11. 匠役 李文德  
顏 四

Entre les inscriptions des deux canons il n'y a qu'une différence de chiffres. Sur l'inscription du canon n° 23, voici les lignes qui comportent quelques différences:

4. *jiyanggiyōn. bayitalara oqto sunja gin*
5. *esxun selei muxaliyan juwan gin*
6. *sing-ni den emu cun*

Voici les mêmes dans le texte chinois:

4. 藥五觔
5. 生鐵砲子十觔
6. 星高一寸

Traduction des inscriptions mandchoue et chinoise du canon n° 22.: «Coulé en l'an 28.<sup>4</sup> de l'époque du règne *Elxe tayifin* de la dynastie *Dayičing* (chin. *Ta Ts'ing K'ang-hi*). Général victorieux,<sup>5</sup> grand et fort éternellement.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> La 28<sup>e</sup> année de la période *K'ang-hi* tombe à 1689, cf. M. Tchang, *Synchronismes chinois: Variétés sinologiques* n° 24, Changhaï 1905. — Le texte mandchou comporte un mot de plus: entre le nom de la dynastie et de la période du règne on a intercalé, en tant qu'adjectif possessif, le mot *gurun*.

<sup>5</sup> Ma. *χoron šangyaya* ~ chin. 武成 *wou tch'eng* «accomplissant un acte d'héroïsme», cf. Hauer, II, 457: *horon šanggaha enteheme akdun amba jiyanggiyün* «Schrecken zustandegerbracht habender, ewig zuverlässiger großer Feldherr, Name eines Geschütztyps».

<sup>6</sup> Nom habituel des canons chinois, cf. Fong Kia-cheng, *Houo-yao ti fa-ming houo si-tch'ouan*, p. 42. 銅將軍 *t'ong tsiang-kiun* «général de bronze», 大將軍 *ta tsiang-kiun* «grand général», 奪門將軍 *touo-men tsiang-kiun* «général enfonceur de portes».

Il utilise: de la poudre à canon, 6 *kin* 8 *leang*; boulet de fonte brute, 13 *kin*; hauteur de la mire<sup>7</sup> 9 *fen* 1 *li*.<sup>8</sup> Fonctionnaire qui a établi le projet: *Nan չօվայ-չին* (chin. *Nan Houai-jen*). Fonctionnaires qui ont contrôlé le travail: *Foboo* (chin. *Fo Pao*) et *Šostai* (chin. *Cho Sseu-t'ai*). Fonctionnaire exécutant le travail: *Wang Jǐ-čen* (chin. *Wang Tcheu-tch'en*). Maitres: *Li Wen-de* (chin. *Li Wen-te*) et *Yen Sii* (chin. *Yen Sseu*).<sup>10</sup>

Traduction des variantes de l'inscription du canon n° 23: dans la 4<sup>e</sup> ligne: «poudre à canon, 5 *kin*»; dans la 5<sup>e</sup> ligne: boulet de fonte brute, 10 *kin*»; dans la 6<sup>e</sup> ligne: «hauteur de la mire 1 *ts'ouen*».

Le personnage mentionné sous le nom de *Fo Pao* par les inscriptions est probablement identique à *Fo Luen* qui vécut à la même époque et appartenait au drapeau blanc de la droite mandchoue; au temps de *K'ang-hi* il remplissait une haute charge militaire, cf. 中國人名大辭典 *Tchong-kouo jen-ming ta ts'eу-tien*, p. 303: 佛倫.

De même on ne sait pareillement rien de certain sur *Cho Sseu-t'ai*, il est peut-être identique à *Cho Tai* qui s'était également rangé sous le drapeau blanc de la droite mandchoue et qui participa à la répression du soulèvement de *Wou San-kouei* et aux luttes contre *Galdan*, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 1365: 碩岱.

Comme on le sait, *Nan Houai-jen* est le nom chinois de Ferdinand Verbiest (1623—1688), missionnaire belge, de l'ordre des jésuites qui travaillait à la cour de *K'ang-hi* en tant qu'astronome et mathématicien; c'est à son nom que se rattache la grande carte chinoise du monde publiée en 1674, il était

Cf. encore Pozdneev, Китайская пушка, p. 124: 大將軍 *ta tsiang-kiun p'ao* «canon grand général»; le canon décrit par Pozdneev se nomme 彰武大神炮 *tchan wou ta chen p'ao*, ma. *ileduleme xoroloro amba ferguwečuke poo* «проявляющая воинственность, великая, чудесная пушка». — Le ma. *jiyanggiyón* est une transcription ancienne du chin. *tsiang-kiun*, à l'opposé de la forme ultérieure *jiyangjiyón*, cf. L. Ligeti, *A propos de l'écriture mandchoue*; *Acta Orient. Hung.* II, p. 285, note 27.

<sup>7</sup> Ma. *sing-ni den*, chin. 星高 *sing-kao* «hauter de la mire», (星:衡器上之識點也 cf. 辭海 *T'seu hai* et Innokentij, I, 808b: «точки на кантаре безмена»). Le composé mandchou est disparate: le premier membre est un simple emprunt au *sing* chinois, le deuxième un mot mandchou (Zakharov le considère erronément comme d'origine chinoise, cf. Словарь, p. 798). Les deux parties du composé sont reliées par une désinence possessive.

<sup>8</sup> Les formes mandchoues *gin*, *liyan*, *fun*, *li*, *cun* sont les emprunts réguliers des termes chin. *kin*, *leang*, *fen*, *li* et *ts'ouen*.

<sup>9</sup> Ma. *zoguwan* ~ chin. *tsouo-kouan*; cf. Hauer, III, 1030: «Funktionär».

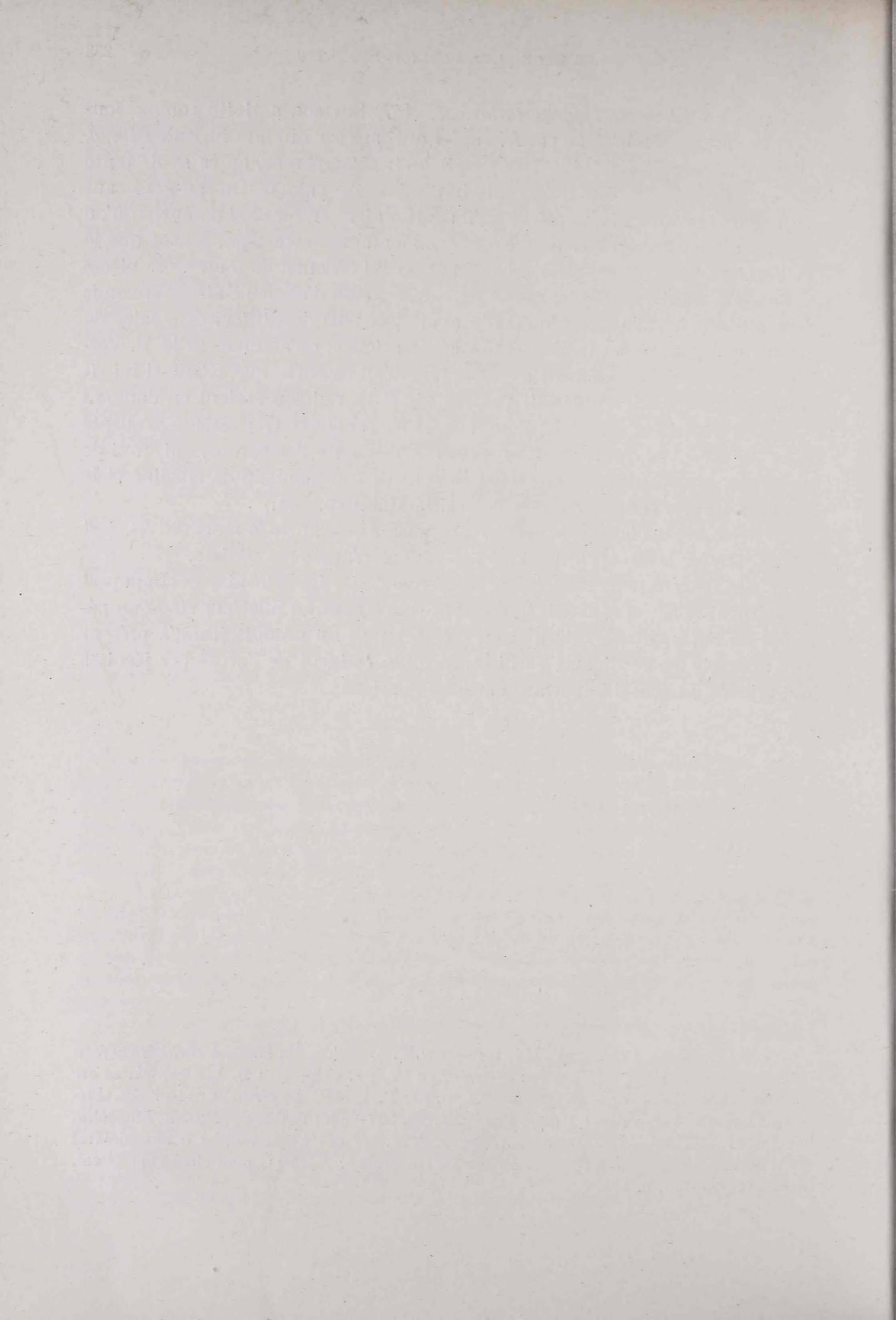
<sup>10</sup> Les noms *Foboo*, *Wang Jǐ-čen*, *Li Wen-de* et *Yen Sii* sont les transcriptions mandchoues exactes, régulières des originaux chinois. On ne relève de différence que dans le nom de *Šostai*; du nom chinois trisyllabique la transcription mandchoue a fait un nom disyllabique. — Quant à l'expression 匠役 *tsiang i* (Innokentij, II, 468b: «рабочие от правительства»; Mathews, n° 662: «forced government labourers»), cf. ma. *faqsi da* ~ chin. 工師 *kong-che* «Oberaufseher der Arbeiter im Altertum» (Hauer, I, 270).

l'auteur des *Elementa linguae tartaricae*, etc.<sup>11</sup> Sur son activité comme fondateur de canon est renseigné par A. Favier qui dans son ouvrage intitulé *Péking, Histoire et description* (Lille 1900) écrit ceci: «L'empereur, après avoir tenté divers moyens, vit bien qu'il était impossible de vaincre Ou-san-koui sans l'usage du canon; mais les pièces qu'il avait étaient en fer et si pesantes qu'on ne pouvait les transporter au travers des montagnes escarpées. Il crut que le P. Verbiest pourrait suppléer à ce défaut, et lui ordonna de fondre des pièces légères à la manière européenne. Ce Père s'en excusa d'abord; mais ses ennemis persuadèrent à l'empereur 'qu'il n'y avait pas plus de difficultés à faire de canons qu'à fondre des instruments mathématiques; qu'assurément le P. Verbiest s'entendait secrètement avec les révoltés;' de sorte que K'ang-si lui fit comprendre que s'il n'obéissait pas, sa vie et sa religion étaient en danger.» ... «Il conduisit en effet tout l'ouvrage, et les canons se trouvèrent excellents dans les épreuves qu'on en fit en présence même de l'empereur, qui, ravi de ce succès, se dépouilla devant toute sa cour de son manteau de zibeline et le donna au Père, comme marque de satisfaction.» (p. 161.)

Selon le témoignage de ces deux canons, même après la mort de Verbiest (le 29 janvier 1688) on a fabriqué des canons d'après ses projets.

Les deux canons chinois du Musée de l'Histoire Militaire de Budapest constituent donc un souvenir intéressant concernant les relations sino-européennes de l'époque des Ts'ing et en même temps un produit jusqu'à présent peu apprécié de Ferdinand Verbiest, membre éminent de l'ordre des jésuites qui a joué un rôle si important dans ces relations.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Favier, *Péking*, pp. 154, 159—162; K. Ahlenius, *En kinesisk världskarta från 17 : de århundert*; Ed. Chavannes: *T'oung Pao* IV, pp. 418—419; B. Laufer, *Skizze der manjurischen Literatur : Keleti Szemle* IX, p. 51; P. Pelliot, *Le véritable auteur des «Elementa Linguae Tartaricae» : T'oung Pao* XXI, pp. 367—386; Baddelay, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, II, pp. 433—435; Ligeti L., *Egy XVIII. századi kinai munka a magyarokról [Un ouvrage chinois du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle sur les Hongrois]* : *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* I<sup>e</sup> vol. suppl. (1935—39), p. 132.



# LE COLOPHON DE L'ALTAN GEREL OÏRAT

PAR

G. KARA

Dans la biographie du Zaya paṇḍita oïrat, on peut lire la longue liste où l'auteur Ratnabhadra énumère les œuvres bouddhiques que l'illustre et érudit *Rabjamba Jaya bandida* avait traduites pour les Oïrat. C'est au commencement de cette liste que nous trouvons l'*Altan gerel*,<sup>1</sup> le sūtra Eclat d'Or dont plusieurs traductions mongoles sont connues par le *Kanjur*, dans nombreuses éditions xylographiques et manuscrites.<sup>2</sup> Mais nous ne connaissons qu'une seule traduction oïrat: elle correspond à la version tibétaine de 21 chapitres. C'est en 1929 qu'elle fut publiée par M. Haenisch dans une translittération en caractères latins, à la base de deux manuscrits et d'une copie provenant de B. Jülg (*Altan Gerel. Die westmongolische Fassung des Gold-glanzsutra nach einer Handschrift der Kgl. Bibliothek in Kopenhagen*, Leipzig 1929, IV + 122 p.). Du manuscrit de Copenhague originaire de la région de la Volga, il manque le colophon, tandisqu'on en retrouve quelques lignes dans

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ratnabhadra, *Rabjamba Jay-a bandida-yin tuyuji saran-u gerel kemekü ene metü bolai*: *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum V*, 2, Ulanbator 1959, pp. 13—16: *tobčilaqula bars jil-eče qoyitu bars-dur kürtele. qošud. toryud. dörbed. jegün yar. qoyid. terigüten dörben oyirad bügüde-dü*: *sudur. ündüsü. jarliy šastir olan-i orčiyuluysan anu. itegel. itegel-ün kötölbüri. tarbačingbo. bangjarayča. altan gerel..... terigüteni orčiyuluysan bui*: *ene inu sedkil-diür oruysan-u tedüi mön. basa busu ese medegsen olan bui bui-j-a.* «en résumé: de l'an du tigre jusqu'à l'an du tigre suivant, il a traduit pour chaque [membre de la fédération] *Dörben Oyirad* [constituée des tribus] *Qošud, Toryud, Dörbed, Jegün yar, Qoyid* etc. un grand nombre de sūtras, tantras, commandements et shastras; il a traduit la profession de foi, le guide de la foi, le *Thar-pa čhen-po*, le *Pañcarakṣa*, [le sūtra de] l'Eclat d'Or..... et d'autres œuvres. C'est seulement ce qui m'est revenu à l'esprit. Il y en avait certainement beaucoup d'autres que j'ignorais.»

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé*, nos 176—178; N. Poppe: *Asia Major X*, 142—144; P. Aalto, *Notes on the Altan Gerel*; *SOF XIV* : 6; W. Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, pp. 9, 52—53, 156.

Dans la collection mongole de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences (Coll. Ligeti) on conserve un manuscrit *Altan gerel* en langue «préclassique», écrite sur l'ordre de *Bayay-ud bayatur huun tayigi*, sous la conduite de *Acarya güi-si Yon-dan bsangpo erglüng* [= tib. *dge-sloṅ*, cf. mong. *Erkeslong*, L. Ligeti: *Acta Orient. Hung. I*, 342] contenant la version de 29 chapitres.

celui de Dresde et dans la copie de Jülg: «*arši dēdü šakyamunîn sedkîn śime. ani* [Dresd. Ms. *ali*] *śütükseñ hubitani eril saitur hanggakci. aśida anghurun abhula hoyor śiddhi ögükci. iriun sain dsarligîn oki altan gerel ôni. ertenî [ereni? ] buyan yēr oloni edsen beye olun. engkerküi...*» avec la remarque suivante: «Beischrift von Jülg: Hier bricht das Ms. ab; es fehlen also noch einige Zeilen» et au bas de la page: «nämlich die vom fehlenden Schlussblatte der Dresdner Vorlage» (p. 122). De ce fragment de colophon, il ne ressort donc pas à qui il faut attribuer la traduction de cet *Altan gerel* oïrat, qui est-ce qui en a fait la copie, etc.; ce sont précisément les éléments donnant la valeur au colophon qui y font défaut, éléments par lesquels on peut faire la lumière, sur l'histoire de la langue littéraire et les dialectes littéraires mongols — dans ce cas sur le dialecte littéraire oïrat — ainsi que sur l'histoire de la littérature mongole, dans l'acception la plus large du mot. Les informations de Ratnabhadra permettent de supposer que cet *Altan gerel* publié par M. Haenisch est identique à celui traduit par Zaya panḍita. Ratnabhadra cependant ne donne aucun renseignement sur la version de l'*Altan gerel* traduite par Zaya panḍita, il ne publie même pas le titre intégral de l'oeuvre.

Dans ce problème, c'est un manuscrit oïrat de l'*Altan gerel* (*Xutuqtu dēdü altan gerel suduriyin ayimagiyin erketü ḥān kemekü yeke kölgöni sudur*) lequel se trouve à Budapest, qui nous vient en aide. Ce manuscrit, qui contient également la traduction de la version de 21 chapitres, comprend 67 feuilles d'environ 50 par 15 cm; il est écrit d'une écriture égale bien lisible, sur un papier fragile et fort enfumé, avec de l'encre noire et rouge. A part quelques erreurs de copie plus ou moins grandes, le texte de ce manuscrit de Budapest est conforme à celui paru dans la publication de M. Haenisch. A titre d'illustration nous présentons ici la partie suivante du XVIII<sup>e</sup> chapitre (*suduriyin ayimagiyin erketü ḥān dēdü altan gerel-ēce : ölöqčin barstu beye oyōto ögüqsen bölöq inu arban nayimaduyār bui*: «le XVIII<sup>e</sup> chapitre du Roi Puissant de la Collection des sūtras, du sublime Éclat d'Or, de celui qui a fait don entier [= qui a sacrifié] de son corps à la tigresse»), texte de Haenisch (p. 103): «...minggan dgeslong yēr ogōto kürēlōlün. tabuni yabukci oroni agui du. ulustu yabun ödö [var. ödö] bolji nige oin dsūlgan [var. tsūlgan] du ödö [var. ödö] boluksan du. tere tende kükü dsölön [var. dsölön] kükürön küri [var. güri] süleng debel [var. debē] eldeb dsüil sain ünürtei tsetsek yēr maşı cimeksen nige gadsarîn dsük üdsebei.» Dans notre texte (f. 56r): «mingyan gelüng-yēr oyōto kürēlōlün tabuni abuqči oroni aṣui-du: ulustu yabun ödö bolji: nigen oyin čuulyan-du ödö boluksan-du: tere tende kökö zölöön kökörön aṣui kürisüleng debē eldeb züyil sayin ünürtei ceceq-yēr maşı čimeqsen nigen yazariyin züq üzebei:»<sup>3</sup> Sans compter la différence de la translittération (sous ce rapport cf.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. la partie correspondante dans le XXVI<sup>e</sup> chapitre de l'édition xylographique de Pékin (Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, no. 57): (X, 2r) «...mingyan ayay-qa tegimlig-üd-iyer [à la place de ce mot ouigour, on trouve dans l'oïrat le mot tibétain *dge-sloñ*] kūriyelegüljü:

le compte rendu par M. N. Poppe: *Asia Major X*, 142—144) la divergence est insignifiante. De ces divergences je voudrais en souligner deux, notamment celles qui se présentent dans les mots *kürisülen* et *debē*. Dans le texte de M. Haenisch, nous voyons *küri süleng* resp. *güri süleng* et *debel* resp. *debē*. La justesse de la forme *kürisülen* est aussi confirmée — en harmonie avec le manuscrit de Budapest — par Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.*, 248a: *kür<sup>2</sup>sly* «robust, dauerhaft, standhaft». La séparation du mot en deux parties distinctes est due à la copie machinale (et éventuellement au fait que le copiste ne connaît pas ce mot rare): la copie fut faite à partir d'un exemplaire où le mot était séparé à la fin de la ligne et s'il s'agit d'un mot inconnu ou rare, la différence entre *k* et *g* se perd facilement. Le mot ne figure pas dans le dictionnaire de Kowalewski, Zwick ne le connaît pas non plus. De *debel* et *debē* ce n'est, bien entendu, que *debē* qui peut être correct, cf. Kow. III, 1699b: *debege* «lieu plein de marais, endroit marécageux, une prairie», *debege yačar* «prairie» et dans les composés: *debegetü* «herbeux», Ramstedt, *KalmWb.*, 90a: *dewēn* (*dewē*) «eine Art Gras, saftiges Frühlingsgras, Riedgras»; Weiberwort für *noyān* «Gras» | *kitn bul<sup>u</sup>γin usnd<sup>v</sup>*, *kök<sup>ö</sup> dewēn öwsnd<sup>ö</sup>* «bei der kalten Quelle, auf grünem, gutem Grasse (episch)», [debege, ma. debeye]. Parmi nos dictionnaires mongols modernes le dictionnaire littéraire khalkha de Luvsandendév publie également le mot: *dēvēg* et *dēvēē* «луг, альпийские луга» (165b, 166a).<sup>4</sup> La forme *debel* illustre ici comment le signe de longuer oïrat se transforme en *l*, à cause d'une copie erronée, d'une incompréhension ou d'une fausse interprétation du texte.

Le manuscrit de Budapest de l'*Altan gerel* oïrat donne un texte de colophon intégral dont les termes sont:

(f. 67r) *arši dēdü šākya<sup>5</sup> müniyin sedkiliyin šime:*

*ali šütüqsen χubitani eril sayitur χangyaqči:  
ašida angxarun abxulā xoyor šiddhi ögüqči:  
ariun sayin zarligiyin oki altan gerel öünü:::  
erketeni buyan oloni ezen beye olun:*

*banjal ulus-un* [Ce nom est traduit dans la version oïrat: *tabuni abugči oron*, c'est également une influence tibétaine.] *irgen-i bitün oduyad: nigen eldeb modu-tu oi-dur kürbesü: tere yačar-un jüg-tür čingkir* [forme dialectale de la Mongolie Intérieure, au lieu de la forme classique *čengker*: en oïrat *kökö*] *önjge-tü jögelen sayin ölüng-üd-iyer dolgisun kökerejü bükü delekei-dür: sayin ünürdü eldeb čečeg-üd-iyer joriyuta čimegdegsen metü asuru üjeskülen-tü nigen yačar-i üjebi:*

Malheureusement je n'ai pas trouvé la possibilité d'étudier la version mongole de 21 chapitres, ainsi je ne peux pas la conférer à la version oïrat.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. encore Golstunskij, Монгольско-русский словарь III, 75b: *debege* «болотное место, сырья местность; замище», *debegetü* «болотистый, сырой»; F. Boberg, *Mongolian—English Dictionary II*, 1087: *debege* «watery meadow—land».

<sup>5</sup> Avec la ligature galik *ya*, équivalent oïrat du *y* souscrit tibétain.

*engkerküi<sup>6</sup> süzüq-yēr erdeni yurban kiged blama šajini takiqči:  
 endöürel ügei uğān-yēr arya biliq bütēn burğan-ni kereqleqči:  
 eneriküi sedkil tögüsüqsen ażalai aldar duraduqsan-du :::  
 olon ʐubitai ortoyoi niswāniši darun:  
 osoldol ügei tonilxui möriyin şatu bayiyoulun:  
 olburi dēdü yeke amuyuulang-gi olxuyin tula:  
 oqtoryuyin dalai rab-'byam<sup>5</sup> za-ya pañdida orčiulbai :::  
 onomoyoi uğātu mergen güüsi chülkrim rgyam<sup>8</sup>-cho samuradan:  
 onco dēdü-yi kereqleqči: ketürkei bičiči dge-'dün bzangpo cāsun-du bičiqsen;  
 olburi buyani auya-bēr töro şajin örgöjin delgereži:  
 olon törölkitön onco nom-yēr yabuji burğan boltuyai :: :::  
 om ma-ni padme hūm:: hri : sarva mām-gha-lam ::*

La traduction des quatre strophes est la suivante:

«Ce [sūtra], l'Eclat d'Or, qui est la nourriture spirituelle du maître sublime Śākyamuni, qui accomplit fidèlement le désir de tous ceux qui participent à la foi,<sup>7</sup> qui donne deux perfections, si on le garde toujours en mémoire, qui est le comble du commandement pur [et] juste,

a été, sur l'ordre d'*Ażalai Aldar* qui avait revêtu le corps du seigneur des nombreuses vertus des forts,<sup>8</sup> qui, avec une foi persévérande, révère la trinité de pierres précieuses et la religion vénérable, qui, avec un esprit sans aberration, recourt à la divinité de la sagesse absolue, qui a le coeur plein de miséricorde,

traduit par *Oqtoryuyin dalai Rab-'byam Za-ya pañdida*, pour que, en opprimant le péché originel multiple et tortueux,<sup>9</sup> en construisant l'escalier de la rédemption parfaite, on puisse acquérir le gain sublime, le grand calme.

<sup>6</sup> C'est ici que se termine le fragment de colophon figurant dans la publication de M. Haenisch. Divergences de texte: chez M. Haenisch *sedkin*, dans notre manuscrit *sedkiliyin*; H. *iriun*, chez nous correctement *ariun*; H. *anghurun*, chez nous *angxarun*. Le première vers de la deuxième strophe chez M. Haenisch: «*erten i[ereni?] buyan yēr oloni edsen beye olun* «par ancienne vertu il a revêtu le corps du seigneur de nombreux [sujets]», ici: *erketeni buyan oloni ezen beye olun* «il a revêtu le corps du seigneur des nombreuses vertus des forts.» Parmi les deux, c'est celle de M. Haenisch qui semble être correcte, mais dans ce cas on se demande, comment le *erten* plus court est devenu le *erketeni* plus long. Une autre solution qui semble s'imposer, serait de compléter le texte de notre manuscrit par le suffixe de l'instrumental, par quoi le texte se libellerait ainsi: *erketeni buyan-yēr oloni ezen beye olun* «par la vertu des forts il a revêtu le corps du seigneur de nombreux [sujets].»

<sup>7</sup> Pour le mot *ʐubitan*, mong. *qubitan*, cf. Kow. II, 892a et tib. *skal-l丹*, Jäschke, 21a; Bodhicaryāvatāra III, 17d: tib. *thams-čad byaṇ-čhub skal-l丹 gyur* (Weller), mong. *bügiide qutuy-tur kürkü qubitan boltuyai* (Vladimircov); IV, 18a: tib. *gan-che dge-spyad skal-l丹 yaṇ*, mong. *buyan üiledkü qubitu boluysan čay-tur ber*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. note 6.

<sup>9</sup> Le mot *ortoyoi* ne figure pas dans nos dictionnaires. Dans le colophon du manuscrit du *Thar-pa čhen-po* oïrat, il est également l'attribut de *niswānis*. Cf. kh. lit. *orsgoj* =

Il fut remanié<sup>10</sup> par *giüüši Chülkrim rgyam-cho* savant à l'esprit subtil, et mis sur papier par l'excellent scribe *Dge'-dün bzangpo* désirant le sublime extrême. Que par la force de la vertu acquise [ainsi], la vraie religion se répande largement, afin que les nombreux mortels vivant selon la meilleure doctrine, deviennent des divinités.»

Le texte est suivi des formules bouddhiques habituelles: *om mani padme hūm, hri, sarva mainghalam.*

*orsgor* «выдающийся вперед, торчащий; кривой, неровный (о зубах)» et les verbes y relatifs: *orsojch, orsojlgoch* (Luvsandêndêv, 308a); kalm. *ors<sup>v</sup>ç, ors<sup>v</sup>yvr* «schiefstehender, aus den Lippen hervortretender (Zahn); prognatisch», le verbe y relatif: *orsā-* (Ramstedt, Kalm. Wb., 290a); *ört<sup>v</sup>gr* «sich sträubend, stehend (von Haaren etc.)» (300b).

<sup>10</sup> Une signification pareille du verbe *samurada-* ne figure pas dans nos dictionnaires. Cf. mong. *samurda-* «cueillir» et *samur-* «ôter en puisant (le thé); mêler» (Kow. II, 1316b); *samura-, samur-* «мешать, переливать (чай уполовником, ковшом) для того, чтобы охладить его или довести до того, чтобы он уварился до краска; схватывать когтями (о тигре, барсе); *samurda-* «брать, хватать, схватывать» (Golstunskij, II, 307bc); kalm. *samṛ-* «durcheinander mischen, umrühren (z. B. den Tee mit dem Schöpföffel, wenn man Milch hineingesst od. damit der Tee nicht überkoche)» (Ramstedt. Kalm. Wb., 311a); bour. lit. *hamarcha I<sup>3</sup>* «мешать etc.» (Čeremisov, 644b); kh. lit. *samrach* «мешать etc.; быть передними ногами; etc.» (Luvsandêndêv, 346a), mais *samaradach* «хватить когтями, пальцами; заграбать ногой etc.» (346b); ordos *samur-* «remuer le thé à l'aide d'une louche (pendant la préparation du thé); etc.» (Mostaert, Dict. Ordos II, 557); mongouor *samuri-* «мêler en remuant, remuer avec une cuiller» (de Smedt — Mostaert, Dict., 323).

Le verbe *samurda- ~ samurada-* peut donc être le synonyme de *samur-* et figure ici au sens abstrait se rapportant à la signification «remuer le thé pour qu'il refroidisse ou qu'il prenne couleur» (cf. Golstunskij): «corriger, remanier, préparer pour la publication.» Cf. le verbe *šöö-* dans le colophon du *Tasuluqči očir* (ms. oïrat; cf. mong. *Včiriyar oytuluyči*: Ligeti, Catalogue, n° 771): *urida rab-'byam-pa xutuqtuyin gegēn körböülüqsenece: ... iileqsen tasuraqsan endöüreqsen bügüdeyigi: ... tayilbur kiged maši ariun eke bičigüüdtü tulyan šööji ariudχād*: «tout ce qui, dans une forme fragmentaire et défectueuse, est resté de l'ancienne traduction de *Rab-'byam-pa xutuqtuyin gegēn* [Zaya panḍita], nous l'avons examiné et mis au point en nous appuyant sur le commentaire et les écritures originales d'une netteté extrême.» Dans le verbe *oïr.* *šöö-* (mong. *sigü-*), kalm. *šū-*, la relation des significations concrètes et abstraites peut être suivie de près: «in die Klauen, Krallen nehmen, einfangen (die Vögel), mit dem Netz fangen [cf. mong. *samur-, samurda-* «saisir»] ; mit dem Sieb reinigen, durch das Sieb gehen lassen [cf. mong. *samur-* «mêler», *samurda-* «cueillir】; sichten, auswählen; examinieren; filtrieren, etc.» (Ramstedt, Kalm. Wb., 372b) || *šür-* (373a).

