YOSHIO SAITÔ
' (Tokyo)

Graphic Variation in the Mongolian Text of *Muqaddimat al-Adab*: What Word-medial Final Allographs Imply[1]

1. *Introduction*

In the Mongolian text of *Muqaddimat al-Adab* a stem plus one or more suffixes is spelled as one scribal unit in the script in a majority of cases. However, the rest, i.e. about 6 percent of the total of about 20,000 words[2], contain at least one final form of an Arabic letter inside the word boundary. By the use of final allograph(s) within a word the word is divided into more than one part in writing. I interpret this medial use of final allographs as a reflection of the transcribers'[3] recognition of boundaries in Mongolian words. I try to show in this paper what we can say from this graphic characteristic alone about the transcribers and their process of transcription.[4]

2. *Boundaries Represented by Final Allographs Appearing Medially*

The boundaries represented by final allographs appearing in medial position fall into the following three distinct categories according to their linguistic characteristics:

---

[1] This is an interim report of a part of my work on phonetic and graphic characteristics of West Middle Mongolian supported by a Grant-in-aid for Scientific Research, Ministry of Education, Japan.

[2] Words with no suffix are included in this number.

[3] The number of people who participated in the Arabic transcription of Mongolian in *Muqaddimat al-Adab* is not known. But, to avoid lengthy expressions with both singular and plural forms I use the plural form only in this paper.

[4] I counted the total number of each medially-appearing final allograph. In doing so, I excluded the letters that do not, due to the lack of a form joined to the left, distinguish between medial and final forms because there is no way to know if they were used "finally" or medially. But, *'alif* is an exception since *hâ* is used as its final allograph in *Muqaddimat al-Adab* except in a small number of specific words. The letters excluded here are *dâl, dhâl, râ', zâ'* and *wâw*.

(1)

	Morphological	Syllabic
a	+	+
b	+	-
c	-	+

2.1. [+ Morphological, + Syllabic] Boundaries

To the first group belong the majority of words concerned. Let me take the following eleven morphemes as examples here.[5]

2.1.1.

2.1.1.1. Plural Suffix {lar} (<lâr> <#lâr>)

(2) Examples of <#lâr>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<bwlbh#lâr>	bolba-lar	bol+ba+lar	*bol-* 'to become'
<kybh#lâr>	kibä-lär	ki+bä+lär	*ki-* 'to do'
<bwlâq#lâr>	bulaq-lar	bulaq+lar	*bulag* 'spring'
<nydwn#lâr>	nidün-lär	nidün+lär	*nidü(n)* 'eye'

2.1.1.2. Denominal Noun Suffix {lïq} (<lyq> <#lyq> <lyk> <#lyk>)

(3) Examples of <#lyq> and <#lyk>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<bwwl#lyq>	booːl-liq	booːl+liq	*bogol* 'slave'
<sâyn#lyq>	sain-liq	sain+liq	*sayin* 'good'
<yykh#lyk>	yäkä-lik	yäkä+lik	*yäkä* 'large'

---

5 Braces "{ }" and single French quotation marks "< >" denote the forms in them are cited as morphemes and as transliterated forms respectively. A sharp "#" indicates the letter immediately preceding it is in final form but appearing word-medially. A plus sign "+" is a symbol for a morpheme boundary. "C" stands for any consonant, "V" any vowel, and "WM" Written Mongolian in Uighur(-Mongolian) script. In my tentative transcription of the Mongolian words, a distinction between so-called masculine and feminine vowels is made because there are such words as <âwşwn> 'water' and <awswn> 'hair'. Other distinctions in phonetic values concerning vowels are not well founded.

| <dšmân#lyq> | dušman-liq | dušman+liq | Per. *dušman* 'enemy' |

2.1.1.3. Denominal Verb Suffix {la} (<lâ> <#lâ>)

(4) Examples of <#lâ>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<bâyry#lâbh>	bairi-laba	bai+ri+la+ba	*bayi-ri* 'dwelling place'
<âyjh#lâbh>	äjä-läbä	äjä+lä+bä	*äjä(n)* 'lord'
<syzk#lâksân>	säzik-läksän	säzik+lä+ksän	*säjig* 'doubt'
<â~bâdân#lâbh>	abadan-laba	abadan+la+ba	Per. *abadan* 'prosperous'

