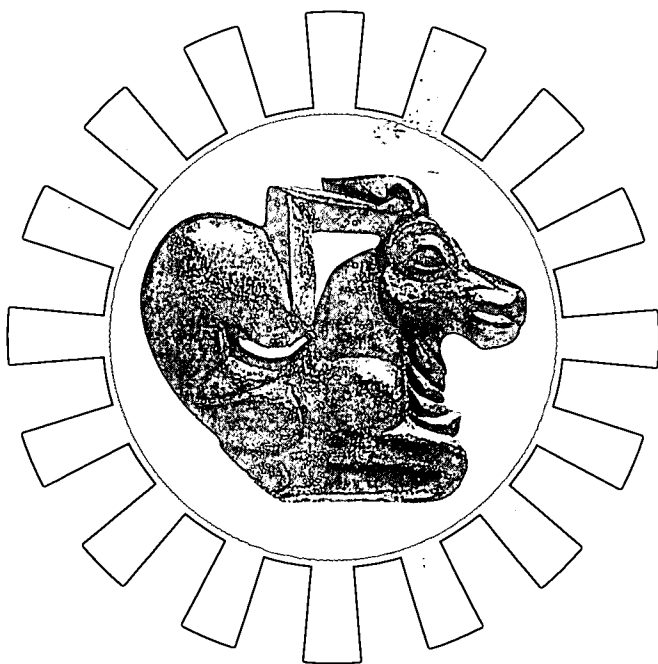


# HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC INTERACTION BETWEEN INNER-ASIA AND EUROPE





Historical and linguistic interaction between  
Inner-Asia and Europe

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Inner-Asia and Europe

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## Preface

The 39th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference was held in Szeged, Hungary, between June 16-21, 1996.

The organizers were especially pleased Szeged could host the conference in 1996 as it marked the 1100 anniversary of the Hungarian landtaking of the Carpathian Basin. The conference, focusing on the theme of "Historical and Linguistic Interaction between Inner-Asia and Europe", hosted over one hundred colleagues from twenty three different countries.

The participants were greeted with a letter in the Opening Session of the Meeting by Árpád Göncz, President of the Republic of Hungary, Chairman for Hungary's Millecentennarium Anniversary Commemorative Commission, and Domokos Kosáry, former President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. István Szalay, Mayor of Szeged, and Péter Deme, Director of the Office for Hungary's Millecentennarium Anniversary Commemorative Commission, spoke at the Opening Session.

On June 16 István Lehmann, President of the General Assembly of Csongrád County, held a reception welcoming the participants. On June 20 a one-day excursion was organized for the guests started with a reception given by Zoltán Tóth, Mayor of Kiskunhalas.

Over eighty presentations were delivered at the conference. This volume contains all the submissions of the authors by December 31, 1996, the extended deadline for the papers.

Upon the publication of this collection, I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to all who assisted in the organization of the conference. Our special thanks to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Hungary's Millecentennarium Anniversary Commemorative Commission for financial support as well as Attila József University for overall assistance in conference preparations. Finally, I must thank my immediate colleagues; without their devoted efforts the conference could not have been realized, nor this volume published.



KLÁRA AGYAGÁSI  
(Debrecen)

## The Theoretical Possibilities of the Chronological Interpretation of Cheremiss Loanwords in Chuvash

An investigation of Cheremiss loanwords in the Chuvash language raises four cardinal questions. Without answering these questions research cannot produce tangible results. The questions are the following:

1. What do we call a Cheremiss loan in Chuvash?
2. What are the chronological possibilities of the borrowings?
3. How many dialects can be considered to be donors, and what are they?
4. Where were the Cheremiss words borrowed in the geographical sense?

To date, four monographs have been published on Cheremiss loanwords in the Chuvash language: Räsänen 1920, Fedotov 1968 I-II, Lukojanov 1974, Fedotov 1990. Räsänen's book deals mainly with Chuvash loans in the Cheremiss language, the author provides only a preliminary list of Cheremiss loans in Chuvash including the words common to the two languages (*Verzeichnis der tscheremissischen Lehnwörter im Tschuwaschischen und anderer für diese Sprachen gemeinsamer Wörter, deren Etymologie unklar ist*, pp. 238-274). Fedotov (1968 II. pp. 182-183) determines four principles which may serve as the theoretical basis for proving the Cheremiss origin of Chuvash words: 1. the principle of genetic relationship; 2. the principle of phonological order; 3. the principle of word formation and 4. the principle of geographical spread. Using these principles Fedotov identified 136 Chuvash words as loans of Cheremiss origin. Lukojanov employed Fedotov's principles to classify 287 words as lexemes borrowed from Cheremiss. Finally, Fedotov in his last work (1990) revising Lukojanov's vocabulary accepted 245 Chuvash words as Cheremiss loans in Chuvash. In addition (pp. 291-296) he provides a list of Chuvash phonetic phenomena which – according to him – are the results of Cheremiss influence on the Sundyr-Morgaush local variant of the Viryal Chuvash dialect.

However, the authors cited did not even ask the first question and were not able to answer all relevant aspects of the others. The reason for this is that before 1992 the layer of Cheremiss words of Finno-Ugric origin had not been determined and the Proto-Cheremiss forms of the words had not been

constructed. Second, the authors of these monographs did not use all possible sources of Chuvash historical phonetics as parallels (cf. Róna-Tas 1982) and did not consistently use the historico-comparative method.

In this paper I would like to explore the chronological possibilities of the borrowing of Cheremiss loanwords. Examining the Cheremiss loans of Finno-Ugric origin I will attempt to demonstrate the main types of chronological criteria.

Bereczki, in his monograph on the formation of the ancient Cheremiss language (1994, pp. 14-16), came to the conclusion that no valid arguments exist to prove that the Cheremiss people inhabited their present-day homeland before the mid-13th century. Presumably they reached the left side of the River Volga while fleeing the Mongols. From the point of view of linguistics the mid-13th century is the last phase of the Late ancient Cheremiss period. It was after settling in the Volga region that dialectal differentiation and the dissolution of the ancient Cheremiss unity began (Bereczki 1994, p. 29).

The mid-13th century is also a watershed in the history of the Chuvash language: it is the end of the Late Old Bulgarian period (LOB), cf. Róna-Tas 1982, p. 125. This is followed by Early Middle Chuvash (EMC) to the mid-16th century (the fall of Kazan in 1551-1552), Late Middle Chuvash (LMC) between the 16th-17th centuries and Modern Chuvash as of the 18th century.<sup>1</sup> Now the question is the following: based on what criteria is it possible to decide in which period Cheremiss words entered the Chuvash language?

1. One of the possibilities for proving that these words were first borrowed in the Early Middle Chuvash period is the use of the unvoiced guttural *k* in foreign words with no syllabic opposition, as a signal segment, for the explanation of the front articulation on the Chuvash side. (The term *signal segment* was introduced by L. Johanson, cf. Johanson 1991.) In ancient

---

<sup>1</sup> Róna-Tas (op. cit. pp. 126) placed the end of the Late Middle Chuvash period in the mid-16th century, but the investigation of Russian loanwords in the Chuvash language shows that the main phonetic tendency of the Middle Chuvash period, the tendency in the vowel system towards closing, had not been completed by the mid-16th century. The last process of the systematic change of the vowel system was the *ä* > *a* development. On the basis of Middle Russian loans in Chuvash containing a stressed *e* having developed from Protoslavlic *ě* on the Russian side and represented in Chuvash now as *a* (cf. Agyagási 1994, p. 65), the end of the Late Middle Chuvash period can be placed in the late 17th century.

Cheremiss the structure of words was not determined by vowel harmony or consonant harmony. After *g* and *k* both front and back vowels occurred in every phonetic position. In 13th-century Chuvash and even earlier, however, there was syllabic opposition which was completed with the opposition of gutturals. One of the basic differences between the Early Middle Chuvash and Late Middle Chuvash periods is that in the first period foreign words with *k* or *g* were invariably adopted in Chuvash with front articulation, not depending on the front or back articulation of vowels in the donor form. This means that *k* and *g* served the function of the signal segment for front articulation. In the Late Middle Chuvash period front or back articulation in the Chuvash adoption of foreign words was determined by the articulation of the stressed vowel in the donor form, independent of the existence of gutturals in it. See the examples from different chronological layers of Russian borrowings in Chuvash:

Eastern Slavic *kožel'a* 'hemp-tow' → OB *künjele* > Chuvash  
Viryal (V) *kõńcele* Anatri (A) *kěńcele* (Agyagási 1992)

Late Old Russian *kust* 'shrub' → EMC *kütü* > V *kõtõ* A *kětě*

Middle Russian dial. *kukšin* 'jug' → LMC *kukšim* > V *kõkšäm* A *käkšäm*

In Late ancient Cheremiss there was only one guttural phoneme *k* whose allophones were *k* and *g*, cf. Berezcki 1994, p. 64. Phonetically *k* was close to the Early Middle Chuvash front *k*. The phoneme *g* in Chuvash did not yet exist then, foreign *g/ɣ* was substituted there with *k* and *x*. Therefore, words that contain *k* or *g* + back vowel in their Cheremiss donor form and whose equivalents contain *k* or *x* + front vowel can only be Early Middle Chuvash borrowings, cf. the examples below.

Proto-Cher. *\*kutkâ* 'ant' [No 119]<sup>2</sup> → EMC *kõtķõ* > V *kětķě*

Proto-Cher. *\*šičl* 'wart, carbuncle' [No 318] → EMC *šěkěl* > V *šěkěl* A  
*šěkěllě*

<sup>2</sup> The numbers in brackets following the Proto-Cheremiss forms refer to the number of the PC word in Berezcki's etymological index (Berezcki 1992).

If the Chuvash equivalent of a Cheremiss word containing *k* includes a *k* cluster + back vowel, then it was borrowed during the Late Middle Chuvash period. Examples of this criterion include:

Cher. dial. *kon* 'ash' [No 80] → LMC *kön* ~ *köm* > V *köm* A *kän*, *käm*

Cher. dial. *kumâž* 'bast' [No 78] → LMC *kömăș* > V (Sundyr) *kömöš*  
V (Jadrin) *kämăș*

Cher. dial. *kupe-* 'to mildew' [No 109] → LMC *köpa-* > V (Sundyr)  
*köppa(y)-* V (M. Karačk.) *käppay-*

Cher. dial. *luk* 'corner' [No 165] → LMC *luk* > V (Sundyr) *lök*, *läk*

2. Another useful chronological criterion is the development of the ancient Cheremiss *\*s* in the initial position. The ancient Cheremiss *s* has been palatalised throughout the Cheremiss territory with the exception of the Malmyž area. Generally it developed into *š* in Western dialects, and into *ś* in Eastern ones (on the history of the ancient Cheremiss *\*s*, cf. Bereczki 1994, pp. 53-55, and see the earlier literature there). This development was also realised in the earliest layer of the Russian loans in Cheremiss dialects, with special respect to toponyms of Russian origin. Russian toponyms appeared in Cheremiss territories in the 16th century. As no evidence exists for direct contact between speakers of EMC and the Malmyž Cheremiss dialect, the absence of the *s* > *š* and *s* > *ś* development in Cheremiss loans in Chuvash demonstrates that words with an initial *s* were borrowed prior to the 16th century.

Proto-Cher. *\*simâ* 'thick' [No 325] → EMC *sim* > A, V *sëm*  
cf. Modern Cheremiss Western (Mountain, NW) dial.: *šim*  
Modern Cheremiss Eastern (Central, Volga) dial.: *šem*  
(Viatka-Ufa) dial.: *šim*

Proto-Cher. *\*suks* 'tick' [No 364] → EMC *sös* > A *säväs*  
cf. Modern Cheremiss Western (Mountain, NW) dial.: *šukš*  
Modern Cheremiss Eastern (Central, Viatka-Ufa) dial.: *śukś*



Proto-Cher. \**suzâ* 'breadcrumb' [No 374] → EMC *sös* > V *sösö*, A *säs*,  
*säsä*  
 cf. Modern Cheremiss Western (Mountain) dial.: *šuz*  
 (NW) dial.: *šuzo*  
 Modern Cheremiss Eastern (Volga) dial.: *šuz*  
 (Ufa) dial.: *šuz*, *suz*

The majority of Cheremiss loans in Chuvash unfortunately, do not dispose of these phonetic features. The Cheremiss and the Chuvash phonemic systems of consonants differ only slightly from each other (for a reconstruction of the development of the Chuvash consonant system from the OB period to Modern Chuvash cf. Agyagási 1991, p. 288; for a reconstruction of the Proto-Cheremiss consonant system, see Bereczki 1994, p. 64). But the word structure and the oppositions of vowel phonemes differ in the two languages. The vowel structure of ancient Cheremiss words, however, offers more limited possibilities than 13th-century Chuvash.

The Late ancient Cheremiss vocabulary was composed mostly of one- or two-syllable words. The vowel system by this time had become closed, the phoneme *a* in original words occurred very rarely. The characteristic vowel of monosyllabic words was *o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*, *i* or *e*. In two-syllable words these vowels occurred in the first syllable and were followed by a reduced back vowel in 90 per cent of the cases, cf. Bereczki 1992 etymologies on pp. 7-90.

Pinpointing the exact date certain words were borrowed is most difficult in words containing closed vowels, and in some cases it is not possible at all. Solving this problem presumes, first, knowledge of the chronological details of the reducing and closing processes of the Chuvash vowel system, and, second, knowledge of the chronology of the development of ancient Cheremiss closed vowels in each dialect. Yet no absolute chronology exists due to the lack of inner sources. Nevertheless, the Middle Mongolian loanwords of Chuvash (cf. Róna-Tas 1982a) demonstrate the results of the reduction and the tendency towards closing. It sets the upper chronological limit of these developments: they could not have taken place earlier than the mid-13th century. On the basis of the systematic characteristics of the Chuvash vowel system it is possible to draw conclusions about the relative order of particular processes.

The first step must have been the reduction of EMC closed vowels: *i* > *ě*, *ĩ* > *ǎ*, *u* > *ö* and *ü* > *õ*. Then the originally half-closed vowels became closed

but as the reduction tendency of the closed ones was still in process, these secondarily closed vowels also became reduced:  $o > u > \check{o}$  and  $\ddot{o} > \ddot{u} > \check{\ddot{o}}$ . At this stage the EMC vowel system consisted of the following phonemes: /a/, /e/, /ã/, /ẽ/, /õ/ and /õ̃/. The reduction process was complete by the end of the EMC period. In LMC the tendency towards closing began. The result of the closing of the labial and illabial allophones of the phoneme /a/ was the appearance of two phonemes: a new /u/ and a velar /i/. The closed [e] allophone of the phoneme /e/ developed into /i/, but these new closed vowels did not take part in the reduction process. The last stage of the Chuvash tendency towards closing was the change of the open [ã] into /a/.

Due to the reduction process the thus far relatively homogeneous EMC language split into two dialects. The Viryal dialect preserved the result of the EMC reduction process, that is the difference between the labial and illabial articulation of reduced vowels. In the Anatri dialect of LMC the labial reduced vowels were delabialised. This means that the LOB closed phonemes /o/, /u/ and /i/ in the LMC period of the Anatri dialect became one phoneme, /ã/, and the LOB /õ/, /ü/ and /i/ became /ẽ/. Of course, there are exceptions in both dialects: the Spask local variant of the Anatri dialect maintains the labial : illabial opposition of reduced vowels despite the general Anatri tendency (for Paasonen's collection from Spask, cf. Paasonen 1908). And in the Viryal dialect of the Sundyr area the differentiation between labial and illabial reduced vowels has ceased, despite the general Viryal tendency.

Concerning the development of Cheremiss closed vowels, linguistic data indicate (cf. Agyagási 1994) that the ancient Cheremiss unity ceased at the end of the 13th century. The development of closed vowels in the first syllable and reduced vowels in the non-first syllable draw a dialectally different picture (cf. Zeps 1960, Gruzov 1964).

It is characteristic of the Western dialect that first-syllable closed vowels change depending on the closed or open quality of the syllable. They become open in closed syllables and they become reduced in open ones. In addition to the Ancient Cheremiss back reduced vowel a front variant has appeared.

In the Lipša local variant of the Western dialect the articulation time of the original /u/ and /ü/ reduced; therefore, besides the illabial back and front reduced vowels their labial counterparts appeared (Bereczki 1994, pp. 18-20). The same can be said of the Volga local variant of the Eastern dialect (op. cit. pp. 24-26). Both the Lipša and the Volga subdialects consist of the same vowel phonemes as Viryal, but the chronological connection of the

formation of the two systems is unknown. In addition, both Cheremiss subdialects are now on the border of the Viryal-Cheremiss territory.

The other subdialects of the Eastern dialect maintain the first-syllable closed vowels. The reduced vowels in non-first syllables have become vowels of normal length, and they follow the secondary palato-velar harmony (Bereczki, op. cit. pp. 26-29).

Let us have a look at the examples containing closed vowels.

3. If the Cheremiss donor form is a word with *i* in the first syllable and contains a Chuvash *ě* or *ǎ* equivalent, it could have been borrowed before the reduction process in EMC or in LMC when due to the reduction there was no phoneme *i* in the EMC system, and the Chuvash representation of Cheremiss *i* is a substitution:

a. Proto-Cher. \**wij* 'power' [No 467] → beginning of EMC *wij* > *wěj* > LMC *věj* > A *věj*

or

b. Proto-Cher. \**wij* 'power' → end of EMC *wěj* > LMC *věj* > A *věj*  
 cf. Western (Mountain): *wi*  
 Eastern (Volga): *wī*  
 (Viatka-Ufa): *wij*

Proto-Cher. \**lip(â)* 'warm' [No 145] → beginning of EMC *lip* > *lěp* > A, V *lěp*

or

Proto-Cher. \**lip(ə)* 'warm' → end of EMC *lěp* > A, V *lěp*  
 cf. Western (Mountain): *lip*  
 (NW): *liwe*  
 Eastern (Viatka-Ufa): *lewe*

4. When the donor form is a word with a labial vowel in the first syllable and all the syllables of its Chuvash equivalent contain labial or illabial reduced vowels, it is not a phenomenon of phonetics that will serve as a criterion for the chronology of the borrowing, but the spread of the Cheremiss word in different subdialects.

a. When a Cheremiss donor form with a labial vowel in the first syllable has an equivalent with reduced vowels both in the Anatri and Viryal dialects, but the word does not exist in Cheremiss subdialects directly connected to

Chuvash territories, the word can be determined to have been borrowed, in all probability, in the early or late EMC period:

Proto-Cher. \**lup̂* ‘bundle-wood’ [No 170] → beginning of EMC *lup̂i* > *löp̂* > V *löp̂* A *lăp̂ă*

or

Proto-Cher. \**lup̂* ‘bundle-wood’ → end of EMC *löp̂* > LMC *löp̂* > V *löp̂* A *lăp̂ă*

cf. Western (Forest): *lăp̂ă*

Eastern (Central): *lupo*

b. When on the Chuvash side we have a loanword of Cheremiss origin with illabial reduced vowels in both Chuvash dialects and the Cheremiss word (the ancient Cheremiss form of which having contained a labial vowel in the first syllable) is represented in every Cheremiss subdialect directly connected to Chuvash territories, the illabial character of the reduced phoneme of the Chuvash word is the criterion for the non-EMC chronology of the word. There are two possibilities for reconstructing when the word was borrowed.

The borrowing of the Chuvash word may date back to a LMC period when the *u* > *ə* development took place in the Mountain local variant of the Cheremiss Western dialect.

Cher. (Western, Mountain dial.): *lām* ‘snow’ [No 166] → LMC *lām* > A, V *lām*

The same process may also have taken place in the Modern Chuvash period:

Cher. (Western, Mountain dial.): *lām* → V *lām* → A *lām*

Nevertheless, the borrowing of the Ancient Cheremiss form (\**lum*) or the Volga dialectal form (*lŭm*) of the Cheremiss word can be excluded because of the illabial character of the Viryal equivalent. (The Viryal word was not recorded in the Sundry area, cf. Ašmarin 8. 106.)

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## Americanization of Japanese and Japanization of English

The history of Japanese is very complicated. According to S. A. Starostin<sup>1</sup> it separated from the Altaic family about six thousand years ago. Its trustworthy history begins about two thousand years ago when the Proto-Japanese tribes migrated from the continent to the Japanese islands. Before that time the islands were inhabited by Austronesian aborigines. Their languages were probably similar to the languages of the Taiwan aborigines. The new-comers mixed with the old residents and Japanese changed under the influence of the Austronesian substratum. The culture of Japan of the first centuries A.D. was rather primitive and then it experienced the influence of the more developed Chinese culture. This influence existed in the sphere of language too. The most ancient Japanese texts (VII-IX centuries) are Chinesanized to a small degree but until the end of the Heian period (XI-XII centuries) the Japanese language changed considerably. The newest period of the language contacts in Japan began in the middle of the XIX century. Since that time the influence of the European languages especially American English is considerable.

Some Japanologists consider Japanese a hybrid language. It deviated from the Altaic standard more than other Altaic languages. The structure of Modern Japanese possesses Altaic, Austronesian, Chinese and English features. Of course it is impossible to explain all the changes by the influence of languages in contact. For instance the increase of inflexion at the expense of agglutination at the verb, disappearance of differences between finite and participle forms are purely structural changes and it is hardly possible to connect them with the influence of a substratum or adstratum.

The most stable component of the system of Japanese is its grammar structure especially the syntactic one. The word order did not change and both old Japanese and Modern Japanese are SOV languages although all the languages in contact during the last two thousand years are SVO languages.

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<sup>1</sup> S. A. Starostin, *Altayskaya problema i proiskhozhdeniye yaponskogo yazyka*. Moscow, 1991.

This situation differs from the situation of some Turkic languages of Europe especially the languages of non-Moslem peoples (Gagauz, Karaim) which are moving to the SVO type. The suffixal character of morphology, vagueness of borders between suffixes and post-positive particles, the spreading of constructions with auxiliary verbs, the strict differentiation on nouns and verbs with the vagueness of the singling out the class of adjectives, the prevalence of non-finite verbal constructions over complex and compound sentences of European type and many other primordial Altaic features are very stable at the history of Japanese. The Japanese grammar remains Altaic basically but vocabulary and phonetics changed considerably. Of course the majority of the Swadesh's list has Altaic etymologies but more than half of words in the dictionaries of Modern Japanese are old and new borrowings.

The influence of the Austronesian substratum is the most considerable in the field of phonetics. Ethnically the majority of Japanese are descendants of Austronesian people who while changing their languages adapted the phonological system of Proto-Japanese to their phonetical habits. The number of phonemes decreased, the vowel harmony disappeared and the syllable structure became very simple. The phonological structure of Old Japanese (VIII-IX centuries) was the simplest. There were only five vowels in the IX century, all the syllables had the CV structure and moras coincided with syllables. The Japanese syllable script (kana) reflects this stage. Since X-XI centuries the phonological and syllable systems became more difficult again under the influence of Chinese. The morphological feature of Austronesian origin is prefixation. There are several prefixes in Japanese. One of them is prefix *ma=* (often with gemination of the text consonant) with the meaning of intensification of a quality: *shiro* 'white', *masshiro* 'snow-white', *naka* 'middle', *mannaka* 'very middle'. E. D. Polivanov proposed an Austronesian etymology of this prefix.<sup>2</sup> The most common Japanese prefix is the honorific marker *o=* which joins every noun except Chinese borrowings. The latter are combined with the other prefix *go=* which was borrowed from Chinese too but became the morphological marker only in Japanese. The Japanese accentuation has not the Altaic origin either and probably goes back to the Austronesian substratum too.

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<sup>2</sup> E. D. Polivanov, "Odná iz yaponó-malayskikh paralelei" *Izvestiya Rossiyskoy Akademii nauk*. VI. vyp. XII, No 18:1918.



The Chinese influence changes the Japanese language at all the levels except the syntactic one. Many Chinese roots and words were borrowed with the Chinese characters; the process of formation of new words from Chinese roots was going on for more than a thousand years and continues nowadays. Chinese words and roots underwent the phonetic and phonological adaptation. However some of their peculiarities remained, as a result the phonological system of Japanese changed: long vowels, geminates, palatalized consonants appeared, syllable structure became more difficult. The Chinese stratum of vocabulary is very significant, it includes the majority of cultural words. Some grammatical markers as the above-mentioned *go*= were borrowed from Chinese although they are not numerous. I have already described the Chinese component of the system of Japanese in details at the 35 PIAC.<sup>3</sup>

The first borrowings from the Western languages appeared in Japanese in the XVI-XVIII centuries. They were originally borrowings from Portuguese (*pan* 'bread', *tabako* 'tobacco', *tempura* 'tempura (Japanese national dish)' from *tempero* 'moderate') then from Dutch (*koohii* 'coffee', *biiru* 'beer', *garasu* 'glass'). Such words were not numerous and did not change the structure of Japanese.

The situation changed after the Meiji restoration (1867-1868) when the intensive Europeanization began. Many borrowings appeared in Japanese since the Meiji restoration to the beginning of the XXth century, then their quality decreased at the time of militarism and purism. Since the time of the American occupation of Japan (1945-1952) this process became very intensive again. Before the Second World War Japanese was under the influence of different Western languages especially French, German, British English and American English. However after the time of the occupation American English became the main and almost the only source of borrowings; even the names of peculiarities of third countries (except China and Korea) come to Japanese through American English in the American phonetic kind. Some words of different origin are ousted by American duplicates: *beddo* from *bed* and *betto* from German *Bett* coexisted for several decades but only *beddo* exists now. The influence of other languages is preserved only at some fields: fashion for French, medicine for German. Practically all the structural changes in Japanese of the XXth century are results of the influence of

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<sup>3</sup> V. M. Alpatov, "Japanese as a Hybrid Altaic-Chinese Language" in *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference. September 12-17. 1992. Taipei.*

American English (contacts of Japan with Great Britain are not significant and the peculiarities of British English are estimated by Japanese people even as not British but as dialectal American ones).

The borrowings from English (as the borrowings from Chinese) underwent the phonetic and phonological adaptations. However they changed the system of Japanese too. New phonemes appeared or allophones became particular phonemes. The phoneme *v* exists only in borrowings: *voryuumu* 'volume' *t* and *c* are allophones outside the borrowings from English: *c* is a variant of *t* before *u*: *mat-e* 'wait!', *mac-u* 'waits' but *t* and *c* are distinguished at different positions in the subsystem of borrowings: *tutti* 'tutti', *cepperin* 'zeppelin'. Unpalatalized sounds are impossible before *i* in Japanese, for instance *t* turns into palatalized *ch* at this position: *mach-i* 'at the time of waiting'. However this restriction is not important in the subsystems of borrowings and we find pairs: *chii* 'position' (from Chinese) – *tii* 'tee'. However some fundamental peculiarities of the English system of phonemes are alien to Japanese even now. The difference of the phonemes *l* and *r* important in English but it does not exist in Japanese since the Proto-Japanese stage until now. This difference does not exist in Korean and Chinese either. The number of borrowings from English with the original *l* and *r* is significant but this difference has not appeared in Japanese: *reezaa* from *razor* and *reezaa* from *laser* are homonyms (the corresponding sound is marked as *r* in the standard transcription but it differs from both the sounds). Japanese people can learn the correct pronunciation of both sounds but they can not distinguish them by ear.

The morphonology of English borrowings is different from the morphonology of other strata of Japanese. We can distinguish only 24 morphophonemes for the primordial subsystem uniting Altaic and Austronesian elements, 32 morphophonemes for the Chinese subsystem and 36 morphophonemes for the subsystem of the borrowings; only 21 morphophonemes are common.<sup>4</sup> Vowel phonemes and morphophonemes are the same in all the subsystems but consonant phonemes and morphophonemes are very different.

The morphophonological structure of morphs is very strict in the Chinese subsystem for the reason of the strict structure of them in Chinese. However

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<sup>4</sup> V. M. Alpatov, *Morfonologicheskiye osobennosti zaimstvovaniy v sovremennom yaponskom yazyke*. Znack. Moscow, 1994.

such structure in the Western subsystem is as free as possible. The number of syllables within a morph is not limited: *noiezahharihikaito* from German *neue Sachlichkeit* (it is necessary to consider that many English or German phrases became words in Japanese). Some syllable structures are possible only in borrowings as CVVC: *zoon* 'zone', *saruun* 'saloon'.

Appearance of borrowed affixes and subsidiary words is a sign of an important role of borrowings. Some affixes are singled out because of a significant number of borrowings of the same type: =*uumu* 'chemical element' in *tor'uumu* 'thorium', *erb'uumu* 'erbium' and so on. Other elements are used rather freely for word-formation. Such element is the negative *no*: when a group of state employees organized the movement for appearance at working places without neckties (for the purpose of economy) this movement was called *no-nekutai*. The word *no-ai-ron* means 'thing that is not allowed to iron'. Such *no* can be considered as a new prefix (some negative prefixes exist at the Chinese subsystem). Even the definite article is borrowed. It is common in advertisements and in titles especially in the TV titles: *Za chansu* 'The chance', *Naruhodo za waarudo* 'Really the world' (the last example is the combination of a primordial Japanese word with a borrowing). Japanese has not articles but it is possible that such category will be formed through borrowings. However cases of the borrowing of an indefinite article are not fixed.

There are a lot of patterns of word formation from borrowed roots in Japanese. For instance there are many new words with the first component *mai* from *my* with the meaning 'private': *mairoomu* 'private house', *maikaa* 'private car' and so on. Tens and hundreds words are similar to the English ones although they are built in Japan. There are no words or word-combinations \**nighter*, \**salary man*, \**auto by(cicle)* in English but there are words *naitaa* 'evening (baseball or football) play with electric lighting', *sarariman* 'employee', *octobai* '(motor) cycle' in Japanese. New words can appear as a result of shortening: *roomu* from *puratooomu* 'platform', *zenesuto* from *zeneraaruu-sutoraiiki* 'general strike'. So this subsystem is developing by its laws irrespective of the development of English.

The influence of English becomes apparent even at the sphere of syntax. Passive constructions existed both in Old Japanese and in Modern Japanese but one of their peculiarities was the impossibility of an inanimate subject. This limitation disappeared now under the influence of English. Linguists mention that the use of such constructions is connected with the Western

semantic sphere: *Sakana ga neko ni taberareta* 'Fish is eaten by (the) cat' is not natural but *Booru ga nagerareta* 'Baseball' ball is thrown' is common. The less evident example is the change of government of some verbs and verbal constructions. A hundred years ago only the sentence *Boku wa mizu ga nomitai* 'I want to drink water' was possible (*wa* is the topic marker, *ga* is the subject marker). However this variant is not the most usual in the modern language *Boku wa mizu o nomitai* or even *Boku ga mizu o nomitai* (*o* is the direct object marker) are more common. The role of English is possible here.

Semantically the majority of new borrowings are connected with the Western culture especially with the American mass culture. Many of such words have synonyms or quasi-synonyms but they are not unnecessary. Japanese people are boiling rice for many centuries and have two words (*meshi* and Chinese borrowing *gohan*) for boiled rice but both the words are associated with the Japanese manner of boiling. Therefore it is natural to call rice boiled in a Western manner not *meshi* or *gohan* but *raisu*. There are several Japanese words with the meaning 'wife' (special words with meanings 'my wife', 'wife of a superior', 'wife of an inferior' etc.) but all of them are associated with the traditional Japanese family where the role of a woman is subordinate; if family relations are equal the word *waifu* seems to be more convenient. The above-mentioned words with the component *mai* (my) have Japanese synonyms but they are associated with American ideas of privacy and individualism.

The general frequency of borrowings in Japanese texts is about 6-9% but it increases considerably in the texts connected with the sphere of consumption. For instance their number in the scientific and technical texts including texts on radioelectronics and motor-car construction is not significant. However the majority of words in an instruction for buyers of recorders or car owners are borrowings from English. The meaning of some words is narrowed: *doraibu* 'drive' is not 'drive in general' but only drive with aims of amusing. Some borrowings of such type are written in Latin letters although they are read in Japanese and not in English. Many of such words are not intelligible to the majority of Japanese people especially in the sphere of publicity but they have an image of prestige and high quality.

Changes in Japanese are common for many modern languages. The influence of English on Japanese is comparable with the influence of Chinese on it in the past. However many Altaic features of Japanese remains very stable.

The contacts between Japanese and English were one-sided until the last decades. There were many borrowings from English to Japanese but the borrowings from Japanese to English were only not numerous names of specific Japanese realities. However the economic successes of Japan intensified the role of the Japanese culture in the world. The spreading of the Japanese technics and the Japanese management is connected with the spreading of the Japanese painting, the Japanese food and so on; the names of them are spreading too. Not only words as *sushi*, *hibachi* but *giri*, *gyosei-shido* are fixed in English: there are some translation loan words in English as forward looking posture as the equivalent of *maemuki no shisei* in Japanese. Some Japanese linguists write that the role of Japan in the modern world leads to the Japanization of English.<sup>5</sup> However such perspectives are not clear yet.

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<sup>5</sup> Suzuki Takao, "Internationalization and Language" *Japan Times* 09. 02. 1987.



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Türkçede ilk seslemdeki yuvarlak ünlülerin nitelikleri üzerine\*

Karşılaştırmalı ve tarihsel Türk dilbiliminin henüz bir sonuca bağlanamamış veya tam olarak aydınlatılamamış pek çok sorunu bulunuyor. Bu sorunlardan biri de *ilk seslemdeki yuvarlak ünlülerin nitelikleri* sorunudur.

Günümüz Türk dillerinde ve lehçelerinde, kökenleri aynı olmasına karşın, ilk seslemlerindeki yuvarlak ünlülerinin genişlik dereceleri farklı pek çok sözcük görüyoruz. Sorunu daha açık bir şekilde ifade edecek olursak, Türkçe bir sözcüğün ilk seslemindeki *o* sesinin, bir başka Türk dilinde ve lehçesinde aynı sözcükte niçin *u* olarak bulunduğu veya bir ya da birkaç Türk dilinde ve lehçesinde ilk seslemde *ü* görülürken öteki Türk dillerinde veya lehçelerinde aynı sözcükte *ü* yerine neden *ö* bulunduğu (ör., *yokarı* ~ *yukarı*, *özengi* ~ *üzengi* vb.) çoğu durumda bugün için açıklanamıyor. Bu durum kuşkusuz yalnız günümüz Türk dilleri ve lehçeleri açısından değil, aynı zamanda sözcüklerin görece en eski biçimlerinin belirlenmesi yönünde yapılan dil tarihi araştırmaları açısından da büyük bir sorun oluşturmaktadır. Söz konusu soruna ilişkin olarak toplanan malzemenin sınıflandırılması işi henüz devam ettiğinden, burada, bu sınıflandırma sonucunda ortaya çıkan farklı problem kategorilerinden yalnızca bellibaşlı olanları ele alınıyor ve örneklerle destekleniyor.

Aşağıda da görüleceği gibi, çalışmanın birinci bölümünde *koşullu*<sup>1</sup> ve *düzenli* sayılabilecek ses değişimlerinden kaynaklanan farklılıklar üzerinde duruluyor. Bu farklılıklar, asıl sorun üzerinde yapılan incelemelerin dışında tutulacaktır.

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\* Bu bildiri, konferansa “*On the quality of the first-syllable rounded vowels in the Turkic languages*” başlığıyla İngilizce olarak sunulmuştur.

<sup>1</sup> Koşullu ses değişimi, Alm. *kombinatorischer Lautwandel*, İng. *combinatorial phonetic change* anlamında kullanılmıştır.

### 1. Koşullu ses değişimlerine bağlı farklılıklar:

1.1. İlk seslemde birincil sayılan geniş yuvarlak ünlü+damak ünsüzü / sızıcı ses bileşimi, kimi Türk dil ve lehçelerinde geniş yuvarlak ünlünün daralmasına neden olur.<sup>2</sup> Bu durum, koşullu ses değişiminden kaynaklanmaktadır. Damak ünsüzünün sızıcılılaşması veya gelişimini sürdürerek sonunda kaybolması sonucunda kendisinden önceki geniş yuvarlak ünlü daralır. Söz konusu daralma, Rodop, Dinler (Makedonya), Bulgaristan'ın Gakçı, Milino ve -e ağızları gibi Rumeli ağızlarında, Karaçayca-Balkarcada ve pek çok Kıpçak dilinde yaygın olarak görülmektedir.<sup>3</sup>

Ttü. *boğ-* 'boğmak; çepeçevre sıkamak' < \**bog-* > Gag., Krg., Kzk., Krç.-Bal., KmkN *bū-*, Kmk. *buv-*, Kar. *buw-*, *bu-*.

Ttü. *soğuk* 'soğuk' < \**soguk* > \**suwuk* > Kzk. *suvik*, Krç.-Bal. *su'uk*, Gag., Gak., Krg. *sük*.

Ttü. *öğüt-* 'öğütmek' < \**ögüt-* > \**öyüt-* > Aze. *üyüt-*, Gag. *üt-*.

Ttü. *döğ-/döv-* 'dövmek', Son., Tkm. *düv-* < \**döw-* < \**tög-* > \**tüy-/tüw* > Gag. *dü-*.

1.2. Koşullu ses değişimleri yalnızca damak ünsüzlerinin sızıcılılaşmasıyla meydana gelmiyorlar. Damak ünsüzlerinin neden oldukları değişikliklere benzer durumlar, içses ve sonses y'nin etkisiyle de ortaya çıkabilmektedir (*öyül/öy* > *ü/ü*).<sup>4</sup> Söz konusu değişim, Türkçenin konuşulduğu değişik alanlarda farklı sıklıkta çıkıyor karşımıza. Bu değişim Gagauzcada çok seyrek görülen bir durumken, Bulgaristan'ın -e ve Gakçı Türk ağızlarında yaygın olarak gözlenebilmektedir.<sup>5</sup>

2 J. Eckmann ve M. Mansuroğlu, *TDED* 9 (1959):115'te, Edirne ağızında, "bilhassa ğ > v yanında" o > u değişimi olduğuna işaret ediyorlar. S. Tezcan, *TDAYB* 1977:62'de, "kimi kez, g'den dönmüş olan v önünde ve tek tük y önünde" o ~ u, ö ~ ü değişimi olduğunu belirtiyor.

3 Bkz. G. Hazai, *Rodop Türk Ağızları*, *TDAYB* 1957:129; J. Eckmann - M. Mansuroğlu, *1959 Yılı Trakya dialektolojisi gezi raporu*, *TDED* 9 (1959):115; J. Eckmann, *Dinler (Makedonya) Türk Ağızları*, *TDAYB* 1960:191; H. Dalli, *Kuzeydoğu Bulgaristan Türk ağızları üzerine araştırmalar*, Türk Dil Kurumu yayını, Ankara 1978:79; T. Gülensoy, *Rumeli ağızlarının ses bilgisi üzerine bir deneme*, *TDAYB* 1984:91-93 (aşağıdakilerde=RAS).

4 Krş. G. Doerfer, *Das Gagausische*, In: *PhTF* 1:266.

5 T. Gülensoy, *RAS*:92, 94.



- e, Gak. *süle-* < *söyle-* > Gag. *süle-* (~ *söle-*) 'söylemek'.  
 Gak. *şülä* < *şöyle* > Gag. *şülä* (~ *şölä, şölä, şölä*) 'şöyle'.  
 -e, Gak. *büle* < *böyle* > Gag. *bülä* (~ *bölä, bölä*) 'böyle'.  
 Gak. *üle* 'öyle' < *öyle*.

### 1.3. Düzenli değişimlere bağlı farklılıklar:

Burada öncelikle, Volga Kıpçak dillerinde (Kazan Tatarcası, Başkurtça) düzenli bir değişimin sonucunda ortaya çıkan ünlü daralması ve ünlü indirgenmesi (*vowel reduction*) süreçlerini dikkate almamız gerekiyor.<sup>6</sup> Bu süreç sonunda birincil geniş yuvarlak ünlüler daralmışlardır (\**o* > *u*, \**ö* > *ü*). Yani öteki Türk dil ve lehçelerindeki \**o* sesi bu dillerde *u*, \**ö* sesi ise *ü* olarak görülür. Bölgenin bir başka önemli dili olan Çuvaşçada da aynı değişimler söz konusu olduğundan, Çuvaşçanın bu değişimlerini de bu bölümde ele almak gerekiyor. Ancak Volga Kıpçak dillerindeki süreçten farklı olarak bu değişim Çuvaşçada devam etmiş ve bir derece daha ileri gitmiştir. Birincil \**o*, Viryal ağızında *ö*, Anatri ağızında *ă*, birincil \**ö* ise, Viryal ağızında *õ*, Anatri ağızında *ě* olmuştur. Ünlü daralması ve indirgenmesi süreçlerinden yalnız geniş yuvarlak ünlüler değil, dar yuvarlak ünlüler de etkilenmişlerdir. Bugün bu dar yuvarlak ünlülerin yerinde Volga Kıpçak dillerinde indirgenmiş ünlüleri görüyoruz.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> W. Radloff, *Phonetik der nördlichen Türkischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1882:14-15; M. Räsänen, *Materialen zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, Helsinki 1949:86-88, 94, 96; J. Benzing, *Das Baschkirische*, In: *PhTF* 1:424; K. Thomsen, *Das Kasantatarische und die westsibirischen Dialekte*, In: *PhTF* 1:409; A. Róna-Tas, *Az altaji nyelvrokonság vizsgálatának alapjai*, yayımlanmamış profesörlük tezi, Budapest 1970:862-863 (aşağıdakilerde =PTEzi); A. M. Ščerbak, *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tjurkskih jazykov*, Leningrad 1970:18; G. Doerfer, *Bemerkungen zur Methodik der türkischen Lautlehre*, In: *OLZ* 66 (1971):329; Á. Berta, *Die Struktur des Vokalismus in den Wolga-Türkischen Sprachen*, *UJb* Neue Folge 2 (1982):169; K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples. An Introduction to Turkic Studies*, 2nd revised editon, Wiesbaden 1995:63.

<sup>7</sup> A. Róna-Tas, *Some Problems of Uralic Vocalism from an Altaist's Point of View*, In: *Language and History. Contributions to Comparative Altaistics*, *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 25, Szeged 1986:140 -143 (aşağıdakilerde=CCA).

Ana Türkçe	Orta Bulgarca	Çuvaşça	
		Viryal	Anatri
Geniş	Dar	İndirgenmiş	İndirgenmiş
*o	*u	ö	ă
*ö	*ü	ö	ě
Dar	İndirgenmiş		
*u	*ö	ö	ă
*ü	*ö	ö	ě

Ana Türkçe	Tatarca ve Başkurtça	Altayca
Geniş	Dar	Dar
*o	u	u
*ö	ü	ü
Dar	İndirgenmiş	
*u	ö	
*ü	ö	

Tatarca, Başkurtça ve Çuvaşçada görülen bu daralma ve indirgenme süreçlerinin sonuçlarını yukarıda sözünü ettiğimiz koşullu değişimlerden ayrı tutmamız gerekiyor. Zira burada, her şeyden önce fonetik çevreye bağlı olmayan düzenli değişimler söz konusudur. Volga Kıpçak dillerindeki bu süreçleri, öteki Türk dil ve lehçelerinin koşullu ses değişimlerine bağlanamayan ünlü daralması veya genişlemesi gibi seyrek görülen süreçlerinden de ayırmamız gerekiyor. Nitekim bunlar, görüldüğü kadarıyla genel nitelikte olmayan ve seyrek olarak görülen değişimlerdir. Bu gibi değişimleri kimi Türk dil ve lehçelerinde görmek mümkün.

Örneğin Volga Kıpçak dillerine benzer bir ünlü daralmasını (\*o > u, \*ö > ü) seyrek olarak Altaycada, tam olarak söylemek gerekirse, kuzey ağızlarında (Tuba, Kumandu, Lebed / Çalkandu) da görmekteyiz.<sup>8</sup>

Buna benzer bir başka ikincil durum Batı Rumeli ağızlarında (Prizren, Priştine, Mitroviça, Vuçitırın) da görülüyor. Özellikle kök seslemlerde ö sesi bulunmadığından, bu ağızlarda ö yerine ü kullanılmaktadır.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> O. Pritsak, *Das Altaitürkische*, In: *PhTF* 1:581.

<sup>9</sup> T. Gülensoy, *RAS*:111, 115, 123.

Priz. *ügi* 'üvey' < \**ögäy*

Priz. *çüpek* 'köpek' < *köpek*

Priz. *cüz* 'göz' < *göz*

Burada, koşullu ve düzenli ses değişimlerinden kaynaklanan farklılıkların ayrı ayrı ele alınmasının nedeni, düzenli ses değişimlerinin meydana geldiği dillerin verilerinin birincil seslerin belirlenmesinde belirleyici bir rol oynamasıdır. Örneğin Tatarcada ilk seslemdeki bir *u* sesi doğal olarak bir \**o* sesine geri gidiyor (*u* < \**o*). Aynı şekilde, Başkurtçadaki indirgenmiş *ö* sesi de bir \**u* sesine geri gitmektedir (*ö* < \**u*).

## 2. Koşullu ve düzenli ses değişimlerine bağlanamayan farklılıklar:

2.1. Bütün bunlar yanında, Volga Kıpçak Türkçesindeki düzenli ses değişimlerine bağlayamayacak durumlarla da karşılaşırız. Tatarcadan ve çeşitli ağızlarından alınan aşağıdaki veriler buna örnek olarak gösterebilir:

*Çölpan* ~ *Çulpan* 'Venüs, Çulpan', *töŋ* ~ *tuŋ* '(hava) don', *şöl* ~ *şul* 'şu', *yön-* ~ *yun-* 'oymak, yontarak şekil vermek', *öta-* ~ *uta-* 'yabani ot ayıklamak', *köŋuz* ~ *kuŋuz* 'böcek', *ölak* ~ *ulak* 'tekne', *töpsa* ~ *tupsa* 'eşik', *bötka* ~ *butka* 'pişirilmiş yulaf ezmesi', *ötrow* ~ *utrow* 'ada', *tökmak* ~ *tukmak* 'sopa; kalın değnek', *söra-* ~ *sura-* 'sormak; rica etmek', *söŋ* ~ *suŋ* 'sonra; son', *yütäl* ~ *cötäl* ~ *yütkerü* ~ *jüt'erē* (~ *yētkerü*) 'öksürmek', *künjäl* ~ *künjel* ~ *köŋgäl* ~ *köŋäl* ~ *köŋöl* (~ *kēŋäl*) 'gönül, kalp, yürek', *kömäç* ~ *kümäç* (~ *kēmäç*) 'küçük fırancala'<sup>10</sup>, vb.

Ağızlarda görülen bu farklılıkları açıklığa kavuşturabilecek bir dayanağımız yok. Söz konusu farklılıklar, günümüz ağızlarının özelliklerinden kaynaklanmayıp, çoğu durumda eski ağız ayrılıklarının izlerini taşıyorlar. Volga Kıpçak dillerinde meydana gelen daralma süreciyle de ilgili değiller. Büyük bir olasılıkla bu daralma sürecinden çok daha eski dönemlere uzanıyorlar. Öte yandan, örneklerde görülen *o* ~ *u*, *ö* ~ *ü* almasıyla ilgili değişik zamanlarda ortaya çıkmış olabileceğini de göz önünde bulundurmamız gerek. Bu

<sup>10</sup> Á. Berta, *Lautgeschichte der tatarischen Dialekte*, Studia Uralo-Altaica 31, Szeged 1989:75-76, 83-84, 99-100, 103-105, 107 (aşağıdakilerde=LTD); K. Steuerwald, *Almanca-Türkçe Sözlük*, Wiesbaden-İstanbul 1988.

noktada ise farklı kronolojik tabakaların ayırt edilmesi sorunuyla karşı karşıya kalıyoruz. Ne var ki, şimdilik böyle bir tabakalandırmaya gitme olanağımız yok. Bu, şu an için son derece güç bir iş.<sup>11</sup> Ayrıca böyle durumlarda hangi yuvarlak ünlünün görece birincil olduğu sorusuna yanıt vermek de kolay değil. Söz konusu almaşma belli sözcüklerde, Türk dil ve lehçelerinin büyük bir bölümünde görülmezken yalnızca birkaç Türk dil ve lehçesinde görülüyorsa, başlangıç için, yaygın olan ünlünün niteliğinin görece birincil olma olasılığının büyük olduğu gibi bir varsayımdan yola çıkılabilir.

2.2. Yukarıda sözü edilen, ünlüleri geniş-dar almaşıklığı gösteren örnekler yanında, boğumlanma noktaları bakımından yalnızca ön-art almaşıklığı (*o ~ ö, u ~ ü*) gösteren veya ön-art almaşıklığı ile geniş-dar almaşıklığının bir arada görüldüğü (*o ~ ü, ö ~ u*) örneklerle de karşılaşılıyor.

*o ~ ö* : Ttü. *sön-*, Gag. *son-* (~ *sün-*) ‘sönmek’; Ttü. *çöl*, Gag. *çol* ‘çöl’.

*u ~ ü* : Ttü. *ut-* ~ *üt-* ‘yenmek; (oyunda) yenmek’, Aze. *ud-*, Tkm. *üt-*, Krg. *ut-*; Ttü. ağ. *çum-*, *çüm-* (~ *çim-*) ‘suya bütün vücuduyla girip çıkmak’, Tkm. *çüm-* ‘batmak, saplanmak; dalmak’, TatB. *çum-*, *çüm-* ‘batırmak, daldırmak; batmak, dalmak’.

*o ~ ü* : Ttü. *oyna-*, Kor. *üyna-* ‘oyynamak’; Ttü. *toprak*, Kor. *türpax* (~ *tupax*) ‘toprak’.

*ö ~ u* : Ttü. *öl-*, Vid. *ul-* (~ *ül-*) ‘ölmek; solmak’; Ttü. *ölç-*, Vid. *ulç-* ‘ölçmek’; Ttü *öp-*, Vid. *up-* ‘öpmek’.

2.3. Sayıları az olmakla birlikte, kökleri ve kökenleri belirsiz olan, yalnızca bir ya da birkaç Türk dilinde ve / veya lehçesinde görebildiğimiz sözcükler ise, üzerinde durduğumuz sorun açısından ayrı bir güçlük oluşturuyorlar: Osm. *çopur* ‘Sommersprossen, Pickeln, Flecken (auf der Haut, nach einer Krankheit)’; mit Sommersprossen bedeckt; eine Antilope’. Osm. *çöpür*, *çüpür* ‘ein Fleck im Gesichte, ein Rostfleck; das Argali’.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Daha geniş bilgi için bkz., LTD:76-77.

<sup>12</sup> W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk - Dialekte*, St. Petersburg 1893-1911 III:2029, 2202; Räsänen, VEWT:116. *Lehçe-i Osmâni*’den alındığı anlaşılan Radloff ve Räsänen sözlüklerindeki *çüpür*’ ün yanlış bir okuma olduğunu belirtmek gerekir. Nitekim, *Lehçe-i Osmâni*’de söz konusu maddebaşı *چوپور* olup bir önceki ve bir sonraki maddebaşlarının kalın sıradan olmaları nedeniyle, gerek maddebaşının, gerekse tanım

2.4. Son olarak, bütün ayrıntılarıyla ele alınmayı bekleyen bir başka kategoriden söz etmek istiyorum. Burada şimdilik, ilk seslemdeki ünlülerin incelenmesi sırasında yukarıdakilerin dışında ayrıca böyle bir kategorinin de dikkate alınması gerektiğini belirtmekle yetineceğim. Günümüz Türk dil ve lehçelerinin bazılarında ilk seslemde geniş ya da dar yuvarlak bir ünlü varken, kimilerinde bu yuvarlak ünlülerin yerinde düz ünlülerin bulunduğu pek çok verimiz var. Bu bölümde incelenecek örneklerin bir bölümünü yukarıda kimi örneklerde de görüldüğü gibi koşullu ses değişimleriyle açıklamak mümkün. Örneğin, *buzacı, bızacı, buzağı, buzakı*<sup>13</sup> gibi biçimlerde, ilk seslemdeki yuvarlak ünlünün ikincil olduğu, önses *b*'nin etkisiyle yuvarlaklaşmış olabileceği olasılığını da gözardı etmememiz gerekiyor. Bu gibi örneklerin toplanmasıyla burada da pek çok alt kategori yapma olanağımız olacaktır.

Çalışmanın başında belirttiğim sorunlara ancak Türk dil ve lehçelerinden toplanan verilerin sınıflandırılması işini bitirdikten sonra doğru cevaplar bulabiliriz. Kuşkusuz en merak uyandırıcı sorulardan biri, ilk seslemlerinde yuvarlak bir ünlü bulunan Türkçe sözcüklerin yüzde kaçının bu gibi karışıklıkları gösterdiğidir. Sorunlu örneklerin kök ve kökenleri veya görece birincil biçimleri hakkındaki görüşlerimizi ise, ancak kurallı ve kuralsız örnekleri birarada gördükten sonra ileri sürebiliriz.

Buraya kadarkilerde her ne kadar günümüz Türk dil ve lehçelerinden alınan örnekler üzerinde durduysam da, sorunun ancak bu çerçevenin dışına çıktığımız takdirde sağlıklı bir sonuca ulaştırılabileceğini özellikle vurgulamak gerekir. Burada yalnızca, incelemelerimize dahil edilmesi gereken çok önemli birkaç kaynağa kısaca değinmek istiyorum. Erken dönem Türkçe-Moğolca ses denkliklerinin incelenmesi bu noktada çok büyük bir önem taşıyor. Bilindiği gibi Türkçede ilk seslemdeki \**o* sesine karşılık Moğolcada ki-

kısmında geçen biçimlerin *çüpür* olarak okunamayacağı görülüyor. Ayrıca krş. *çopur* 'Geburtsfleck' *JW*:18, Özb. *çipor*, Uyg. *çipar* 'rjabóç'.

<sup>13</sup> *TTS*:733. Krş. *buzacı*, *EDPT*:391; \**bızacı*, *VEWT*:74-75. Günümüz Türk dil ve lehçelerinde düz ünlülü pek çok biçimini görüyoruz. Anadolu ağızlarında *bıza*, *bızâ*, *beza*, *bısık*, *bızâb*, *bızâğ*, *bızâğa*, *bızâğı*, *bızar*, *bızav*, *bızık*, *bızo*, *bıza*, *bızav*, *bızo*, *bızov*, *DS* 673, Avşar ağızlarında *bızow*, *bızoy*, *bızay*, *bıdoy*, *SMAl*:38, Gag., Tuv. *bızâ*, Hak. *pıza*, Alt. *pıza*, Kar. *bızuw*, Bşk. *bıđau*, KmkR. *bızay*, *bızay*. Tatar ağızlarında *bızaw*, *bızöu*. *LTD*:258.

mi sözcüklerde *o*, kimilerinde *u*, \**ö* sesine karşılık da *ö* veya *ü* seslerini görüyoruz.

Türkçe	Moğolca	Türkçe <sup>14</sup>		Moğolca <sup>15</sup>
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>koş-</i>	‘birleştirmek’	<i>kolbu-</i> , <i>kolba-</i>
<i>ö</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>bögräk</i>	‘böbrek’	<i>bögere</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>kudruk</i>	‘kuyruk’	<i>kudurga</i>
<i>ü</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>büt-</i>	‘bitmek’	<i>bütü-</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>body-</i>	‘boyamak’	<i>budu-</i>
		<i>botka</i>	‘yulaf lapası’	<i>budagan</i>
		<i>koç</i>	‘koç’	<i>kuça</i>
		<i>koñuz</i>	‘böcek’	<i>guur</i>
		<i>kopuz</i>	‘kopuz’	<i>kugur</i> , <i>kuur</i>
		<i>koz</i>	‘ceviz’	<i>kusiga</i>
		<i>kozi</i>	‘kuzu’	<i>kurigan</i>
		<i>öp-</i>	‘içmek, soğurmak’	<i>ugu-</i>
		<i>oz-</i>	‘önce olmak, geçmek’	<i>urid-</i> , <i>urida-</i>
		<i>tog-</i>	‘başlamak’	<i>tugurbi-</i>
		<i>tōz</i>	‘toz’	<i>togusun</i>
		<i>tōz</i>	‘huş ağacı kabuğu’	<i>durusun</i>
<i>ö</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>bödüne</i>	‘bıldırcın’	<i>büdüne</i>
		<i>böz</i>	‘bez’	<i>büse</i> ‘girdle or belt’, <i>bös</i>
		<i>çök-</i>	‘baş eğmek’	<i>çügdüyi-</i>
		<i>höküz</i> <sup>16</sup>	‘öküz’	<i>üker</i>
		<i>kōbek</i>	‘göbek’	<i>küyi</i>
		<i>örçi-</i>	‘çoğalmak’	<i>üreci-</i>
		<i>tönke</i>	‘ot öbeği, çalı kümesi’	<i>tüngke</i>
<i>ü</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>bük-</i>	‘bükmek’	<i>böküyi-</i>
		<i>kübez</i>	‘gururlu, kibirli’	<i>köger</i>
		<i>kügen</i>	‘kement’	<i>kögene</i>
		<i>külçün</i>	‘ödünç (verme/alma)’	<i>kölüsün</i>
		<i>kürt</i>	‘kar yığintısı’	<i>çasun-u kör</i>

<sup>14</sup> PTezi:881, 886-888, 890; CCA:34, 45, 51, 77; OxfS. RedS.

<sup>15</sup> Burada kaynak olarak Lessing sözlüğü kullanılmakla birlikte bu sözlüğün genişlik-darlık sorununda belirleyici bir nitelik taşımadığını da özellikle belirtmek gerekir.

<sup>16</sup> Toharcadan ödünçleme (< \**hokso* ‘öküz’) oluşu hakkında bkz. CCA:501-502.

<i>müjre-</i>	‘böğürmek’	<i>mögere-</i>
<i>müjüz</i>	‘boynuz’	<i>mögeresün,</i> <i>bögeresün</i>
<i>süz-</i>	‘toslamak, bindirmek’	<i>sör-</i> ‘to move in a contrary direc- tion; to resist’
<i>tüp</i>	‘orta’	<i>töb</i>
<i>tüs</i>	‘renk, görünüş’	<i>tösü</i> ‘resem- blance’
<i>tüş</i>	‘düş’	<i>tölge</i> ‘fortune- telling’
<i>tüş</i>	‘meyve, yarar’	<i>töl</i> ‘newborn young animals’
<i>üme</i>	‘yardım’	<i>öme çerig</i> ‘reinforcements’
<i>yük-</i>	‘taşımak, nakletmek’	<i>cöge-</i>

Bu tür örneklerin sayısını çoğaltabiliriz. Nitekim, Doerfer’in başlangıçta Ana Türkçede üç ayrı yuvarlak ünlü olduğu (*o, ɔ, u* ve *ö, ̧, ü*) varsayımında bulunmasının nedenlerinden biri de yukarıda da görüldüğü gibi, Türkçedeki \**o* ve \**ö*’ye karşılık Moğolcada *o/u* ve *ö/ü* görülmesiydi.<sup>17</sup>

Geniş ve dar ünlüleri ayırt edebilen Brahmi, Tibet, Latin ve Kiril alfabeleriyle Türkçe olarak yazılmış belgelerin tanıklığına başvurmak, kaçınılmaz bir gereklilik olarak karşımıza çıkıyor.

Son olarak ise ödünçlemelerin önemini vurgulamak istiyorum. Bu noktada, Türkçeden yabancı dillere geçmiş ödünçlemeler ve yabancı dillerden Türkçeye geçmiş ödünçlemeler olmak üzere, incelenmesi gereken iki ayrı kategori bulunuyor. Bugüne kadar yeterince üzerinde durulmayan ilk seslemde-

<sup>17</sup> Bkz., *TMEN*:1:99; Ana Türkçe \**o* ve \**ö*’nün Moğolcadaki ikili karşılıklarının kronolojik ve kısmen de lehçe farklılıklarından kaynaklandığı görüşünde olan Róna-Tas, Doerfer’in bu görüşüne karşı, Ana Türkçede olduğu varsayılan iki kısa yuvarlak ünlünün dışında bir üçüncüsünü düşünmemiz için hiçbir neden olmadığını, bunun ancak Ana Türkçe-Ana Moğolca ödünçlemelerin tek bir döneme ait ve aynı lehçeler arasında olduğunu varsaymamız durumunda mümkün olabileceğini belirtiyor (*PTezi*:888, *CCA*:45, not 36). Sorunu daha sonra tekrar ele alan Doerfer, daha önceki görüşünü değiştirerek bu ara ünlülerin (İng. *intermediate vowels*, Alm. *Zwischenlaute*) (*ɔ* ve *̧*) Ana Türkçede yalnızca lehçe düzeyinde bulduklarını, varlıkları kuvvetle muhtemel olmasına karşın bunun kesin olarak kanıtlanamadığını belirtir, bkz. *OLZ*:66 (1971):332, *KhM*:277, *PTRP*:17.

ki yuvarlak ünlülerin tarihçesi sorununda, ancak sözü edilen bütün bu kaynakların bir arada kullanılması bizi çözüme götürebilir.

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**Diğer Kısaltmalar**

<i>ağ.</i>	Ağızlarda
<i>Alm.</i>	Almanca
<i>bkz.</i>	Bakınız!
<i>CCA</i>	bkz. not 7
<i>Gak.</i>	Gakçı ağzı, bkz. not 3, <i>RAS</i>
<i>İng.</i>	İngilizce
<i>Kor.</i>	Korva, bkz. <i>SMAI</i>
<i>krş.</i>	Karşılaştırınız!
<i>LTD</i>	bkz. not 10
<i>Osm.</i>	Osmanlıca
<i>Priz.</i>	Prizren, bkz. not 3, <i>RAS</i>
<i>Ptezi</i>	bkz. not 6
<i>RAS</i>	bkz. not 3
<i>s.</i>	Sayfa, sütun
<i>Son.</i>	Sonkor, bkz. <i>SMAI</i>
<i>Ttü.</i>	Türkiye Türkçesi
<i>vb.</i>	Ve başka
<i>Vid..</i>	Vidin ağzı, bkz. Kaynakçada <i>Vid.</i>

IMRE BASKI  
(Budapest)

ONOMASTICON TURCICUM  
(L. Rásonyi's Collection of Turkic Personal Names  
and the Method of its Publication)

It was in 1932 that the Hungarian Academy of Sciences announced a competition for a project to compile an onomasticon of Turkic anthroponyms and ethnonyms. The Feridun Prize the sum of 1,000 pengő<sup>1</sup> was awarded to László Rásonyi (1899-1984) for his paper entitled *A draft for the "Dictionary of Turkic Anthroponyms and Ethnonyms" with samples.*

This outstanding turkologist had studied at Budapest University from 1917 to 1921, and obtained his PhD in Turkology, Hungarian linguistics and Hungarian history. It was no coincidence that during his university career Turkic names aroused his curiosity since among his professors there were such eminent scholars as Zoltán Gombocz (1877-1935), the famous Hungarian linguist whose article "Árpád-kori török személyneveink" [= Hungarian Anthroponyms of Turkic Origin from the Age of the Arpads] had been published<sup>2</sup> by that time. And there was also Gyula Németh (1890-1976), the turkologist, still young but already famous. Presumably inspired by his professors, László Rásonyi began to study the Hungarian personal and place names of Turkic (mostly Coman) origin. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on anthroponyms of Coman origin preserved in mediaeval Hungarian documents (1921). This thesis was soon published with the title "Adalékok török tulajdonneveinkhez" [= Developments in Turkic Onomatology].<sup>3</sup>

During his research in Berlin (1924-25) he attended lectures by W. Bang and F. W. K. Müller and also enriched his collection of Turkic proper names. In 1929 he applied for a scholarship to Helsinki with the aim of studying the vast collection of Russian publications available in Finnish libraries and collecting many more thousands of Turkic (mainly Kazakh) anthroponyms.

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<sup>1</sup> An outdated Hungarian currency.

<sup>2</sup> *A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai* [= Publications of the Hungarian Linguistic Society], No. 16. Budapest, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 4.

Thus by the time this competition was announced in 1932, he already had a large collection, a fair number of publications on the subject<sup>4</sup> and a considerable reputation as an onomatologist.

The highly respected committee of the Academy, in its evaluation of Rásonyi's submission, made this conclusion: "... not only has the candidate laid the foundations of Turkic onomatology – a field as yet barely explored – but he has also managed to put it [i.e. his work] all into an almost final form ... he has gone through the Arabic and Persian historical literature with special diligence, pored over all the available official Russian publications in which Turkic names could be found ... we propose that the Academy should award the prize for this project and entrust the author with placing the completed manuscript at the disposal of the Academy as soon as possible."

The project was presented under the catchword  $\sigma\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$  (on 366 lists<sup>5</sup> each 17cmx21cm in size) and included an eight-page foreword. It contained 250 Turkic anthroponyms and 100 ethnic names and their variants from different peoples and languages arranged under headwords. The collection which at that time had presumably already consisted of several thousand items continued to grow over the following decades until it reached its present volume. Based on our estimate, there are approximately 60,000 10cmx7cm cards. The preliminary index of headwords, compiled on the basis of this collection and published in 1986 contains approximately 25,000 items.<sup>6</sup>

Although the collection was considered unique and it was well-received at the Academy, it was not published for more than half a century. This can be explained first of all with the unfavourable turns in László Rásonyi's life: long-term university posts in Kolozsvár and Ankara, failing eyesight etc. He

4 "Török eredetű magyar tulajdonnevek [= Hungarian Proper Names of Turkic Origin]" *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* I (1921):157-161; Adalékok török tulajdonneveinkhez [= New Data to our Turkic Proper Names]" *NyK* (= *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, Linguistic Publications*) 46 (1923):124-138; "Borcsol és Csertán [Coman ethnic names]" *MNy.* (= *Magyar Nyelv, Hungarian Language*) 22 (1926):132-133; "Kulán és Szoltán [Hungarian personal names of Turkic origin]" *MNy.* 23 (1926):348; "Török eredetű helynevek [= Place names of Turkic Origin]" *NyK* 44 (1927):464-469; "A honfoglaló magyarsággal kapcsolatos török tulajdonnevekhez [= On the Turkic Proper Names Related with the Old Hungarians]" *MNy.* 28 (1932):100-105 etc.

5 For sample lists see Appendix 1.

6 I. Baski (Ed.), *A Preliminary Index to Rásonyi's Onomasticon Turcicum*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986. (Debter 6).

had hoped to finish and publish his Onomasticon after having retired. He had just begun to sum up his investigations, when he lost his sight in 1969 and, so too, the opportunity to realise his plans independently.

It was István Mándoky-Kongur who at that time aided Professor Rásonyi with the completion and arrangement of the collection. As of 1976 the author of this paper assisted in the work of the Onomasticon Turcicum for eight years, until the last days of the professor's life. During this period I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the material and with Professor Rásonyi's vision regarding the treatment and publication of the collection. In accordance with my mentor's wishes, here and now it became my duty to ready the collection for publication and write the introduction.<sup>7</sup>

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences has supported my efforts from the very beginning, enabling me to devote the major part of my time to working on the collection.<sup>8</sup>

The structure of the Onomasticon Turcicum and the manner in which it was to be published was essentially conceived by László Rásonyi. Some details, however, were developed during our work together. The idea of processing the collection on a computer, the data entry method and the development of the relevant sub-tasks are the results of my experiments (see Appendix 2).

Before turning to questions related to the editing work, I would like to describe the main features of the collection. Due to the many decades spent on collecting and the great variety of sources<sup>9</sup> the data are not homogeneous. There are many incomplete entries with insufficient information on the person who bore the name in question and the age he lived in. In such cases, even an approximate estimate of the time in which the bearer of the name lived would require time-consuming research. In some cases the task of completing the unfinished cards and correcting the defective data is inevitable,

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<sup>7</sup> It was a great honour for me that in 1983 Professor Rásonyi in order to assure the completion and publication of the Onomasticon in the future, concluded an agreement with me to be his co-author.

<sup>8</sup> From 1983 to 1988 by the Research Group for Oriental Studies (directed by Prof. F. Tókei), Hungarian Academy of Sciences, from 1993 to the present by the Research Group for Altaic Studies (directed by Prof. G. Kara), Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>9</sup> L. Rásonyi drew his data from more than 500 sources of rather different kind among which we can find Arabic and Persian sources and simple articles from different periodicals as well.

but it seems impossible to add all the missing details throughout the collection. Moreover, since we do not have access to all the sources used by László Rásonyi, the publication of the collection will be delayed for several more years.

Each card in the collection comprises a name (a personal and/or family name) of one or more people, the time (year or century) in question, the ethnic or language affiliation, the title (if any) or some other feature (or deed) of the person and a short reference to the source. The data concerning the same person are included under two different headwords if the person's names – both personal and second (paternal, family or nick-) names – are of Turkic origin. It should be noted that the collection predominantly contains original Turkic names.

Professor Rásonyi and I arranged the names into entries (articles) on the basis of their etymology. The entries will follow one another according to a special alphabet. The name variants considered to be secondary are found in the entries under primary headwords. Reference headwords will make it easy to find them.

Within entries, the single names are arranged according to the following principles:

1. after the headword, first the names taken from historical sources are put in chronological order (this mainly concerns the data from the Old and Middle Turkic periods);

2. the names taken from later sources are arranged by ethnic group (e.g. Oghuz, Kipchak, Altaic etc.), while names belonging to the same language are put in chronological order (within the language group).

The order in which individual names are presented (within the articles) as well as related pieces of information is as follows:

1. *ethnic (or language) abbreviation* referring to the nationality of the person or the ethnic surroundings the source emerged from;

2. *year or century* in which the bearer of the name lived or in which the source was created;

3. *name* which has been abstracted or reconstructed from the *source data*; names fully identical with the *headword* are replaced by “~”;

4. *source data* in “[ ]” (square brackets) which, in most cases, indicates the name found in the source in letter-perfect form;

5. *denotatum*, a more precise determination of the bearer of the name if he (she) is known; here we always indicate if the name was borne by a woman (*fem.*), or used in folklore (*folkl.*);

6. *source* (abbreviated), see Appendix 2.

The components of compound names are separated by a hyphen. Anthro-po-lexeme which are unorganic parts of names since they only refer to sex (e.g. *-bay*, *-gül*, *-çatun* and *-biçe*), age (e.g. *-aya*, *-oğlu*, *-ul* and *-ulu*) and title (e.g. *-mulla*, *-çan*, *-qan* and *-sultan*), will also be separated from the essential component in the same way. These forms are provided in the entry of their essential component. Secondary components of this kind (mainly titles) also have their headwords with a distinctive hyphen in front of them (e.g. *-AĞA*, *-BAY*, *-BEK*, *-QATUN*, *-UL* and *-ULU*).

At the end of the entry we provide the etymology if it is known and supply the related data from dictionaries. In the case of compound names we only refer to the entries of the components so as to avoid duplication of vocabulary data. Here we list the name-synonyms and the headwords in which the given headword is present as a second component. Thus the reader can also study the further combinations in which the name in question is represented.

In the following paragraphs I would like to briefly describe earlier (traditional) and newer methods of processing these data as well as my latest plans for publication.<sup>10</sup>

At the beginning of the 1980s when we began to compile the manuscript of the Onomasticon, computer technology now readily affordable was not widely used. Given our financial circumstances we began compiling the manuscript using *the traditional method*.

Before we began the compiling we arranged the approx. 60,000 cards into entries under headwords which we put into alphabetical order. Within the entry it was necessary to arrange the cards according to the system (order of different languages and chronology) shown above. I used a typewriter somewhat modified with the essential characters for linguistic transcription (e.g. *ï*, *γ*, *η*, *ñ*, *ğ*, *ǰ* and *č*), but the source-data written in Arabic, Greek and Cyrillic letters could only be transcribed (or transliterated), or written by

<sup>10</sup> For the details and different aspects of the question see my former articles in Hungarian: "Onomasticon Turcicum. Mutatvány Rásonyi László török személynév-gyűjteményéből [= A Sample of László Rásonyi's Collection of Turkic Anthroponyms]" *Keletkutatás* [= Oriental Researches] 1993/Ősz:12-32.; the same in *Magyar Múlt* [= Hungarian History], Sydney, 1993/1-2 (20):53-70.

hand. Yet unavoidably further names belonging to the entry in question would turn up after these pages had been typed. Then that page of the manuscript could only be corrected or changed with such crude methods as erasing, pasting, writing between the lines, attaching additional pages etc. Luckily, only a small number of entries under the letter *a* were compiled in this way in the presence and under the supervision of Professor Rásonyi.

In the early 1990s my personal finances enabled me to turn to a more up-to-date method, word processing. First I attempted to use a simple but excellent kind of word processor called ChiWriter, running on DOS. Since I need to use many kinds of characters, and fonts, ChiWriter had a great advantage over earlier word processors running on DOS. Namely, ChiWriter could use 20 different fonts at the same time and switching among them could be done with two keystrokes. Moreover, I myself could change the characters or create new ones. Thus it was not difficult to make the specific characters of different transcriptions and national fonts.

Later I purchased a faster computer and a better and more widely used word processor. Using Word for Windows 2.0 and 6.0 together with a laser printer enabled me to produce a manuscript of almost print quality. Among the numerous fonts supplied, however, I could not find one with all the phonetic symbols needed for linguistic transcription. Therefore by using Fontographer, the excellent fontmaker application, I was able to create the missing characters out of elements available in other fonts. The dictionary form of the sample page with two columns is the result of lengthy experimenting and some help from professional developers.

I went on processing the material in this way and have done nearly sixty pages. Meanwhile I realised that the printed form will not allow for the multifaceted use of this abundant collection of names. Thus prospective users will be able to access the names only via headwords, and it would be impossible for them selecting the data according to sources and to chronological or ethnic features. The drawback of publishing the collection in a dictionary-like printed form is that usually only one systematizing principle (mainly the alphabetical order of the headwords) can be realised. The published material cannot be arranged by different points of view. Gathering and using names matching other search criteria is difficult and without reading the whole book through, and writing the necessary data out is practically impossible. For example, we want to study Kazakh female names from the 18th century in the Onomasticon Turcicum. Out of the nearly 60,000 data in a collection with



prospectively many hundreds of pages, it would take rather a long time to find and write out all of them with the aim of further researches.

In a well-planned computerized database, however, the users (researchers from different fields) can select data according to several search criteria simultaneously. Then the names matching the given criteria can be printed on the screen, written into a separate file or printed in the required form. Thus each time we can study another and yet another relationship, statistical features of the same mass of data. This is a great advantage over a book!

On the other hand, we cannot forsake the idea of publishing Rásonyi's collection in printed form either. But if I completed it with a word processor the collection would be practically lost for the database-managing. (Transferring the pages having already been prepared into the database requires rather a time consuming human work which cannot be automated.) Consequently I have to enter the data through a database management program, then aided by a conversion program arrange them into entries and transfer them with a suitable word processor (e.g. Word for Windows, WordPerfect for Windows etc.) for final editing and scrutinizing. This idea is illustrated in Appendix 3.

At present, I am entering the data of Rásonyi's collection according to this scheme with a suitable database management program called FileMaker Pro. It is simple, but probably the most widespread database management program written for Apple Macintosh, the version of which for Windows was issued not long ago. The great advantage of FileMakerPro is that its data format can be used on both Windows and Macintosh platforms where further processing will be done.<sup>11</sup>

As the fieldnames of the blanks (layouts) show (Appendix 4), the database in preparation, unlike the printed version, will provide more extras. It will also be possible to search on motives, types of names, lexical and grammatical categories.

I believe I have found a solution with the help of which the double entry of this plentiful collection can be avoided, in other words, by entering the data once we will have two different products: 1. the Onomasticon Turcicum itself, containing the personal names; 2. the Database of Turkic Proper

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<sup>11</sup> The necessary Apple Macintosh hardware, software the BASISplus program, developing of the programs and the consultation possibilities will be provided by MTI Informatika Kft. (Ltd.), Hungary.

Names on CD-ROM and/or diskette, enlarged with further personal names, toponyms and ethnonyms.<sup>12</sup> The database in question will provide up-to-date access to all data in the collection and the possibility for enriching the collection in the future.

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<sup>12</sup> I have my plans related to the Database of Turkic Proper Names outlined in a competition and won a financial subsidy from OTKA [= National Foundation for Scientific Researches], (the number of the topic: T 014777). During the four-year period of research, with the help of program developers I will lay the groundwork for the database.

Il-yāzi نجم الدين ايلغازي ارتق māridīni ortokida 1106-1122. Abulfidā III, 280-81; JQ. 127, 199-202:16. | Qutbeddīn

II. Il-yāzi ibn Alpbāy, uqanacsak māridīni ortokida 1179-84.

Süßheim: Erw. d. Isl. II, 496-98. < el-il + (ar. > seldā) <sup>(rom. Redd.)</sup> fāzi

, one who goes forth to attack the enemy; especially, a Muslim who fights <sup>any</sup> the enemy of Islam.

Il-ičkärmiš. uig. Il-ičkärmiš inal Ųfahlinisch.

23 | Il-ičkärmiš tigin no 23. < el-il + ? . Vö. <sup>1</sup>uig. &.

ičkär, 'innehalt, hinesin', tel. R. ičkärä-, 'einsetzen'; 2)

čag. R. ičkür - ~ alt. om. ičür - 'zutrinken geben, tränken'.

Ilinaq. (عليناق (var. عليناق) Ililāgü ilyan

exradapanonoka, РЭ - Бер. Перебѣдѣ I, 106; talan azonos

vele عليناق enir 1268-ből. Wanaq 139, 124 | Ilinaq

Ikadechi Ilengütimür (+1282) aqam, Kimmer, G d. Ilch. I, 84.

< tör. mong. el-il + tör. mong. inaq. Vö. Inaq.

**AQA** Maml. 1399 ~-*bay* [الباي السلطان] (Ibn Taghrib. VI, 25); Turk. ~, from Isparta (Ün 1938, 645); Bashk. 1724 ~ *mulla* [Акамулла Курмакаев] (МИБ III, 222), 1728 ~, [Ака Курмакаев] (МИБ III, 252); Kzk. ~-*bek* (SODŽ. 138); Hak. ~ [Ака], fem. (HRS 353). 'Elder brother; prime minister, treasurer of state (Chag.); princess or the khan's relative (adding to female names)' cf. OT *aqā* 'старший брат' (DTS), Chag., Сгм. *aqā* 'älterer Bruder' (Radl. I, 96), Chag. (in Khiva) *aqā* [لای] 'первый министр, казначей государственный; поставленное после женского имени, означает принцессу или родственницу хана' (Budagov 60), Chuv. *akka* 'ältere Schwester' (Paas.), Trk. \**āka* / Mo. *aqā* 'älterer Bruder' (Räs.). Cf. also -АГА.

**AQĀBĪL** Yak. ~ and *Aqayar*, nicknames (Pek.).

**AQAÇ** Bulg. 13/14th c. ~ [القح / القح], fem., Jusupov reads the name as *Afaħ* (EpiqrBulg. 96, 97, Jusupov 32). - 'Little sister'. Cf. AQA + dim. -Ç.

**AQ-AY** Alt., Hak., Shor ~, folkl. the name of a hero (Radl. I, 5, 89). - 'White Moon' (Ibid.), cf. AQ + AY.

**AQAY** Kmk. ~-*molla* (Ksz. XIII, 140); Karch. ~ [Акай] (Sysojev 128); Черксс (<? Kmk. / Karch.) 1684 ~ [Акайка Ямамбаев] (DopAI XI, 140); Tat. ~ [Акай] (Magn. 25); Bashk. 1664 ~ [Акайко Кармышев] (МИБ I, 192), 1713 ~, *Aqey* [Акей] Verdumetev (МИБ III, 92), 1730 ~ [Акай Кучюмов] (МИБ III, 273), 1735, 1736, 1737 ~, a principal (RRorT I, 72, PSZRI IX, 742, X, 243, МИБ III, 366), 1740 ~ [Акай Кусюмов] (МИБ I, 418),

18th c. ~ [Акай Кусюмовъ] (Nerljuev 143, 146, 151, 168 ff.), 1740 ~ [Акай Камакаев] (МИБ I, 439-41); Kzk. ~ [Акай Ибрагимов] (GrodPril 174), ~ (AOK 94). - 'Goggle-eyed' cf. Tat. *aqay: aqay kiz* 'пучеглазый, лупоглазый' (TatRS).

**-AQAY** Title and/or component of personal names. Cf. *aqay* 'Anrede an einen fremden Mann, dessen Namen man nicht kennt' (Radl. I, 97). Cf. also AQA + dim. -y and АГАУ.

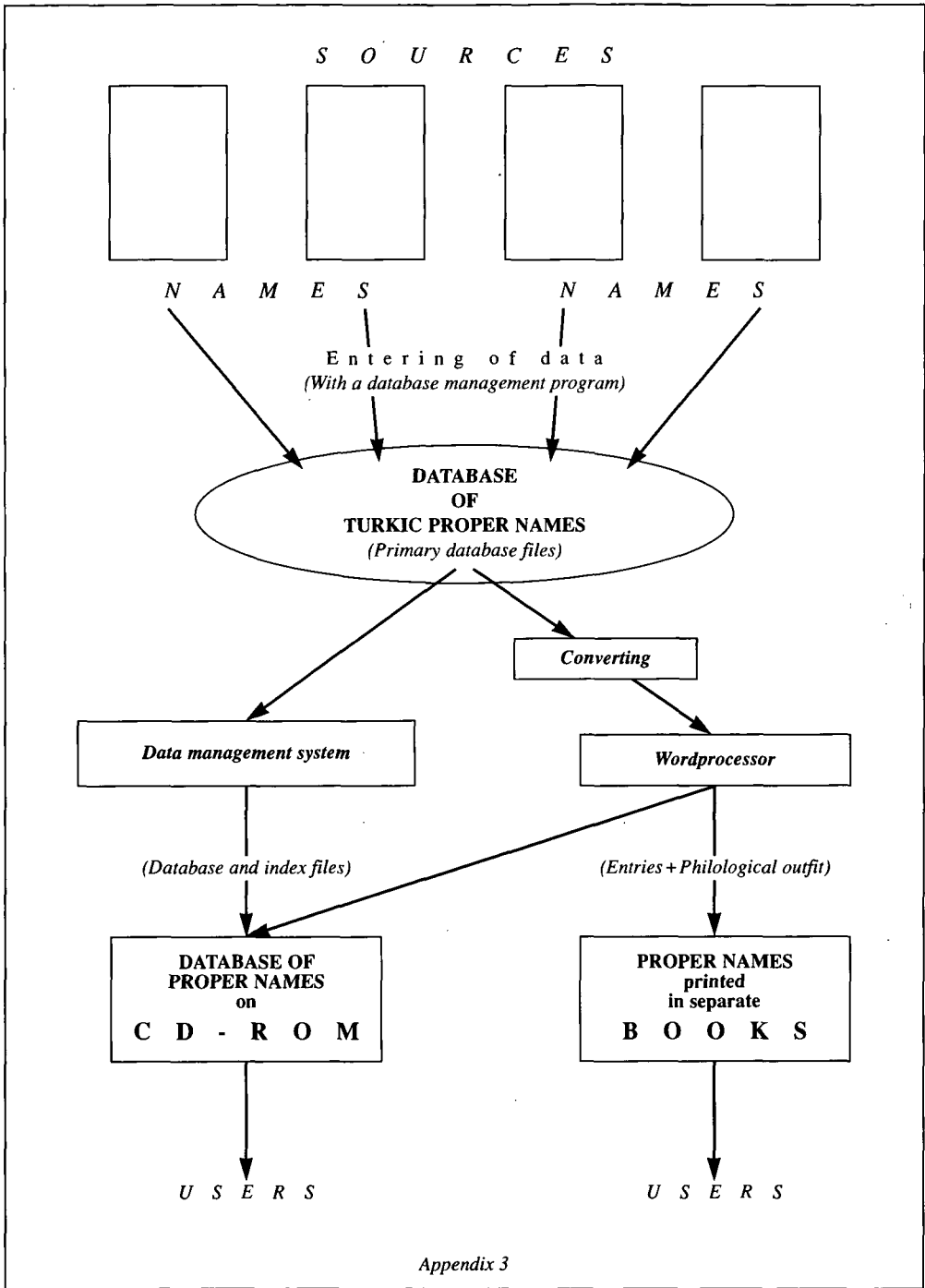
**AQĀQĪY** Yak. ~ (<R. Акакий), a male name (Pek.). - Akakij (R. < Gr. *akakos*).

**AQAL** Kzk. ~-*bay* [Акалбай] (SOV 64). - Cf. KÜKĀL.

**AQALDEK** Kzk. ~ (<*Aqal-bek?*) [Акалдекъ] (SOK 78). Cf. AQAL.

**AQ-AMAN** Bashk. 1803 ~ [Рякъ Акамановъ] (PSZRI XXVII, 803). - Cf. AQ + AMAN.

**AQAN** Сгм.(Tat) ca. 1580 ~-*Çulan* [Аканъ Чуланъ] (KnPosLit. 320); Tat.(Miš.) Kadymet ~-(ov) [Кадымет Аканов] (МИБ III, 25); Bashk. 1706 ~ [Акан] (МИБ III, 24), 1706 ~ [Алик Аканов] (МИБ III, 24, 26), 1713 ~ [Акан] (МИБ III, 96), 1726 ~ [Акан Акчювашев] (МИБ III, 237), 1745 Tavlu ~-(ov) [Тавлу Аканов] (МИБ III, 426); Kzk. 1805, ca.1820 ~-*biy* [Аканъ бий], the one of the chiefs of the tribe Argin of Kiši Žüz (MIK IV, 324, 512, SibVestn. IX, 104), ~ [Аканъ] (AOA 126, AOK 34, 62, 106, SODŽ. 156, SOK 180, GrodPril. 142),



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<b>Year, century:</b>	<input type="text"/>
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<b>Etym. reference:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Reference headword:</b>	<input type="text"/>
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<b>Categ. of motivation:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Lexical category:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Grammaticalcateg.:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Notes:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Folk, language:</b>	<input type="text"/>
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<b>Source data:</b>	<input type="text"/>
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*Appendix 4*

Blanks (different layouts) for entering data in FileMakerPro

ARMIN BASSARAK  
(Berlin)

## Zu einigen Kombinationsbeschränkungen türkischer Verbsuffixe

### *0. Summary*

In this paper I'll try to find out the reasons for some co-occurrence restrictions in Turkish inflectional suffixes. Most but not all of these restrictions are semantically conditioned. This supports the arguments of ARONOFF (1994) and others in favor of an autonomous morphological component of the grammar. Finally, I will formulate the proposed co-occurrence restrictions in the form of four new rules.

### *1. Einführung*

Viele Grammatiken des Türkischen (wie z.B. Peters 1974, Ergin 1962, Lewis 1967, Underhill 1976, Ersen-Rasch 1980) führen zwar die vorhandenen Flexionssuffixe auf und geben auch Listen möglicher Formen, aber eine genaue Übersicht darüber, welche Formen von einer einzigen (Verb-)Wurzel durch die Möglichkeit, daß mehrere dieser Suffixe in einer Form auftreten, insgesamt bildbar sind, gibt es nirgends. Wie in anderen Sprachen agglutinierenden Typs können auch im Türkischen sehr lange Ketten von Suffixen an Wurzeln und Stämme antreten. Zählt man die stambildenden Suffixe mit, dann können an eine einsilbige Verbwurzel u.U. über 10 Suffixe antreten. Ich gebe kein Beispiel, da es mir hier nicht um Rekorde geht, aber das Phänomen ist allgemein bekannt (vgl. Bassarak (im Druck)). Wenn wir davon ausgehen würden, daß wir genau 10 Suffixpositionen hätten, in denen die Suffixe nur in einer festen Reihenfolge auftreten könnten, und daß es pro Position nur ein einziges mögliches Suffix geben würde, dann hätten wir bereits  $2^{10}=1024$  verschiedene Kombinationsmöglichkeiten. In Wirklichkeit ist es aber so, daß wir in manchen Positionen sehr viel mehr als nur ein mögliches Suffix haben können, und außerdem sind es in Wirklichkeit auch noch mehr als 10 Positionen. Hinzu kommt die

Tatsache, daß einige Suffixe nicht nur eine Position haben. Das bedeutet, daß wir für eine einzige Verbwurzel mehrere tausend theoretisch mögliche Suffixkombinationen haben können. Letzten Endes ist also die Angabe aller möglichen Wortformen von einer Wurzel mittels einer Liste auch nicht sinnvoll (schon alleine eine einigermaßen exakte Berechnung der Zahl dieser möglichen Formen könnte Wochen dauern). Es muß dagegen um die Erfassung der Regeln gehen, nach denen die Sprecher des Türkischen diese Formen jederzeit nach dem Kompositionsprinzip bilden.

Ein möglicher Weg zur Erfassung dieser Regeln besteht darin, herauszuarbeiten, welche Suffixe **nicht** miteinander kombiniert werden können, für welche Paarungen von Suffixen also Kombinationsbeschränkungen bestehen. Bereits in Bassarak (im Druck) wurde eine Reihe von Kombinationsbeschränkungen herausgearbeitet. Das dort entwickelte Modell soll in der hier vorgelegten Arbeit präzisiert und um bisher nicht erfaßte Kombinationsbeschränkungen erweitert werden. Denn die Erfassung der bestehenden Kombinationsbeschränkungen<sup>1</sup> ist nicht nur von allgemeiner Bedeutung für die Erhöhung der deskriptiven Adäquatheit der Beschreibung der Grammatik des Türkischen, sondern, wie sich in den Erfahrungen der Türkischausbildung an verschiedenen deutschen Universitäten gezeigt hat, auch von besonderer Bedeutung für die Verbesserung der Lehrmethoden und -materialien zur aktiven Beherrschung der türkischen Morphologie.

Grundsätzlich muß dabei zwischen zwei Ursachen möglicher Kombinationsbeschränkungen unterschieden werden. In dieser Arbeit soll es ausschließlich um kategoriell bedingte Kombinationsbeschränkungen gehen. Neben diesen gibt es auch positional bedingte Beschränkungen für Suffixkombinationen wie z.B. in (1), die hier aber nur der Klarheit halber zur Abgrenzung erwähnt werden:

- (1) \**al-acağ-ım mı* vs. *al-acak mı-yım*  
 nehm-FUT-1Sg QU nehm-FUT QU-1Sg  
 'soll/werde ich (etwas) nehmen/kaufen?'

<sup>1</sup> Mit der Bearbeitung dieser Fragestellung werden Teilergebnisse aus dem von Ulrike Mosel (Kiel) geleiteten DFG-Forschungsprojekt "Formale und funktionale Zusammenhänge zwischen morphologischen Kategoriensymbolisierungen bei Nomina und Verben" präsentiert.