Pour ce qui concerne le verbe *samur-, samurda-* cf. encore kalm. *sawrd<sup>v</sup>-*, *sawrt<sup>v</sup>-* «mit den Klauen nehmen, etc.» *sawṛ* «Kralle, Kalve (der Vögel)», *sawṛ dörwṇ tūrā* «die vier Hufe (des Pferdes)» (Ramstedt, Kalm. Wb., 316a). Du mongol *sabar, sabur* «patte, main, pied, griffe etc.; fourche» les significations du verbe *samur-* peuvent être déduites sans difficultés particulières, ainsi par exemple la signification «nager» (cf. kh., bour.) non indiquée plus haut, est en fin de compte identique à la signification «faire des mouvements avec les pieds». Le mot a une grande famille dans le mongol. Dans son dictionnaire kalmouk, Ramstedt a indiqué quelques rapports altaïques de ce mot.

Le colophon entier révèle par conséquent, que cet *Altan gerel* oïrat est attaché au nom de Zaya paṇḍita, comme le laissait supposer la biographie de Zaya paṇḍita par Ratnabharda. Le colophon en vers n'indique pas l'année de la traduction, c'est la liste de Ratnabhadra, qui donne des indications, en déterminant la date de la traduction comme suit: «de l'an du tigre jusqu'à l'an du tigre suivant c. à d. de 1650 à 1662 (cf. encore Pozdneev, Қалмыцкая хрестоматия, p. 169).<sup>11</sup>

Comme commettant, «donateur» de la traduction le colophon désigne *Aχalai Aldar* qui, à la base de la généalogie de Pallas (P. S. Pallas, *Samm-lungen historischer Nachrichten I*, St. Petersbourg 1776, pp. 47—47 et p. 56/57: III. généalogie) pourrait être identifié à *Aldar*, l'un des fils de *Dalai tayiji* dörböt et frère de *Dayičing xošouči*. Cette hypothèse est confirmée par la description de Ratnabhadra (p. 24): *basa aldar tayiji jalaju. yeke süsülen kündüleküi-yin egüüden-eče nom ču olan bayulyaju abun. süsülen takiqu-yin tula. gegen-e qubčisu-yi bürin-e abču yurban jayun aduyu. yučin temege ergün. ayui yeke süsülen üiledbei*: «ensuite c'est *Aldar tayiji*<sup>12</sup> qui l'invita et il puise beaucoup dans l'enseignement qui descendait de la porte de la vénération parfaite, et puisqu'il le vénérerait avec persévérence, il acheta au *Gegen* (à Zaya paṇḍita) des vêtements, tout ce qui était nécessaire, et lui fit cadeau de trois cents chevaux ainsi que de trente chameaux, par tout cela il témoigna de sa grande foi.» Il est à présumer que c'est alors qu'il commanda la traduction. Ceci eut lieu chez les Dörböt, au cours de l'an du cheval, en 1654.

Quant aux deux autres personnes mentionnées dans le colophon, le remanieur *güüši Chülkrim rgyam-cho* (tib. *Chul-khrims rgya-mcho*, mong. *Cültimjamcu*) et le scribe *Dge-dün bzangpo* (tib. *Dge-duṇ bzaṇ-po*, mong. *Gendünsambu*), la première figure aussi comme remanieur du *Thar-pa čhen-po* oïrat (*Xutuqtu yeke toniluqsani züqtü delgeröülüqči kemēkü yeke kölgöni sudur*) également lié au nom de Zaya paṇḍita. La partie du colophon de cette oeuvre se rapportant à lui dit (je cite un manuscrit de Budapest): *narmai yeke ulustu tusa amuyuulang bolxuyin tula; narin gün užātu chülkrim rgyamco [sic] samuradan*; «pour le profit et la tranquillité du pays vaste et grand, *Chülkrim rgyamco* à l'esprit profond et exact l'a remanié». Ici *Dalai onbu*, le copiste du manuscrit *Thar-pa čhen-po* le mentionne donc sans le titre de *güüši*. Ni le colophon de l'*Altan gerel*, ni celui du *Thar-pa čhen-po* ne nous donnent de renseignements quant à l'époque où il a vécu, ni quant à l'endroit où il a exercé cette activité; il est cependant à supposer, que ce fut après la mort de Zaya paṇḍita.

Encore quelques mots sur la forme du colophon de l'*Altan gerel* oïrat. Des quatre strophes, la première exalte l'oeuvre, la deuxième le «donateur»,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. note 1.

<sup>12</sup> Figure ailleurs chez Ratnabhadra comme *Aldar tayishi* et *Čökür [= Čökür]* *Aldar qosiyuči* (p. 44).

a troisième fait l'éloge du traducteur, la quatrième, la dernière s'occupe du remanieur et du copiste, les vers de chacune ont un nombre de syllabes assez variable (environ 15 et 19),<sup>13</sup> mais dans un rythme facile à suivre, surtout dans la première strophe:<sup>14</sup>

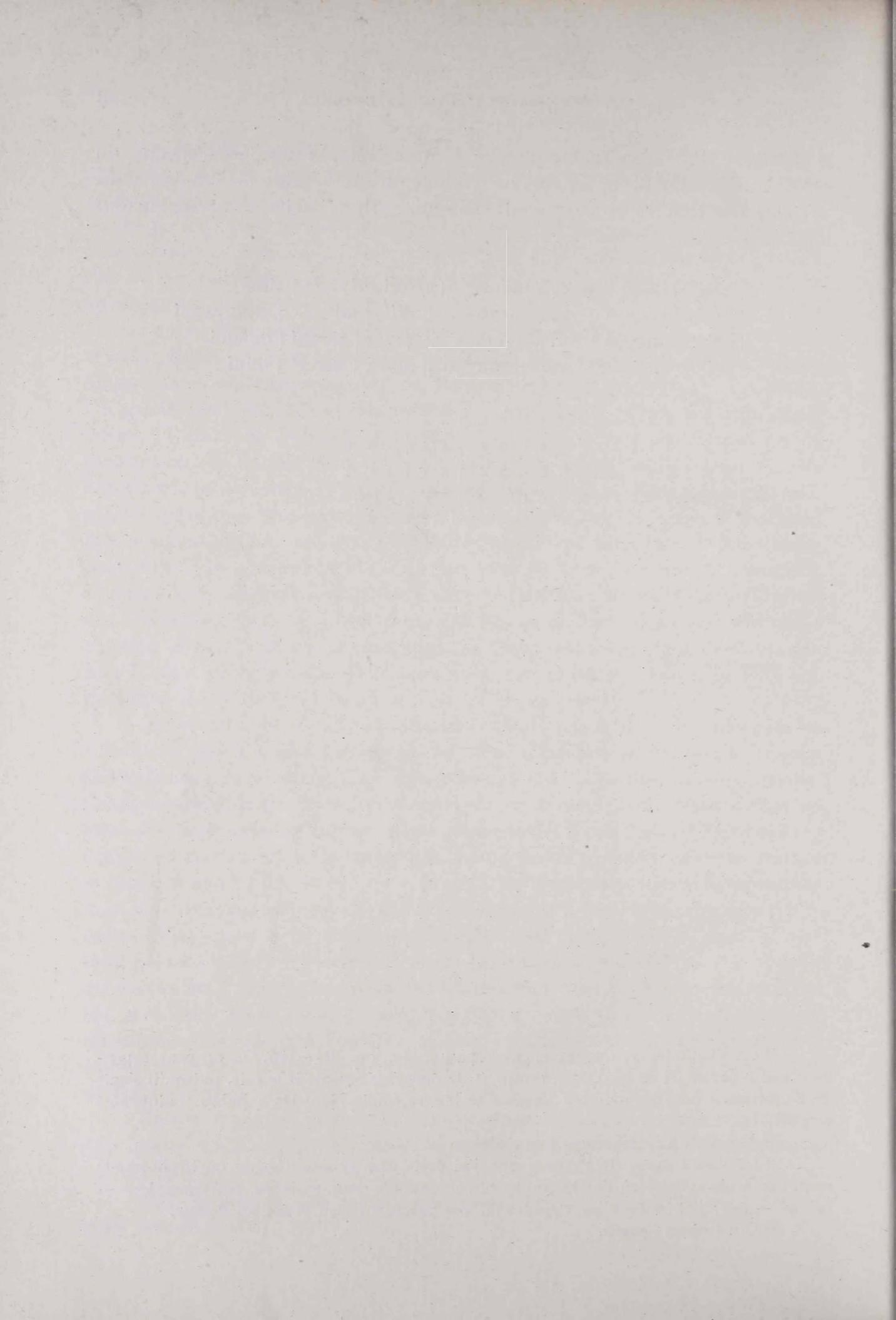
arši   dēdū   šākya   münin    sedki   liyin <sup>15</sup>   šime
ali šü   tüqsen   χubi   tani    eril   saitur   χangyaqči
ašid <sup>a</sup>   angγxa   run ab χulā    χoyor   šiddhi   ögüqči
ari   un sain <sup>16</sup>   zarli   gîn oki    altan   gerel   öuni
x x   x x   x x   x x    x x   x x   x x
x x   x x   x x   x x    x x   x x   x x x
x x   x x   x x   x x    x x   x x   x x x
x x   x x   x x   x x    x x   x x   x (x) x

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Vladimircov, Сравнительная грамматика, pp. 104—105. On ne peut cependant guère parler ici de trochées (хорей) et de dactyles comme il le fait, puisqu'il s'agit de l'alternance non des syllabes longues et brèves, mais bien des syllabes toniques et atones.

<sup>15</sup> A cause du rythme, en deux syllabes.

<sup>14</sup> Ici c'est à cause du rythme que j'ai écrit une syllabe longue ou diphtongale resp. une seule syllabe où l'orthographe oïrat demande deux syllabes, par exemple *i* — *iyi*, *ai* — *ayi*; j'ai indiqué les voyelles élidées par une lettre écrite au dessus.

<sup>16</sup> Ou: | *ariun* | *sayin*.



# REMARKS ON THE PHONOLOGY OF THE MONGOUR LANGUAGE\*

BY

A. RÓNA-TAS

The investigation of the archaic Mongolian dialects does play an important role from the point of view of the comparative Mongolian studies and of the Mongolian linguistic history alike. We can divide the archaic dialects into three main groups: the Moghol of Afghanistan, the Dahir and the dialects of the Kansu-Chinghai region in the Chinese People's Republic. The archaic dialects of the Kansu-Chinghai region are known to us from the various publications of Potanin, Volfert, Malov, Mannerheim, Rockhill, D'Ollone, Todaeva, Chingeltei and up till now the most abundant material has been placed at our disposal by De Smedt and Mostaert, who together published the phonology, the grammar and the vocabulary of the Monguor of Sining. The Monguor language shows the most dialectal divergencies from the other Mongolian dialects. The special dialectal features of the Monguor are to be divided into two groups: to the first group do belong the preserved archaic Mongolian traits, to the second the special Monguor innovations.

A part of the special Monguor innovations leads us to suspect Tibetan influence. We know from the statements of Mostaert, Schröder and Unkrieg that this Tibetan influence is reflected in a great number of Tibetan loan-words in Monguor. But until now there no attempts have been made to clear up the circumstances of this Tibetan influence, and it has not been shown how this influence manifests itself exactly. It was also not known which Tibetan dialects can be taken into account, nor has the further problem of the period in which this influence made its effect on Monguor been discussed.

A work of mine, on which I am at present engaged deals with the Tibetan loan-words in Monguor, and in it I propose to discuss these questions.

Now allow me to say a few words, as an illustration of the whole problem, on the question of the initial consonant clusters in Monguor.

\* This paper was read on the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow, 12. VIII. 1960.

It is well-known that in the present-day Monguor language initial consonant clusters are encountered, while this feature is totally unknown both in the history of the Mongolian language and in the overwhelming majority of the present-day dialects. This I take as good reason to suppose that we have to do in this case with Tibetan influence.

When we are examining the initial consonant clusters of Monguor, we find that the first element of the cluster can only be one of the following consonants: *m*, *n*, naso-oral *ŋ*, *r*, *s*, palatalized *ś* and cerebral *ʂ*. Can we find such initial consonant clusters in Tibetan?

The earliest written form of the Tibetan language, the so-called Old Tibetan of the VIIth—Xth century, had eight prefixes, which were spelt before the initial consonant of the radical. This stage has been preserved in the Tibetan classical literary language, but most of the present-day Tibetan dialects have lost these prefixes, and have thus no initial consonant clusters. Only in a few archaic Tibetan dialects do we find the developments of the Old Tibetan prefix system. Now the question arises: can we explain the existence of the Monguor initial consonant clusters from an Tibetan dialect of this type?

For answering this question we have to start from the Tibetan loan-words of Monguor, because these loan-words have originated from the very Tibetan dialect or dialects which were in connection with Monguor, and thus played a significant role in the formation of the phonological structure of Monguor.

From the point of view of the initial consonant clusters we can divide the Tibetan loan-words of Monguor into three groups. These groups represent three stages of the history of the Old Tibetan prefixes in the Eastern Tibetan dialects.

The Tibetan loan-words belonging to the first group show that the Tibetan dialect from which they were borrowed preserved all Old Tibetan prefixes, while the central Tibetan dialects had lost them. Let us see a few examples: The Old Tibetan prefix *d-* is represented by *r-* in the Tibetan loan-words of Monguor, for instance: *rauomba* 'monastery' corresponds to literary Tibetan *dgon-pa*, while the Lhasa dialect has *gompa*. The Old Tibetan prefix *s-* has been preserved unchanged for instance in *sgarma* 'star', literary Tibetan *skar-ma*, while in the Lhasa dialect we find *karma*; or the prefix *s-* has changed into a palatalized *ś* before palatalized consonants, for instance *śdžirbu* 'happyness', literary Tibetan *skyid-po*. In the Lhasa dialect we meet with the form *kjipo*. The Old Tibetan prefix *r-* was preserved for instance in Monguor *rguodma* 'mare', literary Tibetan *rgod-ma* in place of which we find in the Lhasa dialect *göma*. In other cases the prefix *r-* is to be found as a cerebral *ʂ-* in Monguor, for instance in *ʂgān* 'marrow' from literary Tibetan *rkañ*, and also in this case the Lhasa dialect has no prefix, we find *kang*. The Old Tibetan prefix *g-* is to be found as a spirant *s-* for instance in the Monguor *sdzum*

'three' in *diēsdzum* 'the three periods', while in the place of the literary Tibetan *gsum* we find *sum* in the Lhasa dialect. The Old Tibetan *l-* has a representation by *r-* in the Tibetan loan-words of Mongour, for instance *rBā* 'cicatrice', which corresponds to literary Mongolian *lba* and Lhasa *ba*. The Old Tibetan prefix *b-* is to be heard as *u-* for instance in Mongour *ulō* 'ability' which is the same word as literary Tibetan *blo* and Lhasa Tibetan *lo*. The Old Tibetan prefixed '*a-čhuñ*' we find as *n-* before the dental plosives for instance in Mongour *ndorla-* 'to wish', which is the literary Tibetan '*dod-pa*' and Lhasa dialectal *döpa*. Before gutturals the '*a-čhuñ*' is represented by a naso-oral *η*, for instance Mongour *ηk'uorlo* 'wheel', literary Tibetan '*khor-lo*', and *khorlo* of the Lhasa dialect. Finally the '*a-čhuñ*' is to be found as *m-* before labial plosives for instance in *mboq* 'mask' literary Tibetan '*bag*', Lhasa dialect: *ba*. The same three equivalents are found with the Old Tibetan prefix *m-*, for instance *ndoq* 'colour', literary Tibetan *mdog*, Lhasa dialect *do* and so on.

As it can be seen from the examples cited, the Tibetan dialect from which the loan-words were borrowed had in place of the Old Tibetan prefix system the consonants *m*, *n*, *η*, *r*, *s*, *ś*, and *ʂ*, exactly those, which we find also as the first members of the initial consonant clusters in the Mongolian lexical stock of the Mongour language.

The Tibetan archaic dialects are to be divided into a Western and an Eastern group and because of historical and geographical reasons we can take into account here only the Eastern ones which spread to-day from the Kansu-Chinghai region down to the region of Chamdo and Derge. Among these Eastern Tibetan dialects there are several which have preserved the Old Tibetan prefix-system in the same way as we find it in the loan-words of the Mongour. Such archaic Eastern Tibetan dialects are the Golok-Sarta recorded by Professor Roerich, a part of the material published by Széchenyi and Prževalskij, further the dialect reflected in the vocabulary of Blo-bzañ Bstan-'jin, edited for the second time in Japan. In these dialects the eight Old Tibetan prefixes are all preserved. Only the six oral prefixes are to be found in the Amdowa—Reb-koñ, Banag, Wayen dialects recorded by Roerich, and only the two nasal prefixes are to be found in certain positions in the Chamdo dialect recorded by K'in P'eng and in the Derge dialect published by Wen Yu.

The second group of the Tibetan loan-words of Mongour shows a more advanced stage of the disappearance of the Old Tibetan prefix system. In this group we find in the place of the various prefixes only one and the same spirant, generally the spirant *s-*, which has a conditioned variant *ś-* before palatalized consonants. This refers to a second group of the Eastern Tibetan dialects.

The spirantisation of the several prefixes is well observable for instance in the Amdowa dialect. In the Amdowa there is an archaic strata which dis-

tinguishes the Old Tibetan prefixes as *r-*, *γ-*, *s-*, *š-* and *w-*, but these representations are — as Roerich has pointed out — spirants, inclusive the *r-*, which is to be heard as an uvular spirant. In a part of the words we find two variants: one of them has a spirant development of the old prefix, for instance in place of the Old Tibetan prefix *g-* we find a spirant *γ-*, the other variant of the same word has a post-palatal spirant *χ-* independently from the form of the original prefix. That means that we have *χ-* in place of every Old Tibetan oral prefix. For instance the literary Tibetan *rkañ-pa* 'leg' has two forms *rkon-wa* and *χkon-na* in the Amdowa; the literary Tibetan *gnam* 'haeven' is represented by the variants *γnam* and *χnam*, the literary Tibetan *sna* 'nose' has the two forms *šna* and *χna*. To the literary Tibetan *dmag* 'war' correspond in the Amdowa the two variants *γmay* and *χmay*. The literary Tibetan *lta-ba* 'to look' can be met with in the Amdowa as *rta* and *χta* and so on. To the post-palatal Amdowa *χ-* corresponds in the Monguor the spirant *s-*, and *š-*. For instance literary Tibetan *gtor-ma* 'libation', Amdowa *χtorma*, Monguor *sdormā*, literary Tibetan *rcwa* 'grass', Amdowa *χca*, Monguor *sdza*, in *sdzawarma* 'poenia albiflora', Literary Tibetan *gčig* 'one', Amdowa *χčig*, Monguor *ščžiačna* 'alone' and so on.

To the third group of Tibetan loan-words of the Monguor language belong those words in which the Old Tibetan prefixes are entirely lost. There are also known such Eastern Tibetan dialects, for instance the subdialect of the agricultural branch of the Dpa-ri people has dropped all prefixes. But also in several archaic dialects, which have generally preserved the prefixes in one or the other form, we find words without prefixes. These are first appearing as variants beside the form with spelled prefix. For instance the literary Tibetan *gser* 'gold' has generally a prefix in Amdowa: *γser*, but in the compound *ser-ga* 'golden saddle' the prefix is no more to be heard. In Monguor we find the word as *sēr* 'piece of money' without prefix. The literary Tibetan *dmar* 'red' has two alternating forms in Amdowa: *χmar* with a spirant post-palatal *χ-* and *mar*, without it. In the Monguor only the form *mar* found its way (in *marnaq* 'a kind of patterned cloth').

Now let us see how this Tibetan influence is reflected in an archaic Monguor feature, in the several representations of the Common Mongolian initial *\*p-*, Middle Mongolian *h-*.

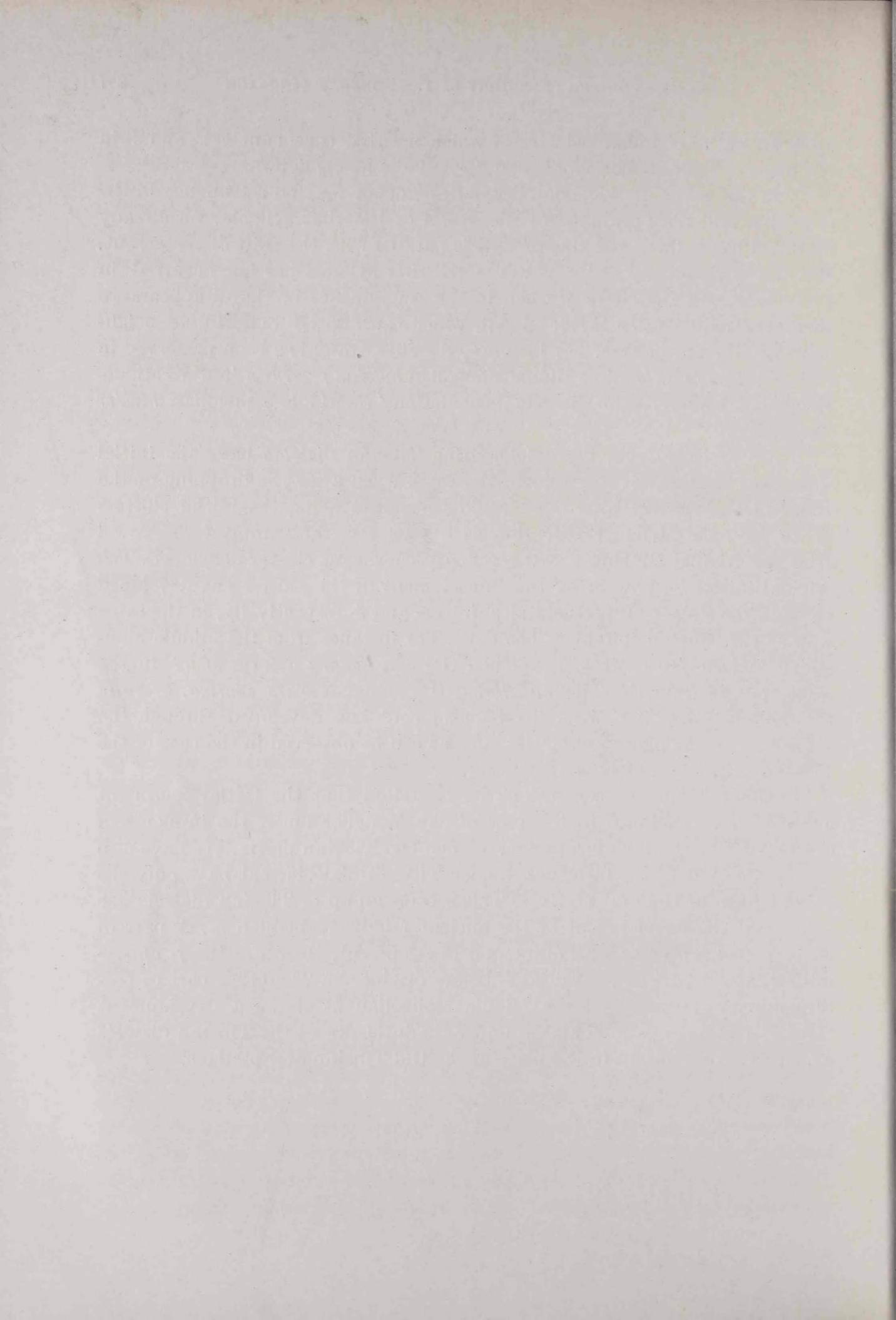
Since the publications of Mostaert, Pelliot and others we know that the Middle Mongolian *h-* is represented in Monguor by the following four consonants: *f-*, *χ-*, *s-* and palatalized *š-*. As a rule, before original rounded vowels we find *f-*, before original unrounded *\*a* and *\*e* we find *χ-* and before original *\*i-* we find the palatalized spirant *š-*. But in some cases we cannot explain the initial corresponding to the Common Mongolian *\*p-* from the original vowel that follows and in this cases the vowel of the first syllable is dropped. In consequence of the disappearance of the vowel of the first syllable there

arose an initial consonant cluster of which the first consonant is *s*- and *š*- in the place of the Common Mongolian \**p*-, Middle Mongolian *h*-.

In the words of Mongolian origin of Monguor we find a tendency of the reduction and disappearance of the vowel of the first syllable. As already Mostaert has pointed out this process is parallel with the shift of the accent. But the disappearance of the vowel of the first syllable has not occurred in every case. We find it only when in the consequence of the disappearance such consonant cluster is established, which can also be found in the neighbouring Tibetan dialects. For instance, the first vowel has been preserved in such words as *fulān* 'red' ~ Middle Mongolian *hula'an*; *χarwan* 'ten' ~ Middle Mongolian *harban*; *šürō-* 'to say benedictions' ~ Middle Mongolian *hirü'er* 'benediction'.

As we have seen, the neighbouring Tibetan dialects have the initial consonant clusters *sd*- and *šdž*- . In the cases when after the dropping of the vowel of the first syllable there could come into being the initial clusters *sd*- or *šdž*-, the Monguor has often as a matter of fact dropped the vowel after the original *h*- . Thus a new secondary consonant cluster developed. The original initial *h*-, now being the first element of the cluster has developed through the stage of a postpalatal *χ*- into *s*- and *š*- respectively, in the same way as the Tibetan spirant *χ*- has done. For instance from the Middle Mongolian *hudaru-* 'to destroy' developed through \**χdaru* a form *sdari-* in the same way as from the Tibetan *χtorma* the Monguor form *sdorma*, or from the Middle Mongolian *hiče-* 'to be ashamed' has developed through the stage \**χče* the Monguor *šdžiē-*, the same as can be observed in the case of the Tibetan *χcigna* and Monguor *šdžiaqna*.

Summing up our conclusions we can state that the initial consonant clusters have developed in the present-day Monguor under the influence of a Tibetan dialect which has preserved each Old Tibetan prefix. We have also to take account of the influence of such Tibetan dialects that have only the spirant form of the oral prefixes. This second group of Tibetan dialects has influenced the development of the ancient Middle Mongolian *h*- . A part of its correspondences had an autochton development, these are the *f*- and *χ*-initials, and a part of the initial *š*- before original \**i*. The other part of corresponding consonants of the Middle Mongolian *h*- shows a development through the stage *χ*- to *s*- and *š*- under the influence of the Tibetan dialects which have one spirant in the place of the Old Tibetan oral prefixes.



# A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PHONOLOGY OF AN UNKNOWN EAST-MONGOLIAN DIALECT\*

BY

LOUIS J. NAGY

The research of Mongolian dialects has made rapid progress during recent years. Noteworthy studies have been published on the Oirat, Buriat and Khalkha languages as also on the South-Mongolian dialect spoken in Ordos, further on the Dahir, Monguor and Moghol languages.

This recent intensive research-work did not extend to the so-called East Mongolian dialects used in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of the Chinese People's Republic so that we have still to rely in this respect on Rudnev's rather poor and inaccurate records. Yet these dialects have a great historical value, for it appears that some of them are continuations of certain Middle-Mongolian dialects. It seemed, therefore, worthwhile to analyze a dialectal text originating from this area and written with the Manchu alphabet, until field work will start also in the region in question. The text we are referring to is the Mongolian version of a work with the title *San ho yü lu*, written in the Manchu and Chinese languages<sup>1</sup>.

Before analyzing this work, we have to answer a fundamental question: should we regard the Mongolian version of *San ho yü lu* as authentic dialectal material or as just a literary text containing dialectal peculiarities?

Let us bear in mind that works written in the classical language which contain a number of dialectal peculiarities constitute a special category in

\* [This article was recently found among the posthumous papers of the author and is presented here in its original form. L. L.]

<sup>1</sup> According to our present knowledge, the original text of the *San ho yü lu* was written in the Manchu language by Chih-kung Hsin under the reign of the Emperor Chien-lung (1736—1795). Deleg, from the Southeast-Mongolian Barin tribe, translated it into the Mongolian. For a long time, this name was read as Demek and it was Prof. Ligeti who showed that it was to be read as Deleg, a Mongolian form of the Tibetan bDe-legs; cf. L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie Chinoise* 1928—1931, Budapest, 1933. p. 34. The high value of the Mongolian version for dialectal investigations has long been recognized but all that happened was that W. Grube prepared a critical text edition of 68 chapters of the work, while — after Grube's death — von Zach published the rest. Cf. W. Grube, *Proben der Mongolischen Umgangssprache*, WZKM XVIII, pp. 343—378; XIX, pp. 29—61; XXV, pp. 263—289.

Mongolian literature. Most significant among them is the *Geser qan* discussed by Poppe in a detailed study<sup>2</sup>. Let us first see how the *San ho yü lu* compares with texts of the *Geser qan*-type.

According to Poppe, the following dialectal features are most prominent in the *Geser qan* from a phonological point of view<sup>3</sup>:

A) The literary Mongolian intervocalic -γ- (-g-) disappears in 36 words. E. g. *bayu-* > *buu-* 'descend'; *görügesün* > *görösün* 'antelope, chamois'.

B) Regressive assimilation. The *i* of the first syllable is assimilated to the vowel of the next syllable in literary Mongolian. In a similar manner, the *e* of the first syllable becomes rounded in literary Mongolian under the influence of the *ü* of the next syllable. E. g. *sitayaju* > *sataji* 'lighted'; *sidiuben* > *šüdüben* 'his tooth'; *ergüjü* > *örgüjü* 'lifted'.

Poppe points to the following dialectal features that are worthy of note in the same text from the point of view of morphology<sup>4</sup>:

A. Beside the literary forms *-u*, *-un* and *-yin*, the suffix of the genitive occurs also in the dialectal forms *-nai*, *-nei*: *qan-nai* 'of khan'; *kümün-nei* 'of man'.