2.1.1.4. Deverbal Verb Suffix [Factitive] {uːl} (<C/Vwl> <V#âwl> <Vwwl>)[6]

(5) Examples of <V#âwl>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<twry#wlbh>	töːri-üːlbä	töːri+üːl+bä	*tögäri-* 'to be lost'
<qâry#âwlbh>	qari-uːlba	qari+uːl+ba	*qari-* 'to return'
<twrh#âwlbh>	törä-öːlbä	törä+üːl+bä	*törü-* 'to be born'

2.1.1.5. Comitative Suffix {laː} (<lh> <#lh> <lâ> <#lâ>)

(6) Examples of <#lh> and <#lâ>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<kwl#lh>	köl-läː	köl+läː	*köl* 'foot'
<nykân#lh/#lâ>	nikän-läː	nikän+läː	*nikän* 'one'
<yâmh#lh/#lâ>	yama-laː	yama+laː	*yaguma* 'thing'
<tynkry#lâ>	tängri-läː	tängri+läː	*tngri* 'heaven'

---

6   The forms <#wl>, <#wwl> and <#âwwl> have one example each.

2.1.1.6. Dative-Locative Suffix {tu} (<tw> <#tw> <dw> <#dw>)

(7) Examples of <#tw> and <#dw>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<ğrbân#tw>	grban-tu	grban+tu	*gurban* 'three'
<jârym#tw>	jarim-tu	jarim+tu	*jarim* 'some'
<tynkry#dw>	tängri-dü	tängri+dü	*tngri* 'heaven'
<âwylh#dw>	üilä-dü	üilä+dü	*üilä* 'act'
<dšmn#dw>	dušman-du	dušman+du	Per. *dušman* 'enemy'

2.1.1.7. Genitive Suffix {yiːn} (<C/Vyn> <V/loanword #yn> <Vyyn> <V#yyn> <n-w>)

(8) Examples of <V/loanword #yn> and <#yyn>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<âymh#yn>	ämä-iːn	ämä+iːn	*ämä* 'woman'
<swny#yn>	söni-iːn	söni+iːn	*söni* 'night'
<ᶜrb#yn>	ᶜarab-iːn	ᶜarab+iːn	Ar. *ᶜarab* 'Arab'
<âwnqâjh#yyn>	onqača-yiːn	onqača+yiːn	*ongguča* 'vessel'

2.1.1.8. Ablative Suffix {aːsa} (<C/Vâsh> <loanword #âsh> <V#yâsh>)

(9) Examples of <loanword #âsh>, <#â~sh> and <V#yâsh>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<dšmn#âsh>	dušman-aːsa	dušman+aːsa	Per. *dušman* 'enemy'
<dwyt#âsh>	dawät-äːsä	dawät+äːsä	Per. *davet* 'pen-case'
<mlâmt#âsh>	mälamät-äːsä	mälamät+äːsä	Ar. *melamet* 'reproach'
<rḥmt#âsh>	raḥmät-äːsä	raḥmät+äːsä	Ar. *raḥmet* 'God's mercy'
<tynkry#yâsh>	tängri-yäːsä	tängri+yäːsä	*tngri* 'heaven'

2.1.1.9. Past Indicative Suffix {ba} (<bh> <#bh> <bâ> <#bâ>)

(10) Examples of <#bh> and <#bâ>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<âyrh#bh>	irä-bä	irä+bä	*irä-* 'to come'

<klh#bh>	kälä-bä	kälä+bä	*kälä-* 'to say'
<swny#bh>	söni-bä	söni+bä	*sönü-* 'to be extinguished'
<âsâq#bâlâr>	asaq-balar	asaq+ba+lar	*asagu-* 'to ask'

2.1.1.10. Verbal Noun Suffix [Nomen Futuri] {qu} (<qw> <kw> <#kw>)

(11) Examples of <#kw>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<klh#kw>	kälä-kü	kälä+kü	*kälä-* 'to say'
<âyrh#kw>	irä-kü	irä+kü	*irä-* 'to come'

2.1.1.11. Verbal Noun Suffix [Nomen Perfecti] {qsan} (<qsân> <ksân>)

2.1.2. The above-mentioned suffixes can be grouped into three categories depending on the rate of occurrence after a final allograph. They are tabled in (12).