Eine weitere Einschränkung ist nötig. In meiner Untersuchung habe ich mich auf eine bewußt getroffene Auswahl von 25 Suffixen beschränkt, die sich auf 7 Positionen und 8 Kategoriengefüge verteilen. Die Gründe für diese Auswahl können aus Platzgründen hier nicht im einzelnen erläutert werden. Es handelt sich um folgende Suffixe:

(2) Suffix	Kategorie	Abk.	Kategoriengefüge	Position <sup>2</sup>
-( <i>t</i> ) <i>yor</i>	Präsens	PRÄS	Tempus/ Modus/ Aspekt	6
-( <i>a</i> / <i>i</i> ) <i>r</i> /- <i>z</i>	Aorist	AOR	TMA	6
- <i>di</i>	Vergangenheit	PAST	TMA	6
- <i>mı</i> ş	Narrativ	NARR	TMA	6
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>acak</i>	Futur	FUT	TMA	6
- <i>sa</i>	Irrealis	IRR	TMA	6
- <i>malı</i>	Nezessitativ	NEZ	TMA	6
- <i>a</i>	Optativ	OPT	TMA	6
∅	Imperativ	IMP	TMA	6
- <i>mak</i>	Infinitiv	INF	Infinitiv	6
- <i>ma</i>	Verbalnom.d. Gleichz.	VNPRÄS	Verbalnom.	6
- <i>dik</i>	Verbalnom.d. Vorz.	VNPRÄT	Verbalnom.	6
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>acak</i>	Verbalnom.d. Nachz.	VNFUT	Verbalnom.	6
- <i>lar</i>	Plural	PI	Numerus	7 / 14
<i>mi</i>	Fragemarker	QU	Frage	10
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>di</i>	Anterior	ANT	postpräd. Enklitika	11
-( <i>y</i> ) <i>mı</i> ş	Dubitativ	DUB	postpräd. Enklitika	11

<sup>2</sup> Zur Zuweisung der Positionsnummern vgl. Bassarak (im Druck).

<i>-(y)sa</i>	Konditional	KOND	postpräd. Enklitika	11
<i>-(y)ken</i>	‘als, während’	als	postpräd. Enklitika	11
<i>-(y)ım/m</i>	1. P. Sg.	1Sg	Pers.suff.	12
<i>-sin/n</i>	2. P. Sg.	2Sg	Pers.suff.	12
<i>-ø/-sin</i>	3. P. Sg.	(3)	Pers.suff.	12
<i>-(y)ız/k/ım</i>	1.P.Pl.	1Pl	Pers.suff.	12
<i>-sınız/nız</i>	2. P.Pl.	2Pl	Pers.suff.	12
<i>-dır</i>	Emphase- suffix	EMP	Emph.suff.	13

Wenn wir bei diesen 25 Suffixen nur die Kombinationen von jeweils zweien von ihnen zu betrachten versuchen, dann kommen wir auf  $25^2=625$  theoretisch mögliche Zweierkombinationen. Wenn wir davon die Kombinationen eines Suffixes mit sich selbst ausschließen, dann bleiben immer noch 600 mögliche Kombinationen übrig. Und bis hierher haben wir es nur mit Zweierkombinationen zu tun, also nicht mit Kombinationen von drei oder mehr Suffixen. Aufgrund der Beobachtung, daß nur in speziellen Fällen die Kombination von zwei Suffixen durch das Hinzutreten eines dritten Suffixes erst möglich wird (wie z.B. bei den Kombinationen (6) und (7), die beide problemlos funktionieren, wenn zwischen den beiden Suffixen ein Lokativsuffix steht), erscheint die Untersuchung von Zweierkombinationen als eine methodologisch notwendige Vorarbeit für die Untersuchung der Beschränkungen von Kombinationen von drei und mehr Suffixen. Aus diesem Grunde werde ich in diesem Beitrag nur von Zweierkombinationen sprechen. Das Erkenntnisinteresse, das dahinter steht, ist aber ein breiteres und letzten Endes auf komplexere Suffixkombinationen gerichtet.

Um auch bei solchen Suffixkombinationen, die ich in Texten und mündlichen Äußerungen nicht beobachten konnte, sicher zu gehen, ob sie einfach nur selten oder aber wirklich ungrammatisch sind, und um meine eigenen diesbezüglichen Intuitionen überprüfen zu können, habe ich ein Korpus von 104 Beispielsätzen mit den fraglichen Formen hergestellt. Ich bin Hayrettin Seyhan (Berlin) dankbar für die Durchsicht meines gesamten Korpus und für die ausführliche Kommentierung seiner Grammatikalitätsbewertungen, die den hier enthaltenen Grammatikalitätsurteilen zugrunde liegen.

## 2. Analyse

Im folgenden gebe ich einige Beispiele für Kombinationen von je zwei Suffixen, die aus unterschiedlichen Gründen ungrammatisch sind:

- (3) \*<sub>-</sub>*-a-ysa*  
STAMM-OPT-KOND
- (4) \*<sub>-</sub>*-sa-yken*  
STAMM-IRR-als
- (5) \*<sub>-</sub>*-...-(y)sa-dir*  
STAMM-...-KOND-EMP
- (6) \*<sub>-</sub>*-ma-yım*  
STAMM-VNPRÄS-1Sg
- (7) \*<sub>-</sub>*-lar-ım*  
STAMM-Pl-1Sg
- (8) \*<sub>-</sub>*-(a/ı)r-dir*  
STAMM-AOR-EMP
- (9) \*<sub>-</sub>*-...-(y)dt-dir*  
STAMM-...-ANT-EMP
- (10) \*<sub>-</sub>*-dt-yken*  
STAMM-PAST-als
- (11) \*<sub>-</sub>*-malı-yken*  
STAMM-NEZ-als

Auf den ersten Blick sieht es so aus, als ob es zwischen diesen Suffixkombinationen keine großen Unterschiede gäbe. Was sie tatsächlich alle miteinander gemein haben, ist, daß sie alle ungrammatisch sind. Die Frage, der hier zunächst nachgegangen werden soll, ist die nach den jeweiligen Gründen für die Ungrammatizität. Sehen wir uns als erstes die Kombinationen (3), (4) und (5) an! Die Gründe, warum diese Suffixkombinationen unzulässig sind, dürften semantischer Natur sein. In allen drei Fällen scheinen die Dinge so zu liegen, daß das jeweils zweite Suffix der Kombination nur auf faktive Äußerungen angewandt werden kann. Da aber das jeweils erste Suffix über keine faktive Semantik verfügt, ist die ganze Kombination widersprüchlich, also semantisch nicht wohlgeformt. Folglich muß sie auch morphologisch ausgeschlossen werden. Im Falle der Kombination (4) kommt noch hinzu, daß beide Suffixe syntaktisch eine

subordinierende Funktion haben, und ein subordinierendes Suffix kann aus Gründen der syntaktischen Logik nicht auf ein anderes Suffix angewendet werden, das bereits subordinierend ist.

Wenden wir uns nun den Kombinationen (6) und (7) zu. Morphologisch sehen sie relativ unproblematisch aus, aber erweist es sich als ziemlich schwierig, sinnvolle Beispiele mit Verbformen zu bilden, die genau diese Suffixkombinationen enthalten. Woran liegt das? Auch hier spielen wieder semantische Faktoren eine Rolle. In einer Verbform mit der Kombination (6) müßte das Subjekt über sich selber aussagen, daß es eine Tätigkeit ist, nämlich die vom Verbstamm bezeichnete Tätigkeit. Es gibt hier also einen ontologischen Konflikt zwischen der grammatischen Funktion des zweiten Suffixes, die 1. Person auszudrücken, und der grammatischen Funktion des ersten Suffixes, die Handlung eines Verbs zu nominalisieren. Allerdings stellt dieser ontologische Konflikt eher eine pragmatische als eine semantische Blockierung dar, so daß die Kombination (6) morphologisch nicht völlig ausgeschlossen ist, was poetische Beispiele wie (12) zeigen:

- (12) *Ben yaşa-ma-yım.*<sup>3</sup>  
 ich leb-INF-1Sg  
 'Ich bin das Leben.'

Ähnlich sieht es bei der Kombination (7) aus. Hier besteht ein logischer und damit auch semantischer Konflikt zwischen der vom Pluralsuffix kodierten Kategorie Plural und der gleichzeitig vom Personalsuffix der 1. Person kodierten Kategorie Singular. Dieser Konflikt dürfte kaum zu lösen sein. Also ist auch diese Kombination aus semantischen Gründen unzulässig.

Wie steht es nun mit der Kombination (8)? Hier haben wir es mit einem Zusammentreffen des Aorist oder Tempus generale mit dem Emphasesuffix<sup>4</sup> zu tun. Wenn wir die der Kombination (8) entsprechende ungrammatische Form (13) mit der vollkommen grammatischen und häufig anzutreffenden Form (14) vergleichen, dann stellen wir fest, daß es keine morphologische Restriktion gibt, die die Kombination von Suffixen der Position (6) mit dem Emphasesuffix verhindert. Also muß die Unvereinbarkeit der beiden Suffixe in (8) wohl semantische Gründe haben.

<sup>3</sup> Mündliche Auskunft von mehreren Informanten.

<sup>4</sup> so die Terminologie z.B. von Underhill (1976) oder Schaik (im Druck)

(13) \**gel-ir-dir*  
 komm-AOR-EMP  
 sie/er\_kommt\_(im allgemeinen wirklich/ganz bestimmt)

(14) *gel-miş-tir*  
 komm-NARR-EMP  
 sie/er\_ist\_gekommen

Anders verhält es sich mit der Kombination (9). Hier ist das Emphasesuffix mit einem postprädikativen Suffix<sup>5</sup> kombiniert. Personalsuffixe sind nach postprädikativen Suffixen (außer nach *-(y)ken*) bekanntlich jederzeit möglich. Gelegentlich wird aber versucht, auch das Emphasesuffix gewissermaßen in die Reihe der Personalsuffixe zu stellen, es also quasi als Ersatz für das fehlende Personalsuffix der 3. Person Singular anzusehen (vgl. z.B. Jansky (1986:14, Kissling 1960:65 oder Lewis 1967:97ff., die es beide als Kopulasuffix ansehen).<sup>6</sup> So werden dem Lernenden Scheinparadigmen suggeriert, die etwa wie in (15) aussehen müßten:

(15) *gel-miş-im, gel-miş-sin, gel-miş-tir, gel-miş-iz, gel-miş-siniz, gel-miş-ler-dir..*  
 komm-NARR-1Sg, ...-2Sg, ...-EMP, ...-1Pl, ...-2Pl, ...Pl-EMP  
 'ich\_bin\_gekommen, du\_bist\_gekommen ...'

So verführerisch so ein scheinbares Paradigma auf den ersten Blick auch aussieht, kann dennoch klar bewiesen werden, daß das Emphasesuffix keineswegs dazu tendiert, in die Reihe der Personalsuffixe hineinzuwachsen. Auf einen solchen Beweis bringt uns die Tatsache, daß die ungrammatische Kombination (9) einerseits mit (16) und andererseits mit (17) kontrastiert werden kann, die beide grammatisch sind:

<sup>5</sup> Zur Swiftschen Terminologie "post-predicate aspect enclitics" vgl. den Protest von Johanson 1971:17.

<sup>6</sup> Nicht nur das Wirrwar unterschiedlicher Terminologien und die wenigen vorliegenden Untersuchungen zur Funktion dieses Suffixes (vgl. z.B. Tura Sansa 1986) zeigen, daß es offenbar sehr schwierig ist, die Semantik dieses umstrittenen Suffixes einigermaßen zutreffend zu erfassen, und daß diese Diskussion sicher noch lange nicht beendet sein wird.



(16) *gel-miş-ti-n*  
 komm-NARR-PAST-2Sg  
 'du warst gekommen'

(17) *gel-miş-sin-dir*  
 komm-NARR-2Sg-EMP  
 'du sollst wohl gekommen sein'(ironisch)

Das Emphasesuffix in (9) steht scheinbar genau an der gleichen Stelle wie das Personalsuffix in (16), und wenn es tatsächlich ein normales Personalsuffix wäre, müßte auch (9) grammatisch sein. (17) dagegen zeigt, daß die Personalsuffixe und das Emphasesuffix in Wirklichkeit zwei unterschiedliche Positionen einnehmen. Also können sie auf keinen Fall zum selben Kategoriengefüge gehören, denn zwei Kategorien aus demselben Kategoriengefüge können niemals gleichzeitig in einer Wortform kodiert werden.

Bis hierher ließen sich die Beschränkungen der Grammatikalität von Suffixkombinationen in der einen oder anderen Weise auf semantische Gründe zurückführen. Dies muß aber nicht für alle Kombinationsbeschränkungen gelten. Vergleichen wir die Kombinationen (10) und (11) mit den bisher behandelten. Ich gebe zwei Beispiele, die illustrieren können, daß mit den unzulässigen Kombinationen (10) und (11) Sätze gebildet werden könnten, deren Übersetzungen den Eindruck erwecken, daß der Grund für die Unzulässigkeit dieser Kombinationen wohl nicht in einer semantischen Unvereinbarkeit der beteiligten Suffixe liegen kann:

(10') \**Komisyon-un karar-ın-ı bana bildir-di-yken Maviş keşke şunu da söyle-se-ydi!*

Kommission-GEN Beschluß-POSS3Sg-AKK ich(DAT) mitteil-PAST-als wVn doch\_bloß folgendes-AKK auch sag-IRR-ANT  
 'Hätte Maviş, während sie mir den Beschluß der Kommission mitteilte, doch bloß auch noch folgendes gesagt!'

(11') \**Dünkü plan-ı hoca-ya ver-meli-yken bugünkü plan-ı unut-t-un.*  
 gestrig Plan-AKK Lehrer-DAT geb-NEZ-als heutige Plan-AKK vergess-NEG(IMP)  
 'Als du den gestrigen Plan dem Lehrer/Professor geben mußttest, hast du den heutigen Plan vergessen.'

Die Semantik von PAST und "als" paßt auf den ersten Blick eigentlich gut zusammen. Es könnte sich allerdings (wenn man die Analysemethoden von Wierzbicka (1988) anzuwenden versucht) erweisen, daß *-(y)ken* bereits einen Komponente enthält, die eine Einordnung der bezeichneten Handlung als vergangen signalisiert, was dann zusammen mit der Semantik von PAST zu einer Art "doppelter Vorzeitigkeit" führen würde, die keinen rechten Sinn ergibt. Aber bei der Kombination von "als" mit dem Nezessitativ, der eine solche temporale Komponente nicht hat, würde die Kombination der beteiligten Merkmale nur zu einer einfachen Vorzeitigkeit führen, und die dürfte für die Kombination der Suffixe eigentlich kein semantisches Hindernis sein, denn Fälle von Notwendigkeit gibt es nicht nur in der Gegenwart, sondern auch in der Vergangenheit. Dafür wird im Türkischen aber auf eine periphrastische Konstruktion ausgewichen, in der die Notwendigkeit nicht morphologisch, sondern lexikalisch ausgedrückt wird:

(11") *Düinkü plan-ı hoca-ya ver-me-n gerek-ir-ken bugünkü plan-ı unut-tun.*

gestrig Plan-AKK Lehrer-DAT geb-VN<sub>PRÄS</sub>-POSS2Sg erforderlich  
sei-AOR-als heutig Plan-AKK vergess-NEG(IMP)

'Als du den gestrigen Plan dem Lehrer/Professor geben mußtest, hast du den heutigen Plan vergessen.'

Da das ungrammatische Beispiel (11') und das korrekte Beispiel (11") auch nach den Aussagen meiner Informanten semantisch äquivalent sind, dürfte es nicht sinnvoll sein, bei (11') nach sematischen Unverträglichkeiten zu suchen, denn diese müßten dann ja auch auf den korrekten Satz (11") zutreffen, was ein Widerspruch wäre. Also scheint Beispiel (11") ein Beleg dafür zu sein, daß die Gründe für die Ungrammatizität einer Suffixkombination nicht immer semantischer Natur sein müssen. Als Beispiel für eine weitere Kombination, die standardsprachlich noch als ungrammatisch gilt, im Substandard aber schon akzeptiert wird, was auch für die Hochsprache einen Sprachwandel erwarten läßt, sei folgendes Beispiel angeführt:

(18) ?*-di-ymiş*

STAMM-PAST-DUB

(18') ?Berlin'e yerleş-me-den önce Ziya Bey küçük bir kasaba-ya gel-di-ymiş.

ON-DAT sich\_niederlass-VNPRÄS-ABL bevor mVn Herr klein ein(e) Städtchen-ABL komm-PAST-DUB

'Bevor sich Herr Ziya in Berlin niederließ, soll er aus einem kleines Städtchen gekommen sein.'

Hier stellt sich die Frage, ob die Zunahme der Akzeptabilität dieser Kombination auf einen Bedeutungswandel zurückzuführen ist. Wenn ja, dann haben wir es wieder mit einer semantisch basierten Erklärung zu tun, wenn aber nein (was an dieser Stelle leider nicht entschieden werden kann), dann müßte wieder nach einer morphologischen Ursache gesucht werden, z.B. nach der Wirkung des Analogieprinzips, da ja auch andere Suffixe aus den beiden beteiligten Kategoriengefügen miteinander kombinierbar sind.

Befunde wie der Kontrast von (11') und (11'') scheinen mir ein Indiz dafür zu sein, daß die von manchen Grammatikern vertretene Annahme, alle morphologischen Regeln müßten eine semantische Grundlage haben, vielleicht doch nicht streng durchhaltbar ist. Ich interpretiere diese Beobachtung als ein weiteres Argument für die von einigen bedeutenden Morphologen wie z.B. Aronoff in seinem Buch "Morphology by itself" postulierte Notwendigkeit, endlich den eigenständigen Platz der Morphologie im Sprachsystem anzuerkennen, statt sie, wie es einige generativistische Vertreter heute noch tun, als eine Subkomponente der Syntax oder des Lexikons aufzufassen.

### 3. Regeln

Wie läßt sich nun die in (3) bis (11) beobachtete Unzulässigkeit der jeweiligen Kombinationen allgemeingültig formulieren? Drei von ihnen, nämlich (4), (10) und (11), gehen auf die bereits in Bassarak (im Druck) formulierte Kombinationsbeschränkung (19) zurück, stellen also keine Überraschung dar:

(19) \* (6 + 11) | 6 ≠ -(a/ɪ)r/z, 11 = -(y)ken



In zwei weiteren Fällen, nämlich (5) und (9), liegen unzulässige Kombinationen von postprädikativen Suffixen mit dem Emphasesuffix *-dir* vor. Für dieses schillernde und noch weitgehend unverstandene Suffix wäre eine detaillierte semantische Analyse durch eine separate Studie dringend erforderlich, ist aber bisher noch von niemandem unternommen worden. Im Moment läßt sich nur die Beobachtung formulieren, daß das Emphasesuffix außer mit dem Dubitativsuffix *-(y)miş* mit keinem der postprädikativen Suffixe kombinierbar ist. Hier stellt sich natürlich auch wieder die Frage nach semantischen Gründen. Mir scheint allerdings, daß diese Kombination eher eine Analogiebildung zur überhaupt häufigen Kombination des Emphasesuffixes mit dem fast gleichlautenden Narrativsuffix *-miş* ist, das in Position (6) steht und das etymologisch zur Entstehung von *-(y)miş* geführt hat. Also ist die Kombination *-(y)miş-tir* eher eine durch die Analogie zu *-miş-tir* entstandene, als durch wirkliche semantische Verträglichkeit beförderte Mißgeburt. Die Kombinationsbeschränkung muß synchron dennoch lauten:

$$(20) * (11 + 13) \quad | \quad 11 \neq -(y)miş$$

Möglich geworden ist die entsprechend der hinter dem Kontextstrich formulierten Einschränkung der Regel bildbare Form offensichtlich nur durch starke Desemantisierung des Dubitativsuffixes wie in Kombinationen (21):

(21) *gel-iyor-muş-tur*  
 komm-PRÄS-DUB-EMP  
 'er ist gekommen'

Hinter (6) steckte, wie uns das Beispiel (12) gezeigt hat, keine wirkliche Kombinationsbeschränkung, sondern eine morphologisch zulässige Kombination, die zwar in vielen Fällen semantisch bzw. pragmatisch blockiert ist, in den Fällen aber, wo die von ihr ausgedrückte Semantik doch erwünscht ist, auch morphologisch bildbar ist. Also brauchen wir hier nicht nach der Formulierung für eine Kombinationsbeschränkung zu suchen.

Die Unzulässigkeit von (7) hatte auch semantische Ursachen, aber diese hatten weniger mit möglichen Welten als vielmehr mit der logischen Unvereinbarkeit von Singular und Plural zu tun. Also muß die Kombinations-

beschränkung so formuliert werden, daß sie genau diesem Umstand Rechnung trägt:

$$(22) * (7 + 12) \quad | \quad 12 \supset \text{Sg}$$

Die Personalsuffixe, die Singular implizieren, sind 1Sg und 2Sg. Die pluralischen Personalsuffixe werden hingegen durch diese Regel nicht von der Kombination mit dem Pluralsuffix ausgeschlossen.

Die Ungrammatizität von (3) kann zunächst ganz banal mit der Beschränkung (23) formuliert werden:

$$(23) * (6 + 11) \quad | \quad 6 = \text{OPT}, 11 = \text{KOND}$$

Es stellt sich hier die Frage, inwieweit es sinnvoll ist, diese Beschränkung gleich noch um die Kontextbedingung "11 = -(y)ken" zu erweitern, da die Kombination

$$(24) * \_ -a-yken \\ \text{STAMM-OPT-als}$$

ebenfalls ungrammatisch ist. Gewiß wäre eine solche Erweiterung zutreffend, aber da (23) auch durch die bereits in Bassarak (im Druck) enthaltene allgemeinere Beschränkung

$$(25) * (6 + 11) \quad | \quad 6 \neq -(a/\iota)r/z, 11 = -(y)ken$$

ausgeschlossen ist, wäre diese Erweiterung in gewisser Weise tautologisch (aber nicht falsch).

Bleibt schließlich noch (8). Diese kann, wie das Beispiel (14) gezeigt hat, nicht weiter verallgemeinert werden und muß als Einzelbeschränkung für das Aoristsuffix formuliert werden:

$$(26) * (6 + 13) \quad | \quad 6 = \text{AOR}$$

#### 4. Fazit

Es wurde versucht, die Ursachen einer Reihe von Beschränkungen für Zweierkombinationen türkischer Flexionssuffixe zu ermitteln. Dabei stellte sich heraus, daß sehr viele dieser Beschränkungen auf semantische Ursachen zurückführbar sind, aber nicht alle. In mindestens einem Fall, nämlich (11), scheinen allerdings semantische Ursachen auszuschneiden, wie der Kontrast von (11') und (11'') zeigte. Somit kommt hier als Ursache eher die Existenz einer offenbar rein morphologischen Kombinationsbeschränkung wie Regel (19) in Betracht. Ob es, wenn semantische Ursachen für die Existenz dieser Regel ausscheiden, möglich ist, zu noch tieferen Ursachen der Existenz dieser Regel vorzudringen, ist eine Aufgabe für weitere Forschungen.

Die beobachteten Kombinationsbeschränkungen wurden in Form der vier neuen kontextsensitiven Regeln (20), (22), (23) und (26) formuliert, die über die in Bassarak (im Druck) angeführten hinausgehen.

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## Notes on some Altaic Shamanistic Terms

*Musok* or *shamanism* occupies an important position in Korean Studies. Before Buddhism was introduced to the Korean peninsula in 372 A.D. through the Ancient Korean state of *Koguryo*, shamanism was the one and only religion and was in great vogue throughout the Korean peninsula. The ancient people of Korea worshipped nature and heavenly bodies, such as the sun and the moon. They believed that their royal ancestors were born in mysterious ways, being born of natural objects such as gourds, eggs, and even animals.

*Tangun*, the king of sandalwood who was the founder of *Kochoson*, the first Ancient Korean state, was believed to have been born from the union of *Hwanung*, the high ascending son of the heavenly god, and a woman who had been transformed out of a bear. Most scholars accept *Tangun* as a ruler as well as a shaman like many ancient rulers of the proto- or Ancient Korean states. According to a legend, *Tangun* was said to have become a god of the mountain after death. Besides *Tangun*, we can also easily find evidence of shamanism in most of the founders of the Ancient Korean states.

Ancient Korean people also believed in the immortality of the soul, and they buried the dead in large coffins and tombs, with rich personal ornaments to accompany the immortal spirits in their long journey to the other world of the dead. For this reason they believed the *Mudang* or *Shaman* uttered spiritual words. This shamanistic tradition has survived from proto- or Ancient Korea to the present day, despite the dominance of several major religions such as Buddhism and Confucianism, which opposed shamanism in Korea for over 1500 years.

In modern times, many studies of *Musok* or shamanism, have been carried out since the publication of *H. B. Hulbert's* article titled "The Korean *Mudang* and *Pansu*" in the *Korean Review* (1903). In the 1920s, Korean scholars such as *Nam-Sun Choi*, *Nyung-Hwa Lee* and *Cha-Ho Sin* started to study *Musok*. In the same period, Japanese scholars also began to be interested in the Ancient Korean religion.

Most Korean scholars have tended to relate Musok to the shamanism of northern tribes (i.e., Central Asian and Siberian tribes). *C. A. Clark*, the author of the book *Shamanism: Religion of Old Korea* (1932), was the first foreign scholar to consider Musok in connection with Siberian shamanism.

Nevertheless, there have been few studies in Korea which closely examined the relationship of Korea and the Altaic area (i.e., Central Asia and Siberia) in terms of shamanism. In this respect, *Si-In Park's* comparative studies of Ancient Korean and Altaic legendary literatures or myths concerning the founders of proto or ancient Altaic states is highly respected.

There is a variety of evidence to show that Korean Musok was originated from Altaic shamanism and that these two are originally one and the same. In this paper, I would like to present some linguistic evidence for the close relationship of the two. These are Altaic shamanistic terms which are found in Modern Korean.

(1) *Abači* 'bogy': Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī explained in his dictionary that to frighten a child one said *abači keldi!* 'the bogy has come!'. This word is found in Yakut in the forms *abasy* and *abassy* meaning 'an evil spirit, spirit of the dead'.

In Korean there is the word *ebi* meaning 'bogy or the like'. This word is said to frighten a child or to give a warning to a naughty child. Comparable words exist in Mongolian: Mo. *abla-* 'to allure, to hurt through magic incantations', *abtai* 'possessing the gift of witchcraft', *abagaldai* 'a shamanistic idol, mask representing a shamanistic god'. From these Mongolian forms, we can assume \**ab* is the root of the word. The Korean form *ebi* probably comes from \**abi* which consists of the root \**ab* and the denominal noun suffix {+I}.

(2) *Bakši* 'a male shaman': In Turkic this word appears in Uygur for the first time meaning '(Buddhist) religious teacher'. In Chagatay this word means 'scribe; surgeon'. Among modern Turkic languages, while Uygur and Yakut call a male shaman *oyun*, Kazakh and Kyrghyz people call *baqši*. In the epic *Manas*, the phrase *qara baqši* appears. In Turkmen, this word means 'saz singer'. This word occurs in Korean too in the form *baksu* meaning 'a male shaman'. In Mongolian the word means 'teacher'. It is interesting that Korean and southeastern languages of the Turkic language group, i.e. Kazakh and Kyrghyz have the same meaning for the word.

For the etymology of the word, *Yule* (1866:474) proposed that the word was the Turkish and Persian corruption of *Bhikshu*, the proper Sanskrit term for a Buddhist monk. *Radloff* (IV. 1446) said in his dictionary that the word

was derived from the Turkic verb *baq-* meaning 'to look at'. However, Radloff's theory is nothing but a folk etymology, for there is no deverbal noun suffix such as {-šI} in Turkic. *Laufer* (1916:485-7) argued that the word was borrowed from the Chinese word *bakši*. *Ramstedt* (1951:73) related this word to Sino-Korean *baksa* meaning 'a learned man, a doctor'.

(3) *Kam* 'a shaman; a ruler': Among titles of *Silla* which was an Ancient Korean state, we can find *kam* (ACh. *kam*', Sino-Ko. *kam*) in the titles of high-ranking officials. In my opinion, *kam* is one and the same with the Ancient Turkic *Kam* designating 'shaman': Uyg. *qam* 'sorcerer', MK *qam* id., Chag. *qam* 'physician, healer, sage, wise man' (Clauson 1972:625).

In Middle Turkic, this word was used as a verb with the denominal verb suffix {+IA-} meaning 'to practice medicine, to heal' which was probably developed from 'to act as a *kam*, to make magic'. Interestingly, in Middle Turkic Coman the word means 'a female shaman'. From the Turkic meaning, we can deduce that one of the major roles of a *kam* was to act as a healer. This role of a *kam* or shaman is seen often in both the Korean shaman *mudang* and the Turkic shaman *kam*. In this respect, *Ramstedt's* theory (1949:90, 1951:71) that this Turkic word was borrowed from the Chinese word (ACh *kam*') meaning 'to inspect' is incorrect.

Furthermore, as is seen in the early shamanism of the Altaic region, shamans or kams acted not only as healers or spiritual doctors but also were engaged actively in politics as politicians or rulers. Shamans often ruled over their communities as sages or wise counsellors who had the greatest political power. It is well known that Tangun, the founder of Kochoson, was a ruler as well as a shaman. This was to reflect the primitive theocratic system which was very common in ancient primitive societies. It is not surprising then that the last ruler of Kochoson, who ruled in the second century B.C., had *ugə* meaning 'sage, wise man' as his official title. This word was borrowed from Turkic *öge* having the same meaning. The Turkic word *öge* was derived from the verb *ö-* 'to think of' with the deverbal noun suffix {-gA}. This word was also used as a ruler's title in Ancient Turkic: Uyg. *Baga Tarkan Öge*, *El Ögesi*. (Eliade 181, 422; Inan 72 ff, 75, 84, 88; Kim 70).

(4) *Kow* 'an evil spirit in nightmares': In Modern Korean *kawi* is a shamanistic word designating an evil spirit which possesses man by way of nightmares. This word is attested in Middle Korean in the form of *κλω*. From this form, we see that Modern Korean *kawi* consists of two morphemes, *kaw* and {+i}, a denominal noun suffix very common in Korean.

This shamanistic term is found in the Oghuz dialect of Middle Turkic in the form of *kowuč* or *kowuz*. Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī offers ‘the symptoms of demonic possession’ for the meaning of the word in his dictionary. He gives some explanation for the use of the word; the victim is treated, cold water is thrown in his face, and at the same time the words *kowuč kowuč* are recited in order to expel the evil spirit, then he is fumigated with rue and aloes-wood (Clouston 1972:581). Dankoff (1985:144) argues that this word was derived from the Turkic verb *kow-* meaning ‘drive out, expel’ with the deverbal noun suffix {-uč} or {-uz}.

However, Dankoff’s theory not compelling since not only is the suffix {-uč} or {-uz}, which is rare in Turkic, used with an intransitive verb without exception but also that the semantic connection between ‘the symptoms of demonic possession or the like’ and ‘drive out’ is very thin. From the point of view that the Korean word *kawi* or *kʌo* is not a verb but a noun, we can suppose two different possibilities for the word: the first possibility is that it consists of the noun *\*kowu* and the diminutive suffix {+č}, and the second is that it combines the noun *\*kow* and the verb *uč-*. While, in the former, the word means ‘an evil spirit exercising the demonic power of possession’, the latter case means ‘go away! evil spirit’. In my opinion, the latter one is more likely than the former.

Moreover, among the Korean forms, *kawi* was probably developed later. The form *kawi* was made this way; at first the denominal noun suffix {+i} came to the noun *kʌo* and then *kʌo* became *kawi* by regressive assimilation rendering the vowel /ʌ/ in the first syllable into the unrounded vowel /a/ under the influence of /i/.

(5) *Kut* ‘an exorcism by a shaman or Mudang, a shaman ritual’: This term is very common in Altaic languages. In Turkic this means ‘the favour of heaven’ originally in a rather mystical sense, thence, less specifically ‘good fortune’ and the like, and thence, more generally, ‘happiness’ (Clouston 594). In Mongolian, the word appears in the form *kutuγ* meaning ‘sanctity, happiness, benediction’ (Lessing 992). The Mongolian form consists of *kut* and a denominal suffix {-uγ}. While *xuturi* exists with the same meaning, the similar form with *kut* is *xutu* meaning ‘demon, evil spirit’ in Manchu.

The word occurs in Korean in the form *kus* meaning ‘an exorcism, a shaman ritual’ (Ramstedt 132). This Korean form probably comes from *kut*. By the way, it is difficult to disclose the manner in which the word was borrowed among Altaic languages. However, when considering both the form



and the meaning, I reckon that the word *kut* was passed from Turkic into the other Altaic languages including Korean. From the meaning in Ancient Turkic we can suppose that in Korean the word originally means 'a shamanic performance for a benediction'. This meaning must be secondary when compared with the Turkic 'benediction, happiness'. This word was probably borrowed directly into Korean from Turkic in the very early stages.

Also, it is very interesting that this word means 'spirit of the dead' in Yakut in Siberia. (Eliade 197, Inan 84, 177).

(6) *Pudak* 'the obstacles laid on the way to *Erlik Khan*, the supreme god of the Underworld or Hades': According to Altaic shamanism, there is *Erlik Khan* in the Underworld or Hades as opposed to *Bay Ülgen*, a supreme god of heaven.<sup>1</sup> Through a shamanic ritual, Altaic *kams* or shamans would descend to the Underworld where *Erlik Khan* rules with absolute authority. To reach *Erlik Khan*, shamans must pass through seven obstacles laid on the seven stairs on the way to the Underworld. Altaic people call the obstacles *pudak* (Eliade 192, 254, 257). This shamanistic word also appears in Yakut in the form *buudak*, also meaning 'obstacle'.

The word *pudak* occurs in Korean shamanism. Shamans perform an exorcism called *pudak-kæri* for the purpose of curing a diseased victim. In the *pudak-kæri* exorcism, the shaman prays for the patient after offering a chicken as a sacrifice. After the prayer, he buries the sacrifice in the ground. The word *kæri* in the compounded word *pudak-kæri* means the scene of an exorcism performed by a *Mudang* or a Korean female shaman.

(7) *Tarkan* 'smith, craftsman; a title of an Ancient Turkic ruler': In Turkic, even though this was a high title probably carrying administrative responsibility, it was not peculiar to the Royal family as *tegin* and *šad* were. This title cannot be traced in Turkic after the 11th century.

This occurs in the form *darxan* in Mongolian where it means 'a person exempt from ordinary taxation'. This word was borrowed into Chagatay probably from Mongolian. In his dictionary, *Sanglax* denoted a person with a title exempting him from all government taxes. One who has the title can attend the royal court with special permission and can commit up to nine offences without being called to account. In *Manas*, a Kyrghyz epic, the word

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<sup>1</sup> Although *Bay Ülgen* is one of the supreme gods in heaven, he is not the absolute god. According to Altaic shamanism, *Tengere Kayra Khan* is considered to be the absolute god among the gods the heaven. *Bay Ülgen* seems to be a god of abundance.

appears in the form *darqan*, meaning 'smith', which was probably borrowed from Mongolian.

This word or title has also been used to designate 'smith, craftsman, artisan' besides 'person free from taxes and official duties' in Mongolian. I think this meaning was original, even though the meaning was seen even later in Mongolian manuscripts. In addition to these meanings, *Lessing* provides an additional meaning for the word in his dictionary, 'area or place set aside for religious reasons and therefore inviolable'. This word has also been used as an adjective meaning 'sacred, celebrated'. This fact indicates that a *tarkan* or *darxan* was somehow connected to a primitive religion or shamanism. Here we see the reason why *darxans* were exempt from taxes and official duties. This was because they were engaged in religious affairs.

The Yakuts saying that smiths and shamans are in one and the same group is very informative. When seeing a fine young woman, Yakut people even say that she would make a good wife for either a smith or shaman. In Yakut shamanism, smiths are believed to have the power to heal and prophesy (Jochelson 1933:172ff). Yakut Dolgans believe that, because smiths always keep their souls in the flames, shamans cannot swallow the souls of smiths. But they believed that smiths can burn the souls of shamans (Popov 1933:258-60). According to a Yakut myth, smiths inherit their skills from an evil god K'daai Maqsin. K'daai Maqsin can handle shamans as well as iron. Thus he is very famous as the teacher of smiths (Popov 260).

Coming to the etymology of the word *tarkhan*, we can find some derivations in Mongolian: the nouns *darxad* and *darxaci*. While *darxad* forms a plural with the plural suffix {+d}, *darxaci*, meaning 'smith or craftsman', comes from \**darxa* with the denominal noun suffix {+ci} designating occupations. In addition to these, there is the verb *darxala-* meaning 'to do the work of a smith, a craftsman or an artisan; to be exempt from taxes and official duties; to set aside as sacred'. This verb consists of the noun \**darxa* and the denominal verb suffix {+lA-}.

There is also the verb *tarku-* meaning 'to heat a piece of iron in fire' in Korean. Besides this verb, there is the homonym meaning 'to deal with a person, thing, or matter' in Middle Korean. I think these are of the same origin. The latter meaning was probably developed from 'to deal with iron or metal'. The Korean word *tarku-* and the Turkic *tarkan* or Mo. *darxan* are probably all of the same origin.

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NURETTİN DEMİR  
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## Die Vergangenheitsform auf *-(y)ik* in anatolischen Dialekten

### *Einleitung*

Die Vergangenheitsform *-(y)ik*<sup>1</sup> stellte erstmalig Ö. A. Aksoy in seiner Monographie über den Dialekt von Gaziantep vor (1945:176ff., s. auch Adamović 1985:205ff.). Später widmete Miskioğlu dieser wenig bekannten Form im Dialekt von Hatay einen kurzen Artikel und erweiterte damit unsere Kenntnisse über ihre geographische Verbreitung in Anatolien (1992). Schließlich erwähnte ich in einem anderen Zusammenhang die Existenz von *-(y)ik* in den Dialekten von Alanya, Gündoğmuş (Antalya), Bucak und den dazugehörigen Dörfern Kocaeliler und Demirli (Burdur) sowie in Sarayönü (Konya), ohne im Detail auf deren Funktionen einzugehen (1996a:68). In derselben Studie hatte ich die inzwischen durch neue Materialien bestätigte Vermutung aufgestellt, daß *-(y)ik* wahrscheinlich eines der Dialektmerkmale der sog. Yörükten ist, und da diese Gruppen auch in anderen Gebieten Anatoliens leben, ihr Verbreitungsgebiet mit den angeführten Orten nicht vollständig erfaßt sein dürfte. Nach dem Abschluß der erwähnten Studie setzte ich meine Forschungen über *-(y)ik* fort. Unten werden einige von den Ergebnissen vorgelegt und Beispiele aus dem aufgezeichneten Material zur Illustration der Funktionen von *-(y)ik* aufgeführt. Das hier behandelte *-(y)ik* ist eine typische Dialogform, die meistens in kurzen Sätzen vorkommt. Aus diesem Grund werden im folgenden keine längeren Textpassagen zitiert, die auch den Kontext hätten deutlich werden lassen können. Nötigenfalls werde ich die Situationen beschreiben, in denen die Beispiele gebraucht wurden. Die Frage nach der Herkunft von *-(y)ik* ist Gegenstand einer selbständigen Studie und wird hier außer Acht gelassen.

Das dieser Studie zugrundeliegende Material wurde im Laufe meiner Beschäftigung mit anatolischen Dialekten durch *Beobachtung* und/oder *Be-*

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<sup>1</sup> Entsprechend der Vokalharmonie im Türkischen lautet diese Vergangenheit *-(y)ik*, *-(y)ik*, *-(y)uk*, *-(y)ük*. Aus praktischen Gründen verwende ich im folgenden *-(y)ik*, um sie zu bezeichnen.

*fragung* gewonnen. Wie anhand von Kommentaren zu Beispielen zu sehen ist, wurde die Mehrheit der Beispiele aus Gesprächen entnommen, bei denen eine Dialektaufzeichnung zwecks Dialektforschung nicht beabsichtigt war. Das durch direkte Befragung von ortsstämmigen Personen gewonnene Material enthält dagegen keine Beispiele; es dient lediglich zur Feststellung der geographischen Verbreitung von *-(y)ik*. Meine Frage lautete hierbei üblicherweise *gelmiş, gitmiş yèrine gelik, gèdik dèr misiniz* oder *sizde gelik, gèdik dèrler mi* 'Verwenden Sie *gelik, gèdik* im Sinne von *gelmiş* bzw. *gitmiş*' bzw. 'Sagt man bei Ihnen *gelik, gèdik*?'

Bei der Befragung wurde darauf geachtet, daß keine Verwechslung mit dem auch im Standardtürkischen vorkommenden deverbalen Ableitungssuffix auf *-ik* wie in *açık* 'offen' vorkommt. Denn die formalen und teilweise inhaltlichen Ähnlichkeiten der beiden Formen sind nicht zu übersehen.<sup>2</sup> Daher ist die Unterscheidung der beiden Suffixe notwendig. Demzufolge handelt es sich z. B. bei *açık* im Satz *Kapı açık* um das Ableitungssuffix. Es liegt eine nominale Prädikation im Sinne von 'Die Tür ist offen' vor. Hier wird ein Nomen aus dem Verb *aç-* 'öffnen' in der Bedeutung 'offen' gebildet. Dagegen handelt es sich um die Vergangenheitsform *-(y)ik*: z. B. in dem Satz *Kapıyı açık*, der eine verbale Prädikation ist, 'Wie ich sehe, hat er die Tür geöffnet'. Die Endung macht hier keine Veränderung in der Verbbedeutung aus, sondern steht für die Vergangenheit. Das Wortbildungssuffix *-ik* hat nach transitiven Verben auch eine der Vergangenheitsform *-(y)ik* fehlende, passivische Bedeutung, so daß sie leicht zu unterscheiden sind, auch wenn das abgeleitete Nomen als Prädikat einer Prädikation fungiert. Bei intransitiven Verben dagegen ist es nicht immer möglich, zwischen den beiden Suffixen und somit zwischen nominalen und verbalen Prädikationen einen klaren Unterschied zu machen. Weil z. B. das Wort *uyanık* im Satz *Çocuk uyanık* als selbständiges Nomen im Sinne von 'wach' verwendet wird, neigt man dazu, ihn als einen nominalen Satz im Sinne von 'Das Kind ist wach' zu interpretieren, auch wenn es möglich ist, ihn als eine verbale Prädikation zu verstehen: 'Wie ich sehe, ist das Kind aufgewacht'. Die Sätze *Sabah oluk* 'Wie ich sehe, ist es Morgen geworden' und *Ahmet gelik* 'Wie ich sehe, ist Ahmet schon gekommen' sind dagegen als verbale Prädikationen zu interpretieren, weil *oluk* und *gelik* in der hier verwendeten

<sup>2</sup> Hierzu s. Adamović (1985:205f.).

Bedeutung als Nomen weder in der Standardsprache, noch in den Dialekten existieren.

### Die Konjugation

Nach Aksoys Angaben (1945:176ff.) lautet das Konjugationsmuster von *-(y)ik* im Dialekt von Gaziantep wie folgt:

<i>geliğim</i>	<i>geliğiz</i>
<i>geliksin</i>	<i>geliksiñiz</i>
<i>gelik</i>	<i>gelikler</i>

Davon können zusammengesetzte Formen wie *gelikti*, *gelikse* etc. gebildet werden.

Der Dialekt von Hatay weicht nur dadurch von dem in Antep ab, daß hier die erste Person Plural neben *geliğiz* auch *geliğik* aufweist. Außerdem kommen in Hatay zusammengesetzte Einheiten folgender Art vor (Miskioğlu 1992):

<i>geliktim</i>	<i>geliktik</i>
<i>geliktin</i>	<i>geliktiniz</i>
<i>gelikti</i>	<i>geliktiler, geliklerdi</i>

In den von mir untersuchten Dialekten wird *-(y)ik* folgendermaßen konjugiert:

<i>ya'pı:n<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>ge'li:n</i>	<i>go'yu:n</i>	<i>gö'rü:n</i>
<i>ya'pıksıñ</i>	<i>ge'liksiñ</i>	<i>go'yuksuñ</i>	<i>gö'rüksüñ</i>
<i>ya'pık</i>	<i>ge'lik</i>	<i>go'yuk</i>	<i>gö'rük</i>
<i>ya'pı:z</i>	<i>ge'li:z</i>	<i>go'yu:z</i>	<i>gö'rü:z</i>
<i>ya'pıksıñız</i>	<i>ge'liksiñiz</i>	<i>go'yuksuñuz</i>	<i>gö'rüksüñüz</i>
<i>yapık'lar</i>	<i>gelik'ler</i>	<i>goyuk'lar</i>	<i>görük'ler</i>

Nach den auf Vokal endenden Verben lautet das Suffix *-yik*: *tanı'yık*, *elle'yık*, *oyna'yık* etc. In den südanatolischen Dialekten verschwindet das sog. "yumşak g" im Auslaut; der vorangehende Vokal wird lang: *do:-*, *ko:-* *yı:-*, *ya:-*, *e:-* etc. Dadurch entstandene Langvokale werden bewahrt, wenn ihnen ein konsonantisch anlautendes Suffix folgt: *ya:'dı*, *do:'mak*, *ko:'du*, *dö:'dü*, *yı:'muş* etc. Nach solchen Verben lautet das Suffix *-k*, wobei der Langvokal eher als Diphthong mit einem steigenden Ton ausgesprochen wird, da die

<sup>3</sup> Das Zeichen ' zeigt, daß die folgende Silbe betont wird.

Endung *-(y)ik* betont ist: *do'ok, bo'ok, ko'ok, y'ik, ya'aik, e'ek* etc. Bei der ersten Person taucht dieses "yumuşak g" allerdings wieder auf, weil die Personalmarkierungen nicht betont werden und das *-k* des Suffixes in der intervokalischen Position verschwindet: *do'ğu:n, y'i'ği:n, do'ğu:z*.

Die zusammengesetzten Formen können folgendermaßen gebildet werden:

<i>ge'li:dim</i>	<i>ge'li:mişin</i>	<i>ge'li:sem</i>
<i>ge'li:diñ</i>	<i>ge'li:mişsiñ</i>	<i>ge'li:señ</i>
<i>ge'li:di</i>	<i>ge'li:miş</i>	<i>ge'li:se</i>
<i>ge'li:dik</i>	<i>ge'li:mişiz</i>	<i>ge'li:sek</i>
<i>ge'li:diñiz</i>	<i>ge'li:mişsiñiz</i>	<i>ge'li:señiz</i>
<i>gelik'leridi</i>	<i>gelik'lerimiş</i>	<i>gelik'lerise</i>

### Negation

Die Vergangenheit auf *-(y)ik* weist zwei Negationsmuster auf. Das erste wird, wie es bei der Verbnegation im Türkischen üblich ist, durch Anfügung von *-(y)ik* nach einem negierten Verb gebildet:

<i>'yapmayı:n</i>	<i>'gelmeyi:n</i>	<i>'goymayı:n</i>	<i>'görmeyi:n</i>
<i>'yapmayıksiñ</i>	<i>'gelmeyiksiñ</i>	<i>'goymayıksiñ</i>	<i>'görmeyiksiñ</i>
<i>'yapmayık</i>	<i>'gelmeyik</i>	<i>'goymayık</i>	<i>'görmeyik</i>
<i>'yapmayı:z</i>	<i>'gelmeyi:z</i>	<i>'goymayı:z</i>	<i>'görmeyi:z</i>
<i>'yapmayıksiñiz</i>	<i>'gelmeyiksiñiz</i>	<i>'goymayıksiñiz</i>	<i>'görmeyiksiñiz</i>
<i>'yapmayıklar</i>	<i>'gelmeyikler</i>	<i>'goymayıklar</i>	<i>'görmeyikler</i>

Das zweite wird mit *de:l* gebildet. Der Vokal von *deil* wird außer in der 3. P. Sg. mit einem steigenden Ton ausgesprochen, so daß ich im folgenden *de'el* benutze, um diesen Umstand zu zeigen.

<i>yapık de'elin</i>	<i>gelik de'elin</i>	<i>goyuk de'elin</i>	<i>görük de'eli:n</i>
<i>yapık de'elsiñ</i>	<i>gelik de'elsiñ</i>	<i>goyuk de'elsiñ</i>	<i>görük de'elsiñ</i>
<i>yapık de'el</i>	<i>gelik de'el</i>	<i>goyuk de'el</i>	<i>görük de'el</i>
<i>yapık de'eliz</i>	<i>gelik de'eli:z</i>	<i>goyuk de'eliz</i>	<i>görük de'eli:z</i>
<i>yapık de'elsiñiz</i>	<i>gelik de'elsiñiz</i>	<i>goyuk de'elsiñiz</i>	<i>görük de'elsiñiz</i>
<i>yapık de:l'ler</i>	<i>gelik de:l'ler</i>	<i>goyuk de:l'ler</i>	<i>görük de:l'ler</i>



*Frage*

Die Frage wird folgendermaßen gebildet:

<i>ya'pık mıyın</i>	<i>ge'lik miyin</i>	<i>go'yuk muyun</i>	<i>gö'rük müyün</i>
<i>ya'pık mıñ</i>	<i>ge'lik miñ</i>	<i>go'yuk muñ</i>	<i>gö'rük müñ</i>
<i>ya'pık mı</i>	<i>ge'lik mi</i>	<i>go'yuk mu</i>	<i>gö'rük mü</i>
<i>ya'pık mıyız</i>	<i>ge'lik miyiz</i>	<i>go'yuk muyuz</i>	<i>gö'rük müyüz</i>
<i>ya'pık mısiñiz</i>	<i>ge'lik misiniz</i>	<i>go'yuk musuñuz</i>	<i>gö'rük müsünüz</i>
<i>yapık'lar mı</i>	<i>gelik'ler mi</i>	<i>goyuk'lar mı</i>	<i>görük'ler mi</i>

*Funktionen von -(y)ik*

Anhand von konstruierten Situationen versuchten Aksoy und Miskioğlu, die Funktionen von -(y)ik zu beschreiben und sie mit denen von -miş und -di zu vergleichen. Sie stellen allerdings -miş und -di unzutreffenderweise in einer sehr vereinfachenden Art dar, so daß die Vergleiche kein brauchbares Ergebnis gebracht haben.<sup>4</sup> Nach den Ausführungen bei Aksoy hat die Form auf -(y)ik in Gaziantep drei Funktionen.

1) In den Sätzen wie (a) *Mehmet eve gelik*, (b) *Siz işiñizi bitiriksiñiz* drückt -(y)ik eine Vergangenheit mit Vermutung aus. Aksoys Übersetzung des ersten Beispiels ins Standardtürkische 'öyle tahmin ederim ki Mehmet eve gelmiştir; o kanaateyim ki Mehmet eve gelmiştir' können wir auf Deutsch mit 'Ich vermute, daß Mehmet nach Hause gekommen ist' bzw. 'Ich nehme an, daß Mehmet nach Hause gekommen ist' wiedergeben. Der zweite Satz ist ähnlich zu übersetzen. *Gelik* und *bitiriksiniñiz* entsprechen im Standardtürkischen *gelmiş*, *bitirmişsinizdir*.

2) In den Beispielen (a) *O yol senin gördüğün gibi kalméyık; güzel yapılık*, (b) *O mağaza şimdi gazino oluk* drückt -(y)ik aus, daß der Sprecher nicht das Ereignis, sondern den daraus entstandenen Zustand gesehen hat, m.a. W. eine Feststellung macht. Ein Ereignis, über das man auf diese Weise etwas erfahren hat, wird in Gaziantep mit -(y)ik ausgedrückt. Deshalb stellen die standardtürkischen Formen *kalmamış*, *yapılmış* keine Äquivalente zu *kalméyık*, *yapılık* dar. Die letzteren werden nach Aksoys Angaben von

<sup>4</sup> S. hierzu Adamović 1985:207.

jemandem gebraucht, der den Zustand der Straße nicht selbst gesehen, sondern von einem dritten darüber gehört hat. In den Dialektbeispielen jedoch berichtet jemand, der den Zustand der Straße selbst gesehen hat. Weiterhin schreibt Aksoy, daß man sich hier die Frage stellen könnte, ob man diesen Umstand nicht mit *-di*-Vergangenheit wiedergeben könnte, da man über etwas, das man gesehen hat, spricht. Er verneint die Frage, da /.../ *kalmadı*; /.../ *yapıldı* von jemanden zu gebrauchen sei, der die Straße gesehen hat, während sie gebaut wurde. In dem Beispiel ist dies aber nicht der Fall. Der Sprecher hat die Straße nicht gesehen, während sie gebaut wurde, sondern nachdem sie gebaut worden war. Damit nimmt nach Aksoys Auffassung *-ik* eine Stelle zwischen *-miş* und *-di*- Formen ein.

3) Die Form *-ik* wird für die Wiedergabe von Geschehnissen verwendet, über die man von dritten gehört hat: (a) *Ahmet İstanbuldan gelik mi? Gelik.* (b) *Bu sabah çarşıda görükler.* (a) *İki ortak ayrılıklar: Turgut dèyik ki mağazanın levhasında yalnız benim adım bulunsun; Orhan deyik ki yok, yalnız benim adım bulunsun... uyuşamèyıklar, ortaklığı bozuklar.* Die Prädikate dieser Beispiele werden nach Aksoy im Istanbul Dialekt als 'gelmiş, görmüşler, ayrılmışlar, dèmiş, uyuşmamışlar, bozmuşlar' übersetzt. Aber die Bedeutung von *-(y)ik* ist nicht vollkommen mit der von *-miş* identisch, da *-miş* nach Aksoys Ausführungen zur Wiedergabe von Ereignissen, die man von anderen gehört hat, verwendet wird. In Bezug auf die Richtigkeit oder Nicht-Richtigkeit des Gehörten ist der Sprecher aber neutral, während dies bei *-(y)ik* nicht der Fall ist. Hier unterscheidet sich *-(y)ik* von *-miş* dadurch, daß auch der Erzähler an die Richtigkeit des Erzählten glaubt, auch wenn er es nur gehört hat.

Miskioğlus Funktionsbestimmungen weichen von Aksoys kaum ab, so daß ich sie hier nur in zusammengefaßter Form erwähnen möchte: In Hatay wird *-(y)ik* verwendet:

1) Zum Ausdruck einer Feststellung (= Aksoy 2): *Gelik* 'Wie ich feststelle, ist er gekommen'.

2) Zur Wiedergabe einer starken Vermutung, d.h. wenn etwas vermutet wird, man aber vollkommen an die Richtigkeit des Vermuteten glaubt (= Aksoy 1): *Birinci perde başlayık. Artık acele etmeğe gerek yok, nasıl olsa birinci perde görülemiyecek* 'Der erste Akt hat [erfahrungsgemäß] bestimmt schon angefangen. Es ist nicht mehr nötig, sich zu beeilen, man wird ihn sowieso nicht sehen können'.

3) Zur Wiedergabe von Gehörtem, wobei man von der Richtigkeit des Gehörten überzeugt ist (= Aksoy 3): *İstanbulda'da bir hafta kalık, dönüşte Ankara'ya ugrayık sonra Adana'ya gelik, dün de Antakya'ya döndü* 'Er sei eine Woche in Istanbul geblieben, auf der Rückfahrt sei er auch in Ankara gewesen, dann sei er nach Adana gekommen, und gestern kehrte er nach Antakya zurück'.

### *Beispiele aus Dialektaufzeichnungen*

Suchen wir in den vorhandenen Dialektaufzeichnungen aus Gaziantep und Hatay nach Beispielen mit -(y)ik, stellen wir fest, daß sie im Unterschied zu den übrigen, reichlich belegten Vergangenheitsformen kaum vorkommen. So finden wir z. B. in den Texten, die Aksoy herausgegeben hatte, nur folgendes Beispiel:

(1) *Şu da:ni şebinen bi it bonco: siziñ yanı:zda şikâra geçik* (Aksoy 1945:352) 'Wie ich feststelle, gilt bei euch diese Menge Alaun und ein *it boncuğu* als etwas Kostbares'.

Unter Caferoğlus Aufzeichnungen aus Gaziantep und Kahramanmaraş finden sich die folgenden zwei Beispiele:

(2) *Depeye çiharsañ öte yanı çadırlar görünürdü. Şindi Hurşud depeye çıhdı. Eline aldı düldülü, baħdı gördüküne ne çadır var ne çatma var, hê:ş kimse galmıyık* [1945:236. (Das Dorf Dağlı Urum Evlek-Gaziantep)] 'Wenn du auf den Hügel steigst, sind auf der anderen Seite die Zelte zu sehen. Nun stieg Hurşit auf den Hügel. Er nahm das Fernglas zur Hand, schaute hindurch und sah, daß es weder Zelte noch etwas anderes gab, kein Mensch war geblieben'.

(3) *!...! Geldi gardaşlarınñ yanna. Gardaşlarına dëdikine: Gardaşım siz gendi gendi:zi yoklañ-da baxalım bir şë:ymiz gayboluk mu olmiye:k mi. Gardaşları bir-de bakdikine zëykirleri diyaşılmış* [1945:177 (Das Dorf Cerit-Maraş)]. 'Sie kam zu ihren Brüdern. Sie sagte zu ihren Brüdern: Meine Brüder, schaut mal bei euch selbst nach, ob wir etwas verloren haben oder nicht. Ihre Brüder schauten nach, ihre Ringe waren offenbar vertauscht worden'.

Im Beispiel (4) aus Konya lautet das Prädikat zwar *ëtdik miyis*. Es ist aber wahrscheinlich auf ein Mißverständnis zurückzuführen, weil damals nichts über -(y)ik bekannt war. Ansonsten ist die doppelte Markierung von

der 2. Person Plural nicht zu erklären, da die Frage der 2. Person Plural hier nach der *-di*-Vergangenheit *êdîk mi* ist, nach *-yîk* dagegen *êdîk miyis*. Der Gebrauch des Suffixes entspricht dem von *-(y)îk*.

(4) /.../ *Gızîñ bobası duyar bunu 'biz hêş bi gul azad êdîkmijis'* (Giese 1907:29) 'Dies hörte der Vater des Mädchens [und sagte]: Haben wir etwa jemanden freigelassen'.

Die Suche nach Beispielen in den Dialektaufzeichnungen zeigt, daß es nicht möglich ist, den Gebrauch von *-(y)îk* durch umfangreiche Beispiele aus den Publikationen zu demonstrieren bzw. die Angaben darüber zu überprüfen. Wenn wir die Funktionen von *-(y)îk* mit Hilfe von diesen vier Beispielen beschreiben wollen, stellt sich heraus, daß die Wiedergabe der nachträglichen Feststellung eines Ereignisses anhand von vorliegenden Indizien überwiegt. In den Beispielen (2) und (3) finden wir deutliche Hinweise auf diese Funktion: *gördüküne* 'er sah:', *gendi gendi:zi yoklañ-da baçalım* 'schaut mal bei euch selbst nach'. Deshalb können wir die deutschen Übersetzungen der Beispiele mit einem Zusatz in der Form 'wie ich feststelle', 'wie ich sehe', 'offenbar', 'offensichtlich' etc. ergänzen. Nur bei Beispiel (4) sind die Indizien nicht so klar, wie es bei den vorhergehenden der Fall ist, so daß hier andere Interpretationen wie Vermutung oder Annahme möglich sind.

In den Beispielen (1), (3) und (4) gibt es noch eine weitere Auffälligkeit. Die Sätze mit *-(y)îk* stellen Gesprächspassagen dar, der Sprecher sagt einem Zuhörer tatsächlich etwas. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient das Beispiel (3), weil hier sowohl *-(y)îk* als auch *-miş* gebraucht werden. Der Satz mit *-(y)îk* ist eine Anrede, wogegen der Satz mit *-miş* keine ist.

### *Eigene Beispiele*

Daß die von dem Verb bezeichnete Tätigkeit sich im Vergleich zur gegebenen Zeit in der Vergangenheit bereits ereignet bzw. noch nicht ereignet hat und der Sprecher das nachträglich wahrnimmt, scheint auch nach meinen Materialien die Grundfunktion von *-(y)îk* zu sein. Die Wahrnehmung kann auf verschiedene Arten zustandekommen, so daß häufig andere Konnotationen wie Feststellung, Vermutung, Ausdruck der dem Sprecher allgemein bekannten Tatsachen, Wiedergabe des Gehörten etc. kontextuell bedingt vorliegen. In den meisten Fällen schlußfolgert der Sprecher aus den vorhan-

denen, mehr oder weniger deutlichen Indizien die Realisierung bzw. Nicht-Realisierung der Tätigkeit. Die Indizien stellen in den meisten Fällen Resultate der vom Verb ausgedrückten Tätigkeit dar. Je nach Kontext bietet bei der Übersetzung der Beispiele ins Deutsche eine Ergänzung wie 'ich stelle fest', 'wie ich sehe', 'anscheinend', 'wahrscheinlich', 'meines Wissens' eine gute Hilfe zur Verdeutlichung der Funktion von *-(y)ik* dar. Einige Beispiele:

(5) *Ta: adam gelik de'el* '[Wie ich feststelle], ist der [hier sitzende] Mann noch nicht gekommen' (Das Dorf Demirli-Bucak-Burdur).

(6) *Ben mazot aldi:mda dokuzyüz elli o'lu:du*<sup>5</sup> 'Als ich Diesel getankt hatte, waren schon 900 [km] runter'.

(7) *Dokdur bi ta: konturol etti. Sancı başla'yık, çocu:ñ olması yakın dedi* 'Der Arzt untersuchte sie noch ein Mal. Die Wehen haben schon eingesetzt, die Geburt des Kindes steht kurz bevor, sagte er'.

(8) *Çocu: uyandı'rik mi* (Sarayönü-Konya) 'Hat er das Kind schon aufgeweckt?'

Der Satz (5) wurde z. B. während einer Fahrt von Antalya nach Istanbul von einem aus Burdur stammenden Busbeifahrer verwendet. Er zählte nach einer Pause die Reisenden und sah, daß einer nicht auf seinem Platz war. Mit dem Satz drückte er diesen Umstand aus. Der Satz (6) stammt aus einem Gespräch über Dieselaautos, in dem es darum ging, daß sie wenig Treibstoff verbrauchen. Bei einer langen Fahrt schaute der Sprecher, nachdem er vollgetankt hatte, auf den Kilometerzähler, um zu wissen, wieviel Kilometer er nach dem letzten Tanken gefahren ist. Er drückte mit dem Satz eben diese Feststellung aus. Das Beispiel (7) wurde einem Gespräch über den Verlauf einer Entbindung entnommen. Der Sprecher gab wörtlich wieder, was der Arzt gesagt hat, der die Frau vor der Entbindung untersuchte und feststellte, daß die Geburtswehen zu der Zeit der Untersuchung schon eingesetzt hatten.

Die Schlußfolgerung anhand von vorliegenden Indizien, d.h., daß die von dem Verb ausgedrückte Tätigkeit sich schon realisiert bzw. noch nicht realisiert hat, läßt sich kontextuell bedingt leicht als Vermutung interpretieren. Um den Umstand deutlicher zu machen, stellen wir uns zwei Situationen vor, in denen das Beispiel (9) gebraucht werden kann. Der Sprecher kann *gelik* verwenden, z. B. wenn er nach Hause geht und sieht, daß A, der vorher nicht zu Hause war, schon gekommen ist. Der Sprecher kann aber denselben Umstand wahrnehmen, wenn beispielsweise das Licht an ist,

<sup>5</sup> Wenn nichts anders angegeben, stammen die Beispiele aus Alanya.

das vorher ausgeschaltet war. Welche der beiden Interpretationen möglich ist, entscheidet der Kontext, nicht die Form *-(y)ik*. Sie drückt aus, daß das Kommen zur Zeit der Wahrnehmung schon abgeschlossen war und daß der Sprecher es nachträglich wahrnimmt.

(9) *Ge'lik* 'Er ist schon gekommen'.

Ähnlich ist es in den folgenden Beispielen:

(10) A) *Nolmuş bunuñ bunnuna?* 'Was ist denn mit der Nase dieses [Kindes] los!'

B) *Bunnunu boya'yık* '[Wie ich feststelle/vermute/annehme,] hat es seine Nase angemalt'.

(11) *Çocuk oyna'yık* '[Wie ich feststelle/annehme/vermute,] hat das Kind [sie] bewegt'.

Im Beispiel (10) wird die Farbe auf der Nase des Kindes beobachtet, woraus der Sprecher B feststellt bzw. schlußfolgert, daß das Kind seine Nase selbst angemalt hat bzw. haben muß. Im Unterschied zu den Beispielen (5) (8), (7) schließt der Kontext hier eine andere Interpretation wie Vermutung nicht aus, gibt aber auch keine Hinweise darauf, ob die Aussage den Tatsachen entspricht. Ein ähnlicher Fall findet sich im Beispiel (11). Der Sprecher nimmt nachträglich die Veränderung in der Ordnung der Sachen im Zimmer wahr und verwendet in diesem Zusammenhang diesen Satz.

Es können andere Elemente wie Adverbien *heral*, *heralda* im Satz erscheinen, die die Interpretation als Vermutung verstärken:

(12) *Heral bi ölen o'luk hiz göçeli* (Gündoğmuş-Antalya) '[Wie ich vermute/annehme/feststelle,] ist wohl jemand gestorben, seit dem wir gegangen sind'.

Das Beispiel aus Gündoğmuş verwendete eine ältere Frau. Als sie sich der Stadt näherte, hörte sie das Geschrei und gebrauchte in diesem Zusammenhang den Satz. Sie drückt damit aus, daß das Geschrei erfahrungsgemäß darauf hindeutet, daß jemand gestorben ist. Ob dies der Wahrheit entspricht, ist dabei irrelevant.

Mit der Form *-(y)ik* kann der Sprecher Sachverhalte aus der Vergangenheit ausdrücken, deren Ergebnisse ihm allgemein bekannt sind. Der Sprecher sagt hier, daß nach seinem Wissen die von dem Verb ausgedrückte Tätigkeit in der Vergangenheit realisiert bzw. noch nicht realisiert worden ist. Diese Funktion tritt vor allem bei der Negation auf. z. B. äußert sich im Satz (13) der Sprecher B über das Alter eines anderen, wobei unklar bleibt, wie er seine Kenntnis darüber erlangt hat:

(13) A) *Kaç yaşında o şindi?* 'Wie alt ist er jetzt?'

B) *Seksen dört mü seksen beş mi bilmen. Yëtmişinden ziyada, seksene va'rig gayrı ya.* 'Ich weiß nicht, ob er 84 oder 85 ist. Älter als 70 ist er schon, die 80 hat er wohl erreicht'.

(14) *Ta: namaz 'gilmayı:n* 'Ich habe noch nicht gebetet'.

(15) *Ben de o zaman ta: [zebzecile:] başlayık de'elidim* (Konya [Auswanderer aus Alanya]) 'Und ich hatte damals [mit dem Gemüsehandel] noch nicht angefangen'.

Im Unterschied zu (14), (15), in denen der Sprecher sich zu seiner eigenen Person äußert, können ebenfalls kontextbedingt andere Konnotationen bzw. Interpretationen als Vermutung, Wiedergabe des Gehörten nicht immer ausgeschlossen werden, wie etwa bei (16), (17), (18).

(16) *Ta: hatde boyanık de'el ollar* '[Wie ich weiß,] sind jene [zerkratzten Stellen des Autos] noch nicht wieder gespritzt worden'.

(17) *Asgerli: yapık de'el ta:* '[Wie ich weiß,] hat er seinen Wehrdienst noch nicht absolviert'.

(18) A) *Soñuşlar 'gelmeyik ta: de'e mi?* 'Die Ergebnisse [der Aufnahmeprüfung] sind wohl noch nicht gekommen, nicht wahr?'

B) *Ta: gelik de'el* 'Sie sind noch nicht gekommen'.

(19) *Fuardan bilet 'almayık A:madiñ arkadaşları* '[Wie ich weiß,] haben die Freunde von Ahmet bei der Messe noch keine Eintrittskarten gekauft'.

Selten wird -(y)ik für die Wiedergabe von Ereignissen gebraucht, über die man von anderen gehört hat, wobei die Überzeugung von der Richtigkeit des Gehörten oder Zweifel daran ebenfalls vom Kontext abhängen.

(20) *Teyzeleri halaları hepsi bir oluklar, bir kına gècesi yapıklar /.../ Yarın gelini gidik getirmeye gidiciler. Burdan alık<sup>6</sup> gidip kızı getiriciler* (Antakya) 'Ihre Tanten mütterlicherseits und väterlicherseits sollen sich zusammengetan und den Polterabend organisiert haben /.../. Sie werden morgen gehen, um die Braut zu holen.'

Weiterhin kommen Beispiele vor, in denen die Form -(y)ik (und Personalendung) mit -dir erweitert eine Vermutung ausdrückt. Im Vergleich zu den vorhergehenden Beispielen bleibt hier unklar, ob die von dem Verb bezeichnete Tätigkeit tatsächlich zustandekommt oder nicht. Der Zweifel an

<sup>6</sup> Es sei darauf hingewiesen, daß bei *gidik* und *alık* nicht die hier besprochene Form vorliegt, s. dazu Demir 1996b.

der Richtigkeit der Aussage bzw. der Ausdruck der Vermutung wird durch *-dir* gewährleistet, während *-(y)ik* wiederum die Vergangenheit bezeichnet.

(21) A) *Kaç yaşında?* 'Wie alt ist er?'

B) *Sekizine va'rickdir* 'Er hat wohl sein achttes [Lebensjahr] erreicht'.

A) *Sekizine va'rik mi?* 'Hat er sein achttes [Lebensjahr] schon erreicht?'

(22) A) *Köye va'rik mi?* 'Hat er das Dorf besucht?'

B) *Va'rickdir* 'Er hat [bestimmt das Dorf] besucht'.

(23) *Ako:langilde durudur ta: o. Çarşaftı vardı Ako:lanıñ, 'atmayıkdır o* 'Es könnte noch bei den Akoğlans sein. Akoğlan hatte eine Eßdecke, er hat sie bestimmt noch nicht weggeworfen'.

(24) *[Ev] kiradadır sa:r. Adamlar burdaydı, gètdi birazı da birazı durur. Belki gendi otu'rukdur, balkon malkonu uzatdı o adam* 'Das Haus ist wahrscheinlich vermietet worden. Die Leute waren hier, einige sind gegangen, einige sind immer noch hier. Vielleicht ist er selbst [in das Haus] eingezogen, den Balkon hat dieser Mann erweitert'.

(27) A) *Seniki de varısa ben el'lemeyi:ndir* 'Wenn auch deine dabei war, dann habe ich es [bestimmt] nicht angerührt'.

B) *Elleyiksiñdir ikisini bi yère go'yuksuñdur* '[Wie ich vermute,] hast du es angerührt, du hast die beiden zusammen an einen Platz gestellt'.

(28) *Onu 'görmeyiksiñdir sen, gördüñüse de a:'şam görüksüñdür* '[Wie ich vermute,] hast du ihn nicht gesehen, wenn du ihn gesehen hast, dann hast du ihn [bestimmt] abends gesehen'.

### *Unterschiede zwischen -(y)ik und -miş*

Aksoy und Miskioğlu hatten, wie erwähnt, in ihren Ausführungen versucht, die hier besprochene Form von den übrigen Vergangenheitsformen zu unterscheiden. Der Vergleich brachte aber, wie Adamović schrieb, kein brauchbares Ergebnis, weil sich die beschriebenen Funktionen von *-(y)ik* auch bei *-miş* finden. Der Unterschied zwischen *-(y)ik* und *-miş* liegt darin, daß *-(y)ik* eine hochfokale Form ist und sich nicht zu einer narrativen Form entwickelt hat, während *-miş* eine nicht fokale, Ereignis orientierte Form darstellt. Dieser funktionaler Unterschied widerspiegelt sich auch in kontextueller Ebene, in den unterschiedlichen Situationen, in denen sie gebraucht werden. Das hier behandelte Suffix wird in knappen Sätzen, meist in Redepassagen verwendet. Im Unterschied zur *-miş*-Vergangenheit gibt es



keine Erzählung, keine längeren Textstücke, etwa Märchen, in denen *-(y)ik* verwendet wird. Das distributionelle Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Formen ist so zu formulieren, daß heute dort, wo *-(y)ik* erscheint, *-miş* verwendet werden kann, während dies umgekehrt nur beschränkt möglich ist.

### *Verbreitungsgebiet*

Die neuen Funde belegen einerseits eine größere räumliche Verbreitung des hier behandelten Suffixes als bisher angenommen, zeigen aber andererseits auch gewisse territoriale Restriktionen innerhalb des Verbreitungsgebiets. Aus Aksoys und Miskioğlus Angaben geht zwar nicht hervor, wo genau *-(y)ik* in Gaziantep und Hatay vorkommt, doch Caferoğlus wenige Beispiele geben nähere Informationen über die Dialekte aus Gaziantep und Kahramanmaraş, aus denen die Beispiele stammen. Dementsprechend kommt das Suffix im Dorf Dağlı Urum Evlek in Gaziantep und im Dialekt des Dorfes Cerit aus Kahramanmaraş vor. Nach meinen eigenen Feststellungen sind es die folgenden Gegenden, in denen die hier besprochene Form gebraucht wird: Yörük-Dörfer oberhalb von Antalya, die Provinzstadt (ilçe) Manavgat, z. B. das Dorf Beşkonak; die Provinzstadt Erdemli und ihre Dörfer (Mersin); die Provinzstädte Ceyhan, Kadirli und Osmaniye (Adana); die Provinzstadt Andırın und das Zentrum von Kahramanmaraş; die Provinzstadt Dinar (Afyon), Kırıkhan (Hatay); Karasınır (Nevşehir) und die Provinzstadt Boğazlıyan (Yozgat). Ferner verdanken wir Karahan einige Angaben über die geographische Verbreitung von *-(y)ik*. Im Rahmen ihrer Studie zur Klassifikation der anatolischen Dialekte erwähnt sie eine westliche Gruppe, deren Grenze in Giresun im Nordosten anfängt, Sivas, Malatya, Adıyaman, Halfeti und Birecik (Urfa) einschließt und im Süden bis nach Syrien reicht. Unter der westlichen Gruppe der anatolischen Dialekte führt sie eine VII. Subgruppe auf, die Adana, Hatay, Kahramanmaraş und Gaziantep umfasst. Sie unterscheidet sich durch den Gebrauch von *-(y)ik* neben der *-miş*-Vergangenheit von den übrigen Subgruppen. Karahan gewann ihre Angaben aus den unpublizierten Abschluß- bzw. Magisterarbeiten, die an den turkologischen Abteilungen der Universitäten Ankara (Ankara) und Hacettepe (Ankara) zusammengestellt worden waren und sich mit den Dialekten von Adana Kozan, Çukurova, Kışlak Bucağı (Hatay), Yapalak-Ekinözü (Karaman) befaßten (1996:147-148).

Meine bisherigen Beobachtungen und die Aussagen der Informanten bekräftigten meine Vermutung, daß *-(y)ik* ein Merkmal der yörükischen Dialekte darstellt. So wird das Suffix z. B. im Zentrum von Antalya nicht verwendet, während er in den Yörük-Dörfern in der Umgebung gebraucht wird. In den Provinzstädten von Adana, Mersin und Konya liegt der gleiche Fall vor: Die Form wird von den Yörük genannten Gruppen verwendet, von den anderen nicht. Ein interessanter Fall liegt dagegen in Afyon vor. Hier gibt es Gruppen, die sich Yörük und Türkmene nennen. Interessanterweise wird *-(y)ik* hier von Türkmene gebraucht, von den Yörüken aber nicht. Dies hängt wahrscheinlich mit ihrem Herkunftsort zusammen; die Türkmene sind später in das Gebiet gekommen als die Yörüken. Ihr Weg dahin führte über Adana, Mersin, Antalya und Muğla. Nach eigenen Aussagen sollen noch Gruppen von ihnen in Adana und Mersin zurückgeblieben sein. Inwieweit dies den historischen Gegebenheiten entspricht, wird sich durch die künftigen Forschungen herausstellen. Die Informanten von Hatay und Kahramanmaraş konnten eine gruppenspezifische Verwendung der Form nicht bestätigen. Ebenfalls fehlen vorläufig nähere Angaben über die Situation in Boğazlıyan Yozgat.<sup>7</sup> Beim heutigen Kenntnisstand müssen wir die gruppenspezifische Verwendung der Form beschränken, weil sie z. B. von den Yörüken in Kütahya, Afyon etc. nicht gebraucht wird.<sup>8</sup> Bisherige Informationen weisen darauf hin, daß das Suffix ein Merkmal der yörükisch-türkmenischen Dialekte darstellt, die, ehe sie auseinandergingen, im Dreieck von Konya-Adana-Antalya einmal zusammengelebt haben könnten. Kontakte, vor allem in ihren Sommerlagern auf dem Taurusgebirge, könnten eine gewisse Rolle bei der geographischen Verbreitung der Form gespielt haben.<sup>9</sup>

Einige der hier vorgelegten Ergebnisse sind als vorläufig zu betrachten. Zu erklären ist neben der Herkunft noch das Alter des Suffixes. Angesichts seiner Verbreitung, funktionalen Übereinstimmung in belegten Gegenden und gruppenspezifischen Verwendung gehe ich davon aus, daß die Form nicht neu entstanden sein kann (vgl. Adamović 1985:205). Außerdem bin ich immer noch der Meinung, daß wir die Verbreitung des Suffixes in anatolischen Dialekten noch nicht vollständig erfaßt haben. Eine breit angelegte Forschung wird sprachhistorisch interessante Ergebnisse bringen und zur Siedlungsgeschichte Anatoliens einiges beitragen können.

<sup>7</sup> S. Andrews 1987.

<sup>8</sup> Zur Siedlung der Yörüken und Türkmene s. Andrews 1987.

<sup>9</sup> Einen interessanten Überblick bietet dazu die Karte III bei Saraçoğlu 1989.

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## Čilger's Self-Criticism and the Problem of Ethnic Cleansing

During a raid the Merkid had seized Činggis Khan's (then still Temüjin's) wife Börte and left her to be cared for by Čilger Bökö, one of their chiefs. On Temüjin's arrival for renegeance Čilger recited a poem, a typical example of self-criticism, but in contrast to Stalin's show trials he then escaped to save his life.

In the poem he abases himself for having laid hand upon the "happy and fortunate lady" Börte, comparing himself with a black crow and a buzzard that was hoping to eat swan. He calls himself *mawui*, i.e., bad, Čilger. But before this word occurs, three other words are employed which have been remained unglossed in the Chinese translation of the Secret History of the Mongols and raised difficulties for modern interpreters.

Čilger called himself *qatar mawui*, *qaraču mawu*, *qunar mawui* and *qokir mawui*. Evidently, these terms designate base qualities. From the syntactical view-point, two possibilities seem to exist: a) *qatar*, *qunar* and *qokir* may be what I call a pseudo-subject, occurring in such expressions as *qačar qo'a ökid*, literally "cheek beautiful girls", i.e., 'girls whose cheeks are beautiful'. And b) both expressions may be real attributes, e.g., adjectives as in *doromjin mawui ulus minu* 'my lowly, bad people'.

Most translators prefer solution b), perhaps for the simple reason that *qaraču mawu Čilger* 'Čilger whose commoner is bad' makes no sense, it must be, as in Cleaves' translation, 'the commoner and bad Čilger'. Thus, also in the parallel expressions *qatar mawui*, etc., we have to suppose, not pseudo-subjects, but qualifying attributes, which in European grammar are called adjectives.

Therefore Poppe's solution in *HJAS* 13<sup>1</sup> comes to nothing. He tried to explain *qatar mawui* as a misunderstanding of the Chinese writers, supposing a reading with -d- instead of -t-, namely *ɣadar mawui* 'whose outside is bad', or, in better English, 'of poor appearance'. This sounds seductive, and indeed

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nicholas Poppe, [review of:] "Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot: I. Histoire secrète des Mongols ..., Paris, 1949" *HJAS* 13 (1950):262-8, particularly 266-7.

confusion of *-d-* and *-t-* sometimes occurs in the SH, e.g., *döre* 'right' instead of *töre*. But such examples are extremely rare, and when we consult de Rachewiltz' Index we find 12 examples of the transcription *ɣadana* 'outside', never \**ɣatana*, and also *ɣada* 'outside' and *qada* 'rock' are always written with *-d-* (19 examples). And *qaraču mawu Čilger* has also been translated by Poppe as 'plebeian bad Chilger'. But we must consider the parallelism of the four terms.

All other interpreters have done so, but their solutions deviate from each other. The translation of *qaraču mawu* is not disputed. But what about the attempts at interpreting *qatar*, *qunar* and *qokir*? Here I enumerate them, translating the Russian, French, German, Mongolian and Turkish texts into English.

(1) Haenisch (1939)<sup>2</sup> translated in his dictionary: ordinary, dress, appearance, i.e., for *qatar* he chose solution b), for *qunar* and *qokir* solution a). In his translation of 1948<sup>3</sup>, on the other hand, he translated: of a low rank, ragged and ordinary, i.e., here he chose solution b), the terms in question are attributes. The discrepancy between these two solutions is evident. That he translated *qunar* by 'dress' resembles Poppe's explanation (cf. Lessing *qunar*, *qunir* 'garments'), whereas *qokir* 'appearance' is without foundation anywhere. This is a very difficult and polysemantic word. According to the dictionaries (Kowalewski, Lessing, Cèvel, but also to Zwick, Ramstedt, Čeremisov for Oirat, Kalmuck and Buriat respectively) it means: filth and dry dung, unfriendly, joke, clown. All these are terms of disparagement, but which of them is appropriate?

(2) Kozin (1941)<sup>4</sup> translated: 'rude yokel', 'stinking' and 'depraved'. None of these terms have been rationally explained and substantiated. The author simply (and correctly) divined that the Mongolian words must have some negative meaning and so invented suitable translations.

(3) Temir (1948)<sup>5</sup> wrote: ordinary, inferior, dirty. None of these terms has been explained.

2 Erich Haenisch, *Wörterbuch des Manghol un niuca tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi) Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Leipzig, 1939:63, 72, 65.

3 Erich Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen ....* Leipzig, 1948:28.

4 S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie ....* I. Moskva/Leningrad, 1941:104.

5 Ahmet Temir, *Moğolların gizli tarihi ....* Ankara, 1948:49-50.

(4) Pelliot's (1949)<sup>6</sup> translations were: greedy (with interrogation mark), rapacious (with interrogation mark) and rotten. His scepticism, except for the last word, is apparent.

(5) Mostaert (1950)<sup>7</sup> quoted the translations of Kozin, Haenisch and Pelliot. In the end he opted for the solution of the Chinese writers, i.e., he left the disputed terms unglossed and untranslated, substituting lacunas for them in his edition.

(6) Poppe (1950)<sup>8</sup> translated just as we have seen.

(7) In the *Mongolyn Nuuc Tovčoo* (1957)<sup>9</sup> we find these translations: hopeless, good-for-nothing, whereas *xoxir* can be translated in various ways, it may mean 'filth', 'dry dung' and 'unfriendly'.

(8) Cleaves (1982)<sup>10</sup> chose the Chinese writers' and Mostaert's cautious way of *docta ignorantia*, ἀφασία or reserving judgement: he does not comment on the words.

(9) Taube (1989)<sup>11</sup> wrote: ugly, badly dressed, dirty. He did not give an explanation. But it seems that he has followed Poppe. In the background we find the notions: *γadar mawui* "appearance bad" = ugly, *qunar mawui* "dress bad" = badly dressed; only the last translation deviates from Poppe's.

(10) De Rachewiltz (1995)<sup>12</sup> gave the terms as "ugly", "shabby", and "miserable, wicked". But in his commentary he wrote: "In this paragraph there are also several words the exact meaning of which is not clear. See Mostaert 52-53 and N. Poppe ...".

All these explanations are unsatisfactory for the following reasons:

<sup>6</sup> Cf. note 1, p. 150. For Kozin, Haenisch, Pelliot cf. also Antoine Mostaert, "Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire Secrète des Mongols" *HJAS* 13 (1950):334-337.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. note 6, particularly p. 337.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. note 1. Ozawa, Shigeo followed Poppe in most cases. (I owe this note to my pupil Hyong-Won Choi.)

<sup>9</sup> Cëndiyn Dandinsürën (ed.), *Mongolyn Nuuc Tovčoo*. Ulaanbaatar, 1957:65-66.

<sup>10</sup> Francis Woodman Cleaves, *The Secret History of the Mongols* .... I. Cambridge/Mass.-London, 1982:§111.

<sup>11</sup> Manfred Taube, *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Leipzig und Weimar, 1989:47-48. Rather similar is Dorondib (ed.): *Hsin-i chien-chu: Meng-ku pi-shih*. Köke Hot, 1979:72-73. (I owe this note to my pupil Hyong-Won Choi.)

<sup>12</sup> Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*. (*Papers on Far Eastern History, The Australian National University, Department of Far Eastern Studies*) Canberra, 1971-1985. §111 = 5 (1972):156, 170.

- (1) They contradict one another.
- (2) Some of them are mere phantasmas.
- (3) The assumption of a confusion -d- ~ -t- is not tenable in this case.
- (4) They suppose a mixture of two syntactical constructions, which is not very likely.

This means that we must find another solution, above all one satisfying condition (4): no mixture of syntactic constructions. Let us consider this.

The Mongols were not the only inhabitants of Central Asia. East of them lived the Tungus<sup>13</sup> whose territory extended to the sea. As I have proved during a symposium at Sapporo<sup>14</sup>, many Mongolian terms denoting fish are of Tungus origin, e.g., *laqa* 'perch, acerina cernua'. SH § 75 contains seven terms for fish and fishing, four of which are of Tungus origin, e.g., *čilüme* 'drag net', a term not explainable by Mongolian, but cf. Orok *čilu-* 'to drag seals'.

The Mongols' western neighbours were the Turks. There is an old problem: were the Naiman Mongols or Turks? Some venerable scholars plead for their Mongol character (Vladimircov<sup>15</sup>, Barthold<sup>16</sup>, Poppe<sup>17</sup>, Šastina<sup>18</sup>), others think that they were Turks (Howorth<sup>19</sup>, Poucha<sup>20</sup>, Murayama<sup>21</sup>, İnan<sup>22</sup>). At any rate, Šastina is right when pointing out that names are no satisfactory proof of a specific ethnic character. Here is a fun question: in 1813 there was a battle between a Scandinavian and a Baltic tribe on one side and a South German tribe on the other. What was that? That was the nations'

<sup>13</sup> Cf. G. Doerfer, *Mongolo-Tungusica*. Wiesbaden, 1985: particularly § 8.3.

<sup>14</sup> G. Doerfer, "Terms for aquatic animals in the Wu T'i Ch'ing Wên Chien" in Proceedings of the International Symposium on B. Pilsudski's Phonographic Records and the Ainu Culture. Sapporo, 1985:190-202. Cf. also note 13, pp. 246-254.

<sup>15</sup> B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo jazyka i xalxaskogo narečija*. I. Leningrad, 1929:19 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*. Berlin, 1935:121 ("ein mongolisches Volk").

<sup>17</sup> N. Poppe, *Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik*. Wiesbaden, 1951:7.

<sup>18</sup> N. P. Šastina, *Putešestvija v vostočnye strany Plano Karpini i Rubruka*. Moskva, 1957: 353.

<sup>19</sup> Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th century*. I. London, 1876: e.g., 694: "several facts make it almost certain that the Naimans were Turks".

<sup>20</sup> Pavel Poucha, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Praha, 1936:59 sqq. (rather cautiously).

<sup>21</sup> S. Murayama, "Sind die Naiman Türken oder Mongolen?" *CAJ* 4 (1958/59):188-198.

<sup>22</sup> Abdülkadir İnan, *Makalemeler ve incelemeler*.<sup>2</sup> Ankara, 1987:59-65.



battle at Leipzig, where the Russians (Rus' is a Scandinavian name) and the Prussians (this is an old Baltic name) defeated the French under Napoleon (French, France are names of South German origin). This happens when one takes tribal or personal names too literally.

But there would be other means to plead for a certain influence of Turkish, such as the fact that the Mongol tribe of the Qori Tumad later on adopted the name Qori-lar, with the Turkish plural suffix. There is a difficult passage in the SH, a quotation of a speech of Gürbesü, queen of the Naiman, in §189. It runs as follows: *Aiyi torluq töreksen kö'ün minu torulmiş olon doromjın mawui ulus minu asaraju barin čidaqu-yu*. The words *torluq* and *torulmiş* have been translated and explained in different ways. I cannot deal with the various opinions in any detail. This will be done in a later article. We must consider two facts: both words have not been glossed by the Chinese writer and both have not been marked as personal names. I translate this passage as follows: "Can my unruly and born weakling of a son take care of and hold my many emaciated lowly, bad people?" At any rate, *torulmiş* is a Turkish word, as the suffix proves.

Does this mean that the Naiman were Turks? I think that we should not follow the axiom that a nation is bound to speak only one language. This would mean accepting the ideas of wicked nationalists. The natural state of things, as long as politics do not disturb it, is not uniformity, but bilingualism. I remember that when I was in Central Iran, to research the Khalaj language<sup>23</sup>, I asked a passer-by whether he was a Persian or a Turk. His answer was: *Agar fārsī harf mī-zanīd fārsī-am, agar turkī harf mī-zanīd turkī-am*, i.e., "When you speak Persian I am a Persian, when you speak Turkish I am a Turk". Here I enumerate four well-known facts:

- (1) Chingis Khan spoke not only Mongolian, but also Turkish.<sup>24</sup>
- (2) Küyük's letter of 1246, to the pope, began with a Turkish formula.<sup>25</sup>
- (3) Rashid al-Din<sup>26</sup> had difficulty in distinguishing Turks and Mongols, for him the characteristic of nomadism, common to both linguistic units, prevailed.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Grammatik des Chaladsch*. Wiesbaden, 1988, etc.

<sup>24</sup> B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*. Berlin, 1968:456-457; also Barthold (note 16) 151-154.

<sup>25</sup> Paul Pelliot, "Les mongols et la papauté" *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 23 (1922-23):3-30 (particularly p. 17); 24 (1924):225-235.

<sup>26</sup> This is apparent in all his works, cf. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. I. Wiesbaden, 1963:xxxv-xxxvi.

(4) The same author reports that when Činggis' son Tolui died, the word *tolui* 'mirror' was tabooed and replaced by *küzgü*. But this is a Turkish word, with the same meaning.<sup>27</sup>

Now let us return to our original problem, the interpretation of Čilger's self-criticism. Let us write down the three disputed words:

*qatar*

*qunar*

*qokir*

We see that they have a similar structure, above all, they end in *-r*. May this be random? Krueger's Epigraphical Dictionary<sup>28</sup> will be helpful for an answer. This book contains 205 columns, 14 of them represent words ending in *-r*, i.e., 6.8%. The chance that to a given word ending in *-r* two words with the same ending are added, is thus 0.4624% or 0.004624, not very high. We may presume that behind their employment there is an intention and a rule. But how can we interpret these words? Let us assume, as a working hypothesis, that they were Turkish and see if a sensible result is attained. Let these terms be aorist forms, employed as attributes, as in Orkhon Turkish *körür közüm* 'my seeing eyes'<sup>29</sup> or Buddhist Turkish *tägzinür özümüz* 'our revolving self'<sup>30</sup>.