B. Beside the literary forms *-mui*, *-müi* etc., the suffix of the praesens imperfecti occurs also in the dialectal forms *-nai* and *-na*, *-ne*: *yabunai* 'goes'; *bayina* 'is'; *irene* 'comes'.

C. Beside the literary forms *-luya*, *-lüge*, the suffix of the praesens perfecti occurs also in the dialectal forms *-lei* and *-la*, *-le*: *irelei* 'came'; *abula* 'took'; *ečile* 'went'.

D. The literary adverbium abtemporale *-ysayar*, *-gseger* has its corresponding dialectal forms *-ysar*, *-gser*: *aldaysar* 'having lost'; *törögser* 'having been born'.

We feel we have to add something which is not clear in Poppe's essay: all these dialectal peculiarities are just occasional curiosities in the *Geser qan* and seem negligible if compared with the overwhelmingly great number of literary forms<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> N. Poppe, *Geserica (Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der mongolischen Version der Gesserkhan)*, Asia Major III, pp. 1—32 and 167—193.

<sup>3</sup> N. Poppe, *Geserica*, pp. 7—8, and 12.

<sup>4</sup> N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 170, 171, 180.

<sup>5</sup> A study of the first two chapters of the *Geser qan*, i. e. almost a third of the entire text, has revealed that the literary Mongolian intervocalic -γ- (-g-) has been lost from 8 words only and preserved in 230 words. Even in those 8 words from which it has disappeared, the intervocalic consonant -γ- (-g-) frequently alternates with its corresponding literary form. Of the words quoted by Poppe, the Mongolian *bayu-* 'descend' occurs, for instance, 16 times, while its corresponding dialectal form *buu* appears only twice; the word LM *görügesün* 'antelope, chamois' occurs four times and its dialectal counterpart *görösün* only three times.

Let us now examine the *San ho yü lu*. To facilitate comparison, we will restrict ourselves to those dialectal features which are discussed above in connexion with the *Geser qan*.

As regards phonological features, we find the following:

A. The intervocalic -γ- (-g-) disappears from 228 words and remains only in 8.

B. Regressive assimilation. This is more or less the rule, except only a few cases in which the *i* of the preceding syllable remains unchanged as it does also in the Ordos in similar cases. E. g. *mīqa* > *maya* 'meat'; *čisun* > *čusu* 'blood'; *nidün* > *nudu* (*nüdü*) 'eye'; *edüge* > *odoge* (*ödöge*) 'now'; *edür* > *udur* (*üdür*) 'day'.

As regards morphological features, we find the following:

A. The suffix of the genitive invariably appears in the dialectal forms -*i*, -*in*, -*nai*, -*nei* and -*yen*: *mini* 'my'; *bičig-in* 'of the letter'; *jun-nai* 'of the summer'; *kun-nei* (*kun-nei*) 'of the man'; *χoto-yen* 'of the town'.

B. We find only the dialectal -*na*, -*ne* and -*nai* (-*nā*), -*nei* (*nē*) suffixed forms of the praesens imperfecti: *tanina* 'knows'; *užekdene* (*üžekdene*) 'seems'; *tatanai* (*tatanā*) 'pulls'; *irenei* (*irenē*) 'comes'.

C. The suffix of the praesens perfecti invariably appears in the dialectal forms -*la*, -*le*: *yarla* (*yarlā*) 'went out'; *idele* (*idelē*) 'ate'.

D. Only the dialectal forms -*sar*, -*ser* of the adverbium abtemporale occur: *doodasar* (*dōdasār*) 'having given voice'; *ideser* (*idesēr*) 'having eaten'.<sup>6</sup>

It is quite evident from these few examples that literary forms represent the overwhelming majority, and dialectal forms are of rare occurrence in the *Geser qan*, whereas one is justified in regarding the whole text of the *San ho yü lu* as dialectal to such an extent that the influence of the literary language can be neglected altogether.

At this point, the question arises to which dialect does the *San ho yü lu* belong? N. Veselovski suggests a dialect closely related to the Tumut of Kuku-Khoto<sup>7</sup>. However, one may think of the Chakhar dialect also, and all the more so as Deleg, the translator of the work's Mongolian version, held office among the Chakhar people. We are more inclined to suggest the Barin dialect, as it is probable that Deleg made the translation in his own dialect. The problem must remain unsolved until accurate records of these dialects will have been made by field workers. For the time being we should accept the Mongolian version of *San ho yü lu* as written in a yet unexplored East-Mongolian dialect.

<sup>6</sup> It has already been noted that sometimes also literary forms can be encountered in the *San ho yü lu*, for instance, -*qsan*, -*ksen*, the literary form of the nomen perfecti, or the suffix -*gužei* (-*gūžei*) of the dubitative: *abuqsan* 'took'; *keleksen* 'spoke'; *čirekdegužei* (*čirekdegūžei*) 'he would get involved in a brawl'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. Pozdneev, *Монгольская Хрестоматия*, St. Pbg. 1900, P. XV; L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire*, p. 34.

In the course of my analysis of *San ho yü lu* I worked up the entire Mongolian material: I have elaborated its phonology and prepared its vocabulary of three and a half thousand words. I propose in the following to present a phonological detail of my work in which we want to demonstrate the part played by the so-called "two-syllables" in the language of the *San ho yü lu*. The dialectal evolution of the "two-syllables" is so characteristic that it constitutes, in our opinion, one of the most striking differences between the literary language and the dialects.<sup>8</sup>

Two versions of the *San ho yü lu* have been used in the present work: one is the text in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (No. Mong. 24), the other is the text edition quoted by Grube. The version of the Academy serves as basic text from which all my examples are taken, deviations as found in Grube's text edition are indicated by the letter *A*.

The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

LM                   = Literary Mongolian

*Dialects :*

Br.	= Barin: A. D. Rudnev, <i>Материалы по говорам Восточной Монголии</i> St. Pbg., 1911
Khor.	= Khorchin: <i>ibid.</i>
Uj.	= Ujumchin: <i>ibid.</i>
Jas.	= Jastu: <i>ibid.</i>
DB	= Durbut-Beise: <i>ibid.</i>
Gor.	= Gorlos: <i>ibid.</i>
Tum.	= Tumut: <i>ibid.</i>
Sur.	= Suruk: <i>ibid.</i>
Ord.	= Ordos: A. Mostaert, <i>Textes oraux ordos recueillis et publiés avec introduction, notes morphologiques, commentaires et glossaire. Pei-p'ing</i> , 1937
Kh.	= Khalkha: A. R. Rinčine, <i>Краткий монгольско-русский словарь</i> , Moscow, 1947
Bur.	= Buriat: I. A. Podgorbunskij, <i>Русско-монголо-Бурятский словарь</i> , Irkutsk, 1909
Bur. Bar.	= Bargu-Buriat: N. Poppe, <i>Skizze der Phonetik des Bargu-Burjatischen : Asia Major VII</i> , pp. 307—378,

Bur. Khor	= Khoi-Buriat: Podgorbunskij, <i>op. cit.</i>
Bur. Bal	= Buriat of Balagan: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. Al	= Alar Buriat: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. Al P.	= Alar Buriat: N. N. Poppe, <i>Аларский говор</i> , Leningrad, 1930.
Bur. Nu	= Buriat of Nižneudinsk: Podgorbunskij, <i>op. cit.</i>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. G. J. Ramstedt, *Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart phonetisch verglichen*, JSFOu XXI: 2, p. 22.

Bur. Tu	= Buriat of Tunka: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. Sel	= Buriat of Selenga: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. C.	= Buriat: A. Castren, <i>Versuch einer burjäischen Sprachlehre</i> , St. Pbg. 1857;
Bur. Khor C.	= Khori-Buriat: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. Bal C.	= Buriat of Balagan: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. Al C.	= Alar Buriat: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. Na C.	= Buriat of Nižneudinsk: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. Tu C.	= Buriat of Tunka: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. Sel C.	= Buriat of Selenga: <i>ibid.</i>
Bur. Bá.	= Buriat: G. Bálint, <i>Az éjszaki burját-mongol nyelvjárás rövid ismertetése</i> (A short review of the East-Buriat Mongol Dialet), <i>Nyelvtudományi Közlemények</i> XIII, pp. 169—248;
Kalm.	= Kalmuck: G. J. Ramstedt, <i>Kalmückisches Wörterbuch</i> , Helsinki, 1935.

*Studies on dialects:*

Сравн. грам..	= B. J. Vladimircov, <i>Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхасского наречия</i> , Leningrad, 1929.
Urgamundart	= G. J. Ramstedt, <i>Das Schriftmonoligsche und die Urgamundart phonetisch verglichen</i> , JSFOu XXI: 2, pp. 1—56.
Dial. Urdus	= M. A. Mostaert, <i>Le dialecte des Mongols Urdus (Sud)</i> , Anthropos XXI, pp. 851—869; XXII, pp. 160—186.
Даг. нар..	= N. N. Poppe, <i>Дагурское наречие</i> , Leningrad, 1930.
Moghol	= G. J. Ramstedt, <i>Mogholica, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan</i> , JSFOu XXIII: 4, pp. 1—60.
Konj. Kh.	= G. J. Ramstedt, <i>Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen</i> , MSFOu XIX.

*The “two-syllables” in the Mongolian version of the San ho yü lu*

This term means that group of sounds in literary Mongolian which is formed by two vowels with -γ- (-g-) between them<sup>9</sup>. Essentially, this definition is the interpretation of a graphic representation. The characters -γ- and -g- are just transliterations of two Uigur letters which, according to the universally accepted view of Mongol philologists, indicate between the vowels of the “two-syllables” plosives, spirants and hiatuses alike.

It was Vladimircov and Ramstedt who pointed out the triple phonological role of the written forms transliterated with -γ- and -g-.<sup>10</sup> Relying on the evidence of linguistic records, dialects and related languages, they think it possible that, in the ancient Mongolian, the intervocalic consonant of the “two-syllables” may have been a voiced palato-velar or medio-palatal plosive (*g*, *g̃*), their correspondent spirant (*γ*, *γ̃*), further a bilabial voiced spirant (*β*)

<sup>9</sup> Rudnev, *Материалы*, p. 192., Poppe, *Даг. нар.*, p. 118.

<sup>10</sup> *Urgamundart*, pp. 21—23., G. J. Ramstedt, *Mogholica*, pp. 52—53, *Zur Geschichte des labialen Spiranten im Mongolischen: Festschrift Wilhelm Thomsen*, Leipzig 1912, p. 182. Vladimircov, *Сравн. грам.*, pp. 193, 207, 222, 231—235, 241—242, 250—251.

and — finally — a post-palatal voiced spirant ( $\gamma$ ). The two latter sounds are reflected by the signs *-b-* and *-m-* in certain literary Mongolian words.

Linguistic evolution has left the plosives unchanged, while most of the spirants have disappeared. Their disappearance is evident in linguistic records and in dialects; not so in literary Mongolian. Here, we find the sign of the corresponding plosives in the position of the lost spirants. This is, that they to the two authors referred to above only conceivable if we assume according plosive signs in question played a triple role. Only thus can we explain that, in the linguistic records, one finds hiatus in the position of certain plosive signs of the literary Mongolian and, further, that the dialects show in the position of the spirants

- a) a practically total disappearance of *-γ-* (*-g-*);
- b) only a few instances where *-γ-* (*-g-*) has been preserved;
- c) the loss or survival of *-b-* in some words;
- d) the occasional loss of *-m-*.

It was the loss of spirants which occasioned the development of the vowels of the “two-syllables”. They still appear in the form of two-syllables in the linguistic records: non-identical vowels (*au, eu, ao, eo, ua, ue, üe, üö, ai, ei, ia, ie*) developed subsequently into diphthongs, the identical ones (*aa, oo, uu, ee, öö, üü*) into long vowels.

Some of these diphthongs (*au, eu*) occur in archaic dialects only (Dahur, Monguor, Mogol, etc.), while the rest (*iā, iē, iū, iū, uā, uē*) appears in other dialects as well (Ordos, Khalkha, Buriat).

Vowels formed by the contraction of “two-syllables” are usually long, but may sometimes appear also in a shortened form. This is substantiated by the linguistic records of Castrén and Podgorbunskij as also by recent publications according to which vowels indicated as long in non-initial syllables may be half-long and even short<sup>11</sup>.

The “two-syllables” in certain words seem to have evaded contraction. These words appear in this or that present Mongolian dialect with *-γ-* (*-g-*) between the vowels. However, none of these words has preserved the intervocalic *-γ-* (*-g-*) in all the present-day dialects. Therefore, a word may appear with the intervocalic consonant in one and the contracted vowel in the other dialect.

Though considerably less frequently, the situation is similar in respect of the “two-syllables” with *-b-*.

The consonant *-m-*, on the other hand, has been lost altogether in certain words both in the archaic and the current dialects.

I propose to demonstrate that the history of the “two-syllables”, as traceable in the *San ho yü lu*, is similar to that observed in other dialects

<sup>11</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. XII.

as outlined in the foregoing. We shall examine all “two-syllables” and disregard those only in which the ancient intervocalic  $\gamma$ - (-g-) has remained unchanged in every dialect.

## I

## (A)

The diphthongs that have arisen in the Mongolian dialects from the “two-syllables” appear in our texts almost without exception. Two of them are denoted by the Manchu characters *iya* and *iye*. They appear in the position of the following literary “two-syllables”:

1. *iya* > *iya*<sup>12</sup>:

*bariyad* > A *bariyat*, *barit* ‘seized’ ~ Ord. *bariāt*<sup>13</sup>; Kh. *bariāt*<sup>14</sup>; Bur. Al P. *barāt*<sup>15</sup>; Kalm. *bäräd*<sup>16</sup>. Six more examples.

2. *ige* > *iye*:

*bičigeči* > *bičiyeči* ‘scribe’ ~ Tum. *bitšētši*; Ord. *bičiyeči*; Kh. *bitšētš*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Sel C. *bitšētši*, Bur. Bal *bišēši*, *mišēši*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Khor C, Bur. Tu, Bur. Tu C. *bišēši*, Bur. Nu C. *bišēše*; Kalm. *bitšētši*. One more example.

The Manchu groups of characters *-iya-*, *-iye* occur rarely in the position of “two-syllables” whose intervocalic consonant is a palato-velar voiced plosive. It is only in the adverbium perfecti of a few verbs in Grube’s version A that we find *iya* instead of the literary form *iya*. The correspondence *ige* > *iye* can be found in all Mongolian versions of the *San ho yü lu*, but in two words only (in one of which it appears likewise in a verbal adverb). Moreover, both groups of characters alternate with monophthongs in the same word: *jabsiyan* > *jabsiyan* ~ *jabšan* (*jabšān*) ‘luck’ ~ Ord. *džabšā*; Kh. *dzabšān*; Kalm. *zawšān*; *jiye ge-* > *je ge-* ‘agree, approve’ ~ Ord. *džē ge-*.

A similar phenomenon in the development of the “two-syllables” can be observed in other non-archaic Mongolian dialects as well. The above examples show that they have contracted into diphthongs only in suffixes and developed into long vowels in other positions<sup>17</sup>. The diphthong resulting from

<sup>12</sup> The literary Mongolian form is left, its corresponding form in our texts is right of the sign >.

<sup>13</sup> Mostaert, *Textes oraux ordos*, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> N. N. Poppe, *Практический учебник монгольского разговорного языка (Халхаское наречие)*, Leningrad 1931, p. 104.

<sup>15</sup> N. N. Poppe, *Аларский говор II*, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückische Sprachproben*, MSFOu XXVII: 1, p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Urgamundart*, p. 22.

their contraction alternates, furthermore, with long vowels, cf. Ord. *tāwīāt* ~ *tāwāt* 'having placed'<sup>18</sup>.

This phenomenon, of regular occurrence in the Mongolian dialects and the examined texts, allows the conclusion that *iya* and *iye* indicate the diphthongs *iā* and *iē* as recorded from the Ordos and Khalkha.

The other non-archaic Mongolian dialectal diphthong occurring in our texts appears in the position of the "two-syllables" *iyu*.

### 3. *iyu* > *io*:

*ariyuqan* > *arioχan*, A *arooχan* (*arōχan*) 'clean, better, healing' ~ Ord. *arūχan*; Kh. *ariūχan*; Bur. Sel C., Bur. Khor C., Bur. Tu C. *arūχun* (*arūχuη*), Bur. Nu C. *arūkun*;

*talbiyu* > *talbio* 'calm' ~ Ord. *talbū*; Kh. *talbiū*; Kalm. *talwū*. Eight more examples.

The *iyu* of the literary Mongolian has, as has been noted, developed into *iū* in the Khalkha and also in the Ordos (this is not shown by our examples), cf. Ord. *talbiūr* *talbūr* 'rack, shelves'<sup>19</sup>. A similar development is instanced by the palatalized *r* of the Buriat examples, and Poppe's records make it clear that *iyu* has sometimes contracted into the diphthong *iū* also in the Buriat language<sup>20</sup>.

It would seem that the diphthong derived from *iyu* in the above-mentioned dialects is not the same as that which is found in our texts. This is not so, and any apparent difference is due to a difference in graphical notation only: the second element in *iū* is a sound between high-back-wide-round and midback-wide-round which gives the acoustic impression of *o* and for which, as will be seen, the recorder of our texts frequently employs the sign *o*.

There are also diphthongs in our dialect which can be found only in south-eastern Mongolian dialects. These diphthongs are orthographically indicated in Manchu by *uwa* and *uve*. Only the first occurs in the place of "two-syllables" with the intervocalic *-γ-*, but we shall deal with both together for the sake of simplicity. The group *uwa* appears in the place of following "two-syllables":

### 4. *aγa* > *uwa*:

*uqayatai* A *uχōwatai* (*uχuwatai*), *uxatai* (*uχātā*) 'intelligent' ~ Ord. *uχuātā*, *uχuātā*; Kh. *uχāntai*; Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *uχāntai*, Bur. Bá. *uχāta*; Kalm. *uχātē*.

<sup>18</sup> Mostaert, *Textes oraux ordos*, pp. 34, 220.

<sup>19</sup> *Dial. Urdus*, p. 165.

<sup>20</sup> Poppe, *Skizze*, p. 332.

5. *uya* > *uwa*:

*bosuyad* > A *bosuwat*, *bosot* 'rose, got up' ~ Tum. *bosōt*,<sup>21</sup> Ord. *bosōt*,<sup>22</sup> Kh. *bosōt*,<sup>23</sup> Kalm. *bošād*.<sup>24</sup>

This orthography is used in the A text in sixteen more instances but not in the place of the "two-syllables" with -γ-. It is in the ablative of the nomen futuri that we see it most frequently, e. g. *yabuqu-ača* > *yabuχōwas* (*yabuχu-was*) 'from walking'; *uyuqu-ača uuχōwas* (*ūχuwas*) 'from drinking'. Only in a single instance do we encounter the group of characters *uwa* in our basic text, in the word *tügekü-eče* > *tugekuwas* (*tügekuwas*) 'from presentation'.

The group of characters *uve* appears only in version A, and even there only in the word *tugai*, *tuga* > A *tuχōwe* (*tuχuwe*), *tuχai* (*tuχā*) 'manner, attitude' or, else, in the position of "two-syllables" whose intervocalic consonant is a voiced bilabial plosive.

Generally speaking, both groups of characters in question stand after syllables, the vowel of which is rounded, the final consonant of which is a palato-velar spirant or, very rarely, an *s*. The letter *u* in *uwa* and *uve* corresponds partly to the literary Mongolian *u* and partly to the literary Mongolian *a*.

Most surprising is the latter correspondence in which the *u* of *uwa* and *uve* appears unetymologically. However, this peculiar phenomenon is — as has been noted in connexion with the word *uqayatai* > *uχōwatai* (*uχuwatai*) — a special feature of the Mongolian in which the *San ho yü lu* was written. The glide *u* crops up also in the Ordos language in the word after palato-velar spirants and even after palato-velar voiced and voiceless plosives which are in the above-described phonological position, so that even literary monophthongs are often converted into diphthongs, e. g. *qabqayla* > Ord. *qawχuagla* 'to cover or close by means of a lid'. This *u* emerges also in certain front vocalic Ordos words, e. g. *čimkigür* > *tšim<sup>k</sup>χuēr* 'hem, border'. The glide *u* appears also in the Ordos language sometimes in the position of the *u* of the literary Mongolian, viz. in the nomen futuri and the adverbium perfecti, e. g. *yabuqu-yin* > *jauχuīn* 'of walking, of him who walks';<sup>25</sup> *qadquyad* > *gadχuāt* 'pricked, stabbed, nailed, etc.'.<sup>26</sup>

It is obvious from these examples that, in Ordos, the diphthongs *uā* and *uē* occupy the same phonetic position in which *uwa* and *uve* are used by the recorder of our text A. This justifies the conclusion that *uwa* and *uve* indicate the diphthongs *uā* and *uē*.

<sup>21</sup> Rudnev, *Материалы*, p. 44.

<sup>22</sup> Mostaert, *Textes oraux ordos* p. 30.

<sup>23</sup> Poppe, *Практический учебник*, p. 63.

<sup>24</sup> Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Sprachproben*, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> Mostaert, *op. cit.* p. XXI.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 27.

Coming back now to the unetymological glide *u*, we want to add that — according to Ramstedt — it appears under the influence of a palato-velar voiced plosive which terminates the preceding syllable.<sup>27</sup> Mostaert, on the other hand, comes to the conclusion in respect of Ordos that this sound appears after *k*, *g*, *q* and *χ* only in consequence of a bilabial spirant *w* which terminates the preceding syllable.<sup>28</sup> Relying on the evidence of our material, we are inclined to give a somewhat different explanation. It seems that the unetymological glide *u* appears in the Ordos language and the language of our text after *k*, *g*, *q*, and *χ* if the preceding syllable contains a rounded vowel or a bilabial spirant *w*, when the position assumed by the lips in their articulation remains unchanged even after *k*, *g*, *q* and *χ* have been formed.

Apart from the non-archaic Mongolian dialectal diphthongs discussed so far, we encounter in our texts also diphthongs which seem to belong to archaic dialects only. Such a supposition would be mistaken: the *ao* and *eo* of the Manchu script which, *prima facie*, seem to indicate diphthongs, represented in reality monophthongs. We find such pseudo-diphthongs in the place of the following literary Mongolian „two-syllables“:

#### 6. *ayu* > *ao*:

*ayur* > *aor*, *oor* 'wrath'; ~ Khor., Tum. *ūr*; Ord. *ūr*; Kh. *ūr*; Bur. Sel C., Bur. Tu C., C., Bur. Bál *ūr*, Bur. Bar *ūr*, Bur. Khor C. *ūr*; Kalm. *ūr*;

*čilayun* > *čilao*, *čiluu* 'stone' ~ Khor. *tšolun*; Ord. *tšilū*; Kh. *tšulū(n)*; Bur. Sel *tšolū*, Bur. Bar. *šotu*, Bur. Khor. Bur. Al, Bur. Nu, Bur. Tu *šulu(n)*, Bur. Khor C, Bur. Tu C. *šuluŋ (šulun)*, Bur. Nu C. *šuluŋ*; Kalm. *tšolūŋ*;

*mayu* > *mao*, *moo*, *muu* 'bad, vulgar' ~ Khor., DB, Jas., Tum. *mū*; Ord. *mū*; Kh. *mū*; Bur. Sel C., Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *mū (mu)*, Bur. Tu *mū*; Kalm. *mū*. Nine more examples in our text and twenty more in Grube's text A.

#### 7. *oyu* > *ao*:

*jojus* > A. *jaos*, *jos* 'money' Khor., Gor. *džōs*; Ord. *džōs*; Kh. *dzōs*; Kalm. *zōs*.

*qoyurda-* > *χorda-*, A. *χórdá-* (*χūrda-*) 'play a stringed instrument' ~ Kh. *χūrda-*; Kalm. *χūrdá-*.

#### 8. *ayu* > *eo*:

*yayuma* > *yeoma*, *yum* 'what?' ~ Khor., Jas., DB *jūm(a)(n)*, Khor. *jūm*, Jas., Gor. *jum*, Ord. *jum*, *jumu*; Kh. *jūm*, *jūm*; Bur. BÁ. *jūma*, Kalm. *jūmŋ*, *jumŋ*, *jomŋ*.

<sup>27</sup> Ramstedt, *Die Verneinung in den altaischen Sprachen. Eine semasiologische Studie*, MSFOU LII, p. 207.

<sup>28</sup> *Dial. Urdus*, p. 866.

9. *egü > eo*:

*egüde(n) > eode(n)*, *oode* 'door, curtain' ~ DB *üd*, *üde*; Ord. *üde*; Kh. *üd(en)*; Bur. Sel C. *üde*, Bur. *üde(n)*, Bur. Bar *üd*, Bur. Khor C. *üden*, Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *üden*, Kalm. *üdn*.-

*üjegül- > ujeol-, ujool-, ujuul-* 'to show' ~ Jas. *üdzül-*; Ord. *üdzül-*; Kh. *üdzüle-*; Bur. Sel C. *üdzül-*, Bur. Bal., Bur. Nu, Bur. Tu, Bur. Bá. *üzül-*, Bur. Khor C. *üzüle-*, Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *üzül-*; Kalm. *üzül-*. Eleven more examples in our, six more in Grube's text.

10. *öge > eo*:

*ögede bol- > eodebul-* 'pass away, die' ~ Kh. *öd bolo-*; Kalm. *ödö bol-*.

11. *ügü > eo*:

*tügükei > teokei*, A *tukei* 'unskilled' ~ Ord. *tü<sup>c</sup>χi*; Kh. *tüχii*; Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu *tüχei*, Bur. Khor. C. *tüχē*, Bur. Nu C. *tüke*, Bur. Tu C. *tüχei*; Kalm. *tükē*.

These correspondences would be very strange if *ao* and *eo* really represented diphthongs, for—as is clear from the above examples—only a single long (or, sometimes, short) vowel appears in the place of the „two-syllables” *ayu*, *oyu*, *egü*, *öge* and *ügü*. It should, however, be noted that in none of the geographically adjacent dialects do we find diphthongs in these cases. Still more striking is the fact that we find *ao* and *eo* in phonologic positions where diphthongs appear not even in the archaic dialects<sup>29</sup>.

What may be the reason of such discrepancy between our texts and the other dialects? We have to find out first of all whether *ao* and *eo* are really diphthongs and have only the phonetic value of diphthongs in the Manchu script.

These two groups of characters undoubtedly serve also to indicate diphthongs in the Manchu script, though not very often. They are, however, used also in another sense: the Mongolian word *dönen* (Jas. *dünō*, *dun*; DB *dün(e)*; Kh. *dönō(n)*; Bur. Bal *donon*; Kalm. *dönn*) 'four year old calf' which has the form *deone* in the Manchu script (Gabelentz, Zakharov), as also its dialectal forms, are clear evidence of the fact that the graphical representation in question was used for the indication of monophthongs<sup>30</sup>.

Our material, too, contains a few words in which *ao* and *eo* indubitably appear in the position of monophthongs: *jasayul- > jasaol-* 'have something

<sup>29</sup> According to Poppe, the “two-syllables” *uyu* becomes a long vowel in the non-first syllables of Dahur words (cf. *Даг. нар.*, p. 120), while, in our texts, *ao* appears in the place of *ayu* also in non-first syllables. Too, the “two-syllables” *öge* continues with a monophthong in Dahur (cf. *loc. laud.*), while *eo* appears also in such cases in our texts.

<sup>30</sup> Of this we have been made aware by Prof. Ligeti.

arranged, made, healed' ~ Ord. *pžasūl-*; *sanaqula* > *sanaoχóla* (*sanaoχula*) 'if he thought'; *öglü*, *öglüge* > *eoklen*, *eokile*, *uglu* (*üglü*), *uklu* (*üklü*) 'early in the morning' ~ Ord. *öglō*; Kh. *öglō*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Bal *öglō*; Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *üglō*; Bur. Nu C. *öglä*; Bur. Tu C. *öglöη(n)*. Likewise *ao* and *eo* appear at the place of the monophthong contained in the first syllable of the suffixes *-bala* and *-bele* belonging to the adverbium conditionale as known from the various dialects: *žodobala* > *žodobaola* 'if he beat'; *emüsbele* > *emusbeole* 'if he put on (the dress)'.

The facts (a) that *ao* and *eo* are used for the indication of monophthongs even in the Manchu script; (b) that the Manchu script of our texts uses *ao* and *eo* in those cases in which a single long vowel corresponds to the "two-syllables" *ayu*, *oyu*, *egü*, *öge* and *ügü* even in the archaic dialects; (c) that *ao* and *eo* are also used when they correspond to simple short literary and even dialectal monophthongs, justify us to conclude that *ao* and *eo* represent monophthongs and not diphthongs.

A further analysis of this problem shows that *ao* and *eo* do not occur but in words which contain a rounded vowel. It follows that *ao* and *eo* served to represent those *a* (å) and *e* (ë) sounds which had become labialized under the influence of the rounded vowel.

That this conclusion is justified seems to be substantiated by similar phonological phenomena in the known dialects.

Meagre as Rudnev's material is, it proves nevertheless that a rounded å may take the same phonological position in the eastern dialects as does *ao* in our texts: *nøyyan* > DB *nogān*, *nogōn*.

Much more obvious is this process of labialization in the Ordos language where, as a rule, the vowels *a* and *ă* of suffixes become rounded after *o*, e. g. *qoni-ban* > *χoniān* 'his own lamb (acc.)'; *qoyer-iyar* > *χojorār* 'two together'; *qonitai* > *χonită* ~ *χonitō* 'with lamb'; *moritai* > *morită* *moritñ* 'with horse'.<sup>31</sup>

In the Khalkha language *a* and *e*, after a rounded vowel, underwent a similar phonological change: *bulay* > *bułłák* 'spring, source'; *oyosar* > *ōsår*, *ōsr* 'rope'.<sup>32</sup>

In a similar manner did develop into the dialectal sounds *ă* and *ñ* the "two-syllables" *öge* (*üge*) and *öbe* (*übe*) in Bur. Bar and Bur. Al: *möger*, Bur. Bar *mñr*<sup>33</sup> 'tyre'; *böge* Bur. Al P. *bñ* 'shaman'.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, it seems safe to say that the letters *ao* of our texts represent a low-back-wide-round sound (å) which stands between *a* and *o* in the other non-archaic Mongolian dialects, and that the letters *eo* of our texts represent a low-front-wide-round sound (ë) of those other dialects.