(12)

	{lar} {liq}	{la} {la:} {tu} Vu:l Vi:n	{ba} {qu} {qsan} Cu:l, wu:l Ci:n, nu Ca:sa
written independently	▓▓▓	▓▓▓	
joined to the stem	░░░	▓▓▓	■■■

☐	☐	▒	▓	▓	■

0%   100%
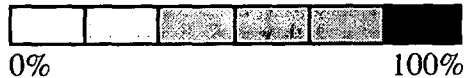
What we see from these characteristics of the Arabic transcription is that the rate of occurrence of a final allograph before a suffix with an initial con-

sonant depends on the grammatical category to which the suffix belongs.[7] Should this be caused by the influence of Written Chagatay[8] or, as A. Malchukov (personal communication in June, 1996) suggested, by psycholinguistic universality, it would be evidence to show that the transcribers recognized the grammatical categories of these Mongolian morphemes. Therefore, we can say from this that the transcribers did not merely write down what speakers of Mongolian recited, but they themselves had a knowledge of the language.[9]

2.2. [+ Morphological, - Syllabic] Boundaries

In most cases, suffixes beginning with a vowel are enclitic when they follow a consonant-ending stem. That is to say, the final consonant of a stem and the immediately following initial vowel of a suffix belong to the same syllable, and therefore, tend to be written jointly as seen in (12) above. But, in some examples the suffixes are written independently. E.g.:

(13)

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<sytkyl#â~sh>	sätkil-äːsä	sätkil+äːsä	*sätkil* 'thought'
<mwnkwn#yâr>	möngün-iäːr	mönggün+iäːr	*mönggün* 'silver'
<rḥmt#âsh>	raḥmät-äːsä	raḥmät+äːsä	Ar. *raḥmet* 'God's mercy'
<dwyt#âsh>	dawät-äːsä	dawät+äːsä	Per. *davet* 'pen-case'

·   This indicates that the transcribers correctly recognized the stems. As most of these are words of Persian and Arabic origin which retain their original spellings, we can say that the transcribers were familiar with those written

---

7   The rate of occurrence of a final form before a suffix beginning with a vowel is governed by the phonetic characteristics of the stem-final segment. When the stem ends in a consonant, it is tightly united with the initial vowel of the following suffix.

8   Cf. Mongolian *jarimlaba* <jârym#lâbh>, Chagatay *yarïmlattï* <yârym#lâtty>.

9   The division of Mongolian words in the Arabic-transcribed text is similar not to that of Uighur-Mongolian but to that of Chagatay although vowels are written plene in both Mongolian and Chagatay texts. It is probable from this fact that the transcribers' knowledge of Mongolian was confined to its spoken language. This may be a piece of indirect evidence that Uighur-Mongolian script was not known in that era in the locality where the Mongolian part of the manuscript was made.

languages and had the linguistic sense to recognize the words in the Mongolian text as loanwords instead of viewing them as common words among the languages they knew.[10]

2.3. [- Morphological, + Syllabic] Boundaries

The examples with the third type of boundaries can be divided into the following two subgroups:
(14) a. Separation in script of frequently-used forms of words
   b. Division simply syllabic

2.3.1. Separation in script of frequently-used forms of words

2.3.1.1. The stem of *yama:sa* is written separately without consideration of its morphology. This may be due to the frequent use of the form *yama* <yâmh> 'thing' which appears some 120 times.[11]

(15)

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<yâmh#sh>	yamaː-sa	yama+aːsa	*yaguma* 'thing'

2.3.1.2. Some phonetically and/or graphically identical but etymologically different words are also separated in the script. The transcribers seem to have mistaken a part of a word for another frequently-used word which is pronounced and/or spelled the same. The examples cited in (16) contain the same forms as *ärä* <âyrh> "man", *ämä* <âymh> "woman", *änä* <âynh>

---

[10] Even such secular words as *davet* 'pen-case', etc. are recognized as loanwords. There is a possibility that the transcribers simply used Persian and Arabic words in the Mongolian text because they did not know (or there did not exist) the corresponding Mongolian words. Judging from historical evidence as to the then society, it is quite likely that the transcribers were multilingual in Persian and Turkic. It was natural for educated people to be familiar with the written languages. The form <bwldy>, i. e. a Mongolian stem *hol-* plus Chagatay suffix *-dï*, is observed in the Mongolian text.

[11] The form *tädänü* <tydh#nw> may be due to the frequent use of the form *tädä* <tydh> 'they'. It appears about 25 times.