For *qat-* we find in Clauson's dictionary<sup>31</sup> 'to be hard, firm, tough'; thus *qatar* means 'hard, brutal'.

For *qun-* we find 'to steal, to carry off'; thus *qunar* means 'thievish'.

For *qoq-* we find 'to smell unpleasant, to stink'. In the various Turkish languages the aorist is not only *qoqar*, but also *qoqur*; and as Ibn Muḥannā and Brockelmann<sup>32</sup> have shown, the addition of the vowels *-A*, *-U* or *-I* means a strengthening of the semantic content, e.g., *bar-ī-dī* 'he went fast'. Thus *qoqir* means smelling extremely unpleasant.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Doerfer, same work as in note 26, iii. volume:638.

<sup>28</sup> John R. Krueger, *Mongolian Epigraphical Dictionary in Reverse Listing*. (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series. 88) Bloomington, The Hague, 1967.

<sup>29</sup> Sir Gerald Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford, 1972:736.

<sup>30</sup> Annemarie von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*.<sup>2</sup> Leipzig, 1950:§ 399 *tägzinür özümüz* 'unser kreisendes Selbst'.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. note 29, p. 595.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. note 29, p. 608; C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens*. Leiden, 1954:199.

I am not *adonai elohēnū*, therefore I do not know if my interpretation holds water. But at any rate, it makes sense and is a definite possibility. Let us check that by inserting our interpretations into Cleaves' translation, thus replacing his three dots by them.

While the black crow  
 hath it as destiny to eat scraps of skin,  
 he hath hoped, saying, 'I shall eat goose and crane.'  
 I *brutal* and bad Čilger,  
 laying hand  
 upon the lady Üjin  
 am become a plague unto all the Merkid.  
 I, commoner and bad Čilger,  
 am at the point to be attained unto my black head.  
 Saving mine only life,  
 I shall slip into the dark defiles,  
 By whom shall the office of shield be done for me?  
 While the bad bird, the buzzard,  
 hath it as destiny to eat rats and mice,  
 he hath hoped, saying, 'I shall eat swan and crane.'  
 I, *thievish* and bad Čilger,  
 in gathering the happy and fortunate Üjin,  
 am become a plague unto all the Merkid.  
 I, *stinking* and bad Čilger,  
 am at the point to be attained unto my withered head ...

Let us summarize. Both the Naiman queen Gürbesti and the Merkid nobleman Čilger employed Turkish words, and in both cases for cursing. This is a well-known procedure: a true gentleman or lady does not curse or when he/she does, then in a foreign language.<sup>33</sup> As it seems, Turkish was well-known to many Mongols: they lived in the quite natural state of bilingualism. The question itself "were the Naiman ... Mongols *or* Turks?" is false, when it is conceived in the meaning "did they speak Mongolian *or* Turkish (exclusively)". Whether they felt themselves to be Mongols or Turks is another matter. I think that Renan was right when he said "la nation c'est un plébiscite perpétuel". We cannot say anything about their patriotic feelings. But it would be absurd to presuppose that the nationalism of the

<sup>33</sup> G. Doerfer, *Grundwort und Sprachmischung*. Stuttgart, 1988:59-62.

20th century which has caused so many idiotic wars, most recently, in the Balkans, existed at this early time. Bilingual people normally have a preference for one language which they master more fluently. We may suppose that the main language of the Naiman and Merkid was Mongolian, but that they also spoke Turkish. The idea of "ethnic cleansing" had not yet been born. In *this* point we ought to follow the example of the Mongols.

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## Der weiße Hase im kalmückischen Heldenmärchen

Im Vergleich zu den mongolischen Epen ist das kalmückische Heldenepos *Džangar* später entstanden, "falls man die Reihenfolge der Folkloretradition, die schon von sich aus archaisch ist, in Betracht zieht."<sup>1</sup> Deshalb können die Traditionen des Heldenepos nicht die Motivierungen der magischen Eigenschaften der Helden des *Džangar* erklären. Es hat Sinn, sich bei der Suche nach diesen Motivierungen dem archaischen Epos zu zuwenden, in unserem Fall also dem Heldenmärchen, mit dessen Gestalten die Helden des *Džangar* genetisch verbunden sind. "Es ist unmöglich das Sujet des Epos *Džangar* in seinen alten Schichten, d.h. die Geschichte des Epos im Ganzen zu untersuchen, ohne die archaische Epik zu kennen."<sup>2</sup>

Eine der im kalmückischen Heldenmärchen am häufigsten auftretenden weiblichen Gestalten ist die jüngere Schwester des Helden, welche manchmal nicht seine leibliche, sondern nur eine angenommene ist. Mit diesen Gestalten sind die Heldentaten verbunden, die die Heldinnen für ihre Brüder<sup>3</sup> vollbringen, die – in einem Fall auf Wunsch der bösen älteren Schwester im Märchen *Bars Mergen Baatur*<sup>4</sup>, in einem anderen Fall vom bösen schwarzen Mus im Märchen *Bruder und Schwester*<sup>5</sup> getötet wurden.

Mit den Schwestern ist ein archaisches Verwandlungsmotiv verbunden, und zwar die Verwandlung in einen Hasen. Die Schwester im Märchen *Bars Mergen Baatur*<sup>6</sup> verwandelt sich in einen weißen Hasen, die Schwester im Märchen *Bruder und Schwester*<sup>7</sup> in einen grauen Hasen.

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<sup>1</sup> S. Ju. Nekludov, *Geroičeskij epos mongolskich narodov*. Moskva, 1984:85.

<sup>2</sup> A. Š. Kičikov, *Geroičeskij epos "Džangar"*. Moskva, 1992:13.

<sup>3</sup> Käthe U. Köhalmi meint, daß mit Brüder auch der Stamm gemeint sein kann, in: Walther Heissig (Hrsg.), *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung. Teil III: Vorträge des 4. Epensymposiums des Sonderforschungsbereichs 12. Bonn 1983*. Asiatische Forschungen 91. Wiesbaden, 1985:114-115.

<sup>4</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 1. Elst, 1961:173-178.

<sup>5</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 4. Elst, 1974:43-48.

<sup>6</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 1. Elst, 1961:174.

<sup>7</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 4. Elst, 1974:44.

Besonders vollkommen ist das Verwandlungsmotiv im Märchen *Bars Mergen Baatur* erhalten geblieben, welches folgende Sujetschema darstellt:

1. Die Heldin tötet die drei schwarzen Muse.
2. Zu ihrer Beute gehören außer Gold und Vieh auch die drei Frauen der Muse, die Himmelsfeen.<sup>8</sup>
3. Die Heldin hinterläßt einen Brief an ihren getöteten Bruder, in welchem sie mitteilt, daß sie sich in einen weißen Hasen verwandelt, und Hinweise gibt, wo er sie suchen soll.
4. Die Himmelsfeen wiederbeleben den toten Bruder und werden dessen Frauen.
5. Der Bruder bringt einen lebenden weißen Hasen nach Hause.
6. Seine Frauen, die Himmelsfeen, schlagen den weißen Hasen.
7. Der Bruder bringt den Hasen in den Wald, wo der Hase wieder die Gestalt eines Mädchens, d.h. der Schwester, annimmt. Der Bruder baut für seine Schwester einen Turm und versteckt sie dort.
8. Die Frauen des Bruders, die Himmelsfeen, finden das Versteck und töten das Mädchen.
9. Der Bruder findet die tote Schwester. Er versteckt die Leiche in einer Truhe aus Edelholz oder Edelstein und bindet die Truhe an die Hörner einer Sajga-Antilope.
10. Die Sajga-Antilope läuft weg und die Truhe fällt herunter.
11. Die Truhe wird von einem Mädchen, der Tochter alter Leute, gefunden.
12. Die Tochter der Alten wiederbelebt das Mädchen und das Mädchen wird von den Alten adoptiert.
13. Das Mädchen heiratet den Sohn des Khans.
14. Der Bruder, auf der Suche nach seiner Schwester, hört ein Lied, das von einer alten Frau gesungen wird. Durch das Lied erfährt der Bruder vom Schicksal seiner Schwester.
15. Der Bruder findet seine Schwester.

Die Hauptsache an diesem Motiv ist die, daß der Held zwei Schwestern hat, wobei die ältere Schwester Zahan von einer Hexe geboren wurde (*alms čötkrás üüdgsn jumn*).<sup>9</sup> Die jüngere Schwester Buhulung dagegen wurde, wie

<sup>8</sup> Eine davon ist die Tochter der Sonne – Nahlanghu, die andere die Tochter des Mondes – Sahlanghu und die dritte ist die Tochter des Himmels – Teglengthu.

<sup>9</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 1. Elst, 1961:178.

auch der Held Bars Mergen Baatur, von einer Himmelsgöttin geboren (*tengr burchnas üüdgsn jumn*).<sup>10</sup>

Der Ausgangspunkt des Motivs ist, daß die ältere Schwester Zahan ihren Bruder bittet, einen lebenden Hasen mitzubringen. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ist diese Bitte ungewöhnlich, denn Bars Mergen Baatur antwortet: "Gut, ich bringe ihn mit" (*Nä, avč irnäv, - giv.*).<sup>11</sup> Meiner Meinung nach ist diese Bitte auch schon deshalb ungewöhnlich, weil ein lebender Hase in der Jurte eines Nomaden ein unnützlich Wesen ist. Nachdem der Hase mitgebracht wurde, entwickelt sich die darauf folgende Handlung für Bars Mergen Baatur und seine jüngere Schwester tragisch.

Die Tatsache, daß der weiße Hase, der Hase überhaupt, im kalmückischen Heldenmärchen immer in Verbindung mit Kräften des Jenseits auftaucht, spricht dafür, daß der weiße Hase ein Vertreter des Jenseits, der Welt der Toten, ist.

Die ältere Schwester Zahan ist ein Geschöpf des Bösen. Sie schickt mit dem Hasen eine Nachricht an Charata-Khan-Köbün<sup>12</sup>, einem Ungeheuer mit Stierkopf aus der Unterwelt. Der Charata-Khan-Köbün erhält die Nachricht, kommt und tötet Bars Mergen Baatur.

Der Held des kalmückischen Märchens *Der arme Mu*, dessen schöne Frau der böse Khan zu sich nehmen will, wird geschickt, einen weißen Hasen zu holen. Der arme Mu geht in das Land der Toten. Aus diesem Land gibt es kein Zurück und das weiß der böse Khan.<sup>13</sup>

Buhulung aus dem Märchen *Bars Mergen Baatur* gibt in ihrem Brief an den Bruder Hinweise zum Ort, wo er sie finden kann: "Ich verwandle mich in einen weißen Hasen aus dem Tal" (*Bi böörgin böng zahan tuula boluv*).<sup>14</sup> In diesem Fall ist das Tal nichts anderes als das Land der Toten. Dort wird Bars Mergen Baatur seine Schwester in Gestalt eines weißen Hasen finden. Bevor er aber den Hasen mit nach Hause bringt, sagte Bars Mergen Baatur zu seinen drei Frauen: "Ich bringe einen lebenden Hasen mit nach Hause (*Tuula ämdar*

<sup>10</sup> Chalmg Tuuls. 1. Elst, 1961:178.

<sup>11</sup> Chalmg Tuuls. 1. Elst, 1961:172.

<sup>12</sup> Charata – Khan Köbün (kalm.) – Herrscher der Hölle. Im mongolischen Märchen heißt er *Erlük-Khan*, in der tibetischen Folklore ist sein Name *Yama*, was 'der Tod' bedeutet.

<sup>13</sup> *Mednovolosaja devuška*. Übersetzung aus dem Kalmückischen von M. Vatagin. Moskva, 1964:183.

<sup>14</sup> Chalmg Tuuls. 1. Elst, 1961:175.

*bärsh avč irnäv*)." Daraufhin bekommt er die Erlaubnis: "Wenn Sie das sagen, dann bringen Sie ihn mit" (*Tigchläg avč irten, giv*).<sup>15</sup>

Das Auftauchen des Hasen im Hause des Helden wird immer betont. Im Märchen *Bruder und Schwester* sagt Budgir Mergen zu seinen Frauen, als er auf die Jagd gehen will: "Ich gehe und ihr alle bleibt zu Hause."<sup>16</sup> Das bedeutet, es wird etwas Wichtiges geschehen.

Nachdem die jüngere Schwester als lebender Hase ins Haus gebracht war, bittet der Held seine Frauen, mit den Hasen zu spielen und ihn nicht zu schlagen (*En tuula zokad bäävsät naadad bäg gertän bičkn ümn*).<sup>17</sup> Hier ist die Bitte mit einer schwachen Drohung verbunden, wie das Wort *bäävsät* bestätigt. Trotz der inständigen Bitte, den Hasen nicht zu beleidigen, schlagen die Frauen den Hasen fast tot, anstatt sich mit dem niedlichen Steppenwesen zu amüsieren, weil "alles Lebende Angst vor dem Toten hat."<sup>18</sup> Kurz gesagt: Die Brüder bringen Tote nach Hause und ihre Frauen, die Himmelsfeen, wissen Bescheid.<sup>19</sup>

Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ahnen auch die Brüder etwas Ungeöhnliches, da sie die Frauen für die Kränkung des Hasen, der geliebten jüngeren Schwester, nicht bestrafen.

"Die weiße Farbe ist mit Blindheit und Unsichtbarkeit verbunden."<sup>20</sup> Das trifft auch auf den grauen Hasen zu, in den sich Bogdan Kölsh aus dem Märchen *Bruder und Schwester* verwandelt. Auf den ersten Blick ist hier die graue Farbe eine andere als die weiße. In Wirklichkeit aber ist die graue Farbe auch keine richtige Farbe, weil sie genauso unsichtbar wie die weiße Farbe ist: Der graue Hase vor dem Hintergrund der grauen Steppe ist ein unsichtbares Wesen. Hier haben wir es mit dem Fall einer Verknüpfung des Motivs mit der Landschaft zu tun.

In der dunganischen Folklore wird die weiße Farbe ebenfalls mit den Kräften des Jenseits verbunden. Im Märchen *Der weiße Fuchs* zieht sich das

<sup>15</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 1. Elst, 1961:176.

<sup>16</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 4. Elst, 1974:45.

<sup>17</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 4. Elst, 1974:46.

<sup>18</sup> W. Propp, *Istoričeskie korni volšebnoj skazki*. Leningrad, 1986:128.

<sup>19</sup> Als ich im Sommer 1993 in Elista war, traf ich die Volkskundlerin Dshirgal Lukjanova. Sie erzählte mir, daß sich nach altem kalmückischen Glauben die unschuldigen, aber sündigen Seelen in einen Hasen verwandeln.

<sup>20</sup> W. Propp, *Istoričeskie korni volšebnoj skazki*. Leningrad, 1986:134.



Mädchen ein weißes Kleid an, bevor es sich in einen Werwolf verwandelt.<sup>21</sup> An dieser Stelle sei auch an die weißen Kleider erinnert, die die Himmelsfeen Buhlung im Märchen *Bars Mergen Baatur*<sup>22</sup> schenken. Diese weißen Kleider sind nichts anderes als Leichentücher. Da aber die Zeit für Buhlungs Tod noch nicht gekommen ist, zerreißen die Kleider beim Anziehen.<sup>23</sup> In dem dunganischen Märchen *Der weiße Hase* verwandelt sich das Mädchen in einen weißen Hasen, um sich von der bösen Mutter zu befreien. Es gräbt sich so einen unterirdischen Gang.<sup>24</sup> In dem kalmückischen Märchen *Der jüngere Sohn des Gal-Khans Šar-Kövün* kann man deutlicher sehen, daß der weiße Hase mit den Kräften des Jenseits zu tun hat. In diesem Märchen verwandelt sich die Schwägerin des Šar-Kövün in einen buckligen weißen Hasen aus dem Tal, um ihm Angst einzujagen, damit er die Tochter des Himmels nicht heiratet (*Bergn' böörgin bökn zahan tuula bolad, ardn' ömn' harad tordad jovv*).<sup>25</sup> Wahrscheinlich ist die Gestalt des weißen Hasen in der Folkloretradition der Kalmücken ein Widerhall des Totenkults.<sup>26</sup> Das Verwandlungsmotiv in einen weißen Hasen ist mit dem zeitweiligen Tod der Heldin verbunden, was nach W. Propp mit den Einweihungsritualen zu tun hat.<sup>27</sup>

*Džangar* ist eine spätere Form des Epos als das Heldenmärchen *Tuul'üliger-Epos* (nach A. Kičikov). Deshalb ist das Verwandlungsmotiv in einen weißen Hasen im *Džangar* fast verschwunden. In einem Fall finden wir die Spuren des weißen Hasen: bei der Laufbeschreibung der Pferde der Helden. Ozol-Köke, das Pferd von Hongor, fliegt "dem weißen Hasen ähnlich" (*Öl-zahan tuula met ölng deegür orkväd odv*).<sup>28</sup> *Džangars* Pferd Aransal galoppiert wie "ein weißer Hase" (*Ölngäs bosgsn öl-mangchn zahan tuula*

<sup>21</sup> *Dunganskje skazki*. Übersetzung von B. Riftin. Moskva, 1977:126.

<sup>22</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 1. Elst, 1961:173.

<sup>23</sup> *Märchen der Kalmücken*. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von J. Dshambinowa. Frankfurt (Main), 1993:132.

<sup>24</sup> *Dunganskje skazki*. Übersetzung von B. Riftin. Moskva, 1977:203.

<sup>25</sup> *Chalmg Tuuls*. 1. Elst, 1961:159.

<sup>26</sup> Sehr interessant ist die Ansicht von Käthe U. Köhalmi. Bei der Untersuchung der tuwinischen, altaischen, tungusischen u. ostmongolischen Folklore kommt sie zu der Schlußfolgerung, daß der weiße Hase ein Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit ist, in: Walther Heissig (Hrsg.), *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung. Teil III: Vorträge des 4. Epensymposiums des Sonderforschungsbereichs 12. Bonn 1983*. Asiatische Forschungen 91. Wiesbaden, 1985:114-115.

<sup>27</sup> W. Propp. *Istoričeskie korni volšebnoj skazki*. Leningrad, 1986:112-146.

<sup>28</sup> *Janhr-2*. Elst, 1990:28-29.

*met ölng deegür orkväd odv*).<sup>29</sup> Das Pferd lief so schnell, daß man nicht merkte, wie seine Beine die Erde berührten. In *Džangar* blieb nur die Qualität des weißen Hasen, seine Unsichtbarkeit, erhalten.

Das archaische Motiv wurde ein kleiner Teil der großen Folkloreformel. Sie lautet: "Ömn chojr kölän ödrä hasrt täväd, chööt chojr kölän chonga hasrt täväd, örgärn' hasr šürgn güühäd, övzühärn' örgän döngnäd, chojr talan šuukrlhnd hasrin övsn chojr talan ägräd, hävrh hashuhasn' chäläsn küünd, öl-zahan tuula met ölng deegür örkväd odv."<sup>30</sup> (Mit seinen Vorderbeinen sprang er (der Hengst) so weit, daß er einen Tag hinter sich ließ. Mit seinen Hinterbeinen sprang er so weit, daß er zwei Tage hinter sich ließ. Mit seinem Kinn berührte er die Erde. Seine Brust stützte sein Kinn, sein Atem ließ das Steppengras zu Asche werden. Von der Seite sah es aus, als ob ein weißer Hase aufsprang und davonflog.)

Das ist also die Transformation des Verwandlungsmotivs der jüngeren Schwester in einen weißen Hasen im Epos *Džangar*. Die Struktur des Motivs wird völlig aufgelöst, aber das Motiv bleibt in Form eines stark transformierten Elementes bestehen. "Die direkten sujetkompositionalen Erben des *Tuul'-üligers* können nur Epen vom türkischen *Alpamyš*-Typ sein, ein Epos, das unabhängig, einsam und außerhalb eines Zyklus existiert. Ein Epos, welches in Zyklusform aufgebaut ist, wird unvermeidlich diese Struktur zerstören."<sup>31</sup> Dies sieht man am Beispiel des *Džangar*.

<sup>29</sup> *Janhr-2*. Elst, 1990:33.

<sup>30</sup> *Janhr-2*. Elst, 1990:33.

<sup>31</sup> A. Š. Kičikov, *Geroičeskij epos "Džangar"*. Moskva, 1992:206.

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## Das Epos *Abaj Geser*: Tradition und Gegenwart

*Geser* ist das Heldenepos des burjatischen Volkes, dessen Vorfahren vor undenklichen Zeiten das Gebiet um den Baikalsee besiedelten. Ähnlich wie der reinste See der Welt, der eine einzigartige Schöpfung der Natur ist, stellt das burjatische Heldenepos *Geser* ein urwüchsiges nationales Werk, ein Meisterwerk des burjatischen Volkes, dar. Das Epos erzählt von *Geser*, dem mächtigen *Baatur* himmlischer Herkunft.

*Geser* zeichnet sich durch seinen gewaltigen Text aus, der aus 20 000 bis 30 000 Zeilen besteht. Die Epos-Erzähler, die ein phänomenales Gedächtnis hatten, stellten das Epos in neun Tagen und Nächten dar. Dank dieser Erzähler, die das Epos von Mund zu Mund, von Generation zu Generation überlieferten, kam *Geser* aus der Tiefe der Jahrhunderte zu uns. Es war ehrenvoll, den Text von *Geser* zu kennen, und die Erzähler genossen ein hohes Ansehen im Volk.

Nach Meinung burjatischer Wissenschaftler, die sich mit dem Epos *Geser* beschäftigten, entstand vor vielen Jahrhunderten (Ende des I. Jahrhunderts) in der Umgebung des Baikalsees bei den nordmongolischen Stämmen, den geschichtlichen Vorfahren der heutigen Burjaten, der erste Zyklus der Volkssagen, die sich um den für das Wohl der Menschheit kämpfenden Haupthelden *Geser* ranken.

Das burjatische Epos *Geser* hat dank seiner archaischen Herkunft den größten Teil der "Sippenmerkmale" der ursprünglichen epischen Tradition Zentral-(Inner-)Asiens erhalten. Vor allem sind es die Elemente des alten schamanistischen Gedankengutes, der Himmels - und Kosmoskult und auch die Magie des Wortes einer hochorganisierten poetischen Rede. Der Kampf *Gesers* mit den vielfältigen anthropomorphen Ungeheuern, die die Kräfte des Bösen darstellen, und die Stärkung des Guten auf der Erde in Harmonie mit dem Kosmos sind der Kern der Erzählung.

Der englische Reisende und Wissenschaftler Jeremy Courten machte als erster den westeuropäischen und amerikanischen Leser mit Fragmenten des Epos *Geser* bekannt. Als er 1900 in Westburjatien war, interessierte er sich für die Folklore und die Ethnographie der Burjaten und machte sich deshalb mit den einheimischen Erzählern bekannt. Nach ihren Erzählungen schrieb er in

prosaischer Form einige Sujets der burjatischen *Geseriade* nieder. Diese Materialien hat er im Buch *Journey in Southern Siberia* veröffentlicht. Das Buch erschien zuerst in London und später im Jahre 1909 in Boston.

Dank dem Orientalisten C. Z. Zamcarano ist das burjatische Epos *Geser* zum Objekt der weltweiten Orientalistik geworden. Im Jahre 1906 zeichnete C. Z. Zamcarano vom Erzähler Manschut Emegeev die archaischste aller burjatischen Varianten des Epos, die echirit-bulagatische Variante, auf. Vierundzwanzig Jahre später hat er diese Epopöe unter dem Namen *Geser-Bogdo* in der akademischen Serie *Die Werke des Volksschaffens der Burjaten*, Heft 1, in Leningrad veröffentlicht. Mit dieser Veröffentlichung wurde das burjatische Epos zum Forschungsobjekt vieler Wissenschaftler aus Ost und West: S. A. Kosin (Rußland), C. Damdinsürüng (Mongolei), W. Heissig (Deutschland), L. Ligeti (Ungarn), Tanaka (Japan), R. Hamayon (Frankreich) u.v.a. In Burjatien selbst entstand eine ganze Schule von *Geser*-Wissenschaftlern: A. I. Ulanov, N. O. Šarakšinova, M. P. Chomonov, S. S. Cardurov u.v.a.

Das Epos *Geser* spielte immer eine große Rolle im geistigen Leben des burjatischen Volkes. Zu einer leuchtenden Bestätigung der Volkstümlichkeit und der Lebensfähigkeit dieses epischen Denkmals wurde der Kreis der burjatischen *Geseriade*, ein Zyklus von Folkloreveranstaltungen, der anlässlich des tausendjährigen Jubiläums der *Iliade Zentralasiens* (so nennt man bildhaft das Epos *Geser*) in 5 Etappen von 1991 bis 1995 durchgeführt. Der Zyklus der burjatischen *Geseriade* war unter den heutigen Bedingungen genau die Form, in der das Streben zur geistigen Konsolidation des burjatischen Volkes, welches in drei territorial-administrative Einheiten geteilt lebt, zusammenfloß. Der Zyklus gab den Burjaten die Möglichkeit, sich unter dem Zeichen *Gesers*, des Helden des burjatischen Kulturerbes, die geschichtlichen Wurzeln und Ursprünge zu erschließen, und auch die Möglichkeit zur Wiederbelebung der alten Bräuche und Traditionen.

Der *Geseriade*-Zyklus begann am 17.-18. August 1991 in der Heimat des bedeutenden Erzählers Neyeochon Petrov anlässlich seines 125 jährigen Jubiläums im Dorf Chadachan, Kreis Nukut des Ust'-Ordynsker Burjatischen Autonomen Bezirks des Irkutsker Gebietes. Dort wurde auch das Banner *Gesers* gehißt und geweiht. Dieses Banner wurde zum Stafetten-Symbol aller Folklorefeste der *Geseriade* in den vergangenen fünf Jahren.

Die zweite Etappe der *Geseriade* wurde am 28. Juni 1992 im Dorf Ust'-Egita des Eravinsker Kreises in Ost-Burjatien durchgeführt; die dritte Etappe vom 16.-17. Juni 1993 im Ort Aginskoje, im Zentrum des Aginsker Burjati-

schen Autonomen Bezirks des Tschitiner Gebiets; die vierte Etappe am 22. Juli 1994 im Dorf Char'jaska des Muchorschibirsker Kreises in Süd-Burjatien; die fünfte Etappe vom 8.-10. Juni 1995 im Dorf Orlik und im Dorf Chushir des Okinsker Kreises in Gorno-(Südwest-)Burjatien. In diesem Hochgebirgsgebiet von Burjatien, welches man auch kleine Heimat von *Geser* nennt, wurde von einheimischen Meistern der Geser-Tempel gebaut. Der Tempel ist umgeben von Natursehenswürdigkeiten, die mit dem Namen *Geser* verbunden sind, und stellt eine Synthese des geistigen und ökologischen Neubeginns dar.

Das abschließende Forum-Festival *Epos Geser - Schatz der Völker Zentralasiens*, welches zwischenregionalen und internationalen Charakter annahm, fand Ende Juni – Anfang Juli 1995 in der Hauptstadt Burjatiens in Ulan-Ude statt.

Der fünf Jahre laufende Kreis der burjatischen Geseriade war ein "Kultur-Marathon" ohne Präzedenz in der Geschichte der Republik Burjatien und der Baikalseeregion im ganzen. Die Festveranstaltungen des Festivals fanden in 33 Gedenkstätten und legendären Orten entlang beider Ufer des Baikalsees statt und schlossen praktisch den größten Teil der von Burjaten historisch besiedelten Gebiete in Burjatien, im Ust'-Ordynsker und im Aginsker Burjatischen Autonomen Kreis ein, sowie auch Bezirke mit kompakt lebender burjatischer Bevölkerung im Irkutsker und Tschitiner Gebiet.

Dank der Hinwendung zu den Wurzeln der traditionellen burjatischen Kultur, die in der Geseriade eine adäquate Form und ein Ausdrucksmittel für das nationale Bewußtsein unter den heutigen gesellschaftlichen und politischen Bedingungen fand, erreichte die Geseriade einen qualitativen und funktionalen Volksmaßstab. Die Geseriade war eine Art Reaktion auf die bitteren Früchte der Bewußtlosigkeit bezüglich der Geschichte und des nationalen Nihilismus, die ihre Wurzeln in den vergangenen totalitären Zeiten auf dem Gebiet der ehemaligen Sowjetunion geschlagen hatten. Im gewissen Maße füllte die Geseriade dabei das geistliche und ideologische Vakuum, das in der burjatischen Gesellschaft in der Post-Perestroika-Periode entstanden war, auf.

Auf Grund der allgemeinmenschlichen geistigen und künstlerischen Werte des Epos *Geser* war die Geseriade nicht in einem strengen nationalen Rahmen eingeschlossen, sondern gewann einen universalen Charakter. Durch das verbindende kulturelle Erbe wurde sie zu einem Faktor der Freundschaft der um den Baikalsee lebenden Völker.

Der Kreis der burjatischen Geseriade zeigte, daß das Epos *Geser* das wichtigste kulturelle Phänomen im Baikalseegebiet ist, ein Kriterium für die

Lebendigkeit der Volkskultur in der Umbruchsepoche, welche die heutige Gesellschaft durchlebt. Heute, an der Schwelle des 3. Jahrtausends der Weltgeschichte, hat außerdem der Name Geser, der schon in längst vergangenen Zeiten zum Symbol der zentralasiatischen Gemeinsamkeit verschiedener Kulturen wurde und einer der festen Punkte des geistigen Raumes Eurasiens ist, das Recht, als Signal des Rufes nach einer eigenständigen Kultur Burjatiens zu dienen.

(Aus dem Russischen übersetzt von *Dr. Ralf Wille*)

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## Links between China and Rome through Byzantium and Persia: the Nomadic Mediation

Both Byzantium and Persia are a great distance from China, and the links between them are only rarely of historical importance. Sinologists are interested only in periods in which China played a significant historical role. This connection becomes clear if one approaches the subject comprehensively, examining different eras from different aspects. Otherwise we would arrive at the historian's usual answer: from the viewpoint of Chinese historiography, the territory west of the Ural Mountains is nonexistent. Similarly, the lands to the east of the Urals seemed so distant to Byzantine historiographers that they did not consider them. Choosing these two countries may seem incidental, but a comprehensive historical approach reveals the real connection. I suggest that the Iranian steppe region mediated between Europe and Asia throughout the course of history. Since there have been no archaeological researches on this matter so far, this statement may appear too vague, but it is worth considering.

An analysis of this question offers a better understanding of Eurasian history. In most cases we cannot pinpoint the actual role of Byzantium or Persia, only the connection of Asia and the Mediterranean region. We may group Persia and Byzantium together – as the Chinese did – as “western countries”. The steppe region can be examined as well; although Chinese historiography has always been interested in western lands as a whole, we may select specific countries for examination. The connection between Rome and China can be demonstrated through the connection between Byzantium and Persia, since in both cases the tribes of the Iranian steppe acted as mediators, as written in the historiography of these lands.

It is clear to modern Chinese historiography that China was visited for its silk from the beginning. However, the history of the Silk Road, which led to the Eastern Roman provinces, according to Chinese sources, begins after the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. – 220 A.D.). We may consider the findings at the Hungarian archaeological site of Sirmium (Szőny), where most western artefacts (Chinese silk) on the Silk Road were found. This was the *Silk Road* for

China (*si-chou*), though the term was quite unknown in Europe before the expeditions of Aurel Stein, who died in November 1943. The historical relationship of commerce and history between East and West was not as clear before the dawn of archaeology, at the turn of the century. (Even in Europe only a handful of people know that the term *Silk Road* was actually invented by the scholar Von Richthofen in the 1890's.)

Nor is it common knowledge that certain western sinologists have been protesting against the common belief that in early imperial times the silk trade was considered so important to China that a territory was named after it. The natural trade relations of the steppe people and China changed after the appearance of the horse and silk trades. There are researchers even in China who know that in the 9th century a present of silk in diplomacy as well as in the horse trade was of a military nature, just as it had been as of the 4th – 5th centuries, when the capitals in the north of China were developing. Chinese officials soon saw the disadvantages of trading with “barbarians”; therefore, they opposed all transactions. Short-sighted Chinese officials often missed opportunities to profit from cultural relations, sought so often by foreigners who understood neither the character of these relations nor China's defensive policy.

This essay attempts to understand the birthplace of the silk trade, China, where trading was not a part of the national tradition, and the interests of foreign traders, where Byzantium and Persia come into play. But the Iranian steppe also plays a role in this connection; trade – not just from the viewpoint of historians – seemed natural there, while in China trade was rejected due to tradition and bad experiences. The view commonly held among researchers is that trade was conducted on the Silk Road with China, while Chinese officials, despite constant opposition, were forced to permit it for military reasons.

It is thus possible to determine the time and place of historical trends when they pertain to the Mediterranean world. For the sinologists, researchers and historiographers of the Chinese Empire only places and time periods relevant to China are of importance. Trade was most profitable in times when both China's silk production was adequate and the tribes were able to force China to trade, if reluctantly. Countries neighbouring both agrarian empires and the lands of the steppe tribes required long-distance trade. This is how the Silk Road connected China with the Roman Empires.



The closing date for the period in question is 1253, when the Ottoman Empire invaded Byzantium and broke up the Roman Empire entirely. This event marks the end of the Silk Road connection between China and Rome. The year 1253, however, was as much of a turning point for China and the western countries as 496 was for the Mediterranean world.

The Silk Road seems to have held the same importance in the life of the empire as the major rivers have (the Huang-ho and Yangtze). The Silk Road connected Asia with Europe, meaning the whole world outside China, in every time period. The Silk Road has existed from ancient times, according to Chinese tradition. This is clear from the traditional analogy that the whole world is similarly directed by the rivers in the Sky and on Earth. The Milky Way is similar to the other river, the Silk Road on Earth, flowing through the culture of the world, where it exists in folklore. A Hungarian must set forth the example of the River Tisza, which is traditionally called "fair" (and not dark, as is idealised in historiography). The River Tisza originates in the territory and among the people of Hungary and remains within its ethnic borders. Thus it can be called a "home river" in Hungary. The Danube, though much bigger, flows through several countries; therefore, it is not considered a truly Hungarian river by Hungarians, but a European river.

The most ancient pictures of China, found in tombs and reflecting ancient Chinese views on imperial geography and the steppe frontiers in the north described the connection between China, an agricultural country, and the livestock breeders of the steppe. That connection is why Chinese historiography writes about the people of the steppe, from the Xiongnu era as early as the 3rd century B.C., and describes them as people "accompanying the grass and rivers". Later on as well the Chinese speak of tribes connected with the pastures of the steppes and with the river banks. Their way of life is always connected with the land where rulers' residences were built. This is the same land where villages or temporary settlements can be found. The first written sources of this kind, can be found from around the 9th century B.C. according to "historical records" (Shi-jing).

The Chinese concept of the river must be older than the Silk Road, reflecting the history of the country according to Chinese historiography. At least we may conclude this from the first tombs of the Chinese Empire in this millennium, because during the Wei Dynasty (4th – 5th centuries A.D.) the whole country was represented by a river whose tributaries were named after small states and other geographical locations of pre-imperial times.

According to ancient historical sources this old-style geography has been part of Chinese tradition since the First Emperor (Qin Shi Huang-di), at least as revealed in tombs. As written in historical records, rivers and lakes were indicated by a mineral-like “silver” or “silver-water” (probably arsenic), interpreted by some sinologists as mercury. Every Chinese child knows – as did children in ancient times – that the name of the great heavenly river is the Milky Way. In this case the expression is Tian-ho, sometimes called Silver Road or River, probably with good reason, even if only historians know what this may be. The Ho is nothing else but the denomination of the River Huang-ho. (Unfortunately, no archaeological excavation has proved either the existence of mercury in the First Emperor's tomb or the supposition that the Ho is the cradle of the Chinese civilization of the River Yangtze, as sometimes believed by researchers.)

Tian-ho is simply called Ho almost everywhere and Jiang only sporadically, being only the denomination of Yangtze-jiang. Thus the Heavenly Road clearly indicates the Milky Way in Chinese texts. This is why the Ho, which is the same as the Huang-ho, played a larger historical role in the birth of Chinese civilization, this being probably due to the intercontinental importance of the steppe in the world of that era. The Silk Road was inside the Chinese Empire even if it was not located near the Bayan-kara Mountains; it is generally considered the birthplace and the centre of Chinese civilization. Certain sinologists think that the southern river, the Yangtze-jiang, is more important in Chinese history than the northern Huang-ho, which, in my opinion, has had more influence on the course of history, in general, and on the course of Chinese history, in particular. Moreover, the Chinese name for the Milky Way also supports this conclusion.

From the beginning of Chinese culture, heavenly figures have represented the main processes of the land. As of a certain period, the condition of the empire was reflected by the harmony of similar figures on Earth and in the Heavens. This similarity has existed since the mythical times of Fuxi, as recorded in later works on astronomy. Scholars studying the Milky Way, thus, emphasized the importance of the Huang-ho, the western route of Asian trade, represented for the Chinese by Persia. The road connecting China with Persia was the same as the one leading to Rome.

The section of the Silk Road concerned can be imagined in a time when the existing population, the Iranian tribes, required fame (silk etc.) from China. In this period the earthly Milky Way was the part of the Silk Road

where armies of different tribes could meet. Where Chinese authority was important, these tribes played a certain role, even as late as the Mongol Era. The tribes held absolute power between Persia (East) and Byzantium (West).

Until the 5th – 6th centuries, China maintained close ties with the Roman Empire, though Chinese historiography in the capitals only suggested this must have happened later and did not actually state that it had. All researchers have concluded that it had, since the invading Turkic armies initiated relations northwest of the Chinese empire, links that stretched from western Asia to eastern Europe. This can be seen as a linguistic link between the two territories because the distance is large both in time and historical regions. The connection was mediated by nomadic tribes and traders, the Persians interpreting between Byzantium and the Turkic tribes. They may be regarded as symbols for relations between the two areas by archaeologists and historians alike.

The first time the Chinese turned their attention to the neighbouring parts of the world was during the Wei Dynasty (Toba), during the Northern Dynasties (5th – 6th centuries). The region including Persia and Byzantium was a part of the steppe stretching westwards from China in this period, when the steppe was under Turkic rule, and the Mediterranean states were in contact with the tribes for different reasons. Negotiations between Byzantium and the Turks – let us refer to them as Western Turks – were conducted in Persian by Persian interpreters. The Western Turks may have represented tribes which had pushed westwards from China because they felt strong enough to escape, though some were also allowed to live in northern China as of the mid-7th century. This was the period when Chinese historiography named them Western Turks, though no other nation has used this term for these tribes ever since. Eastern Turks were tribes accepting Chinese protection; they certainly had no need to escape, though they were threatened by assimilation. They settled and ruled – like the Chinese – in agricultural towns. They soon realized that they were the perfect mediators in the long-distance trade between China and Byzantium. The tradesmen and diplomats of the Eastern Turks served both the Roman Empire and China (probably this symbolic or real link existed in other relations as well, but only a few records prove this).

In the first Turkic contacts with China we find Iranian elements from the end of the Han period (206 B.C. – 220 A.D.). (Prof. J. Harmatta was the first to point out this type of contact between Turks and their Persian interpreters

in Byzantium, demonstrating the role of the first Chinese connection during this time, represented by the Soghdian Letters; the first Chinese connection of this type was found in the 5th – 6th centuries.) Though the invasion of Changan is generally considered to have taken place in 317 A.D., after several calculations, Harmatta thinks that it was actually in the 3rd century. Iranians were considered “Hu” by Chinese sources and they were led to victory with Turkic help. According to my researches, Chinese officials invariably attempted to show themselves as the initiators of every event that was thought to benefit mankind in general. Chinese officials of the court believed that these Iranians were not popular within the Chinese and Turkic populations. Yet the tribes of the Turks enjoyed the wares brought by tradesmen from the Roman Empire, and often Iranian tradesmen were on good terms with the Chinese. In actuality, these tribes took it for granted that the Iranians had acquired their wealth through trade. Some Chinese people were thought to be Iranian tradesmen even if they lived near the Chinese population within the Chinese Empire since they were wealthy. The wealth of the Iranian tradesmen represented something alien and thus, was used by the Chinese to classify them. That is why it is so difficult for us to recognize the separate Iranian states as Chinese historiography did not and could not describe them properly. The Iranians were only servants in the eyes of the Chinese and they were treated accordingly. But cooperation with the Iranians was quite natural for the Turks and advantageous as well, as long-distance trade included livestock breeding.

The first Turkic delegation to negotiate with Chinese imperial envoys in 545 was led by a person of Soghd origin, named An No-p'an-t'o, in the state of Northern Zhou before the empire had been unified. This was a period when such negotiations could only be held with official authorization in China, while in the Mediterranean such activity was completely free. Long-distance trade was unrestricted before imperial unity, as proved by objects found in the Persian tombs of China. The silver objects concerned could have been brought into China without official control. These objects, excavated recently for archaeological purposes, were only of artistic value to the Chinese. For the Chinese these tombs showed only the ethnic coexistence of two nations and not the trade between them. Certain Sasanid tribes were granted permission to live in China for longer periods and to settle on Chinese territory providing military defence for the emperor and obeying his commands.

The other end of the road and time is represented by the period when the northern territory of the empire still belonged to China – to the Silk Road, represented by the Way of Armies, the road of tribes and tradesmen – when the Chinese Empire was in regular contact with the Roman Empire including Byzantium in the east and directly connected with the steppe region, populated by Iranian tribes or states.

In this period Asia Minor had links to the northern capitals of China, within the Mongol Empire in the 12th – 13th century. This is illustrated by the Chinese silk and the increasing quantity of western objects found along the Silk Road. Trade between China and Europe was sought by the West and not China, as commerce was despised there. This kind of trade could have been used to introduce Chinese achievements to the West. But objects from western countries were accompanied by scholarly concomitants as well. And this posed a serious threat to Chinese tradition.

Early Arabic and Persian knowledge of astronomy – though viewed as foreign – proved to be useful to China as these nations were better trained in scholarly subjects than the Chinese. Hostility to foreigners was not in evidence earlier in the capitals. In the 13th century contacts with western countries were led by a dynasty of foreign origin. The Chinese Empire consequently was flooded by Mongol / Turkic tribes, and even later China was protected by foreign tribes during the Chinese Ming Dynasty (1368 – 1644). Chinese culture spread throughout the empire: Chinese buildings became similar throughout Mongol territory. (The same style in Baghdad and Peking!) The observatory of the Khan had an influence on the whole Empire, including the southern territories, and Chinese scholars wished to show that they were capable of doing anything that others in the empire were.

European traders went to the eastern steppes not only for the silk but for the spices of China and eastern Asia, and mainly for tea, which they could not live without. This happened at a time when the Chinese empire closed its frontiers at least to the north with the help of the steppe tribes. Soon the Mongols were replaced by the Ottoman army in Eurasia, and the role of Byzantium diminished both in the Roman Empire and the provinces as well as on the steppe near China. The Iranian armies of the steppe between the armies and the shores of Asia became separated from China and as a result Chinese Confucianism was allowed to develop. The division between China and the traders of Asia and Europe became permanent and consequently Europe and the rest of Asia ceased to exist for the Chinese. The Chinese

chronicles – once the main sources for western Asia – of this period became so narrow that looking for notes on western countries in the 15th century is futile. The European royal courts expected ever more gifts out of diplomatic contacts, but tradesmen were not able to bring them from the East, least of all from the dangerous lands defended by the nomadic tribes.

The only way for the tradesmen to gain access to luxury items was by sea. But not southwards, because the route between the Mediterranean territories and China was too long and dangerous, so they had to find another way out of this situation and out of Europe as well. Naturally they sought “the islands of India”, the islands of Indonesia, Japan and so on, for exotic plants, spices etc. Their only option was to head westwards, unaware that new continents and people awaited the adventurer.

This is how and why traditional Chinese economics and trade policy helped world history to find the routes of the future, leading to America. It was inevitable that new continents would be found by sea because the land which separated China from Europe was hostile to trade. America was discovered in 1492 because at this time only western traders were able to reach the lands where they found the wares for which they had been forced to travel to China earlier. Europe and the traders obtained what they wanted while China became only an obstacle on land. The Chinese Empire could still only be reached by sea; it was not until the Opium Wars that new routes were discovered. This is, however, another time and story.

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(Ankara)

Türk dilinde ek-ses ilişkisi

Türk dilinde bazı eklerin kelimelerden ortaya çıktığı bilinmektedir. Söz gelişi *su+sa-*, *barıĝ+sa-* fiillerindeki *+sA-* eki *sa-* fiilinden çıkmıştır.<sup>1</sup> *Ak+ar-*, *boz+ar-* gibi fiillerdeki *+Ar-* eki *er-* fiilinden çıkmıştır.<sup>2</sup> Türkiye Türkçesindeki *-(I)yor* şimdiki zaman ekinin *yorur*'dan, *-Dir* bildirme ekinin *durur*'dan çıktığı da bilinmektedir. Özbek, Yeni Uygur, Kazak, Kırgız yazı dillerindeki *-di*, *-du*, *-dl*, *-t* üçüncü şahıs ekleri de *turur*'dan gelmektedir. Kelimelerden ortaya çıkan eklerle ilgili örnekleri çoğaltmak mümkündür. Bu süreç bugün bile devam etmektedir. Meselâ *ile* kelimesi Türkiye Türkçesinde ekleşerek *+IA* şekline girmektedir.

Eklerin bir kısmı ise doğrudan doğruya seslere bir takım işlevlerin yüklenmesiyle ortaya çıkmıştır. Ben bu ekler üzerinde duracağım. Bu eklerde, ekin taşıdığı fonksiyon, doğrudan doğruya sesin kendisinden gelmektedir. Âdeta sesin taşıdığı karakter, fonksiyonu da belirlemiştir. Yapım ve çekim eki ayrımı yapmadan, sadece birbirine yakın fonksiyonları bir arada düşünerek, bu ekleri iki fonksiyon alanına ayırdım.

1) Kuvvetlendirici fonksiyon alanı. Pekiştirme, belirtme, süreklilik, mübâlâğa, çokluk fonksiyonları bu alan içinde düşünülmüştür.

2) Eşleştirici-sevgi fonksiyon alanı. Eşitlik, benzerlik, yakınlık, sevgi (→ küçültme) fonksiyonları bu alan içinde düşünülmüştür.

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<sup>1</sup> Kâşgarlı Mahmud bu ekin *sâ-* fiilinden çıktığını "Bu iki harfin aslı, *sâdı nengni*'den gelmiştir; 'nesneyi saydı' demektir." diyerek ifade eder. Besim Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi* 1, Ankara 1992:281; Ayrıca bkz. Ahmet B. Ercilasun, "Kâşgarlı Mahmud'da *-sâ-/se-* Eki", *Türk Dili*, sayı: 521 (Mayıs 1995):449-455.

<sup>2</sup> Kâşgarlı Mahmud *-er* ekinin de *er-* fiilinden geldiğini ifade eder: "*Kızardı* fiili(nin) aslı *kızıl erdi*'dir, 'kızıl oldu' anlamındadır." Ayrıca bkz. Zeynep Korkmaz, "Türkçede isimden Fiil Türeten *+r-*, *+ar-/+er-* Eki ve Yapısı Üzerine", *Türk Dili Üzerine Araştırmalar* 1, Ankara 1995:168-178.

### 1. Kuvvetlendirici fonksiyon alanına giren ekler

Kuvvetlendirici fonksiyon alanı için kullanılan sesler; ğ, d, z, l, m, n, ŋ, a, e, ı, i'dir. Pekiştirme, belirtme, süreklilik, mübalâğa, çokluk fonksiyonu taşıyan ekler büyük bir ekseriyetle bu seslerle yapılmıştır. Bu seslerdeki sızıcı (fricative), akıcı (liquid), sürekli olma vasıfları, yani seslerin kendi karakterleri; oluşturdukları eklerin de fonksiyonunu belirlemiştir. Şimdi bu seslerle kurulan eklere bakarak bu durumu yakından görelim.

#### ğ sesi

+ğ akuzatif eki: Belirtme fonksiyonu taşıyor, nesneyi belirli hâle getiriyor.

-(I)ğ fiilden isim (deverbal noun) yapma eki: Fiilin adını göstererek fiili belirtiyor.

-ğU fiilden isim (deverbal noun) yapma eki: Bu ek de fiilin adını göstererek fiili belirtiyor.

+ğU isimden isim (denominal noun) yapma eki (*negü, edğü, buğragu*): Pekiştirme fonksiyonu taşıyor.

-ğAn (*atılğan*)

-ğIç (*bilgiç*)

-ğIn (*dalgın*)

-ğA (*bilge*)

-AğAn (*keseğen*) fiilden isim (deverbal noun) yapma ekleri: Hepsi de mübalâğa fonksiyonu taşıyor; bir işi çok, sürekli yapmayı anlatıyor.

-ğll emir eki. Pekiştirme fonksiyonu taşıyor.

ğü soru edatında da ğ sesi vardır (*bar ğü?*). Soru edatında belirtme fonksiyonu bulunur. Soru sormak, bilinmeyen bir şeyin belirlenmesini istemek demektir.

#### d sesi

-d fiilden fiil (deverbal verb) yapma eki (*ko-d-, to-d-*): Pekiştirme (intensive) fonksiyonu taşıyor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Saadet Çağatay, "Pekiştirilen Fiiller", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* 1996:48.



*z sesi*

- +z (*biz, siz*): Şahıs zamirlerinde çokluk görevi yapıyor.
- ηIz (*keldiηiz*): Geçmiş zaman.
- +(I) ηIz (*ataηız*): İyelik.
- (I) ηIz (*alıηız*): Emir eklerinde çokluk şahsı ifade ediyor.
- +z (*iki+z, üç+üz*): Çokluk belirtiyor.

*l sesi*

- +lA (*taη+la, kört+le, yaηı+la*): Pekiştirme (intensive) fonksiyonu taşıyor. Yeni Uygurca'da yaygın bir pekiştirme edatıdır: *Sen!a razi bolsay bolidu.*<sup>4</sup>
- +lAr çokluk eki: Birden fazla olma, çokluk fonksiyonu taşıyor.
- AlA- (*kov-ala-, silk-ele-*): Süreklilik fonksiyonu taşıyor.

*m sesi*

- +mAn (*koca+man, tü+men*). Mübalâğa bildiriyor.
- (I)m fiilden isim (deverbal noun) yapma eki (*iç-im, tad-ım, öl-üm*). Bir defa yapılan fiilin adını göstererek fiili belirtiyor.
- mA fiilden isim (deverbal noun) yapma eki. Bu ek de fiilin adını yaparak fiili belirtiyor. Fiilin adını belirten -mAK ekinde -mA ekiyle pekiştirici OK edatı birleşmiştir.
- +(I)m iyelik eki. Belirtme fonksiyonu taşıyor; bir şeyin birinci şahsa ait olduğunu belirtiyor.<sup>5</sup>
- mU soru edatında da m sesi vardır. Sorunun da aslında belirtme için kullanıldığını yukarıda söylemiştim.

<sup>4</sup> Rıdvan Öztürk, *Yeni Uygur Türkçesi Grameri*, Ankara 1994:121.

<sup>5</sup> A. von Gabain 'majeste' anlamındaki *täyrim* kelimesinde, iyelik eki m'nin "ünvan ve hitap" bildirdiğini ifade eder. *Eski Türkçenin Grameri* (çeviren: Mehmet Akalın), Ankara 1988:44. Hitap sözleri de "pekiştirme" fonksiyonları ile "kuvvetlendirici fonksiyon alanına giren" unsurlardır.

*n sesi*

-*In* fiilden isim (deverbal noun) yapma eki (*ak-ın, ek-in, tüg-ün*): Fiilin adını göstererek fiili belirtiyor.

+*n* (*bi+n, si+n*): Şahıs zamirlerinde belirtme veya pekiştirme görevi yapıyor.

+*(I)n* akuzatif eki (*törüsi+n, sabım+t-n*): Belirtme fonksiyonu taşıyor, nesneyi belirli hâle getiriyor.

+*nI* akuzatif eki (*bu+nı, biz+ni*): Diğer akuzatif ekleri ile aynı fonksiyonu taşıyor.

+*An* (*er+en, ogl+an, kız+an*): Çokluk fonksiyonu taşıyor.

+*mAn* (*koca+man*)

-*mAtIn* (*al-matın*)

-*(I)pAn* (*al-ıpan, süle-pen*)

-*sUn* (*al-sun, bil-sün*) eklerinde pekiştirme fonksiyonu görülüyor. Anadolu ağızlarında bazı zarf-fiil eklerine de pekiştirme göreviyle ekleniyor: -*IncAn*, -*IncAKIn*<sup>6</sup>

*η sesi*

+*(I)η* iyelik eki. Belirtme fonksiyonu taşıyor; bir şeyin ikinci şahsa ait olduğunu belirtiyor.

+*(n)η* genitif eki. Belirtme fonksiyonu taşıyor; tamlayanı belirli hâle getiriyor.

-*(I)η* çokluk 2. şahıs emir eki. Çokluk fonksiyonu taşıyor.

*a, e sesleri*

-*A-* (*tk-a-*). Süreklilik fonksiyonu taşıyor.

-*AlA-* (*kov-ala-*). *l* ile birlikte süreklilik ifade ediyor.

*a, e* hitap sözleri de bu fonksiyon alanı içindedir. *Ala, gele* gibi emir şekilleri içindeki *a, e* hitap unsurlarında pekiştirme fonksiyonu çok açıktır.

<sup>6</sup> Doç. Dr. Leylâ Karahan, "Anadolu Ağızlarında Kullanılan Bazı Zarf-Fiil Ekleri", *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, 32/1-2, Ankara 1996:212-213.

*t, i sesleri*

-I- (*sür-ü-*, *kaz-t*). Süreklilik fonksiyonu taşıyor.

-sUnl (*al-sunu*, *bil-sünü*). Emir eki içinde pekiştirme görevi taşıyor.

Kuvvetlendirici fonksiyon alanına giren ekler arasında enteresan paralellikler vardır. Seslere göre yaptığımız bu sınıflandırmayı ters çevirerek fonksiyonlara göre maddeler hâlinde sıralarsak aşağıdaki enteresan paralellikleri görebiliriz.

1. Fiilin ismini yapan ekler bu gruptaki seslerden biri ile kuruluyor: *bil-ig*, *bil-me*, *bil-mek*, *al-ım*, *ek-in*.

2. Soru edatları bu gruptaki seslerden biri ile kuruluyor: *bar ğu*, *bar mu*. Yeni Uygurcada *mu*'nun pekiştirme, belirtme fonksiyonunda da kullanılması *mu* soru edatındaki belirtme fonksiyonunu destekliyor: *men mu keldim* 'ben de geldim'.

3. Akuzatif ekleri de bu gruptaki seslerden biri ile kuruluyor: *bodun+ug*, *törüsü+n*, *bu+ni*.

4. Mübalâğa ekleri bu gruptaki *ğ*, *m*, *n* sesleri ile kuruluyor: *-ğan*, *-ğın*, *-ğış*, *ğa*, *+man*.

5. İkinci şahıs iyelik eki, yine bu gruptan iki sesle *η* ve *ğ* ile kurulabiliyor: *buη+uğ* 'sıkıntın' (KT G-8), *edgü-g* 'iyiliğin' (KT D-24).

6. Genitif ekindeki *η* sesi yerine Göktürk anıtlarında bir yerde de olsa, yine bu gruba ait *ğ* sesi kullanılıyor: *Türk bodunug atı küsi* (KT D-25).

Bu paralellikler bizce tesadüfî olamaz. Eğer bu sesler, kuvvetlendirici fonksiyon alanına giren "pekiştirme, belirtme, süreklilik, mübalâğa, çokluk" fonksiyonlarını bünyelerinde taşımış olmasalardı, ayrı ayrı her biri aynı fonksiyon için kullanılamazdı.

*2. Eşleştirici-sevgi fonksiyon alanına giren ekler*

Eşleştirici-sevgi fonksiyon alanı için kullanılan sesler; *t*, *ç* (>*s*), *s*'dir. Eşitlik, benzerlik, yakınlık, sevgi (→küçültme) fonksiyonu taşıyan ekler ekseriyetle bu seslerle yapılmıştır. *t*, *s* sesleri diş (dental) sesleridir. *ç* de telaffûz yeri bakımından onlara yakın bir diş eti (denti-palatal) sesidir. *t* ile *ç* seslerinin Moğolca ile Türkçe arasındaki ses denkliklerinden birini oluşturması ve burada da

ikisinin fonksiyon beraberliği içinde bulunması enteresandır. Bu gruptaki eklerden bir kısmı; *t, ç, s* seslerinin, birinci gruptaki *l, n, ğ, a, e, ı, i* sesleriyle birleşmesinden oluşmuştur.

*t, ç (>ş), s* sesleriyle kurulan ekler şunlardır.

#### *t sesi*

+*TI* eşitlik eki (*edgü+ti, katıg+dı, iğreti<egri+ti*). Eşitlik (equative) fonksiyonu taşıyor.<sup>7</sup>

+*tll* (*akım+tul, karam+tul*). Benzerlik fonksiyonu taşıyor.

+*trak<ti+rak* (*yeşilim+trak*). Benzerlik fonksiyonu taşıyor.

+*t* (*kuş ırıt*) Tatarcada kahverengi. Benzerlik fonksiyonu taşıyor.

Bu eklerden başka *teg* (gibi) edatında da *t* sesi vardır.

#### *ç (>ş) sesi*

+*ç* (*ana+ç, ata+ç, ög+üç*<sup>8</sup>). Benzerlik ve küçültme bildirir.

+*çA* eşitlik eki (*tag+ça, sub+ça*). Benzerlik, eşitlik fonksiyonu taşır.

+*çll* (*ak+cıl, kır+çıl*). Benzerlik bildirir.

+*çIn>şIn* (*kök+çin*<sup>9</sup>, *sarı+sın, kara+şın*). Benzerlik bildirir.

+*çIK* küçültme eki. Sevgi ve küçültme fonksiyonu taşır.

<sup>7</sup> F. Sema Barutçu, Böhtlingk'e dayanarak bu ekin Yakutça'da yaşadığını ifade eder: *kusuktı* 'ok gibi', *ölördü* 'ölümüne'. Barutçu *kaltı* 'eğer' sözünde de aynı eki (+*ti*) bulur. "Eski Türkçe Kaltı ve Nelük Kelimeleri", *Türkoloji Dergisi* 10/1, Ankara 1992:72. Ekin -*k* sesi (muhtemelen *OK*'tan) ile genişlemiş +*TIK* şekli Yakutça'da yaygındır: *itiitik* 'sıcakça', *kihitik* 'adam gibi', *teynik* 'eşitçe', bk. M. Fatih Kirişçioglu, *Saha (Yakut) Türkçesi Grameri*, Ankara, 1994:35.

<sup>8</sup> A. von Gabain, 1988:43.

<sup>9</sup> Reşid Rahmeti Arat, *Kutadgu Bilig III-İndeks* (Hazırlayanlar: Kemal Eraslan, Osman F. Sertkaya, Nuri Yüce), İstanbul 1979:275.

*s sesi*

+sIG (*beg+sig, kul+sig, irinçig<irinç+sig*). Benzerlik bildirir.

-sI- (*em-si-*). Benzerlik bildirir.

-ImsIn- (*kul-ımsın-*). Benzerlik bildirir.

Eşleştirici-sevgi fonksiyon alanındaki ekler arasında da paralellikler olduğu görülmektedir. Bunları da birkaç madde hâlinde görebiliriz.

1. Hem +tI, hem +çA eşitlik (equative) eki, bu gruba giren *t* ve *ç* sesleri ile kuruluyor.

2. Renklerde kullanılan benzerlik ekleri +tII ve +çII' da da aynı paralellik var.

3. Benzerlik edatı *teg* ile benzerlik eki +sIG arasında da *t-s* paralelliği var.

Bu paralellikleri de tesadüfe bağlayamayız. Eğer *t*, *ç*, *s* sesleri "benzerlik, eşitlik, sevgi" fonksiyonlarını bünyelerinde taşımasa idiler, ayrı ayrı bunların her biri aynı fonksiyon için kullanılamazdı.

Sonuç olarak bildirimizde sıralanan bu eklerin, doğrudan doğruya seslere dayandığını, doğrudan doğruya seslerden çıktığını, yani bir bakıma Türkçenin gerçek ekleri olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Elbette tarihî ve yaşayan Türk yazı dillerinde bunlara eklenecek başka ekler de bulunabilir. Bu tür eklerin dışında kalan ekler ise ya kelimelerden çıkmıştır, ya alıntıdır. Tabii birleşik ekleri de ayrı düşünmek gerekir. Birleşik ekleri oluşturan ekler seslerden de çıkmış olabilir, kelimelerden de.



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## The Latinization Attempt in Mongolia

When considering the field of linguistic interaction between Central Asia and Europe, we may find a part of it related to linguistic policies, and especially policies concerning the choice of script. In fact, it may be more fitting to use the word interference instead of interaction, as this process is usually one-sided. At least this is the case with the main subject of this paper, the Latinization attempt in Mongolia in the 1930's and 1940's.

This Mongolian attempt at Latinization did not draw much interest probably because of its outcome: very limited use of the Latin alphabet in Mongolia for a few years and an aftermath in which the classical Mongolian script was maintained as the official script. But we should not underestimate the position the Latin alphabet held for some time in Mongolia, which was larger than the very limited use estimated by some scholars.<sup>1</sup>

In this Latinization case, we will find European power, the USSR, attempting to extend a general linguistic policy to, as Owen Lattimore defined it, a satellite country<sup>2</sup> of which one of the attributes is that "any variations within the dominant state are promptly reflected within the satellite state." It thus seems necessary to sketch briefly the Latinization movement in the USSR as of the 1920's in order to understand how this tentative Mongolian Latinization is part of a more general process.<sup>3</sup> As we know, moves toward Latinization appeared early in the USSR, Azerbaijan being one of the first to adopt a new Latin alphabet in the first half of the 1920's. After the 1926 Turcological Congress in Baku, the Latin alphabet was due to be adopted by the Turkic languages. This policy of Latinization was

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<sup>1</sup> For Robert Rupen, "a few postage stamps and some currency were actually printed using [the Latin alphabet]. But a Latin alphabet never came into general use", *Mongols of the twentieth Century*, 1964, part 1, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> Owen Lattimore, *Nationalism and Revolution in Mongolia*, Brill Leiden, 1955, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> This process of Latinization in the USSR is described in numerous scientific works among them Paul Henze, *Politics and Alphabets in Inner Asia*, *JRCAS*, XLIII, 1956, pp. 29-51, Ingeborg Baladauf, *Schriftreform und Schriftwechsel bei den Muslimischen Russland und Sowjettürken (1850-1937)* Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993, etc.

afterwards, from the late 1920's and through the 1930's, extended to most minority languages used in the USSR, either previously unwritten, or using other kinds of writing systems. This movement had different goals: one was to aid in the spread of literacy, another was to break ties with the history and religion of the different ethnic groups, to create a new solidarity within the USSR and to hamper contacts with other groups using the previous writing systems outside the USSR. Soviet authorities were quite open about these objectives. For example, in a report written in 1932 for the Society of Nations, the organization for cultural relations between the USSR and foreign countries said that a new unified Latin-based alphabet for the use of the working masses had replaced numerous narrow systems of representation made for the use of clergy, aristocrats and the bourgeois.<sup>4</sup> These systems qualified as being "backwards". It was also said that the new script help to create a connection between the peoples of the Orient.<sup>5</sup>

One of these so-called backward scripts was the Mongolian script, used in the USSR by the Buriats and the Kalmyks as well as in Tannu Tuva. Latinization affected Buriatia from 1929 onwards, but, as shown by Robert Montgomery, the debate surrounding the possibility of Latinization had already been present for many years.<sup>6</sup>

In Mongolia itself, the first move toward Latinization appeared at the beginning of the 1930's, somewhat later than the general movement in the USSR. It should be noticed that in this case an appearance of independence was sought. In the report to the Society of Nations, cited earlier, Mongolia is quoted, together with Turkey, as a foreign country which had decided to engage in script reform in favour of the Latin script after the Soviet successes in that field.<sup>7</sup> According to Paul Henze, "with isolated nationalities, like the Tuvinians and the Buriats, the Russian Communists employed more direct methods of linguistic coercion [...] In the Mongolian People's Republic they were more careful. Here the Russians were eager to maintain a greater illu-

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<sup>4</sup> *L'Adoption universelle des caractères latins*, Société des Nations, 1934:164.

<sup>5</sup> *L'Adoption universelle des caractères latins*, Société des Nations, 1934:174.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Montgomery, *Buriat Language Policy, 19<sup>th</sup> c 1928: A Case Study in Soviet Nationality Practices*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1994:368-387 and 449-462.

<sup>7</sup> "Résumé du développement de la latinisation des alphabets dans l'USSR", *L'Adoption universelle des caractères latins*, Société des Nations, 1934:171.



sion of independence so as not to offend Chinese sensibilities or challenge Japanese ambitions too directly.”<sup>8</sup>

The first attempt at Latinization was estimated by Mišig to have lasted approximately three years, from 1930 to 1933.<sup>9</sup> The beginning of this attempt is easy to date: in the first half of 1930 the 8th Party Congress made a proposal to replace the Mongolian script, which, according to the Congress, “is a part of the old bureaucracy and hampers the development of the new culture and education” with a Latin script fit for the Mongolian language.<sup>10</sup> This proposal was followed by the adoption of the Latin script by the 6th Great Xural, and by a government decision later in the same year (Decree 36 of October 31, 1930).

This political decision was probably supported by a press campaign; for example, a table of the “new Mongolian script” was published in the main newspaper, *Ünen*, on February 19, 1930. The thirty-letter Latin alphabet proposed in this table drew heavily on the Mongolian alphabet, thus appearing to be more a direct adaptation of the Mongolian script than a proposal for a new orthography. Three different diacritics were used (cedilla, grave and circumflex accent). The influence of the Mongolian script could be found, for example, in the two back rounded vowels /u/ and /o/. These vowels have the same representation in the Mongolian script (using the graphic components called *ТИТИМ* and *ГЭДЭС* in Mongolian in the initial position) and they were also represented by the same letter *o*, but were differentiated by the use of the grave accent [o/ò]. Also the mid-rounded vowels /ö/ and /ü/ (*ТИТИМ*, *ГЭДЭС*, and *ШИЛБЭ* in the initial position) shared the same letter *u* also with a diacritic [u/ù].

The Latin Mongolian alphabet actually used in Mongolia a few years later was itself far from being similar to this first proposal. Its introduction was hampered by false starts, and it was only in 1932 that this alphabet really appeared on a large scale.

In 1932, the Latin script appeared in newspapers for several months. *Ünen* published a new script page with either general articles or articles about

<sup>8</sup> Paul Henze, “Politics and Alphabets in Inner Asia” *JRCAS*, XLIII, 1956:36.

<sup>9</sup> L. Mišig, “Б.Н.М.А. Улсад монгол хэлийг судалж байгаа байдал ба хойшид тавих зорилт”, *Монгол хэл бичигийн зарим асуудлууд*, Ulaanbaatar, 1956:9.

<sup>10</sup> *Монгол ардын хувьсгалт намаас бух нийтийг үндэсний бичит үсэгт сургасан нь*, Ulaanbaatar, 1967:11.

Latinization. We may consider for example an excerpt of one of these new script pages, published on June 21, 1932.<sup>11</sup> The spelling mistake in the heading (with an inverted N in Şine) is not an exception; a similar one, may be found in another word, Ysegiin, in the May 11, 1932 edition.<sup>12</sup> This intrusion of a Cyrillic character inside the usual Latin fonts may suggest that the type was directly imported from the USSR and that even the typographers in charge of printing this new script page had not achieved full proficiency in the new Latin alphabet.

The Latin script may also appear in other parts of the newspaper, even among articles written in the Mongolian script, for example in a caricature.<sup>13</sup> It could also be found in general publishing, but not really as the main script. It may be used for example to write the place of the edition or the title of a book. Often only a few sentences are written in the Latin script on the cover of a book entirely written in the Mongolian script.

Although the position the new alphabet held was more than merely one of nominal use, the introduction of the Latin alphabet did not go far enough to create the conditions of a single utilization of the new script in place of the Mongolian script.

The scope of this paper does not enable us to go into the orthography of this new Latin script in much detail. The script itself was alphabetically close to the one used in Buriatia, with a general base of 24 letters and a few letters which appeared only in loanwords. Three letters for loanwords could be found in the newspaper articles corpus used for this paper: F, V and X. But according to the Mongolian scholar, Šagdarsüren, three more letters existed: H, Q and W.<sup>14</sup> So the Latin alphabet used in 1932 could count as many as 30 letters. It followed the general guidelines for the creation of new Latin alphabets inside the USSR: it used only Latin letters or eventually modified Latin letters (*s* and *c* with a cedilla and *z* with horizontal bar), and avoided diacritics separated from the letters. The only double letter was the double vowel to mark length. The aim of this new Latin script was to be nearer to the modern Xalxa pronunciation, and we may see in fact some connection to the future Cyrillic orthography. But we may notice some similitude with the Mongolian

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<sup>11</sup> *Ünen*, 142 (755).

<sup>12</sup> *Ünen*, 108 (721).

<sup>13</sup> *Ünen*, April 29, 1932.

<sup>14</sup> C. Šagdarsüren, *ЛАТИН УСЭГ*. Unpublished paper.

script, like the same grapheme B for what will be disassociated later in the Cyrillic script into “Б” and “В”.

The New turn policy marked an end to this experiment. The Latinization project was abandoned for a time, and it was even used to prosecute some of its proponents, for example the former Minister of Education, which, according to Charles Bawden, was in 1937 “convicted, among other things, of trying to destroy the Mongol national script.”<sup>15</sup>

But the idea of using the Latin script in Mongolia was not yet totally forgotten, even though the Latinization process was already replaced in the USSR with a new alphabetical campaign: Cyrillicization, which had begun by the late 1930's. This second campaign of script reform was generally swifter and more coercive than the Latinization campaign, which was marked by debates. In Buriatia, the change from Latin to Cyrillic alphabets was made in 1938. So the second attempt at Latinization in Mongolia, in 1940-1941, was already separate from the general linguistic policy. After moves toward Latinization made in April 1940 during the 10th Party Congress and support from the 8th Great Khural, Čojbalsan signed two resolutions in July 26, 1940, one of general intent (no. 27), and a second one (no. 26) setting up a Latinization commission under the direction of Cedenbal, who was charged with creating a new script based on the Latin alphabet for “developing industry, cattleraising, trade, culture, education, and literacy by eliminating the old backward script.”<sup>16</sup> This Latinization commission was replete with members of the Party, trade unions, youth organisations etc. The two foremost members representing the Academy of Sciences were Damdinsüren and Luvsanbandan. According to one of his interviews, Luvsanbandan took an active part in creating a new Latin script for the Mongolian language and prepared a 42-letter script as well as a handbook for the rules of the new orthography.<sup>17</sup> This orientation toward the Latin script was confirmed by Resolution 17/13 made on February 21, 1941.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Charles Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia*, 1989 (1<sup>st</sup> edition in 1968):344.

<sup>16</sup> “Латин усгийг үндэс болгож, шинэ монгол усгийг зохиоь хэрэглэх тухай”, *Монгол бичиг соёл*, no. 2, November 1993, Ulaanbaatar 6.

<sup>17</sup> Interview published in *Ил Товчоо*, no. 22 (152), August 1-10 1995:10.

<sup>18</sup> *Монгол ардын хувьгалт намаас бух нийтийг үндэсний бичиг үсэгт сургасан нь*, 32-33.

But these plans never had time to be put in practice, as the new wave of alphabet changes soon arrived in Mongolia, with the adoption of the Cyrillic script only one month later on March 25, 1941.

This attempt at Latinization in Mongolia seems to be a good example of outside interference in the linguistic policy of a country. It had the kind of chaotic features which often appeared in the alphabet changes inside the USSR with a hasty start in 1930, an introduction with a different alphabet in 1932, a sudden stop for political reasons, and a new attempt, years later, which did not go further than the creation of a politically oriented commission and a few legislative decrees. This second attempt, though, may have been more genuine than the first one, being somewhat at odds with the Soviet policy of the time. Its motivation could have been more related to the will to achieve at a higher level of literacy in the country. In today's Mongolia, this attempt at Latinization is not totally forgotten: in the actual debate on the choice of an official script for Mongolia, a minority of people openly regret that this reform did not succeed and ask for a change in favor of the Latin alphabet.

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### /r/ Z N THE HOOD

The concept of “hood” or “neighborhood” has both geographical and phonological relevance for realizations of the Japanese phoneme /r/. With rare, idiosyncratic, exceptions the realizations do *not* include an [l]. Typically the /r/ is rendered as a flap, like the single *r* in Spanish *pero*, ‘but’. The full range of articulation begins with a relatively unobstructed sound that is about the same as the initial *r* in the speech of most Americans. It is rarely encountered in ordinary speech but is sometimes heard in the lyric *Nō* dramas, where sounds may be quite protracted.

The /r/ may also be trilled, usually as a feature of the macho *beranmē* style often heard in blue-collar drinking establishments. Where there is hostility the trill may be extreme. A consistently short trill seems to mark neighborhood identity in the Tawaramachi district of Tokyo (Howell 1993).

In rapid casual speech the /r/ may be deleted, but more than a century ago Aston (1889) was dealing with the honorific *gozarimasu* as more or less interchangeable with *gozaimasu* (the only form commonly heard today). And in casual speech the *r* can assimilate to a following *n* after deletion of the intervening vowel, as in *wakannai* for *wakaranai*, ‘I don’t understand’. Sir George Sansom (1943) derives *sarugaku*, ‘monkey music’ from the older *sangaku* precursor to *Nō*, in which comic elements once predominated. But this is not the *r/n* assimilation in reverse; more likely it represents a bit of wordplay.

While realizations of the phoneme /r/ do not include an *l*, the *l* sounds in loanwords are realized as *r* in Japanese.

The first and most lasting influence of this sort was from Chinese, to which Japanese is indebted for its initial liquid. This was a fairly straightforward matter, with the Chinese initial *l*- becoming Japanese *r*-, but in some cases the *r* was palatalized. This was usually in rendering Chinese *liang* or *liao*, each of which has many meanings (more than a dozen for the former and at least two dozen for the latter), depending on the tone and other factors. In some cases it may not be immediately apparent why the *r* was palatalized. Thus Chinese *lung* “dragon” is Japanese *ryū*, where we might expect *rō*, as in

the rendering of *lung* 'cage'. But Karlgren (1940) says the 'dragon' used to be palatalized, while the 'cage' apparently was not. Nor is the Sino-Korean 'cage' palatalized, though the 'dragon' is.

The next serious period of alien influence began in the middle of the 16th century with the arrival of the Portuguese and Dutch (Miller's 1967 chapter on loanwords remains helpful), but for our purposes events get more interesting from the middle of the 19th century. That is when the Americans arrived with an offer the Japanese authorities could not refuse, and the massive Westernization of Japan was under way. One of the least significant Western influences was the apparent differentiation of *l* and *r* in certain loan words.

First of all, the *l* is *always* represented in loans from American, British and continental European languages, at least when it is pronounced in those languages. Thus *walky-talky* has unpronounced *l* and becomes *uōkī-tōkī*. On the other hand, *r* is always represented except when preconsonantal or final in loans from English. Thus the French name Charles becomes Sharuru, but the English name Charles becomes Charusu. And Miller (1967) has noted that Japanese *biiru* is from the Dutch *bier* but *biyahōru* is from English *beer hall*. In general preconsonantal and final *r* in loans from English are represented by an [a]. So *sutōru* is 'stole', the neckpiece still worn by some women and *sutoa* is 'store'.

The English model was evidently "r-less" except in initial position or intervocally. New York speech fits the model, but it is a stigmatized variety; some New England speech also fits the model, but it is not particularly prestigious and is used by outsiders mainly to effect imitations of Kennedy family speech. Southern varieties seem mostly to inspire non-southern actors and actresses. The obvious model for the Japanese, then, seems to have been the so-called "received pronunciation" of British English.

It is not clear exactly when and how British, as against American, linguistic influence was established. The Americans may have got there first but the British were not far behind. (The Dutch had been there for well over two centuries, but were basically restricted to Dejima, now part of Nagasaki City.) The American Plenipotentiary arrived in 1856 and his British counterpart, Sir Rutherford Alcock, assumed his post three years later. By mid-1861 the four open ports accommodated fewer than 200 Western residents and a majority of these (126) were in the Kanagawa community and included 55 British and 38 Americans. One way or the other, the English reading public,

including many transients from military and commercial vessels, was great enough to induce the British merchant A.W. Hansard to launch *The Japan Herald* in Edo (now Tokyo), in November of 1861 (Alcock 1863, 2:329-330).

By 1876 there were 3994 foreign residents in Japan, including 2255 Chinese and 1017 English and Americans. The vast majority (2418) were in Yokohama, with another 113 in Tokyo (*Nihon Teikoku Tōkei Nenkan* 1. 1882:73-78).

In the meanwhile the so-called Meiji Restoration had taken place (1868) and a new government was making radical changes to cope with the West. Thus in 1871 the Iwakura Mission was sent on a two-year visit to America and Europe. Kume Kunitake chronicled the adventure in remarkable detail, inadvertently providing hints on the *l/r* issue.

Kume indicated the *l* as well as the initial and intervocalic *r* about as we would expect today, but when he spells out “water closet” in kana he does represent the final *-r* of “water”: *uōtoru kurosetto*. The initials W. C. suffice in Japan today, but plain “water” is *uōtā* and “watercolor” is *uōtakara*, that is, no final *-r* in either case. Kume spells “commodore” as *komodoru*, with the final *-r*.

Of course it matters whether one gets his model in written or spoken form, and one wonders at his rendition of some of the Spanish place names in the San Francisco area. San Jose, for instance becomes *san jōsu*, so he was probably, guessing on the basis of the spelling, though we cannot be certain. Most of the locals today, at least in casual speech, would sound pretty close to the current Japanese *sannoze*. Kume does not explain how he decided on the pronunciation of the names and terms he renders into *kana*.

At any event, those were still the days of the British Empire and the early years of contact coincided with the period when Americans tried most seriously to sort out their north-south differences.

For whatever reason, it seems that the British provided the model for the treatment of the *r*, and a Japanese bias in favor of British English was still evident in the 1950s and 1960s, though in recent years instructors of almost any English-speaking persuasion have been acceptable in Japan.

In some ways it was rather handy to have the *r* handled differently from the *l*. The author of a cartoon book, for example, was Miller, a name which looks as if it could be English, but the *kana* rendering was *mīreru* rather than \**maira(a)*, and the man was a Czech. A travel agency in Tokyo that was run

by a Japanese woman was Air Voyages, but the *kana* for the first word was *ēru*, not *ea*, and it turns out she is married to a Frenchman, who suggested the name of the agency.

A possible portent of things to come may be heralded by the recent appearance of such names as the Hitachi Chain *sutōru*, in which the meaning of 'store' seems unmistakable, and thus replaces the British final [a] with the American *r*.

In general, the [l]/[r] "problem" is mainly a concern for people involved directly and indirectly with language teaching (and learning), particularly for those involved in programs for the teaching of English (or another tongue) as a foreign language. This is abundantly attested by a veritable mountain of literature reporting high tech and other research results over the past twenty years or more. In some cases the research has involved the manipulation of synthetic speech not only for adults (Miyawaki et.al. 1975) but even for two- and three- month old infants (Eimas 1975). Gibbon and others (1991) are exploring the uses of electropalatography, an instrumental technique for showing the timing and location of tongue contacts with the hard palate during speech. Perhaps even more exotically, Buchwald et al. (1994) measured electrophysiological responses to *l* and *r* stimuli, discovering that discrimination of the two sounds is much more difficult for Japanese than for native speakers of English and concludes that the structure of language seems to influence the development of the brain and ensuing behavior. Such measures sound a little desperate for what is a relatively minor problem, but eventually they may enhance our general understanding of the linguistic process.

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Das neugefundene *Altan Debter*?  
(Textkritische Untersuchungen zum *Däftär-i Činggis nāmā*)

Unter dem *Altan Däbtär* (auch als Goldenes Buch bekannt) wird eine verlorengegangene, in mongolischer Sprache und uigurischer Schrift geschriebene Chronik vermutet, die wahrscheinlich die Ursprungslegende und die Beschreibung der Heldentaten der Ahnherren der mongolischen Dynastie enthielt. Aus späteren Nachrichten geht hervor, daß das *Altan Däbtär* nach dem Tod Činggis qans als Heiligtum betrachtet und in der Schatzkammer der verschiedenen mongolischen Herrschaftshäuser aufbewahrt wurde. Es war außer der herrschenden Familie und dem Emir, dem die Beaufsichtigung des *Däbtär*'s zustand, niemandem zugänglich. Am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts befand sich das *Altan Däbtär* im Besitz der Ilkhaniden, wie Rašid ad-Dīn in seinem monumentalen Werk *Jāmi-et-tevārih* berichtet.<sup>1</sup> Ein Jahrzehnt später erwähnt eine arabische Quelle, daß das Goldene Buch von Činggis qan von einem Beamten (*bitikči*) des Ögödei qayan bewacht wurde.<sup>2</sup>

Wissenschaftler bemühen sich seit langer Zeit den Inhalt des *Altan Däbtärs* zu rekonstruieren und die Ursachen und Umstände seiner Geheimhaltung zu erklären. Man hoffte, der Beantwortung dieser Fragen näherzukommen, als die Veröffentlichung der *Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen*<sup>3</sup> in Angriff genommen wurde. Nach vergleichenden Textuntersuchungen stellte sich heraus, daß die *Geheime Geschichte* neben bedeutenden Abweichungen auch viel Gemeinsames mit dem Text Rašid ad-Dīn's, mit

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<sup>1</sup> Rašid ad-Dīn, Fazlallah: *Jāmi at-tawārih*. [Sbornik Letopisej] Russische Übersetzung von L. A. Hetagurov. Bd. I. Moskva-Leningrad 1952:180. Vgl. Boyle 1971.

<sup>2</sup> Barthold, Wilhelm: *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series. N. S. Bd. 5. London 1928:44-45.

<sup>3</sup> Ligeti Lajos: *A mongolok titkos története*. Budapest, 1962. Die deutschsprachigen Stellen sind nach Taube zitiert. *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Herausgegeben von M. Taube. Leipzig-Weimar 1989.

dem Yüan-shih<sup>4</sup> bzw. der Geschichte der Feldzüge Činggis qans<sup>5</sup> aufweist. Auf Grund der Übereinstimmungen wurde das Vorhandensein einer gemeinsamen Quelle angenommen und der Ursprung der parallelen Stellen auf das *Altan Däbtär* zurückgeführt. In dieser Hinsicht haben besonders die Forschungen über die *Geheime Geschichte* und das *Jāmi et-tevārih* einige weiterführende Ergebnisse gebracht. Ligeti wies darauf hin, daß die Verfasser der beiden Werke das *Altan Däbtär* zwar verwendet haben könnten, es aber nicht als ausschließliche Unterlage diente, weil andere, derzeit nicht identifizierbare Quellen auch in Anspruch genommen wurden. Eines scheint jedoch unbestreitbar: die *Geheime Geschichte* kann nicht mit dem *Altan Däbtär* gleichgesetzt werden. Pelliot verglich die Geschichte der Feldzüge von Činggis qan mit dem Werk von Rašid ad-Dīn und hat dann die Vermutung geäußert, daß die gemeinsame Grundlage, worauf beide Werken zurückgehen, das *Altan Däbtär* sei.

M. A. Usmanov hat im Bezug auf die kazantatarischen Chronik, *Däftär-i Činggis nāmā. Dästān-i nāsl-i Činggis Hān*, die Idee geäußert, daß sie eine folklorisierte Version des *Altan Däbtär*'s sein könnte. Er hat seine Vermutung damit untermauert, daß das *Činggis nāmā* viele Ähnlichkeiten mit der *Geheimen Geschichte* aufweist. Außerdem hielt er es für unvorstellbar, daß bei den Jočiden keine Chronik über das Leben Činggis qan's vorhanden gewesen sein sollte.<sup>6</sup> Dazu kann noch hinzugefügt werden, daß einige Varianten des *Činggis nāmā* außer bei den Kasan Tataren sowohl bei den Kasaken, als auch den Özbeken, sowie wahrscheinlich auch bei den Krimtataren zu

4 Krause, F.E.A.: *Cingis Han. Die Geschichte seines Lebens nach den chinesischen Reichsannalen*. Heidelberger Akten der Von-Portheim-Stiftung. Bd. 2. Heidelberg 1922.

5 Pelliot, Paul – Hambis, Louis: *Histoire des Campagnes de Gengis Khan. Cheng-Wou Ts'in-Tcheng Lou*. Traduit et annoté par Paul Pelliot et Louis Hambis. Bd. I. Leiden 1951.

6 Usmanov, Mirkasim A.: *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*. Kazan' 1972:108. Als Zusammenarbeit der Universitäten von Kazan und Szeged wird eine textkritische Edition des *Däftär-i Činggis nāmā* von den Professoren Mirkasim Usmanov, Árpád Berta und mir vorgenommen. Das *Däftär-i Činggis nāmā* hat sechs selbständige Geschichten verschiedenen Inhalts, von denen hier die erste, die den Titel *Dästān-i nāsl-i Činggis Hān* trägt, behandelt wird. Der zu edierende Text, der von Prof. Usmanov auf Grund der 11 besten Handschriften rekonstruiert wurde, stammt aus dem Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts. Die Chronik wurde von einem unbekanntem, jedoch eher profanen als geistigen Autor aus verschiedenen Erzählungen mündlicher Überlieferungen zusammengestellt.

finden sind.<sup>7</sup> So ist es anzunehmen, daß mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit neben der mündlichen Überlieferungen auch eine schriftliche Quelle existierte.

Diese Hypothese von Usmanov wurde mit linguistischen Argumenten auch von Ščerbak unterstützt. Beim Vergleich des *Činggis nāmā* und des *Oğuz nāmā* uigurischer Fassung<sup>8</sup> stellte Ščerbak fest, daß Sprache und Redewendungen sehr große Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen. Er kam zu der folgenden Feststellung: "Besides the Secret History of the Mongols there must have existed the prototype of a legend about Chinggiz-khan taking an intermediate position."<sup>9</sup> Ščerbak sagt nichts darüber, ob er diese Legende von Činggis qan für das *Altan Dābtār* hält oder nicht. Da er Clausons Meinung bezüglich dem Autor der *Oğuz nāmā* jedoch zurückweist, läßt es sich aber vermuten.<sup>10</sup>

Derzeit verfügen wir über mehrere sekundäre Überlieferungen, die höchstwahrscheinlich Elemente des *Altan Dābtār* beinhalten. Die größte Schwierigkeit besteht aber darin, daß wir die inhaltlichen Bestandteile des *Altan Dābtār* nicht genau kennen, so wissen wir z.B. nicht, ob das *Altan Dābtār* den ganzen Lebenslauf und die Feldzüge des Činggis qan, oder nur

<sup>7</sup> Für die tatarischen Variante siehe: Usmanov 1972; für die kasakische W. Radloff: *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Siberiens*. Vol.III/1. 63-68 (Kasakisch), Vol. III/2. 82-89 (deutsche Übersetzung); özbekische Variante: O.Ş. Gökyay: "Hannāme". In: *Necati Lugal Armağanı*. Ankara 1968:275-329 (Türkei-türkische Auszüge). Abdülkadir [Inan] erwähnt eine Variante, die wegen der dort angeführten *šecere* wahrscheinlich der Giray Dynastie zuzuschreiben ist. "Destan-i nesli-Çengiz Han kitabı hakkında. I." In: *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi* 3 (1935) 25. Sayı, 9-14 und "Destan-i nesli-Çengiz Han kitabı hakkında. II." In: *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi* 3 (1934/28):131-133. Abdülkadir Inan hat die Geschichte wegen einiger baschkirischer Stammesnamen mit den Khanen Sibiriens (Tura Hanları) in Zusammenhang gebracht.

<sup>8</sup> W. Bang - G. R. Rachmati: *Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan*. Sonderausgabe aus den Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1932. XXV. Berlin 1932.

<sup>9</sup> Ščerbak, A. M.: "On the Chief Totem of Ancient Turks (mainly on the basis of linguistic material)." *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 3 (1993):203-211.

<sup>10</sup> Clauson, Gerard Sir: "Turks and Wolves." *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki) 28/2 (1964):3-22. Ščerbak zitiert Clauson (p.18-19): "It seems to me that the most reasonable explanation of this peculiar text is that some enthusiastic Türkmen nationalist got hold of a Mongolian legend of some kind and had it translated into Turkish substituting Oğuz kagan for Chinggiz and his successors and adding some specifically Turkish matter, but retaining a good deal of the vocabulary and flavour of the Mongolian original." Ščerbak schreibt hierzu, daß "I could not say that my opinion is the same, nevertheless there are a lot of facts showing the great Mongolian influence on the Uygur variant of the Oğuz name." Ščerbak 1993:205.

die Legenden seiner Abstammung enthält. Für eine inhaltliche Rekonstruktion ist es so unentbehrlich, die Elemente des *Altan Däbtär* in den chinesischen, mongolischen, tibetischen, persischen, arabischen und türkischen Überlieferungen zu konkretisieren.

Um zur Klärung dieses Problems von der Seite der Turkologie beizutragen, habe ich die Motive des *Činggis nāmā* mit denen des *Oğuz nāmā* uigurischer Fassung, mit denen der *Geheimen Geschichte* und mit denen der Geschichte der Mongolen bei Rašid ad-Dīn untersucht und in Parallele gestellt. Bei diesem Vergleich habe ich drei Motive besonders intensiv bearbeitet: die Lichtgeburt, das Totemtier und die Feldzüge von Činggis qan. Da die drei letzteren Quellen längst bekannt sind, beschränke ich mich auf die skizzenhafte inhaltliche Darstellung des *Činggis nāmā*.