<sup>31</sup> *Dial. Urdus*, pp. 855, 864.

<sup>32</sup> *Urgamundart*, pp. 34, 35, further *Справн. грам.* p. 262.

<sup>33</sup> Poppe, *Skizze*, p. 330.

<sup>34</sup> Poppe, *Аларский говор*, p. 56.

It now remains for us to examine the quantity of the sounds represented by the characters *ao* and *eo*. Our texts enable us to make this examination. The characters *ao* and *eo* alternate within one and the same word with the characters *oo* and *uu* which latter serve to indicate long vowels, from which it follows that the sounds so indicated are long or half long.<sup>35</sup>

A further conclusion to be drawn from this alternation is that the group of characters *uu* may represent that long vowel (*ǖ*) which has been described from other Mongolian dialects as being in a similar phonological position between high-back-wide-round and mid-back-wide-round, for it is this sound *u* which is acoustically so close to the sound *o* that it is often represented by the letters *oo* in our texts.

Of the characters figuring in the alternation *eo* ~ *oo* ~ *uu*, it is the phonetic value of *oo* and *uu* which still has to be elucidated. Manchu phonology enables us to ascertain the sound indicated by the latter group of characters. According to Poppe, it is the high-mixed-narrow-round (*ǖ*) sound of the currently existing Manchu dialects which corresponds to the *u* contained in the Manchu front vocalic words,<sup>36</sup> which allows the inference that the recorder of our texts too used this character to represent *ǖ*. Such inference is justified by the observation that we find *u* in the phonological position of *ǖ* as occurring in other Mongolian dialects. Therefore, the Manchu sign *uu* which corresponds to front-vocalic "two-syllables" really represents *ǖ* in the Mongolian version of the *San ho yü lu*.

The phonetic value of the characters *uu* representing *ǖ*, and that of the alternating signs *eo* and *oo* representing *ñ̄* must, thus, be equivalent to the mid-mixed-narrow-round sound (*ð̄*) which is acoustically close to *ǖ* and *ñ̄* known from Mongolian dialects.

The other pseudo-diphthong which occurs in our texts is *ai*; it is found in place of the following "two-syllables":

## 12. *ege* > *ai*:

*tertegeki* > *tertaiki* 'opposite, on the other side' ~ Kh. *tertex*.

It is hardly conceivable that *ai* should be used for the representation of a diphthong. We shall see that the "two-syllables" *ege* has developed into monophthong in all dialects. That the sign in question represents a diphthong is further contradicted by the fact that *ai* occurs also in the place of a literary monophthong: *tabin* > A *taibin* 'fifty' Khor. *täw(i)n*, *täwin*, *täwin*; DB *täw*, *tep*; Gor. *tab(i)n*; Ord. *täwi*; Kh. *tawin*, *taw*; Bur. Bá. *täbin*; Bur. *tabi(n)*; Bur. C. *taben*; Kalm. *täwn*.

<sup>35</sup> The length of vowels is indicated in the Manchu script by a duplication of the corresponding letters, cf. P. Schmidt, *Chinesische Elemente im Mandschu : Asia Major VII*, p. 579.

<sup>36</sup> Poppe, *Даг. нар.*, p. 113.

All these examples justify the conclusion that *ai* represents a monophthong. Considering the correspondence *tabin* > *taibin*, its phonetic value may be that of a sound like *e*. The characters *ai* in the word *taibin* point to the probability that, under the palatalizing influence of *i*, the *a* of the literary form has undergone the same transformation in our dialect as it did in other dialects where it has developed partly into the sound *ä* and partly into *ă*. Of these two sounds, both of which derive from *a*, only the wide *ă* can be represented by the Manchu sign *ai* because it mostly occupies the place of the literary Mongolian diphthong *ai* which is represented by *ä* in the dialects.<sup>37</sup>

As regards the quantity of *ă*, the Manchu script offers no basis for its determination. From our above examples in connexion with the word *taibin*, it would seem to be short. It can, on the other hand, regarded as being long in the word *tertaiki* as also in those cases where it comes from the literary diphthong *ai*, since the vowel arising from the contraction of *ege* and the *ă* deriving from *ai* have a long form in the dialects.<sup>38</sup>

## B.

Single long or short vowels constitute in our texts the largest group of those dialectal representations of "two-syllables" which have arisen after the loss of the intervocalic *-γ-* (*-g-*).

Let us note by way of introduction that the Manchu script fails to indicate the length of certain vowels. While, with the aid of duplication, it manages to represent *ō* and *ū*, it has no means of indicating — say — *ā* and *ē* in an unambiguous manner. Therefore, all we can say is that, for instance, *o* and *u* arisen from the contraction of "two-syllables" appear both in a long and a short form in our texts.

### 13. *aya* > *a*:

*budaya* > *buda* 'boiled rice' ~ Br., Uj. *badā*, Br., Khor., DB *badā*, *batā*, Khor., DB *bud(ă)*, Jas., DB, Gor. *bata*, *batā*; Ord. *budā*; Kh. *budā*; Bur. Bar *budā*, Bur. Bal *budan*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Bal *budā*; Kalm. *budān*;

*ulayan* > *ulan* 'red' ~ Khor., Jas., DB, Tum. *ulān*, Khor., Gor. *ulān*: Ord. *ulān*; Kh. *ulān*; Bur. Sel C. *ulāŋ*, Bur. *ulān*, Bur. Bar *ulāq*, Bur. Nu C. *ulan*, Bur. Tu C. *ulaŋ* (*ulan*); Kalm. *ulān*. Thirty more examples.

### 14. a) *ayu* > *uu(ū)*:

*čilayun* > *čiluu* (*čilū*) 'stone' ~ Khor. *tšolun*; Ord. *tš'ilū*; Kh. *tš'ulū*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Sel C. *tšolū*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Al, Bur. Nu, Bur. Tu *šulu(n)*,

<sup>37</sup> Ramstedt, *Urgamundart*, p. 38; Poppe, *Skizze*, p. 313.

<sup>38</sup> Loc. laud.

Bur. Khor C., Bur. Tu C. *šuluŋ* (*šulun*), Bur. Nu C. *šuluŋ*, Bur. Bá. *šolūn*; Kalm. *tšolūn*;

*sayu-* > *suu-* (*sū-*) 'to sit, to sit down, to dwell' Khor., Jas., Gor., Tum., Sur. *sū-*, DB *tū-*; Ord. *sū-*; Kh. *sū-*; Bur. Sel C. *sū-*, Bur. Bar *hū-*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Bal, Bur. Al, Bur. Nu, Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu, Bur. Tu C., Bur. Bá. *hu-*; Kalm. *su-*. Seven more examples.

b) *ayu* > *u*:

*jayun* > *jun* 'hundred' ~ Khor. *džūn*, DB *džū*, *džū*, Gor. *džū*, *džū*; Ord. *džū*; Kh. *dzūn*; Bur. Sel C. *dzūn*, Bur. *zūn*, Bur. Khor. C., Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu *zun*, Bur. Bá. *zūn*; Kalm. *zūn*.

*šibayun* > *šibu* 'bird' ~ Khor., DB, Gor., Tum., *šuwū*, DB *suwū*, Khor. *šowū*; Ord. *šiwū*; Kh. *šuwū*(*n*); Bur., Bur. Bá. *šobun*, Bur. Bar *šowū*, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Tu C. *šubū*, Bur. Nu C. *šubuŋ*; Kalm. *šowūn*. Eleven more examples.

c) *ayu* > *oo(ō)*:

*jayu-* > *joo-* (*jō-*) 'to bite, to sting' ~ DB *džū-*, *džū-*; Ord. *džū-*; Kh. *dzū*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Sel C. *dzū-*, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Bal, Bur. Al, Bur. Nu, Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu, Bur. Tu C. *zū-*; Kalm. *zū-*.

*yalayu* > *yaloo* (*yalō*) 'goose' ~ DB *galū*; Ord. *galū*; Kh. *galū*; Bur. *galū*, Bur. Bar *galū*, Bur. Khor C. *galun*, Bur. Tu C. *galuŋ* (*galun*); Kalm. *galūn*. Twenty-five more examples.

d) *ayu* > *oo(ō)* and *o*:

*bayarlayul-* > *bayarlool-* (*bayarlōl-*), *bayarlol-* 'to delight, to rejoice' ~ Ord. *bajarlūl-*; Kh. *bajarlūla-*; Bur. Bal *bajarlūl-*, Bur. Tu *bairlūl-*;

*mayuqai* > *mooχai* (*mōχai*), *moχai* 'simple, common' ~ Ord. *mūχā*; Kh. *mūχai*; Bur. Sel C., Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *mūkai*, *mūχai*; Kalm. *mūχā*, *mūχā*. Three more examples.

e) *ayu* > *o*:

*qayumayai* > *χomoyoi* (*χōmogā*) A *χomayai* (*χōmoyā*) 'lie, mendacious, false' ~ Kh. *χūmagai*;

*mayudqa-* > *motχa-* 'to defame sy, to get sy talked about' ~ Ord. *mūdχa-*; Kh. *mūtga-*, Bur. Sel, Bur. Bal, Bur. Al *mūtχa-*.

f) *ayu* > *oo(ō)* and *uu(ū)*:

*jalayu* > *jaloo* (*jālō*), *jaluu* (*jalū*) 'young, youthful' ~ Khor., Gor. *džalū*; Ord. *džalū*; Kh. *dzalū*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Sel C. *djalū*, Bur. Bar *załū*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Al, Bur. Nu, Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu, Bur. Tu C. *zalū*; Kalm. *zalū*;

*qayučira-* > *χoočira-* (*χōčira-*) 'to become old, to wear away' ~ DB *χūtšir-*; Ord. *χūtšir-*; Kh. *χūtšira-*; Kalm. *χūtšr-*.

## 15. *oya* > *o*:

*toya-* > *to-* 'to count, to take in account' ~ Ord. *tō-*; Kh. *tō-*; Bur. Al P. *tō-*; Kalm. *tō-*;

*toyatai* > *totai* (*tōtā*) 'few, rare' ~ Kh. *tōtoi*; Kalm. *tōtō*, *totē*.

16. a) *oyu* > *oo* (ō):

*toyuji* > *tooji* (*tōji*) 'history, book' ~ Kh. *tūdž*; Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu, Bur. Bá. *tūzi*; Kalm. *tūdži*. Three more examples.

b) *oyu* > *o* ~ A *oo* (ō):

*qoyulai* > *χoloi* (*χōlā*), A *χoolai* (*χōlā*) 'throat' ~ DB *χōloī*; Ord. *χōlā*; Kh. *χōloī*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Sel C., Bur. Khor C., Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu, Bur. Tu C. *χōloī*, Bur. Bá., Bur. Bar, Bur. Tu C. *χōlei*; Kalm. *χōl*, *χolā*;

*qoyusula-* > *χosula-*, A *χoosula-* (*χōsula-*) 'to become empty' ~ Kh. *χōslo-*; Kalm. *χōsl-*.

c) *oyu* > *o*:

*toyula-* > *tolo-* 'to count' ~ Ord. *tōlo-*; Kh. *tōl-*; Bur. Sel C., Bur. *tōlo-*, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *tola-*, Bur. Bá. *tōlō-*; Kalm. *tōl-*;

*toyurin* > *torin* 'environs, neighbourhood' ~ Bur. Bá. *torin*, Bur. C. *toren*, *toiren*. Three more examples.

17. *uya* > *o*:

*boluyad* > *bolot* 'was' ~ Khor. *bolōt*,<sup>39</sup> Ord. *bolōt*,<sup>40</sup> Kh. *bollōt*,<sup>41</sup> Bur. Al P. *bolōt*,<sup>42</sup> Kalm. *bolād*.<sup>43</sup>

18. a) *uyu* > *uu* (ū):

*buruyu* > *buruu* (*burū*) 'false, bad, wicked' ~ Jas. *būrū*, DB *būrū*; Ord. *būrū*; Kh. *būrū*; Kalm. *burū*;

*uyuta* > *uuta* (*ūta*) 'sack, bag' ~ Jas., Gor., *ūta*, Gor. *ūuta*, *wūta*, *ūt*; Ord. *ūta*; Kh. *ūtā(n)*; Bur. Khor C., Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *ūta*, Bur. Tu *ūtan*; Kalm. *ūtū*.

b) *uyu* > *uu* (ū) and *u*:

*buruyusiya-* > *buruušā-* (*burūšā-*), *burušā-* 'to scold, to slander' ~ Kh. *būrūšā-*; Kalm. *burūšā-*.

c) *uyu* > *u*:

*abquyul-* > *abχōl-* (*abχūl-*) 'to send for, to make accepted' ~ Ord. *awχūl-*; Kalm. *awχūl-*;

*siluyun* > *šulun* 'sincere' ~ Ord. *šūlūn*; Kh. *šūlū(n)*; Kalm. *šolūn*, *šulūn*. Five more examples.

19. *iya* > *a*:

*ačiya* > *ača* 'burden' ~ Ord. *ača*; Kh. *atšā*; Bur. Sol, Bur. Khor C. *atša*, Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu *ašā*, *ašān*, Bur. Bal *ašān*, Bur. Nu C. *ašāη*, Bur. Tu C. *ašan* (*ašāη*); Kalm. *atsān*;

<sup>39</sup> Rudnev, *Материалы*, p. 12.

<sup>40</sup> Mostaert, *Textes oraux ordos*, p. LX.

<sup>41</sup> Ramstedt, *Konj. kh*, p. 47.

<sup>42</sup> Poppe, *Аларский говор*, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Ramstedt, *Kalmückische Sprachproben*, p. 5.

*žiya-* > *ja-* 'to show' ~ DB, Gor., *džā-*; Ord. *džā-*; Kh. *dzā-*; Bur. Khor, Bur. Bal, Bur. Nu, Bur. Tu, Bur. Bá. *zā-*; Kalm. *zā-*.

**20.** a) *iyu* > *uu (u)*:

*niyur* > *nuur (nūr)* 'face' ~ Ord. *nūr*; Kh. *nīūr, nūr*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Sel C. *nūr*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Bal, Bur. Nu, Bur. Tu *nūr, nur*, Bur. Khor C. *nūr, nūr*, Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C., Bur. Bá. *nūr*; Kalm. *nūr*.

b) *iyu* > *u*:

*ariyun* > *arun* 'pure' ~ Ord. *arūn*; Kh. *ariūn*; Bur. *arūn*, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Tu C. *arūn (arun)*, Bur. Nu C. *arūn*; Kalm. *ärūn*;

*yasiyun* > *yašun* 'bitter, woeful; pain, pity' ~ Ord. *qašūn*; Kh. *qašūn*; Bur. *gašūn*, Bur. C *gušuṇ*, Bur. Bar *qašū*; Kalm. *gašūn*. Two more examples.

c) *iyu* > *oo (ō)*:

*yasiyuda-* > *yašooda-* (*yašōda-*) 'to grieve, to mourn' ~ Kh. *qašūda-*; Kalm. *gašūda-*;

*qosiyu(n)* > *χoošoo (χōšō)*, *χošoo (χošō)*, A *χošo, χošun, χoošion (χōšion)*, *χošio* 'banner, a unit of Manchu army and territory' ~ Br. *χošū*, Khor., Uj., Jas., Gor. *χošu(n)*. Gor. *χošun*; Ord. *χušū*; Kh. *χošū*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Tu, Bur. Khor, Bur. Bal, Bur. Al *χošun*, Bur. Nu *kušun* Bur. Sel C., Bur. Tu C. *χošuṇ (χošun)*; Kalm. *χošūn*.

d) *iyu* > *i*:

*yasiyudal* > *yasidal* 'mourning' ~ Kh. *qašūdal*; Bur. Tu *gašūdal*.

**21.** a) *ege* > *e*:

*čegejile-* > *čejile-* 'to learn by heart' ~ Ord. *tš'edžile-* Kh. *ts'edžle-*; Bur. Bá. *säžilē-*; Kalm. *tšēdžil-*;

*kegere* > *kere* 'lowland, steppe' ~ Ord. *k'ere*; Kh. *χēr*; Bur. Bar *χēr*, Bur. Bal *χeir*, Bur. Nu, Bur. Tu *ker*, Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *χēr*; Kalm. *kēr*. Nineteen more examples.

b) *ege* > *o (ō)*:

*üldege-* > *oldo-* (*öldö-*) 'to leave, to leave behind' ~ Kh. *üldē-*; Kalm. *üldē-*.

c) *ege* > *u (ü)*:

*bügüdeger* > *bukudur (büküdür)* 'each, every' ~ Kh. *bügdēr*.

**22.** a) *egü* > *uu (ü)*:

*žegüdün* > *juudun (jūdun)*, *juuden (jūden)* 'dream' ~ Ord. *džūde*; Kh. *dzūden*; Bur. Sel *dzüden*, Bur. Sel C. *dzüdeṇ*, Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu *zūden*, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *züdeṇ*; Kalm. *zūdñ*;

*mengdegür-* > *mengduure-* (*mengdūre-*) 'to bustle, to be restless' ~ Ord. *menđür-*. Two more examples.

b) *egü* > *uu* (*ū*), *oo* (*ō*), *eo* (*ə*) see No. 4.

c) *egü* > *u* (*ü*):

*kečegürke-* > *kečurge-* (*kečürge-*) 'to be hard' ~ Kalm. *ketsürke-*;

*emüskegül-* > *emuskul-* (*emuskūl-*), A *emusgul-* (*emüsgūl-*) 'to dress sy' is unknown in our sources.

d) *egü* > *u* (*ü*), A *eo* (*ə*):

*kersegü* > *kersu* (*kersū*), A *kerseo* (*kersən*) 'practical' ~ Kalm. *kersū*;

*neyilegül-* > *neilul-* (*nēlūl-*), A *neileol-* (*nēləl-*) 'to fit, to unite' ~ Ord. *nīlūl-*; Kh. *nīlūle-*; Bur. Khor C. Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *nīlūl-*, Bur. Bal, Bur. Bá. *nīlūl-*; Kalm. *nīlūl-*. Two more examples.

**23. *ige* > *e*:**

*sigireng* > *šereng* 'one who wets' ~ Kalm. *šērñ*.

**24. *igi* > *iyi* (*i*), *i*:**

*sigid-* > *siyit-* (*sīt-*), A *sit-* 'to decide, to settle, to arrange' ~ Kh. *šīd-*, *šīde-*; Kalm. *šīdē-*;

*sigidke-* > *siyatke-* (*sītke-*), *sitke-* 'to settle, to present' ~ Gor. *šit<sup>k</sup>χe-*, *šitχe*; Kh. *šītge-*; Kalm. *šītke-*, *šidek-*.

**25. a) *igü* > *oo* (*ō*):**

*nigüł* > *nool* (*nōl*), *niguul* (*nigūl*) 'sin' ~ Ord. *nigūl*; Kh. *nūgel*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Khor, Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *nügūl*, Bur. C. *nügūl*, Bur. Bá. *nügel*, Bur. Bal *nügel*, Bur. Tu *nügūl*; Kalm. *nūl*.

b) *igü* > A *u* (*ü*):

*serigün* > A *serun* (*serūn*) 'cool' ~ Ord. *serūn*; Kh. *serūn*; Bur. Bar, Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *herūn*; Kalm. *serūn*, *sirūn*.

**26. a) *öge* > *o* (*ō*):**

*tögeri-* > *tori-* (*tōri-*) 'to turn round, to lose the way' ~ DB, Gor. *tōri-*, Gor. *tōr-*; Ord. *tōrō-*; Kh. *tōrō-*; Bur. Sel C., Bur. Khor C., Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *tōre-*; Kalm. *tōr-*.

b) *öge* > *u* (*ü*):

*ögdedele-* > *udel-* (*ūdel-*), A *udul-* (*ūdūl-*) 'to be suitable, to be fit, to be profitable' ~ Ord. *ōdōlō-*; Kh. *ōdlō-*; Kalm. *ōdlō-*.

**27. a) *üge* > *u* (*ü*), A *e*:**

*čilügen* > *čulu(n)* (*čūlū(n)*), A *čule* (*čūlē*) 'leisure time' ~ Jas. *tšulē* in the expression: *tšulē-ugei* 'never'; Ord. *tšōlō*; Kh. *tšōlō*; Bur. Bar *sōlō*, Bur. Tu. *sūlō*, *sūlū*; Kalm. *tšōlēn*;

*ömügere* > *umur(u)-* (*ümür(ü)-*) A *umer-* (*ümēr-*) 'to defend, to help, to favour' ~ Ord. *ömōrō-*; Kh. *ömürō-*.

28. *ügü* > *oo* (*ō*), *uu* (*ū*), *u* (*ū*):

*üjügür* > *ojoor* (*ōjōr*), *ujuur* (*ūjūr*), *ujur* (*ūjūr*) 'point, top' ~ Jas., Tum. *üdzür*, *üdzür*; Ord. *üdzür*; Kh. *üdzür*; Bur. Sel. *üdzür*, Bur. Sel C. *üdzür*, Bur. Bá. *üzür*, Bur. Bar. *üzür*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Al, Bur. Tu, Bur. Nu *üzür*, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Tu C. *üzür*, Bur. Bal *özür*; Kalm. *üzür*.

These examples make a noteworthy feature of our texts evident: in contradiction to other dialects, two different groups of vowels correspond to one and the same "two-syllables" of the literary Mongolian. We encounter partly *oo* and partly *uu* in the place of the literary groups of sounds *ayu*, *uyu*, *iyu*, *ege*, *egü*, *öge* and *ügü*. Such alternating correspondence occurs even within one and the same word which has, in the foregoing, led us to the conclusion that *oo* and *uu* indicate two acoustically close sounds.

We regard, therefore, the sound represented by the characters *oo*, to have arisen from the contraction of *ayu*, *uyu* and *iyu*, as a mid-back-wide-round sound (*ō*), and that represented by the characters *uu* as a sound between high-back-wide-round and mid-back-wide-round (*ū*).

Similarly, the characters *oo*, appearing in the place of the sound groups *ege*, *egü*, *öge* and *ügü*, should be regarded as representing a sound between high-mixed-wide-round and mid-mixed-narrow-round (*ō*), while the characters *uu* may — in our opinion — represent a high-mixed-narrow-round sound (*ū*).

The double correspondence found in our texts shows that the dialectal material recorded in the Manchu script is phonologically highly valuable, since — when recording sounds — the author seems to have tried to give an approximately accurate representation of what he had heard.

Apart from the dialect of our text, it is only in the Mongolian dialects of Rudnev's material that we find analogies of the double correspondence in question.<sup>44</sup> According to the evidence of recent records, the "two-syllables" *ayu*, *uyu* and *iyu* have invariably developed into *ū*.<sup>45</sup> Only *öge* shows a deviation from this dialectal development of the front vocalic "two-syllables": it contracted into *ō* in the Khalkha in the Buriat into *ō* and in the Oirat dialects into *ō*.<sup>46</sup>

Vowels derived from "two-syllables" are generally indicated as long in our texts whenever it is possible to give such indication. However, a short vowel appears in the place of the intervocalic -γ- (-g-) also in cases where the Manchu script has the means to represent the quantity of the vowel. Such vowels usually occur before *l*, *n* and *r*.

<sup>44</sup> Rudnev, *Материалы*, p. 193.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Сравн. грам.*, pp. 194—195. Ramstedt, *Urgamundart*, pp. 21—22. Poppe, *Аларский говор*, p. 56 and Poppe, *Skizze*, pp. 331—332.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Сравн. грам.*, p. 195. — *Urgamundart*, pp. 22—23. — Poppe, *Аларский говор*, p. 56 and Poppe, *Skizze*, p. 330.

As regards other dialects, Vladimircov, Ramstedt and Poppe described invariably long vowels in a similar phonological position from the Khalkha and the Buriat.<sup>47</sup> According to Rudnev, on the other hand, short vowels fill the place of “two-syllables” in the eastern dialects.<sup>48</sup> Castrén and Podgorbunskij describe a similar phenomenon from the Buriat dialects.<sup>49</sup>

Let us add that the correspondence *iyu* > *i*, as occurring in our dialect, stands alone inasmuch as nothing of the kind has so-far been discovered in other dialects.

## II

Relying on our texts, we can divide the remaining words with -γ- (-g-) into three groups. The first contains words which appear without -γ- (-g-) in contradiction to other dialects; to the second belong words which appear with -γ- (-g-) as they do also in other dialects; the third includes words which appear with -γ- (-g-) while they are without it in other dialects.

### A

The intervocalic consonant of the “two-syllables” has disappeared from the following words of our texts and has survived on one or several other Mongolian dialects:

**29.** a) *aya* > *a* ~ Kalm. *γ<sup>a</sup>*, *ak*:

*baγaya-* > *baja-* 'to make, to prepare' ~ Ord. *badžā-* : Kalm. *bazy<sup>a</sup>-*, *baz<sup>a</sup>k-*.

b) *aya* > *o* ~ Bur. Khor *oga*:

*jobaya-* > *jobo-*, A *jobaya-* 'to tire' ~ Ord. *džowō-*; Kh. *dzowō-*; Bur. Khor *dzoboga-*; Kalm. *zowā-*.

**30.** a) *ayu* > *oo (ō)* ~ Ord. *agu*; Bur. Sel *ago*:

*ayučila-* > *oočila-* (*ōčila-*), A *aočila-* (*āčila-*) 'to forgive, to endure' ~ Kh. *ūtšla-*; Bur. Sel *agošla-* Kalm. *ūtšl-*;

*irayu* > *iroo (irō)*, A *irao (irā)* 'pleasant, nice' ~ Ord. *iragū*; Kalm. *irū* (*irū*, *jarū*).

b) *ayu* > *ao (ā)*, *oo (ō)*, *u* ~ Khor. *gū*, Tum. *gū*, Bur. Khor *agu*:

<sup>47</sup> Loc. laud.

<sup>48</sup> Rudnev, *Материалы*, p. 193.

<sup>49</sup> Schiefner, for example, who worked up Castrén's material, remarked that Castrén did not always indicate the length of vowels arisen from the contraction of “two-syllables”, cf. Castrén, *Versuch*, p. X.

*asayu* -> *asao-* (*asā-*), *asoo-* (*asō-*), *asu-* 'to ask' ~ Khor., Gor., Tum. *asū-*, DB *atū-*; Ord. *asū-*; Kh. *asū-*; Bur. Khor *asagu-*;

*barayun* > *barun* 'West' ~ Khor., Jas., DB, Gor., *barūn*, Gor. *barn*, *barān*, Khor. *bargūn*, Tum. *bargūn*; Ord. *barūn*; Kh. *barūn*; Bur. Khor, Bur. Bal, Bur. Al, Bur. Nu, Bur. Tu *barūn*, Bur. C. *barun*, Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *baruŋ*; Kalm. *barūn*.

31. *uyu* > *u*, A *o* ~ Bur. Nu C. *ugu*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu, Bur. Tu C. *gu*, Bur. Bal, Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *ga*, Bur. Al P. *ga*, Bur. Bá. *ya*, Kalm. *γv*, *γη*:

*niruyu(n)* > *nuru*, A *nuro* 'back, body' ~ DB, Gor. *nūrū*, *nurū*, DB *norū*, Gor. *nirū*; Ord. *nūrū*; Kh. *nūrū*; Bur. Sel *nūrū*, Bur. Bar *nūrū*, Bur. Nu C. *nūruguŋ*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu *nurgun*, Bur. Tu C. *nurguŋ* (*nurgun*) Bur. Bal, Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *nurgan*, Bur. Al P. *nurgāŋ*, Bur. Bá *nuryan*; Kalm. *nuryvn*, *nuryŋ*.<sup>50</sup>

32. *iyu* > *io* ~ Gor. *igu*:

*orčiyul-* > *orčiol-* 'to translate' ~ Gor. *ortšigul-*; Kh. *ortšūla-*; Bur. Bal, Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *oršūl-*, Bur. Tu *oršūla-*; Kalm. *ortšūl-*.

33. *ege* > *e* ~ Khor. *ege*:

*gege-* > *ge-* 'to lose' ~ Khor. *gege-*, *gō-*, DB, Tum. *gē-*, Gor. *gō-*, Ord. *gē-*; Kh. *gē-*; Bur. Sel C., Bur. Khor. C., Bur. Al, Bur. Tu C. *gē-*; Kalm. *gē-*.

It is striking that the above list contain a number of examples in which even such "two-syllables" have developed into vowels whose *-γ-* (*-g-*) has survived in geographically close dialects, e. g. the Ordos, Khorchin, Tumut or Gorlos. Although their significance must not be overrated, these data will nevertheless facilitate a closer determination of the dialect of our texts.

## B

The intervocalic *-γ-* (*-g-*) has survived in the following words of our texts in conformity with other dialects:

34. *aya* > *aya* ~ Bur. Khor *oga*:

*jobaya-* > *jobaya-*: see No 29 b).

35. *oya* > *oya*, *o* ~ Khor. *ogo*:

*toga* > *toga*, *to* 'number' ~ Khor. *togo*; Ord. *tō*; Kh. *tō*; Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu, Bur. Bá. *tō(n)*; Kalm. *tō*.

<sup>50</sup> Poppe, *Skizze*, p. 333.

36. *ugu* > *γô* (*yu*), *u* ~ Bur. Khor *ugu*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu, Bur. Tu C. *gu*, Bur. Bal, Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *ga*, Bur. Al P. *aga*, Kalm. *γη*:

*quruyu(n)* > *χôryô* (*χuryu*), *χôru* (*χuru*) 'finger' ~ DB *χurū*, *χurū*; Ord. *χurū*; Kh. *χurū(n)*; Bur. Sel, Bur. Sel C. *χurū*, Bur. Bar *χurū*, Bur. Khor *χurugun*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu, *χurgun*, Bur. Khor C. *χurgun* (*χurguη*) Bur. Tu C. *χurguη* (*χurgun*) Bur. Bal, Bur. Al, Bur. Tu *χurgan*, Bur. Bal *χúrgan*, Bur. Al P. *χurāgāη*; Kalm. *χuryη*.<sup>51</sup>

37. a) *igü* > *igu* (*igü*), *iguu* (*igü*) ~ Tum. *ŋgu*; Kh. *gū*:

*ičigüri* > *ičiguri* (*ičigüri*), *iciguuri* (*ičigüri*) 'shame' ~ Tum. *itšinguri*; Kh. *itšgūr*; Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu *išir*; Kalm. *itšūr*, *itšwṛ*.

b) *igü* > *igu* (*igü*), *iguu* (*igü*), *oo* (*ō*) Ord. *igü*; Kh., Bur. Bal *üge*, Kh. *ügū*, Bur. Sel, Bur. Khor, Bur. Al, *ügü*, Bur. C., Bur. Tu *ügù*, Bur. Bá. *üge*:

*nigül* > *nigul* (*nigül*), *niguul*, *nigül*, *nool* (*nöł*): see No 25. a).<sup>52</sup>

c) *igü* > *igu* (*igu*), *i*, *u* (*ü*), *uu* (*ü*) ~ Khor., Gor. *gu*; Ord. *igü*; Kh. *gū*; Kalm. *gü*.