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<tydh#nw>	tädä-nü	tädä+n+ü	*tädä(n)* 'they'

"this", *kibä* <kybh> "did" respectively although they have nothing to do with these words. Their approximate numbers of occurrence are 120, 140, 150, and 400 respectively.

(16)

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<âyrh#ww>	ärä-wüː	äräwüː	*ärägüü* 'torture'
<âymh#â~n>	ima-aːn	imaaːn	*imagan* 'goat'
<âynh#rykw>	änä-rikü	änäri+kü	*änäri-* 'to have pity'
<kwdâl#kybh>	ködäl-gäbä	ködäl+gä+bä	*ködäl-* 'to move'

2.3.2. Division simply syllabic

The boundaries of the third subgroup are those simply syllabic. E.g.:

(17)

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<mwdwny#yâr>	moduni-yaːr	modun+iyaːr	*modun* 'tree'
<kyb#tâbh>	käb-täbä	käbtä+bä	*käbtä-* 'to lie down'
<hrtwn#jyn>	hrtün-čiːn	hrtünč+iːn	*yirtinčü* 'the universe'
<bâryq#twn>	bariq-tun	bari+gtun	*bari-* 'to grasp'
<bwlwq#sân>	boluq-san	bol+u+qsan	*bol-* 'to become'

2.3.3. The third type of boundaries such as those cited in (15) - (17) are not sporadic mistakes made from simple carelessness because they repeatedly appear throughout the text. This fact implies the transcribers' insufficiency in knowledge of the Mongolian language. They depended more on phonetics than on morphology when transcribing some specific words.[12]

---

[12] There is another kind of example that may verify this conjecture.

Translit.	Morphology	Meaning of the WM Forms
<ğâljâqylbh>	gal čaqilba	'lighted a fire'
<âynâqšyrh>	inaqši irä	'Come here.'
<mnkw nyrykh>	möngün ärikä	'silver garland'

3.

We cannot deny the possibility that at least a part of the "wrong" divisions were made not during transcription, but in the process of copying the manuscript.[13] I did not make good use of the Chagatay material of *Muqaddimat al-Adab*. A comparison of graphic characteristics between Mongolian and Chagatay would reveal more about the topic discussed here. Further consideration is required on the subject.

Bibliography

Borovkov, A. K. (1962) "Tjurkskie glossi v buharskom spiske «Mukaddimat al-Adab»". *AOH* 15:31-39.

Borovkov, A. K. (1964) "Mongol'skie glossi v buharskom spiske «Mukaddimat al-Adab»". *Narody Azii i Afriki* . No.1:140-145.

Borovkov, A. K. (1965) "K istorii slovarja «Mukaddimat al-Adab» Zamahšari". *Voprosy jazykoznanija*. No.2.

Kelly, James M. (1973) "Remarks on Kāšġarī's Phonology II. Orthography". *UAJb* 45:144-162.

Ligeti, Louis (1962) "Un vocabulaire mongol d'Istanboul". *AOH* 14:1-99.

Ligeti, Louis (1963) "Notes sur le vocabulaire mongol d'Istanboul". *AOH* 16:107-174.

Poppe, N.N. (1938) *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab, Čast' I-III*, ANSSSR, Moskva-Leningrad.

Poppe, N. N. (1951) "Eine viersprachige Zamaxšari -Handschrift". *ZDMG* 101:301-332.

Saitô, Yoshio (1994a) "Formation of the Secondary Long Vowels in Middle Mongolian and the Arabic Transcription Employed in *Muqaddimat al-Adab*", *Bulletin of Tokyo Gakugei University*, Section II, Vol.45.

---

[13] The following examples may have resulted from the copyists' insufficiency of knowledge of Mongolian.

Translit.	Morphology	Meaning of the WM Forms
<byšk#ldwbh>	biši kildübä	'did something else'
<âwls#ânkârm>	ül sängäräm	'not become conscious'

Saitô, Yoshio (1994b) "Transcription of *Muqaddimat al-Adab* and Mongolian
    Syllables", *Bulletin of the Japan Association for Mongolian Studies*,
    No.25:96.
Togan, A. Zeki Velidî (1951) *Documents on Khorezmian Culture. Part I.*
    Muqaddimat al-Adab, with the Translation in Khorezmian (Horezm
    Kültür Vesikaları. Kısım I. Horezmce tercümeli Muqaddimat al-Adab).
    44+532 Faksimile, İstanbul.