Im *Činggis nāmā* geht es um ein wunderschönes Mädchen, namens Ülemalik Kōrkli, die vor den Augen der Welt in einem hohen dunklen Turm versteckt wird. Eines Tages macht ihr Aufseher auf die Bitte des Mädchens hin das Fenster auf, um ihr die helle Welt zu zeigen. Durch das Fenster fällt ein Lichtstrahl auf das Mädchen. Sie fällt ohnmächtig zu Boden und als sie wieder zu sich kommt, bemerkt sie, daß sie schwanger ist. Um die Schande zu vermeiden, sperren die Eltern sie in ein goldenes Schiff und überlassen sie ihrem Schicksal. Tumaul Mergen findet und heiratet sie. Kurz darauf kommt der vom Lichtstrahl empfangene Sohn, Duyin Bayan auf die Welt. Danach bekommt sie noch zwei Söhne von Tumaul Mergen: Būdūnetey und Belgūtey. Duyin Bayan wird mit Alango verheiratet. Alango gebärt ihm drei Söhne: Bodončar, Qaginčar und Selčūt. Vor seinem Tod verkündigt Duyin Bayan dem Volk, daß seine drei Söhne zum Regieren nicht fähig sein werden. Aber nach seinem Tod werde er als Sonnenstrahl zu seiner Frau Alango zurückkehren und sie als Wolf wieder verlassen (*belgūm ol bolur kim mǎn ölgāndin song kūn bolup inǎrmǎn bōri bolup čiqarmǎn*). Danach werde sie einen zum Regieren geeigneten Sohn gebären. Die auf diese wunderliche Weise schwanger gewordene Alango wird von ihren drei Söhnen verleumdet mit Malik, dem für Wildfleisch gekauften Jungen, ein Verhältnis zu haben. Sie bietet ihren Söhnen an, sie heimlich beobachten zu lassen. Die heimlichen Beobachter berichten von einem glänzenden Lichtstrahl, der in das Zelt Alango's hineingeht und einem blaugrauen Wolf (*yilqı yallı kök bōri*), der aus dem Zelt herauskommend *činggis, činggis* ruft. Bald danach kommt Činggis auf die Welt. Er ist unter dem Volk sehr beliebt. Seine Brüder teilen das väterliche Erbe untereinander auf, aber es gibt einen goldenen Köcher,

dessen Verteilung sie Alango's Entscheidung überlassen. Nach Alango's Urteil soll derjenige den Köcher bekommen, dessen Gürtel (*futa*) an dem durch das Fenster hereinfallendem Sonnenstrahl hängen bleibt. Natürlich trug der Sonnenstrahl nur Činggis qan's Gürtel. Seine Brüder beneiden ihn und wollen ihn töten. Er flüchtet den Fluß Tikelik entlang und durch die im Wasser herabtreibenden Vogelfedern gibt er seiner Mutter ein Lebenszeichen. Die drei Brüder unterdrücken das Volk. Einige vornehme Bege begeben sich auf die Suche von Činggis. Sie finden ihn, bringen ihn zurück und wählen ihn zum Qan. Er herrscht gerecht, organisiert das Volk, gibt jedem Weidegebiete, Tamga, Totemvögel, Totembaum und *Uran* (Parole).

Der Vergleich der Hauptmotive macht es offensichtlich, daß die vier Geschichten im Grunde genommen zwei Legendenkreisen zuzuordnen sind. *Činggis nāmā* und *Oğuz nāmā* gehen auf die Legende der Lichtgeburt zurück (von mir als Legendenkreis "A" bezeichnet). Die *Geheime Geschichte* und Rašid ad-Dīn knüpfen an die Ergene-qon Legende (von mir Legendenkreis "B" genannt) an. Zwischen den beiden Legendenkreisen besteht der wesentliche Unterschied darin, daß die Abstammung von Činggis qan im Legendenkreis "A" auf doppelten transzendentalen Ursprung zurückgeführt wird. Dementsprechend treten in diesem Legendenkreis zwei Lichtsöhne auf: Duyin Bayan, der vom Lichtstrahl geborene Sohn der Ülemalik Kōrkli, und Činggis, der Sohn von Alango und des als Lichtstrahl eintretenden, und in der Gestalt eines blaugrauen Wolfes herausgehenden, Duyin Bayan's. Diese zweischichtige Legende spiegelt zwei verschiedene Traditionen wider: Die erste ist eine transzendente Deutung mit manichäischen Zügen, die wahrscheinlich auf uigurischer Vermittlung beruht. Die zweite Schicht bewahrt unverkennbar totemistische Elemente.<sup>11</sup>

Im fragmentarischen Text von Oğuz qan ist zwar die erste Lichtgeburt nicht erhalten geblieben, doch ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach anzunehmen, daß sie ursprünglich auch vorhanden war. Ein textkritischer Vergleich zeigt, daß die ersten Zeilen des *Oğuz nāmā* mit den abschließenden Sätzen der Geschichte von Ülemalik Kōrkli im *Činggis nāmā* übereinstimmen. So ist es anzunehmen, daß das fehlende Kapitel die Geburtsgeschichte von Oğuz qan in

<sup>11</sup> Siehe die Legende der beiden schönen Töchter des gaoche shanju, die vom Vater dem Himmel gewidmet werden und deswegen in einem hohen Turm eingesperrt sind. Die jüngere Schwester vereinigt sich mit dem Wolf, der nicht von dem Turm weggehen will und gebärt ihm Kinder. Bičurin, H. J.: *Sobranie svedenij o narodah obitajuših v Srednej Azii v drevnie vremena*. Moskva-Leningrad 1950. Vol. I:214-215.

ähnlicher Weise erzählt, wie sie im *Činggis nāmā* beschrieben wird.<sup>12</sup> Diese Annahme wird dadurch bekräftigt, daß das Lichtmotiv im *Oğuz nāmā*, im Zusammenhang mit der Erscheinung der beiden Frauen *Oğuz qayans*, noch zweimal vorkommt. Das Motiv des blaugrauen Wolfes ist im *Oğuz nāmā* modifiziert worden. Zwar trifft der Wolf aus einem Lichtstrahl heraus, doch ist er kein Tierahn mehr, sondern der Anführer der Feldzüge.

Im Legendenkreis "B" fehlt das Motiv der direkten Abstammung vom Sonnenlicht. Statt dessen wird Činggis' Ursprung auf die *Ergene-qon* Legende zurückgeführt. Diese Legende, die bei Rašid ad-Dīn ausführlich erzählt wird, ist in der *Geheimen Geschichte* nur im Namen der Ahnherren von Činggis, Börte-čino und Qo'a-maral, zu entdecken. In der *Geheimen Geschichte* verkörpern sie noch Tiere, bei Rašid ad-Dīn wird der blaugraue Wolf personifiziert und unter dem Namen Emir Börte-čino angeführt. Augenfällig ist die Umdeutung der Rolle und Funktion des Lichtstrahls und des grauen Wolfs. In der *Geheimen Geschichte* der Mongolen wird aus dem Lichtstrahl "ein glänzender gelber Man auf dem Lichtstrahl, der durch die Rauchöffnung oder auch über die Jurtentür hineinfiel". Vom blaugrauen Wolf bleibt in der Empfängnisgeschichte nur ein Gleichnis: "kroch er wie ein gelber Hund hinaus".<sup>13</sup>

Rašid ad-Dīn geht noch weiter in der Personifizierung. Bei ihm taucht der blaugraue Wolf als blauäugiger Mann in Menschengestalt auf. Im Legendenkreis "B" wird die Lichtgeburt als Beweis der transzendentalen Abstammung Činggis qan's zurückgedrängt, auch die Figur des Tierahnes wird verschleiert und bewußt unerkennlich gemacht. So ist zu erklären, daß Činggis im Legendenkreis "B" kein direkter Abkömmling von Alan-qo'a und einem Tierahn ist, sondern nur indirekt vom Jüngsten der drei "Lichtsöhne" der Alan-qo'a, Bodončar, abstammt.

Die dritte Gruppe der untersuchten Motive umfaßt die Feldzüge von Činggis qan. Obwohl in den drei Chroniken die Beschreibung der kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen von Činggis ein signifikantes Thema darstellt,

<sup>12</sup> Diesbezüglich sind verschiedene Meinungen geäußert worden. Clauson glaubte "This document is uncomplete at both ends, but not much is missing at the beginning, since Oğuz Kağan is born in line 4." Clauson 1964:17. Sinor behauptete, daß der fehlende Teil von der Heirat der Eltern des Oğuz Kağans erzählt (p. 6.). Sinor, Denis: "Oğuz Kağan destani üzerinde bazı mülâhazalar." In: *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*. 4/1-2, 1-14 (1952).

<sup>13</sup> Taube 1989:8.



ist es auffallend, daß dieses Kapitel im *Činggis nāmā* vollkommen fehlt. So finden wir statt der Darstellung von Feldzügen ein Königsspiegel nomadischer Art. Darin wird erörtert, welche Eigenschaften ein guter oder ein schlechter Qan hat, von wem er Rat holen soll usw. Statt einer Dynastiegeschichte wird hier also eine Stammesgeschichte erzählt, worin auch der besondere Wert unseres *Činggis nāmā* liegt.

Wenn wir die Motive in der angeführten Beilage betrachten, so ist die erste Folgerung: Wenn das *Altan Däbtär* die Felzüge Činggis qans beinhaltet hat, so kann unser *Činggis nāmā* nicht darauf zurückgeführt werden. Was die Abstammung von Činggis qan betrifft, so sind darüber im *Činggis nāmā* viele und genaue Informationen erhalten geblieben. Die Frage ist nur, wie glaubwürdig sie sind und ob sie uns weiterhelfen, die in den Quellen zu Tage tretende Verwirrung um Činggis qan's Abstammung zu verstehen. Die Chroniken stimmen darin überein, daß Činggis qan Bodončar's Abkömmling ist, aus unserer Sicht ist es jetzt nicht relevant, wieviele Generationen zwischen ihnen stehen. Die Abweichungen bestehen darin, ob Alan-qo'a einen einzigen oder drei Lichtsöhne hatte. Weiterhin, ob der einzige Lichtsohn Alan-qo'a's Činggis oder Bodončar war? Ob Činggis und Bodončar dieselben Personen sein könnten?

Eine direkte Abstammung Činggis von der Sonne oder dem Licht ist in den mongolischen Chroniken nicht erhalten geblieben. Allein in der armenischen Chronik von Kirakos wird diesbezüglich die Erzählung eines vornehmen Mongolen aus dem letzten Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts aufgezeichnet.<sup>14</sup> Es ist bemerkenswert, daß Bodončar in den verschiedenen Chroniken entweder als einziger Lichtsohn, oder als der jüngste unter den drei Lichtsöhnen von Alan-qo'a in Erscheinung tritt. Im ersten Kapitel der Dynastiegeschichte Yüan-shih tritt Bodončar als einziger Lichtsohn auf, in Kapitel 107 ist er jedoch der jüngste der drei Lichtsöhne.<sup>15</sup> In der tibetischen Version der *Ge-*

<sup>14</sup> Boyle, J. A.: "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols." *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963): 199-214 "...they said this, that their king was related to God, God having taken the heavens as his share and given the earth to the Xayan, for they said that Čangz yan, the father of the Xayan, was not born of the seed of man, but a light came from the unseen and entered through the skylight of the house and said to his mother: « Conceive and you shalt give birth to a son [who shall be] emperor of the earth. » And by this [light], they said, she bore him." (p. 203).

<sup>15</sup> Krause 1922:8. und Hambis, Louis: *Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan Che. Les Généalogies impériales mongoles dans l'histoire chinoise officielle de la dynastie mongole. Avec des notes supplémentaires* par Paul Pelliot. Leiden 1945:9.

*heimen' Geschichte* kommt wieder nur ein einziger Lichtsohn, Bodončar vor.<sup>16</sup> Auch bei Rašid ad-Dīn sind Spuren dieser verschiedenen Überlieferungen vorhanden. Wenn über die Lichtemanation erzählt wird, geht es nur um ein Kind. Wenn die Geschehnisse aber von Alan-qo'a selbst vorgetragen werden, geht es um einen blauäugigen Mann und mehrere Kinder, derer Namen auch genannt werden. In der bei 'Umari (1301-1349) aufgezeichneten Version ist Alan-qo'a durch die Lichtemanation mit Drillingen schwanger geworden, deswegen wird der von Bodončar abstammende Činggis als Sohn der Sonne bezeichnet. 'Umari stellt Alan-qo'a's Erklärung über den Ursprung ihrer Schwangerschaft in Abrede und bemerkt, daß Alan-qo'a wahrscheinlich die Geschichte von der unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria als Rechtfertigung geltend hat.<sup>17</sup>

Diesen Angaben zufolge steht fest, daß Činggis in den ältesten Überlieferungen als direkter Abkömmling des Lichts und als einziger Lichtsohn dargestellt wurde. Diese Tradition lebt im *Činggis nāmā* fort. Aus diesem Grund ist zu erwägen, ob man das *Altan Dābtār* nicht als "Goldenes Buch" der Goldenen Dynastie (*altan uruγ*) der Činggisiden, sondern vielmehr als "Buch des Lichtes" deuten könnte. Die Gleichsetzung des Goldes mit dem Licht ist ein allgemeines Phänomen. So wäre es verständlich, warum das Buch, in dem die heidnische Tradition (uigur-manichäische Lichtemanation) Činggis qans verewigt wurde, von der Außenwelt ferngehalten und streng bewacht wurde.

Was das Totemtier betrifft, so verschwindet es wie oben gezeigt wurde, aus den mongolischen Chroniken, oder wird in antropomorphe Gestalten umgewandelt. Dieser Prozess scheint sich in den mittelasiatischen Chroniken aber nicht vollständig vollzogen zu haben. In einer Genealogie, die für den Timuriden Herrscher Šahruh im Jahre 1427 zusammengestellt wurde und

<sup>16</sup> Zitiert nach Poucha, Pavel: "Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen." *Archiv Orientální Supplementa* 4. Praha 1956. Lech hielt die Überlieferungen über den Lichtsohn Bodončar für sekundär (Lech 1968:174. Anm. 13). Dagegen spricht aber das I. Kapitel des Yüan-shih.

<sup>17</sup> "Sie brachte Drillinge, und zwar drei Jungen zur Welt... Man hat sie wegen des Lichts, das sich nach der Behauptung ihrer Mutter in ihren Schoß senkte, Nurāniyun genannt. Deswegen heißt es von Ginkiz Hān auch, er sei der Sohn der Sonne... Die Geschichte über die Abstammung Ginkiz Hān's ist (als solche) eine gemeine Lüge... vielleicht hat sie auch die Erzählung von der unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria gehört..." *Das Mongolische Weltreich. Al-'Umari's Darstellung des mongolischen Reiches in seinem Werk Masālik al-anšār fi mamālik al-amšār*. Mit Paraphrase und Kommentar herausgegeben von Klaus Lech. Asiatische Forschungen. Band 22. Wiesbaden 1968:92.

wovon eine Kopie mit Medaillon-Miniatur im 16. Jahrhundert angefertigt wurde, findet man auf einer der Miniaturen dieselbe Darstellung der wunderbaren Empfängnis, wie sie in der *Činggis nāmā* beschrieben wird. Auf dieser Miniatur wird das Zelt mit einem Kreis nur symbolisch angedeutet, das Quadrat im Kreise weist auf Alan-qo'a's Bett hin. Alan-qo'a kniet auf ihrem Bett. Auf ihrer linken Schulter ruht die Sonne. Sie schaut dem aus dem Zelt hinausgehenden Wolf nach. Über der Miniatur steht als Erklärung in uigurischer Sprache und Schrift: "Alan-quva-ning oqlan-lar-i-ning šu'be-si buu yosun birl-e. [Der Ursprung von Alan-qo'a's Söhne auf dieser Weise]."<sup>18</sup>

Diese Parallele bedeutet, daß das *Činggis nāmā* keine isolierte Tradition darstellt, sondern mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf eine unbekannte mongolischsprachige Ursprungslegende zurückgeht. Ob es sich um eine selbstständige Legende, deren Quelle bei der Herkunftsmythologie der uigurischen Herrscherdynastie zu suchen ist, oder um einen Teil des *Altan Däbtär*'s handelt, läßt sich nicht entscheiden.<sup>19</sup> Ihr wichtigster Beitrag besteht darin, daß die einzelnen Motive um die wunderbare Geburt von Činggis durch die Edition des *Činggis nāmā* genauer gedeutet werden können. Diese, mit heidnischen Elementen durchwobene Fassung über Činggis qan's Ursprung kann als eine mündlich überlieferte Form einer Dynastiegeschichte betrachtet werden, die ein Kapitel der Ursprungslegende der Jočiden mit kaum modifiziertem Inhalt bewahrt. In der Steppe, wo die Islamisierung sehr oberflächlich war, brauchte man diese Ursprungsgeschichte nicht umzudeuten. Demgegenüber hat der Druck des Buddhismus und des Islams die heidnische Legende von Činggis qan's Abstammung in den anderen Werken der mongolischen Dynastiegeschichten umschreiben lassen. Aber auch hier haben die Autoren das Motiv des transzendentalen Ursprungs aus ihren Werken nicht weggelassen, sie haben es nur den Erfordernissen ihrer Zeit angepasst.

<sup>18</sup> Toğan 1962:70.

<sup>19</sup> In Zusammenhang mit dieser Frage sind die Bemerkungen Ligeti's zum ursprünglichen Titel der Geheimen Geschichte sehr interessant. Ligeti bestreitet die allgemeine Meinung, daß die erste, von den anderen abgetrennte Zeile der Geheimen Geschichte, *Činggis qayan-u huja'ur*, deren Bedeutung 'Činggis qan's Abstammung' ist, der ursprüngliche Titel sein sollte. Er wies dies mit der Begründung zurück, daß dieser Titel nur einen Bruchteil des Inhalts der Geheimen Geschichte abdeckt (Ligeti 1962:209). Unser *Činggis nāmā* hat aber denselben Titel: *Dästān-i nāsl- Činggis ħān* 'Die Legende der Abstammung Činggis qan's'. Dies wäre ein kleiner, wenn auch nicht genügender Beweis dafür, daß das *Činggis nāmā* doch etwas mit dem *Altan Däbtär* gemeinsames hätte.

## Legendenkreis

## Lichtgeburt "A"

Motive	ČN	ON	GGM	RD
Börte-čino Qo'a -maral	-	-	+	+
schönes Mädchen	+	+(?)	-	-
wird versteckt	+	+(?)	-	-
vom Sonnen- licht schwanger	+	+(?)	-	-
verliert das Bewusstsein	+	+	-	-
Ehe mit	Tumaul Mergen Ülemalik Körkli	?  Ay kağan	- -	- -
Kind(er)	Duyin Bayan Lichtsohn Büdünety Belgütey	Oğuz [Lichtsohn] - -	- - -	- - -
Ehe mit	Duyin Bayan  Alango	Oğuz zwei Frauen	Dobun Mergen  Alan-qo'a	Dobun Bayan  Alan-qo'a
Kinder	Bodončar Qağınčar Selčüt	1. Kün Ay Yultuz 2. Kök Tağ Tengiz	Belgünütey Bügünütey	Bügünütey Belgünütey
Lichtstrahl	Sonne	Sonne	gelber Mann auf dem Lichtstrahl	Lichtstrahl blauäugiger Mann
Wolf	+	+	gelber Hund	-
Kind(er)	Činggis	-	Buqu qatagi, Buqatu Salji, Bodončar	Bukun- Kataki, Salji, Bodončar

nach Generation vom Bodončar	-	-	Činggis	Činggis
für Wildfleisch gekaufter Junge	Yalın	-	Mayalıy bayayudai	Bayalık
[Licht]probe mit	Gürtel	-	Pfeilen	Pfeilen
Leben in Gefahr	Čingiz's	-	Bodončar's	Bodončar's
er flüchtet	Tikelik	-	Tünggelik	Togli
er gibt Lebenszeichen	+	-	+	-
es wird eine Kutsche gebaut	+	+	-	-
er wird zurückgebracht	durch Bege	-	durch sein Brüder	-
er gibt Volksnamen	-	+	-	+
Weidegebiete	+	-	-	-
Tamga	+	[+]	-	+
[Totem] vögel	+	-	-	-
[Totem] bäume	+	+(?)	-	-
Uran	+	+	-	-
Savut	+	-	-	-
Feldzüge	-	+	+	+



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## Mongolian Loanwords in Chagatay

The rise of the Mongol Empire in the 13th century represents a turning point in the history of Mongolian linguistic elements in the Turkic languages, as a huge lexical stock penetrates into the Middle Turkic languages and dialects of this time. Studies have dealt with the Mongolian influence on Middle Kipchak (the Coman language<sup>1</sup>), on Osmanli<sup>2</sup> and on the modern Turkic languages.<sup>3</sup> The number and importance of Mongolian elements in Chagatay is much greater than in any other Turkic language; nonetheless, only minor researches have been published in this field.<sup>4</sup> Although Clauson provides a list of the Mongolian words in his edition of *Sanglax*<sup>5</sup>, and we can find Chagatay and other Turkic data in a great study by Doerfer<sup>6</sup>, a thorough investigation into this area has yet to be undertaken.

In my research I aim to compile a potentially complete lexicon of Mongolian loanwords in Chagatay. This will facilitate a series of conclusions about the history of the Turkic and Mongolian languages, respectively. First, I have examined the Chagatay dictionaries and glossaries, such as the

- 
- 1 Poppe, N. 1962. Die mongolischen Lehnwörter im Komanischen: *Németh Armağanı*. Ankara. 331-340.
  - 2 Tuna, O. N. 1972., 1976. Osmanlıcada moğolca ödünç kelimeler: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XVII. 209-250.; XVIII. (1973-1975):281-314.
  - 3 Zajaczkowski, W. 1960. Die mongolischen Elemente in der karaimischen Sprache: *Folia Orientalia II*. 296-302.; Kałużyński, St. 1961. *Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache*. Warszawa.; Išberdin, E.F. 1979. Mongol'skie zaimstrovaniya v baskirskom jazyke: *ST*. 20-29.; Róna-Tas, A. 1982. Loan-words of Ultimate Middle Mongolian Origin in Chuvash: *Studies in Chuvash Etymology*. ed. Róna-Tas, A. *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 17. Szeged. 66-134.; Csáki, É. 1989. *Middle-Mongolian Loan-words in Volga-Kipchak Languages*. Szeged (manuscript); Poppe, N. 1991. Mongolian Loan Words in Kazak: *Varia Eurasistica. Festschrift für Professor András Róna-Tas*. Szeged. 149-152.
  - 4 Sertkaya, O. F. 1992. Mongolian Words and Forms in Chagatay Turkish (Eastern Turki) and Turkey Turkish (Western Turki): *TDAYB* (1987):265-280.
  - 5 Clauson, G. 1960. *Sanglax. A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language by Muhammad Mahdī Xān*. London. (S)
  - 6 Doerfer, G. 1963. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Band I. Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Wiesbaden. (TMEN)

*Abuška*<sup>7</sup>, the *Bada'i' al-Luġat*<sup>8</sup>, the *Muqaddimat al-Adab*<sup>9</sup>, the *Sanlax* and the *Behġet ül-Luġat*<sup>10</sup>, and from the later works I have sifted through the dictionaries by *Pavet de Courteille*<sup>11</sup> and *Zenker*<sup>12</sup>, as well as some texts (e.g. *Gadā'i*<sup>13</sup>, and *Abu'l Ġāzi*<sup>14</sup>). The texts will be major sources for this study, but only of the Chagatay in the strict sense: I am not interested in the New Turkic material of Central Asia from the turn of the century often called Chagatay.

As to the source language, in my investigations I have primarily examined Middle Mongolian materials, which are quite scarce, so I have also included various Mongolian dictionaries in the research. I believe these findings will be important for Mongolian Studies: it will broaden our knowledge of Middle Mongolian lexicology as well as of morphology and phonetics.

This linguistic approach will definitely enrich the results of researches in history, too, which, at the same time, will enable us to draw new conclusions about the Turkic-Mongol civilizations of the time – for the loanwords truly reflect the *type* of contacts and reveal the fields of the most intensive Mongolian influence.

I would like to illustrate the method I have used and the future researches I plan for this work.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Vámbéry, Á. 1862. *Abuska. Csagatajtörök szógyűjtemény. [Abuška. Collection of Chagatay-Turkic Words]* Pest. (VAb)

<sup>8</sup> Borovkov, A. K. 1961. “*Badā'i' al-Luġat*”. *Slovar' Tāli' Īmāni Geratskogo k sočinenijam Ališera Navoi*. Moskva. (TIH)

<sup>9</sup> Poppe, N. N. 1938. *Mongol'skij slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab I-II*. Moskva-Leningrad. (MA)

<sup>10</sup> Thúry, J. 1903. A “*Behdset-ül-Luġat*” című csagatáj szótár. [*The Behġet ül-Luġat Dictionary of Chagatay*] Budapest. (BL)

<sup>11</sup> Courteille, P. de. 1870. *Dictionnaire turk-oriental. Destiné principalement a faciliter la lecture des ouvrages de Bâber, d'Aboul-Gâzi et de Mir-Ali-Chir-Nevâi*. Paris. (PC)

<sup>12</sup> Zenker, J. Th. 1866-76. *Dictionnaire turc-arabe-persan*. Leipzig. (Z)

<sup>13</sup> Eckmann, J. 1971. *The Divân of Gadā'i*. Bloomington-The Hague.

<sup>14</sup> Desmaisons, P.I. 1871-74. (ed.) *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Bêhâdour Khan*. St.-Petersbourg. (AG); Kononov, A. N. 1958. (ed.) *Rodoslovnaja Turkmen. Sočinenie Abu-l-Gazi hana hivinskogo*. Moskva-Leningrad. (Ag)

<sup>15</sup> As for the Mongolian equivalents I quote only the written Mongolian (Mo.) data from Lessing, F. (gen. ed.) 1960. *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Berkeley-Los Angeles (L) and in some cases the Kalmyk from Ramstedt, G.J. 1935. *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*. Helsinki (KWb.) and for lack of space I quote only some of the Chagatay data.



There are three aspects to the loanwords I would like to mention in this paper: the *semantic*, the *historical* – that is, the chronological and the geographical – and the *etymological* aspects.

### 1. *The semantic aspect*

For the moment, I do not seek to establish an overly detailed semantic classification of the material. I have established altogether 13 semantic groups for the Mongolian loanwords in Chagatay:

1. *Society and politics*: e.g. *albutu* 'taxpayer, subject' (S) ~ Mo. *albatu* 'id' (L); *daruğa* 'chief, superior, commander' (S, MA, AG) ~ Mo. *daruğa* (L); *salğa-* 'envoyer, députer' (PC, VAb) ~ Mo. *salğa-* 'to separate, divide; to take apart; to remove'.

2. *Warfare*: *jebe* 'armes surtout défensives, armes, cuirasse, cotte de maille' (PC, S) ~ Mo. *jebe* 'arrowhead, spearhead'; *sadaq/sağadaq* (S, PC) 'quiver, arrow-case' ~ Mo. *sağadağ* 'id.'; *mañlay/manqlay* 'front, vanguard; forehead' (S, MA, AG) ~ Mo. *manglai* 'id' (L).

3. *Hunting*: *širalğa* 'a piece of meat of the prey' (S, PC (Bab.)) ~ kalm. *šarlγe* 'das Braten, ein Fleischstück vom Braten' (Kwb.); *qabu* 'place en face; but; occasion; portée' (PC (Bab.), S) ~ Mo. *qabu/qaba* 'skill in hunting, handling a bow; good quality; energy, spirit' (L).

4. *Horse breeding*: *adūn* 'herds of horses' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *adūgu(n)* 'id.'; *čilbur/čulbur* 'bridle', 'chaine d'argent qu'on attache au-dessus du nez du cheval comme ornement' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *čilbuγu/čulbuγur* 'long leather cord attached to the headstall of a halter or bridle; tether'.

5. *Family*: *emegen* 'woman' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *emegen* 'old woman, old wife'; *abağa* 'paternal uncle' (S, MA) ~ Mo. *abağa* 'id'.

6. *Plants*: *örgeşün* 'thorn' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *örgeşü(n)/örgüşü(n)/örgeşü-sü(n)* 'id.' (L); *qarağay* 'bois, foret' (PC) ~ Mo. *qarğai* 'larch tree' (L).

7. *Animals*: *bödene* 'quail' (S, VAb) ~ Mo. *büdüne* 'id.'; *ıtawun* 'partridge' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *itağu* 'id.'.

8. *Topography and weather*: *toqay/toğay*, 'coude qui se trouve dans le cours d'un fleuve' (PC) ~ Mo. *toqail/toqui* 'elbow, bend of a river' (L); *mör* 'way, path' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *mör* 'id.' (L); *borağan/borān* 'tempete de neige et de vent' (PC, S) ~ Mo. *boruğa(n)* 'rein' (L).

9. *Human activities*: *yada-* 'devenir faible, sans force' (PC) ~ Mo. *yada-* 'to have no strength or power; to exhaust; to be unable' (L); *asra-* 'to take care' (MA, S) ~ Mo. *asara-* 'to be compassionate; to take care, nourish' (L).

10. *Features and qualities*: *qalǰau* 'facetieux' (PC) ~ Mo. *ǰalǰau/ǰalǰıǰu* 'rabid, insane; possessed by a demon, violent' (L); *antutay* 'sweet' (S, PC) ~ Mo. *amtatai* 'having a certain taste, tasty; sweet' (L).

11. *Parts of the body*: *dalu* 'omoplate' (PC, S) ~ Mo. *dalu* 'id.' (L); *geǰige* 'nape of the neck' (MA) ~ Mo. *geǰige* 'id.' (L).

12. *Household*: *tülen* (S) ~ Mo. *tülegen, tüligen, tüliye(n)* 'firewood' (L); *tegläidegläidegeläidegeläy* 'overcoat (kaftan) with short sleeves' (VAb, TIH) ~ Mo. *degelei* 'jacket, camisole, short fur garment'.

13. *Music*: *ayalǰu* 'pleasant voice, voice of the nightingale', (VAb, PC) ~ Mo. *ayalǰu* 'melody, tune; tone, intonation'; *šidurǰu/šudurǰu* 'lute' (S) ~ Mo. *šudurǰu* 'three-stringed musical instrument of the guitar kind' (L).

No doubt these categories are flexible: some words might have different meanings which will obviously force them to appear under different semantic classes. For example, the Middle Mongolian word *manglai* primarily designates a part of the body, the 'forehead', but, at the same time, it may rightly be classified among the terminology of warfare, as it means 'avantgard' in the Mongolian and Turkic languages examined.

This semantic research will provide us with the answer to questions about the *type* of linguistic contacts and also reveal the different levels of social contacts. It is worth mentioning that at this stage of the research the first four categories have proved to contain the greatest number of loanwords, that is, words concerning society or politics, warfare, hunting and horse breeding.

## 2. *The historical aspect*

This aspect of the study regards chronological and geographical problems. I have thoroughly examined if a given loanword appears in the Turkic languages before the 12th century, or only in the Middle Turkic Chagatay, and I have also examined how these words spread in the Modern Turkic languages.

Accordingly, I have established the following categories. In the Turkic languages I have separated the lexemes dating from *before* the Mongol epoch and those appearing in the Middle Turkic languages *later*. E.g. Mo. *ǰegeren*

'antelope' (L) ~ OT *yegren*<sup>16</sup> 'chestnut' and *jerän* 'gazelle' later in Chagatay (S, PC). Mo. *yosun* 'traditional custom, mode, manner, method' (L), which was also *yosun* in Old Turkic and Chagatay with similar meanings (S, PC).

The next grouping consist of Mongolian loanwords found *only* in Chagatay and in no other Turkic languages. E.g. Mo. *kegüken*, *keüken* 'child, infant or virgin girl' (L) ~ *küken* 'child, younger daughter, young girl' (S, BL); Mo. *jögelen* 'soft or softly' (L), ~ *zölen* 'soft' (PC).

Then we find examples of Mongolian loanwords in a series of Middle Turkic languages, not only in Chagatay. E.g. Mo. *olja* 'finding, find; acquisition, earning; booty; prisoner(s) of war' ~ *olja*, *olča* 'plennik, dobyča' in Middle Turkic (CC, MA, TIH); Mo. *nökür* 'friend, comrade, companion' (L) ~ MT *nöker/nöger* 'id' (ON, CC<sup>17</sup>, AG).

I have independently examined words appearing in the Modern Turkic languages, not only in Chagatay, e.g. MMo. *huja'ur* and *uja'ur* 'origin, root' (SH, VI)<sup>18</sup> ~ Chag. *uja'ur* 'id.' (MA) ~ jak. *ujuor* 'rod, potómok'; Mo. *mönggün* 'silver' can be found in Yakut and most of the Siberian Turkic languages as well as Chagatay.

This classification clarifies the use and existence of these Mongolian elements throughout the Turkic languages as well as the chronology of the borrowings. Nevertheless, in my opinion, we must work carefully with this classification, especially with the Turkic data in the last category. Clearly, some Modern Turkic words are considered old borrowings either from Middle Mongolian, Chagatay or other Middle Turkic languages. At the same time, other Modern Turkic data can be considered more recent borrowings for phonetic or, sometimes, morphological reasons.

Here I would like to point out one methodological problem which should always be kept in mind: Chagatay is a *literary* language, and not a spoken one, and as a consequence its borrowings do not automatically coincide with those of the local dialects.

<sup>16</sup> I quote the Old Turkic (OT) forms from Clauson, G. 1972. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford.

<sup>17</sup> Bang, W.-Rachmati, G.R. 1932. *Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan*. /SPAW XXV./ Berlin (ON); Grönbech, K. 1942. *Komanisches Wörterbuch*. Köbenhavn. 1942. (CC)

<sup>18</sup> Haenisch, E. 1962. *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi)*. *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Wiesbaden (SH); Ligeti, L. 1962. Un vocabulaire mongol d'Istanbul: *AOH XIV*. 3-99. (VI)

Let me mention one more problem with the chronological aspect. The Chagatay material seems to consist of different chronological layers. Disyllables might be a good example here, as they are represented both with two syllables and in contracted forms as well, e.g. *borāgan* and *borān*, meaning 'storm'. But words with two syllables are not necessarily older borrowings than those with the contracted forms, because they may also reflect dialectal characteristics or they may also be *archaisms* in the *literary* language. And lest we forget, at the same time this literary language contains elements closer to the spoken language, for instance, the Abu'l Ġāzi texts. When pondering chronological questions we should ignore the idea of a uniform Chagatay language and consider the written source of a given lexeme together with the ever present problems of text filiation because this may explain the seemingly irregular forms in the texts.

### 3. *The etymological aspect*

The Middle Mongolian elements of Chagatay may be placed into three large etymological categories. The first and less problematic group contains words with a Mongolian etymology; for instance, Chag. *ĵirġalang* 'pleasure, enjoyment' (S, PC) is a borrowing of the Mo. *ĵirġalan* 'id.'. This derives from the Mo. verb *ĵirġa-* 'to be joyful, enjoy and be happy' (L); Chag. *baraŋar/baraŋar* 'right flank of an army' (PC, MA) ~ Mo. *baraġun ġar* 'right hand, right flank of an army' (L).

The second group of Mongolian loans in Chagatay contains words of Turkic origin. The Chagatay words are either borrowed from Middle Mongolian, having derived from a Turkic language, or they may be considered Altaic – pending an investigation into whether the Mongolian words of Turkic origin are in fact Turkic loanwords or remnants of the Altaic protolanguage. E.g. Chag. *arūn* 'clean, pure' (PC) ~ Mo. *ariġun*, see OT *ari-* 'to be or become clean or pure' (CI); Chag. *qorya* (Borovkov: *qurya*) 'prostoĵ, nezamy-slovatyĵ dom iz trostnika' (TIH, PC) ~ Mo. *qoriya(n)* 'camp, barracks; courtyard, enclosure' (L), see OT *qori-* 'to fence in, or protect (a piece of land)'.

The third etymological group contains Chagatay words of Mongolian origin which derive from a known or unknown, non-Turkic language. E.g. Chag. *tayši* 'scribe, expert, master-craftsman' (S, AG) ~ Mo. *taisi* 'grand

master, imperial teacher' which goes back to the Chinese *t'ai shih* 'chief historiographer' (CI).

Among the loanwords of this group we also have reason to suspect the existence of indirect borrowings from Middle Mongolian through a third language: Persian may be such a mediator.



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The Collapse of Palatal-Velar Harmony from Jurchen to  
Manchu

1. *Interpretations of Tunguz Vowel Harmony by Earlier Scholars*

1.1. Nicholas Poppe

Vowel harmony in the Tunguz languages is said to be complicated as seen in the following statement:

“Tungus has very strict rules of vowel harmony but it is very different from Turkic harmony. Tungus does not have the opposition of back versus front vowels. Instead, some back vowels are followed by certain back or even front vowels but never by certain other back vowels.”<sup>1</sup>

The vowels *u* and *i* are neutral, Poppe notes, because of the sound changes  $*\bar{o} > u$ ,  $*\bar{u} > i$ , and  $*\bar{i} > i$ , in addition to another change  $ya > \bar{e}$ .

1.2. Vera I. Cincius

Vowel harmony in Evenki, a northern Tunguz language, is summarized, according to Cincius, as follows.<sup>2</sup>

Vowels in Preceding Syllables	Vowels in Subsequent Syllables			
	Low Vowels		High Vowels	
	Short	Long	Short	Long
L o w	a	$\bar{a}$	} i,u	} $\bar{i},\bar{u}$
	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$		
	$\bar{e}$	$\bar{a}$		
	o	$\bar{o}$		
	$\bar{o}$	$\bar{a}$		
	e	$\bar{e}$		
	$\bar{e}$	$\bar{e}$		

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, Wiesbaden 1965:185.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Cincius, *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tunguso-man'čžurskih yazykov*, Leningrad 1949:122.

Vowels in Preceding Syllables	Vowels in Subsequent Syllables			
	Low Vowels		High Vowels	
	Short	Long	Short	Long
H	{ a ə	ā	} i, u	} ī, ū
i i, ī		ē		
g	{ a ə	a	} i, u	} ī, ū
h u, ū		ē		

The vowel ə or ē may be expected when following ē, but actually a or ā follows ē, because of the sound changes ē < \*ai and ē < \*ia; the vowel ə, not a, follows ā, because of the sound change a > ə; a and ə may follow i and u, because both i and u are neutral (derived diachronically from back and front vowels).

Cincius points out that vowel harmony seen throughout the Tunguz languages is “a and o in opposition to ə”.

### 1.3. V. A. Avrorin

The vowels of Goldi, or Nanai, a Tunguz language in the lower course of the Amur River, may be divided in vowel harmony, according to Avrorin, into two classes, i.e. the low vowels a, o and ɪ versus the high vowels ə, u and i (but ɪ and i are not differentiated in the orthography).<sup>3</sup>

## 2. The Shift of Vowel Harmony from Jurchen to Manchu

### 2.0. Vowel Harmony in Korean

Korean may provide us with a hint in solving problems regarding the nature of the vowel harmonies in Tunguz languages. Modern Korean preserves only the vowel harmony of -a/-ɔ, the verbal suffix forming continuative converbs, which is commonly said to be the opposition of low versus high vowels, but this is not exact since it is due to the sound change e > ɔ. Early Middle Korean had a strict rule of vowel harmony in the opposition of back versus front vowels, viz. palatal-velar harmony. Thus<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>3</sup> V. A. Avrorin, *Grammatika nanajskogoazyka*, t. I, Moskva-Leningrad 1959:40.

<sup>4</sup> The sound values of the Middle Korean vowels here follow Wan-jin Kim's reconstructions. Wan-jin Kim, *Kugō umun ch'aegye ūi yōn'gu* [A Study of the Phonetic System of Korean], Seoul 1971.



Front	e	ö	ü	i
Back	a	o	u	

The vowel harmony has, nonetheless, collapsed because of the sound changes,  $e > \text{ɔ}$ ,  $o > a/u$ ,  $\ddot{o} > u$ ,  $u > o$ , and  $\ddot{u} > u$ . It is, in fact, difficult to believe in the existence of such vowel harmony as the opposition of low versus high vowels.

### 2.1. Opposition of *a* and *e* in Jurchen and Manchu

Jurchen suffixes containing the back vowel *a* are appended to the stems of back vocalism and those containing the front vowel *e* to the stems of front vocalism.

E.g.,

*-ha* (89)<sup>5</sup>/*-he* (496): perfective participle suffix

*-hai* (250)/*-hei* (255): durative converb suffix

*-ra* (652)/*-re* (582): prospective participle suffix

*-la-* (196)/*-le-* (313): denominal verbal suffix

These pairs of Jurchen suffixes were not only still preserved in Manchu, but, in addition, another variant containing the rounded vowel *o* appeared in each pair of them. As a result, the suffixes cited above became *-hal/-hel/-ho*, *-hail/-heil/-hoi*, *-ral/-rel/-ro*, and *-la-/le-/lo-*, respectively, in Manchu.

### 2.2. The Collapse of Palatal-Velar Harmony in Manchu

In Manchu the labial harmony that did not exist in Jurchen began to occur in such suffixes as cited above – just as in the Mongolian and Turkic languages during the mediaeval period<sup>6</sup> – while the pairs of palatal-velar harmony that existed in Jurchen disappeared in certain suffixes.

E.g.,

*-mai* (355)/*-mei* (179): non-perfective converb suffix

*-\*ba* (𠵹)<sup>7</sup>/*-be* (34): accusative case suffix

The Manchu reflex of the former Jurchen suffix, forming non-perfective converbs, is *-me* and that of the latter suffix, denoting the accusative case, is *-be*, both losing the back vocalism counterparts.

<sup>5</sup> The numerals provided here are character numbers as explained in Gisaburo N. Kiyose, *A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script*, Kyoto 1977:61-94.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. Gisaburo N. Kiyose, *Japanese Linguistics and Altaic Linguistics*, Tokyo 1991:207.

### 3. Conclusion

In Jurchen of the Chin period (1115-1234) the dative-locative case suffix was *-do* (704)/-\**dö* (𐰢) <sup>7</sup> and the causative-passive verbal suffix was *-bu-* (476)/-\**bü-* (𐰣) <sup>7</sup>, which were strictly ruled by palatal-velar harmony.<sup>8</sup> In the Ming period (1368-1644), however, the former was *-do* only and the latter *-bu-* only, having lost their front vocalism counterparts since the sound changes *dö* > *do* and *bü* > *bu* had already occurred.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, since the sound value of the vowel *e* in Jurchen was the mid-front [e] which formed stems and suffixes of front vocalism and later changed to the mid-central vowel, that is, schwa [ə], the opposition of front versus back, namely, palatal-velar harmony came to be lost in some suffixes such as *-me* and *-be* in Manchu.

Other than *-me* and *-be* mentioned above, there are some other suffixes such as *-de* denoting the dative-locative case and *-deri* the prolative case, which have lost vowel harmony. On the other hand, there are also some other suffixes than those cited earlier, which still preserve the *a/e* opposition. This means that classical Manchu was in the transition stage of losing palatal-velar harmony, because of the sound change Jur. [e] > Ma. [ə].

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<sup>7</sup> These characters are not numbered *ibidem* as they appear only in inscriptions, not listed in the *Hua-i i-yü*, but are discussed *ibid.*, p. 55. Thus, the Jurchen characters are given in the parentheses here.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. Kiyose, *A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script*, pp. 42 and 55.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. *ibid.* p. 41.

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## The Polovcian problem: the Central Asian aspect (I)

The history of Eastern Europe in the 10th to 12th centuries A.D. was marked by a vast migration of Turkic-language tribes from Central Asia into this region. It is commonly held that the most significant invasion of the Turkic nomads was the Qipchaq occupation of the Eurasian steppe between the Irtysh and Danube Rivers. Doubtlessly in the eastern part of the Eurasian steppelands in the 11th century there predominated tribes called Qipchaqs in the Oriental sources. Were the Turkic tribes called Polovcians, Comans or Quns in Russian and Western sources really Qipchaqs?

The question of the identification of Qipchaqs, Polovcians, Comans and Quns has long been popular in the literature. According to the concept most widely accepted it was the Qipchaqs who on forcing the Oghuzes out of the lands adjacent to the Aral Sea invaded the steppes of southeastern Europe, and on ousting or absorbing the Pechenegs dominated there until the Mongol conquest. It is implied that from the very beginning the Qipchaqs though multitribal were still a quite homogeneous Turkic-language community similar to the unions of the Pechenegs and the Oghuzes. In this case, the difference in their denomination in Muslim, Russian and Western sources is merely incidental.

The harmony of such a structure was slightly broken by information found in the work of Tāhir Marwazī (12th century A.D.). In connection with the invasion of "the lands of the Pechenegs", i.e. the steppes of southeastern Europe, Marwazī does not mention the Qipchaqs at all and gives another succession of events not deviating from the chronological framework of the 10th century to the first half of the 11th which I describe here. The Qitays (the Kidans) force the Qun tribe (tribes) westwards upon which they are pursued by the Qai tribes together with whom they force out the Shary tribes. Then all of them invade the lands of the Turkmens; the latter force out the Oghuzes who in turn move to the lands of the Pechenegs.

The invasion of the Oghuzes (Uzes, Torks) to the steppes of southeastern Europe took place in 1050, and as early as five years after this date at the

boundaries of the Rus' there appeared tribes called Polovcians by the Russians. In this chain one can definitely identify only the Turkmens – this is what Marwazī himself along with Mahmud al-Kashgharī call who had the Oghuz converted to Islam – Seljuks and Qarluqs from the Semirechje and Kashghar regions.

Prior to Marwazī the Quns and the Qais had only been mentioned among the eastern Turkic tribes by al-Birunī (A.D. 1029). The “Shary” (Yellow) tribes are recorded by the Armenian historian Matthew of Edessa when he describes the events of the middle of the 11th century: “the People of Snakes” attacked the “Reds”.

Meanwhile some coincidences allow one to build a table that encourages a return to the interpretation of the Marwazī text and to the Polovcian problem in general once again.

In the work of Mahmud al-Kashgharī one can find epic evidence of the wars of Qarakhanide “ghazies” with pagan Turks which took place until the middle of the 11th century in Jungaria and northeastern Khazakhstan. Here the tribes that fought against the Muslims are listed: Basmil, Yabaqu, Čomul, Yemek and Qai. This coalition was headed by the Yabaqu chief Böke, i.e. Great Snake, whose personal name is Budrač. After numerous battles the Muslims finally got the upper hand.

Marwazī has an addition to the story about the Shary tribe “who are known by the name of a chief of theirs who is Basmil”. Basmil chiefs were noblemen from the Turkic dynastic clan Ashina. The name of this dynastic clan has been preserved in old Russian sources. This was the name of the Polovcian khan Asen', the father of Sharuqan. These coincidences of events and ethnonyms in diverse groups of sources permit us to build the following Table.

Islamic Sources		Matthew of Edessa	Chinese Sources	Old Russian and Western sources
al-Birunī Marwazī	Mahmud al- Kashgarī			
Qun	Yabaqu	“People of the Snakes“	Hun (T'ieh-le tribe)	ХЫНЬ
Qai	Qai		White Hsi (T'ieh-le tribe)	Qun, Qoman каепичи
Šary Basmil	Basmil	“Pale ones“	Yellow Tūrgeš (?), Pasimi Yellow Heads T'u-chüe (?) She-li (Šary) T'u-chüe	ПОЛОВЦЫ Plawci Plauci Pallidi Falones
Türkman Guzz	Türkman Guzz	Uz		Торки, Uz
Bajanaq	Bajanaq	Pacenikk		Печенги

The coincidences mentioned together with the circumstances that accompanied them allow one to suppose that the Polovcian-Cuman conglomerate of the Turkic tribes cannot be identified as the Qipchaqs, who in the 11th-13th centuries still inhabited the lands between the Irtysh River and the Caspian Sea.



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Batı dilleri ve Türk dili grameri üzerindeki etkileri

Toplumlar arasındaki çok yönlü ve karşılıklı ilişkiler, o toplumların duydukları sosyal, kültürel ve teknik ihtiyaçlar oranında birbirlerini etkiler. Eğer bir toplumun kültür alanını değiştirmesi, yani bağlı olduğu eski kültür alanından yeni bir kültür alanına doğru kayması söz konusu ise, o zaman bu etki kendisini daha güçlü olarak belli eder. Toplumlar arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiler genellikle dil ile gerçekleştirildiğinden, iki farklı dünyanın birbiri ile ilişkisi demek, bir bakıma dillerin birbirleri ile ilişkisi demektir. İşte bu bağlamda yabancı kültür etkisini daha çok, dil yoluyla ortaya koymaktadır.

Türk dili de Eski Türkçeden Orta Türkçeye doğru adım atarken bir din ve kültür değişmesine uğrayarak İslâm Medeniyeti alanına girdiğinden bu ilişkinin sonucu olarak Arap ve Fars dillerinden pek çok kelime almış bulunuyordu.

Osmanlı Devleti, XVIII. yüzyıldan sonra yavaş yavaş Avrupa'ya açılmaya başlamıştır. Bu dönemde Batı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunu bir dereceye kadar etkilediği gibi, Türk hayatı da Batıda bir Türkizm (Turqueri) modası doğurmuştur. Batının Osmanlı toplumu ve özellikle Türk dili üzerindeki etkisi asıl 1839 Tanzimat hareketinden sonra başlamıştır. Daha sonra Cumhuriyet devrindeki gelişmelerle günümüze kadar süregelmiştir.<sup>1</sup>

Tanzimattan sonra Batıdan gelen yeni dünya görüşü ile ilgili gelişmelerde, Batı türleri örnek alınarak ortaya konan şiir, hikâye, roman, tiyatro gibi edebî eserlerde ve diğer alanlarda, Batılı yaşayış ve düşünce tarzının ifadesi olan kavramlar, dilimizde mevcut olmadığından, bu yenilikler Batıdan, Fransızca başta olmak üzere büyük çapta kendi kelimeleri ile birlikte girmiştir.

Konuya dil açısından baktığımızda, bu durum yalnız söz hazinesinde kalmamış, dilin yapısını ve işleyiş kurallarını bir sisteme bağlayan gramer konularının işlenişinde de kendini göstermiştir. Bu etkinin ana sebebi, Osmanlı Devletinde Türk dili gibi Türk gramerinin de geri plâna ve yüzyıllarca süren bir boşluğa itilmiş olmasıdır.

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<sup>1</sup> Daha geniş bilgi için bkz. Zeynep Korkmaz, "Batı kaynaklı kelimeler ve dilimiz üzerindeki etkileri", *Türk Dili*, sayı: 524 (Ağustos 1995):843-858.

Bilindiği gibi daha XI. yüzyılda Kâşgarlı Mahmud tarafından kaleme alınmış olan *Divanu Lûgat'it-Türk* ve bugün kayıp durumdaki *Kitabu Cevahiri'n-nahv fi Lûgat-it-Türk*'ten başlayarak, Türk dili için yüzyıllarla açıklanabilen uzun aralıklarla yazılmış olan birkaç gramer, Türkçeyi hep Arap gramerinin kalıpları içinde değerlendirmiştir. Bu durum 1900'lü yıllara kadar süregelmiştir. Demek oluyor ki, bu tarihlere kadar Türk dilinin kendi yapısını temel alan bir gramer yöntemi geliştirilememiştir. İşte bu boşluk yüzündendir ki Tanzimattan sonra Batıyı örnek alan gramerlerde de yine bir dereceye kadar Arap dilinin etkisi devam ettirilirken, bir yandan da ölçü olarak Fransız dilinin öncülük ettiği Batı dillerinin gramer kalıplarına başvurulmuştur. Bunun ilk örneği Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın)'in *Türkçe Sarf ve Nahv*'idir. Bunu daha başka gramerler de izlemiştir.

Gerçi, Batının örnek alınması ve bilimsel ölçülerin uygulanması, Türk dilinin gramerini büyük ölçüde Arap dilinin gramer kalıplarından kurtararak kendi yapı ve işleyişini temel alan modern gramerlerin yazılmasını sağlamıştır. Nitekim, *Nev-usûl Sarf-ı Türkî*, *Türkçe Yeni Sarf ve Nahv* gibi adlar ile yayımlanan gramer kitapları, bu yöntem yeniliğinin ilk denemeleridir. Şu var ki kullanılan dil malzemesi, bunların Türkçedeki fonksiyonlarına göre değerlendirilmeyordu. Doğrudan doğruya şekle bağlı kalınarak Fransız gramerinin kalıplarına sokuluyordu. Bu da sonuçta, terimlendirmeden başlayarak konuların sınıflandırma, işleniş ve değerlendirmesinde, dilimizi, yer yer Fransız gramerinin etkilerine açık tutmuştur.

1920 yılında Paris'te yayımlanmış olan Jean Deny'nin *Grammaire de la langue Turque* (dialecte Osmanli) adlı eseri, konuların ele alınış ve işleniş bakımından bir dönüm noktası oluşturur. Deny, Türkçenin bir Hint-Avrupa dili olmadığını ileri sürer. Ancak, eser Fransız öğrencilere Türkçeyi öğretmek amacıyla kaleme alınmış kapsamlı bir el kitabı olduğundan, Türkçe sistem olarak Fransız dilinin kalıplarına uydurulmuştur. Malzemenin sınıflandırılması bakımından da kelimeler yine Arap dilinin ölçüleri ile isim, fiil ve edat (particule) ana bölümlerine ayrılmıştır.<sup>2</sup>

Daha sonra yerli gramerciler tarafından hazırlanan eserlerde de J. Deny örnek alındığı için yer yer yine Batıya ait gramer kalıplarının geçerli tutulduğu görülmektedir. Hatta bazı konularda Türkçenin yapı ve işleyişine aykırı düşün sınıflandırma ve değerlendirmeler bir gelenek haline gelmiştir. Bugün bu temeldeki bazı görüş ayrılıkları, çözüm bekleyen birer sorun halinde tartışılmak-

<sup>2</sup> Jean Deny, 1920, §§197, 201 ve ö., 1872 ve ö.



tedir.<sup>3</sup> Gramerlerimizde bu etkinin çeşitli örneklerini bulmak mümkündür. Ben burada sizlere bu durumu iki somut örnekle açıklamak istiyorum. Bunlardan biri şekil bilgisi (morphologie) ile ilgili olan “nispet” bildirme görevindeki *+l* ve *+sAl* ekleri, diğeri de cümle bilgisi (syntax) ile ilgili olan ve birleşik cümlelerin bir türü diye kabul edilen “karmaşık cümle”dir:

#### I. *+l* ve *+sAl* eki:

a. Türkiye Türkçesinde *aktuel*, *entellektuel*, *formel*, *eksperimantal*, *kültürel*, *orijinal* gibi yabancı kaynaklı kelimeler aracılığı ile giren *+l*, Latince kökenli bir “nispet” bildirme ekidir. Bu ek, dilimizi Arapça ve Farsça kelimelerin ve eklerin baskısından arındırma ve özleştirme çalışmalarının yapıldığı dönemde, Türkçedeki Arapça kökenli *+î* “nispet” ekinin yerini almaya başlamış ve sıfat türetiminde kullanılmıştır: *doğa* ‘tabiat’ / *doğa +l* ‘tabî’, *günce* ‘günlük’ / *günce +l* ‘aktuel’, *siyasa* ‘siyaset’ / *siyasa +l* ‘siyasî’, *ulus* ‘millet, halk’ / *ulus +al* ‘millî’, *yasa* ‘kanun’ / *yasa +l*, ‘kanunî, kanuna uygun’, *yer +el* ‘mahallî’ gibi.

b. Bu aktarma, Türkçeyi özleştirme çalışmaları döneminde *siyasal* kelimesi içindeki ekin yanlış bir ayırım ve belki *kum + sal* ‘kumlu yer’ kelimesine benzetilerek eke, *+sAl* biçiminin verilmesi ile daha yaygın bir kullanılış kazanmıştır. Böylece Arapça *+î* nispet eki birçok yerde devreden çıkmış; fakat bunun yerine Türkçe bazı ekler veya isim tamlamaları kullanılacak yerde, *+sAl* eki yaygınlaşmaya başlamıştır. Hatta bugün bu ek, konunun içinde olmayanlar tarafından Türkçe kökenli bir ek olarak kabul edilmekte ve birçok yerde Türkçe ek ve gramer şekillerinin yerini almış bulunmaktadır: *anutsal* ‘abidevî’, *bilimsel* ‘ilmî’, *bitkisel* ‘nebatî’ (*bitkisel hayat* vb.), *deneysel* ‘tecrübî, deney yolu ile’, *dinsel* ‘dinî’, *evrensel* ‘âlemşümül, dünya çapında’, *geleneksel* ‘an’anevî, gelenekli’, *kişisel* ‘şahsî, kişiye özgü’, *ruhsal* ‘ruhî’, *parasal* ‘nakdî, para ile ilgili’, *toplumsal* ‘içtimaî, sosyal’, *ussal* ‘aklî, akla yatkın’ vb. *Belgesel* kelimesi de kendinden sonra gelen ismin (*belgesel filim* vb.) atılması ile bir isim niteliği kazanmıştır.

<sup>3</sup> Bkz. Leyla Karahan, “Türk dilinde birleşik cümle problemi”. *Türk Gramerinin Sorunları*, Türk Dil Kurumu yayını, Ankara 1995, sayı: 522 (Haziran 1995):643-648.

c. Hatta bu +sAl eki *eğit-sel* ‘terbiyevî’, *gör-sel* ‘görme ile ilgili’, *işitsel* ‘işitime ile ilgili’, *tanıt-sal* ‘tanıtıcı’ örneklerinde görüldüğü gibi, yalnız isim soyundan değil, fiil soyundan örneklere de eklenebilmektedir.

## II. Karmaşık (girişik) cümle:

Türkiye Türkçesinde cümle türleri, yapıları bakımından *basit cümle* ve *birleşik cümle* olarak ikiye ayrılır. Gramerlerimizde ilgi zamiri (relative pronoun, Relatif pronomen) ve şart kipi ile kurulmuş ve içiçe girmiş yardımcı cümlelerin yer aldığı cümle türleri birleşik cümle sayılır: *İkram edilen pasta o kadar taze idi ki bir dilim daha istemekten kendimi alamadım. Eğer bu tempo ile çalıtırsan, çok iyi sonuçlar alırsın.* Cümleleri birer birleşik cümledir. Çünkü, temel cümleyi tamamlayan yardımcı cümlede de bir yargı ve bu yargıyı ifade eden bir yüklem vardır. Birden fazla yargı bildiren cümlelerin birleşmesinden oluşmuş “sıralı” veya “bağlamalı” birleşik cümle türleri de vardır: *Yaz mevsiminde günler uzar, geceler kısılır. Misafiri içeri alın, kendisine kahve ikram edin. Akşama bizde buluşalım yahut biz size gelelim. Bazen bir iki keklik getirir, bazen boş döner.*<sup>4</sup> vb.

Fakat, Türkçede isim-fiil (verbalnomen), sıfat-fiil (participium) ve zarf-fiiller (gerundium) ile oluşturulan söz gruplarının yer aldığı cümleleri bazı dilciler basit cümle kabul ettikleri halde, bazıları da birleşik cümlelerin “karmaşık” veya “girişik” cümle türü olarak kabul ederler.<sup>5</sup> Şimdi aşağıda verilen örneklere bu açıdan bir göz atalım:

Bugünün işini yarına bırakmak tembellikten ileri gelir.<sup>6</sup> Böyle bir soru ile karşılaşmak beni şaşırttı. Toplantıya katılmanız bizi çok sevindirecektir. Açık havada uyku çekmesi iyi olacak.<sup>7</sup> Kapıdan çıkışını, sokağın köşesini dönüşü-

<sup>4</sup> Tahsin Banguoğlu, *Türkçenin Grameri*, Türk Dil Kurumu yayını, 3. basılış, Ankara 1990:554, §461.

<sup>5</sup> Jean Dery, 1920, (Çeviren: Ali Ulvi Elöve, İstanbul 1941):744-820; Tahsin Banguoğlu, 1995:562-575: Karmaşık birleşik cümle; Kaya Bilgegil, *Türkçe Dil Bilgisi*, Dergâh yayını, İstanbul 1984:73; Girişik birleşik cümleler; Haydar Ediskun, *Yeni Türk Dil Bilgisi*, İstanbul 1963:378; Nurettin Koç, *Yeni Dilbilgisi*, İstanbul 1990:444-452; Sezai Güneş, *Türk Dili Bilgisi*, İzmir 1995:376-378.

<sup>6</sup> Tahir Nejat Gencan, *Dilbilgisi*, Türk Dil Kurumu yayını, İstanbul 1966:92, §108.

<sup>7</sup> Tahsin Banguoğlu, 1990:563, §469.

nü, yerden gazeteleri savuran rüzgâra güçlkle karşı koyusunu görüyorum.<sup>8</sup>  
Gazete okumanın zararını görmedim.<sup>9</sup>

### III. Sıfat-fiil gruplarının yer aldığı cümleler:

Seni ne kadar sevdiğimi bilirsin. Pratik eğitim görmüş gençleri tercih ediyorlar. Oturduğumuz evin odaları geniştir. Çarşıdan alacağınız (şey), buna benzemez. Müdürün sizi iyi karşılayacağından eminim.<sup>10</sup> Akacak kan damarda durmaz.<sup>11</sup> vb.

### IV. Zarf-fiil gruplarının yer aldığı cümleler:

Kızların çalıştığı kozakhaneyi geçer geçmez bir patırtı işittim.<sup>12</sup> Kapıdan çıkıncaya dek konuştuk.<sup>13</sup> Kadınlar ona baktıkça şaşırıyorlardı.<sup>14</sup> Başını kaldırmadan tarlada ekin biçiyordu.<sup>15</sup> Sokağa çıkarken anahtar almayı unutmuşum. Koşarak gelen çocuk hızlı hızlı nefes alıyordu.<sup>16</sup> Geldiğimde anlatırsınız. Geç kalacağınız için sizi yemeğe beklemediler. Ben anlattıkça o heyecanlanıyordu. Tepeye çıkınca evi görürsünüz.<sup>17</sup>

Yukarıya sıralanan örnekler alındıkları gramer kitaplarında hep “karmaşık cümle” türünün örnekleri olarak verilmiştir. Gramer kitaplarının çoğunda sınıflandırma böyledir. Bu görüşte olanlara göre karmaşık cümle bir temel cümleyle buna bir isim-fiil, sıfat-fiil veya zarf-fiille bağlanmış tam veya yarım yargı bildiren bir yardımcı cümleden oluşmaktadır.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, *Tümcebilgisi*, Türk Dil Kurumu yayını, Ankara 1976:194.

<sup>9</sup> H. Ediskun, 1963:380.

<sup>10</sup> T. Banguoğlu, 1990:566-570, §§473-476.

<sup>11</sup> H. Ediskun, 1963:423.

<sup>12</sup> Sait Faik (Abasıyanık), *Bütün Eserleri 1*, Bilgi yayınevi, Ankara 1970:43.

<sup>13</sup> T. Nejat Gencan, 1966:94.

<sup>14</sup> H. Dizdaroğlu, 1976:200.

<sup>15</sup> H. Ediskun, 1963:315.

<sup>16</sup> H. Dizdaroğlu, 1976:201.

<sup>17</sup> T. Banguoğlu, 1995:571-572, §477.

<sup>18</sup> Bkz. H. Ediskun, 1963, §523; H. Dizdaroğlu, 1976:193-204; T. Banguoğlu, 1990, §§359, 435, 456 ve 468; K. Bilgegil, 1984:74; N. Koç, 1990:444.

Bizce, böyle bir tanım ve böyle bir değerlendirme temelinden yanlıştır; çünkü verilen örneklere dikkat edildiği zaman görülmektedir ki, isim-fiil, sıfat-fiil ve zarf-fiillin yer aldığı cümlelerde, bir yardımcı cümle de yoktur; esas cümleyi etkileyen bir yargı da yoktur. Yardımcı cümleler ile beslenmiş temel cümle türü, Hint-Avrupa dillerine özgüdür. Bu değerlendirme yanlışı, gramerlerimize Batı dillerindeki özellikle Fransızcadaki gramer kalıplarının örnek alınması yolu ile girmiştir. Söz gelişi, *Oynamasını bilmeyen kız yerim dar, der.*<sup>19</sup> cümlesindeki kız ismini niteleyen *oyndamasını bilmeyen* söz grubu, Alman, Fransız ve İngiliz dillerinde, temel cümleye yargı bildiren bir yardımcı cümle ile bağlanır. Örnek olarak bu cümlemin Almanca karşılığını verirsek, cümle *Das Mädchen, das nicht tanzen kann, sagt daß der Tanzplatz eng ist* biçimine girer. Türkçe cümlede *kız* sözünün sıfatı durumunda olan *oyndamasını bilmeyen* söz grubu, Almandada çekimli fiil alan ve yargı bildiren bir yardımcı cümle ile karşılanmıştır. Aynı durum yukarıda sıralanan öteki örnekler için de söz konusudur.

Ayrıca, Türkiye Türkçesi gramerlerinde “girişik cümle” türü olarak verilen isim-fiilli (masterlı) cümleler, Batı dillerinde, çok defa birer yardımcı cümleyle bile ihtiyaç duyurmamaktadır. Yardımcı cümle hep sıfat-fiilli ve zarf-fiilli şekiller için söz konusudur.

Görülüyor ki Batı dillerinde sıfat-fiilli ve zarf-fiilli anlatımlar esas cümleyle daima tam yargılı ve çekimli fiili bulunan bir yardımcı cümleyle bağlanmaktadır. Türkçede ise, böyle bir anlatımda ne bir yardımcı cümle ne de yardımcı cümlede yargı bildiren bir fiil vardır. *Çok okumak insanın kültürünü artırır* cümlesindeki *çok okumak* özne görevindeki bir isimden ibarettir. Bir yardımcı cümle ve yargı ile ilişkisi yoktur. *Oynamasını bilmeyen kız yerim dar, der* cümlesindeki bir yardımcı cümle gibi değerlendirilmek istenen *oyndamasını bilmeyen* söz grubu da cümlemin öznesi durumundaki *kız* ismini vasıflandıran bir sıfattan ibarettir. *Çocuk koşarak içeri girdi* cümlesindeki *koşarak* zarf-fiili ise bir “kılış” bildirdiği halde, bir yargı bildirmemekte, yalnızca esas cümledeki *girdi* fiilinin *nasıl girdi?* sorusuna cevap oluşturan bir zarf görevi yüklenmektedir.

Şekil bilgisi bakımından isim, sıfat ve zarf olarak kullanılan, cümle bilgisi açısından da özne, nesne ve tümleyici görevleri yüklenmiş olan isim-fiil, sıfat-fiil ve zarf-fiillerin yahut da bunlarla kurulmuş olan kelime gruplarının yargı bildiren birer yan cümle olarak kabulü mümkün değildir. Dolayısıyla bu nitelikteki cümlelerin hepsi de Türkçenin yapı ve işleyiş ölçülerine göre birer basit

<sup>19</sup> N. Koç, 1990:445.

cümle niteliğindedir; ve Türkiye Türkçesinde “karmaşık cümle” veya “girişik cümle” diye vasıflandırılan bir cümle türü yoktur.

Konuyu N. Chomsky'nin üretken-dönüşümsel dil bilgisi yöntemine göre yorumlayanlar, üzerinde durduğumuz cümle türlerinin, dilin zihindeki “iç yapı-sında” veya “derin yapıda” iki ayrı yargıyı içediğini ileri sürerek, bunların “girişik” cümle sayılması gerektiği görüşünü savunurlar. Bunlara göre *mektubun geldiğini bana bugün bildirdiler* cümlesi zihindeki derin yapıda *mektup gelmiş, bana bugün bildirdiler* şeklinde iki çekirdek cümleye ayrılır. Ama burada önemli olan nokta, cümlenin “derin” veya “iç yapı”da biçimlenen şekli değil, “dış yapı”ya veya “yüzey yapı”ya yansımış olan şeklidir. Eğer cümlenin “çekirdek yapı” denilen iç yapısını temel alırsak, o zaman bütün dilleri aynı kalıba sokmuş oluruz. Bir dildeki gramer şekillerinin inceleme ve yorumlanmasında, o gramer birimlerinin dildeki kullanılış biçimleri ve görevleri esas alınır. Bu nedenle, bir cümleyi yapısı bakımından incelerken, onun iç yapısını değil, asıl dış yapısını dikkate almak zorundayız. Dolayısıyla isim-fiil, sıfat-fiil ve zarf-fiillerin yer aldığı cümleler, bu görüşe göre de birer basit cümle sayılmak durumundadır.



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## Pazyryk. A Method of Dechiphering Ornament

It is generally accepted that ornament appeared with a code, not because of it. The code (0) has no inherent ornament; it appears as a result of the juxtaposition of the code's symbols. The ornament springs from the connection between the lines drawn, and the basis of it is rhythm. If we draw parallels with other arts, appropriate choices would be music or poetry, since they are both rhythmic. It is impossible to guess a melody from one separate sound, or to guess the rhyme from one separate word. It is the same with ornament – it is impossible to guess the meaning of the ornament from one single element, it is only possible to consider it within the context of a system.

This ornamental art could be defined as “a system of visually perceived signs”.

To emphasise the importance of this new approach, I shall take as my subject the most ancient pile carpet from the Fifth Pazyryk Barrow (4th-5th c. BC) in the Altai Mountains. Attention will be concentrated on the central part of the carpet, which consists of precise cross shapes: four flowers with a square in the centre and 4 sepals, which are placed in rectangles (S. Rudenko 1968). (See illustrations No. 1-2.) I use the description by S. Rudenko for two reasons. In remembering the name of the discoverer we mark his contribution, but on the other hand, this definition is an example of a classic error. The cause of that mistake, in my view, lay in the tradition of investigating oriental carpets maintained primarily by Western explorers. It so happens that carpets are made in the East, but Westerners like them and value them.

The visual ideal of the European scholar is Apollonian clarity (Spengler), which he instinctively and unsuccessfully attempts to find in oriental ornament. Perhaps this is why S. Rudenko so easily identifies the presence of a vegetation motif with flowers and sepals in the zoomorphic ornament. He sees in this incomprehensible element a flower, but nothing else.

This Apollonian clarity assumes a clear connection between an object and the concept of that object. To achieve such simplicity and clarity is not merely difficult, it is impossible.

We claim that ornament is the special language used by ancient man to translate his ideas of Time and Space, Life and Death or the Cosmos and his place in it. Language has all the requirements of autonomy, namely syntax, grammar, lexis, semantics and even phonics.

“Language is the semiotic into which all other semiotics may be transformed”, according to Elmslev, the Danish linguist. Therefore, our task is to transform the incomprehensible language of ornament into the familiar language of painting.

The carpet from the Pazyryk barrow is an outstanding example of bilingualism, using as it does both the language of painting and that of ornament. The pictorial language is familiar. By understanding this text it is possible to guess the principles and laws of the “other language” – ornament.

Observe first the deer moving from left to right along the third border. This technique is based on painting. The ornament itself is the rhythmic pulsation which appears in the consciousness of the observer, as he follows the direction of the movement, or when he perceives this closed border as something whole, where in each fragment (in this case, the deer) is part of the whole, and this whole, in turn, is part of the greater whole, i.e. the entire carpet.

In the border with riders and dismounted men, the movement is in the opposite direction.

But what is in the central element of the Pazyryk carpet if not a flower? What does it mean? At this point we should hold our breath and pause – as we will discuss the most amazing element of all, one which is universally displayed in the ornamental systems of various nations. This is not a flower. This is a gryphon – a fantastic creature with the body of an animal (of the family *Felidae*) and the wings and back of a bird. Kazakh people call it *Italakaz* – a black and white dog-goose. Ancient tribes who lived in the Altai Mountains were known by the Greeks by the legendary name “Gryphons protecting gold.”

Using the principle of *pars pro toto* the artisans of the Pazyryk barrow rendered the most functionally significant parts of the gryphon as follows: along the vertical and horizontal axis – the paws of the predator (of the family *Felidae*: the snow leopard, tiger and lion) and along the diagonals



(intermediate) – wings (of an eagle, a cockerel and a phoenix). But why did the ancient Altaic people need to duplicate in one carpet the image of the gryphon (in the second and sixth borders) and the ornamental symbols for it (in the fourth border and central space)? The answer is hidden outside the carpet but is present in the context of the Pazyryk grave. I refer to numerous scenes where a gryphon is either tearing to pieces some ungulate animal or is being torn apart by some *Felidae* predators.

In the book by S. Rudenko *The Most Ancient Carpets and Fabrics* (Moscow, 1968) we find this motif in the following illustrations:

No 3 Tattoo on man's body, from the Second Pazyryk Barrow.

No 4 Eagle, gryphon tearing to pieces a mountain ram. Felt saddle cover. First Pazyryk Barrow.

No 5 Tigers trampling upon mountain rams. Carving on Sarcophagus from the Second Bashadar Barrow.

Pictures of animals with twisted lower parts:

No 6 (b, c) Mountain rams, Third Pazyryk Barrow.

No 6 (d) Wolf, Second Pazyryk Barrow.

No 7 Elk in gryphon's claws. First Pazyryk Barrow. Knob with the head of a deer in the beak of an eagle, woodcarving. On the flat sides of the knob is the imprint of a goose in a gryphon's claws, Second Pazyryk Barrow.

The history of the Scythian-Siberian wild animal style is well documented. A lifetime would not be enough to read all the literature.

In the scene where the ungulate animal is being torn apart by the predator of the *Felidae* family lies the answer to all the puzzles which scholars and art explorers have been attempting to solve. The answer is that the animal with a twisted body is in its death throes. The animal is between life and death. The lower part, symbolising its physical essence, is twisting 180 degrees relative to its axis, indicating that the body is losing support in the physical world. Meanwhile, the upper part of the animal, symbolising its spiritual essence, remains in the real world to fight for its very existence.

An artistic interpretation does not reach the depths of this image. I postulate that this image runs through the entirety of world culture and the history of mankind and forms the archetype for all peoples – the image of the Spirit which separates from the Body after death and flies to another world.

According to ancient Turkic people, this process is not a rapid one; it stretches out over time with key periods on the third, fourth seventh or ninth

and 40th days after death, until the anniversary of death, when the funeral feast takes place.

According to A. Toleubaev, the Kazakh historian, it is interesting that the magic number 40 is present in the customs and beliefs connected with birth and death. The 40th day is one of the key stages in the formation of an embryo; on the 40th day after birth a child is to be washed in 40 spoonfuls of special water. Until the 40th day after childbirth a woman is considered unclean.

“According to the early ideas of the ancient Kazakhs, an embryo is like a clot, during the first seven-day period after which first stage of formation is complete. There is also the seventh day after death. It may be proposed that the first step of reformation of man and his spirit correlates to those first seven days. The 40th day after death is also worth noting. Maybe this day corresponds to the second step in the formation of a man, in the mortification of his spirit.” (Toleubaev, 1991)

In the light of the above, the Pazyryk carpet might be interpreted as the illustration of the steps of unforming, or of the dead person's steps to the spirit's mortification.

Such an interpretation would not be complete however, if we ignored the direction of this action – upwards. We will call it “the way to the mountain.” In the Pazyryk carpet this corresponds to the movement from the edges towards the centre. This we consider the unforming of the dead. The opposite direction, downwards, “away from the mountain”, thus corresponds to the movement from the centre to the edge, and might be viewed as the formation, conception or rebirth of the spirit.

The conceptual direction of movement is an extremely important factor and is displayed in the direction of linear movement in the borders. There is an absolute consistency to the different directions of movement along the borders of the Pazyryk carpet (in border 6, gryphons move from left to right, and in border 2 from right to left). If we compare the broad lines from the basic borders, in border No 5 (dismounted and mounted riders from right to left) and in border No 3 (deer left to right) then we again observe the different directions of movement. The same is true if we compare No 6 and No 2. The difference in direction is systematically planned and must mean something; indeed, it does. It is tied to the ideas of the Turks regarding the opposite orientation in the worlds of the living and the dead. A typical illustration of worlds as mutual mirror images may be the Kazakh fairy tale “Forty Fables”, in which the hero performs impossible feats.

This tale of a boy who told 40 lies and was rewarded with a khan's (rich man's) daughter for his wife occurs in variations in the folk art of the Kazakh, Kara-Kalpak, Tatar, Uzbek, Hakhas, Buryat and Mongol people. In all versions the narrative is based on acts and situations which are impossible in real life because of their absurdity. The hero is born before his parents, he chops ice with his head, he hammers a nail into the ground with his head, walks without his head putting both feet in one boot, weaves a carpet from a cobweb etc. (Tursunov, 1973).

In the light this, the twisted bodies of unglutesin agony can be seen differently, as a sign of passing from one state to another. This now appears to be the central motif, because this passage symbolises the process of flowing from one state to another. If we broaden the frames of the image we see an interpretation of Life which is generally considered to be a process of constant change.

Additionally, we humans inhabit the middle world – an interval between the upper and lower. We occupy the zone of transition or the zone where in the twisting lower part connects with the upper part.

If this is applied to the symbolism of an anthropomorphic, vertically oriented body, the central zone topographically corresponds to the waist, where the division, or connection, is marked by a belt. The belt, embroidered and richly decorated, is the most important part of any national costume.

If the lower part is the past, the middle is the present, and the future is the upper part – the heavens to which trees aspire. A tree is destined to live with its crown in all shades of the present, rolling it up into the memory of annual rings. A tree, like man, strives towards the future but the only route is through the present.

Turning to the decorated tape ("baskur" in Kazakh), the characteristic feature is its vertically oriented pattern. The Turkmens have a similar tape. The sample to be considered is taken from the book by Khassin and Hofmaster 1988 (Tent Band-Tent Bag). This sample is typical of all Eurasian nations, so this interpretation applies for all structurally similar ornament. Comparing the ornament with the symbols of a man and a tree in the "baskur" one can see the sophistication of the mirror image similar to the reflection of a tree in the water. The conventional line of division is the horizontal, which is identified with the earth's surface. The opposite of the tree's crown are its roots. Woman is the opposite of man, and the antipode of a living person is a dead one. Thus, the line dividing upper and lower, right and left,

black and white, may by extension also divide alive and dead, right and wrong, good and bad.

But the line can also join the opposite sides. From ancient times the joining of the opposite origins of horizontal and vertical has been associated in man's cognition with the holy matrimony of Earth and Sky. The joining of heat (vertical sun ray) with cold (horizontal line of world waters) is the focus and mystery of holy matrimony. The result is Homo sapiens. Of all living creatures only man is able to foresee his death, and therefore to understand his cosmic origin and submit to his divine destiny.

The vestibular apparatus which man has allows him to distinguish between upper and lower as well as the horizontal and the vertical.

It was impossible for our ancient ancestors to mix such clear definitions of space and the arrangements within it since to them order was everything.

From our knowledge of physics we know that a spoon put into a glass of water creates the optical illusion of a bend. The same is true of sunshine, which, meeting the earth's surface at a right angle, pierces the water and deviates from its hypothetical axis. The angle of displacement of the newly formed line depends on the density of those media through which the light passes, and this newly inclined line belongs equally to both horizontal and vertical, as it is their product.

In our case the diagonal or 45 degree line will be perceived as a medium state between the vertical, which corresponds to life, and the horizontal, or death.

This might lead to two interpretations depending on the specific context. If the movement is directed upwards – the way to the mountain (as we said with reference to the Pazyryk carpet) then it will correspond to death. If it is directed downwards – away from the mountain – then it might be connected with life, or divine grace bestowed on man.

The diagonal (at an angle of 45 degrees), irrespective of its direction, is seen as the grammar-syntax marker, which represents in ornament the idea of movement from one state to another, recreating (twisting) the positive into negative and vice versa, as well as a more general idea of movement. This movement portrays life as a process of constant change, and, drawing another analogy the role of the diagonal in ornament is that of a verb in linguistics.

In ornament the diagonal line is the key to all puzzles and mysteries, and there are no structures or constructions which are not subject to it. It is now obvious that the diagonal line in ornament is allied by its function and

meaning to the zone of twisting in the ungulate body in the iconography of the Scythian-Siberian style.

Returning to Pazyryk, I would like to reveal the sense of the central element of the carpet through its pictorial representation of the eagle gryphon. Focusing on illustration 27 (wooden knob with engraved deer's beak, Second Pazyryk Barrow), the eschatological motif is clearly seen. Since eating was considered equal to dissolution in Space, the bible hero who fed himself to the lions was sure of his future reincarnation. (Akishev, A.)

The numerical correlation between 24 gryphons expressed by ornamental symbols and 24 deer passing along the third border might be considered a not entirely casual coincidence. Does this mean that the fate of each deer is predetermined by the gryphon waiting for his time? If so, the gryphon is seen as the envoy of the Upper World (note his wings) into the Middle World. He is not only the envoy but the agent of fate. The sharp beak and claws are the arms of retribution. The eagle who daily ate Prometheus' liver performed just such a dual function by the order of Zeus. This analogy must be enough to impress upon us the archetypal connection between the gryphon and its functions – to be an executor of some divine purpose. Pazyryk and Prometheus are now visible as parallels.

The wooden knob is interesting because there are three gryphons on it. They are oriented according to three sides of the World. On two sides there are two geese in gryphons' claws and a third on the knob.

But we are concerned with the orientation of a four-sided world which contains the World Mount and has the focus of the Highest Powers at its summit. To illustrate the ancient basis of the motif, we will move to Egypt in the 13th century B.C., the eighteenth dynasty, and the golden throne of Tutenkhamon, which is sculpturally bilingual (in the sense in which we used the word for the central element of the Pazyryk carpet).

Four lions' paws are the four legs of the throne – the symbol of wisdom in the midst of ignorance. This represents the highest power. The throne of the pharaoh towers above the mountain from where he, the son of the sky, surveys his estates. The arms of the throne are in the shape of birds' wings and, as one can see from the picture, the back of the throne is supported by their beaks.

Before we discuss the wings and birds, I wish to point out that some such wooden sculptures were discovered in the Second Pazyryk Barrow, and they form the legs of a table in the shape of a tiger.

Now, about the birds.

The image of the bird is one of the most important symbols not only for the ancient Altaic people, but for all Eurasian nations. I will quote one authoritative reference: "The ethnographic dates are evidence of the special meaning of a swan. In the Kalevala, the Karel-Finn epos, the swan is called a sacred bird. Northern people do not kill and eat swans" (Maslova). An Ugrian people who lived near the Ob River considered the swan their totem (Chernetsov, 1939). The Kazakh word *kaz-ak* is interpreted as consisting of two words: *kaz*, meaning 'goose', and *ak*, meaning 'white'.

The duck is also an honourable bird for the Karel people and their neighbours. It is an important figure in cosmogonic myths. The Kalevala tells us that the duck laid an egg from which the World appeared.

"From the egg, from its lower part,  
 Mother Earth appeared  
 From the egg, from its upper part,  
 The sun arose from the yellow of the upper part,  
 The moon appeared from the white of the upper part"  
 (Kalevala, rune 1).

Birds are connected with the upper world. In the image of a bird, or on a bird's wings, man's spirit flies to the sky (the way to the mountain). Thus, birds take the spirits of the dead and also bring newborns to earth (away from the mountain), hence the popular myth that children are delivered by a stork.

On the Karel towels' embroidery (1859) we can see a classic scene: a woman holding birds in her raised hands. This motif is amazingly constant in the ornament of practically all Eurasian people. We attribute it to the ornaments which are modelled on the anthropomorphic structures discussed above ("baskur", Cassin, Haffmeister).

What is the connection between all of this and the central element of the Pazyryk carpet? The appearance of the anthropomorphic figure with raised hands provides us with an opportunity to focus on the symbolism of a human body. If we divide the human body geometrically, the axis which lies at 45 degrees to the horizontal and vertical lines fits the arms and legs, the vertical carries a head and reproductive organs, the horizontal divides the body into upper and lower parts. So arms and legs lying along the diagonal execute the instrumental functions. (Zeus' eagle, the gryphon, the messenger from the upper world, or the numerous citizens executing the will of the pharaoh).

The horizontal and vertical are the basic conditions for the diagonal which reflects the idea of movement and constant change. Four planes made by crossing the vertical and horizontal lines correspond to the basic elements – fire, water, earth and air. The combination of these elements is endless. “Tetra” (four parts) is the main principle of organisation in sacral Space and Time: four sides of the world, four periods in day and night, four elements, four legs of the throne.

However, all investigations are missing the fifth point. But to be precise it is this point that is the focus of the other four, as it presents the image of Man at the top of a mountain – the point to which all men aspire.

If we divide the square by two diagonal lines, and imagine that the point at which they cross is the top of a tetrahedral pyramid, we will have the universal model of the World Mount which is the pyramid of Cheops. The map of this mountain from a bird's eye view is the Pazyryk carpet. There is nothing unusual in this comparison if we remember the motherland of the plumed serpent Quetzalcoatl, where pyramids were constructed out of giant steps. In the myths of many nations, including the Turkic peoples, the top of the World Mount is a plain. Each step of ascent to the mountain is a symbolic tier, and if we imagine the Pazyryk carpet as a tiered pyramid, the wide borders can be seen as the vertical planes and the interim borders narrow dividing lines of the horizontal planes. Then we get not only a giant pyramid, but the sense and hidden meaning.

Each step from the foot to the top of the mount unforms the spirit of a dead person until the condition of pure *prana*, and vice versa, each step from the top to the foot allows the soul to form some physical body (the riders etc. representing the human community). From this point of view the distance from the supreme point is essential and is represented in human society by a man's proximity to the throne.

Now we have come to our main conclusion. The central motif of the Pazyryk carpet is the translation of the body's substance into a new non-physical reality through the consistent stages of unforming.

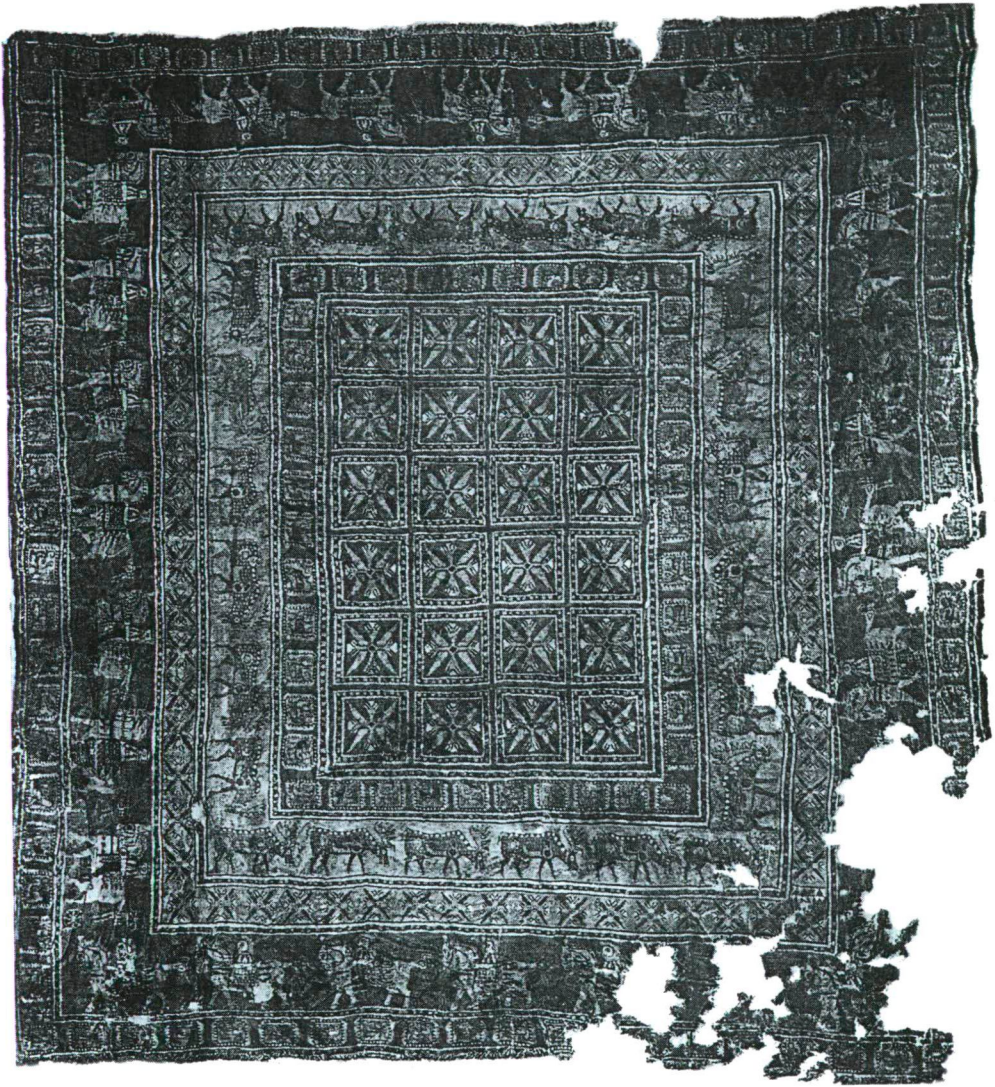
That is why the transition to the centre from the borders – specific, visible riders, deer, gryphons – moves towards abstract symbolism (the central element) and vice versa. From that point of view, the way there and back coincides with the classic myth of the hero travelling to the land of the dead and there gaining immortality or some specific knowledge of the future before returning.

The complicated border system of the Pazyryk carpet is a pictorial comment on the central element. It contains the quintessence of the basic ideas held by ancient man, represented by means of graphic formulae in the shapes of definitive correlation. This is the visual archetype.