*terigün* > *terigun* (*terigün*), *terin*, A *turun* (*türün*), *teruun* (*terün*) 'head, first' ~ Khor., Gor. *teğün*, Khor., Gor. *ter(i)gun*, DB *türü*, Gor. *teğün*; Ord. *terigün*, *turū(n)*; Kh. *tergūn*, *terigūη*, *türū*; Bur. Sel *terū*, Bur. Tu *türün*; Kalm. *tiürgü*, *türün*.<sup>53</sup>

It can be observed that forms containing -*γ-* (-*g-*) alternate with vowels within one and the same word in some of our examples, and that the literary group of sounds appears but rarely in its original form. It occurs often that, when the intervocalic consonant survives, the first vowel of the "two-syllables" disappears or that its second vowel becomes long.

A similar phenomenon may be observed in other Mongolian dialects as well. Consonantal and vocalic forms alternate and the second vowel of words containing -*γ-* (-*g-*) becomes sometimes long also in the East Mongolian dialects, in the Ordos and Oirat: cf. Khor. *borgūl*-, *borūl(a)-* 'run, run away'; Ord. *džijagātan* 'he, whom fate has favoured', *džijātā* 'fate's favourite', *nigūr*, *nūr* 'face, visage'.

Also on this case can we observe that certain "two-syllables" show in our dialect a development which differs from that of other South-Eastern Mongolian dialects. The word *quruyun* for instance, occurs in our texts in a form with, and in the Durbut-Baise and Ordos without -*γ-* (-*g-*).

We have seen, that the root words have retained the intervocalic consonant of the „two-syllables” just in one or two dialects. The -*γ-* (-*g-*) of certain

<sup>51</sup> Poppe, *Skizze*, p. 333.

<sup>52</sup> Vladimircov, *Срън. грам.*, p. 224.

<sup>53</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 223.,

suffixes, on the other hand, has survived in all dialects. It is in the adverbium perfecti that this phenomenon is observable in our texts.

**38.** *uya* > *ya* *sayuyad* > *saoyat* (*sāyāt*), *sooyat* (*sōyāt*) 'sat'.

**39.** *ege* > *ge*: *negeged* > *nēget* 'opened'.

It is worthy of note that, both in our texts and the other Mongolian dialects, not only the adverbium perfecti of certain verbs has preserved this sound. Phonetically precise records reveal the fact that these verbs terminate with long vowels, in contradiction to those in which, the intervocalic -γ- (-g-) disappears from the suffixed form. Cf. Khor., DB *dutā-* > *dutāgat* 'run away', Khor. *χad(a)-* > *χadāt* 'pricked', DB *gū-* > *gūget* 'run', Khor., DB, Gor. *ir(e)-* > *irēt* 'came',<sup>54</sup> Ord. *sū-* > *sūgāt* 'sat', *dawa-*, *dawāt* 'went, advanced', *ūlē-* > *ūlegēt* 'breathed', *ūdzi-* > *udžēt* 'saw, looked',<sup>55</sup> Kh. *ū-* > *ūgāt* 'drank', *e'ts'e-* < *e'ts'ēt* 'became tired',<sup>56</sup> Bur. Al P. *hū-* > *hūgāt* 'sat', *χara-* > *χarāt* 'looked', *tī-* > *tīgēt* 'made so', *ge-* > *gēt* 'said',<sup>57</sup> Kalm. *sū-* > *sūyād* 'sat', *dax-* > *daxād* 'followed', *kō-* > *kōgēd* 'pursued', *kele-* > *kelēd* 'said'.<sup>58</sup>

It follows that the -γ- (-g-) of the adverbium perfecti remains only after long vowels also in our texts. In the present case all those sounds are long which are represented by the first *e* in *neget*, the *oo* in *sooyat* and the *ao* in *saoyat*.

## C

This group consists of words in which -γ- -g- appears solely in our texts

**40. a) *aya* > *aya*, *a*:**

*dabayān* > *dabaya*, *daba* 'mountain pass, defile' ~ Ord. *dawā*; Kh. *dawā(n)*; Bur. Bar. *dawā*, Bur. Tu *dabān*; Kalm. *dawān*, *dawŋ*;

*dusaya-* > *dusaya-*, *dusa-* 'to drip, to instil, to make libation' ~ Ord. *dusā-*; Kh. *dusā-*; Kalm. *dusā-*;

*qaya-* > *χaya-* *χa-* 'to close' ~ Ord. *χā-* Kh. *χā-*, Bur. Sel, Bur. Sel C., Bur. Khor C, Bur. Tu, Bur. Tu C. *χā-*; Kalm. *χā-*;

*sayata-* > *sayata-*, *sata-* 'to hinder, to arrange sg careless' ~ Ord. *sā'ta-*; Kh. *sāt'a-*; Bur. Sel C. *sāta-*, Bur. Khor C, Bur. Nu C. *hāta-*, Bur. Bal, Bur. Nu, Bur. Tu *hata-*; Kalm. *sāta-*.

b) *aya* > *aya*, *ya*, *a*:

<sup>54</sup> Rudnev, *Материалы*, p. 224.

<sup>55</sup> Mostaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 39, LIX, 3.

<sup>56</sup> Ramstedt, *Konj. kh.*, p. 47.

<sup>57</sup> Poppe, *Аларский говор*, pp. 11, 105, 84, 25.

<sup>58</sup> Ramstedt, *Kalmückische Sprachproben*, pp. 91, 38, 60, 5.

*daraya* > *daraya*, *darya*, *dara* 'once more, for the second time' ~ Ord. *darā*; Kh. *darā*; Kalm. *darān*, *darām*.

c) *aya* > *ya*:

*kilayar* > *kilyar* 'cross-eyed' ~ Bur. Bal *χilor*, Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu *χalar*.

41. *ayu* > *χō* (*yu*), *oo* (*ō*), *uu* (*ū*):

*jalagu* > *jalayu*, *jaloo* (*jalō*), *jaluu* (*jalū*) 'young' see No. 14. f)

42. a) *iyu* > *iyo*:

*talbiyur* > *talbiyor* 'stand, shelf' ~ Ord. *talbiyr*; *talbūr*; Kalm. *täwūr*.

b) *iyu* > *iyo* (*iyō*):

*niyuča* > *niyooča* (*niyōča*) 'secret' ~ Ord. *nūtši*:, Kh. *nūts*; Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu *nūsa*, Bur. Bá. *nūtsa*; Kalm. *nūtsa*.

43. a) *ege* > *ege*, *e*:

*čimegele-* > *čimegele-*, *čimele-* 'to give sound, noise' ~ Kh. *tšimēle-*; Kalm. *tsimēl-*;

*činege* > *činege*, *čine* 'power, ability' ~ Ord. *tšinē*; Kh. *tšinē(n)*; Bur. Khor C. *šineŋ*, Bur. Al *šinēn*, Bur. Nu C. *šināŋ*; Kalm. *tšinēn*.

b) *ege* > *ege*:

*bütege-* > *bütege-* (*bütege-*) 'to finish, to complete' ~ Ord. *būtē-*; Kh. *būtē-*; Bur. Sel C., Bur. Khor C., Bur. Nu C., Bur. Tu C. *bütē-*, Bur. Bal *bütē-*, Bur. Bá. *bütā-*; Kalm. *bütē-*.

44. *ige* > *ige*:

*ičige-* > *ičige-* 'abuse, revile' ~ Kh. *itšē*; Kalm. *itšē-*.

45. *egü* > *egu* (*egū*):

*bitegümjile-* > *bitegumjile-* (*bitegümjile-*) 'to stop, to fill in' ~ Kh. *bitūmdžile-*.

46. *öge* > *uge* (*üge*):

*kögerde-* > *kugerde-* (*kügerde-*) 'to boast of sg' ~ Kalm. *kōrdē-*.

What is conspicuous in these examples is that — apart from a few exceptions — in none of them do the literary "two-syllables" occur regularly. These words too should, therefore, be regarded as dialectal forms. This seems to be confirmed by the consideration that — as has been noted — the *-γ-* (*-g-*) of certain words survives in a single dialect only.

It should be noted here that there is a word in our texts in which *-γ-* (*-g-*) alternates with *-χ-* and a vowel:

47. *aya* > *aya*, *aχa*, *a*:

*baraya* > *baraya*, *baraxa*, *bara* 'utensils, property' ~ Ord. *barā*; Kh. *barā*; Bur. Bá. *barā*; Kalm. *barān*.

We must look to the Manchu for explanation of this phenomenon: it contains frequent examples of  $-γ-$  alternating with  $χ$  which — as has been pointed out by Prof. Ligeti — makes it necessary to postulate a spirant in such cases. It is, therefore, presumable that the intervocalic consonant of the word *baraya* is a palatovelar spirant.

### III

Our data are too scanty to reveal the evolution of the intervocalic *-b-*; all we can safely say is that — in general — it behaves like the surviving  $-γ-$  ( $-g-$ ), save one case in which *-b-* is lost in all dialects. As far as we can tell, this word is:

- 48.** *öbe* > *o* (ö), *u* (ü); *übe* > *u* (ü), *e*:

*öbesüben* > *ösün* (*ösün*) A *ösen* (*ösén*), *usen* (*üsén*) 'himself etc.' ~ Ord. *ösön*; Bur. C. *öhön*, Bur. BÁ. *öhön*.

Like the surviving  $-γ-$  ( $-g-$ ), also *-b-* has disappeared in some and been preserved in other dialects in the following words:

- 49.** *ebe* > *ebe*, *e*:

*debel* (*degel*) > *debel*, A *del* 'coat, dress' ~ Khor., DB, *dəl*, Khor. *dewl*, DB *degel*, *del*, Tum. *dēl*; Ord. *dēl*; Kh. *dēl*; Bur. Sel *del*, Bur. Bar *dēl*, Bur. Khor, Bur. Bal, Bur. Nu, Bur. Tu *dəgel*, *degel*, Bur. Khor C., Bur. Nu C. Bur. Tu C. *degel*; Kalm. *dewl*, Dörböt of Kobdo<sup>59</sup> *debeleñ*.

*kebeli* (*kegeli*) > *kebeli* 'abdomen' ~ Ord. *k'eweli*, *k'ēl*; Kh. *χewel*, Bur. Al *χebēl*; Kalm. *kewl*, *kēl*<sup>2</sup>.

Let us note that in no Mongolian dialect can we find any trace of the *-b-* of the instrumental in an intervocalic position. It has nevertheless been preserved in a few cases in the dialect of our texts, may be in similar circumstances as the  $-γ-$  ( $-g-$ ) of the adverb.

- 50.** *öbe* > *o* (ö), *eo* (ö):

*öbere* (*ögere*) > *oru* (öru), *eoru* (öru), A *eore* (öre), A *eor* (ör) 'the other' ~ Khor. *uwür*, *üwür*, *ör*, Jas *öwör*, DB *öri*, Gor. *ör*, *üri*, *üri*; Ord. *örö*; Kh. *ör*;

Worthy of mention from the point of view of linguistic history is the "two-syllables" *ebe*, the *-b-* of which alternates with *-g-* in the literary Mongolian. A similar alternation can be observed in the corresponding dialectal forms of the word *debel* whose intervocalic consonants are *-b-* and *-w-* in some and

<sup>59</sup> Ramstedt, *Urgamundart*, p. 23.

-g- in other dialects. All this points to an alternation of the spirant or plosive in ancient Mongolian.

Let us note that the -b- of the word *debel* has been preserved in our basic text and has disappeared in Grube's text A.

## IV

The strangest dialectal phenomenon is the disappearance of -m-. We know of two words from which it has disappeared in all dialects:

**51. *eme* > *e*:**

*keme-*, *geme-*, *ge-* > *ge-* 'to say, to tell' ~ Khor., Uj., DB. Tum., Gor., Jas. *ge-*; Ord. *ge-*; Kh. *ge-*; Bur. Bar *ge-*; Bur. Bal, Bur. Tu, Bur. Tu C. *ge-*; Kalm. *ge-*.

**52. *ümü* > *umu* (*ümü*), *u* (*ü*):**

*kümün* > *kumun* (*kümün*), *kun* (*kün*) 'man' ~ Khor., Jas., DB., Gor., Tum. *xun*, Khor., Jas., DB. Gor. *xun*, *xun*, Khor., Jas., Tum. *χümün*; Ord. *k'ümün*, *k'ün*; Kh. *χün*; Bur. Sel C., Bur. Khor C. *χün*, Bur. Bar *χün*, Bur. *χün*; Kalm. *kün*.

The latter word is problematic both in our basic text and in the other dialects. Hitherto, it has been generally recognized that -m- is lost from the said words in all dialects because Rudnev and Mostaert had described words with -m- as literary forms. It is, however, strange that — except the colophon — we encounter in our basic text only those forms of the word which have the -m-, while Grube's text A contains the word invariably in the form *kün*. We have no means to solve the problem in a satisfactory manner, but we are sure that *kümün* must not be regarded as having arisen under literary influence.

We have tried to demonstrate the behaviour of the literary Mongolian "two-syllables" in our texts. It is evident that they have the same corresponding forms in our texts as in other dialects, a phenomenon which argues in favour of our contention that the Mongolian version of *San ho yü lu* has to be regarded as authentic dialectical material.

Apart from this circumstantial evidence, we have furthermore attempted to offer an analysis of the socalled "two-syllables" which, taking account of the evidence of all Mongolian dialects, is more detailed than the usual analyses. In doing so we are led by the desire to elaborate a material that would enable us to use evidence of the archaic dialects and the linguistic records for a better understanding of the history of the so-called "two-syllables".

# LES NOMS TURCS ET MONGOLS DE LA CONSTELLATION DES «PLÉIADES»

PAR

L. BAZIN (Paris)

Le nom de la constellation des «Pléiades» dans les divers dialectes turcs remonte à un prototype commun *\*ülkär* (ou *\*ülgär*). L'aspect extérieur de ce mot est bien turc, et on ne lui connaît pas d'origine étrangère. Il est donc raisonnable d'en rechercher l'étymologie à l'intérieur de la langue turque.

A première vue, le mot *ülkär* paraît isolé, et l'on ne voit aucune raison évidente de le rattacher à un autre mot connu. Toutefois, la seule série étymologique de mots en *üл-* attestée en turc ancien est celle de *üл-ä-* «partager», *üл-ię* «part», *üл-üs* «partie», à laquelle il faut sans doute rattacher *üл-gü* «measure» (= partie d'un tout) et quelques autres dérivés formés, semble-t-il, sur un radical *\*üл-* exprimant l'idée de «partager» ou de «partage».

D'autre part, la seule expression attestée anciennement où le mot *ülkär* apparaisse avec un sens différent du sens astronomique de «Pléiades», est celle rapportée par Kāšgārī (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle), *ülkär čärig* (avec *čärig* «armée, troupe, soldats»). Elle pourrait très bien se concilier avec une étymologie remontant à un radical exprimant le «partage»: elle désigne en effet une ruse de guerre qui consiste à partager ses forces en petits groupes agissant solidairement, afin de créer un effet de surprise. Mais il pourrait aussi s'agir là d'une comparaison semi-poétique entre cette formation militaire et la constellation, composée d'un ensemble de petits amas stellaires. Rien de décisif ne ressort donc de l'examen purement linguistique du mot *ülkär*.

Heureusement, l'histoire des traditions astronomiques turques vient à notre secours. Elle nous apprend (grâce, notamment, aux faits rapportés par RADLOFF concernant les calendriers populaires des Turcs de l'Altaï et des Kirghiz, et aux observations faites en Turquie sur les calendriers populaires locaux) que, dans le calendrier luni-solaire des peuples turcs, l'observation directe des positions relatives de la lune, du soleil, et des Pléiades tout au cours de l'année servait de moyen empirique pour déterminer la place des lunaisons successives à l'intérieur du cycle solaire, et pour résoudre ainsi le problème, toujours délicat, des «lunes intercalaires». Les Pléiades offrent en effet, pour ce genre de recherches d'astronomie populaire, le double avantage d'être à la fois faciles à reconnaître (en raison de leur aspect caractéristique), et très

proches de l'écliptique, ce qui permet d'observer avec précision leurs conjonctions et oppositions avec la lune et avec le soleil. Les Pléiades, dans ces traditions turques, servent donc à «partager» et à «mesurer» l'année (deux sens qu'on retrouve dans les autres mots de radical *ǖl-*).

En particulier, on retrouve chez divers peuples turcs une tradition qui consiste à diviser l'année en deux grandes périodes, délimitées par la conjonction et par l'opposition du soleil et des Pléiades. Chez les Turcs de Turquie, la période qui commence à la conjonction est appelée *Hidrellez* et celle qui commence à l'opposition est appelée *qāsim*. Ce dernier mot, participe actif de la racine arabe *q s m* «partager», est pour nous fort intéressant, puisqu'il exprime clairement cette notion de «partage» qui est celle, en turc, du radical *ǖl-*, et que nous croyons pouvoir reconnaître dans l'étymologie du mot *ülkär*.

Il y a donc quelque vraisemblance à considérer *ülkär* comme un mot de sens très voisin de celui de l'*osmanli qāsim*. Ce serait, tout comme *qāsim*, un participe de sens actif (aoriste en *-är*) formé sur un radical verbal *\*ǖl-k-*, lui-même dérivé, à l'aide du suffixe intensif de verbe déverbatif en *-k-* (cf. *osmanli sil-* et *sil-k-*), du radical *\*ǖl-* «partager»: les Pléiades seraient conçues comme la constellation «qui partage» (l'année). Rappelons à ce propos, dans un autre domaine, l'étymologie traditionnelle (attestée dès l'époque védique) du nom indien des Pléiades, *krittikā*, par une racine signifiant «couper», en raison du «découpage», du «partage» de l'année que permet l'observation des positions de la lune et du soleil par rapport à cette constellation. Il s'agit, chez les Indiens comme chez les Turcs, d'un procédé d'astronomie populaire très ancien, en rapport étroit avec l'élaboration du calendrier luni-solaire. Soulignons que le même procédé est clairement attesté dans l'antiquité babylonienne, ainsi qu'en font foi divers textes publiés par M. VIROLLEAUD et qui nous ont été signalés par M. LABAT: les astronomes babyloniens vérifiaient l'opportunité d'insérer une «lune intercalaire» dans leur année par l'observation des Pléiades.

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Chez les Mongols, l'usage du même procédé est bien attesté, notamment dans les calendriers populaires bouriates étudiés par KOTWICZ. Quant aux divers noms mongols des «Pléiades», *bičin*, *mičin*, *mečin*, *mešin*, *müšen*, ou, au pluriel, mêmes formes avec *-t* au lieu de *-n* final, ils semblent bien se ramener tous à un prototype commun *\*bičin* (pl. mongol *-t*), qui n'a aucune étymologie mongole connue et qui se confond avec un mot identique signifiant «singe». Or, ce nom du «singe», lui, est clairement un emprunt au nom ture ancien et ouigour du «singe», *bičin* et *bicin*. Une telle homonymie a déclenché, par étymologie populaire, la création de légendes mongoles représentant les Pléiades comme des «Singes» célestes... Il doit s'agir là d'un accident secondaire, qui ne pourrait que nous dissimuler l'étymologie authentique du nom mongol des «Pléiades».

Plutôt que de rattacher ce nom à *bičin* «singe», il nous paraît beaucoup plus indiqué, en raison des observations faites précédemment, de le rattacher à un autre mot \**bičin*, sans doute d'origine turque également, mais du turc *bič-*, *bīč-* «couper». Ce \**bič-in* ou \**bīč-in* serait un nom déverbatif du même type que *tüt-ün* «fumée» (de *tüt-* «fumer»). Il signifierait à l'origine «coupure, section», par référence à la «coupure» que les Pléiades permettent de pratiquer dans l'année (cf. *ülkär*, *qāsim*, et *krittikā*).

Ce mot nous paraît d'ailleurs attesté en turc ancien, dans un texte épigraphique qui doit dater environ du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, écrit en caractères «de l'Orkhon», et jusqu'à présent mal connu: l'une des deux inscriptions sur fusaïole trouvées dans l'île d'Ol'khon (lac Baïkal). Dans une communication faite en janvier dernier à la Société Asiatique de Paris, nous avons donné une lecture de cette inscription, qui, à notre avis, se termine par ces mots: *bičin*, *qiš*, *ädgü ülgär*, que nous traduisons: «coupure (avec le même sens que dans *qāsim*), hiver, le bon Ülgär (= Pléiades)». Plus explicitement, nous pensons que la «coupure» en question est celle entre la belle saison et la saison froide (*qiš*), qui a lieu lors de l'opposition du soleil et des Pléiades (vers novembre à l'époque), et qui correspond au *qāsim* d'Anatolie (actuellement, 8 novembre).

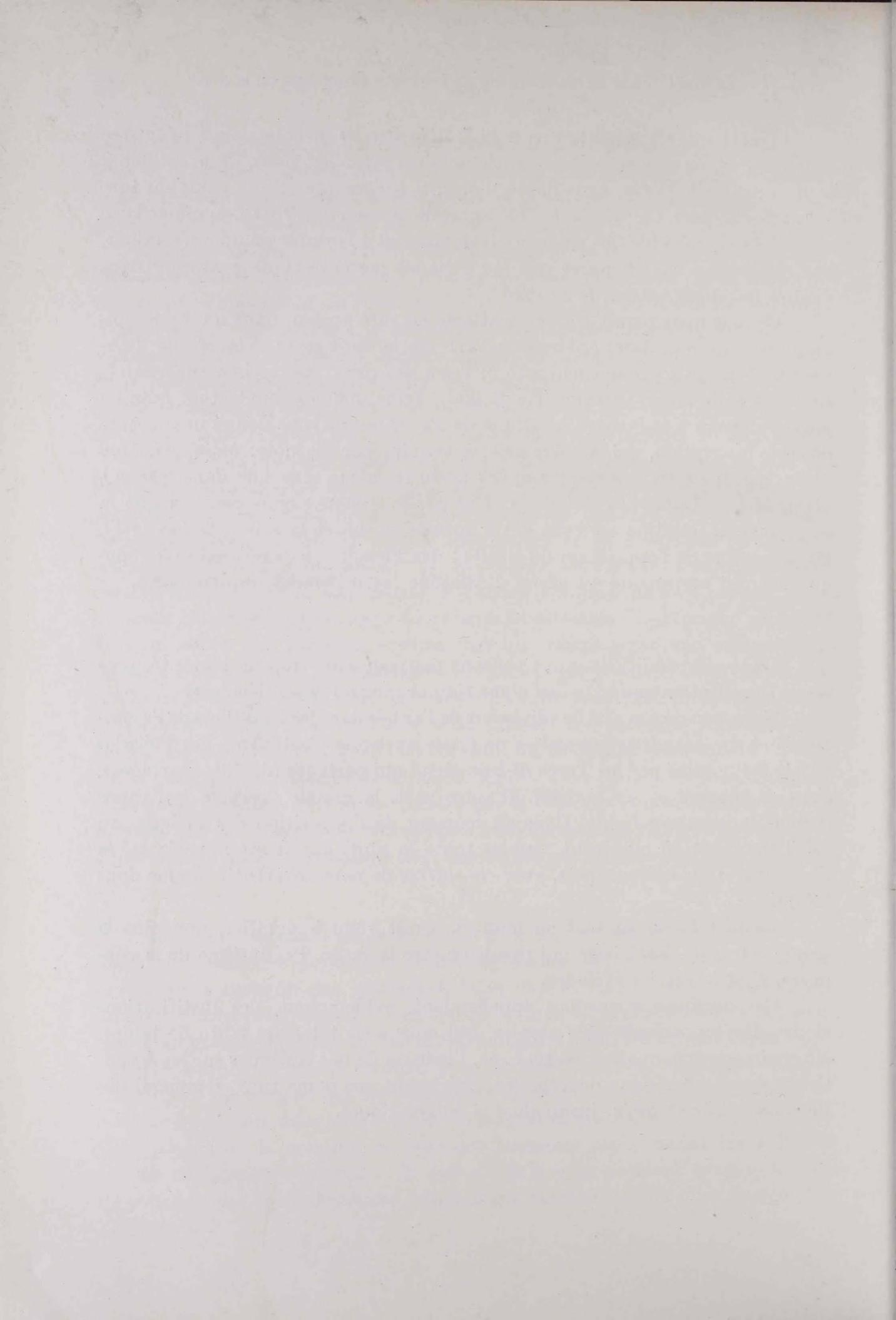
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Dans ces conditions, nous pensons pouvoir, sans trop de témérité, proposer l'explication suivante des noms turc et mongol des «Pléiades»:

En raison de son rôle de «diviseur» de l'année dans les traditions de l'astronomie et du calendrier populaires de l'Asie ancienne, l'astérisme des Pléiades aurait été nommé par les Turcs *ül-k-är* «celui qui partage» (de \**ül-* «partager», avec *-k-* intensif et *-är* aoriste). D'autre part, la grande division de l'année (début de la saison froide) fixée au moment de l'opposition des Pléiades au soleil (moment où elles sont visibles toute la nuit) aurait été appelée *bič-in* «la coupure», de *bič-* «couper», avec *-in* suffixe de nom déverbatif comme dans *tüt-ün*.

Le mot *bičin*, passant en mongol, serait venu à signifier, non plus la «coupure», mais l'astérisme qui paraît en être la cause, l'«astérisme de la coupure», c'est-à-dire les Pléiades.

Ces quelques remarques appelleraient, évidemment, des justifications et des développements plus amples, qui nous sont interdits faute de temps. Nous aimerais connaître, en tout cas, l'opinion de nos collègues sur les hypothèses que nous venons de formuler concernant ces noms turc et mongol des Pléiades, *ülkär* et *bičin*, jusqu'alors si énigmatiques.



## JOSEPH AISTLEITNER (1883—1960)

Am 9. September 1960, nach einer jahrelangen Krankheit und nach unsäglichen Leiden, im Alter von 77 Jahren ist der Altmeister unserer Disziplin, Joseph Aistleitner, emeritierter Professor der römisch-katholischen Theologie dahingeschieden. Von der zermalmenden Krankheit geschwächt und unter ununterbrochenen Leiden hat er bis zum letzten Atemzug mit einem Fleiß ohnegleichen gearbeitet, ja er hat sogar gerade in diesen für ihn so schweren Jahren die schönsten und wichtigsten Schöpfungen seines langen Gelehrtenlebens zustande gebracht. Mit ihm ist einer der hervorragenden Vertreter der ungarischen Orientalistik ins Grab gestiegen, ein Fachmann, dessen Forschungen auf den verschiedensten Gebieten der semitischen Philologie auch von der internationalen Fachliteratur mit Aufmerksamkeit verfolgt und geschätzt wurde.

Unsere Zeitschrift verliert mit Joseph Aistleitner einen seit ihrer Gründung getreuen Gefährten und ständigen Mitarbeiter. Hier hat er seine zahlreichen Aufsätze und Abhandlungen über die sprachlichen und kulturgeschichtlichen Probleme der semitischen Texte aus Ugarit veröffentlicht.<sup>1</sup> Die Ugaritologie stand seit dreißig Jahren, d. h. seit der Veröffentlichung der ersten ugaritischen Texte im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchungen von Joseph Aistleitner.<sup>2</sup> In allen seinen einschlägigen Abhandlungen und Rezensionen<sup>3</sup> war er doch auch der übrigen semitischen Sprachen eingedenk. Er befaßte sich dabei vor allen Dingen mit den in Keilschrift überlieferten Texten aus Mari, bzw. mit den hier und in sonstigen akkadischen Texten belegten Personennamen von westsemitischem Gepräge. Die Bestimmung dieses reichen Namenstoffes sowie die sprachliche und dialektologische Untersuchung der Sprachdenkmäler aus Gubla hat ihm die Feststellung mancher wichtigen gemeinsamen Züge dieser Denkmäler ermöglicht. Während seiner Untersuchungen der Texte in Keilschrift hat er sich auch mit den verschiedensten linguistischen und religionshistorischen Fragen des Sumerischen wiederholt und erfolgreich beschäftigt.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> »Götterzeugung in Ugarit und Dilmun«: *Acta Orient. Hung.* III (1953), 185—312; »Ein Opfertext aus Ugarit (1929, № 2)«: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IV (1954), 259—270; »Ein Opfertext aus Ugarit (№ 53)«: *Acta Orient. Hung.* V (1955), 1—23; »Studien zur Sprachverwandtschaft des Ugaritischen I, II«: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII (1957), 251—307; VIII (1958), 51—98; »Lexikalisches zu den ugaritischen Texten«: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XI (1960), im Druck.

<sup>2</sup> »Zum Verständnis des Ras-Schamra-Textes I D«: *Dissertationes in hon. Dr. Ed. Mahler* (Budapest 1937), 37—52; »Die Nikkal Hymne aus Ras-Schamra«: *ZDMG* 1939: 52—59; »Die Anat-Texte aus Ras-Schamra-: *Zeitschr. f. d. alttest. Wiss.* 1939: 193—211; »Untersuchungen zum Mitlaut-Bestand des Ugaritisch-Semitischen«: *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, I (Budapest 1948), 209—225.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. seine Besprechung von J. Nougayrol: *Textes Accadiens (Le palais royal d'Ugarit III)*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* VII (1957) und G. R. Driver: *Canaanite Myths and Legends: Journal of Theol. Studies* VIII (1957).

<sup>4</sup> »Des préformatives verbaux sumériens et principalement des Préfixes Subjectifs«: *Revue d'Assyriologie* XX (1923), 53—71.