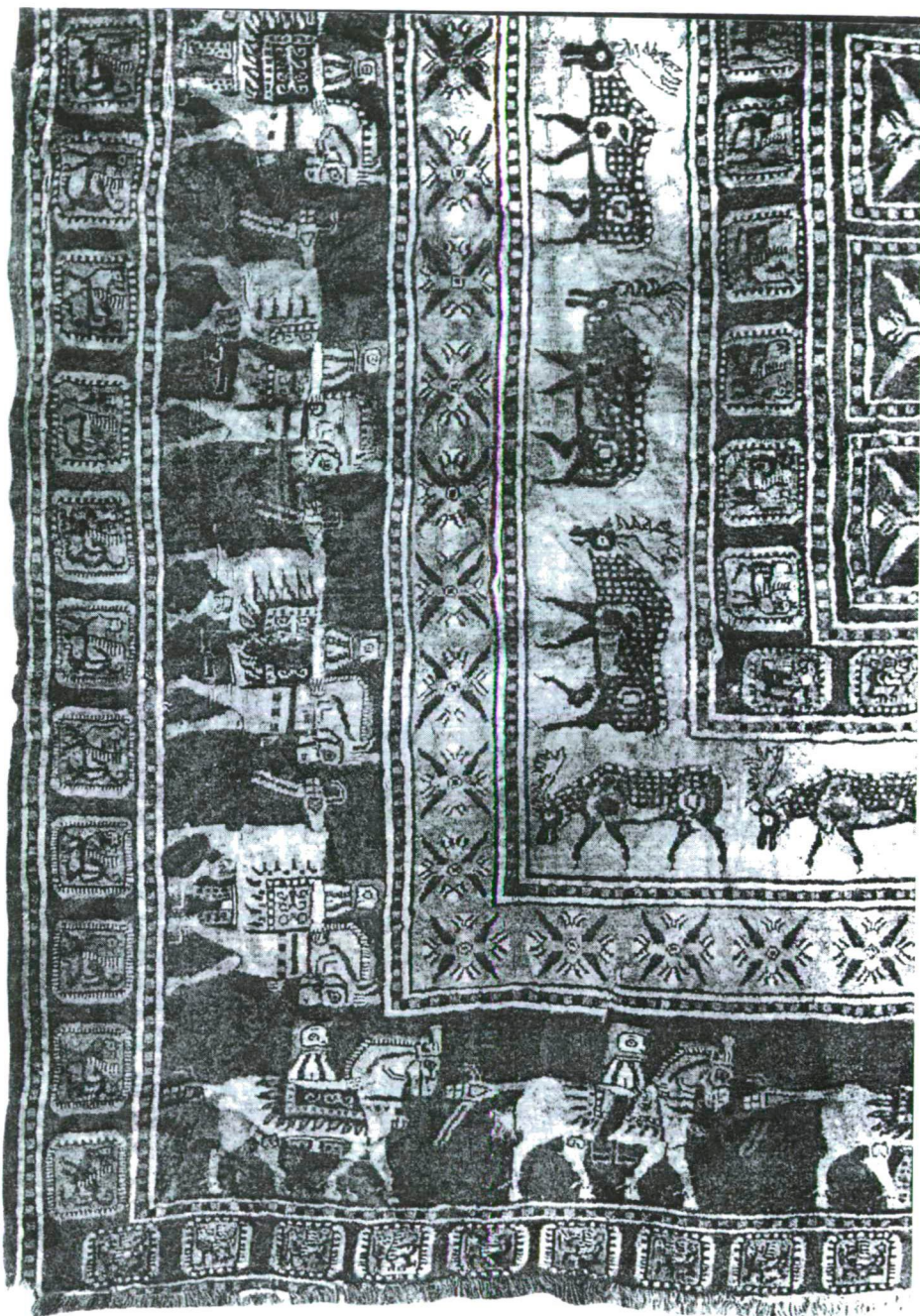
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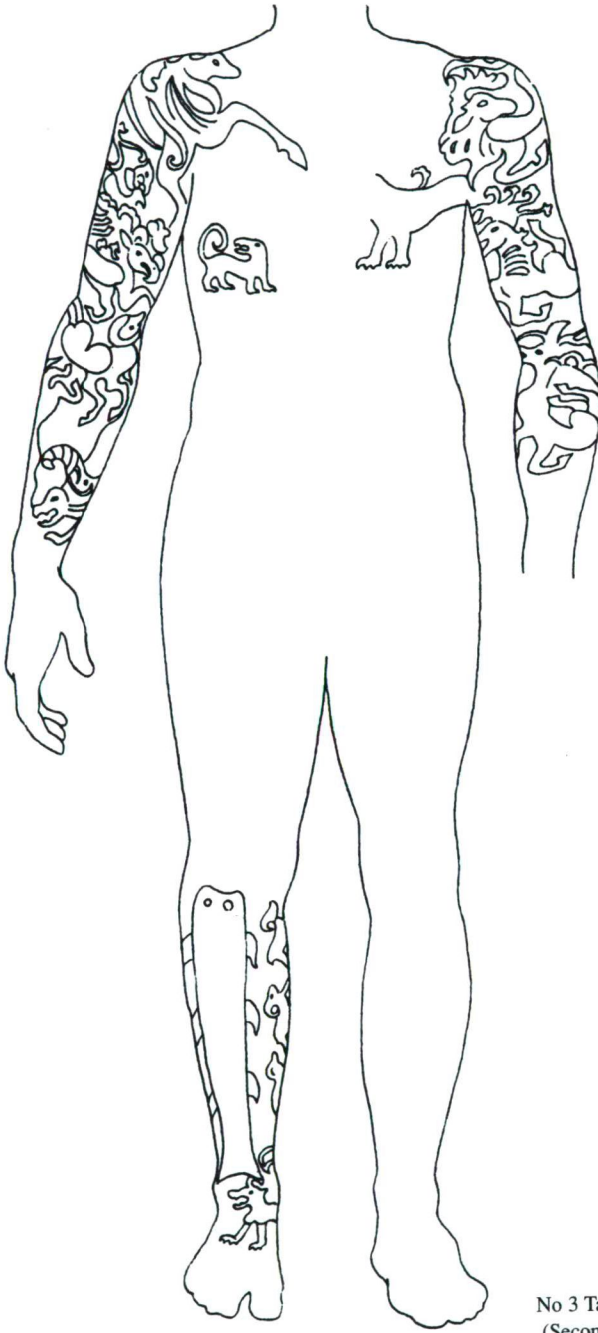




No 1 Ancient pile carpet (Fifth Pazyryk Barrow)



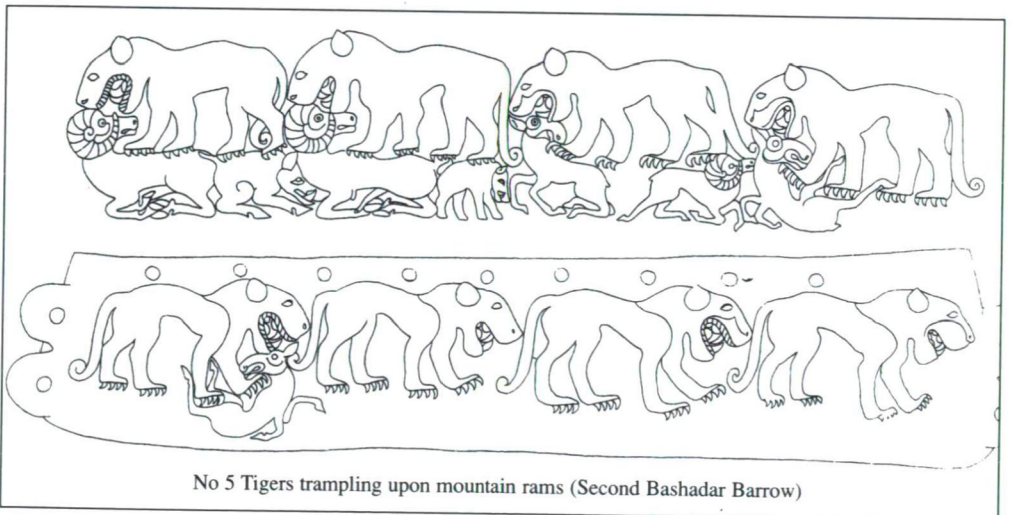
No 2 Ancient pile carpet (Fifth Pazyryk Barrow)



No 3 Tattoo on man's body  
(Second Pazyryk Barrow)



No 4 Eagle, gryphon tearing to pieces a mountain ram. Felt saddle cover (First Pazyryk Barrow)



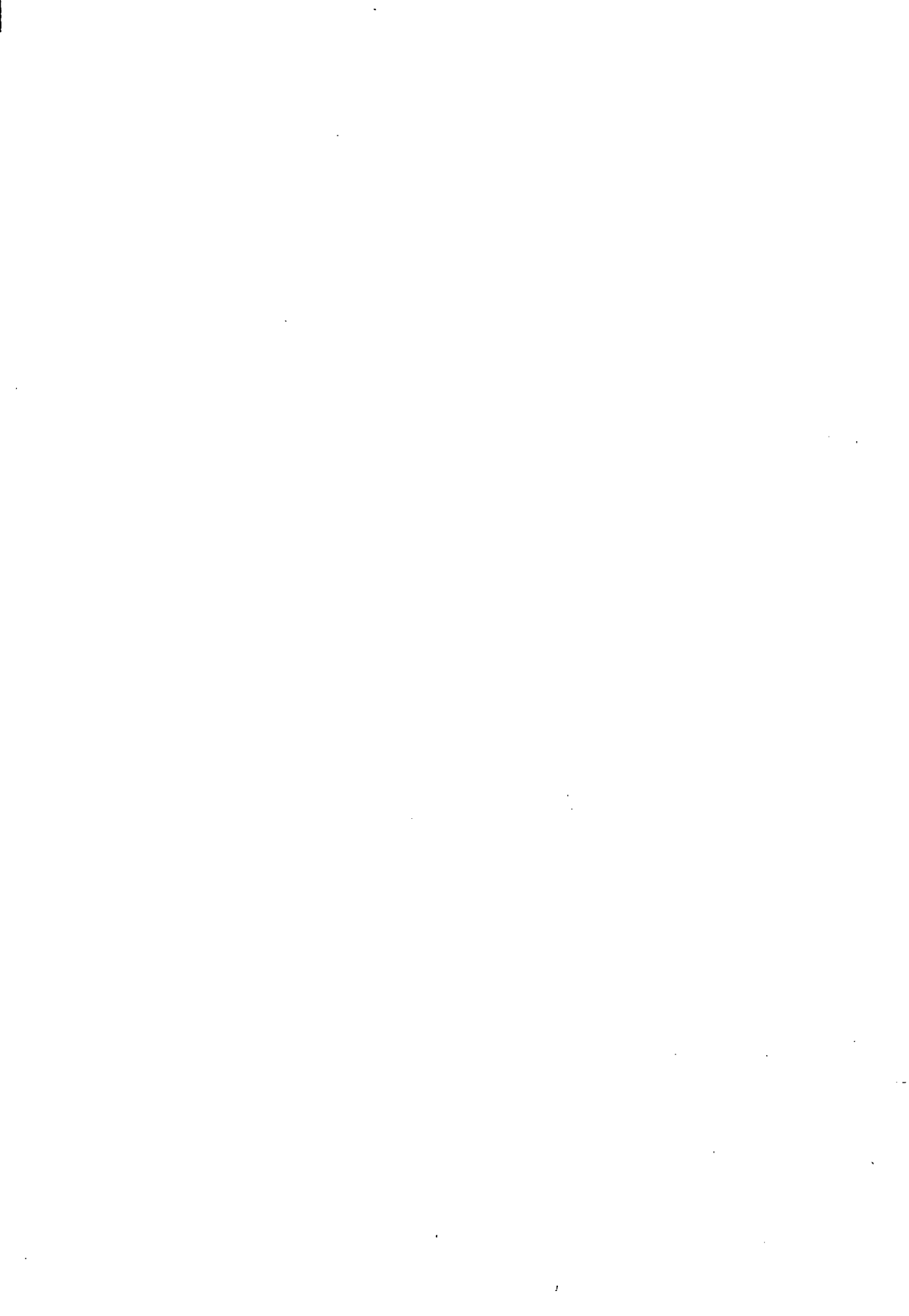
No 5 Tigers trampling upon mountain rams (Second Bashadar Barrow)



No 6 (a-c) Mountain rams (Third Pazyryk Barrow), Wolf (Second Pazyryk Barrow)



No 7 Elk in gryphon's claws (First Pazyryk Barrow)



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## Western Medical Reports on Central Eurasia\*

Religion, magic, and medicine have been inseparable in the diverse cultures of Central Eurasia until recent times. Often this has meant that medicine has been discussed by scholars primarily as a part of the history of religion. While of definite value, it should not replace a history of medicine in Central Eurasia. Ordinary medical conditions from childbirth through the ensuing coughs, colds, wounds, fractures, and fatigue to old age were easily distinguished from those more serious ailments which might require isolation from the community to prevent further contagion or which might signal the need for supernatural or religious intervention. This would suggest the presence of a rational, yet empirical, notion of disease combined with the religio-magical experience. When diseases caused severe deformities, a stigma might be attached not only to the individual but, if widespread, to an entire people. Domesticated livestock, so important to nomadic life on the steppes of Inner Asia, as well as wild animals and noisome insects were carriers of disease. Add to this the importance of the transmission of disease, especially during epidemics – by nomadization or migrations, armies, commercial travelers plying the Silk Road or post roads, the slave trade, or even by colonial occupation – and medicine takes on a new meaning and importance in the political, social and economic history of Central Eurasia.

### 1. *Rumor or Myth versus Authentic Medical Practice*

While Western sources on medical practice in Central Eurasia, particularly from the ancient and medieval periods, could belittle or attribute fanciful medical procedures or rites to Inner Asian peoples, occasional depiction of treatment also existed in more realistic form. Those misconceptions were

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usually drawn from rumor – not eye-witness reports – supporting ethnic stereotypes. Representative of these notions, Hippocrates (c.460-370 B.C.) postulated that horseback riding caused gout, sciatica and even impotence among the Scythians:

“The habit of riding causes swellings at the joints, because they are always astride their horses; in severe cases follow lameness and sores on the hips. They cure themselves in the following way. At the beginning of the disease they cut the vein behind each ear. When the blood has ceased to flow faintness comes over them and they sleep. Afterwards they get up, some cured and some not. Now, in my opinion, by this treatment the seed is destroyed. For by the sides of the ear are veins, to cut which causes impotence, and I believe that these are the veins which they cut.”<sup>1</sup>

Gout was a common ailment and led to equally bizarre treatments in medieval times. The Armenian Grigor of Akanc' in his *History of the Nation of Archers* (late 13th Century) related a tale of a Mongol chieftan who suffered from gout, whereupon a Jewish physician was summoned, who prescribed that the chief's foot should be placed in the belly of a live red-haired boy. The monstrosity of this, though realized too late, resulted in the disemboweling of the physician and the feeding his entrails to dogs.<sup>2</sup>

More accurate descriptions of health and/or medical expertise also existed, including simple remedies, materia medica, and “doctors”. Although the sources are sparse for Inner Asian in pre-history and antiquity, by medieval times and the following centuries discussions arose on the nature of specific diseases recognized by medical science, making use of observations from within the framework of traditional Inner Asian cultural settings. In antiquity such simple health notions as why Scythians wore belts appeared. Aulus Gellius (fl. 2nd century AD) wrote in his *Noctes Atticae*: “...the Scythians are also accustomed, when on any occasion it is necessary to fast, to bind up the

<sup>1</sup> Hippocrates (W. H. S. Jones, trans.), *Airs, Waters, Places*. London: Heinemann, 1923. v. 1:XXII, 126-131. For a more complete overview on the Scythians and medicine see M. C. Dumka, *Pro meditsinu skifiv (istoriko-medichne doslidjennya)*. Kiev: Derjavne Medichne Bidavntstvo URSR, 1960; also Charlotte Triebel-Schubert, “Anthropologie und Norm: Der Skythenabschnitt in der hippokratischen Schrift «Über die Umwelt»” *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 25 (1990):90-103.

<sup>2</sup> Grigor of Akanc' (Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye trans.), *History of the Nation of Archers*. Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1954:61-63; for extensive commentary on it and related practices by the Mongols, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, “A Medical Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth Century”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954):428-444.



belly with broad belts, in the belief that the hunger thus troubles them less...”.<sup>3</sup> Best known, however, are the two scenes on the Kul’ Oba vase (in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg) where the Greek artisan depicted the bandaging of the leg of an injured Scythian and of tooth extraction. It is also possible that Greek medical traditions were transmitted across the reaches of Inner Asia to Tibet.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. *Materia Medica including Mineral Baths & Vapours, Fumigants, and Poisons*

The preparation and use of *materia medica* by various Inner Asia peoples was known from early times. According to Herodotus (c.484-425 B.C.): “Hemp grows in Scythia... The Scythians, as I said, take some of this hempseed, and, creeping under the felt coverings, throw it upon the red-hot stones; immediately it smokes, and gives out such a vapour as no Grecian vapour-bath can exceed; the Scyths, delighted, shout for joy, and this vapour serves them instead of a water-bath; for they never by any chance wash their bodies with water.”<sup>5</sup> Later variations or additional uses of smoke and baths have been observed. Purification by smoke was well-known and widely practiced.

Some resorted to the use of smoke to cleanse or ward off noxious beasts. When Evert Ysbrants Ides (1657-1706), ambassador of Peter the Great to the Emperor of China, reported on his journey (1692-1695), the following practice was depicted among the Nisovian Tungus: “Both Men and Women carry a Pot on the Left Arms, continually furnished with old smoaking Wood; which preserves them from the biting of the *Moschitoes*, or *Gnatts*, with which the River *Tungusky* and the Woods are so abundantly pestered...”.<sup>6</sup> The Buriat

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<sup>3</sup> Aulus Gellius, *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius, I-III*, translated by John C. Rolfe, (London: William Hienemann, 1928), Book XVI, iii, 2-8, 136-137.

<sup>4</sup> See Christopher I. Beckwith, “The Introduction of Greek Medicine into Tibet in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99 (1979):297-313.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus (Geoge Rawlinson, trans.), *The History of Herodotus*. New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1941. v. 4:136, 137.

<sup>6</sup> E. Ysbrants Ides, *Three Years Travels from Moscow overland to China*. London: W. Freeman, J. Walthoe, T. Newborough, J. Nicholson, and R. Parker, 1706:30. Courtesy of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London).

used a different method to escape from the “frightful gnats and horseflies, which propagate here in such quantities that they darken the air and make it impossible for people to breathe freely. Everyone here wears delicate nets woven of horsehair over his face, high boots and leather gloves.”<sup>7</sup>

Mineral springs or baths had a definite place in some cultures and were used for medicinal purposes. George Timkowski, a member of the Russian Mission to China in 1820-1821, commented on the mineral springs called *arachan* near Urga. “In some diseases, the Mongols, according to the advice of their lamas, make use of these waters: no preparations, however, are made for the patients; but on their arrival, pits are dug in the ground, which serve instead of baths.”<sup>8</sup> Similarly, in 1840 a brief treatise on the healing powers of the Khasurtai-on-Kurba mineral spring in Transbaikal was written by a Khori Buriat, Vanchik Sagin, who had been trained as an “apprentice of smallpox vaccination” (CECEG-ÜN ÜSINГ), a practice begun by the Russians at the beginning of the 19th century.<sup>9</sup>

Among the most interesting medicinal preparations were poisons. For example Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) told how the Scythians made poison for their arrows “out of the snake. Apparently the Scythians watch for those that have just borne young, and then taking them let them rot for some days. When they think that they are completely decomposed, they pour a man’s blood into a small vessel, and dig it into a dunghill, and cover it up. When this has also decomposed they mix the part which stands on the blood, which is watery, with the juice of the snake, and so make a deadly poison.”<sup>10</sup> Aelian (fl. 3rd century B.C.) repeated this story, but suggested the medical skill, implied by Aristotle, and also identified an eye-witness: “And the Scythians are even said to mix serum from the human body with the poison that they smear upon their arrows to drug them. This serum somehow floats on the surface of the blood,

<sup>7</sup> Hans Jakob Fries (Walther Kirchner, trans.), *A Siberian Journal: The Journal of Hans Jakob Fries, 1774-1776*. London: Cass, 1974-1975:137.

<sup>8</sup> George Timkowski, *Travels of the Russian Mission through Mongolia to China and Residence in Peking in the years 1820-1821*, with corrections and notes by Julius Klaproth. 1-2. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1827:127, 71. Courtesy of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London).

<sup>9</sup> See N. Poppe, “An Essay in Mongolian on Medicinal Waters” *Asia Major* (n. ser. 6) (1957-1958):99-105.

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle (W. S. Hett, trans.), *Aristotle, Minor Works*. London: Heinemann, 1936:141, 310-313.

and they know a means of separating it. Theophrastus is a sufficient witness to the fact.”<sup>11</sup> Expertise in poisons may also be extended to antidotes.

Much later, in the nineteenth century, Western medical doctors reported numerous tales regarding *materia medica* and poisons, including the involvement of the local religious community in the treatment for snake bites, which were “very common, and the people have an efficient remedy for it; they catch a frog, rip open its belly, and tie it over the wound; this affords immediate relief. Another remedy is a sort of gum or fungus found at the stumps and on the boughs of the *toghrác* or ‘poplar’ tree; there are two kinds called *cará* and *ác* or ‘black’ and ‘white’ *toghrágho* respectively; the black is the kind used; it is powdered and mixed into a paste with water or spittle and so applied to the wound; it afforded immediate relief. There is one kind of snake called *dúr*; its bite is immediately fatal, nothing cures it. People say that if the Mullá repeats the *Kalima* and breathes *dam* upon the wound, a cure is certain. God only knows; but in Lob he never arrives till the snake-bitten is dead.”<sup>12</sup>

The use of poisons and plants by the Scythians, thus, only foreshadowed the importance of trade in *materia medica*; the investigation of this trade should not be limited to more modern times with medicinal rhubarb, but should be extended to include the medieval period by using materials such as Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's *La pratica della mercatura* (c.1340) and the well-known *Codex Cumanicus* (1st half of the 14th century). The travel of such products along routes in Central Eurasia has long been displaced by better known articles of trade such as silk, horses, and tea.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Aelian (A. F. Scholfield, trans.), *Aelian On the Characteristics of Animals*. 2. London: Heinemann, 1959:IX, 15, 234-235.

<sup>12</sup> [Sir T. D. Forsyth], *Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873, under command of Sir T. D. Forsyth, K.C.S.I., C.B., Bengal Civil Service, with historical and geographical information regarding the possessions of the Ameer of Yarkund*. Calcutta: Printed at the Foreign Department Press, 1875:53. Courtesy of the the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London).

<sup>13</sup> For medicinal rhubarb see Clifford M. Foust, *Rhubarb: The Wondrous Drug*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992; relevant remarks on the *Codex Cumanicus* see N. Vatamanu, “Un médecin co-auteur du «Codex Cumanicus»” in Heinz Goerke and Heinz Müller-Dietz (eds.), *Verhandlungen des XX. Internationalen Kongresses für Geschichte der Medizin. Berlin, 22-27. August 1966*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968:296-297.

Curious pharmaceuticals sometimes spoken of by Western travelers may not only have been commonly used but also time-honored traditions, regardless of their suspected dubious worth by the Western scientific community. When Henning Haslund-Christensen (1896-1948) spoke to Mongol companions about the scientific theories surrounding dinosaur finds, he was told by his Mongol companions: "It is only for you white people with your new learning that it is anything new. We call these *Tenggerin losang yasa* (the bones of the Dragons of Heaven) and we have used these bones for many years as a cure for certain diseases."<sup>14</sup>

### 3. *From Quarantine to "Hospitals"*

Another element of medical practice which figured prominently, but has been little studied was, from medieval times (and earlier) the presence of "hospitals" which included not only the more formal institution as it is thought of today, but also its earlier and more primitive form of quarantine in huts, tents or yurts for the sick as a means of isolation to spare tribal communities from contamination and contagion (real or imagined).<sup>15</sup> Further examples of this are mentioned below in Marsden's report on leprosy among the Yakut.

### 4. *Medical Doctors: Soothsayer to Physician*

Soothsayers, diviners, shamans, lamas, and mullahs also assumed the role of healer, adding to their influence and power. The conflict which developed between the religious community-native doctors and modern Western medicine should not be surprising. Well into the nineteenth century mullahs were considered by some as the main obstacle to medical progress in Turkestan where, for example, verses of the Koran were written on paper to cure ill;

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<sup>14</sup> Henning Haslund-Christensen, *Tents in Mongolia (Yabonah): Adventures and Experiences among the Nomades of Central Asia*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1934:56.

<sup>15</sup> One exception is the study by A. Terzioglu, "Die Ilkhanischen Krankenhäuser und die Einflüsse der islamischen Medizin auf Byzanz zu dieser Zeit" in *Proceedings of the XXIII International Congress of the History of Medicine, London, 2-9 September 1972*. 1-2. London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1974:288-296.

amulets were also common.<sup>16</sup> Others saw the more scientific side of medicine. Sart physicians, for example, first consulted a standard medical book, *Tukhpatul Muminin*, to determine treatment according to symptoms and temperament. These doctors used drugs extracted mainly from plants, many of which grew wild or were cultivated in and around Tashkent, Bukhara, and Samarkand.<sup>17</sup>

It was probably inevitable that Westerners themselves would be called to practice medicine in the region. Most prominent were either Christian missionaries or medical men serving with foreign delegations/embassies. Thus, the Moravian community at Sarepta on the Volga in the 1760-1770s did have a physician, a pharmacy (opened 1776), and a mineral bath which attracted many patients. While serving primarily its own community and having little respect for native medical practices by their Kalmyk neighbors, the Moravian physician did treat the Kalmyk prince Bambar.<sup>18</sup>

The Manchu court of K'ang-hsi provided another example. In a request to Pope Clement XI (letter dated 9 December 1714), K'ang-hsi requested specialists in medicine and surgery be dispatched to his court for Imperial service; earlier decrees had asked for medicines.<sup>19</sup> The Italian Jesuit Giovanni Giuseppe Da Costa (in China from 1715-1747) examined and suggested treatment for one of K'ang-hsi's son's for his ulcerated feet.<sup>20</sup> Dr. Thomas Garvine of Ayrshire (during 1716-1717), who was attached to Lorenz Lange's

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<sup>16</sup> Guillaume Capus, "Médecins et médecine en Asie centrale" *Revue scientifique* (3rd ser.) 33 (1884):168-177; esp. 177.

<sup>17</sup> Eugene Schuyler, *Turkestan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*. 1-2. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1877:149-150. More northern steppe areas of Central Asia and Mongolia would expand the *materia medica* to include animal matter.

<sup>18</sup> C. R. Bawden, *Shamans, Lamas and Evangelicals: The English Missionaries in Siberia*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985:14-20, 44-45, 200.

<sup>19</sup> Antonio Sisto Rosso, O.E.M., *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century*. South Pasadena: P.D. and Ione Perkins, 1948:298-301, 187.

<sup>20</sup> A fragment of this episode has been preserved in Manchu; see the text and translation with remarks by Nicola Di Cosmo, "A Manchu Fragment on the Medical Treatment Given by the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Giuseppe Da Costa to Yin-ssû, Eighth Son of K'ang-hsi" in Klaus Sagaster and Helmut Eimer (Eds.), *Religious and Lay Symbolism in the Altaic World and Other Papers*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1989:100-108. Rosso also has material on Da Costa in China, but identifies him as Portuguese; see 265.

the mission to China, was allowed to feel the emperor's pulse.<sup>21</sup> Service at K'ang-hsi's court could also be trying. Some were forced to endure his barbs. For example, the doctor Rev. Domenico Volta (1721) was asked "How many people did you kill by your treatments? I think the people you killed by your treatments are more than those I executed", followed by the emperor's hearty laughter.<sup>22</sup> Others, such as the physician Fr. Giovanni Borghese (1710) led a stormy life in China and were sent away from the court.

Or, across China, in Turkestan, there was Major Henry Walter Bellew (1834-1892) who, as a medical doctor with the Forsyth Mission to Yarkand (1873-1874), maintained a clinic and kept a "Record of sick, out-door and in-door patients, treated at the Dispensary of the Káshghar Embassy from the 1st November 1873, at Sánjú, to the 24th May 1874, at Kokyar." The list of ailments treated was extensive, "...testif[ying] to the eagerness with which European medical aid is sought by the people of Káshghar... [and] a fair exponent of the diseases from which they suffer."<sup>23</sup>

## 5. *Diagnosis and Treatment of Specific Diseases*

### 5.1. *Plagues and Poxes*

Though not necessarily understood in terms of cause, and certainly not in cure or prevention, persistent blame was placed on Inner Asian peoples for the spread of epidemic diseases to Europe, especially plague(s). These accusations surfaced repeatedly in contemporary Latin texts after the invasion of the Huns and remained during the Avar period and continued later with Mongol advances into the Carpathian basin, thereby giving rise to the notion that central Europe (and especially Hungary) was considered a "birth-place of plagues".<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> See Renate Burgess, "Thomas Gavine - Ayrshire Surgeon Active in Russia and China" *Medical History* 19 (1975):91-94.

<sup>22</sup> Rosso 378-379; on the problems of Borghese 290-292.

<sup>23</sup> Forsyth 67-69.

<sup>24</sup> George Fleming, *Animal Plagues: Their History, Nature, and Prevention*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1871:29. Courtesy of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London).

The European populace paid little attention to such epidemics among, for example, the Volga Bulgar until the threat approached central Europe.<sup>25</sup>

The expansion of the Ottoman empire into Europe in the late Middle Ages permitted a further joining of medical influence between East and West.<sup>26</sup> Although Western medical personnel in the Ottoman empire were numerous, the best known medical "news" came from the traditional Turkish medical treatment for smallpox, described in the famous letter (1 April 1717) from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in Adrianople to Sarah Chiswell. So confident in the Turkish "invention of engrafting (which is the term they give it)", Lady Montagu wrote that "you may believe I am very well satisfied of the safety of the experiment since I intend to try it on my dear little son."<sup>27</sup>

With the Russian expansion into Siberia and Central Asia, the number of Western travelers greatly increased. Although a good number were physicians, their task was to collect all sorts of information, scientific and ethnographic as well as political, thus sometimes neglecting to record the medical traditions of the indigenous peoples they encountered. However, it should also be remembered that an organized Russian medical service did not appear until Peter the Great (1682-1725) so mandated by edict in the Admiralty Regulations of 1722. Information on medicine in Inner Asia expanded as the

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<sup>25</sup> See U. Schamiloglu, "The End of Volga Bulgarian" in *Varia Eurasiatica: Festschrift für Professor András Róna-Tas*. Szeged, 1991:157-163. Similarly, see David Neustadt, "The Plague and Its Effects upon the Mameluke Army" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1946:67-73; Daniel Panzac, *La Peste dans l'Empire Ottoman, 1700-1850*. Collection Turcica V. Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1985.

<sup>26</sup> See studies by Markus Köhbach, "Europäische Ärzte im Osmanischen Reich am Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts - der Fall *Sinâsi*" *Sudhoffs Archiv* 64 (1980):79-85; B. N. Sehsuvaroglu, "British physicians in the service of the Ottoman Empire" in *Proceedings of the XXIII International Congress of the History of Medicine, London, 2-9 September 1972*. 1-2. London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1974:808-812; Rhodes Murphey, "Ottoman Medicine and Transculturalism from the Sixteenth through the Eighteenth Centuries" *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 66 (1992):376-403; G. A. Russell, "Physicians at the Ottoman Court" *Medical History* 34 (1990):243-267; and A. Terzioglu, "Über Hofspitäler und Hofärzte in der Palästen der türkischen Osmanensultane in Edirne und Istanbul" *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 3 (1968):212-221.

<sup>27</sup> Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (Robert Halsband, Ed.), *The Selected Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. London: Longman, 1970:98-99.

nation did, with the development of factories, the mining and fur industries and with labor camps or prisons.<sup>28</sup>

Heinrick Fick (1679-1750), an adviser to Peter and later arrested by the Empress Anna in 1731, was sent to Tobolsk and on to the Yakut where he reported on the ill-treatment of these peoples, their exploitation, terrible living conditions and affliction with diseases, especially smallpox.<sup>29</sup> Early in the next century, Joseph Rehmann (1779-1831) would report on smallpox among the Buriat in Siberia in 1805-1806.<sup>30</sup> There is a good deal more material on smallpox, not just among Mongolian peoples<sup>31</sup>, which can further add to the history of this disease and the variety of treatments available in Inner Asia, including attitudes toward it by native populations.

### 5.2. Leprosy and Other Serious Skin Ulcers

When the Rev. Charles Wenyon M.D., crossed Siberia in 1893, he found leprosy to be "an extremely rare disease" and those afflicted by it "well provided for", even though the local treatment of using sarsaparilla could have been deemed ineffective by a qualified Russian doctor.<sup>32</sup> Only a few years before him, Kate Marsden (1859-1931), a member of the Royal British

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Basil Haigh, "Urals Factory Hospitals and Surgeons at the Dawn of the Nineteenth Century" *Medical History* 22 (1978):119-137.

<sup>29</sup> [Heinrich Fick] in A. R. Cederberg, "Heinrich Fick: Ein Beitrag zur russischen Geschichte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts." Beilage 8: "Unterthänigste Vorstellung und Eröffnung, betreffende der Jakutten, Tungussen und anderin Nord-Syberien entlegenen dem Russischen Reiche unterworffnen und contribuirenden vöelcker, besondern grossen Gravationen" *Tartu Riiklik Ülikooli Toimetised, Acta et Commentationes, B Humaniora* 17 (1930):137-139.

<sup>30</sup> See Herbert Franke, "Unveröffentlichte Reiseberichte und Materialien über Sibirien, die Mongolei und China" *Sinologica* 3 (1953):31-36; Walther Heissig (Ed. and introduced), *Mongoleireise zur späten Goethezeit. Berichte und Bilder des J. Rehmann und A. Thesleff von der russischen Gesandtschaftsreise 1805/06. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Supplementband 13.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971; Hartmut Walravens, "Zum Werk des Arztes und Ostasienforschers Joseph Rehmann" *Sudhoffs Archiv* 67/1 (1983):94-106.

<sup>31</sup> See Henry Serruys, "Smallpox in Mongolia during the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties" *Zentralasiatische Studien* 14 (1980):41-63.

<sup>32</sup> Charles Wenyon, *Across Siberia on the Great Post Road.* London: Charles H. Kelley, 1896:185-188.



Nurses' Association and a Medalist of the Russian Imperial Red Cross Society, visited the leper colonies of Yakutia in the summer 1891. Her records on Russian neglect in treatment, hospitals, etc. for the lepers of the region, spurred changes, though probably not as rapidly as Wenyon's report would suggest. Filled with great detail, her account is most valuable for Yakut reactions to the disease. "An illustration of the intense dread the natives have of leprosy is their conviction that it originates from the devil. 'Smallpox, measles, scarlet fever', they say, 'were appointed by God; but leprosy was sent by the devil'. Hence their belief that the lepers are possessed."<sup>33</sup>

Yakut diagnosis of leprosy seemed to be seldom in error. "The natives, dreading the contagion of leprosy, watch each other very carefully, and as soon as they discover the slightest trace of the existence of the germ of the disease, they at once submit the suspected individual to a formal inspection. This inspection is made by several of the older members of the community, who are well acquainted with the symptoms of the disease. They rarely make any mistakes in their decision..."<sup>34</sup> Once diagnosed the Yakut dealt with lepers in ways similar to many other societies past and present. "When once a man is known to be tainted with leprosy, he is thrust out from his people, and driven away, as if he were some noxious animal, into a lonely spot in the forest, or on the marshes, where he is doomed to a living death... His first duty is to make a cross, which he is bound to place outside [his hut or yurt], as a warning to anyone who may happen to pass to shun him."<sup>35</sup>

Leprosy could also be mistaken for other serious skin diseases which ate deep into tissue. In Turkestan, the so-called "Sart disease" or "Afghan sore" or "worm-eaten" ailment was a skin ulcer which attacked the face and hands, especially of children leaving scars; according to some reports, the natives were good at curing this.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Kate Marsden, *On Sledge and Horseback to the Outcast Siberian Lepers*. New York: Cassell Publishing Co., 1892:163; the appalling conditions among the Yakut had already been noted by Fick.

<sup>34</sup> Marsden 255-256.

<sup>35</sup> Marsden 94-95.

<sup>36</sup> See Schuyler 148; also Capus.

### 5.3. *Common Ailments in Central Eurasia*

Many diseases of a more or less serious nature were prevalent throughout Central Eurasia; a number could be studied ranging from eye ailments and goitre to cholera, malaria, and venereal diseases. For Western sources, the numerous travel accounts may be considered of special value. Johann Friedrich Erdmann (1778-1846), for example, presented a discussion of diseases in the region of Kazan with many valuable comments concerning the Tatars and Chuvash, as well as for the Cheremis, Mordvin, and Votyak. His study, which might be considered a precursor to the modern field of medical geography, took into consideration venereal diseases, typhus, eye ailments which often led to blindness, and other conditions.<sup>37</sup> Jean-Guillaume Capus (1857-1931), who travelled widely with scientific expeditions to the Urals, Siberia, Central Asia, the Caucasus, Afghanistan and the Indian frontier during the decade of the 1880s, wrote a little-known article on medicine in Central Asia which contained a survey of a number of diseases found in Central Asia: syphilis, skin ailments, typhoid, cholera, scrofula, dysentery, eye problems, goitre, leprosy, anthrax, the *rischte* worm (*Filaria medinensis*, Gm.).<sup>38</sup> A major concern in the nineteenth century was the spread of cholera. The unsanitary conditions, including contaminated drinking water and infestations by fleas, lice, and bedbugs, found throughout Central Eurasia were cause for alarm.

## 6. *The Medical Lexicon*

Some 18th and 19th century medical personnel also helped to collect Altaic vocabulary for diseases. Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811) is best known, but little has been done with his medical vocabulary. [See Appendix I] Henry Walter Bellew also contributed, appending a "Comparative vocabulary of some

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<sup>37</sup> Johann Friedrich Erdmann, *Medicinische Topographie des Gouvernements und der Stadt Kasan, nebst meheren darauf Bezug habenden historischen, geographischen, statistischen und ethnographischen Notizen*. Riga & Dorpat: J. F. Meinshausen, 1822:esp. 157-163. For a general remarks see D. J. Schove, "Chronology and historical geography of famine, plague and other pandemics" in *Proceedings of the XXIII International Congress of the History of Medicine, London, 2-9 September 1972*. 1-2. London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1974:1265-1272.

<sup>38</sup> Capus.

dialects spoken in the territory of Kashghar” to the *Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873*. The vocabulary is given in English, Yarkandi, Kirghiz, Sárigh Cúlí, Wákhi, and Kalmác (the later being Kalmyk) and includes the terminology for parts of the body, diseases and medicines. [See Appendix II.] Bellew was assisted by a native doctor, one Asmat Ali, who certainly must have helped him to obtain a reliable medical vocabulary.<sup>39</sup>

Or, mention can be made of an early Russian medical handbook by a future court physician (Moscow), Osip Kirillovich Kamenetskii (1754-1823), with the latter part of the book by one Yakov Sapolovich, entitled *Kratkoe nastavlenie o l'chenii bol'ziei prostymi sredstvami* (St. Petersburg, 1802; 1811) was translated into Kalmyk by the Titular Counsellor and Cavalier Mikolai Lebedev as *Axarxan surghali ebüciten küüg kimda arghcar emneküyin züü* (St. Petersburg, 1823). Expressly for “the use of teachers in the countryside where there were no doctors”<sup>40</sup>, this manual has been largely ignored by Kalmyk scholars, probably because it is a translation, but the medical vocabulary might prove most valuable. The very existence of this terminology clearly indicates that various Inner Asian peoples had the ability to distinguish and diagnose a number of medical conditions.

The history of medicine in Central Eurasia must begin with paleopathology. The human remains of prehistoric, ancient (and even medieval) civilizations might yield much valuable information not only on the death of an individual but, perhaps, also on the disappearance of entire peoples. Because paleopathology is still in its infancy as a tool of archaeological research on Inner Asia, written and graphic sources, however biased, remain tantamount. Only a part of this history has been recorded from the Western perspective from ancient Greek authors to nineteenth century explorers, physicians and nurses.

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<sup>39</sup> Forsyth 534-561.

<sup>40</sup> The Kalmyk edition exists in the Early Printed Books Collection at The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London); see also Nigel Allan's brief description of this volume in “Illustrations from the Wellcome Institute Library. Some Early Medical Contacts with the Kalmuck Tribes of Siberia”, *Medical History* 27 (1983):305-309, see especially 308.

## APPENDIX I.

PETER SIMON PALLAS'  
KALMYK VOCABULARY FOR DISEASES\*

English	German	Kalmyk
high fever	hitziges Fieber	Chaloon-Oebötschin
plague, pestilence	Pest	Oehlöt-öbetschin
smallpox	Blattern	Zäzäk, Jarrà
measles	Masern	Ulanöd Oebötschin
intermittent fever (malaria)	Wechselfieber	Besegä
stitch in the side (pleuralgia)	Seitenstechen	Särdeng
vesicatory (producing blisters)	blasenziehendes Mittel, Feuerkraut	Gal ebessün
apoplexy	Apoplexie	Mandshi
epilepsy	Epilepsie	Sjüüder
cough	Husten	Chanjä adun
bloody cough (haemoptysis)	Bluthusten	Sagbà
consumption (TB)	Schwindsucht	Zaadshi Obötschin
edema, hyposarca (anasarca) of skin	Hautwassersucht	Ussun-Batcha
dropsy, abdominal dropsy (ascites, hydroperitoneum)	Bauchwassersucht	Belegi
skin ulcer	Hautgeschwür	Chatigà
venereal disease syphilis	Lustseuchenbeule	Momo
the itch, scabies	Krätze	Chammoo
venereal disease syphilis "city pox"	geile Seuche beiden Soongaren Oiraten, Stadtpocken	Mereß = Chotton-jarra

\* Compiled from: Gerhard Doerfer, *Ältere westeuropäische Quellen zur kalmückischen Sprachgeschichte* (Witsen 1692 bis Zwick 1827). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965:217.

## APPENDIX II.

HENRY WALTER BELLEW'S  
ALTAIC VOCABULARY FOR AILMENTS / DISEASES\*

English	Yarkandi	Kirghiz	Kalmác
pain	aghri	agric	öbduá
pus	chiring	yiring	kölsun
gall	ót	ót	thosun
fever	tap	tepma	chichir
ague	bazgik	bazgik	chichir
smallpox	chichak	chichak	chichak
cough	yútil	yútal	khanyána
catarrh	zukám	phutupti	thomo
palsy	shal	shal	khachudwá
madness	saranglik	saranglik	karikta
jaundice	sárghiyip	sárígh kasal	sharla-öbduá
wound	zakhm	zakhm	sharkha
ulcer	yará	yará	
pustule	yará	yará	butsuruc
ringworm	tâz	táz	khójúgúr
itch	cichish	kotur	khámo
abcess	chibán	chícán	tsakáchí
goitre	bucác	pucác	bolzúr

\* Compiled from Dr. H. W. Bellew, "Comparative vocabulary of some dialects spoken in the territory of Kashghar" in [Sir. T. D. Forsyth], *Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873*. Calcutta: Printed at the Foreign Department Press, 1875:537-538. Courtesy of the the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London).



JUNKO MIYAWAKI  
(Tokyo)

The Khoyid chief Amursana in the fall of the Dzungars:  
The importance of the Oyirad family trees discovered in Kazan

The Dzungars, a people who had suddenly emerged in the theater of history and built their great nomadic empire in Central Asia in the second half of the seventeenth century, could not escape the fate of their predecessors, that of recurrent internal strife caused by quarrels over succession, and were destroyed by the Manchus, who took advantage of the situation in the middle of the following century. After the fall of the Dzungars in 1755, the Central Asian steppes were divided between the Manchu and Russian spheres of influence. The Dzungars were the last of the nomadic empires to rise and fall on the steppes.

No tribe named Dzungar is found in historical records earlier than the early seventeenth century. The name *Dzungar* (*Jüün Ghar*) means 'left hand' in Mongolian, and is applied to one of the nomadic groups making up the confederation of nomadic tribes generally called the *Oyirad*, or the *Kalmyk*, by their western neighbors. The *Oyirad* was a nomadic tribe first known in the thirteenth century in the days of the Mongol Empire. In the seventeenth century, the appellation the *Four Oyirad* (*Dörben Oyirad*) appears both in Mongol chronicles and in the parlance of the *Oyirad* themselves. This latter term means that the *Oyirad* of that time consisted of four member tribes within a confederation. The four tribes are variously identified in historical sources. We shall not delve into this question here since it has been treated in detail by Hidehiro Okada.<sup>1</sup> Anyway, it is clear that what is called the Dzungar Empire should be more properly understood as the *Oyirad* tribal confederation headed by the Dzungar tribe.

After having destroyed the Dzungars, the Manchu court counted the *Dörböd*, the *Khoshuud*, the *Khoyid* and the *Choroos* as the Four *Oyirad* tribes. The *Choroos* were actually the Dzungars renamed. Actually, there were still other *Oyirad* tribes elsewhere. At that time the *Torghuud* tribe,

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<sup>1</sup> Okada, Hidehiro, "Origins of the Dörben Oyirad": *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, Neue Folge, Band 7, Wiesbaden, 1987:181-211.

together with others, led a nomadic existence on the Volga. In 1771 the majority of those Torghuuds escaped Russian rule and returned to the Ili region now under Manchu control since the fall of the Dzungars. That winter it was so warm that the Volga failed to freeze over. Unable to cross the river, more than ten thousand Torghuud, Dörböd and Khoshuud families were left stranded on the right bank of the Volga. Their descendants now make up the population of the Kalmyk Republic in the Russian Federation.

It was under such circumstances that the Oyirad people came to live separately under Ch'ing and Russian rule, and their historical records, mostly genealogies, were also preserved on both sides. On the Ch'ing side, the sources were written mostly in Manchu and Chinese, while on the Russian side they were written either in Kalmyk using the todo alphabet or in Russian, from which German and English translations have been done. As far as the Khoyids were concerned, the direct descendants of the Oyirad royal house of the thirteenth century and the leading tribe of the Four Oyirad on whom Altan Khan and his Mongol army waged many wars in the sixteenth century, however, very little is said in historical sources on either side.

In this sense, the recent discovery of a Khoyid family tree in the Manuscript Division of the Kazan University is truly a great event. The family tree in question, N4881, is one of the three so-called Dzungar genealogies there. I had an opportunity to discuss these genealogies at the 38th PIAC Meeting in Kawasaki last year. The three family trees, N4881 (Khoyids), N4882 (Dzungars) and N4883 (Torghuuds), were published in facsimile form, accompanied by a Latinized transliteration of the personal names contained in them, in the *Proceedings of the 38th PIAC*.<sup>2</sup>

On the occasion of the 39th Meeting of the PIAC at Szeged, Hungary, I distributed only copies of the Khoyid family tree, N4881. In the original the names of the Khoyid princes are written in the 18th-century Russian alphabet, each inside a circle. I added Latinized transliterations to those names, with the marks \* and # to indicate their occurrence in other sources from the East and West.

After presenting this paper, I received valuable feedback from my many friends in the audience. The comments offered by Professor András Róna-Tas of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences answered many difficult ques-

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<sup>2</sup> Miyawaki, Junko, "Oyirad Family Trees Discovered in Kazan": *Proceedings of the 38th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC)*, Kawasaki, Japan: August 7-12, 1995, Wiesbaden, 1996:259-272.



tions. He not only showed me how to properly Latinize the Russian alphabet in use in Kazan and other parts of Siberia in the 18th century, but also pointed out that the spellings of personal names in the family tree reflected the peculiarities of the local dialect of Russian spoken among the Tatars and suggested that at least two people must have taken part in preparing the family tree.

In the reproduction of the Khoyid family tree from the Kazan University appended to this article, the personal names are only numbered without transliteration, this being provided in a separate table. In that table the left column contains the author's initial attempts at Latinization, while the right column shows how they have been amended following Professor Róna-Tas's advice. As we see in the reproduction, each personal name is written with accents. Needless to say, no accents are indicated in Mongolian, todo-Oyirad or Manchu texts, genealogical or otherwise, as their alphabets do not contain such marks. Still, the personal names in all three Oyirad family trees from the Kazan University are written with accents. The author was unable to solve this puzzle.

Professor Róna-Tas explains it as follows: The original family trees must have been written in the todo alphabet. They were transliterated into Russian at Kazan, cooperatively by a person able to read the todo and another able to write the Russian alphabet. While one read the names of the princes aloud, the other listened to the sound and wrote down the names Russian-style adding the accents he heard.

This explanation handily solves another difficult problem. At the bottom of N4883 is the following note in Russian:

“In the Report of the confidential Adviser to Siberian Governor, Mr. Soimonov, sent on 27 June, 1758, it is said that the members of the clan indicated in this genealogy by the numbers 1, 2, and 3, now have left this region. Along with them the following members of other families have also left:

«Urankhai, Louzan Dzhap, and Norbo Cheren; current information about those who left later could not be provided by Noyon Dmitrii Norbo Danzhil and Zaisan Ulemzhi. That is why they have not been included in this genealogy. It is necessary to record them according to the words of the original family members who are aware of their genealogies».”

Contrary to what Siberian Governor Soimonov says about the absence of the names of all the five Oyirad men who had brought the family trees, Noyon Dmitrii Norbo Danjil must be the same person as K44: “Norbu

dandzhin, Dmitrii Yakovlev after baptism” in the Khoyid family tree. The Siberian governor must have been unable to read the family trees in his possession because they were still written in todo then.

Now let us find out why a Khoyid family tree had to be discovered in Kazan, the likes of which had not been preserved either among the Oyirad living under Manchu rule or among the Kalmyks on the Volga.

Quarrels over succession broke out in the last nomadic empire, Dzungar, upon the death of its ruler Galdantsering in 1745. Finally in 1752, Davachi, remotely related to the Dzungar ruling house, was raised to the tribal leadership with the aid of Amursana, the Khoyid chief. Still, internal strife continued in Dzungar, until Dörböd chiefs with their tribesmen of three thousand families revolted and went over to the Manchus in 1753. Even Amursana himself fell out with Davachi after the latter's succession and went over to the Manchus in 1754.<sup>3</sup>

The Manchu emperor Ch'ien-lung took advantage of this situation to make war on the Dzungars. A Mongol army and a Manchu army, each 25,000 strong, were mobilized. Amursana, who had planned the strategy for a conquest of Ili, was appointed Vice Commander of the Northern Route Army. The combined forces marched by two routes, a western and a northern.

As the invading armies advanced, more and more Dzungar defectors surrendered to them. Thus the Manchus met practically no resistance until they marched into Ili. Davachi fled into the Tarim Basin but was taken prisoner at Ush, to be sent to Peking. The Dzungar Empire was destroyed in a military operation lasting only one hundred days.

The Manchu emperor intended to divide the newly-conquered Oyirad tribesmen into four tribes after the Four Oyirad, the Dörböd, the Khoshuud, the Khoyid and the Choroos, to each of which a khan was to be appointed Mongol fashion. But Amursana, who was not satisfied merely to be khan of the Khoyid tribe, proclaimed himself *Khong Tayiji*, the overlord of all the Oyirad and declared independence from the Manchu emperor.

Khong Tayiji, or *Kontaisha* as Russians pronounced it, had been a title first bestowed on Baatur Khong Tayiji of the Dzungars in the 1630's by

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<sup>3</sup> P'ing-ting Chun-ko-erh Fang-lüeh.

Güüshi Khan of the Khoshuud as the former was his viceroy.<sup>4</sup> Later, while the power of the Dzungar chiefs grew, Khong Tayiji came to mean supreme ruler of their empire; the title of khan proliferated among the Mongols now under Manchu rule, thus decreasing in prestige. Amursana's preference of the title Khong Tayiji over that of khan is thus historically explained.

Pursued by the Manchus, Amursana fled to Ablai Khan of the Kazakh Middle Horde. When he had left there, too, he fled to Siberia and sought protection from the Russians. In 1757 he appeared near the fortress of Semipalatinsk. When he had reached Lake Yamysh, he came down with smallpox. He continued as far as Tobolsk and died there at the age of 35. In 1756 the Manchus had demanded the Russian government hand his person over if he reached the latter. The Russians sent his body to Selenginsk for burial and invited Manchu officials to come and inspect it. The Manchus demanded the body be handed over but were refused by the Russians.<sup>5</sup>

Amursana's mother was Botoloq, daughter of Tsevangrabtan, the Dzungar ruler. First she had married Danjung, son of Lhazang Khan, the king of Tibet and great-grandson of Güüshi Khan of the Kokonor Khoshuud. In 1717 a Dzungar army invaded Lhasa and killed Lhazang Khan. Then Tsevangrabtan had Danjung, now living with his bride among the Dzungars, put to death. According to Manchu-Chinese historical sources compiled after the fall of the Dzungars, Botoloq was pregnant when her first husband was killed by her father, remarried Üjeng Khoshuuchi the Khoyid chief in that state, and gave birth to Amursana.<sup>6</sup>

Thus Amursana, the Khoyid chief who had played such a prominent role in the fall of the Dzungar Empire, was believed by the Oyirad people to have been not only the son of a daughter of Tsevangrabtan but also a descendant of Güüshi Khan the Khoshuud chief. His name was to be remembered for a

<sup>4</sup> Miyawaki, Junko, "The Birth of the Khong Tayiji Viceroyalty in the Mongol-Oyirad World": *Altaica Berolinensia, The Concept of Sovereignty in the Altaic World*, Wiesbaden, 1993:149-155.

<sup>5</sup> Morikawa, Tetsuo, "Amursana o meguru Ro-Shin kōshō shimatsu": *Kyūshū Daigaku Rekishigaku Chirigaku Nenpō*, No.7, 1983. Morikawa uses Zlatkin, I. Ia., "Russkie arkhivnye materialy ob amursane": *Filologiya i istoriya mongol'skikh narodokh pamiati akademika Borisa Iakovlevicha Vladimirtsova*, Moskva, 1958; Bantysheva-Kamenskii, Nikolai, *Diplomatičeskoe sobranie del mezhdū rossiiskim i kitaiskim gosudarstvami s 1619 po 1792 god*. Kazan, 1882.

<sup>6</sup> *Ch'in-ting Hsi-yü T'ung-wen-chih*, chap.10, fol.31b; *Ch'in-ting Huang-yü Hsi-yü T'u-chih*, chap. 47, fols. 21-22.

long time.<sup>7</sup> When revolution raged in Mongolia early in the twentieth century, Dambijantsan alias, Ja Lama, a Kalmyk bandit who wrought havoc in Western Mongolia and was believed immortal, claimed himself to be a descendant or reincarnation of Amursana.<sup>8</sup>

The name that reads "Amur sanan", numbered K54 which has been doubly circled by the writer, is our hero Amursana. His name, the names of his brothers, nephews, father, and grandfather as well as that of the progenitor of his lineage, ten in all, here circled in bold lines, are also found in the Manchu-Chinese historical source, *Hsi-yü T'ung-wen-chih*, which gives the names of five more Khoyid princes, Erke Taiji, his son, grandson and two great-grandsons, whose ancestry is not clear.<sup>9</sup>

Personal names preceded by an asterisk (\*) represent the Khoyid chiefs who appear in Mongolian chronicles. *Sira Tuγūji* says: "The Qoyid were descended from Yabayān Mergen. To Inalči, the son of Qudaqa Beki of the Qoyid, Chinggis Khan gave his own daughter Čečei-ken. To Törölči, the elder brother of Inalči, he gave Qolui-qan, the daughter of Jöči."<sup>10</sup> According to *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, in 1552 Altan made war on the Four (*dörben*) Oyirad, killed Mani Mingγatu the chief of the Eight Thousand (*naiman mingγan*) Qoyid, and captured all the latter's wives, children and subjects. Then in 1574, Buyan Bayatur Qong Tayiji, another Ordos chief, went on an expedition against the Four Oyirad, and captured the entire Eight Thousand Qoyid Myriarchy headed by Eselbei Kiy-a.<sup>11</sup>

According to *Sira Tuγūji* and a different edition *Ĵalaγus-un qurim*, Vačirai mingγ-a-tu's son was Sutai mingγ-a-tu, whose son was Eselbei kiy-a,

<sup>7</sup> For the Amursana legends surviving today in the old Oyirad homeland in Tuva, see Taube, Erika, "Überlieferungen zur Geschichte der Tuwiner im Altai": *Ethnohistorische Wege und Lehrjahre eines Philosophen, Festschrift für Lawrence Krader zum 75. Geburtstag*. Peter Lang, 1995:279-292.

<sup>8</sup> An early report on Dambijantsan, the reincarnation of Amursana, was given by Pozdnev, who travelled around Mongolia in 1892-93. A. M. Pozdnev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*. 1892, ed. by John Kruger, Indiana University, p. 30-32. A Japanese study of the same figure is found in Ikoma, Masanori, "Jā Rama to Kobudo mondai": *Shirin*, Vol. 72, No. 3, 1989:123-161.

<sup>9</sup> *Ch'in-ting Hsi-yü T'ung-wen-chih*, chap. 10, fol. 30a-33a.

<sup>10</sup> Shastina, N. P., *Shara Tudzi. Mongol'skaya Letopis' XVII veka*. Moskva-Leningrad, 1957:101.

<sup>11</sup> Saγang Secen, *Erdeni-yin tobci* ('Precious Summary'), *A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*. Canberra, 1990:138, 143.



whose son was Nom dalai, whose son was Sülten tayisi. The last named is said to have begotten Čoskin in the former edition and Ayuusi in the latter, and both genealogies end there.<sup>12</sup>

Khoyid genealogy in Western traditions is even more uncertain. Personal names preceded by a # sign represent those of the Khoyid chiefs in the Volga-Kalmyk tradition. Γabang šes rab only says: "The Xoyid were absorbed into the Xoton (Kashgarians) and the Žöün Γar."<sup>13</sup> According to Pallas, the founder of the Choit line, Joboghon Mergen, lived three generations earlier than Chinggis Khan. Pallas further says that a celestial nymph, whom Joboghon Mergen had married, had illicit relations with Böh Chan in the absence of her husband, who was on a military expedition, and gave birth to a boy, Oolinda-budun Taidshi, who became the founder of the Zorros line.<sup>14</sup>

Bātur Ubaši Tümen says that Eselbei's son was Sayin kā, whose son was Sultan tayiši, and that Sayin kā was killed by his fellow Oyirads.<sup>15</sup> There was a civil war among the Four Oyirad in the 1620's which weakened the Khoyid tribe. Article Three of the Mongol-Oyirad Code of 1640 states that those Barghus, Baatuds and Khoyids taken in by the Mongols between the years of Fire-Snake (1617) and Earth-Dragon (1628) shall belong to the Mongols; those taken in by the Oyirad shall belong to the Oyirad; all other survivors shall be returned to each without delay.<sup>16</sup> This provision proves that the Barghu, Baatud and Khoyid tribes no longer had their own leaders at that time. When an Oyirad group headed by the Torghuud tribe migrated westward to the Volga in 1630, the Khoyids were not among them. This is one main reason Khoyid genealogy was not known in the west.

Only Bātur Ubaši Tümen refers to the names of three more Khoyid princes. According to him, upon the fall of the Dzungars in 1757, Dečid, a noyon of the Xoyid Yeke mingyan Anggi who was the son of Bata Noyon, a

<sup>12</sup> Shastina 101; Heissig, Walther, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen, Teil 1:16.-18. Jahrhundert*. Asiatische Forschungen, Band 5, Wiesbaden, 1959, Facsimilia 86-111.

<sup>13</sup> Emči Γabang šes rab, *Dörbön oyirodiyın töüke*, Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, Tomus V, Fasc. 2-3, Ulanbator, 1967:78.

<sup>14</sup> Pallas, P. S. *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften*. Erster Teil. St. Petersburg, 1776:31-33.

<sup>15</sup> Xošuud noyon Bātur ubaši tümeni tuurbiqsan Dörbön oyiradiyin tüüke, 27, 35; Pozdneev, A., *Kalmytskaia Khrestomatiia*. Petrograd, 1915:24-43.

<sup>16</sup> *Ikh Tsaz* (<Velikoe ulozhenie>). Moskva, 1981.

descendant of Yoboyon mergen of Xoyid, together with his wife Ölzöi orošixu, fled to Russia by way of Semipalatinsk and settled in Tyumen. When a son was born to them there, he was named Tümen Žiryalang after the city. Later they joined the Volga Torghuuds, gathered their subjects, having fled from the Dzungars, and lived under Donduqdaši Khan of the Torghuuds. Dečid died when his son was three years old. His mother, Ölzöi orošixu, accepted a proposal from Žamyang, a Khoshuud noyon, and remarried. At his mother's request, Tümen Žiryalang was legally adopted by his stepfather and thus became a Khoshuud noyon. The young noyon later served as a page to Empress Ekaterina II and was very much favored by her. After Ubaši Khan had fled with his Volga Torghuuds, he received a portion of those stayed behind.<sup>17</sup> We shall not go into the story any further here.

Although the Khoyid tribe is regarded as having been absorbed by the Dzungars in western sources, the latter empire was not much more than a confederation of nomadic tribes as we have pointed out earlier. The Dörböd and Khoyid tribes revealed their existence only after the fall of the Dzungars. The former, who had gone over to the Manchus first, survives in western Mongolia even today as a big ethnic group. The Khoyids, in contrast, disappeared again due to Amursana's revolt against the Manchus, and their genealogy too was largely lost.

A study of Dzungar history, a very important field of Inner Asian history, is just not possible without taking Russian and other European connections into consideration, not to speak of numerous valuable sources surviving only in Europe. The family trees, discovered at Kazan University at this time, is only one example.

*N4881: Genealogy of the Leaders of the Khoit Tribe in the Zengors*

K1 * # Yabagan mergen	Yabagán mergén
K2 Erke khara	Erké Xayrá
K3 * Khutaga	Xuttagá
K4 Ele khongor	Éle xongór"
K5 * ....lchi	[Ina]lčí

<sup>17</sup> *Xošuud noyon Bātur ubaši tümeni tuurbıqsan Dörbön oyiradiyin tüüke*, 40-42.

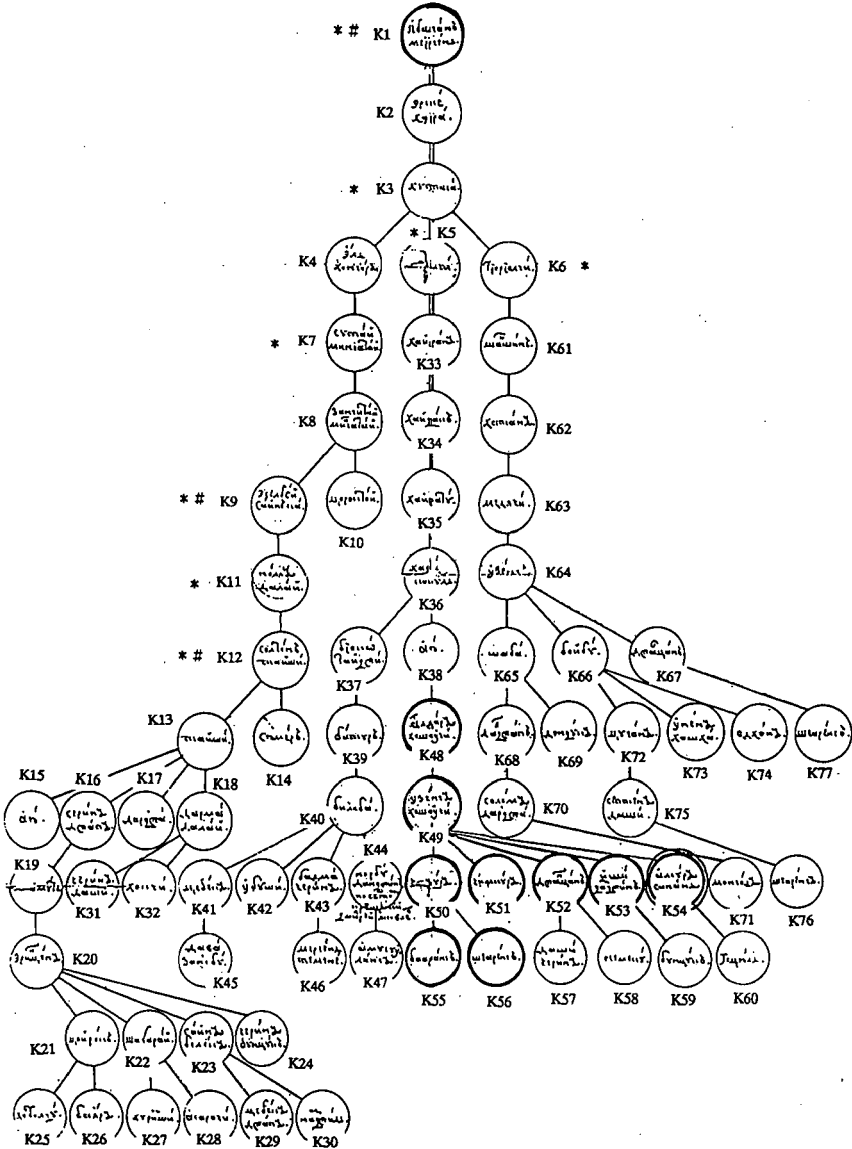
K6 * Tyoryolchi	Törölči
K7 * Sutai mingatai	Sutái mingatái
K8 Zangitai mingatai	Zangitái mingatái
K9 * # Eselbei sain ka	Eselbéi saín" ká
K10 Tsoroktoi	Tsoroktóy
K11 * Nom dalai	Nóm daláy
K12 * # Solton taishi	Soltón" taishí
K13 Taishi	Taishí
K14 Sumer	Sümér
K15 Au	Oyú
K16 Serin dzhap	Serín" dzháp"
K17 Dardzha	Dardzhá
K18 Darma dalai	Darmá daláy
K19 ....muli	....múti
K20 Erintsen	Erintsén
K21 Tsoirok	Tsoirók
K22 Shabarai	Shabaráy
K23 Sain belek	Sáin" belék
K24 Cherin buntsuk	Čerín" buntsúk
K25 Khoboldu	Xoboldú
K26 Bayar	Bayár"
K27 Khurimshi	Xurínshí
K28 Asarachi	Asaračí
K29 Tsebek dzhap	Tsebék" dzháp"
K30 Namdzhil	Namdzhíl
K31 Cherin dashi	Čerín" dashí
K32 Khokchi	Xopčí
K33 Khairan	Xairán
K34 Khaidak	Xaidák"
K35 Khairatu	Xairatú
K36 Khala kokul	Xalá kokúl
K37 Byoku taidzhi	Bökü taidzhí
K38 Au	Oyú
K39 Batur	Bátor
K40 Bimba	Bimbá
K41 Tsebek	Tsebék
K42 Ubushi	Ubushí

K43 Badma cherin	Badmá čerín”
K44 Norbu dandzhin	Norbú dandzhín
Dmitrii yakovlev after baptism	
K45 Daba zangbu	Davá zangbú
K46 Mergen temene	Mergén” temene
K47 Amuguulang	Amuguuláng
K48 Aldar khoshouchi	Aldár” xoshoučí
K49 Uzens khoshouchi	Uzén” xoshoučí
K50 Ch[akd]ur	Č[akd]úr
K51 Chimkur	Čimkúr
K52 Dzhantsan	Dzhantsán
K53 Ishi dandzhin	Ishí dandzhín
K54 Amur sanan	Amúr sanán”
K55 Baarang	Baaráng
K56 Sheareng	Shearéng
K57 Dashi cherin	Dashí čerín
K58 Nemeku	Nemekú
K59 Buntsuk	Buntsúk
K60 Getsul	Getsúl
K61 Shakshin	Shashín
K62 Khatan	Xatán”
K63 Medyachi	Med'ečí
K64 Uzen	Uzén
K65 Shaba	Shabá
K66 Boibu	Boibú
K67 Dzhatsan	Dzhatsán
K68 Dardzhap	Dardzháp”
K69 Donduk	Dondúk”
K70 Solom dardzha	Solóm dardzhá
K71 Mongol	Mongól
K72 Tsugan	Tsugán”
K73 Unen khashkha	Unén” Xashhá
K74 Odkhon	Odxón”
K75 Septen dashi	Septén” dashí
K76 Sheareng	Shearéng
K77 Sheareng	Shearéng”



N4881: Genealogy of the Owners of the Khoit Tribe in the Zengors

ᠫᠣᠬᠣᠢ ᠲᠦᠨᠦᠭ ᠨᠠᠭ ᠵᠡᠩᠭᠦᠷ ᠲᠦᠨᠦᠭ ᠲᠦᠨᠦᠭ ᠲᠦᠨᠦᠭ.





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## On the Classification of the "Peripheral" Mongolic Languages

The genealogy of the Mongolic languages, unlike other matters in Altaic linguistics, has never been the subject of fierce debate, perhaps because the languages were thought to be too similar to allow for a proper classification (see App. B). At any rate, it is safe to say that the Mongolic languages are not satisfactorily classified. Indeed, Robert Binnick, in the most recent publication concentrating on this subject, concludes that it is doubtful that a family tree of Mongolic languages can ever be drawn up, because the languages experienced periods of differentiation alternately with periods of assimilation due to the nomadic lifestyle in earlier centuries.

Nevertheless some broad classifications have been devised. The division into a "central" and a "peripheral" group makes sense, and it seems to be certain that the "central" group is of monogenetic origin. The three languages or dialect groups comprised in it, Khalkha-Inner Mongolian, Buriat, and Kalmyk-Oirat, can be assumed to go back to a common ancestor which is not the ancestor of any of the remaining Mongolic languages. This group can be defined by a small number of phonetic and morphological criteria, for which I refer to existing literature.<sup>1</sup>

The traditional East-West division can be used within the "central" group to separate "western" Kalmyk-Oirat from the other two dialect groups, but should not be extended to the entire family (e.g. Moghol should not be put in a "western" subgroup because of its geographical position to the west of most other languages).

The peripheral grouping has not been defined by means of linguistic criteria (apart from the shared absence of "central" characteristics), nor has it been subdivided.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A convenient survey of previous classifications and a list of criteria is given in Binnick (1987). Although the division into a central and a peripheral group is generally plausible, not all arguments mentioned there in support of it are equally convincing.

<sup>2</sup> Binnick does not present an improved classification for the peripheral languages. Eastern Yugur, Bao'an, and Dongxiang are called "SW dialects" or "related dialects of Monguor"

Earlier classifications did mention Dagur, Monguor, and Moghol, each of which was recognized as a separate (“isolated” or “archaic”<sup>3</sup>) language. If the remaining peripheral languages of the Qinghai-Gansu region (henceforth: QG) were at all mentioned in earlier classifications, it was implicitly or explicitly assumed that they were closely related to Monguor rather than merely geographically adjacent.

Although all of the peripheral languages known at present had already been “discovered” by western scientists a century ago, there were probably not enough data for classifying these languages before the publication of the materials collected by the Sino-Soviet expeditions of the late 1950s.<sup>4</sup> Today, knowledge about the peripheral languages has increased considerably and a more accurate picture may be obtained of the historical relations between them. The six following languages are sufficiently well-known to be used here<sup>5</sup>: Dagur, Eastern Yugur (= Shera Yogur), Monguor (= Tu), Bao'an, Dongxiang (= Santa), and Moghol.<sup>6</sup>

As Binnick suggests, the absence of innovations common to all peripheral languages indicates that the peripheral group is not of a monogenetic nature. This is not surprising, since, in spite of the fact that the peripheral languages have in common that they all became detached from the “centre”, one can discern at least three geographical regions, i.e. Manchuria (Dagur), Afghanistan (Moghol), and the Qinghai-Gansu region (remaining languages), which may never have been part of a single uninterrupted, linguistically homogeneous periphery.

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(1987:191). No arguments are given for this supposed “relatedness”, a provisional solution inherited from earlier classifications.

- 3 The term “archaic” is often applied to peripheral languages. Archaic features are rarely listed, apart from the preservation of Medieval Mongolian (MMo) *h-* in Dagur and QG (not in Moghol), and the preservation in Dagur, Monguor, and Moghol of MMo diphthongs (such as *au*) which were contracted elsewhere. When compared to MMo, the peripheral languages generally appear to be less archaic and more innovative than the central ones. Some claimed archaisms are false, e.g. the Monguor ablative *-ca* (Binnick 1987:191, Poppe 1955:200, Doerfer 1964:40, note 1) has developed from *\*-sa*, not *\*-ča* (Mgr *c* in native words is normally < CM *\*s*, not *\*č*).
- 4 The Russian publications, mainly by B. H. Todaeva, started to appear from the early 1960s onwards. Due to political circumstances, the Chinese scholars only started publishing in the 1980s.
- 5 Note that Shirongol, as used by Potanin, is merely a generic term for Monguor, Bao'an and Dongxiang. Potanin's Sanchuan closely resembles the Minhe dialect of Monguor.
- 6 In the following, the QG languages will be abbreviated as follows: EYu, Mgr, Bao, Dgx.

The "Manchurian" and "Afghan" peripheries contain just one language each. It may be interesting to take a closer look at the QG periphery, where the four "Southern Mongolic" languages are spoken, in order to establish whether these constitute a monogenetic grouping and to determine the way they branched off.

### *Criteria*

In order to measure the distance between languages a substantial set of shared features and contrasting features is required. Basically three types of arguments can be used to group two or more languages together. These are (in order of strength): common innovations; the shared retention of old features lost elsewhere; the shared loss of old features retained elsewhere. All three types may occur in the fields of phonology, morphology, lexicon, semantics, and syntax. Here the focus will be on phonological and morphological arguments.

Before presenting some arguments for a subdivision of the QG languages, a number of problems related to the classification criteria have to be mentioned.

As in the central group of Mongolic languages, there is a lack of phonetic developments which, apart from being regular ("sound laws"), are also specific enough to be used for classification purposes. Some of the phonetic developments that have been used so far are of such a general, unsurprising nature that they may well have occurred in several languages independently. For instance, the preservation of \**k* in closed vowel stems, used to distinguish the "western" from the "eastern" central languages, is also found in Dagur and Monguor without classificatory consequences. On the other hand many striking differences between Mongolic languages do not assist classification (see App. C). Even some of the more notable developments such as the loss of the vowel length distinction, the shift or loss of vowel harmony, and the "breaking" of *i* can hardly be used for classification purposes.<sup>7</sup>

Two other problems need to be mentioned. Firstly, features that are apparently shared by two languages may be due to a foreign influence both

<sup>7</sup> For example, phonemic vowel length was lost in Minhe Monguor, Dahejia Bao'an and Dongxiang, but was preserved in Huzhu Monguor and (partly) in Nāntoq Bao'an, indicating that loss of length occurred twice or perhaps three times independently.

have been exposed to, e.g. the introduction of retroflex and alveolo-palatal affricates in Mgr, Bao, and Dgx seems to be due to strong Chinese and/or Tibetan influence rather than to an internal development in each language, and can not be used in classification. Secondly, shared features caused by other shared features do not increase the weight of an argument, e.g. the QG languages share the loss of initial vowels in many words, development of initial consonant clusters, and preservation of final syllables, but these are all secondary to the common feature of word-final accent.

There are however a number of phonetic innovations which are irregular and unpredictable, and for that very reason often more reliable, since the possibility of common anomalies being due to independent developments coincidentally leading to the same result twice can be virtually excluded.

Less strong than common innovations are arguments related to the shared retention of pre-existing<sup>8</sup> sounds, sound sequences, phonemic oppositions, suffixes, grammatical phenomena, or lexemes that were lost elsewhere.

The weakest arguments are those based on the shared loss of pre-existing features. Especially in the lexicon one finds that the peripheral languages have replaced many words still in use in the central languages by loanwords from their respective neighbours.<sup>9</sup> Yet, the latter two categories of arguments are not without value, providing they can be collected in sufficient numbers.

### *Classification of the Qinghai-Gansu languages*

In the following a working hypothesis will be presented for the genealogical subdivision of the QG languages. For each of the provisional subgroups a small selection of defining arguments will be given, mostly innovations which suggest an extended common history before the eventual split up into the present set of distinct languages.

Apart from the *Central* languages, this classification discerns *Dagur* and *Moghol* as one-member subgroups, as well as a "*Shirongol*" subgroup (comprising Mgr, Bao, and Dgx), and a one-member *Eastern Yugur* sub-

<sup>8</sup> With the term 'pre-existing' is meant: actually attested in a MMo source or present in a sufficient number of languages to warrant CM reconstruction. See App. A.

<sup>9</sup> Therefore it is hardly meaningful that e.g. the CM word \**ʒun* 'summer' was lost in Bao, Dgx and Moghol, since it was replaced by words of Tibetan, Chinese and Iranian origin.

group. A provisional family tree is included at the end of this contribution (see App. D).<sup>10</sup>

1. The *Bao'an-Dongxiang* genetic unity is supported by:

- shared regular phonetic developments (usually also shared by Mgr, see 2.).
- shared phonetic anomalies: \**kvar* ‘two’ < CM \**kɔyar*, \**sel* ‘tail’ < CM \**sèul*, \**fùkè* ‘big’ < CM \**yèkè*, \**dawalag* ‘bladder’ < CM \**dabusag*.
- shared morphological innovations: plural *-la*; instrumental case *-guala*.
- shared semantic innovation: the use of CM \**òèr* – ‘self’ in the meaning ‘I’.

2. The *Monguor-Bao'an-Dongxiang* (“Shirongol”) genetic unity is supported by:

- shared regular phonetic development: preservation of *-l-* before the element *-sUn*.
- shared phonetic anomalies: the unrounding of \**ò* as in \**dèrbèn* ‘four’ < CM \**dòrbèn*; \**tai=* ‘to put’ < \**tabi=* < CM \**talbi=*.
- shared morphological innovations: the reduction of the number of genitive suffixes to one: \**-ni*; the use of the suffix \**-čín* (perhaps from the nomen actoris suffix \**-gčī*) as nomen usus.
- shared semantic innovation: the use of \**kabar* ‘nose’ in the meaning ‘nasal mucus’.

3. There are some arguments for an *Eastern Yugur-Monguor* genetic unity:

- shared phonetic anomalies: e.g. \**kɔɔr* ‘two’ = CM \**kɔyar*, and \**ɔnguasun* ‘wool’ = Bao-Dgx \**nɔgɔsun*.
- shared semantic innovation: the use of \**éžén* ‘master’ in the meaning ‘self’.

However, many EYu-Mgr similarities may represent common QG features which were accidentally lost in Bao-Dgx rather than defining features for a EYu-Mgr unity. For example EYu-Mgr \**gòòrè* ‘other’ possibly from CM \**òèrè*.

<sup>10</sup> The relationship between MMo and the various modern groups is not expressed in the family tree. Nor has an attempt been made to give approximate split-up dates.

4. Finally, features which can be found in all QG languages (and not elsewhere) may point at a monogenetic *Qinghai-Gansu* (or Southern Mongolic) subgroup:

- shared phonetic anomalies: peculiar development of dentals followed by another dental as in EYu *ht<sup>h</sup>a=*, Mgr *ç<sup>h</sup>ita=*, Bao *hta=*, Dgx *sta=* 'to pull' from CM *\*tata=*; incidental cases such as *\*nɔɔr* 'sleep' < CM *\*nɔir*.

- shared morphological innovations: the converbum finale *-la*.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of several innovations that separate them, it seems that Bao and Dgx are most closely related. Further it seems to be likely that these two languages and Mgr share a common ancestor within Mongolic. The position of EYu is least certain. Although similar to Mgr-Bao-Dgx (or to Mgr only) in a number of features, EYu is closer to the central group in other respects (such as the preservation of the nomen usus *\*-dag*).<sup>12</sup> It is difficult to decide whether EYu originally belonged to a monogenetic SM group including all QG languages, or that it forms a separate branch, in which case it has acquired some areal features also present in Mgr, Bao, Dgx, after the EYu speakers settled in the QG area.

In addition, there are some arguments for establishing the relations between the QG languages and the other two peripheries. These arguments, however, are less numerous and generally less convincing since they point in several directions. On the one hand there are characteristics that connect the QG languages and Moghol, e.g. word-final accent<sup>13</sup>, the fact that cardinal numerals do not distinguish between attributive and enumerative forms, *\*kabar* 'nose' (*\*kamar* in central and Dagur). On the other hand there are features that connect QG and Dagur, e.g. the retention of *\*h-*, the formal

<sup>11</sup> According to de Smedt & Mostaert the Mgr form is *-ra*, which agrees with the "central" forms (cf. Poppe 1955:279).

<sup>12</sup> Feature no. 13 in Binnick. In the issues under nos. 18 (existence of compound plurals), and 20 (oblique stems of demonstratives) EYu also agrees with the central languages. Furthermore, EYu has palatal and labial vowel harmony, both of which are productive, unlike elsewhere in QG. Such arguments, however, do not suffice to classify EYu as a "central" language.

<sup>13</sup> In Dgx stress falls on the initial syllable according to Todaeva (1961:18). According to Liú (1981), Bökü (1985:80-81), and Nā (1988) the accent is normally on the final syllable. The latter opinion is supported by vowel reductions observed in the first syllable, e.g. *\*fku=* 'to die' < CM *\*hükü=*.



identity of the genitive and accusative case endings (also nearly identical in Moghol).

Features shared by all peripheral languages are rare and apparently never the result of a common innovation, e.g. the distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms for the first person plural is a case of shared retention.

The evaluation of recently published additional materials can not only shed light on the internal and external relations of the peripheral Mongolic languages, but may ultimately contribute to the construction of a Mongolic family tree.

## APPENDIX

### A. Common Mongolic phonology

The term Common Mongolic (CM) is used here for the ancestral language that can be reconstructed by means of the medieval and modern Mongolic languages, leaving aside what could be conjectured on the basis of non-Mongolic data (from Turkic, Manchu-Tungus, and Iranian languages) and literary Mongolian orthography.

	(Flat) High	Low	(Rounded) High	Low	
Closed:	<i>i</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>ó</i>	
Open:	<i>í</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
Labial	Apical	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>[q]</i>	
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>[g]</i>	
	<i>s</i>	( <i>š</i> )			
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>		
	<i>l/r</i>	<i>y</i>		<i>h</i>	

B. *Lexical homogeneity.* Many words are quite similar in all Mongolic languages:

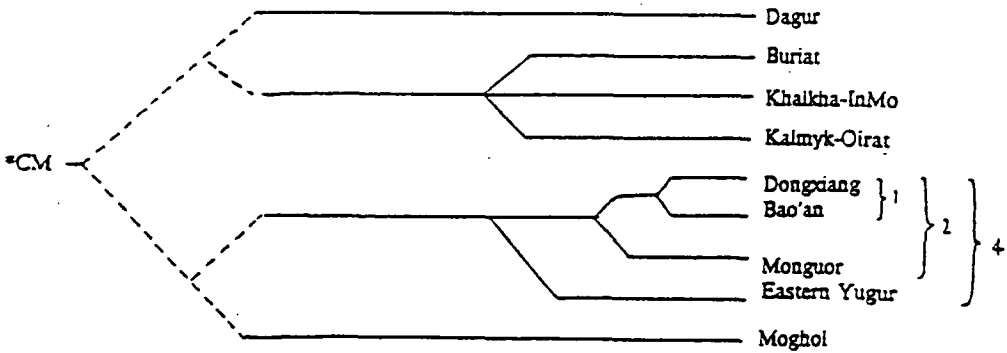
	‘nose’ *kamar ~ *kabar	‘eye’ *nidün	‘ear’ *čikin	‘heart’ *žürkèn	‘four’ * dörbèn
<i>Khalkha</i>	<i>xamar</i>	<i>nüd(en)</i>	<i>čix(en)</i>	<i>dzürx(en)</i>	<i>dörvön</i>
<i>Buriat</i>	<i>xamar</i>	<i>nyüden</i>	<i>šexe(n)</i>	<i>zürxe(n)</i>	<i>dürben</i>
<i>Kalmyk</i>	<i>xamr</i>	<i>nüdn</i>	<i>čikn</i>	<i>zürkn</i>	<i>dörvn</i>
<i>Dagur</i>	<i>xamèr</i>	<i>nid</i>	<i>čikY</i>	<i>žury<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>durb<sup>w</sup></i>
<i>Medieval</i>	<i>qabar</i>	<i>nidün</i>	<i>čikin</i>	<i>žürüken</i>	<i>dörben</i>
<i>Mongolian</i>					
<i>Eastern</i>	<i>χwar</i>	<i>nütün</i>	<i>č<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>èn</i>	<i>čüryen</i>	<i>törβen</i>
<i>Yugur</i>					
<i>Monguor</i>	<i>xavar</i>	<i>nutu</i>	<i>č<sup>h</sup>iké</i>	<i>čirké</i>	<i>te:ren</i>
<i>(Hūzhù)</i>					
<i>Monguor</i>	<i>q<sup>h</sup>apar</i>	<i>nutu</i>	<i>č<sup>h</sup>iki</i>	<i>čurki</i>	<i>terpaŋ</i>
<i>(Mínhé)</i>					
<i>Bao'an</i>	<i>χor</i>	<i>nétuŋ</i>	<i>č<sup>h</sup>iχaŋ</i>	<i>čirké</i>	<i>teraŋ</i>
<i>(Dàhéjiā)</i>					
<i>Dongxiang</i>	<i>q<sup>h</sup>awa</i>	<i>nutuŋ</i>	<i>č<sup>h</sup>i q<sup>h</sup>iŋ</i>	<i>čuyé</i>	<i>čieroŋ</i>
<i>Moghhol</i>	<i>qabar</i>	<i>nudun</i>	<i>čiqin</i>	<i>žürká</i>	<i>dürbo:m</i>

### C. Phonetic diversity

The different accentuation between the central languages and Dagur (initial stress) on the one hand and the QG languages and Moghol on the other (final stress) causes widely divergent forms of the same etymon. Such differences, however, do not contribute to classification.

Dagur (Qiqihar)	Bao'an (Dahejia)	CM	
<i>éms=</i>	<i>musi=</i>	<i>*émús=</i>	‘to dress’
<i>bés</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>*büsé</i>	‘belt’
<i>ir=</i>	<i>rè=</i>	<i>*irè=</i>	‘to come’
<i>šaur</i>	<i>špar ~ par</i>	<i>*sibar</i>	‘mud’
<i>gayé</i>	<i>qai</i>	<i>*gakai</i>	‘pig’

D. Provisional Mongolic family tree



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## Haslund's "Toregut Rarelro" Deciphered

Henning Haslund-Christensen, the Danish explorer in Mongolia, was born on August 31, 1896, in Copenhagen. He saw Inner Asia for the first time when he joined the Danish expedition to Uliyasutai, Western Mongolia, organized by Karl Krebs, from 1923 to 1926. His experiences on that expedition are vividly described in his first book, *Jabonah, or Tents in Mongolia*. Then from 1927 to 1930 he joined Sven Hedin's Sino-Swedish Expedition to Inner Mongolia and Central Asia. Haslund recounts his adventures on that expedition in his second book, *Zajagan, or Men and Gods in Mongolia*.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter, he was commissioned by the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen to undertake still another expedition to Eastern Mongolia, on which he collected anthropological materials from 1936 to 1937. The date of his death, 1948, is supplied in Prof. Pentti Aalto's letter to Junko Miyawaki stamped December 18, 1994.

In February of 1928 Haslund was together with Hedin in Urumchi, where the expedition was warmly received by Military Governor Yang Tseng-hsin of Sinkiang. Governor Yang was assassinated in July. In September Haslund left Urumchi to visit Öreget, the city built by the khan of the Old Torgut Horde on the Juldus in the Tien Shan Mountains north of Karashahr. The lunar New Year came while he was staying at Öreget in February, 1929. He took this chance to visit the Torgut monastery of Shara Süme, located at the distance of one-day journey north of Öreget, to observe the Buddhist ceremony celebrating the beginning of the Iron-Serpent year. In the well-stocked library of the monastery he came across a curious old document titled "Toregut rarelro", which he had old lamas read for him.

According to what Haslund tells us in his book *Zajagan*, "Toregut rarelro" consisted of a collection of loose leaves of a kind of shantung which lay packed between two richly carved and painted slabs of wood, which in

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<sup>1</sup> Henning Haslund, *Men and Gods in Mongolia (Zajagan)*, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, 1935.

their turn were wrapped in several layers of leather and brocade. The leaves, six by fifteen and three-quarters inches in size, were written in Torgut script (meaning *todo*) in black and red, and the chronicle had evidently been recorded by various persons and at different times. The writing of the introductory leaves was faded and hard to read, but one could nevertheless form the conclusion, from the tone of the introductory words, that the writer had been a lama.

The original introduction to "Toregut rarelro", quoted by Haslund, reads in the English edition as follows.

### TOREGUT RARELRO

*Om, sain amorolan boltora* (O that fortune may continue)

Inspired by the life of the three worlds and Lama nome'en Khan Bogdo Tson Khapa I insignificantly meditate and acquire strength to write this book which contains the family tree of the *khochin* (old) and *shene* (new) Torguts' Khan noyen.

In Enet-keghien oron-etse (India) was born Geril Däre Khan (Khan of supreme radiance). He later travelled to Sinanfu where Khara kitad lived.

There "he captured" the golden signet and became Khan. Before that happened Khara kitad had had no Khan or *noyen*. For many many years after Khara kitad was ruled by his descendants and one of these bore the name of Naren Khan (The Sun Khan).

Naren Khan had thirty sons, and the eldest became Tangman Khan who also had many sons, and one of these was On-Tas.

On-Tas had contentions at home and left his homeland with nine followers. After long journeying On-Tas came with his following to his mother's elder brother Gramin Khan who ruled in Mörindäva.

Gramin Khan gave On-Tas many people to rule.

On-Tas dwelt there for many years, after which he determined to travel out among the Mongols and came to Jenghiz Khan.

Jenghiz Khan gave On-Tas his daughter and many people to rule, and On-Tas took up his abode in Böge Mörin.

Three generations of On-Tas ruled there, and the fourth descendant was Kibving Noyen.

Kibving Noyen sent Tushure with five others of his men to the Öret Khanate to see whether it was good land.

When Toro Taiji Khan of Öret saw Kibving Noyen's six messengers he burst out: "*Önge, biye sahan tanar yun iche turelluk biyetai sahan olos bie*" (What tall and stately men you are).

From the word *turelluk* (tall, stately) came later the word *toregut*.

Toro Taiji gave his daughter to Kibving and two hundred and fifty tents for him to rule over.

The two hundred and fifty later became many, and Durebet Öret (the four Öret) later became one.

The family tree of the Khans from Geril Däre is not written here but is among the archives of Khara kitad.

Geril Däre Khan was very mighty and pious, and his descendants reign to this day.

Kibving Noyen became Wang Khan.

His eldest son was Boro Örolök Khan, and his son was Shykyr Daichin who had many sons.

The eldest was Toregut Khan, and the rest were

Khobok Säiri Chin Wang,

Taburn Notog (Khara Ossun) Jy Wang,

Döoner Beile

Taburn Notog Beise.

Döoner Gyn.

Khobok Säiri Taiji, two.

Döoner Taiji.

Etsini Beile.

Wang Khan's fifth son Losang became Jingin Beile and his son Oskhon Chabchin became Altai Jy Wang.

One of Oskhon Chabchin's sons became Altai Beise.

Now let us examine quasi-historical information on the Torguts contained in this text.

First, the title, *Toregut rarelro*. The word *rarelro* must reflect Tibetan *rgyal rabs*, meaning 'genealogy of kings'. When it was borrowed into Oyirad, it apparently was pronounced *rgalrab* and spelled *rglrb* in todo without vowel "a" as if it were in original Tibetan. Then Haslund's informant misread the final "b" for an "o" and thus produced *ragalro*, which was in

turn transcribed by Haslund *rarelro* revealing his Danish linguistic background.

The same phonological peculiarity of transcribing Mongolian  $\gamma/g$  with *r* shows up in the first line preceding the main text. “*Om, sain amorolan boltora*”, obviously renders, however imperfectly, the Buddhist Mongolian incantation “*Om, sayin amu $\gamma$ ulang boltu $\gamma$ ai*”, meaning ‘Om, may there be peace and well-being’.

In the second paragraph of the main text, we have “Enet-keghien oron-*etse*”, which is obviously Mongolian *enedkeg-ün oron-ača*, or ‘from the land of Indians’, phonetically rendered. Here the ultimate progenitor of the Torgut royal lineage is identified as Geril Däre Khan, who is said to have been born in India and migrated to Sinanfu in China. Khara kitad (Mo. *qara kitad*), here used to denote China, translates Tibetan *rgya nag*, literally ‘black extent’ which contrasts *rgya gar* (white extent) for India. In this context Sinanfu, where the khan settled, cannot be anywhere else but the city of Hsi-an in Shensi.