Nachdem er sich ungefähr zwei Jahrzehnte hindurch mit ugaritischen Forschungen befaßt hatte, beschloß Aistleitner ungefähr vor zehn Jahren, auch ein vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den ugaritischen Texten zusammenzustellen. Er nahm vor, diese Arbeit mit Professor O. Eißfeldt aus Halle zu bewerkstelligen. Die Aufgabe war eine äußerst schwierige, da die Zusammenstellung eines ugaritischen Wörterbuchs die Klärung von so komplizierten Teilfragen erforderte wie z. B. die des Paradigmas des ugaritischen Verbums auf Grund sämtlicher Belegstellen und so weiter, und so fort. Als eine Vorbereitung zu dieser mühevollen Arbeit ist die erste größere Veröffentlichung von Joseph Aistleitner über die Texte aus Ugarit im Verlag der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, unter dem Titel »Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Ugaritischen« (Berlin 1954) erschienen.<sup>5</sup> Als nächste Vorarbeit zum kommenden Wörterbuch wurde im Jahre 1959 die Sammlung der Übersetzungen ugaritischer Texte von der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegeben (Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra. Budapest 1959). Außerdem hat Joseph Aistleitner in dieser Zeit, obwohl vom heimtückischen Siechtum fast ständig ans Krankenbett gefesselt, auch die Handschrift des angekündigten Wörterbuchs abgeschlossen und im Sommer 1960 Professor Eißfeldt/Halle übersendet. Dieses Werk soll mit der Einleitung Professor Eißfeldts im Verlag der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften veröffentlicht werden. Es wurde bereits in diesem Sommer für die Drucklegung fertiggestellt, aber es war seinem Schöpfer leider nicht beschieden, die Erscheinung des wichtigsten Werkes seines Lebens mitzuerleben.

Außer seinen ugaritischen Studien hat sich Joseph Aistleitner auch mit der philologisch wertvollen Übersetzung der hebräischen Bibeltexte beschäftigt.<sup>6</sup> Aistleitners lithographierte Grammatik des Hebräischen, die auf der vergleichend-historischen Methode beruht, gehört zu den besten diesen Schlages. Auch seine lithographierte Grammatik des Syrischen gilt für eines der gelungensten Hilfsmittel für Universitätshörer.

Solange es seine Gesundheit erlaubte, nahm Joseph Aistleitner an der Arbeit der Orientalistischen Kommission der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften als Mitglied derselben teil. Seit 1959 war er korrespondierendes Mitglied der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Joseph Aistleitner, dem von allen geschätzten Menschen und hervorragenden Wissenschaftler werden alle ungarischen Orientalisten ein treues Andenken bewahren.

K. Czeplédy

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Acta Orient. Hung. V (1955), 328—329.

<sup>6</sup> Er übersetzte ins Ung. mehrere Bücher aus dem AT (Job, Prov., Kohelet, Cant., Cant., Sap., Eccles.).

*COMPTES RENDUS*  
*BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN — REVIEWS*  
*БИБЛИОГРАФИЯ И КРИТИКА*

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MORAVCSIK, GYULA, *Byzantinoturcica I. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker.* XXVIII et 609 pages. II. *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen.* XXV et 376 pages. Zweite durchgearbeitete Auflage. Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, Band 10, Band 11. Berlin 1958. Akademie Verlag. Brosch. DM 68,—.

Quinze ans après sa parution, la première édition de l'ouvrage de M. Moravcsik a été complètement enlevée. C'est à l'intérêt toujours vif pour cette oeuvre que désire satisfaire cette deuxième édition que nous saluons chaleureusement. A propos de la deuxième édition nous estimons superflu de répéter les éloges que les byzantinologues et les turcologues ont adressés à l'auteur à l'époque de la publication de son livre et auxquels de notre côté, nous nous joignons sans réserve. Je tiens à insister toutefois sur le fait que non seulement la deuxième édition représente par rapport à la première un surcroît bibliographique considérable, mais qu'elle apporte le complément et la correction de certaines données, vues et interprétations. Je voudrais avant tout rendre hommage à la patience et à l'acribie dont l'auteur a fait preuve pour offrir au lecteur l'oeuvre dans sa forme actuelle.

Les quelques remarques critiques qui suivent ne concernent pas l'oeuvre personnelle de M. Moravcsik, mais les vues qu'elle enregistre, et elles se limitent aux problèmes relatifs à la transcription des mots et des noms turcs. Au point de vue de la turcologie, ces problèmes peuvent compter sur un intérêt particulier, ce dont témoigne d'ailleurs l'ouvrage de R. Hartmann *Zur Wiedergabe türkischer Namen und Wörter in den byzantinischen Quellen : Abh. d. Ak. d. D. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1952. Je ne m'occuperai pas des noms et mots hongrois, bulgares et en général d'origine non turque, amplement représentés dans le *Byzantinoturcica*.

Il est normal que la matière la plus riche soit fournie par l'osmanli. De ce point de vue le fait que depuis le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle l'osmanli se soit conservé dans des documents importants en écriture grecque, et que l'osmanli écrit en caractères grecs soit représenté presque jusqu'à nos jours par une ample matière, revêt une grande importance. Pour la bibliographie de cette question voir *Byzantinoturcica* II, 22—23. Aux données s'y trouvant il faut encore ajouter: J. Eckmann, *Yunan harflı karamanlı imlâsi hakkında : Türk dili ve tarihi hakkında araştırmalar I* (Ankara 1950), 27—31; ibid. une bibliographie complémentaire.

M. Moravcsik (II, 31—36) traite en détail de la question des transcriptions: il indique la valeur phonétique de chaque lettre en grec moyen et examine soigneusement quels sont les phonèmes turcs transcrits par tel ou tel caractère grec. Pour que cette énumération puisse être impeccable, il aurait fallu que ceux qui se sont occupés jusqu'à

présent de l'explication des mots et noms turcs en question, — à condition que l'étymologie proposée fût correcte — eussent essayé de déterminer avec exactitude la forme turque cachée derrière la transcription en caractères grecs. Or, les commentateurs n'en ont rien fait, ils se sont contentés dans la plupart des cas de confronter le mot ou nom turc en écriture grecque avec la forme écrite classique du turc ancien, de l'osmanli etc., sans se soucier par ailleurs de la forme phonétique exacte du mot turc en question que la transcription grecque n'avait pu fixer qu'au prix d'une déformation plus ou moins considérable.

C'est ainsi que la règle proposée pour la lecture cesse d'être valable dans toute une série de mots, et il arrive même que la «règle de lecture» reste simplement inadmissible.

Voici quelques exemples.

Grec *a*, turc *o*. La règle est absolument correcte, mais quelques-uns des exemples énumérés demandent à être expliqués. C'est le cas par ex. pour *Kονρπαγάς*, turc *Qur-boya*. Au passage cité (p. 33), Houtsma donne la forme كربغا qu'il lit *Kurbuga* et dont il déduit le premier membre du kur «gross». Au lieu de *kur* il faut évidemment lire *kür*. Le deuxième membre du nom doit être expliqué par le mot *buqa* «taureau». Pour comprendre la forme présente aberrante, cf. osm. *boğ'a* «bull» (Hony<sup>2</sup>, 45). Il n'est guère douteux que *Kονρπαγάς*, ce personnage distingué turc des années 1090 soit identique avec le chef seldjoukide dont le nom se retrouve chez Sauvaget (*Journ. As.* 1950, p. 36) sous la forme كربوغا *Kür-buqa*. Au lieu de *Qur-boya* proposé par l'auteur, il faut donc lire *Kür-boya*. Comme source du nom *Xαρμπαντᾶς* cité parmi les exemples, l'auteur indique, toutefois avec un point d'interrogation, une forme *Kerbende* «ânier». Selon cette explication il est évidemment difficile de retrouver le *o* turc marqué par le *a* grec. En réalité il s'agit ici d'une fâcheuse inadvertance. Dans la première édition on trouve en guise d'explication de la transcription grecque un prétendu *Qorbanda* mongol (II, 286); dans la première syllabe de ce nom on retrouve bien le cas grec *a*, turc *o*, quoique sous une forme peu convaincante. Dans la deuxième édition, on a ensuite remplacé *Qorbanda* par *Kerbende*, mais on a oublié de supprimer le nom du rang des exemples du grec *a*, turc *o*. Notons que le *Kerbende*, adopté dans la nouvelle édition comme un nom soi-disant mongol, est également inadmissible; par contre il est facile d'établir un accord entre la transcription *Xαρμπαντᾶς* et le pers. خربنده *χar-banda* «an ass-owner, muleteer» (Steingass, 452b). En ce cas on aurait naturellement affaire à un sobriquet, et en même temps à une déformation plutôt outrageante du nom *χudā-banda*.

Grec *a*, turc *e* (ä). Selon une transcription plus exacte on ne peut parler que d'un ä turc ouvert; en effet, l'orthographe *e* est ambiguë, dans la même transcription phonétique elle représente, dans la plupart des cas, un *e* fermé. Ainsi nous aurons: Πατζιώκοι, *Bäčinäk*; πεκλάρπανις, *beklärbäk*; Ταχᾶς, *Täkä*; τζαλατής, *čäläbi*; τζιτζάκιον, *čičäk*. Dans le nom Ασπαρούχ on ne sait trop si l'on doit lire ä ou *a*, par contre Ασιαρ n'est certainement pas la transcription de *Aq-şähir*; sous l'orthographe σιαρ il faut chercher une prononciation šär (< šār < şähr).

Grec *a*, turc *i*. Pour justifier cette règle de lecture, ou si l'on préfère de transcription, l'auteur apporte trois exemples. 1. Ἄξατίης ar.-turc *Izzaddin*. L'identité de ces deux variantes est incontestable, par contre la transcription grecque est loin de rendre la forme *Izzadīn*. Elle repose sur une altération vulgaire du nom. 2. Ἀλιάζης, osm. *Ilyās*. Cette transcription grecque est inséparable des variantes suivantes du même nom: Ἐλιέζης, Ἐλιέζ, Ἡλίας, Ἐλίας. Toutes les formes sont effectivement liées à la variante *Ilyās*, mais pas directement; la forme Ἀλιάζης reflète une fois de plus une altération vulgaire. 3. Κάγγαρ, turc *Qīngir* «résolu, courageux, preux». Cette ancienne étymologie est inadmissible, comme cela ressort clairement des études citées de Czeglédy (II, 145). En un mot,

aucun des trois exemples n'est de nature à justifier que le *a* serve à la transcription du *i* velaire.

Grec *av*, turc *ab*. 1. *Αὐδονλάχ*, ar.-osm. *'Abdullāh*. L'identification est correcte, cependant la transcription grecque ne reflète pas la forme *'Abdullāh*, mais une variante vulgaire de celle-ci, *Awdulaχ*. Régulièrement on s'attendrait à trouver la forme vulgaire *\*Awdula* qui est en effet attestée par Dukas sous la forme de *Αὐδονλάς*. 2. *Tavyáστ*, turc *Tabyač*. Le nom turc possédait aussi les variantes *Tawyač* et *Tamyač* (cf. Ligeti, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* I, 183, note 44); la transcription grecque s'adaptait à la variante *Tawyač*. Cela signifie que la correspondance grecque *av*, turc *ab*, *a priori* difficile à défendre, ne doit pas être retenue.

Grec *δ*, turc *y*. Plus exactement, il s'agit ici de la transcription *δι*, du reste assez rare. Actuellement je ne saurais citer que trois exemples à l'appui. 1. *Διαγούπης*, ar.-osm. *Yā'qūb* sont en effet inséparables l'un de l'autre, mais la transcription grecque nous donne une variante vulgaire du nom sous la forme de *Yagup*. (Pour le changement *q > g* em vieil osmanli, cf. T. Halasi Kun, *Gennadios török hitvallása [Profession de foi turque de Gennadios]*, dans *KCsA* vol. I Suppl., pp. 212—213; pour le changement *b > B* (*p*) en position finale, voir *ibid.*, pp. 202—203.) 2. *Διαγούπασίας*, nom d'un chef de guerre osmanli des XV<sup>e</sup>—XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. L'auteur ne donne pas de restitution évidente. Dans la première partie du nom on doit chercher sans aucun doute le nom *Yagup*, dans la deuxième partie un nom de charge qu'à partir de la transcription actuelle on pourrait interpréter comme *baša*. La forme intégrale du nom serait donc *Yagu(p)-baša*. 3. *διαρίχια (τά)* «Rüstung der Kumanen und der Turkomanen»; le nom possède également une variante *yiaqixia*. Son explication proposée (*yariq*) est parfaitement correcte. Bien que la forme généralement connue du mot turc soit *yaraq* (cf. Radl. III, 106 «das Instrument, die Waffe»; c'est du turc que provient le mong. *kereg jaray* «affaires en général; besoins», Kow. III, 2511; cf. Radl. II, 1088), néanmoins, la variante *yariq* est amplement attestée (Gabain, *Alttürk. Gram. Kāšyārī*, Houtsma, *Tuhfat*, etc.). Il est à noter que la variante *yariχ* n'est pas impossible non plus, cf. *Cod. Cum*, éd. Grönbech, p. 116, connaît aussi, à côté de *yariq* «hell, leuchtend, klar», son homophone, la forme *yariχ*.

Grec *δ*, turc *j*. On ne peut pas ranger parmi les exemples cités le nom *Μουνδίουχος*, puisqu'on doit compter avec une combinaison des lettres *δι* (l'interprétation turque proposée ne me semble pas convaincante). Le nom de l'Oural ne peut pas être éliminé *a priori* des exemples, cependant son explication soulève un problème assez compliqué; en effet, les trois données diffèrent non seulement au point de vue chronologique, mais encore au point de vue linguistique (dialectologique). L'orthographe de *Γεήχ* fournie par Constantin Porphyrogénète peut être expliquée en partant d'une forme du type kiptchak, très probablement d'une forme péchéneuse *Yäyiq*, *Yäyix*; cf. J. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, p. 57. Par contre dans sa transcription *Δαῖχ* Ménandre, au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, ne s'est certainement pas servi d'un *δ* devant *a* pour noter un *j*, encore moins un *y*. Dans cette position phonétique, on ne peut même pas songer à un *d'*. Ce qui est certain c'est qu'il s'agit là d'un phonème qui en fin de compte se laisse ramener à un *y* proto-turc. La transcription de l'initiale *j-* ou *d'-* par un *δ* grec ne peut être conçue que comme un procédé aberrant, par contre il n'est nullement impossible qu'il faille partir tout simplement d'un *d*. C'est ce que fait d'ailleurs entre autres M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen* p. 185. Une partie des exemples de M. Räsänen n'est malheureusement pas impeccable. Abstraction faite pour *Δαῖχ* qu'on vient de discuter, l'initiale *di* du bulgare danubien *dilom* «serpent» peut facilement être interprétée *di*, tandis que le hongr. *gyeplő* (*d'eplő*) «rêne» ne peut être ramené aucunement à *\*dipliy*. On ne peut pas séparer de cet exemple *δόγια* (*δόχια*) «fête funéraire, repas de funérailles» attesté également chez Ménandre. En effet, dans

ce mot, le δ figure également devant une voyelle postérieure, il s'agit cette fois encore d'une initiale qui remonte à un *y*-proto-turc et qui se présente ici sous la forme d'un *d*- pouvant être ramené à un *d̄*- . Le mot est amplement attesté dans les anciennes langues turques: turc de l'Orkh. *goy* «die Trauer, Leichenfeierlichkeit; Begräbniszeremonie» (Radl. III, 409), «Totenfeier» (Gabain, *Alttürk. Gram.*, 356), «Totenmahl» (Kāšyarī, éd. Brockelmann, 92). Marquart: *Ung. Jb.* IX, 81, a expliqué la glose de Ménandre à partir de l'alain. Le mot peut effectivement être démontré dans l'ossète: *dūğ, doğ* «скачки, бег». Selon V. I. Abaev, Историко-этимологический словарь осетинского языка I (Moskva 1958), 373—374 le mot ossète ne fait pas partie du fond primitif du lexique iranien de cette langue, mais c'est un ancien mot d'emprunt turc provenant du legs alain de l'ossète. M. Abaev élimine correctement les difficultés sémantiques (course à cheval < course à cheval organisée dans le cadre d'une cérémonie funéraire), tout en indiquant en même temps que l'initiale *d* ossète (alaine) ne peut être expliquée ni par le *y* ni par *e* ј turc, mais seulement par le *d̄*. Le mot a passé de l'ossète (alain) dans certaines langues caucasiennes: grouz. *doği*, touch. *doğ* «скачки». De ma part, je pense qu'il n'est pas exclu que les gloses turques recueillies par Ménandre aient passé chez les Byzantins, à la rigueur chez Ménandre non pas directement du turc, mais par l'intermédiaire d'un parler iranien. Tout ceci revient à dire que le grec δ n'a guère pu servir à la transcription du turc ј. Il est à noter enfin que l'initiale du nom Δάϊξ du II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère (Ptolomée) doit être expliquée de la même façon. Ici encore, il est facile d'admettre que ce nom turc ait été transmis à travers l'iranien.

Grec ε, turc ī et i. Les exemples cités en faveur de l'interprétation d'un *i* palatal turc sont tout au moins de valeur douteuse. En aucun cas Ἀτξινερίης ne reflète avec une précision phonétique (et cela non seulement en ce qui concerne le *i*) l'ar.-turc. *Hāji Girāi*, forme «classique» du nom, mais seulement une version vulgaire de celui-ci. Pour les autres exemples on peut préciser davantage la valeur phonétique de l'ε. M. T. Halasi Kun dans *KCsA*, vol. I, Suppl., p. 185, a montré que dans les textes turcs en caractères grecs nous devons compter dans la première syllabe avec un changement *i* > *ē*; *ibid.*, voir la bibliographie détaillée de la question. Par conséquent, les orthographies Ἐλχάνης (émir turc autour de 1095), Ἐμπραΐμος (avec les variantes Ἰμπραΐμ et Ἰπραΐμ) doivent être lues non pas *Ilxān*, et *Ibrāhīm*, mais *Elxan* et *Ebraim*. Pour d'autres raisons, Μεζέτης ne doit non plus être lu *Mezid*, mais *Mezet*.

Grec ε, turc a. Dans Ἐκτάγ, la lecture *aq* du premier élément du nom n'est qu'une hypothèse gratuite. Les formes ar.-turque *Mikāıl*, pers.-turque *sälär* «Befehlshaber», ar.-osm. *sanduq* «Koffer» indiquées comme sources des transcriptions de *Mikēyl*, σελάριοι, σεντούκη constituent en réalité des formes approximatives «classiques»; les prononciations sont en fait: *Mikāıl*, *sälär*, *sänduq*.

Grec ε, turc ö. A titre d'exemple l'auteur n'indique qu'un seul nom, le nom de Περκλιτζίας, chef d'une révolte de derviches (mort en 1416). Par la suite cependant (p. 251) il lit ce nom *Bürklüje*. Il lui est arrivé une fois de plus de modifier la lecture *Börklüje* de la première édition, tout en oubliant d'effectuer dans cette deuxième édition toutes les autres rectifications qui en découlent. Il faut noter que la transcription grecque milite en faveur de la lecture *Börk*<sup>o</sup>. C'est ici qu'il convient de faire remarquer que le même nom revient encore une fois dans la liste des règles de transcription, notamment pour justifier que le *i* grec peut servir à la transcription de l'*ü* turc. Bien entendu, il n'en est rien, la voyelle *ü* étant ici le développement moderne d'un *i* antérieur. D'ailleurs nous avons très probablement affaire ici à un sobriquet connu jusqu'à nos jours comme un nom commun dans certains dialectes osmanlis: *börklice* «kurutulmuş patlican» (*Söz Derleme Dergisi* I, 227a); le mot est probablement dérivé de *börk* «béret» (Radl. IV, 1699).

Grec *ε*, turc *u*. Le nom *Σαριτζίας* cité en guise d'exemple a aussi les variantes *Σαροντζάς*, *Σαρατζίας*. Il n'est guère probable que ces formes représentent différentes variantes phonétiques, de même qu'il est difficile de s'imaginer qu'il faille chercher sous ces orthographies la prononciation *Saruja*, comme le veut l'auteur. Selon toute probabilité c'est la lecture *Sarija* qui est correcte; le flottement de l'orthographe s'explique simplement par le fait qu'il n'existe pas de signe grec correspondant pour rendre l'*ī* velaire.

Grec *ov*, turc *o*. Le nom *'Αιτονγδῆς* (général ture vivant autour de 1133) ne remonte pas au turc *Ai-toydi* «la lune se leva», mais à *Ai-tuydī*. La voyelle de *tøy-* «naître» offre la voyelle *u* dans les langues du type tourki (tourki, tar. *tuy-* «geboren werden», Radl. III, 1430), ainsi que dans certaines langues kiptchak, comme, par exemple, dans un des dialectes du *Cod. Cum.* (*tuv-* > *tuvdī*; cf. Grönbech, p. 247), et on retrouve cette voyelle même dans un nom coman de Hongrie *Aydua*. (Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, p. 55, note 4, a mis en avant une évolution *ua* < *ova*; au point de vue historique ceci est correct pour le turc en général, mais dans le mot coman en question il faut compter avec une voyelle *u*). La présence de *ἀλονφάτζηδες*, ar.-osm. *'ulūfeji* «Söldner, berittener Söldling» parmi les exemples de cette catégorie est manifestement due à une erreur existant déjà dans la première édition, puisqu'ici on ne peut parler en aucune manière d'une correspondance grec *ov*, turc (osm.) *o*. Notons par ailleurs que la forme arabe-osmanlie indiquée plus haut comme origine de la transcription grecque n'est pas satisfaisante. Il est vrai que Redhouse (*A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1921, p. 1318) transcrit le mot علوُّجي en *'ulufeji* et l'interprète comme «a stipendiary; specific name of members of the old regular cavalry corps». Cependant, dans le persan le mot se prononce aussi *'alufaži* («a stipendiary» < *'alūfa* «provender for a horse; stipend, salary, pension, soldier's pay, subsistence-money; rations, daily pay», Steingass, 864b). La transcription grecque reflète naturellement cette dernière prononciation (*alufaži*, *aloſaži*). Il est de même erronné de faire figurer parmi les exemples du grec *ov*, turc *o* le mot *Tovqoyóτης* étant donné que dans les deux éditions on trouve *Turyut* comme original de la transcription.

Grec *ov*, turc *ö*. Quoique l'écriture grecque ne possède pas de signe approprié pour rendre la voyelle *ö*, la substitution par un *ov* est *à priori* improbable. Dans le cas présent la graphie *ov* doit être lue sans aucun doute *ü*, et dans les noms en question nous avons affaire à un développement turc *ö* > *ü*; en tout cas, la transcription grecque n'a rien à y voir. La leçon correcte de *Oὐξπέν* n'est pas *Özbäg*, mais *Üzbäk*. *Xaqáxonl* (nom d'un fleuve dans la plaine de la Russie méridionale aux IX<sup>e</sup>—X<sup>e</sup> siècles) ne doit pas être lu *Qara-köl*, mais *ö-köl*, la forme *kül* étant la variante dialectale de *köl* «lac». Néanmoins l'étymologie n'est pas évidente, parce qu'il est assez insolite de trouver dans le nom d'un fleuve l'indication «lac». Ou doit-on penser ici au téléoute, altaïque, où le mot *köl* signifie, entre autres, «der Arm eines Flusses» (Radl. II, 1268)?

Grec *σ*, turc *ş*. Dans quelques-uns des exemples cités par l'auteur le *ş* turc est transcrit non par *σ*, mais par *σι*. Tels sont: *"Ακσιαρη*, turc *Aq-şär* (cf. *supra*); *Πέγσιαρη*, pour turc *Bägşäri* au lieu de *Bäg-Şähri*; *σιαραπτάρη*, pers.-osm. *şarabdar* «Mundschenk»; *Σιαχρούχη*, pers.-mong. *Şaxruخ* (le *Şähruخ* proposé par l'auteur est une fois de plus une forme «classique»). Sur la graphie *σι* en valeur du *ş* osm., cf. T. Halasi Kun, dans *KCsA*, vol. I Suppl., pp. 153—154.

Grec *σ*, turc *z*. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'en position finale, le changement *z* > *s* est caractéristique de certains dialectes kiptchak; cf. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, p. 56. Un phénomène semblable n'est pas inconnu non plus dans le vieil osmanli; cf. T. Halasi Kun, dans *KCsA*, vol. I. Suppl., pp. 207—208: S. Kakuk, dans *Acta Orient. Hung.* V, 190. C'est de toute façon ici qu'il faut tenir compte

de *'Ολμάσης*, nom d'un Tatare chrétien de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. La forme *Olmaz* adoptée par l'auteur demeure en tout cas inadmissible. Même la variante *Olmas* de ce nom ne serait acceptable que si le nom provenait d'une langue oghouz (sinon on attendrait *Bolmas* < *Bolmaz*). Le nom en question provient cependant des *Notitiae Sugdaeae*, et à la base des autres noms turcs (tatares) remontant à cette source, il faudrait plutôt penser à une langue du type kiptchak. Si notre hypothèse est juste, la transcription grecque en question doit être lue *Ölmäs*; pour mes remarques concernant ce nom turc, voir *Acta Orient. Hung.* V, 318.

Grec χ, turc š. C'est plus exactement la combinaison des lettres χι (χη) qui sert en certains cas rares à la transcription du turc (osmanli) š: *Μαρταχίας*, turc *Menteše* (plus exactement *Mäntäšä*); *μπαχίας*, au lieu du turc *paşa* je lirais sans hésiter *başa* (cf. T. Halasi Kun, dans *Magyar Nyelv* XXXIV, 298—304); *τζαύχιδες*, *τζαύχηδες*, turc (osm.) *čauš*. Pour la prononciation š du χ grec dans certains dialectes grecs, cf. O. Blau, dans *ZDMG* XXVIII, p. 577 et suiv. et *ZDMG* XXIX, 569.

Évidemment on pourrait allonger la présente liste de nos remarques sur les problèmes qu'offrent les transcriptions grecques de noms turcs. Cependant, ces transcriptions peuvent nous fournir encore d'autres renseignements. Il suffira peut-être de considérer cette fois deux transcriptions de cet ordre.

Dans la première édition (p. 254) l'auteur a omis d'indiquer la lecture et l'explication du mot turc *τασιμάρης* et s'est contenté de faire remarquer que c'est à propos d'un enterrement mahométan qu'il en est question. Dans la présente édition (p. 300), la transcription grecque est rattachée, avec un point d'interrogation, au pers.-osm. *daniš-mend* «gelehrt, Gelehrter». Le rapprochement est correct, mais cette fois non plus il ne peut être question d'une correspondance phonétique exacte. La transcription grecque s'appuie sur une prononciation *dašman*, «prêtre musulman», fort bien connue sous la même forme dans d'autres sources aussi. Ainsi dans l'exercice de la chancellerie chinoise de l'époque mongole, le mot se retrouve dans la transcription *ta-che-man*, lire *dašman*; cf. M. Lewicki, *Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée* (Wilno 1937), p. 31. D'après Chavannes (*Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole*) Lewicki s'est référé à cinq documents chinois, le sixième document de ce genre — qui se trouve dans l'ouvrage de Chavannes — ayant échappé à son attention; cf. *T'oung Pao* IX, p. 376 : 1276). Ts'ai Mei-piao, *Yuan tai pai houa pi tsi lou*, p. 130, ne publie pas moins de 13 documents chinois, mais bien entendu, ceux-ci aussi, ne constituent qu'un fragment des passages où le terme *ta-che-man* est mentionné. Sous la forme *daš-mad* (pluriel de *dašman*), le même mot est attesté dans un document de langue mongole, en écriture 'phags-pa; cf. N. Poppe, *The Mongolian monuments in hPhags-pa script* (Wiesbaden 1957), pp. 46—47, 83. Rappelons encore la forme assez singulière de *tesman*, à la rigueur *desman* (*t'ö-sse-man*), recueillie, au sens de «mollah (chin. *man-la*)» par le *Yi-yu*, vocabulaire sino-mongol des Ming (f. 70a). Pour l'interprétation du *dašman*, voir B. J. Vladimircov, *Mongolica I*, dans Записки Коллегии Востоковедов I (1925), p. 330. On peut retenir encore les variantes suivantes: osm. *danišmend* «learned, learned in the law» (Redhouse, 885); hist. *danişman* «danişilan kimse, fakih, âlim» (*Tanskariyle Tarama Sözlüğü* I, 178); dial. *danişman* «bilgili, âlim, fakih» (*Söz Derleme Dergisi* I, 401).

Les *Notitiae Geographicae* A 533 nous fournissent le nom d'un petit fleuve pouvant être localisé dans la péninsule de Crimée, le *Xaqāsiōv*. Le nom date des IX<sup>e</sup>—X<sup>e</sup> siècles, son interprétation est confirmée par une glose grecque: *μαῦρον νερόν* «eau noire». La restitution *Qara-su* adoptée par l'auteur paraît à premier abord en effet très engageante, mais elle a l'inconvénient d'avoir négligé le *iota*. Or cette lettre ne peut être liée au *o* subséquent, tandis que si on la rattache au *σ* précédent, on aura la lecture *Xara* (ou *Qara*) *šu* qui nous surprend. Ce qui est surprenant dans cette lecture c'est que le turc

ancien *sub* «eau» (> *suv*, *sui*, *su* etc.) s'y présente sous la forme *šu*, c'est à dire avec l'initiale *š*, donc avec la même initiale que dans le tchouvache (cf. tchouv. *šiv* «eau; fleuve»). Et ceci revient à dire qu'on peut démontrer en Crimée les vestiges de la même langue turque de type tchouvache dont le souvenir nous est conservé par *Σάρκαλ*, lire *Šarkäl* «maison blanche», nom d'une fortification khazar du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, non loin de l'embouchure du Don. Bref, nous sommes en présence, cette fois encore, d'un nom de fleuve remontant à la langue de type tchouvache des Khazars. Par ailleurs il n'est pas sans intérêt de faire remarquer que le skholaste anonyme des *Note. Georg. A.*, à qui l'on doit la glose sur le fleuve *Xaqáσtov*, mentionne aussi le pays des Khazars (cf. *Byzantinoturcica I*, p. 465). (En tout état de cause, *Kaqáση*, nom d'un fleuve de Syrie, rappelé ici-même par l'auteur, n'a rien à voir à l'affaire.)

Ces quelques remarques que je viens de formuler prouvent suffisamment, je crois, l'importance que j'attache à l'ouvrage de M. Moravesik. En effet, les *Byzantinoturcica* présentent, pour les turcologues, un instrument de travail sans pareil. Maintenant c'est aux turcologues de se servir des renseignements linguistiques si riches qu'offrent les deux beaux volumes publiés par l'Académie de Berlin.