True historical identity of this Geril Däre Khan, supposedly the very first khan of the Chinese, is revealed in the reference to the signet he found in Sinanfu and symbolized his royalty. He is nobody other than Shih-huang-ti of Ch’in, the first Chinese emperor, whose ancestors were of nomadic Western Jung origin, who had moved in from the Kansu steppes to settle down in Shensi. The city of Hsien-yang, former Ch’in capital, is located quite close to Hsi-an. The signet found there by the khan reflects the famous jade seal of imperial succession created by Shih-huang-ti, to which the earliest historical reference occurs in Pan Ku’s *Han-shu*, in connection with Wang Mang’s successful attempt at usurping the Former Han throne in the year 8.

Even the name of the khan supports his identity with the first Chinese emperor. The latter’s posthumous title in shortened form, Shih-huang, or ‘the first shining one’, is reflected in Geril Däre (Mo. *gerel degere*), meaning ‘exalted by light’.

The expression “For many years after Khara kitad was ruled by his descendants” is simply a way of saying that Shih-huang-ti of Ch’in was followed by many emperors of other Chinese dynasties. Then comes Naren Khan and his son Tangman Khan. No use trying to identify them with any Chinese emperor. Only the latter’s son, On-Tas, can be identified with a historical figure, though not Chinese.



On-Tas leaves his homeland with nine followers, and, after roaming among strange peoples for many years, comes to Chinggis Khan to settle down under the latter's protection. This description strongly reminds us of Toghhoril Ong Khan of the Kereyid, who used to be Chinggis Khan's master in the latter's early political life.

According to *Sheng-wu Ch'in-cheng-lu*, *Yüan-shih*, Rashid al-Din and *The Secret History of the Mongols*, Paragraphs 150-151, Toghhoril was a son of Qurjaquz Buyruq Khan of the Kereyid. After the father's death, Toghhoril killed his brothers and became khan. His uncle Gür Khan attacked and defeated him at Qara'un Qabchal. Thus chased out, Toghhoril fled with a hundred men to Yesügei, father of Temüjin Chinggis Khan. Yesügei rode out with his own men and drove Gür Khan away to the Tanguts, thus restoring the Kereyid people to Toghhoril. In gratitude Toghhoril swore *anda*-brotherhood with Yesügei. Later Erke Qara, another brother of Toghhoril, fearing for his life, took refuge under Inancha Khan of the Naimans. Inancha Khan sent his army against Toghhoril and drove out the latter. Toghhoril fled by way of the Tanguts, the Uyghurs and the Qarluqs until he reached the Gür Khan of the Qara Qitay Empire on the Chu. He was not well received there, left again and headed back eastward by way of the Uyghurs and the Tanguts. He was so impoverished on his way that he had only five goats with him, whose milk was his main diet, and he also drank blood of his camels. When Toghhoril reached Lake Güse'ür in Mongolia in that state, Temüjin, who remembered Yesügei's old *anda*-brotherhood with Toghhoril, went to meet and received the latter offering plenty of assistance in livelihood. Their meeting took place in 1196, just when the Jušen Chin Empire was undertaking a large-scale military campaign on the bothersome nomadic tribes on its northern border. Temüjin and Toghhoril jointly cooperated with the Chin forces and the emperor rewarded them with titles. Toghhoril was created *wang* (king), to be known as Ong Khan from then on. Temüjin was appointed *ja'ud-quri*, which presumably meant centurion. Thereafter Toghhoril Ong Khan and Temüjin always worked together, until they had a fallout in 1203. In the end Temüjin surprised Ong Khan in the latter's camp at Mount Jeje'er Öndör, taking the Kereyid troops prisoner. Ong Khan fled into the Naimans and was killed by the Naiman border guards. That was the end of the two-century-old Nestorian-Christian kingdom of the Kereyids.

All Mongolian and Kalmyk chronicles concur in calling the Torgut princes descendants of Ong Khan of the Kereyid. Then it is obvious that

Gramin Khan, under whose protection On-Tas spends some time before coming to Chinggis Khan, is no other than Gür Khan of the Qara Qitays.

Then comes Kibving Noyen, who is here said to have been the first Torgut chief to join the Four Oyirad tribal confederation. Ghabang-shes-rab's *History of the Four Oyirad*, the oldest extant Volga-Kalmyk chronicle, says: "The first Torgut who joined the Oyirad was Kivang".

This Kibving/Kivang sends messengers to Toro Taiji Khan of Öret. Toro Taiji here is Toghon Tayishi, the famous Oyirad leader who succeeded his father Mahmud on the latter's death in 1416, defeated and killed Arughtai Tayishi of the Mongols in 1431, put up Tayisung Khan, a Khubilaid prince, on the throne in the following year, and held sway over all Mongolia until he died and was succeeded by his son Esen in 1443.

Toghon Tayishi's exclamation here is to be read more correctly: "*Öngge beye sayiqan tanar yum; yeke törölki beyetei sayiqan ulus bui*", meaning 'How good-looking in complexion and constitution you are! You are indeed a good-looking people, who are of great birth and body.' Of course *törölki* (birth), here spelled *turrelluk*, does not mean 'tall, stately'. Nor is it plausible to derive the tribal name Torgut from *törölki*. *Turγaγud* is none other than Turkic *turγaq*, 'watchman, guard', in Mongolicized plural form.

Boro Örölök Khan, here said to be Kibving Noyen's eldest son, phonetically corresponds to Boyigho Örlöq the Torgut chief, whose grandson Khoo Örlöq migrated with his tribesmen from Dzungaria to the Volga in 1630. Shükür Dayiching is actually the son of Khoo Örlöq, not of Boyigho Örlöq. Shükür Dayiching's grandson Ayuuki was made khan by the Tibetan Regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho in the name of the Sixth Dalai Lama in 1697. Ayuuki Khan's great-grandson was Ubashi Khan, who with his tribesmen revolted from the Russians, left the Volga and returned to the Ili to seek protection under the Manchus in 1771.

The last part in the introduction to "Toregut rarelro" simply enumerates the titles the thirteen ruling Torgut princes were given by the Manchus.

Losang, here said to be the fifth son of Wang Khan, is Lobzang Noyan, Khoo Örlöq's son and Shükür Dayiching's younger brother. Lobzang Noyan's great-great-grandson Mementü became the first Doroi Jirgalang Beile, jasak of the Torgut Banner on the Jing River. Oskhon Chabchin, here said to be Lobzang's son, is really Oyighon Chabchaachi, who was Boyigho Örlöq's son and Khoo Örlöq's uncle. Oyighon Chabchaachi's sixth-generation descendant was Shereng, the founder of the Doroi Biliktu Giyün Wang

Banner in the Altai. Shereng's paternal cousin was Baatur Ubashi, who had a son by the name of Shara Keüken. The latter became the founder of the Gūsai Ucaraltu Beise Banner, south of the Altai Mountains.<sup>2</sup>

All these genealogical inaccuracies prove how much the Torguts had lost in the way of historical tradition by the time when Haslund's "Toregut rarelro" was written down, presumably as late as the nineteenth century. The only passage we can appreciate in the text, though not historically, is the Torgut tribal pride reflected in Toghon Tayishi's exclamation, "How good-looking in complexion and constitution you are! You are indeed a good-looking people, who are of great birth and body."

<sup>2</sup> To make understanding these lines easier, Haslund's own account of the Torguts' political organization and geographical distribution is quoted below from his *Zajagan*, pp. 262-263:

The aggregate number of the Torgut tribes were stated at figures so divergent as eighty and a hundred and twenty thousand. Of the organization of the tribes I learned as follows: Each of the thirteen Torgut principalities is ruled by its *Jassak* (hereditary chief), but the chief of the Khara Shar tribe is the Khan of all the Torguts, and the other twelve are subordinate to him for military and other important purposes.

Of the twelve subordinate chiefs two bear the title of *chin wang* (prince of the first rank), two of *chün wang* (prince of the second rank), one of *kung* (duke of the first rank), and three of *taiji* (noble of the first rank). Each *hoshun* (principality) has a *ustlakchi* who is its civil administrator and is appointed by the chief.

For military purposes each *hoshun* is divided into *sumon* (arrows) of which five constitute a "banner" under the command of a *gusdä*. The military strength of a *sumon* is recruited from one to two hundred tents and is under the leadership of a *meiren*. The total Torgut force under the Regent's command amounts to a hundred and fifty four *sumon* of which fifty-four are furnished by the Khara Shar tribe alone.

In addition the Regent has a personal bodyguard of fourteen hundred picked and well-equipped warriors who bear the name of honour *bator* (heroes).

The various tribes live a nomad life each in an allotted territory, and nine of these are so situated as to form a barrier round the Khara Shar tribe. The ten Torgut tribes who thus dwell near to one another are named in common Khochin Torgut (the old Torguts), and to them also belong, theoretically, the distant Etsin-gol Torguts.

The two tribes in the Altai are called Shene Torgut (the new Torguts), because they returned from the Volga later than the ten tribes settled in Sinkiang. The chiefs of the twelve tribes constitute, with the chief of the Etsin-gol Torguts, *araben-gurben tamag-tai noyen* (the thirteen signet-bearing princes).

The most important grazing grounds of the Khara Shar Torguts lie by the Tsoltus whose watering places they share with three Khoshut tribes.

Other large Torgut settlements lie by the rivers Jirgalan, Chingho, Hobog Sairi, Bulugon, Tekes and Khunges and beside the Eren Habirga mountains.



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## Kirghiz-Turkish linguistic contacts

The cultural and economic ties between Kirghizstan and a number of foreign countries have now been expanded. Among them are not only countries bordering on Kirghizstan (such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and China), but other important partners as well (such as India, Turkey, Japan and others).

Not long ago during the restructuring (perestroika) period several attempts were made to dwell upon the role of languages in the ethnic destinies of native speakers. These included such priorities as national independence, preservation and development of traditions and cultural values.

This process in the states of the former USSR played a positive role in expanding social functions and in increasing the role of native languages in the ethnic revival process of those peoples connected with newly formed independent states such as Kirghizstan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan.

But it cannot be said that everyone has understood the value of their language.

An analysis of the first and second points of view enables us to confirm that linguistic ties during the whole period of human interaction had both positive and negative features, namely: excessive lexical and stylistic innovation and saturating the vocabulary by innovating with new terms.

The frequent changes in the alphabet influenced the language in some ways (e.g. the Arab, then Latin and later Cyrillic alphabets have had their influence on Kirghiz).

This fact prevented us from becoming acquainted with the writing of the Middle East.

The transition (in the mid-1940s) from the Latin to Cyrillic alphabets created a number of serious and inevitable problems in orthography; now standardising the writing system has created some problems for teaching at primary schools. (For example in Kirghiz the absence of several letters for certain sounds (q, or ğ) and sound combinations (ӏа, ӏе, ӏу) led to the "creation" of an artificial rule for explaining the ways they are reproduced. In fact it was not a rule, but just a sort of puzzle.

Аюу – instead of айуу

кой – коюу (here the vowel й has been completely omitted) and other examples abound.

There have been a lot of dissimilarities and different pronunciations in the writing of onomastic vocabulary (i.e. phonemes, ethnonyms, anthroponyms). There were also some dissimilarities in the pronunciation of Kirghiz words in Russian. For example:

Alma-Ata instead of Alma-Aty

Kenes-Anarkhai instead of Kenes-Angrakhai

Tashkent instead of Tashken

Ust-Kamenogorsk instead of Uskemen

Tokmak instead of Tokmok etc.

All this led to a great many problems in this field and to forming a number of rules and exceptions. As a result of this some languages had no writing system and their native speakers were simply illiterate. In all the newly formed states, national languages have the status of state languages on the legislative level. What does this mean?

a) They can be used in all spheres of life: in officework, in teaching in primary, secondary and even postsecondary education (not only as separate subjects, but as a means of teaching)

b) They can be used in legal and inquest proceedings

c) They are used in regulating onomastic terms

d) They are widely used in the mass media

e) Taking traditions and certain other factors into consideration

The Russian language was considered to be a means of international communication.

However, in changing societies language problems have become the object of various national conflicts or are being submitted as the thing without which the rights of a person will be infringed upon by the main nation.

Despite this, life is changing international links and various political, economic, scientific and cultural contacts. Moreover, the processes of restructuring occurring at present in all spheres of the country's life have done much to foster a keen interest in Kirghizstan. Inter-linguistic ties are being broadened. The problem of Kirghiz-Turkish ties begins with basic tasks, i.e. compiling dictionaries, textbooks and conversation books, and includes comparative investigations of the two languages in different areas such as terminology, grammar, history of the languages, dialects, etc.

I do not know to what degree Turkish linguists are interested in Kirghiz language studies and in its history, but I cannot say that the same problem has been completely solved in Kirghizstan. Kirghiz linguists, in joint efforts with their Turkish counterparts have published articles in journals in Turkey and in Kirghizstan.

Linguists take a great interest in creating a terminology and in encouraging its use in life. In this field the two countries have a great deal of experience and have come out with a number of publications.

1) This experience would be of great importance for undergraduate and post graduate research.

2) The unification problem in the terminology is of great scholarly and practical importance. But here both our traditions and new objectives should be taken into consideration.

The basis for creating a Kirghiz linguistic terminology began in the early 20s, when Kirghiz writing was in Arabic based on the work of the first scientist-linguist, the founder of Kirghiz, Tynystanov.

According to these principles native language words were used to denote certain terms:

1) УНГУ, МУЧО, ТАМГА, ТЫБЫШ, ТИЛ, СӨЗ;

2) The use of all the word-formation principles: affixation (СУЙЛОМ, БАЙЛАМГА, УНДУУ, УНСУС) word-combinations: and word-formatting.

3) The use of borrowing (loanwords): dialects, lexicology, morphology, syntax, and phonemes.

4) Trying to avoid Iranian loanwords in the terminology in different branches. The Kirghiz linguistic terminology based on these principles have been constantly used for 70 years. But this cannot be said of other branches of technical, medical and biological sciences where there has been a break between writing and oral speech.

### Conclusions:

1) Contrastive analysis has revealed differences in the Turkish and Kirghiz linguistic terminologies: crucial to the work of compiling bilingual dictionaries.

2) There are some terms in both languages which will be borrowed during the unification period.





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Preliminary Notes on the Uigur and Tibetan Versions of the  
*Sitātapatrādhāraṇī*

As is familiar to scholars in the field, the Uigur of Eastern Turkestan created a vast Buddhist literature, and the majority of this literature comprises translations and adaptations of various Buddhist texts from different languages. These translations and adaptations can be divided into two main groups: 1. texts belonging to the pre-Mongolian period (ninth to twelfth centuries AD); 2. texts belonging to the Mongolian period (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries AD) (Zieme 1992:16). A chronological order can be established according to the original languages from which these translations were made: the Tocharian, the Chinese, the Tibetan, and finally the Sanskrit which, presumably, began only in the latter period (Zieme 1992:16).

The first wave of translation from Tibetan dates back to the Yuan period (1280-1367). Works belonging to this period include the *Mañjuśrī-Sādhana* or the *Guruyoga* by Saskya Paṇḍita etc.<sup>1</sup> Other works such as the *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* (Müller 1910:27-50) or the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* (Müller 1910:50-70, 100), exhibit signs of having been translated from Tibetan. I have chosen the latter text as the subject of my current investigations.

The *Sitātapatrā* text must have been very popular from the fifth or sixth century onwards, and remains so among Tibetans even today. A number of manuscripts in different languages have been discovered in different places – from Central Asia to Nepal<sup>2</sup> – and the text is also a part of the Chinese, the Tibetan and the Mongolian Buddhist Canons.

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<sup>1</sup> A list of the Uigur works translated from Tibetan originals is found in Kara-Zieme 1976:14-15 and Zieme 1992:40-42.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Sudha Sengupta provides a very useful survey of the locations and publications of the available manuscripts in her article *A Note on the Uṣṇīṣa-Sitātapatrā Pratyamṅira Dhāraṇī* (1974:70-77). She might be correct in assuming that “The earliest Mss of this text seem to be those found from Eastern Turkestan which are written in ‘upright’ and ‘cursive’ Gupta scripts...” (71) but her suggestion that these manuscripts may date from the seventh century AD (71-2) is yet to be determined.

The great variety of versions of this text and the fact that none of the extant manuscripts, especially those which remained complete, has been published and edited critically as a whole render the task of establishing a correlation among the variations rather a challenge, as we shall see later.

The purpose of this *dhāraṇī*: The 'Invincible White Umbrella One' goddess is described as she who wards off all evil and is endowed with full power to be of benefit to her devotees. She is invoked to protect the devotees and all sentient beings from all such dangers as thieves, poison, enemies, untimely death, natural disasters, various kinds of sicknesses, all sorts of demons and malicious spirits etc.

The manuscripts of the Uigur text<sup>3</sup> were discovered by the first Turfan expedition (1902-3) from Qočo and by the third (1905-7) from Murtuq and then were transported to Berlin.

A portion of the fragments uncovered by the third Turfan expedition was first published by F. W. K. Müller (1910) and supplementary fragments were later added by S. E. Malov (1930). Most of the former are also available in facsimile (Hazai-Zieme 1982 and Le Coq 1919:Tafel 5). A part of the colophon of our text was published by R. R. Arat (1965:233-235) and it was later edited and translated in its entirety by P. Zieme (1985:170-172).<sup>4</sup> However the colophon makes no mention of any date whatsoever nor the language of an original which might have served as a basis for the Turkic translation. F. W. K. Müller consulted the Chinese version, but the Chinese text shows considerable divergence from the Uigur translation. Since research on this text has begun the assumption has formed that it was translated from or, at least, influenced by a Tibetan version. F. W. K. Müller wrote the following about the possible origin of the Uigur version:

“Vielleicht sind beide Übersetzungen, die uigurische wie die chinesische, der Sitāpatrādhāraṇī schon mit Benutzung der tibetischen Version hergestellt.” (1910:51 n.1)

<sup>3</sup> At least two different xylographs have come down to us, but there are perhaps more, as Prof. Zieme has kindly informed me.

<sup>4</sup> There are still a number of fragments kept in Turfan-Collection in Berlin as yet unpublished. Prof. Zieme was so kind as to send me a list of these fragments.

It has also been pointed out by L. Ligeti that the Tibetan version of the *Sitātapatrā* could provide the correct interpretation of the obscure parts of the Uigur text (1973:155-9).

If we are to examine the Uigur text as a translation from a Tibetan original, the question becomes: which of the Tibetan variations may have served as a basis for the Turkic? But first of all: whether the Tibetan text which was the basis for the Turkic is identical to any of those included in the Tibetan Canon?<sup>5</sup> In this paper I will focus on the latter question.

\*

Mkhas-grub-rje (1385-1438), the chief disciple of Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419), refers to the Tibetan texts in his work “Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras”<sup>6</sup> as follows:

“There are four *Sitātapatrā* texts. There is the *Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣa-sitātapatrā-nāma-aparājitapratyaṅgirāmahā(vidyārājñī)* and the second text, which adds ‘*paramasiddha*’ to the title, is a different translation. In those early translations, it is mentioned that the Bhagavat was in the meeting place of the gods ‘\*Sudharma’ in the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods. There are extracts from those two, with introduction and without introduction, which, in the given order, are not insignificant in the world of gods and of inferior renown in the world of men. Among those (four), the one with complete subject matter is the ‘*paramasiddha*’ ”<sup>7</sup> (Lessing-Wayman 1978:117).

<sup>5</sup> Another but not less important task is to take into consideration the Tibetan versions from the various Kanjur editions, but this would lead us far beyond the framework of this paper. This study is mainly based on the texts in the Derge Kanjur.

<sup>6</sup> The full Tibetan title is *Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa rgyas par brjod* (Toh. 5489).

<sup>7</sup> In Tibetan: *gdugs dkar la bzhi yod de | de bzhin gshegs pa'i gtsug tor nas hyung ha'i gdugs dkar po can gzhan gyis mi thub pa phyir zlog pa chen mo zhes bya dang | de'i steng du mchog tu grub pa zer ba htags pa zhig dang gnyis yod pa 'gyur khyad zhing 'gyur phyi ma dag la | bcom ldan 'das kyis yul sum cu rtsa gsum po'i lha gnas chos bzang lha'i 'dun sar gsungs so | de gnyis las phyung ba gleng gzhi yod med gnyis yod pa rim pa ltar lha yul ma chun ba dang mi mar grags te | de dag gi nang nas brjod bya yongs su rdzogs pa ni mchog grub ma'o | (Lessing-Wayman 1978:116) As far as the expression 'gyur phyi ma dag is concerned it can hardly be translated as 'early translations'. Though the meaning of the attribute *phyi ma* is quite obscure here, it would probably translate better as either 'those late translations' or as 'those latter translations'.*

Based on a comparison of the four versions, the two “extracts” (*phyung ba*) (Toh. 592, 593)<sup>8</sup> hold no importance for us here, since several parts are omitted, which are included in both longer Tibetan variations (Toh. 590 = **T1** and Toh. 591 = **T2**) as well as in the Uigur text (**U**).

Only one (**T2**) of these two Tibetan texts contains a colophon: *pañ di ta ba ra hi ta bha dra dang lo tsisha ba gzu dga' rdor gyis kha che'i bdud rtsi 'hyung gnas kyi gtsug lag khang gi dpe rnying la gtuḡs nas gtan la pheḡ pa |*

“This has been finalized (*gtan la pheḡ pa* ‘set in order’) on the basis of comparing it with an old exemplar (*dpe rnying*) of ‘Nectar – source’ Monastery of Kashmir by Pañḡita Parahitabhadrā and Lotsava Gzu-dga'-rdor.”<sup>9</sup>

As far as **T1** and **T2** are concerned, it is not clear from the passage quoted above what Mkhas-grub-rje meant by different translations ('gyur khyad), whether they were of the same origin<sup>10</sup> or translations of different originals. Nevertheless, he points out the contextual difference as well, as he states that the ‘paramasiddha’ is that of “complete subject matter” (*brjod bya yongs su rdzogs pa*).<sup>11</sup> **T1** and **T2** have different titles, as Mkhas-grub-rje also noticed; however, the ‘added paramasiddha’ (*mchog tu grub pa*) in the title of **T2** is not the only difference, and this fact becomes significant because of the Uigur:

<sup>8</sup> From *A Catalogue of the Tōhoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism*.

<sup>9</sup> We know that the Kashmiri Pañḡita Parahitabhadrā and the Tibetan translator Gzu-dga'-rdor worked in the second half of the eleventh century (Roerich 1949:87, 325, 344, 348). The colophon clearly informs us that they did not actually translate the text, but in fact retranslated and upgraded matching it (*gtuḡs*) with an ‘old exemplar’ as a basis for this work. If this is so, this ‘old exemplar’ must have been not an older Tibetan translation, but a Sanskrit text. This assumption might be supported by the fact that the ‘old exemplar’ was preserved in Kashmir. In turn, if *dpe rnying* referred to an old Tibetan translation composed according to the “old orthography” (*hrda rnying*) (i.e. prior to the Great Revision) and in this way distinguished the text from the “new language” (*skad gsar*), using the ‘old exemplar’ as an aid to revising the same Tibetan text would not have made much sense.

<sup>10</sup> At another place he remarks that two variations (Toh. 594 and 595) of a scripture “are different translations of an identical original” (Lessing-Waymen 1993:115). But it should be noted that those texts (Toh. 594 and 595) bear an identical title.

<sup>11</sup> A part of this version (i.e. **T2**) was interpreted by Waddel, using a text from his own collection (1914:49-54).

1.

**T1** *'phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gtsug tor nas byung ba gdugs dkar po can zhes bya ba gzhan gyis mi thub ma phyr zlog pa'i rig sngags kyi rgyal chen mo'o |*

“The great queen of magic spells (*vidyā-rājñī*), the invincible averter [of evil] called The Noble White Umbrella One, who issued from the Uṣṇīṣa of all the noble Tathāgatas.”

**T2** *'phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i gtsug tor nas byung ba'i gdugs dkar po can gzhan gyis mi thub pa phyr zlog pa chen mo mchog tu grub pa zhes bya ba'i gzungs |*

“The Dhāraṇī called The Noble White Umbrella One, invincible averter [of evil] and perfectly accomplished who issued from the Uṣṇīṣa of the noble Tathāgatas.”

**U<sup>12</sup>** *tüziün alqu ančulayu kälmiš-lär-ning ušnir lakšan-lar-inta ün[miš adī kötrül]miš sitatapatiri atl(i)ğ utsuqmaqsız uluğ yanturdači atl(i)ğ arvišlar eligi<sup>13</sup>*

The title of the Uigur corresponds closely to that of **T1**, whereas **T2** lacks *thams cad* (~*alqu*) and reads *gzungs* in the place of **T1**'s *rig sngags kyi rgyal chen mo*<sup>14</sup> (~*uluğ... arvišlar eligi*).

But interestingly at the very beginning of the texts we find that Uigur coincides with **T2**, whereas the following passage is omitted from **T1**:

2.1.

**T2<sup>15</sup>** *'phags pa nyan thos dang | rang sangs rgyas thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo | bcom ldan 'das gzhan gyis mi thub pa gtsug tor rgyal mo la phyag 'tshal lo |*

<sup>12</sup> U 402-403 (Hazai-Zieme 1983:Tafel 62); old sigla: T III M 225 (43), T III 225 (62) (Müller 1910:75).

<sup>13</sup> Müller provides a reconstructed title on the basis of a Chinese version, which is: (\*)*Alqu ančolayu kälmiš-lär-ning ušnir-lakšan-lar-intin önmiš adī kötrülmiš sitatapadra atlg utsukmaksız darni* (1910:50). This corresponds to the Tibetan Toh. 593.

<sup>14</sup> The title given to **T1** also occurs in the body of **T2**'s text which implies that they might go back to a common archetype.

<sup>15</sup> Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 213a1-2.

“I salute all the Noble Hearers (*śrāvaka*) and Pratyekabuddhas. I salute the Bhagavat, the invincible queen of the Uṣṇīṣa.”

U<sup>16</sup> *yükünürm(ä)n alqu pratika-bud-lar tüz-ün sṛavak-lar qut-lar-inga  
yükünürm(ä)n alqu ada-lariğ yanturdači adin-lar-qa utsuqmaq-siz adi  
kötrülmiš sita-tapadri qutınga*

“I salute all the Pratyekabuddhas and Noble Śrāvakas. I salute the Bhagavat Sitātapatrā, the invincible, the averter of all danger.”

And throughout the texts, we come across examples where the parallel of the Uigur text can only be found in **T2**, or appears to be closer to **T2** in its wording, thus e.g.,

## 2.2.

T<sup>217</sup> *rgyal po'i chad pa'i 'jigs pa dang | las[sic] kyi<sup>18</sup> 'jigs pa dang klu'i  
'jigs pa dang |*

U<sup>19</sup> *el-ing qan-ıng qıın qizğut qorqinč-intin | tängri qorqinč-intin luu  
qorqinč-intin |*

“(Protect us) from fear of royal punishment, from fear of gods, from fear of *nāgas*.”

## 2.3.

T<sup>220</sup> *zas su lhag ma za ba mams |*

U<sup>21</sup> *qalınču aš-lig-lar*

“Eaters of residues”

## 2.4.

T<sup>122</sup> *rgyu skar nyi shu rtsa bryad rab tu sgrub par byed pa |*

<sup>16</sup> U 376 3-7 (Hazai-Zieme 1983:Tafel 36); old sigla: T III 225 (Müller 1910:51).

<sup>17</sup> Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 215a4.

<sup>18</sup> The word *las* should clearly read *lha*, e.g. The Peking Edition (Rgyud 'bum Pha 253a6) reads *lha'i jigs pa*. This clause is absent from **T1**.

<sup>19</sup> Malov 1930:89 (4) 2-5.

<sup>20</sup> Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 217a2. **T1** omits this clause.

<sup>21</sup> T III 182 45 (the original is now lost) – U 393 I (Hazai-Zieme 1983:Tafel 50); old sigla: T III M 225 (42) (Müller 1910:67).

<sup>22</sup> Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 206b4.

“who renders the 28 lunar mansions (*nākṣatra*) well-executed.”

**T2**<sup>23</sup> *rgyu skar nyi shu rtsa brgyad dga' bar byed pa l*

**U**<sup>24</sup> *sākiz otuz yultuz-lar qubraq-in ögirün-türdeči*

(**T2** = **U**) “who makes the 28 (groups of stars) lunar mansions rejoice”

Yet, based on a comparison of the two Tibetan versions with the Uigur, it should be noted that **T1** is a longer version of the work than **T2** and it consists of a number of parts with parallels in the Uigur text but none in **T2**, thus e.g.,

3.1.

**T1**<sup>25</sup> *bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rdo rje 'dzin pa rgya mtsho 'joms pa la phyag 'tshal lo l*

**U**<sup>26</sup> *yükünürm(ä)n adi kötrülmiš ančulayu kälmiš ayağ-qa tägimlig köni tüz-üni tuymiš včir tutdači taluy ögüz-üg üvätäči*<sup>27</sup> *burxan qutinga*

“I salute the Bhagavat Tathāgata Arhat, the fully enlightened Buddha Vajradhara, the conqueror of the ocean [of cyclic existence?].”<sup>28</sup>

3.2.

**T1**<sup>29</sup> *bsgyur ba'i las thams cad kyis mi tshugs l*

**U**<sup>30</sup> *näng alqu ayig qililmiš iš küč-lär tägmäkäy-lär*

“They will not be harmed by the retroactive effect of bad deeds.”<sup>31</sup>

3.3.

**T1**<sup>32</sup> *bcom ldan 'das las kyi gdung la phyag 'tshal lo l*

<sup>23</sup> Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 214a3.

<sup>24</sup> T III M 225 (8) 4-5 (Müller 1910:58).

<sup>25</sup> Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 205b6-7.

<sup>26</sup> U 382 6-9 (Hazai-Zieme 1983:Tafel 40); old sigla T III 225 (7b) (Müller 1910:55).

<sup>27</sup> For the latest interpretation of the Turkic word *üvä-* see Laut 1995:117-8.

<sup>28</sup> Among all the available versions of this text, this clause can only be found in **T1** and the Uigur text.

<sup>29</sup> Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 211b3.

<sup>30</sup> U 398 1-2. (Hazai-Zieme 1983:Tafel 56); old sigla: T III 225 (33) (Müller 1910:71).

<sup>31</sup> Mvy. 4359:skr. *karma* ~ tib. *bsgyur ha'i las* ~ mong. *urhayulqu / urhayuluqui üile*.

<sup>32</sup> Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 205b4.

U<sup>33</sup> *yükünürm(ä)n adi kötrülmiš is<sup>34</sup> uğuš-luğ- qa*  
 “I salute the Bhagavat [of] the Action Family (*karma-kula*)”

This peculiarity of the Uigur text presented above might rightly give rise to the suspicion that our Uigur fragments are not parts of the same text, but of two or more different versions in much the same way as the Tibetan texts are. This question can be resolved once all the remaining Uigur fragments – as yet unpublished – have been examined (see no. 4.). Of course, the possibility that different Uigur versions might have existed cannot be ruled out. On the basis of fragments already published, however, it seems that these fragments belong to a single Uigur version of the text, since: (1) the Uigur text is identical to T1 at certain points while it agrees with T2 at other points, often within the same fragment; (2) it also contains parts which can be found in neither of the Tibetan texts; thus we have e.g.,

4.1.

U<sup>35</sup> *qarın-ıaqı känd-ig qundači-lar*  
 “who steal unborn children”<sup>36</sup>

4.2.

U<sup>37</sup> *atarvana-ning qıl-miš arviš-ın käsär m(ä)n qasguq toqıyur m(ä)n*  
 “I cut off the magic performed by *ātharvaṇas*<sup>38</sup> and I nail it down.”

Despite the fact that sufficient research has not been done on the various extant Sanskrit (and corrupted Sanskrit) texts, it may be of some interest not to neglect them completely even in this short paper. Rudolf Hoernle noticed that the Eastern Turkestani texts were practically identical, while the Hodgson manuscripts (S1) showed significant differences and expansions

<sup>33</sup> U 381 9-10. (Hazai-Zieme 1983:Tafel 39); old sigla: T III M 225 (17) (Müller 1910:54).

<sup>34</sup> F. W. K. Müller's reading, *is* ('Freund'), is obviously a mistake (1910:54).

<sup>35</sup> T III 182 (the original fragment is now lost) (Müller 1910:64-65).

<sup>36</sup> Clauson 1972:632b.

<sup>37</sup> Malov 1930:91 (10) 1-3.

<sup>38</sup> *ātharvaṇa* 'a priest or Brahman whose ritual is comprised in the Atharva-veda; a conjurer' (MW. 136b). Malov read: *ātarpaṇa* ('satisfying; whitening the wall or floor or seat on festive occasions, pigment used for this purpose.' MW. 135a), which simply does not make sense here.



(1916:56). As a curiosity it may be noted that the name of Kashmir is mentioned only in **S1** and **T1**: *adhimuktika kāśmīra-mahāśmaśāna-vāsine*<sup>39</sup> ~ *kha che'i zhing dur khrod chen po na gnas par mos pa*<sup>40</sup> “who are inclined to dwell in the big cemetery-fields of Kashmir.”

There are instances that can only be found in the following three manuscripts:

## 5.1.

**S1**<sup>41</sup> *namo rāja-kūlasya*

**T1**<sup>42</sup> *bcom ldan 'das rgyal po'i gdung la phyag 'tshal lo l*

**U**<sup>43</sup> *yükünürm(ä)n adi kötrülmış el qan uğuş-luğ-qa*

“I salute (the Bhagavat [of]) the King Family”

## 5.2.

**S1**<sup>44</sup> *vinītā sānta-cittā ca | ātma guṇa sasī prabhā |*

**T1**<sup>45</sup> *mam dul zhi ba'i sems dang ni | zla 'od bdag gi yon tan shes |*

**U**<sup>46</sup> *ämrlmiş yavalmış köngül-lüg ymä | ät'öz ädgü-sin biltäci ay tängri yaruq-luğ |*

“with calm and peaceful mind, shining like the moon (Uig. shining god of the moon), [it is she who] knows the virtue of the soul (or ‘self’ *ātman* ~ *bdag* ~ *ät'öz*)”

But one should not jump to the conclusion that **T1** is a possible translation of **S1**. Though **S1** appears (on the basis of already published parts) to be the closest to **T1** among the Sanskrit versions, there are sections omitted from **T1** which are included in **T2**, as the following quotation illustrates:

39 Hoernle 1911:463 n. 6.

40 Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 205b2-3.

41 Hoernle 1911:463.

42 Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 205b4.

43 U 381 8. (Hazai-Zieme 1983:Tafel 39); old sigla: T III M 225 (17) (Müller 1910:54).

44 Hoernle 1916:57.

45 Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 207a2.

46 Malov 1930:92, (13) 2-4.

## 5.3.

**S1**<sup>47</sup> *namo nāga-kulasya |*  
**T2**<sup>48</sup> *klu'i gdung la phyag 'tshal lo |*  
 "I salute the Nāga Family."

The Dunhuang Manuscripts bear witness to the fact that the *Sitātapatrā* was translated very early into Tibetan.<sup>49</sup> Without going into detail concerning these Old Tibetan versions suffice it to make a single general remark: they suggest a closer relationship to **T2** than to **T1**. On this basis, and taking the different Sanskrit texts into consideration as well, the parts of the early Tibetan translations that differ from **T2** are of special interest, e.g.:

## 5.4.

**U**<sup>50</sup> *ölüm-süz včir sinčir-liğ ymä |*  
**D**<sup>51</sup> *myi 'chi rdo rje lu gu rgyud |*  
**T1**<sup>52</sup> *'chi med rdo rje lu gu rgyud |*  
**T2**<sup>53</sup> *rdo rje lu gu rgyud gzhan dang |*<sup>54</sup>  
**S1**<sup>55</sup> *amalā vajra-śṛṅkharāś caiva |*  
**S2**<sup>56</sup> *aparā vajra-śamkalā caiva |*  
**S3**<sup>57</sup> *aparajānta vajra-śakalā caiva |*

For Tibetan '*chi med* (old tib. *myi 'chi*), the Sanskrit terms either *acyuta* ('not fallen'; 'firm, solid'; 'imperishable, permanent' MW. 9b) or *amṛta* ('not

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47 Hoernle 1911:463.

48 Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 213b3.

49 In Vienna in the spring of 1996 I had the opportunity to read the microfilm copy of the Dunhuang Manuscripts of this text kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Pelliot tibetain). (I have to express my special thanks to Prof. Ernst Steinkellner who ordered the microfilms for the *Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde* in order to help me in my work.)

50 U 389 7. (Hazai-Zieme 1983:Tafel 46); old sigla: T III M 225 (22) (Müller 1910:60; Malov 1930:93 162).

51 Dunhuang Ms. Pelliot tibetain 377.

52 Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 206b7.

53 Sde dge: Rgyud 'bum Pha 214a6-7.

54 Waddell (1914:51) translates this as 'the thunderbolt enchaining others'.

55 Hoernle 1916:57.

56 Ms. no. 150vii 5 (Hoernle 1916:56).

57 No. 0041 (Hoernle 1916:56).

dead'; 'immortal'; 'imperishable' MW. 82b) or *amara* ('undying, immortal, imperishable' MW. 80b-c) would have been expected (cf. also Das 444a). The readings of the Sanskrit versions confirm that the term '*chi med*' goes back to the latter one, i.e. \**amara*. It seems most probable that *amala* ('spotless, stainless, clean, pure, shining' MW. 81a) in **S1** is a corruption of *amara*. The **T2** *gzhan* corresponds to the Sanskrit *apara*. Which is the original? At the present stage of my investigations this question cannot be fully answered.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, what is of significance here is that the equivalent of the term *amara* has been preserved by **T1** and the Old Tibetan versions, and it coincides with the Uigur (*ölümsüz*).<sup>59</sup>

The following conclusion can be drawn from this analysis and my investigations to date:

1. The Uigur version was not directly derived from any of the Tibetan texts included in the Kanjur. Considering the broad popular appeal of the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī*, this is not surprising.

2. We may not be wrong in maintaining that the Uigur version is closer to **T1** than to any other versions or translations of this work.

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<sup>58</sup> At the current stage of research two possibilities can be suggested: 1. *aparājita* is the original, and it became abbreviated to *apara* for metrical reasons (since this part of the texts was composed in verse), and then it was misread as *amara* (*aparājita* → *apara* → *amara*). 2. *amara* was misread as *apara*, and this was completed to *aparājita* in order to provide it with a clear and more appropriate meaning (*amara* → *apara* → *aparājita*).

<sup>59</sup> The Chinese also coincides with the Uigur (cf. Müller 1910:60.).

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ANDRÁS RÓNA-TAS  
(Budapest)

## The migration of the Hungarians and their settlement in the Carpathian Basin<sup>1</sup>

In 1996 Hungarians celebrate the 1100th anniversary of their settlement in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>2</sup> In the following lecture, I shall first present the most important milestones leading up to the “*landtaking*” (“*Landnahme*” in German, “*honfoglalás*” in Hungarian), mention the research problems involved, and point to connections with the Altaic world. In the second part, I shall offer a rough typology of the ethnogenetic processes of nomadic tribal societies in Europe and venture to determine the place of the Hungarian settlement in the history of mediaeval Europe. In the third part of my lecture, I shall remark on changes in the manner in which the Hungarian settlement is celebrated.

### 1. *The migration and homelands of the Hungarians*

The origins of the Hungarians and their migration has been a passionately debated question since mediaeval times and not only among Hungarians. In the last century it became generally accepted that the language of the Hungarians belongs to the Uralic language family. Together with Vogul and Ostyak they formed the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric languages, a fact disputed only by dilettantes. On the other hand, when the Hungarians made their way into written sources, they were featured and expressly labelled as Turks. In 1074 almost two hundred years after the settlement, Byzantine Emperor Michael VII, Ducas, bestowed a crown on the newly invested Hungarian King Géza I. The crown, now kept in the National Museum in

- 
- <sup>1</sup> A slightly revised version of the address held at the opening session of the 39th Meeting of PIAC, Szeged, Hungary. The materials and conclusions presented are discussed in detail in my book *A honfoglaló magyar nép*, which appeared in 1996.
- <sup>2</sup> In fact the event which is celebrated was in 895. Because of the delay in the preparations the Hungarian Parliament postponed the millenary celebrations from 1895 to 1896 and thus 1996 became the 1100th anniversary.

Budapest, bears the Greek inscription *Jeuuitsa the faithful king of the Turks*.<sup>3</sup> The Hungarians are called Turks in several other Byzantine and Arabic sources of the 9th century. In other sources they are called *Ungri, Hungar, Ugri, Bashkir* or even *Huns, Avars* or *Scythians*.<sup>4</sup> None of the many names resembles the Hungarians' own name. We have data on the Hungarians calling themselves *Magyars* at least since the 8th century, but the name had undoubtedly been used much earlier. The term *magyar* is of Finno-Ugric origin. It consists of two parts. The first part, *magy-*, goes back to an earlier form, *manš*, which is identical to the name of the Voguls, now living in western Siberia, and to that of one of the two main groups of Ostyaks.<sup>5</sup> The second part, which comes from an earlier word, *er*, is an ethnic name meaning 'man, creature' and was also the name of another Ugric group. The name of the Hungarians *manš+er* > *magy+er* > *magyer* > *magyar*<sup>6</sup> was formed from the names of these two groups of Finno-Ugric origin. (The form lacking vowel harmony was recorded until the 13th century). In a lecture at the Academy of North Rhine-Westphalia<sup>7</sup> I concluded that at the time of the settlement the Hungarians were a people who spoke a Finno-Ugric language but conducted a Turkic way of life.

Without going into the deeper past we can summarize the early history of the Hungarians as follows:

The ancestors of the Hungarians separated from the other Ugric-speaking peoples about 5-800 years before Christ. They lived for a brief period in the vicinity of the ancestors of the Proto-Permian people, as reflected in a few interesting loanwords from the early language common to present-day Zuryen and Votyak. At the time the Hungarians were already a distinct people who cultivated the land and bred animals, but also hunted on horseback and fished. For a period of about a thousand years they had close

<sup>3</sup> On the Hungarian crown and its inscriptions see *Studien zur Machtsymbolik* (1983), the history of the research by Th. von Bogyay (1983) and Róna-Tas (1988).

<sup>4</sup> The various names of the Hungarians in the different sources are dealt with in Róna-Tas (1988).

<sup>5</sup> On the FU word see Lakó – Rédei 1971:415-417.

<sup>6</sup> Earlier the composition *manš+er* was interpreted as 'the *manš* man'. I contend that these kinds of name never become ethnonyms. First the word *er* became an ethnic name and then after the union of the two groups the two names were united as that of the *varχonitai* (*var+xyon*). I supposed that both group spoke an Ugric type of language (Róna-Tas 1993).

<sup>7</sup> See Róna-Tas (1988).



contacts with Iranian peoples as reflected in the vocabulary of the Hungarian language. Some elements of agriculture and animal husbandry were taken from these Iranian groups on the western side of the Ural Mountains.

Hungarian scholars such as Németh, Bárczi and Ligeti claimed that the Hungarians lived together with the other Ugrian peoples in western Siberia. This claim was based on a small number of etymologies which admittedly were borrowed by Proto-Ugrian from Turkic. These words could have been borrowed only in the area of the Turkic people's original homeland, that is in western Siberia. A thorough investigation of these etymologies clearly fails to support these claims. Some of these etymologies are simply wrong, such as H *hód* 'beaver' ~ Turkic *kunduz*, H *hattyú* 'swan' ~ T *kotang* and H *nyereg* 'saddle' ~ T *eger*. Others are valid but were adopted by the Hungarians much later on the coast of the Black Sea, e.g. H *homok* 'sand' ~ T *kumaki* and H *hajó* 'boat' ~ T *kayik*. There are also words which entered separately into the Ob Ugric and the Hungarian language, such as H *ló* 'horse' ~ T *ulag*, H *szó* 'word' ~ T *sab* etc. Ultimately the sole reason for supposing a western Siberian homeland for the Hungarians was unsubstantiated.<sup>8</sup>

The change in lifestyle from a simple agricultural economy to a nomadic one had its environmental limitations. Taking into account the latest results of historical climatology and botany this could not have occurred further to the north than 50-52 degrees latitude.<sup>9</sup> Weighing all data presently at our disposal the Hungarians' change to a nomadic way of life occurred in the 5th-6th century A.D. and in the southern part of the Urals, by the River Yayik, or Ural. This change is marked by a strong influence of western Turkic languages predominantly, if not exclusively, of the Chuvash type, e.g. H *ökör* 'ox' ~ T *öküz*, Chuv *văgăr*. The transformation in their way of life lasted more than a hundred years, and several groups remained as agriculturists on the wooded steppe even longer. They adapted to the new way of life only gradually, otherwise the Hungarians would have disappeared in the ocean of Turkic-speaking peoples.

The events to come were linked to the migration of the Bulgar Turks from the Kuban-Don region to the Dnieper. This occurred about 600 A.D. Earlier it was supposed that the Empire founded by Khuvrat in 630 was at the Kuban River. However after having identified the tomb of Khuvrat in Malaya

<sup>8</sup> I have dealt with the earlier opinions and with the relevant material in Róna-Tas (1988b).

<sup>9</sup> See Györffy – Zólyomi (1994).

Pereshchepina near Poltava on the Dnieper River other sources also had to be revised. We can now claim that the Old Bulgarian Empire lasted until 670-675 and was centered around the Dnieper.<sup>10</sup>

The area left by the majority of the Bulgars about 600 was soon occupied by the Hungarians. They lived north of the Alans whose location is well documented. The Hungarians lived in the region between the Kuban, the Don, and the Sea of Azov (last also being called the Meotis). Alan contacts are demonstrated by such loanwords as *H asszony* 'noble woman, earlier princess' ~ Old Osetian *axsin* 'princess'. Here the Hungarians came into close contact not only with the Alans but also with the Khazars, who by the 620s were the dominant group in the region. After the Khazars freed themselves from East Turkic rule, they attacked and defeated the Bulgars. Four Bulgarian groups moved westwards. The first founded the Danubian Bulgarian Empire around 678, the second joined the Avars in the Carpathian Basin, and a third group migrated to Italy and is mentioned as living around Ravenna. The fourth group appeared on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. A not insignificant Bulgar group, however, accepted Khazar rule and remained within the realm of the Khazar khagan. Many of the early Turkic loanwords came into Hungarian at this time, e.g. the name of the 'ash tree' *H kőrís* ~ West Old Turkic *keürič* or Hungarian terms used in horticulture and viticulture, such as *H gyümölcs* 'fruit' ~ OT *yemiš*.

Around the end of the 7th century the Hungarians moved westwards and occupied the territory between the Dnieper and the Lower Danube where the earlier West Bulgars lived. The relationship between the Hungarians and the Bulgars, both subjects of the Khazars, improved. We know what the Hungarians called this territory because two Hungarian noblemen visited the Byzantine capital around 948 and the Emperor Constantinos Porphyrogenitos or his scribes noted their story. They called the region *Etelküzü*. This Hungarian name meant 'the region between the rivers, Mesopotamia', where *Etel* is the West Turkic generic name for 'river' (Turkic *etil*) and *küzü* is the Hungarian name for a region 'which is in between', i.e. the Hungarian equivalent of the Greek *mezo*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> On the tomb of Khuvrat see Werner (1984) and Bálint (1984), on the migration of the Bulgars and Hungarians see Róna-Tas (1996).

<sup>11</sup> The problems connected with *Levedia* and *Etelküzü* have been recently dealt with by Györffy (1985), Benkő (1985), Király (1985), Harmatta (1985), Ligeti (1985) and

The Hungarians lived in Etelköz until the settlement. We cannot say exactly when they moved to Etelköz but their stay must have lasted longer than it was earlier supposed.<sup>12</sup> A greater group of loanwords were borrowed here, e.g. H *szőlő* 'wine grape' ~ T *yedlig*. The Bulgars, attempting to loosen their ties with the Khazars, slowly moved northwards. After a serious Khazar defeat by the Arabs in 737 the Bulgar migration towards the Volga and northwards accelerated. A group of Hungarians moved with them. Both the Volga Bulgars and the Volga Hungarians reached the Kama River around 900 A.D.<sup>13</sup> The Volga Hungarians, or as they used to be called "the inhabitants of Magna Hungaria", were visited by Ibn Fadlan, mentioned by other sources and lastly met by the Hungarian Friar Julian in 1235. In the following year both the Volga Bulgars and the Volga Hungarians were devastated by the Mongols.

The majority of the Hungarians remained in Etelköz. The Hungarian tribal federation was ruled by the chieftain installed by the Khazars. In the middle of the 9th century he was designated as Levedi, and his tribal pasture lands were called Levedia by the Greek sources. According to Arabic sources he bore the title *kündü* around 870 and, though he was the legitimate ruler, he had no real power. The power of the generals, members of the Almish-Árpád clan grew considerably. According to Muslim sources they bore the title *ĵula* or *ĵila*. They controlled the army and public administration. The claim, however, that the Hungarians had a sacral kingship similar to that of the Khazars is unfounded.<sup>14</sup>

According to written sources, as of the year 862 the Hungarians living in Etelköz took part in the battles and wars of central Europe. In 862 they fought in alliance with the Moravian ruler Rastislav against the Franks, in 881 they appear at Vienna, where they fought together with the Kabars (*cum*

Vékony (1986). Conclusion from the new researches and discussions is that Levedia was a part of Etelköz and not a former place of the migration.

<sup>12</sup> According to earlier opinions the Hungarians' stay in Levedia and Etelköz lasted a few generations only.

<sup>13</sup> According to some Hungarian scholars the Hungarians first went south from the Volga-Kama region in the 9th century. I argued against this claim in Róna-Tas (1988b).

<sup>14</sup> The idea of the sacral kingship among the Hungarians was launched by Czeglédy (1966, 1974, 1975) and accepted by most Hungarian scholars. Whether Árpád or Kursan was the sacral ruler after the settlement in 895 has been a bone of contention between Györffy (1993) and Kristó (1993). Major arguments against the existence of the sacral kingship among the Hungarians have been put forward independently of me by Keszi (1995).

*cowaris*) against the Franks. The importance and power of the Almish – Árpád clan grew with the success of western raids and was also strengthened by the three Kabar tribes seceding from the Khazars to join the Hungarians. Several years before the settlement the Árpád clan dethroned the Levedi clan and concentrated power in its own hands.

In 894 the Hungarians fought in alliance with the Moravian ruler Svatopluk against the Franks and with the Byzantine Empire against the Danube Bulgars. Both military expeditions were highly successful. In fact, in 894 the Hungarians joined the Moravian – Byzantine coalition against the Danube Bulgarian – Frankish coalition.

The spring of 895 began with a Hungarian military expedition under Árpád, who wanted to attack the Danube Bulgars moving down along the Tisza River. At the same time a smaller Hungarian unit attacked the Bulgars at the Lower Danube. However, the Byzantine army went back on their promise to attack the Bulgars from the south, who were able to defeat the smaller Hungarian army attacking from Etelküzü.

At the same time from the east a Pecheneg army appeared. They were pushed by the Oghuz – Kimek – Kharluk coalition who in turn were defeated by the Samanid ruler. The Pechenegs could not enter the Khazar Empire proper and, most probably persuaded by the Danube Bulgar ruler Simeon, attacked the Hungarians left behind in Etelküzü. After the disastrous Hungarian defeat in Etelküzü by the Pecheneg and Danube Bulgarian armies they could but flee to the army of Árpád who was slowly moving south along the Tisza. In 895 the Hungarians occupied only the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin and did not cross the Danube. That happened only in 899 when, upon being invited by the Frank ruler Arnulf, they raided northern Italy. The Hungarian army returned in 900, and as they were returning they learned of the death of Arnulf in December 899. The Hungarian army occupied Transdanubia and moved westwards. They were stopped briefly in 902 when a temporary cease-fire between the Franks and the Hungarians deferred hostilities. However, the settlement of the Hungarians was complete.

The pacification of the people living in the Carpathian Basin went almost automatically. The Avars, most of whom had converted to Christianity in the first half of the 9th century, lost their power. The Danube Bulgars and the Franks crushed the Khaganate and only small, petty rulers remained. The Turkic-speaking Avars were gradually Slavicized. Some of them were still bilingual when the Hungarians arrived. There is a group of loanwords in

Hungarian which clearly show the bilingualism of the Avars. Such a word is *H terem* 'great room, palace' (also in the well-known Hungarian word *étterem* 'restaurant') ~ Avar *term*, West Turkic *terem*.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. *Ethnogenetic processes and the Hungarian case*

In the Middle Ages old people or ethnic groups disappeared and new ones emerged. In Europe roughly three types of these ethnogenetic processes can be distinguished. All of them can be investigated from the point of view of how they adapted to the "civilized" Roman Empire and how they succeeded in forming their new feudal organization through personal and territorial bonds. Each process can be broken down into several subtypes. The three main types were: the German type, the Slavic type and the Turkic type. In the Turkic case tribal confederations tended toward a centralized Empire. The Turkic type, in turn, can be broken down into three subtypes, the Avar, the Khazar and the Danube Bulgar. The Khazar and the Avar processes proved to be dead ends, and both peoples disappeared. The Danube Bulgars, though retaining their ethnic identity for some time, were slowly absorbed by the Slavic majority.<sup>16</sup>

The Hungarians also lived in a Turkic type of tribal confederation; their name was the Seven Magyars (H *Hetümagyer*) on the model of the Ten Ogurs, the Three Kharluks, the Thirty Tatars etc. We know that this tribal federation in 895 consisted of at least eleven tribes, three of them of Khazar origin. One of the most interesting questions in the history of central Europe is how and why did the Hungarians continue to exist and retain their language and ethnic identity while all other tribal confederations of the Turkic type disappeared, as the Avars or the Khazars did, or were absorbed as the Danube Bulgars were. There are multiple reasons and no single cause can be selected as the main one. The scope of this lecture does not permit me to analyze this process. I can only point to such external factors as the role of Khazar institutions, small local Slav organizations under Avar and Bulgar rule in the Carpathian Basin, and the Frank military and Christian missionary

<sup>15</sup> On the word and its history see Róna-Tas (1996a).

<sup>16</sup> On the mediaeval ethnogenetic processes, its three main types and their subtypes, see Róna-Tas (1996c), in which the earlier opinions of Wenskus, Wolfram, Pohl, Szűcs and others are also covered.

operations. Among the internal factors, the rapid dissolution of the tribal organization with the temporary strengthening of the clan system and the mixed economy with a temporarily balanced equilibrium among nomadic pastoral and relatively strong agricultural components have to be mentioned. Within the historically extremely short time the Hungarians, who completed the settlement in about 902, founded under Saint Stephen in 1000 a Christian state which succeeded in joining the mediaeval European community.

### *3. The celebrations of the settlement*

Finally, a few words about the long series of celebrations of the settlement, also called "Landnahme" or "the conquest" in some publications. The settlement, the "ingressus ex oriente" has always been in the focus of Hungarian historical tradition. It appeared as early as the middle of the 10th century, and later in the Hungarian chronicles written in Latin. It was always a glorification of the heroic past mostly contrasted with the bad and decadent times of the author of the chronicle, be that the 12th, 13th, or 15th century. Though all Hungarian chronicles of the Middle Ages dealt with the settlement, the historically verifiable data in them are very scanty. In 1896 the Hungarian Kingdom was a member-state of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy with Franz Joseph of the Habsburg Dynasty as its king. Though he crushed the Hungarian revolution of 1848/49, the Hungarian elite reached an historic compromise with him in 1867. Under such conditions the political message of the celebrations was more or less clear. The celebration was planned for 1895 but because of problems in organization it was postponed until the following year. The celebrations took place during a period of unprecedented economic and social prosperity. Many famous places which can be seen in Budapest today, Heroes' Square, many of the museums and other buildings, were erected in 1896. A typical product of the Millennium was the panoramic painting of the settlement by Árpád Feszty, now on display in Ópusztaszer. The celebrations were marked by a romantic sense of nationalism without, however, attacking or discriminating against minorities. Out of the 24 peasant houses and yards in the living museum-type ethnographic exhibition organized in 1896 twelve demonstrated the life of the minorities. The number of inhabitants belonging to a minority in 1895 was just half of the total population of Greater Hungary. Many books and scholarly works were

published and a profusion of paintings, sculptures and musical compositions celebrated the event. But the Romantic paintings and sometimes pompous facades succeeded only temporarily in hiding the great social and ethnic tensions that resulted in two world wars, and some of these tensions have still not disappeared.

The celebration of the settlement remains a political issue even today. Hungarian scholars, however, do their best to keep out of these debates and concentrate on new data, on new sources and on historical reconstruction:

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## Recent developments in Western Yugur

Western Yugur, a Turkic language traditionally known as Yellow Uygur, is spoken within the nationality of the Yugur. The Yugur are one of China's 56 officially recognized nationalities, consisting of 12,297 persons according to the 1990 census.<sup>1</sup> The Yugur live primarily in Sùnán Yugur Autonomous County in Gānsù Province. This County consists of three parts which are not contiguous: Míng huā District and Huángchéng District are separated from the main body of the County.

The Yugur live in an area where four different language groups, Turkic, Mongolic, Chinese and Tibetan converge. The Yugur nationality itself consists in fact of four linguistically different groups.

The largest of these are the Turkic speaking Western Yugur, comprising about 4,600 persons; they mainly live in the western part of the County, in Dàhé and Míng huā Districts. The Mongolic speaking Eastern Yugur number about 2,800; they mainly live in the County's eastern part, in Kānglè and Huángchéng Districts. As both of these groups designate themselves as Yellow Uygur, the Turkic speaking Yugur as *sariγ yōγir*, and the Mongolic speaking Yugur as *šéra yōkōr* (*šéra* 'yellow', *yōkōr* 'Yugur'), they are distinguished as Western and Eastern Yugur in Chinese literature. A very small number of the Yugur living in Huángchéng District allegedly speaks Tibetan. The remaining Yugur speak Chinese, mainly the northwest Mandarin dialect.<sup>2</sup> Both Western and Eastern Yugur are non-written languages.

Western Yugur can be classified as belonging to the Northeastern subgroup of Turkic languages, and is most closely related to Khakas, and its sister languages Chulym and Shor, and to Tuva and its sister language Tofa; it is more distantly related to Yakut and Dolgan. This subgroup is characterized by the retention of a reflex of Common Turkic \**d*, either as *d* (Tuva and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yáng 1993:101-103.

<sup>2</sup> All estimates according to Chén & Léi 1985:1, based on the 1982 census which mentions a total number of 10,569 Yugur. Both the 1982 and the 1990 census do not distinguish between the different linguistic groups of the Yugur. However, the actual number of proficient speakers of Western Yugur may be lower.

Tofa), as *t* (Yakut and Dolgan), or as *z* (Western Yugur, Khakas, Chulym and Shor), as opposed to the *\*ayak* branch of Turkic languages, which features the development of CT *\*d* into *y*. Mostly for geographical reasons, Western Yugur has sometimes been considered a dialect of Modern Uygur, together with Salar. Salar and Modern Uygur, however, both belong to the *\*ayak* branch of Turkic languages, Salar to the Oghuz subgroup and Modern Uygur to the Chaghatay subgroup.

Western Yugur has been isolated from the main body of Turkic languages for about six centuries. It is a typical border language, retaining a number of archaic features on the one hand, like preaspiration and the anticipating counting system, and showing many innovations on the other hand.

At the moment the Western Yugur language changes rapidly in phonetic and lexical respect, which can be noted not only when comparing the older literature with today's speech, but even when comparing the speech of older and younger speakers.

Among the recent developments of Western Yugur phonology are the following. CT *\*i* and *\*ü* merged with their back vocalic counterparts *i̇* and *u̇*, except when preceded by a palatal consonant *y-* or *ç-*, and CT *\*i̇* and *\*u̇* developed into *i* and *ü* when preceded by these consonants. Now, *e*, and congruently *ö*, are in the process of disappearing as phonemes, raising to *i* and *ü*. Older speakers retain *e* in far more instances than younger speakers. The raising of *e* to *i* has been completed in suffixes. As a consequence, vowel harmony in Western Yugur is restricted to A<sup>2</sup> suffixes which are realized as *a* or *i*. Original high vowel suffixes do not feature vowel harmony at all, and have merged into *i̇*.

Under the influence of Chinese, voice disappeared as a distinguishing feature in plosives and affricates: instead there is an opposition of voicelessness versus aspiration. The CT apico-alveolar affricate *č* and sibilant *š* have split into a retroflex versus an alveolo-palatal series in Western Yugur.

Further, Western Yugur shows numerous cases of elision of intervocalic consonants and consequent contractions, e.g. the present-future suffix *-(Gi)š* elides *G* when following liquids, and *Gi̇* in intervocalic position.

Assimilations are frequent: note *n* > *ŋ* when preceding *q*, and *p* in the converb suffix *-(i)P* > *t k q* when preceding these consonants, and > *w* when preceding vowels.

Assimilation of a suffix' initial *m-* > *p-* when following plosives, however, is mainly observed by older speakers, as opposed to younger speakers.

As for the lexicon, Western Yugur contains a considerable number of loanwords, not only from Eastern Yugur and other Mongolic languages, but also from Tibetan, both classical as well as Amdo dialect forms, and especially from Chinese, both standard Chinese as well as northwest Mandarin dialect forms. It contains a number of words of unknown etymology, some of which are shared by Eastern Yugur.

Below follows a text sample of Western Yugur.<sup>3</sup> It is the story of the “Old Woman and the Cow”, told by Xuéliǎn (aged 18), recorded 13 September 1995 in Běijīng, and transcribed with the help of Zhōng Jīnwén. The story is followed by an etymological word list, and a list of suffixes.

#### Abbreviations

B	Bolčuluu	LM	Literary Mongolian
Ch	Chinese	Meng	Měng-Hàn Cídiǎn
CT	Common Turkic	NE	Northeastern Turkic
CZW	Chén, Zhōu & Wáng	NwM	Northwest Mandarin
EDPT	Clauson	Sev	Sevortjan
EYu	Eastern Yugur	WYu	Western Yugur
Les	Lessing	ZW	Zhōu & Wáng

#### *The Old Woman and the Cow* told by Xuéliǎn

1. *p<sup>h</sup>iṭirki pīr anika par-i-titi, yaŋqiča par-i-titi.*
2. *mīla-ma yɔq, qiztar-ma yɔq, tuaʃɪ qiliʃ-i-titi.*
3. *ta<sup>h</sup>qī pīr enik par-i-titi. pu enik-ya xau p<sup>h</sup>əŋjəusi<sup>4</sup>-i-titi.*
4. *k<sup>h</sup>unsi:n taxsiŋqa yaŋqiča ziŋilayaq-i-titi.*

<sup>3</sup> The transcription system used here is based on IPA, with some adaptations. Single graphemes *ç* *ɕ* are used in stead of IPA double graphemes [*tʃ* *tɕ*], and *š* is used for IPA [*ʃ*]. Preaspiration is indicated by a superscript *h*; its allophones are *χ* (preceding *q* and *s*), *ʃ* (following *i*) and *ϕ* (following initial *u-*). The alphabetical order is *a ç ç<sup>h</sup> ɕ ɕ<sup>h</sup> e f ɣ h i j k k<sup>h</sup> l m n ŋ ɔ ɔ̃ p p<sup>h</sup> q q<sup>h</sup> r s ʃ s̄ t t<sup>h</sup> u ü w x y z z̄*. *z̄*- occurs as an allophone of *y*-preceding high vowels, and *-o* as an allophone of *-u* in the converb. Allophones are not indicated in the vocabulary.

<sup>4</sup> The Yugur equivalent is *ya<sup>h</sup>š nü<sup>h</sup>keri*.

5. *ziyīlayanta ayka-ma ɔxqarmas, nappa nalmas; ɔ uzi kiyik-i-titi, yū<sup>h</sup>sīŋki.*
6. *antaqanta pīr k<sup>h</sup>ʊ:nki e<sup>h</sup>tkinti enik taxsīŋqa haŋi ya yɔq pɔxaniyan-titi.*
7. *antaqanta yiŋir qara tuxsyinti pu anika nayo telisi-ma yɔq-i-titi.*
8. *“pu nayo telisi-ma yɔqti. pu qarɣan-i? men pīr teliyīlayn”, tiyi maŋqan-titi.*
9. *mo: yɔlya e<sup>h</sup>tkinti-ya pīr zilan t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyan-titi.*
10. *“pu yilanni t<sup>h</sup>eryi mayn”, t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyan-titi, eni maŋqan-titi.*
11. *maŋqanta iŋki ɕitan tɔqiroyan-titi: “ey, mīni-ma t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyīlayn”, eni maŋqan-titi.*
12. *eni pīr mɔs t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyan-titi: “ey, pu kustīŋ mɔsīn t<sup>h</sup>eryi mayn”, maŋqan-titi.*
13. *mo: nayo telisi-ma taxqmayan-titi.*
14. *“ey, am zūyi mayn. mīni amsa tɔrtiŋ ziwatqan pɔsto”, tiyin-titi.*
15. *antaqanta yū<sup>h</sup>sīŋki kiyin-titi.*
16. *kiyinti-ya am pu kus-ma yɔqti, iŋciŋiŋi aɕisya.*
17. *“am mīntaqas-ya uziyn, amsa nayse?” antaqas-ya uziyan-titi.*
18. *uziyanta-ya yiŋi:r pɔyanta pīr tɔrtiŋ anikanī ziyīla kiyin-titi.*
19. *“men puŋin pu aykanī ziyīlayn”, tiyin-titi.*
20. *ɕəŋxɔ-ya pu anika apparɣan ɔ zilan, ɔ ɕitan, ɔ kustīŋ mɔsīn iɕ<sup>h</sup>i apparɣa ləuzaniŋ üsīŋki suwatqan-titi. antaqanta uziyan-titi.*
21. *pu tɔrtiŋ kiloyanta-ya pu ɕitan-ya ləuzaniŋ üsinti piski ɔliryan-titi.*
22. *antaqanta pu mɔs-ya qaylap parya aykanīŋ paŋšinta ɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔqeq q<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi.*
23. *ɔh, ta<sup>h</sup>qi pu q<sup>h</sup>ayci t<sup>h</sup>erīwalyan-tito.*
24. *ɔ q<sup>h</sup>ayci-ya qaylap parya aykanīŋ azaqīnta ɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔqeq q<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi.*
25. *antaqanta pu zilan-ya qaylap parya keimən sīkti ɕ<sup>h</sup>ɔqeq q<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi.*
26. *ɕ<sup>h</sup>iŋɣ pu zilan-ya kustīŋ iŋciŋisito, mɔs-ya ɔ kustīŋ mɔstī, ɔ q<sup>h</sup>ayci-ya kustīŋ tīmsiyti.*
27. *antaqanta-ya pu tɔrtiŋ-ya ɕia:ŋ sīktin k<sup>h</sup>iroyanta-la k<sup>h</sup>iŋip paryan-titi.*
28. *k<sup>h</sup>iŋip parya ɕiaŋ-ya aykanīŋ pa<sup>h</sup>çin yiyn tio ɕiaŋ-ya pa<sup>h</sup>çin ziyi tioyanta pu kustīŋ mɔs sanço sayan-titi.*
29. *ɕia:ŋ azaqin yiyn tio azaqīŋqa ɔsyi tioyanta pu q<sup>h</sup>ayci tīmsiyin q<sup>h</sup>aycilo sayan-titi.*
30. *“ay, am zio yataŋti, men mayn!” qaylawatqan-titi.*
31. *qaylawatqanta pu ləuzaniŋ yanqa e<sup>h</sup>tkinti pu ɕitan piski ɕəŋçəŋ közīn “pa<sup>h</sup>rs” e<sup>h</sup>tki yarɔ<sup>h</sup>tqan-titi.*

32. *antaqanta eni qaylayan-titi. qaylo keimən sikki e<sup>h</sup>tkinti pu zilan hōraq q<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi.*
33. *antaqanta yōqq<sup>h</sup>ayan-titi. antaqanta aykanī zio yatayan-titi.*

*The Old Woman and the Cow*<sup>5</sup>  
told by Xuéliān

A long time ago there was an old woman, she was alone. She had neither son nor daughter, she was really pitiable. There was also a cow. This cow was her good friend. Every day it went out to eat by itself. When it went to eat, the old woman did not pasture it, she did nothing at all, it came home by itself.

Then one day, the cow went out and disappeared. So when it became dark in the evening, how[ever much] this old woman looked for it, it was not there. "How[ever much] I looked, it is not there. Whither has it gone? Let me go to have a look for it", she said and set off.

While she was walking, on the way, she picked up a snake. She picked it up: "Let me go and pick up this snake", and she walked on again. When she was walking, [she noticed that] two eggs had fallen: "Eh, let me also go and pick them up", and she walked on again. She picked up a horn too: "Eh, let me go and pick up this cow horn", and she walked on. While walking, how[ever much] she looked, she did not find [her cow]. "Eh, now let me walk home. As for now, probably a wolf has devoured it", she said. Then she came [back] to her house. When she came [home], this cow was not there now, and she felt anxiety gnaw at her heart. "Now then let me sleep, now what to do?" after that she went to sleep.

When she slept it became evening, and a wolf came to eat the old woman. "Let me go and eat this old woman today", he said. Just in time this old woman had taken that snake, those eggs, that cow horn, that she had taken altogether, and put them on the stove. Then she went to sleep. When this wolf came, this egg was boiled on the stove. Then this horn went running and sat down at the old woman's head. Oh, she had also picked up this pair of

<sup>5</sup> A similar story appears in Tenišev 1976 N<sup>o</sup> 8, and another version was recorded by Malov 1967 N<sup>o</sup> 101. The story of the helpful objects is widespread: it occurs in Chinese, cf. Eberhard N<sup>o</sup> 14, and Ting N<sup>o</sup> 210, in Tibetan, cf. Ting N<sup>o</sup> 210, in Mongolian, cf. Lőrincz N<sup>o</sup> 106, and in Salar, cf. Tenišev 1964 N<sup>os</sup> 25 and 56.

shears. That pair of shears went running and sat down at the old woman's feet. Then this snake went running and sat down at the gate door. Actually this snake was the cow's gut, the horn was that cow's horn, that pair of shears was that cow's mouth.

So just as this wolf had entered through the door, he entered. He entered and just while he said: "Let me eat the old woman's head", just when he was about to eat her head, this cow horn started to stab him. Just while he said: "Let me eat her feet", when he was about to grab her feet, this pair of shears started to clip his mouth. "Ay, now I will not be able to eat, I'm off!" and he ran away.

When he ran away and got near this stove, this egg was boiled, and with a bursting sound, it truly smashed his eye. Then again he ran. When he ran and got at the gate door, this snake strangled [him]. Then he died. So he could not eat the old woman.

### Vocabulary

- açis**= 'to feel anxious, to be sad; to have pent-up feelings of sadness, to be weighed down with anxiety' <CT \*ha:çiš= (cf. EDPT 31b).
- al**= 'to take, to take away; to buy; to want; to get, to obtain; to receive' <CT \*al= (cf. EDPT 124b, SevI:127).
- am** 'now; just now, just then; a moment ago, an instant ago' <CT \*am (cf. EDPT 156b s.v. *amti*, SevI:357). The back vocalic form seems to be typical of NE.
- amsa** 'now, as for now, at this moment'. Contraction of *am pōlsa*.
- anika** 'old woman, grandmother', probably CT \*ana (cf. EDPT 169b, SevI:278) + *-ka*.
- antay** 'like that: such; thus, as follows' <CT \*antay (cf. EDPT 123a, SevI:149).
- antaqanta** 'when doing or having done like that: then, afterwards; thus, in that way, so'. Contraction of \**antay qilyanta*.
- antaqaş** 'after having done like that: thus, then, afterwards; in such a way, therefore'. Contraction of \**antay qilyaş*.
- appar**= 'to take to, to take away'. Contraction of \**alip par*= (cf. SevI:128).
- ayka**, contraction of *anika*.
- azaq** 'foot' <CT \*hadak (cf. EDPT 45a, SevI:103).



**çəŋçəŋ** ‘really, truly’ ←Ch *zhēnzhèng*, NwM çəŋ<sup>44</sup> CZW361a + çəŋ<sup>213</sup> CZW380a.

**çəŋxə** ‘just in time’ ←Ch *zhēnghǎo*, NwM çəŋ<sup>213</sup> CZW380a + xə<sup>51</sup> CZW333b.

**çuasɿ** ‘really, very, severely, vehemently, extremely, in a high degree’ ←NwM çuə<sup>213</sup> sɿ<sup>51</sup> ZW130 ‘really, indeed; well-done’, cf. Ch *zhuóshí* ‘really, indeed, severely’. The development of *a* < ə seems to be peculiar of WYu.

**ç<sup>h</sup>ɔqe=** ‘to sit, to sit down’. Of unknown etymology, also EYu.

**çianɿ** ‘just at that moment, just now’ ←NwM çianɿ<sup>44</sup> CZW171a ‘just now’, cf. Ch *jiāng* ‘to be about to’.

**çitan** ‘egg (of a chicken)’ ←Ch *jīdàn*, NwM çɿ<sup>44</sup> CZW308a + tan<sup>213</sup> CZW345b.

**ç<sup>h</sup>iʂɿ** ‘in fact, actually’ ←Ch *qíshí*, NwM ç<sup>h</sup>i<sup>51</sup> CZW309b + sɿ<sup>51</sup> CZW305a.

**eni** ‘again, another time; too’ <CT \**yene* (cf. SevIV:115) ~ \**yana* (cf. EDPT 943a, SevIV:114). Not elsewhere in NE.

**enik** ‘cow’ <CT \**ingek* (cf. EDPT 184a, SevI:358).

**e<sup>h</sup>t=** ‘to arrive, to reach, to get at a place’ <CT \**yɛt=* (cf. EDPT 884b, SevIV:193).

**e<sup>h</sup>t=** ‘to make a sound’, perhaps from CT \**ɔt=* ‘of birds to sing’ (cf. EDPT 39a, SevI:556). The unrounded vowel seems to be typical of NE.

**hanɿ=** ‘to go, to go away, to leave’. Of unknown etymology, also EYu.

**həra=** ‘to coil, to twist; to strangle’ ←EYu xəɾɔɾ= B50, cf. LM oɾɔɾa= Les 621b.

**i<sup>h</sup>çiki** ‘intestines, entrails; abdomen, belly’ <CT \**ičegü* (cf. EDPT 25b, SevI:392). WYu points at \*-*k*-.

**iç<sup>h</sup>i** ‘together, altogether’ ←Ch *yīqǐ*, NwM i<sup>213</sup> CZW310b + ç<sup>h</sup>i<sup>51</sup> CZW 309b.

**ɿʂki** ‘two’ <CT \**ikki* < \**ekki* (cf. EDPT 100b, SevI:337).

**keimən** as in *keimən sɿk* ‘gate’ ←NwM kaɿ<sup>44</sup>məŋ<sup>51</sup> CZW201b, cf. Ch *jiē* ‘street’ + *mén* ‘door’.

**kel=** ‘to come; to come to, to arrive; to return’ <CT \**kɛl=* (cf. EDPT 715b).

**ki-**, clipped form of *kel=*.

**köz** ‘eye; source, well’ <CT \**köz* (cf. EDPT 756b, SevIII:60).

**kus** ‘bovine’ <CT \**höküz* ‘ox’ (cf. EDPT 120a, SevI:521).

**k<sup>h</sup>un** ‘day; sun’ <CT \**kün* (cf. EDPT 725a).

**k<sup>h</sup>unsen** ‘daily, every day’, from *k<sup>h</sup>un* + the clitic *-sen*.

**k<sup>h</sup>unsín**, idiolectal for *k<sup>h</sup>unsen*.

*ləuz* 'stove, furnace' ←Ch *lúzi*, cf NwM *ləu*<sup>51</sup> CZW313b, *cɹ*<sup>51</sup> CZW 303a.

Note that Ch *c* is rendered as *z* in WYu; Ch *c*<sup>h</sup> is rendered as *s*.

*ɔ* 'that; he, she, it' <CT \**ɔl* (cf. EDPT 123a, SevI:444).

*maŋ*= 'to go, to set off, to walk, to be on one's way, to go on walking' <CT \**maŋ*= (cf. EDPT 767a) < \**baŋ*= 'to walk' (cf. EDPT 348a).

*mayn*, contraction of \**maŋin*. See *maŋ*=.

*men* 'I' <CT \**ben* (cf. EDPT 346a).

*mila* 'child; boy', probably <CT \**bala* 'the young of an animal' (cf. EDPT 332b).

*mīnī* 'this' (accusative).

*mīntay* 'like this: such' <CT \**būntag* (cf. EDPT 349b).

*mīntaqas* 'after having done like this: thus, then, afterwards; in such a way, therefore'. Contraction of \**mīntay qilyas*.

*mo*, contraction of *maŋo*. See *maŋ*=.

*mōs* 'horn' <CT \**būñüz* (cf. EDPT 352a).

*nayo* 'while doing what; how, so'. Contraction of \**ni qilo*.

*nayse* 'what to do? what should one do?'. Contraction of \**ni qilyiš-i*.

*nalmas* 'doesn't do what'. Contraction of \**ni qilmas*.

*nappa* 'what is [one] doing?'. Contraction of \**ni qilip par*.

*ni* 'what; what kind of, which' <CT \**ne* (cf. EDPT 774a).

*nó<sup>h</sup>ker* 'friend' ←EYu *nök<sup>h</sup>ör* B26, cf LM *nökör* Les593b.

*ɔlir*= 'to stay; to live, to dwell; to be situated; to wait' <CT \**ɔlur*= 'to sit' (cf. EDPT 150a, SevI:492).

*ɔ<sup>h</sup>qar*= 'to pasture, to tend cattle' <CT \**ɔtgar*= (cf. EDPT 48a, SevI:483). WYu points at \*-*k*-.

*ɔs*= 'to seize, to grab'. Of unknown etymology.

*par* 'there is' <CT \**ba:r* (cf. EDPT 353a, SevII:61).

*par*= 'to go, to leave' <CT \**bar*= (cf. EDPT 354a, SevII:64).

*pa<sup>h</sup>rs* 'onomatopoeic for a bursting sound: pang'.

*paš* 'head; top, summit; tree top, crown; upper end; beginning' <CT \**baš* (cf. EDPT 375a, SevII:85). Note the irregular development -*š* < \*-*š*, instead of -*s* < \*-*š*.

*pīr* 'one, a; once, a time' <CT \**bir* (cf. EDPT 353b, SevII:146).

*pīs*= 'of something to boil, to cook; to become ripe' <CT \**biš*= ~ \**biš*= (cf. EDPT 376b, SevII:161).

*pə*-, clipped form of *pɔl*=.

**pɔl=** ‘to become, to be, to happen, to occur’ <CT \*bɔ:l= (cf. EDPT 331a, SevII:185).

**pʊ** ‘this; he, she, it’ <CT \*pʊ (cf. EDPT 291b, SevII:225).

**pʊyɪn** ‘today’. Compound consisting of \*pʊ ‘this’ and \*kʊn ‘day’, already attested in Kāshgārī (cf. EDPT 725b).

**p<sup>h</sup>əŋiəu** ‘friend’ ←Ch *péngyou*, NwM p<sup>h</sup>əŋ<sup>51</sup> CZW377b + iəu<sup>51</sup> CZW 343b.

**p<sup>h</sup>itir** ‘last year’ <CT \*bildir (cf. EDPT 334a, SevII:139).

**qaya** ‘whither’. Dative of the older interrogative base \*ka- (cf. EDPT 632b, s.v. *kañu*).

**qar=** ‘to go whither’. Contraction of *qaya par=*.

**qara** ‘black; dark(ness)’ <CT \*kara (cf. EDPT 643b).

**qayla=** ‘to run’. Of unknown etymology.

**qil=** ‘to do’ <CT \*ki/= (cf. EDPT 616a), now obsolete and occurring only in compounds, see *antaqanta*, *antaqaş*, *mintaqaş*, *nayo*, *nayşe*, *nalmas*, *nappa*.

**qilış** ‘pitiableness’. Of unclear etymology, perhaps CT \*kilinč ‘deed, act, action; karma’ (cf. EDPT 623a).

**qiz** ‘daughter, girl’ <CT \*ki:z (cf. EDPT 679b).

**qiztar** ‘girl, little girl’. Diminutive of *qiz*. Not attested elsewhere.

**q<sup>h</sup>a-**, clipped form of *q<sup>h</sup>al=*.

**q<sup>h</sup>al=** ‘to remain; to fall’ <CT \*ka:l= ‘to remain’ (cf. EDPT 615b). The meaning ‘to fall’ seems to be peculiar of WYu.

**q<sup>h</sup>ayci** ‘scissors, shears’ ←EYu *xaič<sup>h</sup>é* B42, cf LM *qayiči(n)* Les912a.

**q<sup>h</sup>ayčila=** ‘to clip, to cut’ ←EYu *xaič<sup>h</sup>la=* B42, cf LM *qayičila=* Les 912a.

**sa-**, clipped form of *sal=*.

**sal=** ‘to put; to release’ <CT \*sa/= (cf. EDPT 824b).

**sançj=** ‘to stab, to pierce, to poke, to jab’ <CT \*sanč= ‘to pierce, to transfix’ (cf. EDPT 835b).

**sarıy** ‘yellow’ <CT \*sarıg (cf. EDPT 848a).

**-sen** ‘every’, a development of CT \*sa:yin (cf. EDPT 858b s.v. *sa:yu*).

**sik** ‘door’ <CT \*ε:šik ‘threshold’ (cf. EDPT 260a, SevI:396).

**suvat=** ‘to put, to put down, to lower’. Contraction of *salıwat=*.

**ta<sup>h</sup>q=** ‘to find’ <CT \*tap= (cf. EDPT 435b).

**ta<sup>h</sup>qı** ‘still, yet; also, moreover; or’ <CT \*takı (cf. EDPT 466a, SevIII:122).

**ta<sup>h</sup>s** ‘outside’ <CT \*taš (cf. EDPT 556b, SevIII:164).

**teli=** ‘to look for, to search for, to seek’ <CT \*tilə= (cf. EDPT 492a, SevIII:231).

- ti=** 'to say; to tell; to reply, to answer' <CT \*tɛ:= (cf. EDPT 433b, SevIII:221).
- t̄imsiŷ** 'mouth; lip; beak' <CT \*tumšuk (cf. EDPT 509b).
- təqira=** 'to fall (to the front), to topple down' ←EYu *tugura=* B131, cf. LM of Inner Mongolia *du yura=* Meng764b 'to take turns'.
- törtiŷ** 'wolf'. Of unknown etymology.
- tuaşɪ**, ideolectical for *çuaşɪ*.
- tu<sup>hs</sup>=** 'to descend, to go down; to fall' <CT \*tüş= (cf. EDPT 560a, SevIII:330).
- tu<sup>ht</sup>=** 'to hold; to catch, to catch hold of; to do' <CT \*tuv= (cf. EDPT 451a).
- t<sup>her</sup>=** 'to gather, to pick up' <CT \*te:r= (cf. EDPT 529a, SevIII:204).
- uzi** 'self' <CT \*öz 'self' (cf. EDPT 278a, SevI:506) + -(s)i(n).
- uzi=** 'to sleep, to go to sleep, to be asleep' <CT \*udī= (cf. EDPT 42b, SevI:579).
- üsü(n)-** 'its upside'. Contraction of *üzisi(n)-* <CT \*üze 'above' (cf. EDPT 280b, SevI:622) + -(s)i(n).
- xau** 'good' ←Ch *hǎo*.
- yan** 'side; near; hip' <CT \*yam (cf. EDPT 940a, SevIV:113).
- yanqıça** 'alone, only, by oneself'. Contraction of *yanqıs* + *-ça*.
- yanqıs** 'alone' <CT \*yalıus 'alone, only, solitary' (cf. EDPT 930b, SevIV:97).
- yar=** 'to smash, to split, to break, to cleave' <CT \*yar= (cf. EDPT 954b, SevIV:135).
- yata=** 'cannot, not to be able to, to be incapable of; cannot stand or bear, cannot endure' ←EYu *yita=* B155, cf. LM *yada=* Les422a.
- ya<sup>hş</sup>** 'good' <CT \*yaxši (cf. EDPT 908a, SevIV:63).
- yi=** 'to eat' <CT \*yɛ:= (cf. EDPT 869b, SevI:332).
- yilan** 'snake' <CT \*yilan (cf. EDPT 930a, SevIV:277).
- yinjir** 'evening' <CT \*injir ~ \*ijir 'dusk' (cf. EDPT 188b, SevI:354).
- yöyir** 'Yugur' <CT \*uygur.
- yol** 'way, road, path; journey' <CT \*yol (cf. EDPT 917a, SevIV:217).
- yocq** 'there is not; without; poor' <CT \*yok (cf. EDPT 895b, SevIV:211).
- yocq<sup>ha</sup>=** 'to die' (impolite). Contraction of \*yölip *q<sup>ha</sup>al=*.
- yü** 'house; family' <CT \*hɛb (cf. EDPT 3b, SevI:513).
- yül=** 'to die' <CT \*höl= (cf. EDPT 125b, SevI:525).

*List of suffixes*

-ça	adverb suffix
<i>i</i>	defective verb <i>i</i> - 'is'
-GA	dative
-GA	converb connecting two clauses, or a verb and its auxiliary, e.g. -GA ɔlir=
-GAK	habitual
-GAN	past tense as used in stories
-GAN	present/past participle
-GAntA	temporal clause 'when' (< -GAN + -tA)
-GAş	unclipped form of the converb -GA, occurring only with following clause particle
-Gĩ	converb occurring only connected with <i>ti</i> =: 'to be on the verge of'
-Gĩla	purpose auxiliary
-Gĩla	purpose converb
-(Gĩ)ş	present/future
-in	1st person singular imperative (following consonants)
-(s)i(n)	3rd person possessive
-(s)in	3rd person possessive accusative
-ka	affective suffix
-Kĩ	case neutralizer
-la	clause particle indicating focus
-ma	clause particle indicating 'also'
-mA	negative verb
-mAs	negative habitual
-Nĩ	accusative
-Nĩŋ	genitive
-(i)P	converb connecting a verb and its auxiliary, e.g. -(i)p par=, -(i)q q <sup>h</sup> al=, -(i)wal, -(i)wat
-o	converb connecting two clauses ('during'), or a verb and its auxiliary, e.g. -o yata=, -o sa=; elides stem final vowel <i>a</i> <i>ĩ</i>
-o-	contraction of -o + pɔ-
-o sal=	inchoative
-(i)p par	progressive

-sA	conditional
-sA-ma	concessive
-(i)ṣti	clitic 'in' (*iç 'inside' + -tA)
-tA	locative
-tAn	ablative
-tar	diminutive, occurring only in <i>qiztar</i>
-titi	narrative (<tiytī <ti= + converb -y + -tī )
-tī	particle 'is'
-to	emphatic -tī
-(i)ttī	past tense of the 2nd and 3rd person; inferential (< -(i)P + -tī )
-u <sup>ht</sup>	auxiliary suffix (elides stem final vowel)
-xani	auxiliary suffix 'to go' (< hani= )
-ya	clause particle, indicating focus, but often used as a filling element
-yn	1st person singular imperative (following vowels)

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## Einige Hilfsmittel zur Identifikation und Datierung mittelmongolischer ziviler Dokumente

Während Vorarbeiten zur mmo. Titulatur und Personennamen fiel mir im Zusammenhang mit der Bearbeitung der hPags-pa Edikte auf, daß in diesen, trotz ihres stereotypen Aufbaus und Inhalts, eine bestimmte Terminologie und Phraseologie herrscht, durch die die Edikte sowohl zeitlich als auch inhaltlich bestimmt werden können. In meinem folgendem Artikel versuche ich diese Unterschiede systematisch herauszuarbeiten, und wende die zu machenden Schlußfolgerungen auf die nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen hPags-pa Edikte an. Weiterhin untersuche ich im letzten Teil meines Artikels, ob die für die hPags-pa Edikte zu ziehenden Schlußfolgerungen auch auf andere Typen ziviler Dokumente anwendbar sind. Auf den strukturellen Aufbau der hPags-pa Edikte gehe ich nicht ein, sondern verweise auf die Arbeit von Schuh (1977:158-179), die hier verwendete Terminologie habe ich übernommen.

hPags-pa Edikte beginnen mit einer zweiteiligen *Invocatio*, die aus den Teilen i) *mönkä dënri-yin kücün-dür* und ii) *qān-u su-dur* bzw. *yéke su jāli-yin 'ihēn-dür* besteht. Eine solche *Invocatio* ist typisch für Edikte, die vom Qayan oder Personen, die zu seinem Haushalt gehören, veröffentlicht sind. Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang der Unterschied im zweiten Teil der *Invocatio*. Der Satz *qān-u su-dur* erscheint nur in Dokumenten, die von Personen, die zum Haushalt des Qayan gehören, ausgestellt sind (PH I, V, XII), während *yéke su jāli-yin 'ihēn-dür* für Edikte typisch ist, die vom Qayan selbst erteilt worden sind (PH II, IV, VI-XI, XII-XV).

Die *Invocatio* ist die Authorisierung für das Austellen des Edikts, vergleichbar mit "richtigen Authorisierungen", wie sie z.B. auf zivilen Dokumenten aus Turkestan und Münzen der Ilqane erscheinen. Der erste Teil der *Invocatio*, *mönkä dënri-yin kücün-dür* 'durch die Kraft des Ewigen Himmels', ist eine Authorisierung durch den Himmel als höchste Macht. Im zweiten Teil bezieht der Qayan seine Vollmacht durch den *yéke su jāli-yin*

'*ihën-dür* 'den Schutz des Genius (des Čingis Qan)' als höchste Schutzmacht des Stammes (Kotwicz 1934:135-137; Cleaves 1949:131:259; Cleaves 1953:43-44:5; Poppe 1957:67-76:1).<sup>1</sup> Personen, die zum Haushalt des Qayan gehören, erhalten ihre Vollmacht durch das *qān-u su-dur* 'Heil des Qayan' (Kotwicz 1934:138-139; Mostaert & Cleaves 1962:18-22; TMEN § 217). Hier ist eine klare Rangfolge sichtbar: i) Himmel, ii) Genius des Čingis Qan, iii) der Qayan, wobei der Aussteller sich auf die jeweils höhere Instanz beruft.

Die *Intitulatio*, d.h. der Titel und/oder Name des Urhebers, ist ein wichtiges Instrument zur Unterscheidung verschiedener Erlasse und Dokumente. Die Intitulationen von Personen, die rangmäßig auf verschiedenen Stufen stehen, haben eine jeweils eigene Terminologie. Edikte, die vom Qayan oder der Kaiserwitwe ausgestellt sind, haben als *Intitulatio* nur den Titel des Urhebers: *qān ĵarliq manu* 'Unsere, (des) Qayan Verordnung' (PH II, IV, VI-XI, XIII-XV; Poppe 1957:76-78:2b, 91:26), *ḡon tay-yiw 'i-ĵi manu* 'Unsere, (der) Huang Taihou, Verordnung' (PH XII, Poppe 1957:96:52a). Erlasse von Prinzen führen in der *Intitulatio* sowohl den Namen als auch den Titel an, so z.B. *ḡon-zi 'an-si uan 'üge manu* 'Unsere, (des) Huangzi, Prinz (von) Anxi, Verordnung' (PH I, Poppe 1957:57:2a).

Ausgehend vom Rang des Urhebers, wird ein Edikt mit verschiedenen Namen belegt. In Edikten, die vom Qayan ausgestellt sind (PH II, IV, VI-XI, XIII-XV), erscheint nur das Wort *ĵarliq* (TMEN § 1849). Wie Schuh (1977:162) ausgeführt hat, bedeutet *ĵarliq* einmal 'Verordnung (des Qayan)', ursprünglich 'mündliche Verordnung des Qayan', in dieser Bedeutung erscheint das Wort in der *Intitulatio*, andererseits bezeichnet *ĵarliq* den schriftlichen Erlass des Qayan und erscheint mit dieser Bedeutung an den anderen Stellen der Edikte. Edikte, die von Personen, die zum Haushalt des Qayan gehören, ausgestellt sind, verwenden *ĵarliq* nur mit der Bedeutung '(früherer) schriftlicher Erlaß des Qayan'.

Die zweiteilige Semantik von *ĵarliq* ist gut in den Erlassen der Prinzen sichtbar, da hier *ĵarliq* 'Verordnung' durch *üge* (TMEN § 1292) und *ĵarliq* 'schriftliches Dokument' durch *bičig* (TMEN § 717) ersetzt wird. Edikte von Kaiserinnen geben *ĵarliq* durch *'i-ĵi* [< chin. *yizhi* 'the commands of the

<sup>1</sup> Der Genius des Begründers der Dynastie scheint als Schutzherr des Stammes schon für die Alttürken belegt zu sein, vgl. Bugut-Stela (II 1, II 7-10), Rybatzki forthcoming 1997.

empress' (Mathews 2999:3); Poppe 1957:97:52b], sowohl in der Bedeutung 'Verordnung', als auch 'schriftliches Dokument', wieder. Diese rangmäßig differenzierte Verwendung von *jarliq*, *bičig* und *i-ji* erscheint auch an anderen Stellen der Dokumente, so u.a. in der Poenformel und im Datum.

Meldungen von Untergebenen an Höhergestellte werden *öčil* genannt: sino-mo. *de'ere Dai-Ming qahan-na. Namun güregen. Engke-tura bātur. öčil manu* 'An den Erhabenen Qahan der Ta-Ming. Unsere, (des) Namun Güregen und Engke-tura Bātur, Mitteilung' (Ligeti 1972b:151, Haenisch 1952:14).<sup>2</sup>

Die *Legitimierung* ist wichtig für die Datierung der Edikte, da hier alle vorherigen Qayane, die ein Edikt ausgestellt haben, aufgeführt werden. Am längsten ist die Liste bei Toγan Temür, dem letzten Herrscher der Yuan-Dynastie. Hier lautet die Liste (PH XV:9-17) *Ĵingis qan-u, Öködei qān-u, Sečen qān-u, Öljeitü qān-u, Külüg qān-u, Buyantu qān-u, Gegēn qān-u, Qutuqtu qān-u, Rinčēn dpal qān-u jarli'ud-dur* 'in den schriftlichen Erlassen des Čingis Qan, Ögödei Qayan, Sečen Qayan, Öljeitü Qayan, Külüg Qayan, Buyantu Qayan, Gegegen Qayan, Qutuqtu Qayan, und Irinčēnbal Qayan'. Diese Liste ist bei der Datierung mit den folgenden Einschränkungen verwendbar: in den Edikten aus der Zeit des Qubilai (PH I, II, IV) wird Ögödei als *qān* bezeichnet; im Edikt der Kaiserwitwe (PH XII) fehlt diese Aufzählung und es heißt *qān-u jarliq-dur* 'in den schriftlichen Erlassen der (des?) (früheren) Qayan(e)'.<sup>2</sup>

Auf diese Liste von Herrschern, die einen Edikt ausgestellt haben, folgt eine Aufzählung von Religionen, denen ein Edikt zuerkannt worden ist. Diese Liste kann bedingt zur Datierung verwendet werden, da die Liste in den Erlassen aus der Zeit des Qubilai (PH I, II, IV) und des Toγan Temür (PH XIV, XV, nicht aber XIII) *doγid érke'üd sen-šin-ud dašmad* 'die

<sup>2</sup> MmoM *öči*- 'melden, berichten', *öčil*- 'Bericht, Meldung, Vorschlag', *öči'üli* 'Anbetung, Gebet' (Haenisch 1939:121). MmoS *öči*- 'nach oben berichten', *öčik*, *öčil* 'Bericht, Meldung, Vorschlag' (Haenisch 1952:55). Auch im MmoU ist das Wort gut belegt, s. Ligeti 1970:22, 65, 113, 152; 1972c:54, 202, 289, 322, 342. Vgl. auch MoL *öči*- 'to say, answer, testify; to pray, offer (Buddhist)', *öčig* 'testimony, deposition (in court); prayer', *öčigle*- 'to interrogate, hear testimony (in a trial)' (Lessing 1995:628-629); kal. *öts'öG* 'Antwort, Verteidigung, Einwand gegen etwas', *öts'i*- 'Antwort geben (gegen Beschuldigungen), sich verteidigen, erklären' (Ramstedt 1935:302b); ord. *öts'ö*- 'réciter à haute voix (une prière, lors d'une offrande); faire des aveux (au tribunal)' (Mostaert 1941-42:542).

buddhistischen Mönche, die christliche, taoistische und islamische Geistlichkeit' (Poppe 1957:82-83:9) lautet, während in den anderen Edikten *dašmad* fehlt.<sup>3</sup>

Eine kleine grammatische Besonderheit scheint für Edikte aus der Zeit des Toyan Temür typisch zu sein. Während alle Edikte in Bezug auf frühere Erlasse im Legitimierungsteil eine singulare Form, *yarliq-dur* 'in den Edikten', verwenden, benutzen Erlasse aus der Zeit des Toyan Temür an dieser Stelle den Plural, *yarli'ud-dur*.

Die *Dispositio*, d.h. die rechtliche Verfügung der Urkunde, ist auf Grund der verschiedenen Bezugspersonen der Teil der Edikte, der die größten Varianten aufweist. Aus der Terminologie kann jedoch auf die Bezugspersonen und die Art der Edikte geschlossen werden.

Die Edikte sind zu unterscheiden in Gewähungen von Steuerprivilegien und Amtseinsetzungen, die ihrerseits immer mit Steuerprivilegien verbunden sind. Diese Zweiteilung ist in den Edikten klar sichtbar, da Amtseinsetzungen immer ausdrücklich erwähnt werden. So heißt es (PH I) *oran-a ... ötögülejü* 'an der Stelle ... soll Ältester sein', (PH II) *oron-a ti-dēm bolju* 'an der Stelle

<sup>3</sup> MmoP *doyid* '(Pl.) Buddhisten'; mmoU *toyid* (Pl.) (Ligeti 1972a:25:24, 163:5), *toyin* 'Mönch' (Ligeti 1972a:122:r13, 127:r7, 128:r14, 132:v9, 163:5, 9, 13, 165:15, 23, 172:11, 12); mmoS *toyin* 'Buddhistenmönch' (Haenisch 1952:57, 1957:21:457) < uig. *toyin* 'Mönch' (Zieme 1985:236), uigS *toyin* 'prête bouddhiste' (Ligeti 1966:268) < chin. *dauren* 'an expert in Tao; a Taoist priest; an immortal; a member of a Taoist sect' (Mathews 6136:b1), vgl. auch TMEN § 993, Clauson 1972:569.

MmoP *ērke'ūd* '(Pl.) Christen'; mmoA *erke'ün* 'Christen' (Poppe 1938:164b, 437a) < uig. *ärkä'ün[-lär]*, *ärkägün[-niŋ]* 'Christen (Nestorianer)' (Hamilton 1972:159, Hamilton & Niu 1994:156) < < griechisch. Auf einer chin. Inschrift für ein Taoisten-Kloster aus dem Jahr 1238, ausgestellt von Ögödei, erscheint *yehliqiao* 'Nestorian' (Münküjev 1977:212); vgl. TMEN § 15, Hamilton 1972:163-164, Hamilton & Niu 1994:159-160.

MmoP *sen-šün-ud* '(Pl.) Taoisten' (Poppe 1957:83:9) < chin. *xienshen* 'teacher; sir; Mr.; a doctor' (Mathews 2702:38).

MmoP *dašmad* '(Pl.) Mohammedaner' < uig. (Insadi-Sūtra 65:1035) *tašman* (Tezcan 1974:73, Zieme 1991:248:590) < pers. *dānešmand* 'Gelehrter, Wissenschaftler, Weiser' (Junker & Alavi 1968:299) > mmoA *danišmend*, *danišmand* (Poppe 1938:164, 168, 383; 1957:83:9; Haenisch 1940:16:1). Vgl. auch Barthold (1928:232), der schreibt, daß "teachers in Transoxania were generally known by the Persian title *dānishmand* or dialectically *danshūmand*". Chin. *dashiman* (Pers. *dā(ne)šmand*), Mathews 5951, 5806, 434, 'teacher' (Huang & Feng 1992:449). Auf der schon erwähnten Inschrift des Taoisten-Klosters erscheint *dashiman* 'Moslem clergyman' (Münküjev 1977:212).

... soll Tidian werden', *ötögülejü atuqai* 'soll Ältester sein', (PH VII) *qada'ulju yabutuqai* 'soll anführen', (PH VIII) *tüšijü* 'in das Amt eingesetzt', *ötögülejü medejü* 'soll Ältester sein und verwalten'. Falls eine ausdrückliche Erwähnung der Amtseinsetzung fehlt, handelt es sich bei den Edikten um Steuerprivilegien.

Das Wort *teri'üten* 'und andere' (PH IX, XII, XIII, XV) erscheint nur im Zusammenhang mit Steuerprivilegien, es gibt aber auch Steuerprivilegien in denen *teri'üten* fehlt (PH IV, V, VI).

Die Terminologie der Dispositio ist ein Hilfsmittel zur inhaltlichen Bestimmung der Edikte. Neben den schon erwähnten Namen für Religionsgemeinschaften, d.h. *doyid* und *sën-šin-ud*, die zur inhaltlichen Bestimmung der Edikte relevant sind, gibt es auch andere Wörter, die zur Differenzierung brauchbar sind. So erscheint der Titel *ti-dëm* [< chin. *tidian* 'to reprove, to remind of a fault' (Mathews 6232:116); Poppe 1957:95:47 'directeur', Haenisch 1940:70:23 'Intendent']<sup>4</sup> nur im Zusammenhang mit taoistischen Edikten. Ein weiteres wichtiges Merkmal zur Unterscheidung der Edikte ist die Bezeichnung der Klöster. Taoistische Klöster werden *guen* 'temple' [< chin. *guan* 'a Taoist monastery' (Mathews 3575:b); Poppe 1957:88:18], *gün-gon* 'temple' [< chin. *gongguan* 'a palace; a temple, a college; a dwelling' + 'a Taoist monastery' (Mathews 3705, 3575:b); Poppe 1957:92:30] bzw. 'am-mëw' 'shrine, sanctuary' [< chin. *anmiao* 'a hut; a small Buddhist temple, nunnery or monastery' + 'a temple; a shrine' (Mathews 33, 4473); Poppe 1957:92:31b] genannt, für buddhistische Klöster verwendet man das Wort *süme*.<sup>5</sup> Interessant ist, daß *geyid*<sup>6</sup> in diesem Zusammenhang neutral

<sup>4</sup> Im MmoU erscheint *tidem* auf den Zhang Yingrui- (Ligeti 1972a:37:9, 50:57) und Jigüntei-Inschriften (Ligeti 1972a:54:14). Die Aufgaben der *tidem* werden im Edikt des Qubilai (?) aus dem Jahr 1280 oder 1292, Zeilen 27-35, beschrieben (Ligeti 1972b:30-31).

<sup>5</sup> Mo. *süme* < uig. *süm*. MmoM *altan sümes* 'goldene Buddhfiguren' (Haenisch 1939:137). MmoU *süm-e* 'Kloster' (Ligeti 1972a:24:20, 61:16, 18, 133:167v8, 163:7, 218:3, 4, 222:6), *süm-e-yin ger* 'Kloster, wörtl. Wohnung der Bildnisse' (Ligeti 1972a:22:3, 5, 23:9, 24:23), *süm-e ger* 'Kloster' (Ligeti 1972a:24:23). MmoS *sime* [= *süme*] 'Buddha' (Kara 1990:323); *süme ger* 'Tempel' (Haenisch 1957:16:247); *süme* 'Tempel' (Haenisch 1952:56). MmoA *süme* 'representation, image', čay. *surat* (Poppe 1938:207a, 327b); *süme* 'church, temple', čay. *but* (Poppe 1938:329a). MmoP *süme* 'temple' (Poppe 1957:130). MoL *süm-e*, xal. *süm* 'temple, monastery, church, shrine, chapel' (Lessing 1995:743, Hangin 1986:461); *süme* 'a temple, usually somewhat lower than a khüree, containing idol-images, but where lamas do not live permanently, but

ist, und sowohl für taoistische als auch buddhistische Wohnstätten verwendet wird.

Die *Poenformel* beinhaltet Androhungen von Konsequenzen gegen die Nutznießer der Privilegien bei Nicht-Erfüllung der Auflagen bzw. bei Mißbrauch der Privilegien. Zur Bestimmung der Urkunden kann die Poenformel nur bedingt gebraucht werden. Die Formel *bidan-a öčidkün ker ber gērün bida uqad je* 'was er uns auch (als Ausrede) sagen wird, wir merken be-

- 
- come on religious occasions' (Krueger 1978:684). Ord. *sūme* 'temple, lamaserie' (Mostaert 1941-42:598). Kal. *sūmū* 'Tempel, Kirche' (Ramstedt 1935:340). Vgl. auch Cleaves 1952:87:18. Wie P. Zieme in einem Schreiben vom 21.10.1996 mitteilte, hat J. Hamilton das Wort *sūm* in uig. Inschriften aus Dunhuang und Yulin gefunden, und bereitet eine Edition dieser Inschriften vor. Auch für die wichtigen Hinweise zu den Wörtern *dašmad*, *erke ün* und *kebid* sei P. Zieme mein herzlichster Dank ausgesprochen.
- 6 Mo. *keyid* < tü., vgl. qara. *kebit* 'shop (*hānūt*)' (Dankoff & Kelly 1982:277), qom. *kebit* 'Laden, Bude (*apotecha*)' (Grønbech 1942:135), uig. *kibit* 'shop, store; inn' (Moriyasu 1995:72, 95:19), uigS *kebit* 'Laden' (Ligeti 1966:171), < sogd. *qypð* 'Laden' (Henning 1947-48:316). MmoM *geyit* '(Pl.) Häuser' (Haenisch 1939:50). MmoU *keyid* 'Haus' (Ligeti 1972a:22:3, 6, 25:24, 95:26r6, 262:7), *kebid* 'Laden' (Ligeti 1972a:195:16; Kara 1979:185, 186, 192, 196). MmoS *kābid* 'devanture de boutique' (p'ou mien) (Lewicki 1959:55). MmoP *geyid* 'dwellings', *k'ebid* 'shops' (Poppe 1957:123, 125). MoL *keyid* 'convent, monastery, temple' (Lessing 1995:444). Xal. *xijd* 'monastery; religious establishment' (Hangin 1986:632); *khid*, *khit* (Mo. *keid*) 'a low-ranking shrine or temple, sometimes containing only a single lama hermit or contemplator-monk' (Krueger 1978:679). Ord. *k'īD* 'lamaserie' (Mostaert 1941-42:420). Kal. *k'īD* [Sprache der Ölöten in der Nähe von Tschugutschak] 'kleines Kloster' (Ramstedt 1935:234a). Vgl. zu dem Wort auch Cleaves 1952:110:196; Poppe 1955:39, 1957:88:19, 93:36; Clauson 1972:688. Wichtig sind die Ausführungen von Rachewiltz (1982:78-79:262), der darauf hinweist, daß es ursprünglich im Mo., wie aus dem MmoP ersichtbar, zwei verschiedene Wörter, *kebid* 'shop' < Uig. und *geyid* 'dwelling' gab, die dann zu *keyid* 'religious dwelling' zusammengefallen sind.
- Gehören hierher auch mmoM *kibu'ut* '(Pl.) weicher Taft' (Haenisch 1939:101); mmoU *qorin kibutan törges* '20 Seidenschale(?); Cleaves 1951:71 twenty [bolts of] kibutan törges' (Ligeti 1972a:56:28), *önggeten kib* 'farbiger Tuff' (Cleaves 1950:439:19). MoL *kiib*, *kib*, xal. *xib* 'silken scarf or kerchief; silk tissue, silk; gauze, crape', *kiib torγ-a* 'silk of inferior quality used in religious ceremonies; scarves made of it, blessed by a lama, are worn around the neck or suspended in front of religious images; crape' (Lessing 1995:465); ord. *k'ēB* dans *k'ēB t'orγo* 'id.' (Mostaert 1941-42:408); kal. *kiB* 'Band, Strieme', *kiB χadvy* 'längliches Seidentuch', *kiB torγon* 'Seidentuch' (Ramstedt 1935:230)? Nach Poppe [*HJAS* 13 (1950):575] handelt es sich bei mo. *kib* um ein altes Lehnwort aus dem Koreanischen.

stimmt (die Wahrheit)' wird nur in Amtseinsetzungen (PH II, VIII) verwendet. Einmal wird als Poenformel der Amtseinsetzung *jarliq-tu .... ülü'ü ayuqu mün* '(sich) auf das Edikt berufend .... soll er sich dann nicht wirklich fürchten?' (PH VII) verwendet, ein anderes Mal die pluralische Variante (PH I), hier aber auf die ganze Religionsgemeinschaft bezogen. Steuerprivilegien beinhalten i.a. die Poenformel *bičig/i-ji/jarliq-ten/tan ... ülü'ü ayuqun müd* 'sich auf das Edikt berufend, ..., sollen sie sich dann nicht wirklich fürchten' (PH I, V, VI, IX, XI, XIII, XV). Die Poenformel in (PH XII) ist leicht abgewandelt, entspricht aber im großen und ganzen der zuletzt angeführten. Ein Steuerprivileg (PH IV), das auf eine Person bezogen ist, hat die singulare Variante der letztgenannten Poenformel.

Das *Schlußprotokoll* beinhaltet Ort und Zeitpunkt der Ausführung der Urkunden. Das Datum ist, wenn vollständig erhalten, für die Bestimmung des Edikts von erstrangiger Bedeutung. Bei fragmentarischen Daten kann als unterscheidendes Merkmal angeführt werden, daß eine Regierungsepoche nur in Edikten des Toyan Temür erscheint. Das Datum wird in den Edikten immer nach dem Tierkalender, belegt sind als Tiernamen *quluqa[na]* 'Maus' (PH I), *lu* 'Drache' (PH II), *hüker* 'Rind' (PH IV), *moqoi* 'Schlange' (PH V), *bars* 'Tiger' (PH VI-VIII), *morin* 'Pferd' (PH IX), *taqiya* 'Huhn' (PH XII), *qaqai* 'Schwein' (PH XIII) und *taulai* 'Hase' (PH XV), bezeichnet. Der Monat wird nach den vier Jahreszeiten *qabur* 'Frühling' (PH I, IV, XV), *jun* 'Sommer' (PH IX), *namur* 'Herbst' (PH V-VIII, XIII) und *übül* 'Winter' (PH II, XII), die weiter durch *teri'un* 'erster' (PH I, IV, VI-IX, XIII), *dumdadu* 'mittlerer' (PH II, XII, XV) und *hečüs* 'letzter' (PH V) Monat definiert werden, angegeben.<sup>7</sup> Bei der Bestimmung des Tages folgen die hPags-pa Edikte

<sup>7</sup> Es scheint im Mmo. drei verschiedene Zählweisen des Monats gegeben zu haben. Die vielleicht älteste Zählweise, in der die Monatsnamen nach Tiernamen und Ereignissen des Monats benannt wurden, erscheint in der GG: *γuran sara* '7. Monat, wörtl. Rehbock-Monat'. Eine vollständige Liste dieser alten Monatsnamen gibt das *Zhiyuan Yiyu* (Ligeti 1990:275:475-486). Die zweite Zählweise ist die aus den hPags-pa Edikten belegte, in der die Monate nach den vier Jahreszeiten mit dem Zusatz 'erster, mittlerer, letzter (Monat)' gebildet werden. Dies war die am weitesten verbreitete Zählweise, die auch aus den Turkestan- und Iran-Dokumenten, den sino-mo. Inschriften und Dokumenten, sowie dem Bodhicaryāvatāra bekannt ist. In der dritten Zählweise werden die Monatsnamen von 2-11 mit Numeralien gebildet, während der erste (*qubi sara* Ligeti 1972a:69:31) und letzte Monat (*kögeler sara* Kara 1979:194; *küküler sara* im *Zhiyuan Yiyu*) die alten Monatsnamen erhalten hat. In dieser Zählweise gab es außerdem noch

dem Uig. und verbinden die Tage von eins bis zehn mit *šine* (PH II, X), die nachfolgenden Tage werden normal gezählt (PH I, IV-IX, XIII, XV).<sup>8</sup> Auf das Datum folgt der Ort der Ausstellung des Dokuments: *Gin-čew-fu* (PH I), *Tay-du* (PH II, IV, IX, XII, XV), *Ĵiramutu* (PH V), *Čaqa'an cañ* (PH VI-VIII) sowie *Šantu* (PH XIII).

Die verschiedenen Ränge der Urheber der Edikte spiegeln sich auch im Schlußprotokoll wieder. Edikte der Qayane verwenden, wie auch in der Intitulatio, das Wort *jarliq* zur Bezeichnung ihrer Edikte (PH II, IV, VI-IX, XIII-XV). Edikte von Kaiserinnen gebrauchen in der Intitulatio und im Schlußprotokoll *'i-ĵi* (PH XII); Edikte von Prinzen, in deren Intitulatio *üge* steht, haben im Schlußprotokoll *bičig* (PH I, V).

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einen Schaltmonat, mmoU *š-ün* (Kara 1979:191, 194) < uigS. *šün* (Ligeti 1966:199) < chin. *run* 'extra, inserted between others, as a day or month; to intercalate' (Mathews 3177); TMEN § 1331. Dieses System ist aus dem Uig. entlehnt, und aus den uig. Dokumenten gut belegt. In letzteren heißt der erste Monat *aram ay* und der letzte *čaxšaput ay* (Yamada 1993). Diese Zählweise ist aus den sino-mo. Inschriften und Dokumenten, einigen Turkestan-Dokumenten und der Graffiti aus Dunhuang belegt.

- <sup>8</sup> Bei der Zählung der Tage herrschen verschiedene Meinungen vor, wobei es hauptsächlich darum geht, ob die Tage des mmo. Monats in 2 oder 3 Gruppen einzuteilen sind (Mostaert & Cleaves 1962:49-52). Die kontroversen Meinungen, beruhend auf Dokumenten, die aus geographisch verschiedenen Regionen kommen, können teilweise dadurch erklärt werden, daß es im Mmo. zwei verschiedene Zählungen der Tage gab, die sich teilweise überschneiden. In der ersten Zählweise werden die Tage von eins bis zehn mit *šine* verbunden, danach wird normal weitergezählt. Die zweite Zählweise teilt den Monat in drei Teile: die ersten zehn Tage werden mit den Zahlen von eins bis zehn + *šine* gebildet, danach zählt man von elf bis zwanzig. Das letzte Drittel wird aus den Zahlen eins bis zehn + *qauč'in* (= 21-30) gebildet. In den Quellen gibt es keine Belegstelle, in der *šine* oder *qauč'in* mit einer größeren Nummer als zehn verbunden werden. Die erste Zählweise ist für die hPags-pa Edikte sowie die sino-mo. Inschriften belegt. Wahrscheinlich ist dies auch die Zählweise der sino-mo. Dokumente, hier erscheint im Datum aber keine Nummer, die höher als 15 ist. In diesen Quellen wird *qauč'in* im Datum nicht gebraucht, sondern die Tage von 21 bis 30 werden normal gezählt: *qorin nigen-tür* 'am 21. (Tag)' (Ligeti 1972a:58:37), *qorin tabun-a* 'am 25. (Tag)' (id. 61:20), *qorin yisün-e* 'am 29. (Tag)' (Cleaves 1950:439:21). Dieses System ist aus dem Uig. entlehnt, hier entspricht *šine* das Wort *yangi* 'die ersten zehn Tage des Monats' (Zieme 1985:244, Clauson 1972:943-944). Die zweite Zählweise ist für die Dokumente aus Turkestan und dem Iran belegt. Die beiden Systeme überschneiden sich in der Zählweise: der ersten 20 Tage und können nur durch die Zählweise der Tage von 21 bis 30 unterschieden werden.



Als Zusammenfassung möchte ich die fragmentarischen hPags-pa Edikte (PH III, X, XI, XIV) auf die Anwendbarkeit der oben gemachten Ausführungen hin untersuchen.

Ligeti's Rekonstruktionen des ersten Fargments (PH III) können textintern nicht bestätigt werden, und beruhen auf der vollständigen chinesischen Fassung des Edikts. Die Form [*bičig*]-*ten* (PH III:3) könnte daraufhin deuten, daß es sich um ein Steuerprivileg handelt.

Zwei Edikte, die bis auf das Datum (PH XII, XIII), sowie die Poenformel (PH XIII) vollständig sind, wurden von Junast (1989) veröffentlicht. Der Aussteller der Edikte ist auf Grund der Verwendung von *jarliq* in der Intitulation, sowie der Aufführung früherer Herrscher im Legitimierungsteil als Buyantu Qayan zu identifizieren. Beide Edikte beinhalten Steuerprivilegien für buddhistische Klöster (*süme* PH XII:21, 24, 26, PH XIII:21, 22, 24), da ausdrückliche Amtseinsetzungen nicht erwähnt werden. Weiterhin kann die Poenformel [*jarliq*]*tan kējü ... müd basa ülü'ü ayuqun* (PH XIII:27-28) als weiteres Argument dafür, daß es sich bei den Edikten um Steuerprivilegien handelt, herangezogen werden.

Interessanter weil fragmentarischer, aber nicht zu fragmentarisch, ist ein Edikt (PH XIV) des Toyān Temür, der einerseits auf Grund der Aufzählung der Herrscher in der Legitimierung, andererseits durch die Verwendung der Regierungsepoche und des Wortes *jarliq* identifiziert werden kann. Auf Grund der Verwendung der Wörter *guen* und *gün-gon* (PH XIV:21, 22) kann das Fragment als für die Taoisten ausgestelltes Edikt bestimmt werden. Die Poenformel *jarliq-tu gējü* 'sich auf das Edikt berufend' (PH XIV:25) ist bei dem fragmentarischen Zustand des Edikts nicht zur Bestimmung verwendbar. Es könnte sich um ein Steuerprivileg, das einer Person zuerkannt wurde (vgl. PH IV), oder um eine Amtseinsetzung (vgl. PH VII) handeln.

Als letztes möchte ich ein Edikt (PH XIII) des Toyān Temür aus dem Jahr 1335 behandeln, da Sugiyama's Übersetzung der Zeilen 21-24 meiner Meinung nach nicht fehlerfrei ist.<sup>9</sup> Das Edikt wird von Sugiyama als Amts-

<sup>9</sup> Der Text und die Übersetzung lauten nach Sugiyama wie folgt:

(21) *Yi-du-lu Thiñ-jiw Jhiw-huen Yi-šan Sen-žin wan-šiw-gün-dür čü-či Tuñ-šin jin-cin tuñ-huen tay-šhi čuñ-čuñ-jin* (22) *tay-(dh)iy liñ-(?) jin-žin yun-hi-hun-cuñ du-ti-dem Li-taw-ši Miñ-taw gui-dhiy tuñ-wi tay-šhi U-ji-cuen Tuñ-wi ji-hü tay-šhi U-taw-cuen gü-čuñ-* (23) *(ti-dem) teri'üten sen-šhiñ-ud-de urida yosu'ar hariju yabu'ai* (24) *jarliq ögbei* 'an Imperial Edict to be retained and taken away by Li Tao-shih, Great teacher, pure and clean penetrator of emptiness and knower of the mystery, assigned as Chief Director

einsetzung aufgefaßt, was meiner Meinung nach nicht stimmt, da ein Verbum, das die Einsetzung verkündet, fehlt. Außerdem scheint in Zeile 23 der Ausdruck *teri'üten sen-šin-ud-de* 'und weiteren Taoisten', der nur im Zusammenhang mit Steuerprivilegien verwendet wird. Auch die Poenformel [*jar-liq*]tan *kējü ... ülü'ü ayuqun müd* ist in diesem Zusammenhang als Stütze für die Annahme, daß es sich hier um ein Steuerprivileg handelt, anzusehen.

Zum Abschluß möchte ich nun untersuchen, ob die für die hPags-pa Edikte charakteristischen Unterschiede auch für andere mmo. Dokumente relevant sind.

Eine Gruppe mmo. Dokumente bilden die *Paizi*, mo. *gerege*, deren Texte sowohl in hPags-pa-(Ligeti 1972b:109-116:XV.1-4; Rachewiltz 1982a) als auch uigurischer Schrift (Ligeti 1972a:110:XVI, 284-287:XXVII.1-3; Münküjev 1977:208) abgefaßt sind. Die Verwendung der hPags-pa Schrift war auf den Paizi seit 1278 verbindlich (Poppe 1957:6). Nach Münküjev (1977:195) wurden Paizi, wenigstens im Iran der Ilqane, nicht nur vom Qaγan, sondern auch von anderen Personen seines Haushalts, sowie Repräsentanten der Nobilität ausgestellt. Es ist verlockend die im Zusammenhang mit den hPags-pa Edikten getroffenen Unterscheidungskriterien des Ausstellers auch auf die Paizi anzuwenden.

Eine *Invocatio* erscheint auf fast allen Paizi, außer den Paizi aus Peking (Ligeti 1972b:115:XV.4, Ligeti 1972a:110:XVI) und Yangzhou (Rachewiltz 1982a:414-417). Die *Invocatio* der Paizi kann in zwei Gruppen eingeteilt werden. Eine Gruppe (Ligeti 1972b:109-114:XV.1-3, Rachewiltz 1982a:413-414) kennt die *Invocatio möngke dënri-yin küčün-dür*, die andere (Ligeti 1972a:284-287:XXVII.1-3, Münküjev) hat die *Invocatio i) möngke dënri-yin küčün-dür ii) yeke suu jali-yin igegendür*. Der erste Satz *möngke dënri-yin küčün-dür* könnte als Beweis dafür dienen, daß es sich um Paizi handelt, die vom Qaγan, oder Personen, die zu seinem Haushalt gehören, ausgestellt worden sind.

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under the main [temple] and the exalted pure man of the rank of Great Virtue and spiritual [mystery?]; and by *Wu Chih-ch'üan*, Great Teacher, of the enlightened path of honourable virtue and deep obscurity, and *Wu Tao-ch'üan*, Great Teacher, of deep obscurity and utmost vacuity who were both assigned as directors; and by other Taoist clergy, who are in the Taoist temple of *I-shan*, *Hsien-jen wang-shou-kung* in *T'eng-chou*, *Tsou-hsien*, of *I-tu-lu'* (Sugiyama 1988:4-5).

Die erste Gruppe der Paizi kennt keinen zweiten Teil der Invocatio (*yeke suu ĵali-yin igegendür*), ich bin mir aber nicht sicher, ob man dies als Beweis dafür, daß es sich hier um Paizi, die von Personen des Qayan-Haushalts, nicht aber vom Qayan selbst ausgestellt sind, ansehen darf. Eine einteilige Invocatio erscheint auch auf dem Siegel des Güyük-Qayan: *möngke ingri-yin küčüntür* (Ligeti 1972a:20:1-2) und auf einem in Uigurisch mit syrischer Schrift geschriebenen nestorianischem Siegel, das von Möncke-Qayan ausgestellt wurde: *mängü täñri küčintä* (Hamilton 1972:159:1, 160-162).

Die zweite Gruppe der Paizi hat als zweiten Teil der Invocatio die Formel *yeke suu ĵali-yin igegendür*, die im Zusammenhang mit den hPags-pa Edikten nur vom Qayan verwendet wird, so auch hier? Der Unterschied in der Invocatio könnte sich auch auf die durch die Paizi bewilligten Bevollmächtigungen beziehen, oder aber geographische Hintergründe haben, da die erste Gruppe aus Süd-Sibirien, Transbaikalien und Gansu, die zweite Gruppe aus dem Gebiet der Goldenen Horde kommt.

Die dritte Gruppe von Paizi (Ligeti 1972b:115:xv.4, 1972a:110:xvi; Rachewiltz 1982a:414-417) hat keine Invocatio. Diese Paizi könnten jene Gruppe bilden, die von zivilen oder militärischen Behörden ausgestellt wurden. Auf dem Paizi aus Yangzhou ist eine solche Behörde ausdrücklich erwähnt: *xuanwei shisi du yuanshuai fu* 'Pacification Commission and Chief Military Command' (Rachewiltz 1982a:415, 415:11).

Alle Paizi, außer dem Minusinsk-, Nyuki-, Peking- und Yangzhou-Paizi (Ligeti 1972b:109-112, 115; Ratchnewski 1982a), haben eine Intitulatio. Auf dem Bogotol- und Lanzhou-Paizi lautet die Intitulatio *qān-u ĵarliq* 'Erlaß des Qān' (Ligeti 1972b:114, Rachewiltz 1982a:414), eine vergleichbare Intitulatio erscheint auch auf dem Siegel des Güyük-Qayan: *yeke mongγol ulus-un dalai-in qanu ĵrly* 'Erlaß des Weltenherrschers des kaiserlichen Mongolenreiches' (Ligeti 1972a:20:2-4).<sup>10</sup> Paizi aus dem Gebiet der

<sup>10</sup> Der Begriff *yeke mongγol ulus* ist verschiedentlich interpretiert worden: Pelliot 'peuple des grands Mongols', Kotwicz 'grand empire mongol', Poppe 'le grand peuple mongol', Mostaert & Cleaves 'l'empire des Grands Mongols' (Mostaert & Cleaves 1952:485-491). Nach Rachewiltz (1983b:274-275) ist dieser Satz, dem türkischen Ausdruck *kür uluyulus* 'the whole Great Nation [= the Great (Mongol) Nation]' in der Präambel des Güyük-Briefes folgend, als 'the Great Mongol Nation' zu übersetzen.

Bei meiner Interpretation gehe ich davon aus, das mo. *yeke*, vergleichbar mit uig. *uluy* nicht nur die Bedeutung 'groß' hat, sondern auch 'noble, kaiserlich, vornehm, Staats-' bedeuten kann: mmoS *yäkä* 'grand, âgé, noble, distingué' (Lewicki 1959:87), mmoU

Goldenen Horde erwähnen den Namen des Ausstellers: *Тоғоға-ин/Ösbeğ-in/Adulla-in/Keldi-beg-in ĵrlγ* 'Erlaß des Тоғоға/Ösbeğ/Abdulla/Keldibeg' (Ligeti 1972a:284-287, Münküjev 1977:208). Auch auf dem schon erwähnten nestorianischem Siegel wird der Aussteller namentlich genannt: *möŋkä qayan yarlı'ımız* 'Unser, (des) Mönkä Qayan, Erlaß' (Hamilton 1972:159:2).

Die Poenformel ist auf den Paizi in etwa gleichlautend. Auf den Bogotol- und Lanzhou-Paizi heißt die Poenformel *ken ese büširesü aldatuqai* 'wer keinen Respekt zeigt, soll schuldig sein' (Ligeti 1972b:114, Rachewiltz 414), auf den anderen Paizi *ken ülü büsirekü (kümun) aldaqu ükükü* 'Personen, die keinen Respekt zeigen, sollen schuldig sein und sterben' (Ligeti 1972b:109-112, 1972a:284-287; Münküjev 1977:208).<sup>11</sup> Etwas abweichend, aber eine

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*yeke üile* 'Staatsangelegenheiten', *yekes ordas* 'Hoflager'; uig. *uluγ* 'groß, Großer, Vorgesetzter, Notabler' (Zieme 1975:240). Diese Interpretation wird auch durch den Vergleich paralleler Stellen der sino-mo. Inschriften bekräftigt, so u.a. auf der Inschrift des Jigüntei: mo. *yeke mongγol ulus* = chin. *da yuan* [chin. *da* 'great, big, tall, vast, extensive; noble, high in rank; very, much; full-grown; to make big' (Mathews 5943)]; sowie der Inschrift des Zhang Yingrui: mo. *yeke mongγol ulus* = chin. *huang yuan* [chin. *huang* 'supreme, exalted; august; imperial; the ruler; the sovereign' (Mathews 2283)], vgl. auch mo. *yeke or-a* = chin. *jian zi* 'great place = throne' [chin. *jian zi* 'to offer a sacrifice while standing on the eastern steps of the imperial ancestral temple, on the occasion of ascending the throne' (Mathews 870:10)].

Das Wort *yeke* des Kompositum *yeke mongγol ulus* ist als 'groß, nobel, vornehm' im herrschaftlichen Sinn, und nicht als 'geographisch-groß' aufzufassen. Letzterer Begriff wird durch *aγui*: [Bodhicaryāvatāra 166v4] *aγui ulus-un nayadayar yeke ejen* '[Ayurbarvada], achzigster kaiserlicher Herr des weiten Reiches', oder auch *dalai*: [Alexander-Roman 12v9] *dalai ötögen-i yeke tenggis-i tenggisün irayfar-i tu[γul]ju* 'traversing the vast earth, the great sea, and the bottom of the sea' wiedergegeben.

<sup>11</sup> MmoM *alda-* 'straffällig werden, fehlen, unbotmäßig sein', *alda'ul-* 'mit (Vermögens-) Strafe belegen', *aldal* '(Vermögens-)Strafe, Straffall', *aldal alda-* 'straffällig werden' [Haenisch 1939:5]. MmoP \**alda-* 'to commit an offence, be guilty' [Poppe 1957:119]. MmoU *aldaju* 'acted in variance' [Rachewiltz 1982b:49:29b4, 30a1, 30a5], *aldal* 'punishment' [Rachewiltz 1982b:47:23b6]; *ükül aldal* 'Tod und Strafe' [Ligeti 1972a:155:14b9, Poppe 1960:264, 276:70]; *aldatuγai* 'let them be held punishable' [Ligeti 1972a:257:6, 262:14; Cleaves 1953:26:6, 32:14]. MmoS *alda-* 'in Gefahr sein' [Haenisch 1952:49]. MoL *alda-* '(u.a.) to do something by mistake or accident, make a slip', *alday-a* 'mistake, error, fault, blunder, omission; defect; loss', *aldal* 'loss, slip, omission, mistake, error, fault, bunder' [Lessing 1995:29-30]. Ord. *alda-* 'perdre, laisser échapper des se mains, se tromper, manquer son coup, manquer l'occasion', *aldā* 'perte, omission, faute, erreur' [Mostaert 1941-41:13-14]. Kal. *aldān* 'Verlust, Fehler', *alda-* 'verlieren,

ähnliche Drohung ausdrückend, lautet die Poenformel des Siegels des Güyük-Qayan *il bulγa irgen-tür kürbesü büsiretügei ayutuγai* 'Ob (der Träger des Erlaßes) bei friedlichen (oder) aufrührerischen Menschen ankommt, (dem Erlaß) soll Respekt gezeigt werden und man soll sich (vor der Strafe bei Ungehorsam) fürchten' (Ligeti 1972a:20:4-6).

Eine weitere Gruppe bilden Dokumente, die aus Ostturkestan stammen (XXI:1-17). Der Aufbau dieser Dokumente, bei denen es sich um Reisebegleitschreiben, Steuerprivilegien, Gerichtsentscheidungen und Amtseinzetzungen handelt, ähnelt den hPags-pa Edikten.

Das Eingangsprotokoll der Dokumente kennt, so weit vollständig erhalten, zwei Varianten. Ein Teil der Dokumente (XXI:1, 3, 5, 9(?), 15) beginnt mit einer Authorisierung, die aus dem Namen des Herrschers, belegt sind Yisüntemür [(1338-1339); XXI:1] und Ilasqoǰa [(1363-1365); XXI:5], oder dem Wort *qan* bzw. *qayan* [XXI:3, 9(?), 15], und *ǰrlγ-iyar* 'auf Anordnung' besteht. Bei diesen Dokumenten handelt es sich um Urkunden, die von regionalen Behörden im Namen des Herrschers ausgestellt sind. Die unterstellte Position des Ausstellers ist auch sichtbar an dem Wort *üge* 'Verlautmachung' mit dem die Behörden im nächsten Satz ihre Verordnung bezeichnen.

Die zweite Gruppe von Dokumenten (XXI:2, 7, 10, 11) kennt keine Authorisierung, sondern beginnt mit der Intitulatio, die aus dem Namen des Herrschers, es erscheinen Tuγluytemür [(1347-1363); XXI:2, 7, 11] und Kebeg [(1318, 1320-1326); XXI:10], und *üge manu* 'unsere Verordnung' besteht. Die Verwendung des Wortes *üge* ist in diesem Zusammenhang nicht ganz klar. Einerseits könnte *üge* daraufhin deuten, daß die Herrscher des Čayatai-Qanats, wenigstens theoretisch, noch im 14. Jh. die Oberherrschaft der Yuan-Dynastie anerkannten. Das dieser Gedanke nicht vollkommen abwegig ist, zeigt ein Dokument aus dem Jahr 1388 (Ligeti 1972b:151), in dem die Bereitschaft zur Anerkennung der Oberherrschaft der Ming-Dynastie klar sichtbar ist. Andererseits könnte die Verwendung von *üge* auch ein Anachronismus sein, wobei die ursprüngliche hierarchische Unterscheidung nicht mehr verstanden wurde. Eine dritte Möglichkeit besteht darin, daß es sich bei

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verlustig gehen, nachgeben, beinahe' [Ramstedt 1935:6]. Als Zusammenfassung der obigen Belege übersetze ich *alda-* als 'e. Fehler machen, schuldig sein/werden'; zu den verschiedenen Arten das Wort zu übersetzen vgl. Münküjev 1977:210-211, 215. Das Wort *alda-* scheint kein Passiv von *ala-* 'to kill' zu sein, sondern, wie Doerfer gezeigt hat, ein Lehnwort aus tü. *alta-* 'betrügen' [TMEN #533, Clauson 1972:133].

Tuyluŷtemür und Kebeg gar nicht um die beiden oben genannten Herrscher handelt, sondern dieses die Namen von lokalen Beamten sind.

Die Datierung der Dokumente aus Turkestan unterscheidet sich von der Datierung der hPags-pa Dokumente. Eine Regierungsperiode erscheint in den Dokumenten nicht. Das Jahr wird, wie in den hPags-pa Edikten, nach dem Tierkreis bestimmt, an Tiernamen sind *bars* 'Tiger' (XXI:1, 10, 12), *moŷai* 'Schlange' (XXI:2, 6), *qonin* 'Schaf' (XXI:3, 4), *taqiy-a* 'Huhn' (XXI:5), *luu* 'Drache' (XXI:7, 9), *taulai* 'Hase' (XXI:8, 14), und *qulaŷan-a* 'Maus' (XXI:11) belegt. Bei der Bezeichnung des Monats bestehen Unterschiede zwischen den hPags-pa- und Turkestan-Dokumenten. Die in den hPags-pa Edikten benutzte 4+3 Einteilung der Monate (s.o. Fußnote 7) erscheint in den Dokumenten (XXI:1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12). Die Dokumente (XXI:5,12) haben *teri'ün* 'erster (Monat)' durch *eki* 'id.' ersetzt. In den Dokumenten (XXI:3, 14) ist die obrige Einteilung aufgegeben worden, und es wird das System verwendet, bei dem der erste und zwölfte Monat *qubi* bzw. *kögeler sara* heißt, und der zweite bis elfte Monat durch Numeralien gebildet wird. Belegt sind in den Dokumenten *arban sar-a* 'zehnter Monat' und *arban nigen sar-a* 'elfter Monat'. Bei der Bestimmung des Tages kommt in den Turkestan-Dokumenten (XXI:1-12, 14) nur die Zählweise, bei der die Tage von eins bis zehn mit *šin-e*, die Tage von elf bis zwanzig mit Numeralien und die Tage von einundzwanzig bis dreizig mit den Numeralien eins bis zehn + *qaučün* gebildet werden vor (s.o. Fußnote 8). In den Dokumenten (XXI:13, 15-17) fehlt das Datum.

Ein weiteres Element zur Identifizierung der Dokumente sind, wie Ligeti (1968:257:9) und Clark (1975) gezeigt haben, die in den Verordnungen erscheinenden Personennamen, die mit Personennamen uig. Dokumente verglichen werden können. Das von Clark (1975) untersuchte juristische Dokument (XXI:8) ist ein gutes Beispiel dafür, wie vorsichtig man bei Versuchen der Rekonstruktion sein muß. Die Verordnung ist am Anfang zerstört, und nur die Buchstaben [...]m[...]r *üge manu* sind erhalten. Nach Ligeti (1972a:222) hat man hier Yisüntemür oder Tuyluŷtemür zu ergänzen, wobei Ligeti dazu neigt, das Dokument Tuyluŷtemür zuzuschreiben. Die oben angeführten Bemerkungen zum Eingangsprotokoll könnten diese Hypothese bestärken, da *üge manu* nur in der Intitulatio des Tuyluŷtemür erscheint (XXI:2, 7, 11), während das Dokument des Yisüntemür (XXI:1) als Eingangsprotokoll *jarliŷiyar* hat. Wie Clark (1975:197) jedoch durch die

Untersuchung der Namen der Beamten des Dokuments gezeigt hat, ist dieses Dokument dem Yisüntemür zuzuschreiben und in das Jahr 1339 zu datieren.

Ein Reisebegleitschreiben (XXI:3) konnte bisher nicht datiert werden, da das Eingangsprotokoll *qan-u jarliγ-iyar* lautet, und auch die weiteren Personennamen nicht identifiziert werden konnten.<sup>12</sup> Einen Berketemür konnte ich in den mmo. und uig. Dokumenten nicht finden. Eine Möglichkeit der Datierung des Dokuments könnte aber der Titel *čingsang* [< chin. *chengxiang* 'ancient term for a secretary of state; a prime minister' (Mathews 385:1); Franke 1968:10] des Iduq Qut bilden. Dieser Titel war in der "ältesten Zeit die höchste Würde nach dem Chan" (TMEN § 183:311). Diese Tatsache gibt Anlaß zu der Vermutung, daß der Titel nicht sehr häufig verliehen wurde.<sup>13</sup> Das einzige mir bekannte uig. Dokument, das einen Iduq Qut mit dem Titel *čingsang* erwähnt, ist eine Inschrift aus Gansu (Geng & Hamilton 1981), die berichtet, daß der Iduq Qut Temür Buqa diesen Titel von Jayayatu Qayan (1329-1332) erhielt (Geng & Hamilton 1981:21:v.3, 22:v.14-15). Versuchsweise kann man den Iduq Qut Čingsang des mmo. Dokuments mit Temür Buqa identifizieren. Das im Schlußprotokoll erscheinende *qonin jil* könnte das Schaf-Jahr 1331 (Everding) sein, welches Jahr sowohl in die Regierungszeit des Jayayatu Qayan als auch des Temür Buqa fällt.

Der am Anfang des Dokuments erscheinende Titel *qan* wurde in den hPags-pa Edikten, wie auch den mmo. Münzen aus Persien, nur von Herrschern, die Anspruch auf die Herrschaft über das gesammte mo. Reich erhoben, angewendet. Der im Eingangsprotokoll erwähnte *qan* könnte so mit Jayayatu Qayan gleichgesetzt werden. Eine Identifizierung mit Tarmaširin (1326-1334), dem gleichzeitigen Herrscher des Čayatai-Reiches scheint unwahrscheinlich, da Tarmaširin als erster islamischer Herrscher des Čayatai-

<sup>12</sup> Der Anfang des Dokuments lautet:

- |      |                            |                                   |
|------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| i)   | <i>qan-u jarliγ-iyar</i>   | Auf Anordnung des Qan             |
| ii)  | <i>Berketemür üge manu</i> | Unsere, des Berketemür Verordnung |
| iii) | <i>Iduγ-qud čingsang-a</i> | An der Iduq Qut Čingsang,         |

<sup>13</sup> So weit mir bekannt ist der Titel, außer an dieser Stelle, nur in den folgenden mmo. Dokumenten belegt. In der GG erscheint *čingsang* an zwei Stellen [§132(2), 133(2), 134(3); 248(2)], jeweils als chin. Titel des Kanzlers des Altan Qan der Jürčen [Cleaves 1982:252]. Als von Mongolen verwendeter Titel ist *čingsang* aus den sino-mo. Dokumenten [Ligeti 1972b:144:20v, 147:27v] als (*Lausa*) *čingsang Širemün* belegt. In der Wörterliste Zhiyuan Yiyu wird der Titel *čerbi* durch *chengxiang* übersetzt [Kara 1990:288]. Vgl. auch Mostaert 1995:55.

Reiches große Schwierigkeiten mit seinen nicht-islamischen Untertanen hatte (Mongolen 296). Auch würde man, wie in den islamischen Dokumenten des Iran, bei einer Identifikation mit Tarmaširin im Datum eine Datierung nach der *hiġra*-Angabe erwarten, letztere fehlt aber.

Ein weiteres Fragment, eine Gerichtsentscheidung (XXI:9), ist im Namen eines Herrschers, der nicht identifiziert werden kann, ausgestellt worden. Die Zeilen 2-3 lauten *Darqad-tülg ekiten ĵarġučin üge manu* 'Unsere, (des) Darqad-Tül(e)g, Anführer der Richter, Verordnung' lautet. Die Lakune [...] *ġ-yiġar* in Zeile 1 kann auf [...] *ĵarli*] *ġ-yiġar*, s.h. *ĵarliġ-yiġar* verkürzt werden. Die Schreibung des Instrumental-Suffix *-iyar* als *-yiġar* ist überraschend, dieser Suffix scheint aber im Mmo. sehr instabil gewesen zu sein, wie eine weitere Variante *ĵügiger* 'in rechter Weise' im Brief Aryuns an Papst Nikolaus zeigt (vgl. Weiers 1969:107-111).

Unter den sino-mo. Inschriften (Ligeti 1972a:22-27, 36-75) ist eine Inschrift (id. 59-61) zu erwähnen, da diese zwar vom Aufbau her etwas anders als die *hPags-pa* Edikte ist, aber eine mit diesen identische *Invocatio* und *Intitulatio*, sowie *Schlußprotokoll* aufweist.

Die Inschrift wird Aruġ Wang zugeschrieben und stammt aus dem Jahr 1340, d.h. der Regierungszeit des Toġan Temür. *Invocatio* und *Intitulatio* der Inschrift lauten i) *tnġri-yin küčün-dür* ii) *qayān-un suu-dur* iii) *Aruġ Ün-nan ong üge manu* 'durch die Kraft des Himmels und den Segen des Qayān. Unsere, (des) Aruġ, Yunnan-Wang, Verordnung'. Diese Einleitung ist identisch mit der für die Prinzen des Qayān-Haushalts belegten Einleitungen der *hPags-pa* Edikte (PH I, V). Aruġ Wang war aber kein kaiserlicher Prinz, sondern stand in irgendeiner, nicht näher zu bestimmenden Beziehung zum Haushalt des Qayān.<sup>14</sup> Diese Einleitung wurde also nicht nur von leiblichen Prinzen des Qayān, sondern auch von Personen, die zu seiner näheren Umgebung gehörten, verwendet. Dieser Sachverhalt wird weiterhin dadurch bestärkt, daß Aruġ Wang seine schriftliche Verordnung nicht als *bičig*, wie die Prinzen, sondern als *linġi* [< chin. *lingzhi*] bezeichnet. Nach Cleaves (1964-65:67:66), der Chavannes zitiert, ist *linġi* "un édict princier", ebenso Schuh (1977:163) und Mostaert (1995:100). Diese Übersetzung scheint, wenn man

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. die Zeilen 11-12, wo Aruġ Wang als Grund für seine Schenkungen anführt, daß er *dai-čang gungġü asarġsan-u ači ečige ekes-i teġiyegsen ači* 'die Last der Aufziehens durch die Dazhang gongzhu und die Last der Ernährung von Vater und Mutter' vergelten möchte [Ligeti 1972a:60].



den oben gemachten Ausführungen folgt, nicht ganz genau zu sein. Aus dem obigen Zusammenhang fallende Bedeutungen werden dem Wort von Haenisch (1952:60) 'Kaiserliche Verordnung', und Mathews (4043:5) 'a command of the empressdowager', gegeben.

In Übereinstimmung mit den hPags-pa Edikten verwendet die Inschrift *süme* zur Bezeichnung buddhistischer Klöster (Ligeti 1972a:61:16). Die Inschrift hat, wie auch die hPags-pa Edikte aus der Toyan Temür Zeit, in der Schlußformel eine Regierungsperiode. Ebenso stimmen die Zählweisen des Jahres, Monats und Tages (Ligeti 1972a.61:20) mit jenen der hPags-pa Edikte überein.

Zuletzt möchte ich kurz auf die mmo. Dokumente aus dem Iran eingehen und sehen, in wie weit die für die hPags-pa Edikte ausgearbeiteten Unterschiede hier anwendbar sind. Strukturelle Teile der hPags-pa Edikte und der Dokumente des Iran, die miteinander verglichen werden können, sind *Invocatio*, *Intitulatio*, *Legitimierung* und *Schlußprotokoll*.

Eine *Invocatio* erscheint nur im Brief Arγuns an Philip den Schönen [(1289) XXII:2], und in einem der Fragmente aus Teheran (XXIII:1a). Die *Invocatio* Arγuns, i) *möngke tenri-yin kücün-dür* ii) *qayān-u suu-dur*, ist dieselbe, wie die von den Prinzen der Yuan-Dynastie verwendete, und scheint den, im Bezug zum Qayān, untergeordneten Rang Arγuns auszudrücken. Die *Invocatio* des Fragments aus Teheran lautet i) *möngke tenri-yin kücün-dür* ii) *Muqamad baiγambar-un imadtur* iii) *yeke suu jāli-yin ibegen-dür*. Der mittlere Teil ist für islamische Herrscher typisch, der erste und dritte Teil, in den hPags-pa Edikten nur für Qayāne belegt, könnten daraufhin deuten, daß man es hier mit einem äußerst selbstbewußten Herrscher zu tun hat. Dieses Fragment ist in die Zeit nach dem Tod Qubilais, dem die Auflösung des mo. Großreiches folgte, zu datieren.

In der *Intitulatio* verwenden die Dokumente (XXII:2, 4, 5; XXIII:2; A:10, 13, 16) das Wort *üge*. Anfangs scheint dieses Wort den untergeordneten Rang der Ilqane auszudrücken. Besser ist diese untergeordnete Stellung in den Münzen der Ilqane, die bis zum Anfang der Regierung des Ğasan (1295-1304) mit der Formula *qayān-u nereber* 'im Namen des Qayān (Qubilai)' beginnen, sichtbar (Weiers 1978). Später scheint der Gebrauch von *üge* versteinert zu sein, und selbst Ilqane, die sich nicht mehr als zweitrangige Herrscher fühlten, verwenden *üge* in der *Intitulatio*.

Im Schlußprotokoll verwenden alle Dokumente aus dem Iran *bičig manu* 'Unser Schreiben'. Einerseits ist für *bičig* derselbe Sachverhalt wie für *üge* zu verzeichnen, andererseits scheint *bičig* aber stellenweise eine andere Semantik als *jarliq* zu beinhalten. So heißt es im Dokument des Abū Sa'īd (XXIII:2h:14-17) *jrly busi bolʔaqun aran aldatuʔai ükütügei kemen imada bariju aʔai altan gerige al tamʔatai jrly soyurqaju ögbei. bičig manu* 'Menschen, die gegen den Erlaß verstoßen sollen schuldig sein und sterben. [Wir] haben ihm ergebenst einen goldenen Paizi und einen Erlaß mit einem roten Siegel, den er in seinem Besitz halten soll, gegeben. Unser Schreiben'. Hier bezeichnet *jrly* den Erlaß, Befehl, *bičig* hingegen das Schreiben als Ganzes. Wie aus demselben Dokument (XXIII:2f:1, 4) ersichtbar ist, können *jrly* und *bičig* auch verschiedene Arten von Dokumenten bezeichnen: *jrlyud bičigüd-i manu* 'Unsere Erlaße und Schreiben'. Doerfer (TMEN § 1849:717) zufolge bedeutet *jarliq* im Pers. 'kaiserlicher Erlaß, Edikt, Dekret, Bestallungsurkunde; Vollmachtsturkunde', *bičig* hingegen 'Staatsschreiben'.

Eine Legitimierung fehlt in den Dokumenten aus dem Iran, es gibt in den Dokumenten aber Verzeichnisse von Vorfahren, die zur Datierung verwendet werden können. So erwähnt Öljeitü in einem Brief an Philip als Vorgänger seinen *ebüge ečige aqa* 'Großvater, Vater, älteren Bruder' (XXII:5:7-9, 14-16, 33). Hier ist besonders der Bezug auf den älteren Bruder zur Unterscheidung wichtig, da es nur zwei Ilqane, Γaiqatu (1291-1295) und Öljeitü (1304-1316) gab, die in der Regierung ihrem Bruder folgten.

Im Datum ist die Datierung nach der hijra-Angabe (XXII:4, 5; XXIII:2h; A:10, 16), vergleichbar mit der chin. Regierungsperiode in den Dokumenten des Toyān Temür, wichtig, da diese Art der Datierung nur von islamischen Herrschern verwendet wurde.<sup>15</sup> Auf die hijra-Angabe folgt die Datierung des Jahres nach dem Tierkalender, es erscheinen an Tiernamen *taulai* 'Hase' (XXII:1), *üker* 'Rind' (XXII:2; A:10), *bars* 'Tiger' (XXII:3, 4), *moʔai* 'Schlange' (XXII:5), *bičün* 'Affe' (XXIII:2h), *qonin* 'Schaf' (A:2), *ʔaqai* 'Schwein' (A:3) und *noqai* 'Hund' (A:16). Die Bezeichnung des Monats folgt dem bekannten 4+3 System, als Name des ersten Monats erscheint, in Übereinstimmung mit den hPags-pa Edikten *terigün* bzw. *terigüten*. Die Zählung des Tag basiert, wie in den Dokumenten aus Turkestan, auf der Dreiteilung des Monats (s.o. Fußnote 8), so z.B. *tabun sinete* 'am 5. (Tag

<sup>15</sup> Islamische Herrscher waren Aḥmad (1282-1284), Γazan (1295-1304), Öljeitü (1304-1316) und Abū Sa'īd (1317-1335) [Doerfer 1975:194-195].

des) neuen (Zehntel)' [Brief Arγuns an Papst Nikolaus (XXIII:3:33-34)]; *arban tabun-a* 'am 15. (Tag)' [Brief Arγuns an Philip den Schönen (XXIII:2:16)], *ǰirγuγan qaučid-ta* 'am 6. (Tag des) alten (Zehntel) = 26. Tag' [(XXIII:2:33)].

Zusammenfassend ist zu vermerken, daß die für die hPags-pa Edikte ausgearbeiteten Unterschiede nur bedingt auf andere mmo. Dokumente angewendet werden können. Die von der Terminologie her am nächsten mit den hPags-pa Edikten verbundenen Dokumente scheinen die Paizi zu sein. Die zur Unterscheidung der hPags-pa Edikte relevanten Teile sind teilweise, so vor allem *Invocatio* und *Intitulatio*, auch zur Unterscheidung anderer mmo. Dokumente bedeutsam, die Unterschiede können aber nicht immer direkt auf andere mmo. Dokumente übertragen werden, sondern müssen im jeweils eigenen Zusammenhang interpretiert werden. Eine Legitimierung, die mit jener der hPags-pa Edikte verglichen werden kann, erscheint nur in den Dokumenten aus dem Iran und in einigen Turkestan-Dokumenten. Die für die hPags-pa Edikte ausgearbeiteten Unterscheidungen in den Poenformeln sind anscheinend für andere mmo. Dokumente nicht relevant. In der Datierung bestehen Unterschiede, die von Bedeutung sind, wobei zwischen einem östlichen (China/Mongolei), zentralen (Turkestan) und westlichen (Iran/Anatolien) Einflußbereich unterschieden werden kann. Die zwei Zählweisen des Monats überschneiden sich und sind für den östlichen und zentralen bzw. zentralen und westlichen Einflußbereich belegt. Bei der Zählweise des Tages ist eine klare Trennung sichtbar. Während die Zählweise 1-10 + *šine*, 11-30 nur im östlichen Einflußbereich erscheint, kommt die Zählweise 1-10 + *sine*, 11-20, 1-10 + *qaučin* (= 21-30) nur im zentralen und westlichen Einflußbereich vor. So ist auch der sino-mo. Edikt aus dem Jahr 1453 (Cleaves 1950), obwohl aus der Türkei stammend, auf Grund der Zählung des Tages [*qorin yisün-e* 'am 29. (Tag)'] dem östlichen Einflußbereich zu zuordnen. Der allgemeine Aufbau der mmo. Dokumente scheint aber, natürlich mit Abweichungen, im größten Teil der Dokumente ähnlich zu sein.

### Abkürzungen

A:1-16: Mmo. Dokumente aus dem Iran; Doerfer 1975, Herrman & Doerfer 1975a, 1975b; kurze Übersicht in Herrmann & Doerfer 1975a:337-340.

chin.: Chinesisch  
 GG: Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen; Haenisch 1939.  
 kal.: Kalmückisch  
 mmo.: Mittelmongolisch  
 mmoA: Mittelmongolisch in arabischer Schrift  
 mmoM: Mittelmongolisch der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen  
 mmoP: Mittelmongolisch in hPags-pa Schrift  
 mmoS: Mittelmongolisch in chinesischen Schriftzeichen  
 mmoU: Mittelmongolisch in uigurischer Schrift  
 mo.: Mongolisch  
 moL: Klassisches Schriftmongolisch  
 ord.: Ordos  
 qom.: Qomanisch  
 qara.: Qaraxanidisch  
 PH I-XV: hPags-pa Edikte; Ligeti 1972b:20-82, Junast 1989, Sugiyama 1988.  
 tü.: Türkisch  
 uig.: Uigurisch  
 uigS: Uigurisch in chinesischen Schriftzeichen  
 xal.: Xalxa  
 XXI:1-17, XXII:1-5, XXIII:1-2: Mmo. Dokumente aus Turkestan und dem Iran;  
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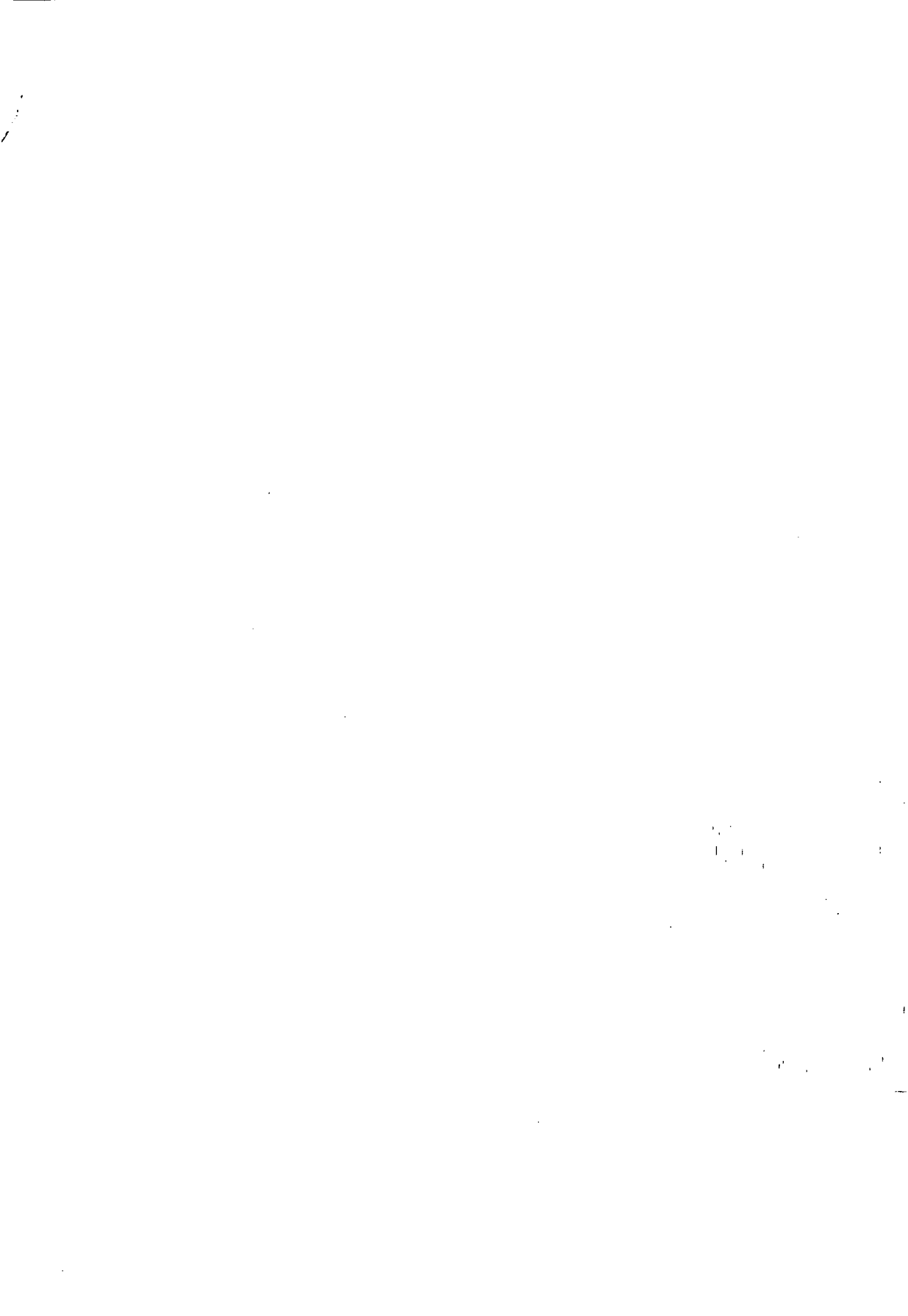
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## Graphic Variation in the Mongolian Text of *Muqaddimat al-Adab*: What Word-medial Final Allographs Imply<sup>1</sup>

### 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<sup>2</sup>, 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'<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

### 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:

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- <sup>1</sup> 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.
  - <sup>2</sup> Words with no suffix are included in this number.
  - <sup>3</sup> 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.
  - <sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.1.1.

## 2.1.1.1. Plural Suffix {lar} (&lt;lâr&gt; &lt;#lâr&gt;)

## (2) Examples of &lt;#lâr&gt;

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

## 2.1.1.2. Denominal Noun Suffix {liq} (&lt;lyq&gt; &lt;#lyq&gt; &lt;lyk&gt; &lt;#lyk&gt;)

## (3) Examples of &lt;#lyq&gt; and &lt;#lyk&gt;

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<bwwl#lyq>	boo:l-liq	boo:l+liq	<i>bogol</i> ‘slave’
<sâyn#lyq>	sain-liq	sain+liq	<i>sayin</i> ‘good’
<yykh#lyk>	yäkä-lik	yäkä+lik	<i>yäkä</i> ‘large’

<sup>5</sup> 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 <âwšwn> ‘water’ and <âwswn> ‘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	<i>bayi-ri</i> 'dwelling place'
<âyjh#lâbh>	äjä-labä	äjä+lä+bä	<i>äjä(n)</i> 'lord'
<syzk#lâksân>	säzik-läksän	säzik+lä+ksän	<i>säjig</i> 'doubt'
<â~bâdân#lâbh>	abadan-laba	abadan+la+ba	Per. <i>abadan</i> 'prosperous'

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

(5) Examples of <V#âwl>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<twry#wlbh>	tö:ri-ü:l:bä	tö:ri+ü:l+bä	<i>tögäri-</i> 'to be lost'
<qäry#âwlbh>	qari-u:l:ba	qari+u:l+ba	<i>qari-</i> 'to return'
<twrh#âwlbh>	törä-ö:l:bä	törä+ü:l+bä	<i>törü-</i> 'to be born'

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

(6) Examples of <#lh> and <#lâ>

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<kwl#lh>	köl-lä:	köl+lä:	<i>köl</i> 'foot'
<nykân#lh/#lâ>	nikän-lä:	nikän+lä:	<i>nikän</i> 'one'
<yâmh#lh/#lâ>	yama-la:	yama+la:	<i>yaguma</i> 'thing'
<tyngry#lâ>	tängri-lä:	tängri+lä:	<i>tngri</i> 'heaven'

<sup>6</sup> The forms <#wl>, <#wwl> and <#âwv> have one example each.

## 2.1.1.6. Dative-Locative Suffix {tu} (&lt;tw&gt; &lt;#tw&gt; &lt;dw&gt; &lt;#dw&gt;)

## (7) Examples of &lt;#tw&gt; and &lt;#dw&gt;

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

## 2.1.1.7. Genitive Suffix {y:n} (&lt;C/Vyn&gt; &lt;V/loanword #yn&gt; &lt;Vyyn&gt; &lt;V#yyn&gt; &lt;n-w&gt;)

## (8) Examples of &lt;V/loanword #yn&gt; and &lt;#yyn&gt;

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<âymh#yn>	ämä-i:n	ämä+i:n	<i>ämä</i> 'woman'
<swny#yn>	söni-i:n	söni+i:n	<i>söni</i> 'night'
<‘rb#yn>	‘arab-i:n	‘arab+i:n	Ar. ‘ <i>arab</i> 'Arab'
<âwnqâjh#yyn>	onqača-yi:n	onqača+yi:n	<i>ongguča</i> 'vessel'

## 2.1.1.8. Ablative Suffix {a:sa} (&lt;C/Vâsh&gt; &lt;loanword #âsh&gt; &lt;V#yâsh&gt;)

## (9) Examples of &lt;loanword #âsh&gt;, &lt;#â~sh&gt; and &lt;V#yâsh&gt;

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<dšmn#âsh>	dušman-a:sa	dušman+a:sa	Per. <i>dušman</i> 'enemy'
<dwyt#âsh>	dawät-ä:sä	dawät+ä:sä	Per. <i>davet</i> 'pen-case'
<mlâmt#âsh>	mâlamät-ä:sä	mâlamät+ä:sä	Ar. <i>mela<del>met</del></i> 'reproach'
<rḥmt#âsh>	raḥmät-ä:sä	raḥmät+ä:sä	Ar. <i>raḥmet</i> 'God's mercy'
<tynkry#yâsh>	tängri-yä:sä	tängri+yä:sä	<i>tngri</i> 'heaven'

## 2.1.1.9. Past Indicative Suffix {ba} (&lt;bh&gt; &lt;#bh&gt; &lt;bâ&gt; &lt;#bâ&gt;)

## (10) Examples of &lt;#bh&gt; and &lt;#bâ&gt;

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

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

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

(11) Examples of <#kw>

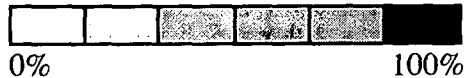
Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<klh#kw>	kälä-kü	kälä+kü	<i>kälä-</i> 'to say'
<âyrh#kw>	irä-kü	irä+kü	<i>irä-</i> 'to come'

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}	{ba} {qu} {qsan}
written independently			
joined to the stem			



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.<sup>7</sup> Should this be caused by the influence of Written Chagatay<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

## 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-ä:sä	sätkil+ä:sä	<i>sätkil</i> 'thought'
<mwkwn#yâr>	möngün-iär	mönggün+iär	<i>mönggün</i> 'silver'
<rhmt#âsh>	rahmät-ä:sä	rahmät+ä:sä	Ar. <i>rahmet</i> 'God's mercy'
<dwyt#âsh>	dawät-ä:sä	dawät+ä:sä	Per. <i>davet</i> '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

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Mongolian *jarimlaba* <järym#läbh>, Chagatay *yarimlatti* <yärym#lätty>.

<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

### 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.<sup>11</sup>

(15)

Translit.	Tentative Transcr.	Morphology	Stem in WM Form
<yâmh#sh>	yama:sa	yama+a:sa	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>

<sup>10</sup> 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 *bol-* plus Chagatay suffix *-di*, is observed in the Mongolian text.

<sup>11</sup> 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-wü:	äräwü:	<i>ärägüü</i> ‘torture’
<âymh#â~n>	ima-a:n	imaa:n	<i>imagan</i> ‘goat’
<âynh#rykw>	änä-rikü	änäri+kü	<i>änäri-</i> ‘to have pity’
<kwdäl#kybh>	ködäl-gäbä	ködäl+gä+bä	<i>ködäl-</i> ‘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
<mwdowny#yâr>	moduni-yar	modun+iyar	<i>modun</i> ‘tree’
<kyb#täbh>	käb-täbä	käbtä+bä	<i>käbtä-</i> ‘to lie down’
<hrtwn#jyn>	hrtün-č:i:n	hrtünč+i:n	<i>yirtinčü</i> ‘the universe’
<bâryq#twn>	bariq-tun	bari+gtun	<i>hari-</i> ‘to grasp’
<bwlwq#sân>	boluq-san	bol+u+qsan	<i>bol-</i> ‘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.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> There is another kind of example that may verify this conjecture.

Translit.	Morphology	Meaning of the WM Forms
<gäljâqylbh>	gal čaqilba	‘lighted a fire’
<âynaqšyrh>	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.<sup>13</sup> 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.

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<sup>13</sup> The following examples may have resulted from the copyists' insufficiency of knowledge of Mongolian.

**Translit.**

<byšk#ldwbh>  
<âwls#ânkârm>

**Morphology**

biši kildübä  
ül sängäräm

**Meaning of the WM Forms**

'did something else'  
'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.
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Similar musical structures in Turkish, Mongolian, Tungus  
and Hungarian folk music

While studying Mongolian folk music, I discovered that the Tungus *Evenkis* in Inner Mongolia and certain Mongol tribes use a special musical structure. Until now most European scholars have known this structure to exist only in Hungarian folk music and in that of the Cheremis-Chuvash front. Let us take a Hungarian *example* of the quintal-shift structure.

*Example 1. Hungarian melody with a quintal-shift by Vargyas (1981), N<sup>o</sup>01*



Meg-ös-mer-ni a ka-nász-t ó-kés já-rá-sá-ról, Ű-zött-fű-zött boc-s-ko-rá-ról, ta-risz-nya-szj-já-ról,  
Hücs-ki, disz-nó a bo-rök-ből, csak a fű-le lát-szik, Ka-nász buj-tár bo-kor mel-lett mő-nyecs kő-vel ját-szik.

The essence of the phenomenon is that the melody is composed of parts, the second part being four tones (a quint) lower than the first one. This is what we call the *quintal-shift* structure.<sup>1</sup> The shift can be strictly parallel note by note, but the second (shifted) part of the melody often contains modifications. Further characteristics of these melodies are the pentatonic scale and the descending melodic line.

The pentatonic scale, the quintal-shift construction or the descending character can be found in the folk music of various peoples. If these phenomena coincide, and, moreover, if such melodies form a melodic style, then it calls for closer scrutiny.

<sup>1</sup> Bartók B. (1924), *A magyar népdal*, Budapest; Kodály Z. (1973), *A magyar népzene*, Budapest.

*The Mongolian quintal-shift style*

After studying some 700 Mongolian melodies, I found that one out of every ten melodies uses the quintal-shift.<sup>2</sup> The melodies in question originate from Inner Mongolia, mainly from the singers and musicians of the Mongolian *Barin*, *Khorchin*, *Arkhorchin* and *Keshikten* tribes living in the *Jōuda* area.<sup>3</sup> Let us investigate the main melody types of this Mongolian style.

In short, two-section melodies we usually hear a partial quintal-shift. In *example 2a* the interval of the shift is a third, a fourth and a fifth, in *example 2b* the shift is a fourth and a fifth and in *example 2c* the shift is almost exactly a fifth.

*Example 2.* Mongolian two-section quintal-shift melodies a) MOI N° 281; b) MOE N° 123; c) MOI N° 57

A3-4-5 Shift with 3-4-5 tone

2a)

A 2 3 3 3 4 5 5

A4-5 Shift with 4-5 tone

2b)

A 4 5 5 4 4 4 5 4 3 4

<sup>2</sup> *Mongyol arad-un mingyan dayi*, Vol 2, *Aju bayidal jang jangsil-un dayi*, Köke-Qota 1981, *Öbör mongyol-un Arad-un Keblel-ün Qoriy-a*, Köke-Qota 1981, *Jō-uda arad-un dayi*, Köke-Qota 1982; Emsheimer, E. (1943), *Music of Eastern Mongolia*, collected by H. Haslund-Christensen. In: *Reports from the scientific expedition to the north-western provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin*, VIII. Ethnography 4, The music of the mongols, Stockholm.

<sup>3</sup> Ligeti L. (1933), *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie Chinoise 1928-1931*, Budapest.

A5v Almost perfect quintal-shift

Some four-section melodies shift their first half by a third and a fourth. We can see this phenomenon in *example 3a*. In *example 3b* only one of the sections (section B) is transposed.

*Example 3.* Mongolian four-section partial quintal-shift melodies a) MO1 N<sup>0</sup> 174; b) MO1 N<sup>0</sup> 273

At the same time a great many short four-section melodies contain a perfect or almost perfect quintal-shift structure. We can see this phenomenon in small size (*example 4a*), in tripodic form (*example 4b*), in large size (*example 4c*) and in large size tripodic form (*example 4d*).

*Example 4. Mongolian four-section quintal-shift melodies a) MO1 N<sup>o</sup> 209; b) MOE N<sup>o</sup> 162; c) MO1 N<sup>o</sup> 107; d) MO1 N<sup>o</sup> 103*

4a) A5k Small size A5

Bk A

4b) A5k Tripodic form A5

Bk A

4c) A5k Large size A5

Ak A

4d) A5k Tripodic form, large size A5

Bk A

All of these melodies have their counterpart without a quintal-shift. I show a tripodic melody (*example 5a*), a large size one (*example 5b*) and a large size tripodic one (*example 5c*).



Example 5. Parallels Mongolian quintal-shift melodies a) MO1 N<sup>o</sup> 76; b) MOE N<sup>o</sup> 118; c) MO1 N<sup>o</sup> 201

5a)

5b)

5c)

The scale of these quintal-shift melodies is usually *la*-pentatonic. Quintal-shift melodies with *do*- or *sol*-pentatonic scales are less frequent. *Example 6a* is a two-section *do*-pentatonic melody, *example 6b* is a two-section *sol*-pentatonic melody and *example 6c* is a four-section *sol*-pentatonic melody.

**Example 6.** Mongolian *do-* and *sol-*pentatonic quintal-shift melodies a) MO1 N<sup>o</sup> 10; b) MO1 N<sup>o</sup> 69; c) MO1 N<sup>o</sup> 196

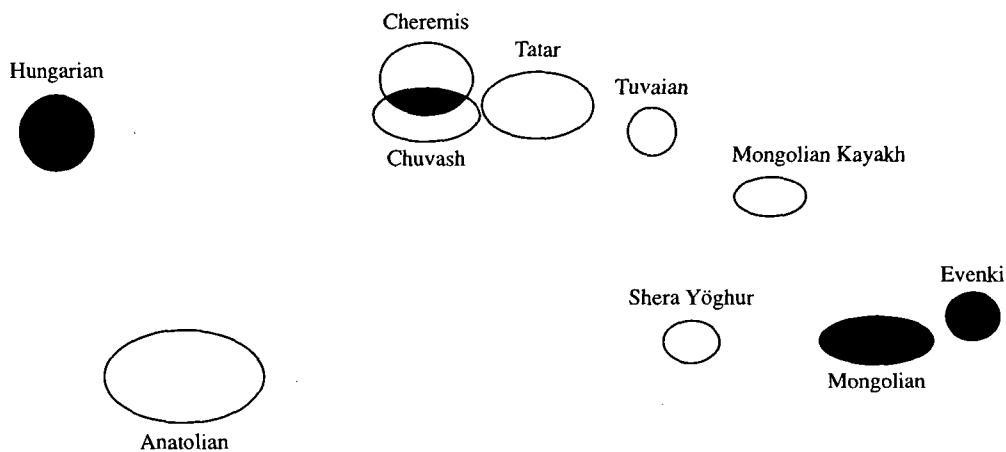
6a) Two-sectioned *do-*pentatonic melody

6b) A5-4 Two-sectioned *sol-*pentatonic melody

6c) A5 Four-sectioned *sol-*pentatonic melody

These Mongolian melodies form a homogeneous musical style which contains melodies of various lengths, numbers of sections and melodic movements. Evidence also exists that melodies with a quintal-shift are related to melodies without one.

## Map of the examined are:

*Quintal-shift construction in the folk music of other peoples*

In Europe, according to the evidence in the available material, this phenomenon appears only in Hungary. What exists in Europe is nothing other than partial quintal-shift parts within non-pentatonic melodies.<sup>4</sup> However, this phenomenon exists as a fully developed style in the region of the Cheremiss-Chuvash front, but moving away from the area, this style vanishes.

I have examined a large amount of Turkic musical material to determine whether the folk music of these peoples contains pentatonic melodies with a quintal-shift.<sup>5</sup>

In Anatolian folk music the pentatonic scale can be found only in traces, and among 5000 melodies I have managed to find very few with a quintal-shift. In any case, the link between these few melodies and the main Turkish melody types is not the least bit likely.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Vargyas L. (1980), *A magyar zene őstörténete*, Ethnographia XCI.

<sup>5</sup> The choice was made according to the presence of the available material of any reliable collection. It is also possible that the phenomenon under investigation appears.

<sup>6</sup> Sipos J. (1993-1994), *Török Népzene I-II.*, Budapest.

Example 7. Anatolian quintal-shift melody, TRT N<sup>o</sup> 1625

A5

Kır - mı - zı gül gon - ca - sı - nı bağ - lar - lar des - te

A

Ben se - nin aş - kın - dan a - man ol - mu - şum has - ta

I analysed some thousand *Tatar* melodies<sup>7</sup>, and it seems to me that Tatars do not use the quintal-shift construction. But the downward transposition with a third, fourth or fifth is not rare in Tatar folk music.

Example 8. Tatar partial quintal-shift melody, Ključarev (1955) N<sup>o</sup> 102

a5                      b                      a5                      c4-5

Алмабак ча - сы - на керепжа - ным, алма чәчәк лә - ре ө - зә - сөн,

a                      c4-5                      a                      c

Сикертмә кашың - ны си - зәр - ләр, безмең ка - выгы - ны ө - зәр - ләр.

There are theories according to which the folk music of the *Shera yöghur* people shows similarities to that of Hungarians, because the pentatonic *Yöghur* material contains numerous quintal-shift melodies.<sup>8</sup> I have sifted through the articles by Zhang Rei and investigated approximately 200 *Yöghur* melodies. However, I succeeded in finding only two quintal-shift melodies in spite of the fact that this material originates from the propagator of the *Yöghur* quintal-shift construction.

<sup>7</sup> Nigmedzjanov, M. (1970), *Tatarskie narodnye pesni*, Moskva; Nigmätjanov, M. (1976), *Tatar halik žırları*, Kazan; Nigmedzjanov, M. (1984), *Tatarskie narodnye pesni*, Kazan.

<sup>8</sup> *Yu-gu, tung-xiang, bao-an, sa-la, tu-zu melodies*, Beijing 1986.

Example 9. Shera yöghur quintal-shift melody, Zhang (1985) example 5.

A5-4

A 5 5 ..... 5 5 4 4

After analysing the folk music of the *Mongolian Kazakhs*, I concluded that the role of the transposition of a section or even a motif is very small in their ancient folk music. I succeeded in finding only two melodies with a partial quintal-shift among 323 songs.<sup>9</sup>

Example 10. Mongolian Kazakh partial quintal-shift melody, KA1 N<sup>o</sup> 242

A5k A5k

Кыз-дың а - ты кыз е - мес, кы - зыл ал - ма ой - хой - хой,

Ә - ри ә - ри ә - ри - не, Ә - нім со - лай ең - уай.

A 5 5 5 5 4 c 5 4 5

I examined more than 150 *Tuvan* melodies.<sup>10</sup> None of these contained a quintal-shift, and only one melody consisted of a downward transposition with a fourth.

<sup>9</sup> *Mongolija qazaqtariniñ haliq änderi*. Ölgüy 1983.

<sup>10</sup> Kyrgys, Z. (1992), *Pesennaja kul'tura tuvinskogo naroda*. Kyzyl.

*Example 11. Tuvanian melody with fourth-transposition. Kyrgys, Z. (1992) N° 9*

A4

А Ду - не - ки - де дил - ги ча - раш  
 А 4  
 ду - не маң - наан и - зи - ле ча - раш

The descending pentatonic character of the folk music of the Turkic peoples involves the possibility of the quintal-shift, even if this construction as a homogeneous musical style appears only on the Cheremiss-Chuvash front.

The quintal-shift construction plays an important role in the music of the *Tungus* people. Tungus *la*-pentatonic quintal-shift melodies are short and in two sections.

*Example 12. Evenki quintal-shift melody, EVE N° 47*

А

What does all this mean? First of all, the fact that the quintal-shift construction also appears in Inner Asia refutes the idea that this style was born at the point of contact of the Finno-Ugrian and Turkic cultures.

We can consider of the Altaic theory: we see parallelism between the folk music of the Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus peoples. But the quintal-shift construction is not universal among all Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus peoples. Furthermore, a detailed musical analysis reveals that the general character of the quintal-shift melodies of various peoples is more or less different. For example, the Hungarian material contains melodies with the *la*-pentatonic scale, and the melodic movements of the short sections are smooth. The Cheremis and Chuvash materials utilise *la*-, *do*- and *sol*-pentatonic scales, the sections are long and the melody movements are larger. The Mongolian material, with respect to the melody movements, reassembles the Cheremis-Chuvash material, while the scale of these Mongolian melodies is *la*-pentatonic, as is that of the Hungarian material. The Evenki melodies are simple and in two sections, revealing a relatively basic stage of development. I found only a few Evenki four-section quintal-shift melodies, but their scale is *sol*-pentatonic.

How can this inter-ethnic phenomenon be explained? We know that descending pentatonic melodies play an important role in Chinese, Mongolian, Turkic and Hungarian folk music. In descending melodies, parallelism can take shape between the melody sections. The distance between these parallel sections can easily be just four tones (a quint), so it is not surprising that in the folk music of nations such as the Turkic, Mongolian, Tungus and Hungarian peoples, melodies with quintal-shift construction have come into existence. The structure of these melodies is well-developed and simultaneously easy to remember. This may explain why in the folk music of some peoples the quintal-shift melodies form a homogeneous musical style.

In conclusion, these styles have probably developed from a somewhat similar pentatonic and descending melody base, and have crystallised independently from each other. What caused the crystallisation? This question will perhaps never be answered.

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## Bemerkungen zu Zahlwörtern sowie Datums- und Altersangaben im Dolganischen und Jakutischen

Die Zahlen in < > beziehen sich auf das Schema, die in ( ) auf die einzelnen Abschnitte im Text des Aufsatzes.

Inhalt: 1. Einleitendes; 2. Kardinalia: Neuerungen und archaische Züge; 3. Die Numeruskategorien; 4. Ordinalia; 5. Approximativa und Distributiva; 6. Multiplikativa, Limitativa, Kollektiva; 7. Kollektiva Partitiva und Finita; 8. Schlußfolgerungen und Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten strukturellen Merkmale des dolg. und jak. Numerussystems; 9. Allgemeines über Datums- und Altersangaben; 10. Datumsangaben; 11. Altersangaben; 12. Abgekürzt zitierte Literatur.

### 1. *Einleitendes*

1.1 Den Gegenstand der vorliegenden Studie bildet ausschließlich das morphologische System der Zahlwörter im Dolg. und Jak. Dies hat zur Folge, daß hier prinzipiell weder syntaktische Zahlwortkonstruktionen noch Lehnwörter dargestellt werden. Unberücksichtigt bleiben also z.B. entlehnte Zahlwörter wie jak. *baltara* 'eineinhalb' (< russ. *poltora* id.) und Bruchzahlen wie jak. *üs gymmyt bīrā* 'ein Drittel' [wörtl. 'drei getan – davon eins'; vgl. noch jak. *tüört gymmyttan [sic!] bīrdārā* 'Vierfürst' (StachM NT 37); jak. *uon gymmyttan [sic!] bīrdārā* 'Zehnt(er), zehnter Teil' (StachM NT 22 s.v. *bīr*); zum Abl.-Suff. s. (2.3b)].

Der eigentliche Beweggrund, dieses Thema näher zu bearbeiten, waren für mich das so gut wie völlige Fehlen von Spezialstudien zu einzelnen Subsystemen<sup>1</sup> der jak. und dolg. Morphologie sowie die Unzulänglichkeiten der in den bisher erschienenen Grammatikbüchern zu findenden Darstellungen der Zahlwörter. Dabei sind Dolg. und Jak. die Türksprachen mit einem besonders

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<sup>1</sup> Die meisten der bisher erschienenen Studien zu tü. Zahlwörtern sind entweder der Etymologie oder aber einzelnen Phänomenen (in erster Linie der Oberstufenzählung) gewidmet, nicht der Struktur des morphologischen Systems (bzw. der morphologischen Subsysteme) der Zahlwortkategorien.

gut ausgebauten System der Zahlwörter, das auf jeden Fall eine genauere Untersuchung verdient.

1.2 Die Fachliteratur zum Jak. ist zwar weit größer als die zum Dolg., doch auch im Fall des Jak. sind wir von einem systematisch geordneten Wissen weit entfernt. Die Angaben, die wir z.B. in der jak. Standardgrammatik von heute (GJa) finden können, decken sich nur teilweise damit, was die alte Grammatik von Jastremskij zu bieten hat.