*L. Ligeti*

HERBERT W. DUDA, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*. Kopenhagen, Munksgaard, 1959. XVII + 366 S.

Ein in jeder Hinsicht schönes Buch. Die musterhafte Übersetzung einer wichtigen persischen geschichtlichen Quelle aus einer Zeit, wo die Quellen dürftig sind, in sehr schöner Ausstattung.

Die Quelle behandelt das Zeitalter von 1192 bis 1280 und liegt in der Ausgabe von HOUTSMA seit langem vor. Es ist eigentlich ein Auszug (*Muhtasar*), — verfasst von einem Unbekannten —, aber wir haben dadurch, dass DUDA die Epitome übersetzt hat, nichts verloren; er hat auch die Istanbuler Handschrift des in äusserst schwulstigem Stil geschriebenen Originals durchgesehen und die Stellen, die von Belang sind, am Ende seiner Übersetzung mitgeteilt.

Nach einem ausführlichen Inhalts- (6 S.) und Literaturverzeichnis (5 S.) gibt DUDA eine sorgfältig ausgearbeitete philologische Einleitung (15 S.) und von S. 16 bis S. 326 gibt er die Übersetzung, mit zahlreichen Anmerkungen, hauptsächlich philologischer Natur, in denen oft auch die Varianten der Eigennamen mitgeteilt werden. Ein Register von 16 Seiten schliesst das Buch ab.

Das wertvolle Werk des Ibn Bibi wird jetzt also durch die mühevolle Arbeit von DUDA weiten Kreisen zugänglich, und man wird davon gewiss ausgiebigen Gebrauch machen.

Hier möchte ich die Wichtigkeit des Werkes — infolge seiner philologischen Genauigkeit — für die Erforschung der türkischen und mongolischen Namenkunde hervorheben und einige hierhergehörige Fragen besprechen.

Die Behandlung der Eigennamen ist bei der Übersetzung einer orientalischen Quelle eine heikle Aufgabe und es ist unmöglich hier absolut folgerichtig vorzugehen. Ich finde das Verfahren von DUDA, indem er die Namen teils transkribiert, teils transliteriert, prinzipiell vollkommen richtig. In einigen Fällen möchte ich jedoch Korrekturen vorschlagen. Es wirft sich auch die Frage auf, ob es nicht richtig wäre, die transliterierten Formen immer in anderer Schrift zu geben.

In strenger Transliteration finde ich im Werke einen einzigen Namen: *TQTSŪN* (die Seitenzahlen zitiere ich nicht, das Werk hat vorzügliche Indizes). Es ist indessen

kein unerklärter Name. Seine Lesung ist *Toqtasun* und seine Bedeutung ist wohl 'er soll (erhalten) bleiben'; vgl. die Namen *Toqta* 'du sollst erhalten bleiben' = ar. *Bāqī* (VÁMBÉRY, Gesch. Bochara's, I, 195, Anm.); *Toqtamiš* = ar. *qā'im* = Konstantinos [?], BUDAGOV I, 750, — alle aus dem türkischen Zeitwort mongolischer Herkunft *toqta* 'stehen bleiben', vgl. kar. L. *toxtat-* 'leben lassen'; semasiologisch gehören sie zu den Namen *Dur* 'bleibe (stehen)', *Tursun*, *Dursun* 'er soll bleiben', *Yašar* 'er lebt' usw. S. meine Abhandlung über den ungarischen Namen *Debrecen* in der Festschrift Klebelsberg, Budapest, 1925 (ung.); ZAMBAUR; der kirgisische Name bei GEORG ALMÁSSY: KSz II, 118, der eigentlich mit dem in Rede stehenden Namen bei Ibn Bibi identisch ist, *Bek-s'ltān-toxtosun* 'Bek Sultan, wart ein bisschen!' (so bei ALMÁSSY; dritte Person!) gehört auch hierher.

Dann gibt es mehrere Namen in ganzer oder halber Transliteration in gewöhnlichem Satz.

So ist im Namen *Mužaffaruddīn Abū Sa'īd Kökbūrī b. 'Alī* der erste Teil von *Kökbūrī* (*kök* 'grau') transkribiert und *būrī* (= *böri* 'Wolf') transliteriert (vgl. S. 332, Anm. 119: *Kökbūrī* aus der EnzIsl.). In *Mužaffaruddīn Jūluq* [DUDA: *j* = bei mir *y*] *Arslān b. Alpjürek* hätte ich *Arslān* mit kurzem *a* gegeben (also transkribiert); *Jūluq* hätte ich auch, wie der Verfasser, transliteriert, — es gibt verschiedene Erklärungsmöglichkeiten. *Jayibasān* hätte ich transkribiert (*Yayı-basan*, wie *El-basan* usw.).

Es fragt sich weiter, ob in Namen wie *Bātū Hān* (= *Sājin Hān*, bei dem die gleiche Frage auftaucht), weiter bei Namen wie *Tāibōğā* die Transliteration am Platze ist. (Mong. *Batu, Sayin*; *Tāibōğā* = türk. *Tay* 'Füllen' und *boya* 'Stier'.)

Die Form اوکتای wird von DUDA als *Ogotaj* gelesen.

Ob die Transkription des Titels *beg* in der Form *bej* (ofters) richtig ist, vermag ich nicht zu entscheiden. Die Richtigkeit der letzteren Lesung ist nicht ausgeschlossen.

Im Namen *Saiťuddīn Torumtaj* ist das *o* als *u* zu lesen (s. L. LIGETI: Festschr. Pais [ung.], 341).

Es würde sich lohnen, die türkischen Namen der arabischen, persischen und türkischen Quellen einer neuen Prüfung zu unterziehen. Ob es nicht am besten im Rahmen einer höchst aktuellen systematischen Untersuchung der türkischen Personennamen geschehen würde? HOUTSMA's grundlegende Untersuchungen sind skizzenhaft und seit ihrem Erscheinen (1894, Ein t.-arab. Glossar) ist viel wertvolles Material erschienen.

Für Philologen wäre es von grossem Nutzen gewesen, wenn der Übersetzer am Rande der Seiten hie und da chronologische Hinweise gegeben hätte. Es handelt sich ja um ein Quellenwerk ersten Ranges, das auch die Philologen oft und mit viel Nutzen in die Hand nehmen werden.

J. Németh

R. F. KREUTEL: *Kara Mustafa vor Wien. Das türkische Tagebuch der Belagerung Wiens 1683, verfaßt vom Zeremonienmeister der Hohen Pforte*. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von —, 194 S.

*Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels. Des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliyâ Çelebi denkwürdige Reise in das Giaurenland und in die Stadt und Festung Wien anno 1665.* Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von —, 291 S. Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber Band I—II., Graz—Wien—Köln, 1955—1957, Styria.

Die Erschließung der zeitgenössischen türkischen erzählenden Quellen hat zur besseren Erkenntnis der Geschichte der Völker, die einst mit dem türkischen Reich in Verbindung standen, immer beigetragen. Ihre Übersetzung und Deutung haben für die

Forschungsarbeit der nichtorientalistischen Historiker eine breitere Grundlage geschaffen. Die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften hatte bereits um die Jahrhundertwende eine Reihe »Török történetírók« (Türkische Geschichtsschreiber) herausgegeben (Budapest 1893—1916), die in ungarischer Übersetzung Teile aus den Werken türkischer Geschichtsschreiber, die die Geschichte Ungarns behandeln, enthält. Auch die österreichische Geschichtsforschung hatte das Bedürfnis nach derartiger Arbeit empfunden; der Grazer Styria Verlag hat nämlich unlängst eine Reihe mit ähnlichem Titel »Osmanische Gaschichtsschreiber« gegründet. In ziemlich kurzer Zeit sind bereits zwei Bände dieser Serie erschienen; beide zeugen von R. F. KREUTELS ausgezeichneter Verdolmetschung und seinen umfassenden Fachkenntnissen.

Der erste Band der Reihe »Kara Mustafa vor Wien« verdient besondere Beachtung, denn er bringt in Übersetzung einen größeren Teil aus einer überaus wertvollen, bisher noch unveröffentlichten türkischen Handschrift, aus dem Tagebuch eines Zeremonienmeisters der Hohen Pforte über die Belagerung von Wien im Jahre 1683. Die Handschrift selbst führt den Titel »Vekayi-i Beç (Die Ereignisse um Wien)«, und enthält tagebuchartige Aufzeichnungen über den Aufmarsch des 1683 von Adrianopol gegen Wien gezogenen türkischen Heeres, über die Belagerung von Wien, über die schwere Niederlage des Heeres, über die Hinrichtung des Großwesirs Kara Mustafa, ferner über die Belagerung Ofs im Jahre 1684.

R. F. KREUTEL veröffentlicht ungefähr ein Drittel dieses ausführlichen Tagebuches in Übersetzung, und zwar beginnend mit der Beschreibung des Kampierens des türkischen Heeres vor Magyaróvár (10. Juli 1683), den Teil von der Erzählung des Kampierens des von Wien zurückgeworfenen, geschlagenen Heeres am Raabufer (14. Sept. 1683), ferner die Erörterungen, in denen der Verfasser des Tagebuchs die Ursachen der Niederlage in vier Punkten zusammenfaßt, sodann die Erzählung der Hinrichtung des Großwesirs Kara Mustafa in Belgrad (25. Dez. 1683). R. F. KREUTEL ergänzte die Erzählung des Tagebuchs mit dem hierherbezüglichen Teil des geschichtlichen Werkes von Silihdar, der bekanntlich vom Tagebuch beim Beschreiben der Ereignisse des Jahres 1683 auch Gebrauch gemacht hatte. Hierdurch hat er die Publikation vollständiger gemacht und die Möglichkeit geboten, die beiden Erzählungen miteinander zu vergleichen. Der Herausgeber ergänzt den Band mit einer türkischen Zeichnung von der Festung Wien und der genauen Deutung der türkischen Erläuterungsworte zur Zeichnung.

R. F. KREUTEL hat zum veröffentlichten Material nicht kritische Bemerkungen, sondern — wie es auch im Vorwort zu lesen ist (S. 8) — Texterläuterungen für den Nichtfachmann hinzugefügt. Diese sind aber so beschaffen, daß sie in vielen Fällen auch die Kenntnisse eines Fachmanns bereichern können. Auch der Index des Bandes kann mit Gewinn gelesen werden, denn er enthält die ausgezeichnete Erklärung von türkischen Fachausdrücken unter anderem auf dem Gebiete der Verwaltung, des Militärwesens usw. in gedrängter Zusammenfassung.

Unter dem Titel »Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels« enthält der zweite Band der Reihe die Übersetzung der Wiener Reisebeschreibung von Evliyâ Çelebi, der Seiten 223—327 des siebenten Bandes der in Istanbul herausgegebenen Reisebeschreibung des Verfassers (Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahât nâmesi, yedinci cild, Istanbul 1928). Ein Beweis der gewissenhaften Arbeit des Übersetzers ist, daß er, um die kleineren Textfehler der Istanbuler Ausgabe zu vermeiden, die Übersetzung des gewählten Teils unter Nebeneinanderstellung desselben mit der in der Istanbuler Revân-Bibliothek des Topkapı Sarayı aufbewahrten Handschrift (Nr. 1458) angefertigt hat.

In der Einleitung erklärt er zunächst die auf die Eroberung der Hauptstadt irgendeines christlichen Landes hinzielende Lösung der osmanisch-türkischen Expansion, den Begriff »Kizil Elma«, d. h. »Goldener Apfel«. Dann erzählt er die Lebensgeschichte

des weltreisenden Evliyâ Çelebi, und gibt eine gründliche kritische Studie über dessen Wiener Reisebeschreibung. Er berichtigt die häufigen Irrtümer des Verfassers in seinen Bemerkungen zur Übersetzung, und erläutert überall die unklaren Stellen des Textes. Die kritischen und texterläuternden Anmerkungen, die 60 Seiten im Band umfassen, sind eine gute und reichhaltige Fundgrube der historischen und geographischen Kenntnisse in diesem Themenkreis. In seinen Anmerkungen finden wir unter anderem die Klarstellung des Todesjahres (1684) von Evliyâ Çelebi (S. 219). Besondere Beachtung verdient die Umschrift des mit arabischen Buchstaben aufgezeichneten deutschsprachigen Gebets samt seiner Erklärung (S. 199 und 263).

R. F. KREUTEL ergänzte die Reisebeschreibung des Evliyâ Çelebi mit dem Bericht von Mehmed Pascha über seine Botschaftsreise nach Wien 1665/66, und machte dadurch die Publikation inhaltsreicher und vollständiger.

Beide Bände der Reihe »Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber« gewähren den unmittelbaren Pflegern der Fachwissenschaft wie auch den weiten Kreisen der Nichtorientalisten Hilfe und nützlichen Beistand.

J. Káldy-Nagy

RATNABHADRA, *Rabjamba Cay-a bandida-yin tuyuji saran-u gerel kemekü ene metü bolai : Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum V. 2*, Ulanbator 1959, 2 + 61 + 4 pp.

C'est avec le plus grand plaisir que nous avons salué l'initiative de la science mongole qui l'année passée, a inauguré la publication de la série d'éditions de texte intitulée *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum* du comité Scientifique et d'Enseignement Supérieur de la République populaire de Mongolie. Ce faisant elle a déjà rendu accessible de nombreuses valeurs de la plus grande bibliothèque mongole, la Bibliothèque d'Etat d'Oulanbator, valeurs de grande importance aussi pour la mongolistique internationale. Au cours de l'année passée on a publié dans cette série une partie de l'oeuvre intitulée *Tučin jiryuyatu tayilburi toli* de Rasi, Danjan, Arbidqu, Abida, Sengge, Arana Sengge, Batuvčir, Misig et Purbu, l'interprétation mongole du *Wou-t'i Ts'ing-wen kien*, par Luvsandindub [Luvsandêndêv], auteur du dictionnaire mongol—russe édité à Moscou en 1957 (I, 1: p. 22 + 23, I, 2: p. 48); la première partie du dictionnaire tibétain-mongol de Sumatiratna (*Bod-hor-kyi brda-yig miñ chig don gsum gsal-bar byed-pa'i mun sel sgron me, Töbed mongyol-un dokian-u bičig, ner-e üge udq-a yurban-i todurayulun qarangyui-yi arilyayči žula*, IV, 1 + 1241 pp.), une nouvelle version mongole du Geser qan (*Jamling séngčin-ü namtar orusiba*; X, 233 p.), le remarquable recueil de textes littéraires mongols de Če. Damdinsürüng [Damdinsürén] (*Mongyol uran žokiyal-un degeži žayun bilig orusibai : XIV*, 599 p.) qui non seulement remet entre les mains des lecteurs cultivés mongols les œuvres originales de l'ancienne littérature mongole, et des analectes d'ouvrages traduits du tibétain et du chinois, mais qui encore peut être employé comme memento dans l'enseignement universitaire de la philologie mongole, et comme instrument de travail dans nos recherches.

La traduction mongole: *Erte edügeki-yin yayiqamsiy sayiqan üjegdel kemekü sudur* (XI, 512 p.) du célèbre recueil de nouvelles de la littérature populaire chinoise, le *Kin kou ki kouan*, fait également partie de cette série. La langue et le style du recueil diffèrent sensiblement de ceux des traductions bouddhiques, du *nom-un kele*, qui fidèle à son original chinois, est plus près de la langue parlée. Parmi les nouvelles du recueil on retrouve l'équivalent d'un des contes mongols de l'Est (khorčin) de Rudnev (Материалы, pp. 16—18): *Čiyoo noyan uran qačin qoyayula-yi ilyan sidkebei* (XXVIII<sup>e</sup> chapitre, pp. 359—373). Ce tome du *Corpus* est indispensable et pour les recherches des couches de la langue littéraire mongole et pour celles des rapports du folklore sino-mongol.

C'est parmi ces œuvres-là que fut publiée la biographie de Zaya pāṇḍita par Ratnabhadra. (La lecture correcte en graphie ouigour-mongole du nom *Zaya* n'est pas *Cay-a*, mais *Jay-a*, cf. *Jambudvib*, *jandan*, *Jamling* etc., ce dont témoigne le signe galik approprié.) Comme le dr. Rinčen, rédacteur de cette série le mentionne dans sa préface, le manuscrit servant de base à l'édition est conservé dans la Bibliothèque d'Etat d'Oulan-bator ensemble avec les manuscrits *Turban ulus*, *Geser qan* et *Erte edügeki-yin yayiqam-siy sayiqan üjegdel* que, selon la tradition *Blo-bzañ 'phrin-las* (*Lubsangperinlei*) Jaya pāṇḍita khalkha a fait copier pour sa bibliothèque. Il a fait transcrire la biographie du Zaya pāṇḍita oïrat *Oqtoryuyin dalai* — sous son nom tibétain, *Nam-mkha'i rgya-mcho* — d'un exemplaire oïrat en graphie ouigour-mongole (M. Posch, *The Written Oirat Language*, dans *CAJ* III, p. 209, attribue à tort le nom tibétain de *Lubsangperinlei*, Jaya pāṇḍita khalkha au Zaya pāṇḍita oïrat).

A plusieurs endroits la copie conserve certaines caractéristiques témoignant de l'origine oïrat: dans l'emploi des morphèmes *-qula*, *-kiile*, *-lai*, *-lei*, *-nai*, *-nei* et *day*, *-deg*, dans l'emploi du morphème *-ču* etc. en forme de *-či*, *-ji* (cf. encore *bolbači*) dans la notation fréquente du š devant i. C'est au cours de la transcription en langue littéraire mongole de la langue littéraire oïrat plus rapprochée de la langue parlée, que, sous l'effet de la langue précédente, se sont probablement développées les formes vulgaires comme *mangdaqui*, *yertengčü* (mong. *manduqui*, *yirtinčü*) ; *egüüden*, *tülkegütür* (mong. *egüden* *tülkigür*) ; *yirügel*, *nilmusutai* (mong. *irügel*, *irüger*, *nilbusutu*) ; *todoraqoi*, *biši* (mong. *durqai*, *busu*) ; etc.

La préface de l'édition relève, que dans son ouvrage intitulé Монголо-ойратские законы etc., K. Golstunski, a puisé dans la biographie du Zaya pāṇḍita sans en mentionner toutefois l'auteur. C'est de ce même ouvrage que A. Pozdneev a publié des parties dans la Қалмыцкая хрестоматия, par exemple, le IX<sup>e</sup> chapitre: Первый период развития калмыцкой литературы (от 1650 по 1662), mais il n'indique pas sa source. Au point de vue de l'histoire littéraire, c'est une partie importante de la biographie énumérant près de deux cents traductions bouddhiques du Zaya pāṇḍita. (Il reste à savoir, si ces traductions et celles indiquées à d'autres endroits de la biographie sont en rapport avec les traductions classiques, et si oui, en quoi consiste ce rapport: s'agit-il de traductions indépendantes ou bien de versions, de remaniements en écriture oïrat de traductions indépendantes ou bien de versions, de remaniements en écriture oïrat de traductions précédentes en écriture ouigour-mongole, de traductions mongoles classiques adaptées à la langue littéraire oïrat. Ce n'est que le collationnement des traductions oïrat et classiques qui pourra permettre de répondre à cette question, mais il est d'ores et déjà sûr, que malgré certaines concessions faites à la langue parlée, la langue des traductions oïrat des œuvres bouddhiques — une des couches importantes de la langue littéraire oïrat — est plus rapprochée du *nom-un kele*, que par exemple la langue de la lettre adressée par Galdan au tsar de Russie en 1691 [pour le fac-similé cf. N. P. Šastina, Русско-монгольские посольские отношения XVII века, Moskva 1958, planche à côté de p. 170] dans laquelle au lieu des formes habituelles des textes bouddhiques oïrat on trouve des formes comme par ex. *adistidér* [au lieu de *adistid-yr*], *urda* [au lieu de *urida*], *ertenēse* [au lieu de *erte-ēce*], *zarliyāsa* [au lieu de *zarliq-ēce*] etc.)

L'œuvre est citée dans la grammaire kalmouk de A. Popov (Грамматика Қалмыцкого языка, Kazan 1847, pp. 352—355): Отрывок из жизнеописания Зая-Пандиты. Le recueil de textes, mentionné plus haut, de Damdinsürüng donne également des extraits de la biographie (pp. 320—326) à la base de laquelle il publie un tableau avec la liste des traductions du Zaya pandita et de ses disciples (*Oyirad-un Jay-a bandida Nam-qayijamcu-yi orčiyuluysan nom-un tobyuy* etc., pp. 327—334). A son avis la biographie a été écrite autour de 1690, par Ratnabhadra, disciple du Zaya pāṇḍita.

Les analectes publiés par Popov et autres n'ont, bien entendu, pas pu suppléer à l'oeuvre totale de Ratnabhadra, à la biographie complète de *Oqtoryuyin dalai Zaya pañdita*, l'un des personnages extrêmement importants de l'histoire oïrat. Dans tome V. du *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum* cette biographie est à présent devenue accessible à tous les mongolisants, sinon dans l'original oïrat, mais au moins dans une copie en graphie ouigour-mongole.

A la fin du cahier nous trouvons l'explication de l'écriture galik oïrat dans le fac-similé d'un manuscrit oïrat, provenant de Ulāngom (5 feuilles), intitulée *Olon nomiyin ündüsün üzügiyin ilyal orošiboi*.

G. Kara

V. MINORSKY, *Persia in A. D. 1478—1490. An abridged translation of Fadlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, RAS London 1957, VII + 136 pp.

In publishing his exemplary translation of Fadlullāh's *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, Prof. Minorsky has been guided not only by the purely Orientalistic interest of the subject-matter, but also by the aim of serving a more extensive public. In order to give a useful handbook for a more general class of readers interested in the subject, the author could not limit himself to a merely literal translation of Fadlullāh's text, as the non-specialist reader would have been puzzled by such difficulties as the inexact chronology, the haphazard relation of events, the uncertainty prevailing in the names of persons and places, and the frequent allusions to facts not sufficiently elucidated by the chronicle itself. In order to get over these difficulties, Prof. Minorsky has not simply translated the original text word by word, but arranged his edition of Fadlullāh's Chronicle in a systematized way; his use of the term „abridged translation” in the title actually means that the translated texts are arranged following a certain method, purged from irrelevant parts and amply provided with notes and references wherever this is necessary.

In his Foreword, Prof. Minorsky refers to the scarcity of available information concerning the history of 15th Century Persia. The present work, like many previous ones by the same author, is intended to supply some additional material to our knowledge of the „Turkman Century”, i. e. the period of Aq-qoyunlu and Qara-qoyunlu rule.

In the first main section of the book he gives a systematic account of the life, works and historical outlook of the chronicler of the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* compiled and arranged by Prof. Minorsky partly from the chronicle itself, and partly from other sources.

The year of Fadlullāh's birth is very uncertain: Prof. Minorsky first inclined to the view of fixing it to the year 862/1457—58, but later he modified this conjectural date to 860 A. H. Fadlullāh was born in Shiraz, from a family of militant Sunnites. From 1487 A. D. onwards, he spent four years at the court of Aq-qoyunlu in Azerbaijan, as chronicler to the Sultan Ya'qūb. He planned his chronicle to two volumes; the first volume ends after relating the death of Sultan Ya'qūb, but the second — intended to chronicle Bāysunghur's reign — was not to be written, as the historian was obliged to leave the Azarbaijan court after Bāysunghur's fall. Subsequently, as supposed by Prof. Minorsky, Fadlullāh must have returned to Central Persia, probably Isfahan, whence, however, he had to emigrate at the accession of the Shī'ite Ismā'il Safavī. For a time he lived in Samarkand, and later in Bukhara, where he died on the 23rd of April, 1521 A. D.

After sketching Fadlullāh's life, Prof. Minorsky goes on to give a survey of his literary activity: the list of Fadlullāh's works consists of five items, besides the pre-

sent Chronicle. The latter has been preserved in two manuscripts. The historical parts of both are essentially identical; Prof. Minorsky generally quotes the Istanbul MS (A), and refers only occasionally to MS „B” (Paris MS).

Then follows a concise account of Faḍlullāh's view of history and of the historiographers with whose works he was acquainted. Regarding the art of history itself, Faḍlullāh proceeded to prove its usefulness by eight lines of argument, the main idea throughout being that history can teach us important lessons concerning the present and the future.

The types of historical works, again, fall into eight different classes, according to the Persian author, the eight being as follows: 1) works of general history beginning with Adam; 2) biographies of the prophets; 3) collections of reports on the Prophet; 4) lives of the Prophet's followers; 5) annals recapitulating the main events of each year from the Hijra down to their own time; 6) alphabetic dictionaries of Islamic celebrities, sultans etc.; 7) biographies of doctors of Law and Theology; and lastly 8) chronicles of particular dynasties. The *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* itself belonged to this latter category, as Faḍlullāh recorded in it the principal events of Sultan Ya'qūb's reign.

In his Introduction, Faḍlullāh claims seven particular points of excellence for his work: these are enumerated and commented by Prof. Minorsky under separate heads. Our chronicler claims to have aspired to historical truth, impartiality, simplicity and clarity of representation. A subsequent claim of his, however, by its very nature invalidates the previous boast of impartiality: he tells us namely that he will omit the description of any events which are opposed to the Shari'at: that is to say that the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* shall not contain relations of exploits not sanctioned by the precepts of religion. Besides, he feared that the army might be demoralized by stories of massacres, looting, rape and debauchery.

The last Section of Prof. Minorsky's Introduction contains the general appraisal of the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, which he considers a source of prime importance, despite its obvious deficiencies. Among the latter he again mentions the inexactness of the chronology. Again, much as Faḍlullāh might have believed himself impartial, this can hardly be said to have been the case. Besides his omission of facts not approved by the Shari'at, he also introduced his religious and political antipathies into the work, e. g. where he wrote with „undisguised hatred” about the Christian Georgians and later about the Safavides. Apart from this, he tried to be faithful to historical facts, basing his relation on events either witnessed by himself, or collected at first hand from contemporary eyewitnesses, and participants of these events.

The highly informative Introduction reviewed above is followed by the second part of Prof. Minorsky's book: the abridged version of the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*. This, again, consists of two parts: the first being Faḍlullāh's own Preface, of which he was very proud, claiming it could well stand as an independent work. The second part of the text contains the relation of historical events during the years 1478 to 1490 A. D.

The above two parts make up the first volume of the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*. As mentioned before, Faḍlullāh had planned to write a second volume as well — this may be gathered from some hints scattered throughout the first volume — but in fact no second part seems to have ever been written to continue the first.

In reviewing Prof. Minorsky's present work, we must not omit to praise the elegant language of the translation. For the sake of the greatest possible accuracy, the original Persian word from the MSS is quoted in brackets wherever the importance of the term warrants it. Valuable and informative notes accompany the translation to help towards a better understanding of the text. For the sake of easier reference Prof. Minorsky has also provided separate headings to the divisions into which he divided the body of the

work. This, as well as the extremely handly Index of the book, are of great assistance to the student.

The third part of the work under review is made up of Annexes which serve to illustrate more fully some points that could not be treated exhaustively in notes to the text.

The first Annex offers some data concerning the reign of Bāysunghur: these provide welcome supplementary information about the period following Sultan Ya'qūb's death. — Annex II is devoted to an enquiry into the question whether the Aq-qoyunlu armies actually knew and made use of firearms, that is to say, whether the term „tup” of the Persian original is employed to mean some kind of gun or other types of war-engines not based on the use of gunpowder. Prof. Minorsky adduces a number of proofs which have convinced him that the word must have actually signified firearms. — Annex III contains some additional facts about Haydar's second expedition against the „Cherkes”, and complements Faḍlullāh's information by some relevant material from the notes of a medieval Christian traveller. — Annex IV compares various points of information about Sultan Ya'qūb from the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* on the one hand and Georgian historical sources on the other: the collation shows that these sources reciprocally complete each other. — Annex V reverts to the weak point of Faḍlullāh's chronicle: the problem of chronology. In order to give the reader a clearer view of the historical background, Prof. Minorsky enumerates some of the main events of Sultan Ya'qūb's reign, in chronological order. — Annex VI gives some additional information about Faḍlullāh himself, gathered from sources outside the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*. This chapter contains also Prof. Minorsky's enquiry into the exact date of Faḍlullāh's birth. — The seventh and last Annex treats the circumstances of Sultan Ya'qūb's death, collating the data of the various extant sources on this question.

To Sum up: the work under review is likely to be of great help to students of history and literature alike. Thanks to its method — carefully adapted to the material —, the practical arranging of the matter itself, and its wealth of highly instructive notes, the present publication may justly take its place beside Prof. Minorsky's previous editions of extremely valuable historical source-material.

A. Bodrogligeti

DIÓSZEGI, V(ilmos), *A samánhit emlékei a magyar népi műveltségen* [Überreste des Schamanismus in der ungarischen Volkskultur]. Budapest 1958, Akadémiai Kiadó. 472 S., [11] Beilagen.

Der vorchristliche Glaube des ungarischen Volkes bildet schon seit mehr als hundert Jahren eine vielumstrittene Frage, die aber bis jetzt noch keine beruhigende Antwort fand. Im Mittelpunkt dieses Fragenkomplexes stand die rätselhafte Gestalt des *táltos*, der als Schamane schon verdächtigt, aber als solcher bisher noch nicht bewiesen wurde.

Verfasser stellt sich in dieser Arbeit die Aufgabe, das Andenken des ungarischen Schamanen aus dem Aberglauben, den abergläubischen Bräuchen und der Folklore des ungarischen Volkes hervorzusuchen, die so gewonnenen Charakterzüge mit denen des nordasiatischen Schamanen zu vergleichen und so den Versuch zu machen, den Schamanismus der Ungarn der Landnahmezeit in seinen Hauptzügen zu rekonstruieren. Er untersucht also nicht den Schamanismus im allgemeinen, sondern nur dessen ungarischen Typ, sein Verhältnis zu dem ihm am nächsten stehenden Typ der sibirischen Völker.

Den Anlass dazu, dass jemand bei den Ungarn als *táltos* (auch *tudós*) geltet, geben gewisse mitgeborene körperliche Merkmale (überzählige Finger oder Zähne), geradeso, wie in Sibirien. Die so bezeichneten Kinder werden von den Geistern schon in früher Jugend durch Krankheiten gezwungen, zum Schamanen zu werden. Die Auserkorenen erlangen das übernatürliche Wissen durch die Zerstückelung des Körpers. Während dieser Zeit liegt der Kandidat mehrere Tage im Scheintod. Die Weihe besteht in der zeremoniellen Besteigung einer die Himmelsschichten symbolisierenden Leiter oder eines solchen Baumes, dadurch gelangt der Schamane in den Besitz seiner vollen Macht. Nach der Beweisführung des Verfassers soll der ungarische *táltos* dereinst eine eben-solche Trommel gebraucht haben wie die sibirischen Schamanen. Diese Trommel verkörperlicht das Reittier des Schamanen bei seinen Reisen ins Jenseits. Die Problematik der Schamanentrommel ist aber m. E. viel mannigfaltiger. Sie kann außer dem Reittier auch weitere im Leben dieser Völker hochwichtige Geräte symbolisieren, so z. B. Bogen und Pfeil (s. RADLOFF, Aus Sibirien I, S. 362; ZELENIN: Ethnos I, S. 81—85; U. HARVA, Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker, S. 538; POTAPOV: Sov. Etn. 1934, 4, S. 71—72 usw.). Von der Kopftracht des *táltos* weist der Autor ebenfalls auf Grund gewisser Volkstraditionen nach, dass sie ähnlich wie die sibirischen entweder aus Hirschgeweih oder aus Eulenfedern angefertigt wurde.

Das zweite Kapitel des zweiten Teiles beschreibt die Tätigkeit des *táltos*. Die übernatürlichen Handlungen, Wahrsagungen verrichtet der *táltos* und *tudós* des ungarischen Volkes, ähnlich wie der Schamane immer in einer seelischen Entrücktheit, Verzückung, die meistens in Ohnmacht endet. Dieser Trance-Zustand der Schamanen wird nach der Meinung der meisten Forscher (z. B. OHLMARKS, Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus, Lund 1939, S. 113—122; LEHTISALO: MSFOU. LVIII, S. 122) von irgend-einem Rauschmittel hervorgerufen. J. BALÁZS (Ethnographia LXV, S. 416—437) meint neuestens, dass sowohl die Berauschtung als auch das Hitzegefühl des Schamanen von den in die Feuerstelle des Zeltes gestreuten Kräutern und Samen herrührt. DiÓSZEGI spricht nicht von der Ursache der Verzückung und der damit verbundenen Hitze-Empfindung. Nach seinen Belegen ahnt man hinter diesen psychische Kräfte. Wenn aber mit keinem Rauschmittel gerechnet wird, wäre es interessant, mit Hilfe der Psychologie und Nervenheilkunde zu untersuchen, ob das Gebahren der Schamanen von einer gewissen klinisch feststellbaren Krankheit verursacht oder vom Urteil der umgeben-den Gemeinschaft bedingt wird, welches jedes mit gewissen Merkmalen geborene Kind für einen Inhaber übernatürlicher Kräfte hält.

In dem Trance-Zustand spielt sich der Kampf der Schamanen in Tiergestalt ab; hierüber hat der Verfasser in unserer Zeitschrift schon eingehender gehandelt (Acta Orient. Hung. II, 303—316). Die Ausführungen des Verfassers erfassen meisterhaft den Kern dieser primitiven Vorstellungen, doch sollten auch jene ungarischen Märchengestal-ten untersucht werden, welche sich in *táltos*-Rosse »Zauberrosse« verwadeln können.

Zuletzt vergleicht der Verfasser die Struktur der zeremoniellen Schamanen-Gesänge, von welchen Fragmente in ungarischen Kinder- und Volksliedern aufzufinden sind, mit der der sibirischen Schamanenlieder. Für den ungarischen Schamanen-Gesang sind die Interjektionen *haj!*, *hej!* bezeichnend; diese führt Diószegi auf die in den obugri-schen Schamanenliedern häufigen Interjektionen *kaj!*, *kej!* zurück.

Die Methode, nach welcher Verfasser sein Material bearbeitet, wurde von der kulturhistorischen Schule ausgearbeitet, aber eben von ihnen kaum angewendet. In der besprochenen Arbeit wird sie aber streng und systematisch durchgeführt, d. h. bei jedem Motiv des *táltos*-Glaubens vor allem die Verbreitung bei dem ungarischen Volk unter-sucht. Wenn das Motiv ethnisch scheint, prüft der Verfasser ob es nicht von den heutigen Nachbarvölkern stammt. Nur nach einem negativen Ergebnis forscht er weiter nach

Parallelen der fraglichen Erscheinung bei den verwandten finnisch-ugrischen und bei den weiteren nord- und zentralasiatischen schamanistischen Völkern. Wenn er nun solche Parallelen findet, stellt er einen genetischen Zusammenhang nur in dem Falle fest, wenn das in Frage stehende Motiv sowohl bei den Ungarn, wie auch in Asien schon für die ungarische Landnahmezeit nachgewiesen werden kann. (Die Methode bespricht er ausführlich in *Acta Ethn. Hung.* VII (1958), S. 97—135). Zur Datierung nimmt er mannigfaltige und einwandfreie Mittel in Anspruch. Zur Unterstützung seiner Ansicht bezüglich des Alters des Motivs der Zerstückelung beruft er sich aber auf ein kirgisches Lied (S. 110—111) und nimmt an, dass dieses die Vorstellungen der Kirgisen des VIII. Jh. konserviert, da die Türkvölker vom VIII.—X. Jh. an schon Anhänger des Islams wurden. Im Falle der Kirgisen verhält sich aber die Sache nicht ganz so, denn obwohl einzelne Gruppen der Türken den mohammedanischen Glauben schon im VII.—XI. Jh. annahmen und die massenhafte Islamisierung sich im XIII.—XVI. Jh. abspielte, erreichte dieser Glaube eben die Kirgisen und Kasachen erst im XVIII.—XIX. Jh. und ist daher bei ihnen auch recht oberflächlich geblieben. Ebenso ist jene Annahme Verfassers von chronologischem Gesichtspunkt aus unhaltbar, dass die Ungarn das aus Indien stammende Motiv des Zauberlehrlings im XII.—XIII. Jh. unmittelbar von den Mongolen übernommen hätten (113—114).

Ich weilte darum so viel bei der Methode, weil eben sie dieses Buch auch für die Forscher der sibirischen Völker interessant macht, indem sie fast alle mehr und auch weniger bekannten Erscheinungen des Schamanismus in recht einleuchtender Weise gruppirt. Hinsichtlich des nord- und zentralasiatischen Schamanismus ist m. E. von grossem Belang, dass der Verfasser einzelne schamanistische Handlungen und Erscheinungen in die historische Vergangenheit zu verfolgen versucht und somit einen grossen Schritt in der Richtung machte, den Schamanismus als ein historisch und vielleicht auch örtlich bedingtes Glaubenssystem zu behandeln.

Der Schamanismus hatte und hat, wie darauf auch Verfasser (*Acta Ethn. Hung.* VII (1958), S. 134) hinweist, verschiedene Formen bei den Jägervölkern und bei denviehzüchtenden Nomaden. In der besprochenen Arbeit bot sich noch wenig Gelegenheit, diese Schichten näher zu bestimmen, aber ich bin überzeugt, dass es sich lohnt, die Forschungen in dieser Richtung fortzusetzen. Manche Unterschiede liegen ganz auf der Hand. So z. B. legen die grossviehzüchtenden Chalcha-Mongolen — wie ich es an Ort und Stelle beobachten konnte — der Milch eine grosse kultische Wichtigkeit bei, die aber mit dem Buddhismus nichts zu tun hat. Ähnliches wurde von CHANGALOV auch von den Burjaten berichtet (Собрание сочинений I, Улан-Удэ 1958, S. 89—90). Auch im *táltos*-Glauben der einst ebenfalls grossviehzüchtenden Ungarn zeigen die mit der Milch zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen gewisse kultische Züge. Da aber die Milch nur bei Hirtenvölkern zu grosser Wichtigkeit gelangen konnte, ist das mit der Milch verbundene Ritual des Schamanismus sicherlich nur für diese bezeichnend.

In dem Schamanismus des Ungarntums muss man mehrere Schichten voraussetzen, so z. B. Unterschiede zwischen den Ungarn und den hier noch vorgefundenen Awaren einerseits, anderseits zwischen den Ungarn und den später herziehenden Kumanen und Petschenegen. Diese Frage wäre aber wegen Mangel an Material sehr schwer zu beantworten. Das Ungarntum selbst aber war auch nicht einheitlich; die mythischen Vorstellungen der sakralen Könige und der sie umgebenden Herrenschicht mussten dem Schamanismus der grossen zentralasiatischen Nomadenreiche nahestehn, während die Massen der einfachen Stammesmitglieder mehr von dem archaischen Schamanismus der damaligen Jägervölker und Halbnomaden bewahrten. Jenem Unterschied könnte man mit besserer Aussicht auf Ergebnisse nachforschen, dies sind aber Probleme weiterer Untersuchungen.

Zusammenfassend können wir also behaupten, dass die Arbeit von V. DIÓSZEGI nicht nur bewiesen hat, dass die Ungarn der Landnahmemezeit Schamanisten vom Typ der nord- und zentralasiatischen Völker waren, und dass dieser Glaube in den Märchen, Bräuchen, Liedern und dem Aberglauben des ungarischen Volkes bis heute weiterlebt; sie zeigt auch der Forschung des Schamanismus bei den asiatischen Völkern einen neuen Pfad.

Das Buch enthält noch ausser einer ansehnlichen Bibliographie die Namen der Sammler — die unter der Leitung des Verfassers jahrelang eine planmässige Arbeit in ganz Ungarn verrichteten —, ferner ein deutsches und ein russisches Resumé und eine die Sprachverwandtschaften veranschaulichende Tabelle. Hier möchten wir bemerken, dass zur Zeit der Drucklegung der Verfasser über Jahresfrist auf einer Studienreise verweilte, darum übernahm diese mühevolle Arbeit L. VARGYAS, der sie gewissenhaft, und erfolgreich besorgte. Leider ist er aber in Fragen der asiatischen Völker und Sprachen nicht fachkundig, auf welchen Umstand die diesbezüglichen bedauerlichen Fehler und Ungenauigkeiten des Textes und der Sprachverwandtschafts-Tabelle zurückzuführen sind.

Käthe U.-Köhalmi

AKAKI ŠANIDZE, *Kartuli enis strukturisa da istoriis sakitxebi I. (Problems of the Structure and History of the Georgian Language.)*. Tbilisi 1957. 379 pp.,

The Tiflis State University has undertaken to publish the collected works of the Nestor of Georgian philology to be found in different scientific periodicals. The first volume was welcomed with equal enthusiasm by caucasologists, orientalists and by the representatives of general linguistics.

Out of the fifteen treatises collected in the first volume three are written in Russian while the rest in the Georgian language; there is a summary in German added to the treatise "The Umlaut in Svan".

1) Отчет о летней командировке 1913 г. в Душетский и Тионетский уезды Тифлисской губернии для изучения грузинских говоров (pp. 3—9).

The humble title does not reveal the wealth of the material contained in this paper dealing with the geographical division of the East-Georgian dialects (Xevsur, Moxev, Tuš, Pšav, Mtiul, Gudamaqar, etc.), with their relation to one another and with the extent of the influence they have exerted on each other. An interesting phenomenon in this respect is the considerable expansion of the Xevsur dialect. We may note another peculiar feature, notably, that the denominations of the rivers in the dialects of the „highlands“ are rather uncertain. The ethnic denomination *kist pxjē* (plur. *pxi*), applied to the Xevsurs, enables us, as the author says, to interpret the terminology of the *pxovi-pxoveli*, to be found in Old Georgian and Old Armenian sources (*փոխք*).

Let us mention two further place names: Mtiuleti *qada* and Xevsur *žuta* wherein we may surmise the Daghestani (Avar) ending of the locative *-da* (similar place names occur also in Kahetia, as for instance, *Šilda*). Author does not refer to this possibility.

2) *Kartuli kiloebi mtaši*, pp. 9—19 [Georgian dialects of the highlands].

The first part of this paper is devoted to the development of the Georgian literary language, stresses the importance of dialectological studies and outlines the geographical boundaries between the East-Georgian dialects of the highlands (Mtiuleti, Gudamaqari, Xevi, Moxevi, Pšavi, Tušeti; the group Xevsur—Moxeur—Tušur—Pšaur is referred to

collectively as Pxour). These dialects have conserved in common certain phonetical, morphological and syntactical features of the Old-Georgian language. The Mtiul dialect is the only one within the eastern group to contain long vowels.

In the second part we find a brief characterization of these dialects (in phonetical, morphological and syntactical respect).

3) Два чано-мегрельских суффикса в грузинском и армянском языках (pp. 20—27).

This is what author says about the origin of the Georgian adjectival suffix *-ar* denoting ethnic affiliation: the adjectival suffix *-el* denotes persons, *-ur // -ul* denotes animals and objects. This difference is less distinct in the Čan-Megrul languages where Čan *-ur*, *-or* and Megr. *-ur // -ul* are used for both persons and objects. There is, however, a rudimentary Megr. *-ar // -al* equivalent to the Geor. *-el*. It is regularly used in plural though tends to be ousted by the suffix *-ur // -ul*. Nevertheless it has been conserved in a number of loan-words referring to Georgian ethnic groups: thus we find the Čan-Megrul *-ar*, for instance, in the title of the bishop of Tbet: *Stepane M̄bevari*. According to phonetical considerations both the *m-* prefix and the *-ev* suffix should be attributed Čan-Megrul origin and надо поставить рядом с суффиксами *-ev* (= *ew*) и (*-iw*), находящими в названиях чано-мегрельских племен, сохранившихся в греческой и древне-армянской географической литературе: *Εγρενιχή* (откуда арм. *egr-ew-ik-i* (Егерия-Мегрелия, чаны и *az-iw* лазы. Finally, the suffix *-ar* occurs also in the Greek and Armenian geographical literature: *Γων-αλ-ηνή* = the 'Gunar's; here we have to do with the influence of the Čan-Megr. languages.

In the second part author points out the kinship of the North-Armenian verbal suffix *-ում* (the thematic suffix of the present indicative) with the Georgian *-am*, Čan-Megrul *\*-om* (*-um*) *-un* (*-n*) and Svan *-em* having the same function; yet it remains an open question whether their relation constitutes simple borrowing or a more intricate phenomenon.

4) *Vinaobis supiksi ar kartul enaši* (pp. 28—32).

This is the Georgian version of the preceding treatise.

5) *Mca naçilaki zvel kartulši*, pp. 33—35 [The Particle *-mca* in Old-Georgian].

The *-mca* is a combined suffix wherein *-m-* is probably the remnant of some word, and *-ca* is identical with the present-day Georgian *-c*, resp. *-c-a*, corresponding to Latin 'que'. The Old-Georgian *-mca* may be added to either noun, adjective, verb, adverb, or conjunction. When added to a verb, this should be in the indicative, unlike the optative character of some conjunctions; even if the sentence has an optative meaning, the presence of the particle *-mca* requires the indicative mood (present or past perfect). Since the 17th century writers have ignored the function of this particle and used constructions inconsistent with the norms of the classical language.

6) *Nasaxelari zmnebi kartulši* pp. 35—45 [Verbs Derived from Nouns in Georgian].

The Georgian verbs derived from nouns may be transitive or intransitive, in both cases being the result of "versiositas" (Georgian *kceva*: a verbal category denoting that the object of the verb belongs to the first, third person, or to no person). The verbs formed with the suffix *-d* (e. g. *beri* 'old' > *daabera* 'make older', *daberda* 'grown old') give the impression to be passive forms derived from "neutralis versio", since indeed there are (though not many) primary verbs with the suffix *-d*. Nevertheless, the usual passive affix of the primary verbs is *i-* and *e-*; *-d* being definitely the characteristic suffix of verbs derived from nouns. These verbs are intransitive and syntactically similar to those transformed into passive ones: their subject is always in nominative. In present-day Georgian (in both the literary language and the dialects) there is no other way of forming intransitive verbs from nouns; this mode of derivation is, however, extremely productive.

As to Old-Georgian, the passive suffix is *-n*, except for basis ending in *-n*, *-r*, or *-l* (when the suffix is the above-mentioned *-d*). The primary suffix for the passive voice in Old-Georgian was *-n*, occurring in the overwhelming majority of cases, which began to be replaced by *-d* as early as the Old-Georgian period; owing to the high number of nouns ending in *-n*, *-r*, *-l* the suffix *-d* has gained the upperhand and superseded the old suffix *-n*.

7) Субъективный префикс второго лица и объективный третьего в грузинских глаголах (pp. 45—110).

A Russian version of the following monograph, written several years earlier.

8) *Subiek̄turi prefiksi meore pirisa da objekturi prefiksi mesame pirisa kartul zmnanši* pp. 111—267. [The Subjective Prefix of the Second Person and the Objective Prefix of the Third Person in the Georgian Verb.]

This voluminous treatise, the doctoral dissertation of A. Šanidze, 1920, analyses the character of the Georgian verb in the largest sense of the word. We shall not review it in detail since the author's statements are well known in kartvelology and have been expounded in the relevant chapters of author's recently published two large monographs (*Kartuli enis gramaṭika*. I. *Morpologija*. Tbilisi 1953; and re-written into a university text-book, Tbilisi 1955).

9) *Naštebi mesame piris obiek̄turi prefiksis xmarebisa xmovnebis çin kartul zmnebši* pp. 267—281 [Remnants of the Use of the Objective Prefix of the Third Person before Vowels in Georgian Verbs].

As a result of the preceding treatise it is known that the objective prefix of the third person in Georgian verbs appears only when they require a complement in dative (Geor. *micemiti brunva*) and have an initial consonant. In both old and recent literary language this suffix, as well as the (morphologically identical) subjective suffix of the second person disappears before vowels. The only exception to this rule is the relevant form of the verb 'to be': *x-ar* 'thou art' (resp. 'thou-art') to which author quotes four Old-Georgian parallel verbal forms (*x-ertvis*, *x-eqav*, *se-x-ecis* and *se-x-uabt*). Here the prefix *-x*, unlike its normal use, denotes the third person of the objective conjugation and, together with the above-mentioned form of the verb 'to be', (in both cases the phonetic positions are identical) might go back to some unknown dialect.

10) *Uzvelesi kartuli tekstebis aymočenis gamo* pp. 282—301 [In the Wake of the Discovery of the Oldest Georgian Texts].

In this treatise author has developed the results achieved in the preceding paper, relying on the data of the Georgian—Hebrew *Palimpsest* discovered by prof. I. Džavaxišvili, and has solved a cardinal problem of Georgian philology and historical dialectology. Author succeeded in interpreting the much-discussed term "xanmeti" to be found in the legacy of Giorgi Mtaçmindeli: this refers to a feature of the Georgian language before the Arabic occupation, which was found meaningless at the time of Giorgi Mtaçmindeli, and denotes the superfluous use of the prefix *x-* in the writings of that period (Geor. *xani* is the name of the letter *x*, and *meți* means 'more'). Relying on other sources (from about the 9th century), author has here introduced a new grammatical term into Georgian linguistics and philology: „haemeți” denoting thereby the later period when the earlier prefix *x-* was supplanted by the prefix *h-*.

11) *Ocobiti tvlis gavlena zvel atobits çeraze kartulši*, pp. 302—311 [The Influence of Counting by Twenties upon the Writing in the Decimal System in Georgian].

The Georgian system of counting is a mixed one: it goes by the twenties below one hundred and becomes decimal above it (as well as from 11 to 19). The Georgian dialects and the kindred languages (Čan-Megrul and Svan) use the same mixed system. The data of Sulxan Saba Orbeliani's (1658—1725) explanatory dictionary, taken from

unknown sources, show that counting in the decimal system above one hundred had been more explicit than in Georgian of today (specific terms for 10,000, 100,000, 1,000,000, 100,000,000, ). In Old-Georgian writing the numerals were denoted by letters, the Arabic system was introduced relatively late. Since the letters conformed to the decimal system, there was a considerable discrepancy between spelling and reading, which led, in a number of cases, to the transformation of the original decimal system into counting by the twenties. Author quotes a large number of Old-Georgian examples.

12) *Celiçadis etimologiisatvis* (*Redukciis sakitxebi kartvelur enebši*) pp. 313—319 [To the Etymology of *çeliçadi*. The Problem of Reduction in the Kartvel Languages].

The problem raised in this brief and concise treatise is a many-sided one. In connection with the etymology of the word *çeliçadi* ‘year’ (365 days) author makes interesting statements on the character of the nouns, on the ablative case, unknown in Georgian of today and on a characteristic feature of Georgian: the reduction of vowels. The word *çeliçadi* ‘year’ is, in contemporary Georgian as well as in its dialects, lexically identical with the word *celi* ‘year’. The latter is more productive in the contemporary language, but cannot be given a completely satisfactory explanation even when collated with its equivalents in the related languages, though its connection with the latter forms is obvious. On the other hand, the word *çeliçadi* can undoubtedly be explained as a result of the internal development of the Georgian language. It is a compound word formed by duplication. The primitive form assumed is \**çeliti çladi* (many parallels can be adduced showing this structure) where *-iti* is the ending of the ablative case no longer existing. (One might interpret the ending *-iti* as expressing the instrumental case *-it* with an earlier meaning of instrumental-ablative and as a final *-i*, a former separate preposition-like particle which later developed into a self-contained case-ending, but prof. Šanidze declines this interpretation.) In concluding author gives a systematic picture of the reduction of the stem vowel in the declension of nouns (in the case of \**çeliti çladi* this affected only the second member of the compound), which was characteristic of Old-Georgian and produced in the living language dialectal differences. The duality in the above-explained word can be accounted for on this basis.

13) *Berznuli sitqva akuzatiwis pormit sranurši*, pp. 320—322 [A Greek Accusative in Georgian].

In the contemporary Svan language (and its dialects) the word *žuär* (plural *žuaräl*), borrowed from Georgian (*žvari*), is used to denote the ‘cross’. In certain phrases, however, (for instance, ‘make the sign of the cross’) an old noun of Greek origin *σταυρός* has been conserved in the form of *stārun-i*. On analysing the stock of sounds in Svan, author has come to the conclusion that the Greek word had been borrowed in the accusative form *σταυρόν*; at the same time, a Svan place name *stāruniš* has preserved the Greek genitive form.

14) *Umlauți svanurši*, pp. 323—376 [the Umlaut in Svan].

This is a horizontal study of an important feature of the Svan language, which affects also the morphological structure. Owing to the exhaustive German summary we may omit reviewing it.

M. Istvánovits

ABRAHAM I. KATSCH, *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts preserved in the USSR II*. New York 1958. pp. XI + 138.

Den I. Band des Katalogs der in der Sowjetunion befindlichen hebräischen Handschriften haben wir in dem VIII. Jahrgang der *Acta Orientalia Hung.* besprochen.

Der Verfasser hat sein Versprechen gehalten, und in rascher Folge den zweiten Band veröffentlicht. Inzwischen hatten wir Gelegenheit, Herrn Prof. KATSCH auch persönlich kennen zu lernen, er war im August 1958 in Ungarn, gelegentlich seiner zweiten Reise nach der Sowjetunion. Seine von dort gesandten Briefe melden einen reichlichen Ertrag.

In der Einleitung erhalten wir nun genauere Angaben über die Provenienz des Genisahmaterials der Sowjetunion. ABRAHAM FIRKOWITZ war 1865 in Kairo. Der erste Teil seiner Sammlung wurde 1867 von der Bibliothek in Leningrad erworben, der zweite nach seinem Tode, im Jahre 1876. Wann die Antonin-Sammlung erworben wurde, erfahren wir auch jetzt nicht.

Es gereicht uns zur Genugtuung, dass unsere Publikationen nicht erfolglos blieben, denn unter den Fundorten der Genisah wird auch die Kaufmann-Sammlung zweimal (VII, VIII) erwähnt, während noch vor einem Jahrzehnt die Literatur darüber schwieg (A. M. HABERMANN, *גניזה ירושלמית*. Jerusalem 1944; PAUL E. KAHLÉ, *The Cairo Geniza*. London 1947).

Der vorliegende Band bringt aus 60 Handschriften 335 Faksimilia auf Grund der Antonin-Sammlung und 88 Faksimilia aus dem Bibel-Kodex von Mosche Ben Ascher. Dies ist die älteste *vollständige Bibel* aus 1008/9.

Die veröffentlichten Faksimilia verteilen sich thematisch folgenderweise:

1. *Bibel*. 2. *Mischna* (auch mit superlinearer Interpunktions). 3. *Babylonischer Talmud*. 4. *Palestinensischer Talmud*. 5. *Midraschim* (Mechilta, Rabba, Midrasch Tehillim). 6. *Andere aggadische Werke* (Aboth di R. Nathan, Derech Erez Sutta, Seder Olam). 7. *Halacha* (Halachoth Gedoloth, gaonische Responsen. Diese letzteren wurden bereits von Assaf herausgegeben). 8. *Jüdisch—arabische Texte*, darunter das Wörterbuch des Tanchum Jeruschalmi, wovon die Bibliothek der Landesrabbinerschule in Budapest eine vollständige Handschrift in der Kopie von ADOLF NEUBAUER besitzt (Nr. 1.). 9. *Liturgie* (Piyyutim).

Die Bilder werden sich bei der Verifizierung von Texten anderer Sammlungen als brauchbar erweisen. Schade, dass sie infolge ihrer starken Blässe an manchen Stellen unleserlich sind.

Diese billige Photoprint-Technik kann auch uns zur Veröffentlichung von Stücken der Kaufmann-Sammlung als Muster dienen.

A. Scheiber

M. WALLENSTEIN, *A Unique Kol Nidré Piyyut from the Cairo Genîzah in the Gaster Collection in the John Rylands Library*. Manchester 1959.

M. Wallenstein, »Senior Lecturer« des mittelalterlichen und modernen Hebräischen an der Universität Manchester, bearbeitet im *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (XLI [1959], pp. 488—500) das Stück Nr. 1. aus der Gasterschen Genizah-Sammlung der Bibliothek. Es ist dies ein Pergamentblatt, auf dessen einer Seite ein biblischer Text, auf der anderen ein Piyyut steht. Dieser Letztere wird auch in einer Photokopie dargestellt. Er enthält die Qeroba des Erew Rosch Haschana-Morgengebetes, deren Verfasser unbekannt ist.

Das Interessante des Piyyuts ist, dass sein Rahmen dem hebräischen Text des Kol Nidre entnommen ist. Dies beweist zweierlei: 1. dass es im Orient Gemeinden gab, wo das Kol Nidre-Gebet noch um das XI. Jahrhundert am Erew Rosch Haschana und nicht am Erew Jom Kippur gesagt wurde. 2. dass in diesen Gemeinden der *hebräische* und nicht der aramäische Text des Kol Nidre bekannt war. Für die palestinische Abstammung und das hebräische Original des Kol Nidre sprechen auch die karäischen

Schriftsteller, die mit diesem Gebettext polemisieren. Ich habe sie in ungarischer Sprache vor anderthalb Dezennien besprochen (*Karaita támadások a Kol Nidre ellen. A Magyar Zsidók Lapja* V [1943] Nr. 40.), und nun stellt Ch. Leshem — dem mein Aufsatz nicht bekannt sein konnte — dieselben Daten in hebräischer Sprache zusammen (*Davar* XXXIII [1957] X. 4.).

Wallenstein hat keine Kenntnis davon, dass der von ihm publizierte Text auch in einer Handschrift der Kaufmann-Sammlung der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Nr. 55/9) vorhanden ist. Auf diesen Text hat bereits der Katalog von S. Widder (*Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*. Budapest 1947. Hebräischer Teil: p. 45) aufmerksam gemacht, ja er wurde in seiner Gänze von Widder vor zehn Jahren veröffentlicht (*Genizah Publications in Memory of Prof. David Kaufmann*. I. Ed. S. Löwiner—A. Scheiber. Budapest 1949. pp. 85—87.). Auf die Bedeutsamkeit dieser Publikation habe ich seinerzeit auch hingewiesen (*Journal of Jewish Studies* II [1950], p. 208.).

Unsere Handschrift ist in besserem Zustande als die der Gaster-Sammlung, daher sind die Mängel der letzteren leicht zu ergänzen. An manchen Stellen bietet sie eine bessere Lesart.

Aus der Kaufmann-Handschrift (fernerhin K) ergeben sich folgende Ergänzungen bzw. Verbesserungen (auf die zahlreichen Textvariationen weisen wir nicht hin):

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 2. Zeile: | <b>נְדָרָנו כְּהֹן וְשַׁלָּא כְּהֹן</b>   |
| 7. „      | [ <b>חֲרֵם</b> ]  |
| 8. „      | <b>הַיּוֹם קְמִין</b>   |
| 13. „     | <b>לְהַלּוּתִיךְ וְלְהַדּוּתִיךְ</b> K.   |
| 22. „     | <b>הַקְדִּישָׁה</b> K. <b>שַׁהְקְדִּישָׁו</b> (besser!)                         |
| 23. „     | <b>הַרְצָה</b> K. <b>הַרְטָה</b> (besser!)                                      |
| 27. „     | <b>בְּשִׁבְיָל וְהִ</b> K. <b>אַלְיוֹה</b> , Widders Anmerkung: <b>אַלְיוֹה</b> |
| 33. „     | <b>קְהַלִּי</b> K. [ <b>מְבָלִי</b> ]   |
| 71. „     | [ <b>אֶן</b> ]  |
| 83. „     | [ <b>בְּעֵזֶחֶבֶן</b> ]   |
| 87. „     | [ <b>צְדָקָה</b> ]  |
| 88. „     | [ <b>בְּטוּב טֻעם</b> ]   |

Hinsichtlich des Namens des Verfassers enthält auch unsere Handschrift keinen Hinweis.

Wallensteins Publikation ist auf jeden Fall von Bedeutung. Wir haben von diesem wichtigen Piyyut noch eine Handschrift kennen gelernt, die stellenweise eine abweichende und bemerkenswerte Lesart bietet, um nicht zu reden von der musterhaften Ausgabe und den Anmerkungen, die für alle Textveröffentlichungen Wallensteins kennzeichnend sind.

*A. Scheiber*

*LIVRES REÇUS*  
*AN DIE SCHRIFTLEITUNG EINGEGANGENE*  
*BÜCHER — BOOKS RECEIVED*  
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