1.3 Noch schlimmer sieht es im Dolg. aus. Für das Dolg. steht uns nämlich so gut wie nur eine Grammatik (Ubrj.), in der alle morphologischen Zahlwortbildungen auf knappen fünf Seiten dargestellt werden (Ubrj. 137-141), zur Verfügung. Nun, abgesehen von dieser Knappheit selbst, kann das dort gebotene Bild den Leser auch aus anderen Gründen nicht ganz zufriedenstellen. Wie schon im Titel der Monographie von E. I. Ubrjatova gesagt, beschränkt sich die Studie auf das Noril'sk-Dolg., d.h. die südlichste der dolg. Mundarten, die außerdem nicht auf dem Land, sondern in der Stadt gesprochen wird und daher dem eventuellen jak. Einfluß stärker als nördliche Mundarten ausgesetzt ist. Das von der Verfasserin geschilderte Bild ist darüber hinaus nicht sehr systematisch; es ist eher eine Aufzählung von Suffixen und deren Funktionen. Dies ist – das möchte ich eindeutig betonen – kein Vorwurf. In einer Pionierarbeit wie der Ubrjatovas ist auch eine bloße Aufzählung der Suffixe gut genug. Von dieser Aufzählung ausgehend, können wir heute weiter forschen.

In einer anderen, für das Dolg. und die Norddialekte des Jak. wichtigen Studie, nämlich der Monographie von M. S. Voronkin, ist dem Zahlwort eine knappe (aber wichtige) Druckseite gewidmet (Vor. SZ 187f.). Während der Arbeit an diesem Thema konnte ich dank dieser einen Seite einen Fehler in meinem dolg. Wörterbuch entdecken, den ich an dieser Stelle korrigieren möchte. Vor. SZ 187 (so übrigens auch schon in Vor. SDO 173) sagt nämlich, daß Kollektiva auf +ya im Nordwesten des jak. Sprachgebiets, Tajmyr inklusive, kaum, an manchen Orten sogar überhaupt nicht gebräuchlich seien, während ich mich an +ya-Bildungen aus meinem Wörterbuch gut erinnern konnte. Nach der Überprüfung der Belege hat es sich erwiesen, daß sie alle aus Ubrj. 139 stammen, wo sie zwar tatsächlich vorkommen, allerdings als jak. *Pendants* der dolg. +yan-Bildungen. Schon die Formulierung der Verfasserin ("V jakutskom jazyke, krome étoj formy [= dolg. +yan-Bildungen], est' sobiratel'nye

količestvennye s aff. -ya [...]”, Ubrj. 139) zeigt, daß +ya im Dolg. nicht vorkommt. Trotzdem habe ich die vier dort genannten jak. Beispiele (*altya, ikkiä, onuo, ühüö*) beim Verzetteln der Arbeit aus Versehen mit in mein dolg. Wörterbuch aufgenommen, wo sie jetzt also als falsch gestrichen werden sollen.

Dabei kommt aber auch ein anderer Gedanke auf. Offensichtlich ist der Unterschied zwischen den +ya- und den +yan-Bildungen wenig deutlich [über die Versuche Böhlingks und Jastremskijs, diese semantisch voneinander zu trennen, s. weiter unten (7)], wenn die beiden Formationen von M. S. Voronkin stets zusammen diskutiert und semantisch nicht differenziert werden.

1.4 Bei dieser Arbeit setzte ich mir zwei Ziele: Zum einen bemühte ich mich, möglichst alle morphologischen Zahlwortbildungen zu sammeln, und zwar nicht nur aus Grammatikbüchern, sondern auch aus Texten, was im Fall des Dolg. besonders wichtig ist. Zum anderen habe ich versucht, die gesammelten Angaben zu ordnen, d.h. vor allem die Reihenfolge der Suffixe (und dadurch die innere Hierarchie des Systems) zu bestimmen, um eine systematische, möglichst logisch aufgebaute Darstellungsweise zu erreichen.

Die Systematisierung der Angaben zeigt eindeutig, daß nicht alle Kategorien des Numerussystems des Dolg. und Jak. gleich gut entwickelt und gleich stabil sind; das dolg. System steht dem jak. zwar nahe, ist mit ihm aber nicht ganz identisch.

1.5 Vorwegnehmend sei gesagt, daß Multiplikativa, die von allen Zahlwortgruppen bis auf Kollektiva gebildet werden können, die am besten entwickelte Untergruppe der dolg. und jak. Zahlwörter darstellen. Schematisch sieht diese Situation folgendermaßen aus:

(Koll.) ← KARD. → (+Ord.) (+Appr.) (+Distr.) (+Limit.) → MULT.

g            a            b            c            d            e            f

Möglich sind folgende Kombinationen: a-f  
a-b-f  
a-c-f  
a-d-f  
a-e-f  
a-c-d-f

Daß Mult. aus Koll. nicht gebildet werden können (d.h. \*a-g-f), ist ein Mangel, der in Zukunft möglicherweise durch das System behoben werden wird, da eine morphologische Kategorie wie Koll.Mult. ('beide Male', 'alle

drei Male' usw.) im Prinzip gut denkbar ist. Daß dagegen die Kombinationen \*a-b-d-f und \*a-d-e-f nicht vorhanden sind, liegt an zwei verschiedenen Ursachen: \*a-b-d-f existiert nicht, weil die Sequenz \*b-d (= \*Ord. Distr.) semantisch kaum möglich ist; für \*a-d-e-f dagegen fehlt die Sequenz \*d-e (= \*Distr. Limit.), die aber semantisch gut möglich wäre ('höchstens je zwei', etc.).

Die Analyse des gesamten Systems zeigt i.a., daß Limitativa eine noch inkonsequent entwickelte Kategorie sind, da sie weder an Approximativa noch an Distributiva gefügt werden (im Fall der Appr. wird das sehr wohl am relativ geringen Bedürfnis nach einer Kategorie wie Appr. Limit. ['nur/höchstens ungefähr fünf'] liegen, obwohl eine solche Kategorie semantisch nicht ausgeschlossen ist).

## 2. Kardinalia: Neuerungen und archaische Züge

2.1 Bevor wir zu einzelnen morphologischen Kategorien übergehen, seien hier noch einige Worte zu den Kardinalia gesagt. Die Kardinalzahlwörter stehen zwar, als eine zum großen Teil lexikalische Kategorie, außerhalb unserer Erwägungen, doch die beiden Bemerkungen, die wir hier machen möchten, betreffen das System der Zahlwörter und fehlen teilweise in den Grammatikbüchern.

2.2 Eine interessante systembedingte Neuerung, die – soweit ich überblicken kann – in keiner Beschreibung der jak. Morphologie erwähnt wird, ist die sporadische Ersetzung des Zahlworts *otut* '30' durch eine Nominalgruppe *üs uon* 'id.' Das Phänomen ist aber erst vor einem breiteren Hintergrund gut verständlich. Dolg. und Jak. weisen seit langem schon eine Tendenz zur analytischen Zehnerbildung auf, die dazu geführt hat, daß alle Zehnerzahlen bis auf 'zwanzig' und 'dreißig' durch eine Nominalgruppe vom Typ "Einer + Zehner" ausgedrückt werden, so z.B. jak. *tüört uon* '40', *biäs uon* '50', usw. Wenn uns also in einem Folkloretext die Appr.-Zahl *üs uonča (syl)* 'ca. 30 (Jahre)' (IPR I 271, Nr. 82.III) begegnet, die natürlich eine Ableitung von der im Jak., wie es scheint, unbelegten Kardinalen *üs uon* '30' ist, dann dürfen wir darin wohl ein konsequentes (wenn auch sporadisches) Resultat des Systemzwangs des vorherrschenden analytischen Modells sehen, unter dessen Wirkung ein Lexem (jak. *otut* '30') durch die syntaktische Konstruktion "Einer + Zehner" (jak. *üs* '3' + *uon* '10') ersetzt wird. Die syntaktische Konstruktion

ist ohne Zweifel eine sporadische Erscheinung, möglicherweise durch eine stilistische Parallele verursacht, denn sie kommt im Satz fast direkt nach einer regulären “Einer + Zehner”-Bildung vor: jak. *Min aγam Ujbān aγys uonča sāsāγar ölyütä* [sic!, = *ölbütä*] *üs uonča syl buolla* ‘Es sind ca. 30 Jahre vergangen, seitdem mein Vater Ivan im Alter von ungefähr 80 Jahren verstorben ist’ (ebda).

In dieser Hinsicht bildet das Jak. jedoch in Sibirien keine Ausnahme, ja, man könnte geradezu sagen, daß es eher konservativ ist. Ebenfalls konservativ sind Chak. [*čibirgī* ‘20’; *otys* ‘30’], Alt. [schriftalt. *Jirmä* (RAR 59) = dial. *t’ärvä* ~ *t’ärbä* ~ *čärbä* ~ *järbä* (Bask. 32) ~ *čibirgä* (Bask. 221) ‘20’; schriftalt. *odus* (RAR 59) = dial. *odys* ~ *otys* (Bask. 180) ‘30’] und Čul. [*čägärbä* (Birj. 78) ~ *jarva* (ebda 34) ‘20’ *ötus* ~ *otus* (ebda 51) ‘30’]. Das Tuv. hat für ‘30’ eine Zusammensetzung (*üžän*), für ‘20’ aber immer noch ein Lexem (*čärbī*). Doppelformen, allerdings anderer Natur, weist auch das Šor. auf, wo *čägirbä* ‘20’ (ŠRŠ 87) und *odus* ‘30’ (ŠRŠ 139) als literarisch, die entsprechenden Zusammensetzungen *ijgon* und *užon* (Dyr. GŠ 102ff.) als dialektal gelten; eine ähnliche – allerdings auf dem Alter der Sprecher basierende – Dualität weist das Sujg. auf: *yšky o<sup>h</sup>tys* ‘22’ [ältere Sprecher] ~ *yškon yšky* (< *yšky on yšky*) ‘id.’ [jüngere Sprecher] (M. Roos’ [Leiden] Beitrag während der 39. PIAC-Sitzung, Juni 1996, Szeged). Ganz konsequent ist in Sibirien nur das Tof. mit *i’h’on* ‘20’ und *üčžön* ~ *ügän* ‘30’ (Rass. MT 112; Rass./Šibk. 68b, 80a), das interessanterweise seine Pendants im Sujg. hat: entsprechend *iškon* und *üčon* (Clark, table 6), einer Sprache, die sogar für ‘zehn’ neben dem üblichen *on* noch *per on* kennt (Ten. 73; Clark 26).

2.3 Zu archaischen Zügen<sup>2</sup> des jak. Numerussystems möchte ich zwei Konstruktionen<sup>3</sup> zählen, die man “*artuky*-Numeralia” (2.3a) und “*bir otuz*-Numeralia” [= Oberstufenzählung] (2.3b) nennen könnte. Die dritte archaische Konstruktion, nämlich die mit atü. *örki* (Ehl. passim) scheint im Dolg. und Jak. keine Spuren hinterlassen zu haben.

2.3a Wie man im Atü. Zehner mit Einern mittels *artuky* verbinden konnte (z.B. *otuz artuky bir* ‘31’), so kann man das auch im Jak. und Dolg. tun, wobei das Wort *artuky* in den beiden Sprachen *orduga* (bei Nicolaes Witsen

<sup>2</sup> Archaisch, weil in den modernen Türkssprachen unüblich und im Atü. verbreitet, unabhängig jedoch davon, ob diese Züge im Atü. selbst schon altertümlich oder aber eine (möglicherweise entlehnte) Neuerung waren. Zur Diskussion s. Clark 34ff.

<sup>3</sup> Zum Ursprung der beiden Konstruktionen s. jetzt Clark 39ff.

[1692]: *urdugo*, Kara 437) lautet, z.B. dolg. *uon orduga bīr* '11', *hūrbā orduga biās* '25' (StachM DW 196), jak. *aγys uon orduga biās* '85' (GJa 176), jak. *uonorduga* [so geschrieben!] *ikki bājātin üörānāččilārā* 'seine zwölf Jünger/Schüler' (StachM NT 39 s.v. *üörānāčči*).

Der Gebrauch von *orduga* ist in keiner der beiden Sprachen obligatorisch und der Status der *orduga*-Phrasen ist jeweils anders. Im Jak. gilt die *orduga*-Konstruktion als volkstümlich bzw. mundartlich, während die literarische Norm prinzipiell die einfache Zusammensetzung vom Typ "Zehner + Einer" (z.B. jak. *aγys uon biās* '85', *alta uon alta* '66') bevorzugt (GJa 176). Im Dolg. dagegen, einer Sprache ohne stabile, traditionelle Schriftnorm scheinen beide Möglichkeiten ungefähr gleich häufig vorzukommen und für gleich gut gehalten zu werden.

2.3b Ein gut bekanntes Merkmal des atü. Numerussystems war die Oberstufenzählung, d.h. Konstruktionen vom Typ *bir otuz* '21', wörtl. 'eins [von] dreißig'. Die Vorstellung, die dahinter steckt, ist nicht die des Hinzufügens bzw. Zusammentuns, sondern die des Abziehens bzw. Nehmens: eine Einerzahl wird aus einer höheren Zehnerzahl "genommen", also etwa die Idee "von dreißig nehme ich eins".<sup>4</sup>

Dieselbe mentale (allerdings nicht dieselbe syntaktische) Konstruktion findet sich in älteren jak. Altersangaben wieder: jak. *aγys uommuttan ikkitin tutum/ylym* (GJa 176; Prits. 191) 'ich bin 72 Jahre alt', wörtl. 'von meinen achtzig habe ich zwei gefaßt/genommen'. Eine Spur der Ausdrucksweise "von X nehme ich Y" darf wohl auch im Gebrauch des Abl.-Suffixes im 19.Jh. [s. Beispiele aus der jak. Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments in (1.1)] gesehen werden, während heute Bruchzahlen zwar weiter mit *gymmyt*, aber ohne das Abl.-Suffix gebildet werden.

Für andere Altersangaben s. vor allem (11.1) und (11.8).

Eine ähnliche Ausdrucksweise (nur in bezug auf Uhrzeiten) ist auch aus dem NW-Jak. (Esej-Dialekt) belegt: *tüörkä diāri 30 [= otut] minutaya sayalyaxpyt* (Vor. SDO 174; Vor. SZ 188) 'wir beginnen um halb vier', wörtl. 'in 30 Minuten in Richtung auf vier hin'. Möglicherweise ist auch dieser Ausdruck ein fernes Echo einer altertümlichen Denkweise.

<sup>4</sup> Hierzu vgl. weiter das moderne šor. Beispiel: *odus alty čyl* '[das Alter von] 26 Jahre[n]' (Dyr. GŠ 57), nicht \**alty odus*. Eine Umstellung der Zahlwörter begegnet uns auch im von P. Zieme (Berlin) während der 39. PIAC-Sitzung (Szeged) präsentierten Bruchstück eines ujj. "Weingarten-Segens" aus dem 13. (? 14.) Jh.: *altmyš artuky jüz jyl* '160 Jahre'.

### 3. Die Numeruskategorien

3.1 Jede dolg. und jak. Numeruskategorie kann entweder direkt aus der Kardinalzahl gebildet werden, oder aber aus einer anderen Kategorie. In formaler Hinsicht können die Zahlwort-Derivate also in "einfache" (= direkte) und "zusammengesetzte" (= indirekte) eingeteilt werden. Zum Beispiel:

Kard.	→	Appr.	→	Appr.Distr.
		(einfach)		(zusammengesetzt)

Die Semantik ist meistens eine treue Widerspiegelung der formalen Seite. Allerdings nicht immer. Zwei Zahlwortkategorien werden nämlich direkt aus Kardinalzahlen gebildet und weisen dennoch einen zusammengesetzten Sinn auf:

Kard.	→	Koll.Finita +yan <15>
Kard.	→	Koll.Part. +ya <14>

Der durch die Namen "Koll.Finita" und "Koll.Part." nahegelegte Unterschied dürfte nicht groß sein (falls in Wirklichkeit überhaupt vorhanden), wie schon oben in (1.3) erwähnt. Man wäre geradezu geneigt, hier von einer Kategorie, etwa den "Kollektiva auf +ya(n)" zu sprechen. So oder anders, es ist eine Tatsache, daß diese Bildungen in formaler Hinsicht zu den einfachen, in semantischer Hinsicht dagegen zu den zusammengesetzten Zahlwörtern gehören (zumindest aus synchroner Sicht, denn etymologisch geht +yan sehr wohl auf +ya zurück).

Daher möchte ich hier eine Dreiteilung der dolg. und jak. Numeruskategorien einführen:

#### 3.2 Einfache Numeruskategorien:

Ordinalia: +(y)s, z.B. *ikkis* 'der 2.', *onus* 'der 10.'

Approximativa: +(č)ča [nur von Zehnern], z.B. *sūrbäččä* 'ca. 20', *uonča* 'ca. 10'

Multiplikativa: +ta, z.B. *ikkitä* '2mal', *uonna* '10mal'

Distributiva: +l̄y, z.B. *ikkil̄i* 'je(weils) 2', *uonnū* 'je(weils) 10'

Kollektiva: +lar, z.B. *altalar* 'die sechs, russ. *šestero*' (Jastr. 74)

Limitativa: [dolg., jak.] +yajak/x, [dolg.] +kān, z.B. jak. *ikkiäjäx* 'höchstens / nur 2' = dolg. *ikkijäk* id.; dolg. *ikkikān* id.

### 3.3 Zusammengesetzte Numeruskategorien:

Kollektiva Limitativa: [dolg.] Limit. auf +*yajak* + +*kān*, z.B. dolg. *ikkiājākkān* '1.nur zwei; 2.nur zu zweit' (StachM K Nr. 25); [jak.] Limit. auf +*yajax* + +*lar*, z.B. jak. *ikkiājāxtār* '1.2.id.; russ. *dvoečkom*' (Jastr. 72)

Limitativa Multiplikativa: [nur jak.] Limit. auf +*yajax* + +*ta*, z.B. *ikkiājāxtä* 'nur 2mal'

Distributiva Multiplikativa: Distr. auf +*l̄y* + +*ta*, z.B. *ikkil̄itā* 'je 2mal'; vgl. auch dolg. (*kas?* 'wieviel?' >) *kast̄yta?* 'je wieviel Mal?' sowie mit umgekehrter Reihenfolge der Suffixe: dolg. *kastal̄y?* 'id.' (Ub. 104; StachM DW 140)

Ordinalia Multiplikativa: [nur jak.] Ord. auf +(y)*s* + +*yn*, z.B. *ikkihin* 'das zweite Mal, zum zweiten Mal', *ūsühün* 'das dritte Mal, zum dritten Mal'

Approximativa Multiplikativa: Appr. auf +(č)č*a* + +*ta*, z.B. *sūrbāččätā* 'ca. 20mal', *sūsčätā* 'ca. 100mal'

Approximativa Distributiva: Appr. auf +(č)č*a* + *l̄y*, z.B. *sūrbāččäl̄i* 'je(weils) ca. 20', *uončal̄y* 'je(weils) ca. 10', *ikki sūsčäl̄i* 'je(weils) ca. 200'

Approximativa Distributiva Multiplikativa: Appr.Distr. auf +(č)č*a*+*l̄y* + +*ta*, z.B. *sūrbāččäl̄itā* 'je(weils) ca. 20mal', *biās sūsčäl̄itā* 'je(weils) ca. 500mal'.

### 3.4 Gemischte Numeruskategorien

Kollektiva Finita: +*yan*, z.B. *ikkiän* 'alle zwei/beide', *ühüön* 'alle drei'

Kollektiva Partitiva: [nur jak.] +*ya*, z.B. *ikkiä* 'diese zwei/beiden (von allen)', *ühüö* 'diese drei (von allen)'.

## 4. Ordinalia

4.1 Die erste Besonderheit in der Bildung der Ordinalzahlen ist die Restriktion, die das Zahlwort *bīr* '1' betrifft. Die Ordinalzahl *bīris* 'erster' kann nämlich nur als zweites Glied eines Zahlwortkompositums vorkommen, sonst wird sie durch *maṇnajgy*, *bastyn* bzw. *bastaky* ~ *bastyky* (Jastr. 73; GJa 181) ersetzt, so z.B. jak. *maṇnajgy kün* 'der erste Tag', dolg. *maṇnajgy kār* 'der erste Schnee'; jak. *bastyn ülähit* 'der erste (= beste) Arbeiter', dolg.



*bastyŋ üöränäčči* ‘der erste (= beste) Schüler’; jak. *bastaky ġon* ‘die ersten (= ganz vorn befindlichen) Menschen’ (im Dolg. scheint *bastaky* weniger gebräuchlich zu sein).

Sehr illustrativ ist dabei die Gegenüberstellung von zwei Daten in Briefen von Semen A. Novgorodov (1892-1924): *axsynny maŋnajgy künä* ‘den 1. Dezember’ (Novg. 209) vs. *1921-is [= tyhynča toγus sūs sūrbä bīris] ġyl* ‘Jahr 1921’ (ebda 222). Vgl. weiter auch jak. *maŋnajgy uruok* ‘Lektion 1’ (Char. 14) vs. *uon bīris uruok* ‘Lektion 11’ (ebda 36), *sūrbä bīris uruok* ‘Lektion 21’ (ebda 59) usw.

Zur Auswechselbarkeit von *bastyky* und *bastyŋ* im Jak. vgl. noch die beiden Fragmente aus der jak. Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments: jak. *bastykylartan älbäxtär känniki buoluoxtara, kännikilärtän älbäxtär bastyky buoluoxtara* ‘viele, die da sind die Ersten, werden die Letzten, und die Letzten werden die Ersten sein’ (StachM NT 21) vs. jak. *kim bastyŋ buoluoyun baγarar* ‘(so) jemand will der Erste sein’ (ebda 21).

4.2 Kompliziert sieht es im Fall der Zehnerzahlen aus. In Jastr. 73 wird gesagt, daß die Zahlen *sūrbä* ‘20’, *otut* ‘30’ und *sūs* ‘100’ keine Ordinalformen haben. In GJa 180 wird diese Information zwar wiederholt, allerdings als für die Vergangenheit charakteristisch, während heute “obrazovanie ich [= Ordinalzehnerzahlen] stalo potencial'no vozmožnym” (ebda). Was das in Wirklichkeit bedeutet, kann man schlecht entscheiden. Wenn dieser Aussage auch drei Beispiele folgen (mit *sūrbähis* [sic!, s. (4.2c)], *otutus* und *sūhüs*), glaube ich doch einige Bedenken anmelden zu dürfen.

4.2a Die Formulierung “potentiell möglich” ist nicht nur tautologisch, sondern auch kaum informativ. Man kann geradezu vermuten, daß man im Fall eines normalen Vorhandenseins der Ordinalzehner eine derartige Formulierung gar nicht gebraucht hätte.

Die angeführten Beispiele stammen dabei nicht aus literarischen Werken, sondern von den GJa-Autoren. Dies wäre an sich unwichtig, da es in GJa Tausende von solchen Beispielen gibt. Jedoch gerade in unsicheren Fällen wäre die Quellenangabe zu erwarten. Schon eine Seite weiter führen die Autoren Beispiele aus jak. literarischen Werken, jeweils mit Quellenangabe, an, um eine so triviale Erscheinung wie das Vorkommen der Sg.-, nicht Pl.-Formen der Substantive nach einer Ordinalzahl zu exemplifizieren, z.B. jak. *ikkis syl* ‘das zweite Jahr’ (GJa 181; man fragt sich gar, ob dies überhaupt exemplifiziert werden mußte).

Das Fehlen der Quellenangaben in Verbindung mit der Formulierung “potentiell möglich” läßt die Frage zu, ob die Beispiele nicht ohne jegliche Unterstützung im tatsächlichen Sprachmaterial frei erfunden wurden.

4.2b Das jak. Lehrbuch von Luka N. Charitonov (1901-1972) enthält 80 Lektionen. Schon Lektion 20 hat im Titel: *sūrbā(his) uruok* und dazu die Fußnote, daß die Ordinalzahl von *sūrbā* in der Umgangssprache ungebrauchlich ist (Char. 57). Ähnliches lesen wir über *otut(us)* ‘dreißigster’ [in Char. 80 mit Druckfehler: *otu(tus)*], und in Lektion 40 heißt es allgemeiner: “V narodom jazyke porjadkovye čislitel'nye ot nazvanij kruglych desjatkov ne upotrebitel'ny” (Char. 101) – also dieses Mal schon in bezug auf alle Zehner. Und tatsächlich steht das Ordinalsuffix *+(y)s* in allen “Zehner-Lektionen” stets in Klammern, was wohl bedeuten soll: “So sollte es sein, nur keiner sagt das”.

4.2c Die Angaben wie *tüört uon(us)* ‘vierzigster’ (Char. 101), *biäs uon(us)* ‘fünzigster’ (ebda 125) usw. sind falsch, da die Ordinalzahl von *uon* ‘10’ natürlich *onus* lautet (so auch in Lektion 10: *onus uruok*, Char. 35), daher *tüört uon* ~ *tüört onus* etc. Notationen mit *uonus* zeigen wohl, wie unüblich auch für den Autor des jak. Lehrbuchs Ordinalzehnerzahlen waren.

Eine geheimnisvolle Form ist *sūrbāhis* ‘zwanzigster’ (so in GJa 180 und so wiederholt auch in Char. 57), denn die Ordinalzahl von *sūrbā* ‘20’ sollte doch *\*sūrbā-s* lauten. Daß die Bildung *sūrbāhis* aber kein Irrtum und kein Zufall ist, beweist eine dritte, ganz unabhängige Quelle: die Jahreszahl in einer Datumsangabe im Brief von S. A. Novgorodov: *1920-is* (s. weiter unten 10.1), die wegen des Suffixvokals ganz eindeutig als (*tyhynča toγus sūs*) *sūrbāhis*, nicht *\*sūrbās* gelesen werden muß. Möglicherweise ist *sūrbāhis* durch Analogie zu *sūhūs* ‘hundertster’ entstanden (vgl. aber die Meinung Jastremkij's in 4.2, der keinen Unterschied zwischen *sūrbā* und *sūs* machte). Das Problem bedarf auf jeden Fall weiterer Untersuchungen.

4.3 Das oben Gesagte scheint die folgende Vermutung zuzulassen: In den Anfängen dieses Jahrhunderts wirkte schon die Tendenz, die Ordinalformen der Zehner abzuschaffen [vgl. auch (10.1)] (daher die Bemerkung in Jastr. 73). Bis heute hat sich die Tendenz auf alle Zehner (daher die allgemeine Formulierung in Lektion 40, Char. 101), außer auf *uon* ‘10’ erstreckt. Das Fehlen der Ordinalzehnerzahlen wird als eine Art Mangel der jak. Sprache empfunden (daher der Ausdruck “potentiell möglich” sowie die unbelegten, sogar unkorrekten Beispiele).

Die in GJa 180 suggerierte "progressive" Entwicklung des Jak. (früher ungebräuchlich – heute "potentiell möglich") ist darüber hinaus unglaublich. Sie setzt nämlich voraus, daß Ordinalformen von Einern schon früher existierten, während die von Zehnern erst die Errungenschaft der jüngsten Generationen sind. Da aber Ordinalzehner auch in allen anderen – alten wie modernen – Türksprachen bekannt sind, muß angenommen werden, daß sie auch im Jak. ursprünglich bekannt waren und erst mit der Zeit außer Gebrauch geraten sind.

### 5. *Approximativa und Distributiva*

Die beiden Kategorien teilen zwei Merkmale: sie haben sich beide recht gut in Richtung Multiplikativa entwickelt (Appr.Mult.; Distr.Mult.; Appr. Distr.Mult.), und gleichzeitig weist keine der beiden Kategorien Zusammensetzungen mit Koll. auf (\*Koll.Appr., z.B. 'ungefähr zu zehnt'; \*Koll.Distr., z.B. 'jeweils zu zehnt').

### 6. *Multiplikativa, Limitativa, Kollektiva*

6.1 Die Mult. sind die größte Numeruskategorie im Jak. und Dolg. und scheinen das letzte Glied in der Entwicklungskette zu bilden. Dabei weisen sie folgende Merkmale auf:

[a] Limit.Mult. und Ord.Mult. fehlen im Dolg.;

[b] jak. Ord.Mult. sind die einzige Gruppe der Mult., die nicht mit *+ta* gebildet wird;

[c] die Distr.Mult. sind aus dem Dolg. auch als "Mult.Distr." (umgekehrte Reihenfolge der Suffixe) belegt, allerdings an nur einem Beispiel.

6.2 Das Fehlen der Limit.Mult. im Dolg. geht mit der Tatsache einher, daß Limit. und Koll. zwei wenig einheitliche Untergruppen im System sind. Hier eine Zusammenstellung von Daten:

Limitativa:

(1) auf *+yajak/x*: im Dolg. und Jak.; s. auch weiter unten (6.4)

(2) auf *+kän*: nur im Dolg.

Kollektiva:

(1) Koll. auf *+lar*: im Dolg. und Jak. <12>

- (2) Koll.Fin. auf *+yan*: im Dolg. und Jak. <15>
- (3) Koll.Part. auf *+ya*: nur im Jak. <14>
- (4) Koll.Limit. auf *+yajaxtar*: nur im Jak. <13a>
- (5) Koll.Limit. auf *+yajakkān*: nur im Dolg. <13b>

Offensichtlich bilden Limit. und Koll. die jüngste Schicht aus der Zeit, bevor sich das Dolg. vom Jak. trennte. Sie gehören zwar zum gemeinsamen Erbe dieser beiden Sprachen, sind aber gleichzeitig wenig beständige Kategorien: das Dolg. hat nämlich neue Limit. ausgearbeitet (*+kān* <11b>), ohne allerdings die alten auf *+yajak* <11a> zu verlieren, und auch Ableitungen von den Limit. haben sich in den beiden Sprachen gesondert entwickelt (das Dolg. hat nur Koll.Limit. <13b>, das Jak. dagegen sowohl eigene Koll.Limit. <13a>, als auch die dem Dolg. als Kategorie unbekanntem Limit.Mult. <16>). Das dritte Merkmal, welches auf die unabhängige Entwicklung der Koll. und Limit. weist, ist materieller Natur: nur das Dolg. gebraucht das entlehnte Suffix *+kān* zur Bildung der Numeruskategorien.

6.3 Die Ord.Mult. unterscheiden sich von allen Gruppen von Mult. durch zwei Merkmale. Zum einen haben sie – wie oben erwähnt – ein anderes Kennzeichen, nämlich *+(y)n*, nicht *+ta*. Zum anderen bilden sie mittels des Suffixes *+an* eine eigene adverbielle Untergruppe, wie z.B. jak. *ikkihin* ‘1.das zweite Mal; 2.zum zweiten Mal’ + *+an* > *ikkihinān* ‘zweitens, zum anderen’.

6.4 Zu den jak. Limit auf *+yajax* sei noch vermerkt, daß sie zum ersten Mal – soviel ich überblicken kann – von S. Jastremskij beschrieben wurden (Jastr. 72), während sie in der Böhrlingschen Grammatik fehlen.

## 7. Kollektiva Partitiva und Finita

7.1 Wie schon oben in (1.3) erwähnt, spricht die Tatsache, daß Koll. Part. (*+ya*) und Koll. Fin. (*+yan*) von den jak. Dialektologen stets zusammen als eine Wortbildungskategorie dargestellt werden, gegen einen klaren semantischen Unterschied zwischen den beiden Gruppen.

Die hier gebrauchten Termini “Koll.Part.” und “Koll.Fin.” stützen sich auf den von S. Jastremskij formulierten semantischen Unterschied: *ikkiä* ‘dvoe’ : *ikkiān* ‘oba, obe’; *onuo* ‘desjatero’ : *onuon* ‘vse desjatero’ (Jastr. 72), d.h.

Koll.Part. *+ya* ‘die zwei/beiden, etc. (von allen)’

Koll. Fin. +*yan* 'alle zwei/beide, etc. (es gibt keine weiteren)'

Hierzu vgl. auch die Übersetzung in Böhtl. 262, §410: *ikkiä* 'im Ganzen zwei' : *ikkiän* 'beide'; *ühüö* 'im Ganzen drei' : *ühüön* 'alle drei'.

7.2 In GJa 185, §308 wird noch ein weiterer Unterschied suggeriert: Koll.Fin. werden nämlich laut den Grammatik-Autoren hauptsächlich adverbial gebraucht. Doch unter den Beispielen begegnet uns (ebda) auch eines mit einer +*yan*-Bildung als Subjekt (jak. *ikkiän olus üörbüttärä* 'sie haben sich beide sehr gefreut'), die – zumindest aus idg. Sicht – zu der These vom adverbialen Gebrauch der +*yan*-Kollektiva nicht ganz gut paßt. Möglicherweise liegt das jedoch an der Übersetzung, die die tatsächlichen syntaktischen Verhältnisse verschleiern, und der Satz in Wirklichkeit zwei Adverbien: *ikkiän* 'zu zweit' und *olus* 'sehr' enthält, d.h. etwa 'sie haben sich zu zweit sehr gefreut' bedeutet.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß die beiden Kategorien weiterer Untersuchungen bedürfen, sowie, daß bei der Definierung des semantischen Unterschieds zwischen den +*ya*- und den +*yan*-Bildungen eher jakutische Sprachwissenschaftler, die sich auf ihr Sprachgefühl stützen können, das Sagen haben sollen, als Europäer.

### 8. *Schlußfolgerungen und Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten strukturellen Merkmale des dolg. und jak. Numerussystems*

8.1 Die Mult. bilden die am vollständigsten entwickelte Numeruskategorie in den beiden Sprachen. Da zwei Gruppen innerhalb der Mult., nämlich die Ord.Mult. <4> und die Limit.Mult. <16> dem Dolg. fremd sind, darf angenommen werden, daß sich die beiden Kategorien im Jak. entwickelten, nachdem die Vorfahren der heutigen Dolganen ihre ursprüngliche Heimat verlassen hatten, also frühestens im 18.Jh.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Nach Tajmyr sind die Dolganen in der ersten Hälfte des 17.Jh. gekommen (s. darüber meinen Artikel "Über das Alter der dolganischen Sprache" [im Druck]). Wahrscheinlich ging es dabei jedoch nicht um eine, sondern um mehrere Auswanderungswellen. Sehr wohl möglich ist auch, daß die Ur-Dolganen (bzw. ein Teil von ihnen) eine Zeitlang noch zwischen Viljui und Tajmyr nomadisierten und auf Tajmyr nur den Sommer verbrachten. Mit anderen Worten: es ist auf jeden Fall sicherer, den Auswan-

I.a. darf man also sagen, daß Mult. (abgesehen von Ord.Mult. und Limit.Mult.) eine relativ alte Numeruskategorie sind.

Die Ord.Mult. unterscheiden sich von den übrigen Mult.-Gruppen durch ein anderes Suffix. Die Erklärung dieses Phänomens bleibt noch aus.

8.2 Die Koll. und die Limit. weisen die größten Unterschiede zwischen dem Dolg. und Jak. auf. Limitative *+yajak/x*-Bildungen sind zwar den beiden Sprachen gemein, doch sie waren im Dolg. offensichtlich nicht stabil genug, da es zusätzlich Limit. auf *+kān* herausgebildet hat, ohne allerdings das gemeinsame *+yajak*-Erbe aufzugeben.

Auch die kollektiven Derivate von *+yajak/x*-Limit. zeugen von einer getrennten Entwicklung: *+yajak+tar* <13a> im Jak. und *+yajak+kān* <13b> im Dolg.

Während ursprünglich die Kard. den selbstverständlichen und einzigen Kern des ganzen Systems bildeten, tendieren die Limit. auf *+yajak/x* durch die Herausbildung von drei neuen Gruppen von Derivaten (<13a>, <13b>, <16>) dazu, zu einem zweiten Kern des Systems zu werden, d.h. ihr eigenes Subsystem innerhalb der Numeralia zu entwickeln. Eine Konkurrenz für sie scheint nicht vorhanden zu sein. Die Appr. haben zwar in der Vergangenheit ebenfalls zwei eigene Ableitungen herausgearbeitet (<6>, <9>), doch sie beide gehören zum dolg.-jak. Gemeingut, müssen also relativ alt sein und da sich die Gruppe der von Appr. gebildeten Derivate nicht weiter vergrößert hat, ist ihr Entwicklungsprozeß wohl als abgeschlossen zu betrachten. Als ein zweites Kriterium der Selbständigkeit könnte die Fähigkeit angesehen werden, direkte Mult.-Derivate zu produzieren. Dies ist sonst nur den Kard. und den Ord. eigen. Die Limit. sind somit die einzige Gruppe außer Kard., die die beiden Bedingungen (1° mehrere eigene Ableitungen; 2° darunter direkte Mult.-Derivate) erfüllt, was sie u.E. sehr wohl zur Rolle eines zweiten Kerns des Numerussystems (bes. im Jak.) prädestiniert.

8.3 Der Gebrauch des Suffixes *+kān* zur Bildung der Zahlwörter (<11b> und <13b>) ist für das Dolg. allein charakteristisch und resultiert sicher aus einer starken tung. Substratwirkung. Dies ist auch der einzige Fall einer vom

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derungsprozeß auf das ganze 17.Jh. zu verteilen; daher die Annahme, daß Ord.Mult. und Limit.Mult. im Jak. nicht vor dem 18.Jh. entwickelt wurden.

ererbten morphologischen Modell völlig unabhängigen Entwicklung des dolg. Numerussystems.

8.4 Im Dolg. fehlen folgende Numeruskategorien:

Koll.Part.  $+ya$  <14>

Ord.Mult.  $+(y)n$  <4>

Limit.Mult.  $+ta$  <16>

Im Dolg. gibt es auch keine Koll.Limit auf  $+yajax+tar$  <13a>; trotzdem werden sie hier nicht als "fehlend" bezeichnet, denn sie existieren im Dolg. als morphologische Kategorie, nur werden sie anders, d.h. mit dem Suffix  $+yajak+kān$  <13b> gebildet.

Es gibt dagegen keine dolg. Numeruskategorie, die nicht auch im Jak. vorhanden wäre.

8.5 Anhand des oben Gesagten können alle Numerusbildungen des Jak. und Dolg. in großen Zügen in zwei folgende Gruppen eingeteilt werden:

Alte Kategorien: Ord.; Appr.; Distr.; Mult.

Neue Kategorien: Limit.; Koll. – Vgl. (6.2)

Bei einer feineren Einteilung darf jedoch nicht mehr mit den allgemeinen Termini wie "Mult." oder "Limit." usw. operiert werden, da z.B. die Limit.Mult. eine neue Kategorie sind, s. (8.1), und nicht mit den sonstigen Gruppen der Limit. in einem Atemzug genannt werden sollten. Ähnliches gilt auch für die dolg. Limit. auf  $+kān$  <11b>, die gewiß jünger sind, als die auf  $+yajak$  <11a>.

Die grobe Einteilung in alte und neue Kategorien ist trotzdem sowohl praktisch, als auch wissenschaftlich legitim. Wie die Analyse zeigt, werden die beiden Gruppen weder im Dolg. noch im Jak. miteinander gemischt. Allerdings mit einer Ausnahme. Diese Ausnahme bilden Limit. Mult. <16>, die also das einzige Bindeglied (abgesehen natürlich von den Kard. selbst) zwischen den alten und den neuen Kategorien sind. Von dieser Ausnahme abgesehen, scheinen die alten Kategorien, eine Art heiliges Erbe zu sein, das unantastbar ist und sich daher nicht mehr entwickelt. Durch diese "Wortbildungsflaute" ist aber andererseits eine geregelte, klare Strukturierung der alten Kategorien gesichert.

Ein Gegenteil dazu bilden die neuen Kategorien. Von einer Stagnation kann hier kaum die Rede sein. Das System der Koll. und das der Limit.

entwickeln sich erst, und die semantischen Grenzen sind manchmal unscharf (Koll.Part. vs. Koll.Fin.; dolg. Limit. auf +*yajak* vs. die auf +*kān*).

Die weitere Entwicklung wird vermutlich zwei Phasen umfassen:

- [a] das Erreichen einer Stabilisierung der neuen Kategorien;
- [b] die Herausbildung der Bindeglieder zwischen den alten und den neuen Kategorien (wie jetzt schon die jak. Limit.Mult.).

### 9. Allgemeines über Datums- und Altersangaben

Aus den idg. Sprachen und dem Ttü. sind wir daran gewöhnt, daß in Datums- und Altersangaben entweder Kard. oder aber Ord. vorkommen. Im Jak. und Dolg. gibt es über diese zwei Möglichkeiten hinaus noch eine dritte: von Kardinal- bzw. Approximativzahlen gebildete +*lāk/x*-Adjektive. Konstruktionen mit Kard./Appr.-Zahlen und/oder den von ihnen gebildeten +*lāk/x*-Adjektiven<sup>6</sup> kommen dabei am häufigsten vor, während Konstruktionen mit Ordinalzahlen eine Seltenheit sind.

Der allgemeine Eindruck ist, daß Ordinalzahlen in Datums- und Altersangaben immer häufiger durch +*lāk/x*-Adjektive bzw. syntaktische Konstruktionen (Nominalphrasen mit *sās*, *syl* oder deren Ableitungen) ersetzt werden.

### 10. Datumsangaben

10.1 In den Briefen von S. A. Novgorodov, s. (4.1), die am Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts geschrieben wurden, haben sowohl Tages-, als auch Jahreszahlen in den Daten stets die Form der Ordinalia: *1919-us* [= *tyhynča toγus sūs uon toxsus*] *syl sätinni 21-is* [= *sūrbā bīris*] *künä* 'den 21. November 1919' (Novg. 204); *1920-is* [= *tyhynča toγus sūs sūrbāhis*] *syl olunū 2-is* [= *ikkis*] *kiähätä* 'am Abend, dem 2. Februar 1920' (Novg. 210).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Generell sind +*lāk/x*-Adjektive nach Zahlwörtern sehr üblich, auch in anderen Kontexten, vgl. z.B. jak. *biäs t̄ysačča k̄ariṅä axsānnāx kisi* 'bei fünftausend Mann' (StachM NT 26 s.v. *k̄ariṅ*); dolg. *alta uon ḡyllāk üjätin tukkary* 'während der 60 Jahre' (STaj. 06.12.90:1).

<sup>7</sup> Natürlich steht auch hier die Ordinalzahl *bīris* 'erster' nur nach Zehnern, sonst wird sie durch *maṅnajgy* ersetzt, z.B. im Datum: *axsynny maṅnajgy künä* 'den 1. Dezember' (Novg. 209).



Dieses entspricht nicht dem heutigen Gebrauch. Heute scheinen Ordinalzahlen nämlich immer mehr durch Kardinalzahlen, denen ein Substantiv mit Poss.-Suffix bzw. ein Adjektiv folgt, ersetzt zu werden, z.B. *tyhynča toγus sūs aγys uon syllāxxa* 'i.J. 1980' (PJa 65).

10.2 Im Dolg. können sich +*lāk*-Bildungen auch auf das Tagesdatum beziehen, so z.B. dolg. *otuttak* [sic!, = -*tāk*] '30. Tag des Monats' (StachM DW 197), dolg. *onüstāk dekabǝga* 'am 13. Dezember' (STaj. 06.12.90:1); aber s. auch (11.3a). Einen Sonderfall bildet dolg. *hättistāk* [sic!, = -*tāk*] *nojabr'* 'den 7. November' (Buk. 100), da +*lāk*-Adjektive normalerweise nicht von Ord.-, sondern von Kard.-Zahlen gebildet werden, so daß von *hättä* '7' das Adjektiv *hättälāk* zu erwarten wäre. Die Form *hättistāk* glaube ich, als hyperkorrekt und unter dem Einfluß des russ. *sed'moe* (*nojabrja*) entstanden, interpretieren zu dürfen.

10.3 Es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, daß der Gebrauch der Ord. in Datumsangaben bei S. A. Novgorodov ebenfalls auf russ. Einfluß beruht. Angesichts der guten Russ.-Kenntnisse Novgorodovs sowie der Tatsache, daß er sich natürlich des russ. Kalenders bediente<sup>8</sup>, scheint die Vermutung nicht ganz abwegig zu sein.

Möglicherweise ist der Gebrauch der Ord. in Datumsangaben genauso gut möglich, wie der der Kard. Anhand der Texte allein kann man das schlecht beurteilen, denn Zahlen werden normalerweise mit Ziffern angegeben, nicht mit Worten ausgeschrieben.

10.4 'Im Jahr' heißt auf jak. – wie aus dem Beispiel in (10.1) ersichtlich – *syllāxxa*; so auch z.B. in *össö 1917 syllāxxa* 'noch i.J. 1917' (JaRS 9, Vorwort). Aber in derselben Quelle, nur eine Seite früher, begegnet uns die Phrase *onton 1959 sylga* 'danach, i.J. 1959' (JaRS 8, Vorwort). Die Frage nach dem (stilistischen?, kontextuellen?, semantischen?) Unterschied zwischen *syllāxxa* und *sylga* in Datumsangaben müssen wir hier offenlassen.

<sup>8</sup> Dies wäre also derselbe Prozeß, den auch L. Clark für die Saryg-Ujguren annimmt, vgl. Clark 41: "[...] they [= die Vorfahren der Saryg-Ujguren] borrowed the calendar used in the Buddhist church and with it the one-based numbers [= Oberstufenzählung] for the 30 days of the month. Through still obscure social processes, their use of these numbers extended to all spheres of life [...]."

## 11. Altersangaben

11.1 In Altersangaben kommen normalerweise Kard. vor (Appr. werden dabei als eine den Kard. parallele und gleichwertige Kategorie angesehen, da der Unterschied rein semantischer Natur ist – man könnte geradezu sagen, daß Appr. “ungeheure Kard.” sind). Interessanterweise kann hier nur ein Beispiel mit einer Ord.-Zahl angeführt werden. Zusammenfassend sind uns folgende Konstruktionen bekannt:

	Kard.	Appr.	Ord.
(11.2)	mit Poss.	mit Poss.	--
(11.3)	mit + <i>lāk/x</i>	mit <i>lāx</i>	--
(11.4)	mit <i>sās</i>	--	mit <i>sās</i>
(11.5)	mit + <i>lāx</i> + <i>sās</i>	--	--
(11.6)	mit <i>sāstāx/hāstāk</i>	mit <i>sāstāx</i>	--
(11.7)	mit + <i>lāk</i> + <i>ḡylkānnāk</i>	--	--

Semantisch umfaßt unser Material folgende Begriffe:

- [1] im Alter von XY Jahren sein/sterben; XY-jährig, XY Jahre alt. – s. (11.2, 3, 4, 6); ein Sonderfall ist (11.7) mit der Bedeutung ‘lediglich XY Jahre alt sein’; vgl. auch (11.8) und (2.3b);  
 [2] vom XY Lebensjahr an. – s. (11.2, 5);  
 [3] das Alter von XY Jahren erreichen. – s. (11.2, 4).

## 11.2 Kard. und Appr. mit Poss.-Suffix:

Bedeutung ‘XY Jahre alt (sein)’:

- (11.2a) jak. *sūhūn tuolbut oḡonñor* ‘ein 100 Jahre alter Greis’ (IPR I 89, Nr. 9), wörtl. ‘ein Greis, der sein Hundert gefüllt hat’, was man auch als ‘erreicht hat’ verstehen kann, weshalb das Beispiel an der Grenze zwischen ‘XY Jahre alt sein’ und ‘das Alter von XY Jahren erreichen’ steht; vgl. (11.2b)

Bedeutung ‘im Alter von XY Jahren sterben’:

- (11.2b) jak. *sūhūn tuolan öl-* ‘im Alter von 100 Jahren sterben’ (IPR II 48); vgl. (11.2a)  
 (11.2c) jak. *āhām aḡys uonugar ölbütä* ‘mein Großvater ist im Alter von 80 Jahren gestorben’ (GJa 178, §287)

Bedeutung 'vom XY Lebensjahr an':

(11.2d) jak. *ühiüttän yla* 'seit seinem 3. Lebensjahr' (IPR I 120, Nr. 30)

Bedeutung 'das Alter von XY Jahren erreichen', vgl. auch (11.2a):

(11.2e) jak. *min byjyl otut biähim* 'ich werde dieses Jahr 35 Jahre alt' (GJa 178, §287)

(11.2f) jak. *sūrbäččälärin sittilär* 'sie erreichten das Alter von ca. 20 Jahren' (IPR II 62, Nr. 108).

11.3 Kard. und Appr. mit *+lāk/x* (s. auch Jastr. 73, §103):

Bedeutung 'XY-jährig, XY Jahre alt (sein)':

(11.3a) dolg. *otuttāk* '30 Jahre alt' (Lab. 23a); vgl. *otuttak* in (10.2)

(11.3b) dolg. *uonnāk* '10 Jahre alt' (Lab.23a)

(11.3c) dolg. *tüörtāk* [mit *-rt-* < *-rt+t-*] 'vierjährig' (StachM DW 235); vgl. (11.3h, 11.5)

(11.3d) jak. *ikkilāx oγø* 'ein 2 Jahre altes Kind' (GJa 179, §291)

(11.3e) jak. *ikkilāx-üstāx ärdäγinā* 'als er 2-3 Jahre alt war' (IPR II 100, Nr. 130)

(11.3f) jak. *uončalāx uol* 'ein ca. 10 Jahre alter Junge' (IPR II 236, Nr. 174)

(11.3g) jak. *sūrbäččälāx uolčān* 'ein etwa 20 Jahre alter Bursche' (GJa 183)

(11.3h) jak. *uon üstāx-tüörtāx kys* 'ein etwa 13-14 Jahre altes Mädchen' (GJa 183), vgl. (11.3c).

11.4 Kard. und Ord. mit *sās*:

Bedeutung 'im Alter von XY Jahren (sein/sterben)':

(11.4a) jak. *biās sāhygar* 'im Alter von 5 Jahren' (IPR I 235)

(11.4b) jak. *aγys uon sāhygar ölbütä* 'er ist mit 80 gestorben' (IPR I 72, Nr. 2.VI)

(11.4c) jak. *altys sāspar* 'in meinem 6-ten Lebensjahr' (Böhtl. 263, §413)

Bedeutung 'das Alter von XY Jahren erreichen':

(11.4d) jak. *Borulluo uon aγys sāhygar tājygar* 'als B. das Alter von 18 Jahren erreichte' (IPR I 246)

Die Wahl zwischen Kard. und Ord. ist hier durch die Person bestimmt, von der die Rede ist. Bei 3.Sg. kommt das Poss.-Suff. *+(t)a* [in den obliquen Kasus: *+(t)y+*] vor, das sowohl auf die 3. Person weist, als auch das Substantiv *sās* mit dem Zahlwort zu einer Nominalgruppe (z.B. *uon säh-a*) ver-

bindet, während andere Poss.-Suffixe nur die jeweilige Person signalisieren; daher mußte in (11.4c) die Ord.-Zahl gebraucht werden; sonst würde \**alta sāspar* etwa \*‘in meinen 6 Lebensjahren’ bedeuten.

11.5 Kard. mit *+lāx + sās*:

Bedeutung ‘vom XY Lebensjahr an’:

jak. *tüörttāx sāsytan* ‘von ihrem 4-ten Lebensjahre an’ (Böhtl. 263, §413);  
vgl. (11.3c).

11.6 Kard. und Appr. mit *sāstāx/hāstāk*:

Bedeutung ‘im Alter von XY Jahren (sein/sterben)’:

(11.6a) jak. *uon sāsātāx oγo* ‘ein 10 Jahre alter Junge’ (IPR II 108)

(11.6b) dolg. *min otut biās hāstākpyñ* ‘ich bin 35 Jahre alt’ (StachM DW 100)

(11.6c) jak. *aγys uonča sāsātāγar* [*< \*sāsātāγγar*] *öl-* ‘im Alter von ca. 80 Jahren sterben’ (IPR I 271, Nr. 82.III)

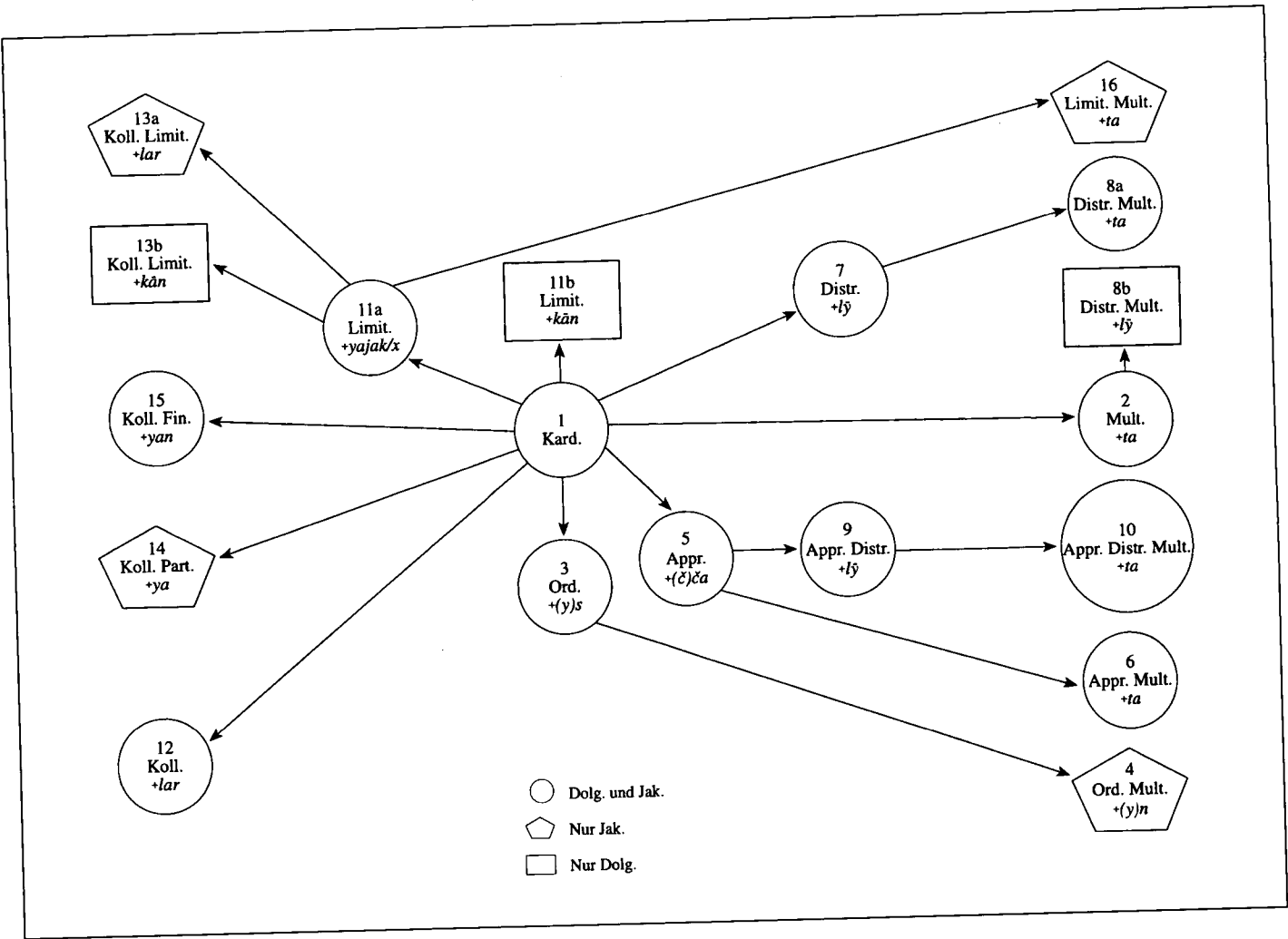
11.7 Kard. mit *+lāk + ġylkāñnāk*:

Bedeutung ‘im Alter von nur/lediglich XY Jahren sein’:

dolg. *hürbä biāstāk* [= *-tāk*] *ġylkāñnāk ärdäppinä* ‘als ich lediglich 25 Jahre alt war’ (Lab. 16), wo *ġylkāñnāk* *< ġyl* ‘Jahr’ + Dimin.-Suff. *+kän* (daher ‘lediglich’) + Adj.-Suff. *+nāk* (*< +lāk*).

11.8 Ganz eindeutig unter russ. Einfluß entwickelte sich im Dolg. die als Altersangabe gebrauchte Konstruktion “Subjekt im Dat. + Kard.”, wie z.B. dolg. *min ogogor* [= *-bor*] *tüört dyl* [= *d'yl*] ‘mein Sohn ist 4 Jahre alt’ (Belt. 166.33); *giniäkä huok hürbä* [= *hürbä*] *d'yl* ‘er ist (noch) keine 20 Jahre alt’ (ebda 165.6). Da uns Beispiele für diese Konstruktion aus anderen Quellen nicht vorliegen, ist wohl zu vermuten, daß sie sich im Dolg. nicht ganz durchsetzen konnte.

Zu Altersangaben s. sonst (2.3b).



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## Eine mandschurische Beschreibung der Ungarn und ihrer Nachbarn aus dem 18. Jahrhundert

Das 18. Jahrhundert war in der chinesischen Geschichte jene Periode, in der die kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Europa und der Qing-Dynastie ihren Höhepunkt erreichten. Vor allem Dank der Jesuiten waren die europäischen Völker zumindest in Kreisen des Hofes nicht mehr ganz unbekannt, wobei sich jedoch reelles Wissen immer noch mit Phantasievorstellungen oder schlichten Falschinformationen vereinte.

Unter den verschiedenen bebilderten Darstellungen der Europäer ist für den Altaisten besonders eine zweisprachige mandschurisch-chinesische Bildersammlung des wenig bekannten Hofmalers Xie Sui 謝遂 interessant, die in vier Rollen im Palastmuseum von Taipei aufbewahrt wird.<sup>1</sup>

In Bezug auf das Gastgeberland dieser PIAC dürften die Nachrichten über Ungarn und seine Nachbarländer von besonderem Interesse sein.

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<sup>1</sup> Die Bilder mit den Beschriftungen dieser Rollen wurden veröffentlicht von Zhuang Jifa 莊吉發: *Xie Sui «Zhi-gong-tu» manwen tushuo jiaozhu* 謝遂 «職貢圖» 滿文圖說校注, Taipei 1989.

Als Vorlage für die Bildrollen diente vermutlich ein rein chinesischer Blockdruck, der unter dem Namen *Huang Qing Zhi-gong-tu* 皇清職貢圖 bekannt ist und mehrmals nachgedruckt wurde – zuletzt in zwei Bänden in der Serie *Zhonghua wenshi congshu*, Nr. 11, Taipei s. a. (verm. in den sechziger Jahren). Siehe dazu M. Gimm, *Kaiser Qianlong (1711-1799) als Poet*, Stuttgart 1993, S. 65. Das zu den Bildrollen gehörige zweisprachige kaiserliche Gedicht von Qianlong wurde veröffentlicht und analysiert in G. Stary, *A Brief Remark on Manchu-Chinese "Parallel" Poetry*, in "Essays in Honor of Ki-Moon Lee", Seoul 1996, S. 1109-1116.

Zur Geschichte der Rollen selbst, sowie ihrer Varianten vgl. die ausführliche Arbeit von H. Walravens, "Tribute-Bearers in Manchu and Chinese". *A unique 18th-century source for East and Central Asian history* (36. PIAC, Almaty 1993). Da die Veröffentlichung dieser Arbeit kurz bevorsteht, wird hier auf eine Wiederholung der historischen Hintergründe verzichtet.

Das in der Nationalbibliothek Paris (Sign. B.7.b.Ris.) aufbewahrte, von den hier behandelten Rollen leicht abweichende Exemplar wurde in bezug auf die Ungarn bereits von L. Ligeti (in *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* 33) besprochen.

“Ung giya lii ya” – wie Ungarn im mandschurischen Text aus dem Lateinischen *Hungaria* über das Chinesische *Weng-jia-li-ya* 翁加里亞 genannt wird – “befindet sich im Süden von Polen (Bo li ni ya). Die Einwohner ähneln den Mongolen. Die Kleidung ist sehr kurz: da sie die Hosen zusammenbinden, ist das Gewand eng anliegend wie die Fußbinden. [Die Ungarn] sind sehr klug und geistig aufgeweckt. Sie befolgen eifrig die Riten und Gebräuche. Von klein auf lernen sie auf Pferden zu galoppieren; [diese Pferde] haben einen kurzen Hals und sind gute Renner. [Die Ungarn] tragen stets einen gebogenen, vier Fuß langen Säbel [am Gürtel] und tanzen auf dem Pferderücken. Die Frauen können Lesen und Schreiben und sind ausgezeichnete Näherinnen und Stickerinnen. Wenn sie aus der Tür treten, müssen sie unbedingt ein gemustertes Seidentuch auf dem Kopf tragen. Die lokalen Produkte sind sehr reich; ihre Rinder und Schafe werden in großer Zahl in anderen Ländern verwendet [~ exportiert?]. Sie benützen Gegenstände aus Gold, Silber, Kupfer und Eisen in großen Mengen.”<sup>2</sup>

Etwas ungenauer ist die Beschreibung der ungarischen Nachbarn, der Polen; auch hier wird die Ähnlichkeit mit den Mongolen hervorgehoben – was allerdings wohl nicht (wie bei den Ungarn) auf die Sprache zurückzuführen ist, sondern eher auf die Haartracht:

“Polen (Bo li ni ya) befindet sich im Nordosten von *Germania* (“je el ma ni ya”).<sup>3</sup> Die Einwohner ähneln den Mongolen. Über den Lippen tragen sie einen Bart, keinen Bart jedoch haben sie auf dem Kinn. Sie schneiden das Haar ab und lassen nur einen Zopf übrig, den sie vom

<sup>2</sup> *Amba si yang ni ung giya lii ya gurun-i niyalma.*

*Ung giya lii ya gurun bo lo ni ya gurun-i julergi ergide bi. tubai niyalma mongoso de adališambi. etuku adu umesi foholon fakūri foloci kiyah seme eturengge hūsitun hūsiha adali. umesi sure ulhisu. doro yose de amuran. ajigen ci morin feksire he tacimbi. meifen foholon sujure mangga. daruhai mudangga loho ashambi. golmin ici duin jušuru bi. kemuni morin-i deleri maksimbi. hehesi bihe hergen be ulhimbi. ufire šeolere mangga. duka tucifi urunakū cece suberi-i dere be dasimbi. tubade tucire jaka umesi elgiyen. ihan honin heo seme gūwa aiman-i baitalara de acabuci ombi. aisin menggun teisun sele-i jergi jaka baitalaha seme wajirakū.*

<sup>3</sup> Unter “Germanien” (*Germania*) ist hier wohl das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation zu verstehen, das in unserer Quelle zwar erwähnt, aber nicht eigens beschrieben wird.

Hinterkopf herabhängen lassen. Ihr Gebiet ist sehr kalt. Vom Herbstanfang bis zum Sommerbeginn tragen alle über der Leinenkleidung einen bis zu den Füßen reichenden Mantel aus Fuchs-, Marder- oder Zobelfellen. Auf dem Kopf tragen sie eine Pelzmütze. Sehr gerne tanzen sie mit dem Schwert. In ihren Häusern ziehen sie Bären auf und richten diese zu Schauspielen ab. Die Frauen sind geschickt und tugendhaft und erledigen auf rechte und billige Weise die inneren und äußeren Haushaltsangelegenheiten. Die lokalen Produkte bestehen aus Waldhonig, Bernstein, Rindern und Schafen.”<sup>4</sup>

Die Russen nehmen aus historisch bedingten Gründen eine besondere Stellung ein; direkte nachbarliche Kontakte zwischen beiden Reichen erlauben es, die Quellen nicht mehr ausschließlich bei den Jesuiten zu suchen, sondern auf persönliche Erfahrungen mandschurischer Gesandten zurückzuführen – so z. B. auf den Bericht des mandschurischen Gesandten Tulišen (1712), sowie der beiden Missionen, die zu Beginn der dreißiger Jahre des 18. Jahrhunderts Sankt Petersburg besucht haben.<sup>5</sup> In der Tat werden in unserer Quelle *nur* die Russen mit zwei getrennten Beschreibungen bedacht, und zwar das russische Volk (*oros gurun-i niyalma*) einerseits, und das russische Beamtentum (*oros gurun-i hafan*) andererseits. In beiden Fällen sind die Beschreibungen detaillierter als bei anderen Völkern, wobei allerdings auch die Fehlinformationen umfangreicher und augenscheinlicher sind:

“Auf russischem Gebiet gibt es acht Provinzen. Sie werden *Se-ko* genannt.<sup>6</sup> Alle *Se-ko* sind in weitere kleinere *Se-ko* unterteilt, in denen zur

<sup>4</sup> *Amba si yang ni ho lo ni ya gurun-i niyalma.*

*Bo lo ni ya gurun je el ma ni ya gurun-i dergi amargi ergide bi. tubai niyalma monggoso de adališambi. femen de salu bi. sencehe de salu akū. funiyehe fusifi soncoho sulabufi uju-i amargi de tuhehumbi. tere ba umesi beikuwen. holori dosika ci sucungga juwari de isitala gemu boso burgiyen-i dobihi elbihe seke-i jergi sukū-i jibca etumbi. golmin ici bethe be dalimbi. uju de furdehe mahala etumbi. loho maksire de amuran. hoo de lefu nasin ujime tuwara efire de helhehumbi. hehesi de hungsen erdemu bi. hoigon jafahangge dorgi tulergi be gyan fiyan-i gamame mutembi. tubade hujan-i hibsū boisile. ihan honin-i jergi hacin tucimbi:*

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. dazu G. Stary, *Chinas erste Gesandte in Rußland*, Wiesbaden 1976.

<sup>6</sup> Allem Anschein nach scheint diese “russische Bezeichnung für Provinz”, *Se-ko*, die Endung “-sk” bzw. “-skoe” wiederzugeben: bereits Tulišen spricht von acht russischen Provinzen und gibt ihre Namen mit *Sibirsk’o* (Sibirien), *Kasansk’o* (Kazan’), *Foroni-*

Verwaltung Beamte eingesetzt sind. Die Bevölkerung lebt in Häusern, die zum Schutz zu Städten vereint sind. Sie besitzen Karren und Schiffe für die Land- und Wasserwege. Sie tragen Kleider aus Filz und sind auf den Genuß von Schnaps erpicht. Sie mahlen Mehl und bereiten daraus ein Gebäck (*bireng*). Sie essen keinen Kornbrei. Von Natur aus sind sie selbstgefällig und prahlerisch und immer auf eigene Vorteile bedacht. Sie halten die Lehre Buddhas hoch in Ehren und befolgen – vom Kaiser bis hin zum Volk – während der vier Jahreszeiten eine mehrere Dekaden dauernde Fastenzeit.”<sup>7</sup>

Die Beschreibung der russischen Beamten beginnt mit einem kurzen geschichtlichen Exkurs:

“Das Russische Gebiet liegt im äußersten Norden. Zur Zeit der Handynastie [206 v.-220 n. Ch.] wurde es Giyan Kun (堅昆 Jiankun) und Ding Ling (丁令 Dingling) genannt, unter den Tang [618-906] hieß es Giyei Giya Se (結婁斯 Jiejiasi) und Gu Lii Wa 骨利幹 Guligan), unter den Yuan [1280-1368] Oros Gilgit. Das alles ist ein und dasselbe Gebiet. Unter den Ming [1368-1644] gab es dreihundert Jahre lang keinen direkten Kontakt mit dem Reich der Mitte. [Erst] im 15. Jahr der Regierung Elhe Taifin unserer Dynastie [1676] kamen sie und brachten Tribute.”<sup>8</sup> Im 28.

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*šisk'o* (Voronež), *Giyusk'o* (Kiev), *Smaliyansk'o* (Smolensk), *Sampitiri-pursk'o* (Sankt-Peterburg), *Gorodo Arga-liyansk'o* (Gorod Archangei'sk), *Mosk'owask'o* (Moskau) an. Auch einzelne Städtenamen auf “-sk” werden mandschurisch mit *-sk'o* umschrieben, z. B. *Solik'amsk'o* (Solikamsk), *Simbirsk'o* (Simbirsk), *Tomsk'o* (Tomsk) u. s. w. Vgl. Tulišens mandschurischen Text in Shunjū Imanishi, “Tulisen's *I-yü-lu* Revised and Annotated”, Tenri 1964, S. 116 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Oros gurun-i niyalma*  
*oros hade jakūn golo bi. erebe se k'o sembi. se k'o tome geli teisu teisu ajige se k'o den-defi. gemu hafan sindafi kadalabumbi. tubai irgese hoton karman de isame boo olen tem-bi. muke olhon jugūn de jahūdai sejen bi. jafu keibisu etuku etumbi. nure omire de amuran. maise ufafi bireng arafi jembi. huda jeterakū. hanitai tukiyeceku hardanggi urui jabšan haimbi. fucihī tacihiyan be wesihulembi. gurun-i wang ci geren irgese de isitala duin forgon de ududu juwan inenggi ambaramē šayolambi:*

<sup>8</sup> Gemeint ist die Gesandtschaft von Nikolaj Gavrilovič Milescu Spafarij, die 1676 Peking erreichte. Die vorherigen Gesandtschaften von Fedor Isakovič Bajkov (in Peking 1656) sowie von Ivan Petlin (1618, noch zur Mingzeit) sind unserer Quelle unbekannt, ebenso der Besuch von Seitkul Ablin, der 1655 Bajkovs Ankunft melden sollte und im *Shilu* als “erster russischer Tributbringer” eingetragen wurde: s. *Shunzhi shilu*, Kap. 135, S. 2a-3a.

Jahr [1689] wurde der Großwürdenträger Songgotu zu einem Treffen mit ihrem Gesandten Fiyoodolo geschickt, um den Fluß Gerbici als Grenze festzusetzen.<sup>9</sup> Seit jener Zeit kommen sie einmal pro Jahr oder einmal alle zwei Jahre, um Tribut zu bringen und Handel zu treiben. Ihre Beamten lassen das Haar herabhängen; sie tragen dreieckige schwarze Filzhüte und kleiden sich mit engärmligen kurzen Kleidern und Stiefeln aus Leder. Wenn sie ausgehen, tragen sie stets ein Schwert. Die Frauen der Beamten tragen dreieckige Hüte mit rotem Deckel, fünffarbige lange Röcke ohne Schlitz und fertigen ärmellose kurze Brokatkleider an, die sie machmal mit Zobel füttern. Ihrem Brauch gemäß schneiden [die Beamten] Haar und Bart in hübscher Weise zurecht. Das Abnehmen des Hutes gilt als Zeichen von Achtung und Höflichkeit.”<sup>10</sup>

Von den anderen europäischen Ländern werden noch Frankreich, die Niederlande, England und Schweden (beide als “von Holland abhängig” bezeichnet – *ho lan gurun-i harangga*), sowie das allgemein als “Europa”, wörtlich *Si Yang* (西洋 *xiyang*) bezeichnete Portugal, die “Mönche und Nonnen” – wohl als Ausdruck des Kirchenstaates, – und die kurioserweise als “von Germanien abhängige ~ untertane (*harangga*)” Schweiz, die Provinz *Helvetia*, beschrieben:

“Die Provinz Helvetia (He-le-wei-gi-ya golo) ist vom Reich *Germania* abhängig. Die Bevölkerung ist von kräftiger und großer Statur, sie ist sehr

<sup>9</sup> Gemeint ist hier der 1689 u. a. von Songgotu und Fedor (“Fiyoodolo”) Golovin ausgearbeitete erste russisch-chinesische Vertrag von Nerčinsk, demgemäß der Fluß Gorbica (mandsch. Gerbici) als Grenzfluß zwischen beiden Reichen bestimmt wurde.

<sup>10</sup> *Oros gurun-i hafan.*

*oros ba umesi amargi ergide bi. han gurun-i giyan kun. ding ling. tang gurun-i giyei giya se, gu lii wan, yuwan gurun-i oros gilgis jergi aiman sehengge. gemu ere ba kai. ming gurun ilan tanggū aniya otolo umai dulimbai gurun de hafunjiha ba akū. musei gurun elhe taifin-i tofohoci aniya de alhabun jafanjiha. orin jakūci aniya dorgi amban songgotu sebe unggifi ini elcin fiyoodolo sei emgi acafi gerbici bira be jecen obume toktohuha. tereci alhabun jafara hūdašame yaburengge. eici emu aniya eici emu aniya giyalafi emu mudan jimbi. ceni hafasa funiyehe tuhebumbi. ilan hošo sahalijan jafu mahala etumbi. isheliyen ulhi foholon etuku sukū gūlha etumbi. tucike dari urunakū loho ashambi. hafan-i sargan ilan hošo fulgiyan oyo mahala etumbi. sunja bocoi selfen akū. golmin hūsihan hūwaitambi. ulhi akū foholon junggin etuku arambi. embici seke be dokomimbi. tubai tacin funiyehe salu fusire be hocikon saikan obumbi. mahala gaire be ginggun kundu obumbi:*

ehrlieh und pflichtbewußt; für Wohltaten bezeugen sie stets Dankbarkeit. In den Dörfern wurden überall Schulen eingerichtet, in denen das Studium der militärischen Tugenden im Mittelpunkt steht. Wenn sie in andere Länder umsiedeln, werden sie von den Herrschern jener Länder immer als Leibwächter eingestellt. Es gibt dort viele Berge, im Winter ist es sehr kalt. Im Bau von Häusern sind sie Meister. Die Frauen sind kräftig und stark, einfach und ehrlich. Sie verstehen das Weberhandwerk gut, benützen aber keinen Webstuhl und keine Weberschiffchen. Sie verstehen es, Fäden und Wolle mit der Hand miteinander zu verstricken.<sup>11</sup> Das Gewebe ist sehr leicht und fein. Aus der Erde kommt Gold zum Vorschein, und wenn man einen Brunnen gräbt, findet man immer Goldklumpen. In den Betten der Flüsse gibt es Goldperlen, die so groß wie Bohnen sind. Als Speisen verwenden sie die Tiere der Berge wie Rehe, Hirsche, Hasen, Leoparden<sup>12</sup>, sowie Haustiere und große Rinder.<sup>13</sup>

Wie aus diesen kurzen Beschreibungen ersichtlich ist, hatte man im China des 18. Jahrhunderts die gleich ungenauen, teils phantastischen Vorstellungen über die Europäer, wie sie im umgekehrten Fall in Europa über die geheimnisumwitterten und mysteriösen Chinesen im Umlauf waren. Der große Unterschied in diesem Vergleich besteht vielleicht darin, daß die Europäer nur als "Tributbringer" akzeptiert wurden und somit in die vier Bilderrollen des Xie Sui aufgenommen werden konnten.

<sup>11</sup> Hier dürfte das Stricken gemeint sein.

<sup>12</sup> Mandsch. *yarha* (im chines. Text 豹 *bao*) bezeichnet den Leopard; hier dürfte wohl eher der Luchs gemeint sein.

<sup>13</sup> *amba si yang gurun-i he le wei gi ya golo niyalma. he le wei gi ya golo. je el ma ni ya gurun-i harangga. tubai niyalma beye etuhun amba umesi tondo jurgangga hailingga de urunakū karulambi. gašan-i dolo uhei tacikū ilibufi coohai erdemu be tacirengge amba dulin. ememu güwc gurun de hergime isinarangge he tere gurun-i ejen urunakū hanci dahalara jergi de baitalambi. tubade alin labdu. tuweri forgon de umesi beikuwen. hoo arara mangga. hehesi ujen fisin gulu sijirhün. jodoro ararangge faksi sain. tehe homso he baitalarakū. sese subeliyen be galai hiyahabume weileme mutembi. boso umesi weihuken narhün. na ci aisin tucimbi. hūcin fetere de kemuni aisin-i dalgan bahambi. hirai fere de turi-i gese aisin nicuhe ambula bi. alin-i gurgu sirga buhū gülmahün yarha hooi ujimā amba ihan gemu booha arara de baitalambi:*

大西洋翁加里亞國夷婦



大西洋翁加里亞國夷人



Ungarin und Ungar aus dem chinesischen Huang Qing Zhi-gong-tu



Ungarin und Ungar aus der Bildrolle des Xie Sui



Russin und Russe



Russin und russischer Beamter





Polin und Pole



Schweizerin und Schweizer



ERIKA TAUBE  
(Leipzig)

Warum erzählen Erzähler manchmal nicht?  
Vom Erzählen und seiner Beziehung zum Numinosen

Als ich im November 1985 im Aimak Züün-bürän in der Mongolei Feldforschungen unter einer Gruppe jener Tuwiner trieb, die in den letzten anderthalb Dezennien aus dem Altai abgewandert waren<sup>1</sup>, hatte ich folgendes Erlebnis: Eine Frau, die mir hatte ein *töl* – ein Märchen – erzählen wollen, erklärte mir, als wir uns zur vereinbarten Zeit trafen, daß sie es nicht erzählen könne, denn sie wisse den Namen von des Helden Pferd nicht mehr genau. Das konnte nicht allzusehr überraschen, da mehrfach berichtet worden ist, daß ein Erzähler einen epischen Text – Reckenmärchen oder Heldenepos – vorzutragen ablehnte mit der Begründung, er erinnere den Namen des Helden oder eines der Helden oder aber auch den eines Pferdes nicht genau oder habe ihn gar vergessen.<sup>2</sup> Diese Art Unvollständigkeit des Märchen- und Heldeneposvortrags galt als ebenso unzulässig wie die eines nicht bis zum Ende erzählten Textes<sup>3</sup> – so wie ja auch Lieder und Melodien nicht abgebrochen werden durften.<sup>4</sup> Dennoch, nun selbst mit diesem Phänomen konfrontiert, berührte es mich schon seltsam, weil es für unsereinen kein Problem wäre, einfach zu sagen: „... den Namen habe ich vergessen“ oder „Ich weiß nicht mehr genau, wie es hieß“.

Ich wunderte mich auch aus einem anderen Grund: In den ersten Jahren meiner Feldforschungen unter den Tuwinern im Altai (1966, 1967) hieß es oft, wenn wir nach Märchen und ähnlichem fragten, *Bilves men, urüm!* 'Ich kenne keine, meine Tochter / mein Kind!' Damals erschien es mir anfangs immer erst

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<sup>1</sup> Siehe dazu E. Taube, "Zur gegenwärtigen Situation der Tuwiner im westmongolischen Altai" in Á. Berta, B. Brendemoen, C. Schönig (Eds.) *Symbolae Turcologicae*. [Festschrift für Lars Johanson]. Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions Vol. 6. Uppsala, 1996:213-225.

<sup>2</sup> Mündliche Auskunft von D. Cërénsodnom (Ulaanbaatar).

<sup>3</sup> Siehe zum Beispiel J. Bäcker, "Zu einem neu aufgefundenen altaischen Jangar-Epos" in *Zentralasiatische Studien* 18 (1985):57.

<sup>4</sup> Nachwort zu E. Taube (hrsg. und übersetzt), *Tuwinische Lieder. Volksdichtung aus der Westmongolei*. Leipzig-Weimar, 1980; dies.: "Zur ursprünglich magischen Funktion von Volksdichtung" in *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* NF. 11 (1992):114.

einmal als glatte Absage, aber es war, wie mir heute scheint, wohl eher eine Floskel – vielleicht fiel ich in meinem Eifer anfangs zu rasch mit der Tür in die Jurte, denn fast immer trug der Erzähler dann doch etwas vor, allerdings erst, nachdem wir ordentlich gegessen und uns gestärkt hatten, und nicht selten mußte das Schaf dafür erst noch geschlachtet werden. Deshalb war mir mein Erstaunen wohl anzumerken, als am 6. August 1967 der Erzähler M. Xojtüvek sich sofort zum Erzählen bereit zeigte. Seinerseits von meinem Erstauntsein überrascht, begründete er seine spontane Erzählbereitschaft – noch ehe er mit dem großen *töl* “Xan Tögüsvek”<sup>5</sup> begann – mit dem Vortrag des folgenden Märchens:

*Töluču jüge jiyadbas*

*Xamiq jiveni bürün örengen bir uluγerdemniγ jalī bir xānniγ urūn ap nāri bolγan xūn bar ulus ol jalīniγ avijāzīn görüp ā tōlu ājtīrar bop duru. Amdī gövej ulus jeze jiyaza da ol durγaj xān bodu bilen jalīnsa da güdē ol jer le jüktü de ājtīp bervēn irgin.*

*Un gežē bop e't jir bolurda güdē ol bižēn bödejinde uddup γān durar irgin. Injanγaš ol bir biči ōldu ajvilap duru. Biči ōl baryaš girer dize dem jā giži joq durγan bödejniγ ožunuγ bažinda üš giži bir birziniγ budun siddanjip alγan xōculažip jidar irgin. Ōl ežikdiγ daštīnan diŋnaza “Bo da taq giži emes irgin. Erdem örengēš ōzun göpden jažirγan soγγār īnda dirig jorūr erge joq. İndiyužurnan onu bis erten ōn göžürüp γadinin alγaš adil mal uluγju'rtun edertgeš uluγju'rtu diva jorūrda oruqda ölrēkej!” dēr irgin. Birēzi “Men onu oruqda üsgen borān jaγsip üjerge girip ölrer men” dēr. Baza birēzi “Men onu oruqda xonup jidγan jeringe üsdünen xaja daš jüp ölrer men” dēr. Baza birēzi “Men onu oruqda xonup jidγan jeringe üsdünen ijaš užurup ölrer men” dēr irgin. Unūn üželēn “Bisdiγ bo ājtγanivīsdī ōγ γulāŋγa je'dirgen giži γaraq šimes dēr arazinda xara suγγa xap ölü” dēr irgin. Ollar erdem nomnuγ ēleri durγan irgin. Biči ōl xānniγ ōŋge daγin gelse bar ulus e'din alda γažandā jip*

<sup>5</sup> Gekürzte deutsche Übertragung (E.T.) in R. Hänsel (Hrsg.), *Heldenepen aus aller Welt*. Berlin-Stuttgart, 1988:224-257; vollst. russische Übersetzung in *Skazki i predanija altajskich tuvincev*. Sobranyj Ėrikoj Taube. Sostavlenie, predislovie i kommentarij Ėriki Taube. Avtorizovannyj perevod s nemeckogo B. E. Čistovoj. (Serija Skazki i mify narodov Vostoka). Moskva, 1994:155-184.

*γāvdayan olurar irgin. “Jüge sādadiñ?” dērde ol “Ögerni bir yildir dilēš bižēgerni dibbādīm, jesdej” dēr irgin.*

*Unün erten dañ bilen xān urū güdēzin irāqya adyarar bolurda dūngü biči ol “Men ava jesdemni je'drer men” dēr irgin. Ulus “Jaš ol sen, γajjīn šidar sen? Xānniñ düžümedderi boddariniñ ježe muñ šeriglerinen je'drip bēr!” dērde ol ödek išti dive jügrüp barγaš bir tas xara xurān dudup ekelgeš “Ja, sileler bo xurānniñ jū dēnin bilip duru sileler be?” dērde bar ulus alañ bop id joq bop γalir irgin.*

*“Ja, injalsa diñnap durγulayar! Xānniñ urū güdēziñge uluyajil tulγarap jidri. Ollar oruqda xöl suγya jōqšulavāzin, xaja daš diya barvāzin, ijaš jōγunan jorvāzin. Onu men ajtbādīm, bo xara xurān ajtti. Mōñ šin megezin amdī gōr sileler! Bo xurān γaraq šimer araziñda xara suγya xap ölür” dēš xara xurānni sala γāpdarda aldinda jeri jarlip uluy ujer jajiγ jügrüp γaraq šimer araziñda xara xurān xap badī barip durū.*

“Warum sich ein Erzähler nicht drängen läßt”

Ein Jüngling mit einem großen Wissen, der alles (bis zur) Vollkommenheit) erlernt hatte, nahm die Tochter eines Chaans (zur Frau), und am Tage ihres (Hochzeits)festes wollten alle, um des Jünglings Kunst kennenzulernen, daß er eines seiner Märchen erzähle (wörtl.: durch ihn ... erzählen lassen). Wie sehr (jedoch) jene vielen Leute ihn auch drängten- der junge Schwiegersohn erzählte ihnen rein gar nichts, selbst (dann nicht), als der Chaan (ihn) persönlich bat.

Als es nun Abend wurde und man Fleisch essen wollte, da hatte der Schwiegersohn sein Messer in der neuen Jurte vergessen. Deshalb bat er einen kleinen Jungen (es zu holen). Der kleine Junge lief hin (zu der neuen Jurte), und wie er eintreten will, da liegen oberhalb der Feuerstelle der neuen Jurte, die eben noch menschenleer gewesen war, drei Leute, einer die Füße des anderen als Kopfkissen benutzend, und unterhalten sich. Wie (nun) der Junge draußen vor der Tür (stehend) horcht, sagen sie:

“Dieser da ist doch wirklich ein schlechter Mensch (wörtl.: kein Mensch)! Weil er, nachdem er Wissen erworben, jenes [seines] vor den vielen anderen (Menschen) geheimgehalten hat, hat er kein Recht, dort zu leben (wörtl.: lebendig zu wandeln). Aus diesem Grunde läßt uns ihn unterwegs töten, wenn er morgen seine Jurte umziehen läßt und – nachdem er seine Gemahlin genom-

men und sein Vieh und sein vieles Volk sich hat nachfolgen lassen – zu seinem großen Land hinzieht.”

(Und) einer von ihnen sagt (weiter):

“Ich werde ihn töten, indem ich unterwegs ein Unwetter niederprasseln und ihn in die Wasserfluten hineingeraten lasse!”

Wieder einer [von ihnen] sagt:

“Ich werde ihn töten, indem ich unterwegs auf seinen Nachtlagerplatz von oben her einen Felsbrocken wälze!”

(Und) noch einer [von ihnen] sagt:

“Ich werde ihn töten, indem ich über seinem Nachtlagerplatz einen Baum zu Fall bringe!”

Dann sagen alle drei:

“Wer das, was wir jetzt gesprochen haben, ihm zu Ohren kommen läßt, der wird, ehe man einmal mit den Augen gezwinkert hat, im trüben Wasser unkommen.”

Jene (drei) waren nämlich die Herren des Wissens.

Wie nun der kleine Junge wieder zur Jurte des Chaans kommt, da sitzen all (die anderen) Leute und haben schon längst das Fleisch aufgegessen. Als (der Bräutigam) fragt: “Warum bleibst du so lange aus?”, antwortet der Junge: “Ich habe Eure ganze Jurte durchsucht, aber Euer Messer fand ich nicht, älterer Schwager!”

Als nun am frühen Morgen der Chaan seine Tochter und seinen Schwiegersohn hinaus in die Ferne begleiten will, sagt jener [gestrige] kleine Junge:

“Ich werde meine ältere Schwester und meinen Schwager begleiten!”

Als aber die Leute sagen:

“Du bist ein kleiner Junge, wie (wörtl.: woher) könntest du das? Des Chaans Lehnsherren werden sie mit ihren eigenen vielen Tausend Kriegern hinbringen!”, da rennt der Junge mitten hinein in die Hürde, fängt ein kohlrabenschwarzes Lamm, und nachdem er es herbeigebracht hat, spricht er:

“Nun, wißt ihr denn, was dieses Lamm gesagt hat?”

Da wundern sich alle und verstummen / verharren lautlos.

“Ja, wenn es so ist, hört alle zu! Der Tochter des Chaans und seinem Schwiegersohn droht eine große Gefahr. Sie mögen unterwegs keinem See und (anderem) Gewässer nahekommen! Sie mögen nicht zu Felsen und Steinen hingehen! Sie mögen sich von Bäumen fernhalten! Das habe nicht ich gesagt, (sondern) dieses schwarze Lamm hat es gesagt. Ihr werdet gleich

sehen, ob dies wahr ist oder nicht! Dieses Lamm wird, ehe man mit den Augen zwinkert, vom Wasser weggetrieben umkommen.”

Nachdem er das gesagt hatte, ließ er das schwarze Lamm schnell los. Da tat sich unter ihm die Erde auf, eine gewaltige Flut brach hervor, und ehe man mit den Augen zwinkerte, war das schwarze Lamm darin versunken.

Dieses Märchen macht Bezüge zum Numinosen deutlich, die nicht nur in der Überlieferung, sondern offensichtlich auch noch in der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jh. für Erzähler etwas Verbindliches hatten. Mit solchen Bezügen zum Numinosen hatte zweifellos auch die Weigerung meiner tuwinischen Gewährsfrau zu tun, die auch sonst die alten Bräuche beachtete, zum Beispiel das Namenstabu im Hinblick auf ihren Ehemann und dessen Vater.

Hier verbirgt sich offenbar ein Problemfeld, das genauer zu ergründen sich lohnt, denn mit dem Verbot, unvollkommen zu erzählen, selbst wenn es um – wie es uns scheint – nicht mehr geht als einen Namen, hat es ja offenbar eine besondere Bewandnis. Auf der Grundlage von publiziertem und eigenem Material aus dem zentralasiatischen Gebiet beschäftigte ich mich in einigen Artikeln der letzten Jahre mit dem Bezug verschiedener Formen der Volksdichtung zum Numinosen. Einen Aspekt aus diesem Problemfeld möchte ich hier noch einmal aufgreifen, damit anknüpfend an meinen ersten Beitrag dazu auf der PIAC in Weimar 1988.<sup>6</sup>

Die Berichte über verweigertes Erzählen bei mangelnder Namenskenntnis enthalten keine Auskünfte darüber, warum dieser Mangel so schwerwiegend ist. Daraus könnte man schließen, daß entweder der Forscher nicht nach dem Grund für dieses Verbot gefragt hat, was immerhin möglich wäre, etwa wenn ihm eine solche Information in anderem Zusammenhang zufällig zukommt, oder daß dem Gewährsmann dieser Grund selbst nicht mehr bewußt war. Letzteres trifft zu auf jene tuwinische Frau aus dem Altai, die ich in Züünbürën traf und die sonst sehr bereitwillig meine Fragen beantwortete, die aber in diesem Falle nur sagen konnte, daß man nicht erzählen dürfte, wenn man die Namen nicht genau wüßte oder sie gar vergessen hätte.

Wir wissen, daß für numinose Wesen erzählt wird – zu ihrer Freude, um ihr Wohlwollen zu erlangen. Das Erzählen im Jägerlager für die Herrin oder den Herrn des Jagdgebietes oder des Wildes um reicher Jagdbeute willen ist

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<sup>6</sup> E. Taube, “Zur ursprünglich magischen Funktion ...” (wie Anm. 4).

ein solches Beispiel<sup>7</sup>, und Singen oder Musizieren können das gleiche bewirken, was sich in den Märchen mancher Völker Zentralasiens widerspiegelt.<sup>8</sup> Auch dabei werden, wie ich es von den altaischen Tuwinern in bezug auf musikalische Äußerungen beschrieben habe, bestimmte Gebote oder Verbote beachtet. Und auch hier geht es unter anderem um die Unzulässigkeit von Mangelhaftem, Unvollkommenem: etwa um ein aus Textunsicherheit lückenhaftes oder nicht zu Ende gesungenes Lied, um die unterbrochene oder abgebrochene Melodie eines Instruments. Man denkt zunächst an zweierlei Gründe für diese Gebote bzw. Verbote:

Erstens: Erzählen ebenso wie Singen und instrumentales Spiel sind als mentale Darbringungen den Opfern materieller Art an die Seite zu stellen. Beide sind motiviert durch den Wunsch nach Segensgewinn. Unvollkommene Darbringungen wären daher eher eine Kränkung der Gottheit als ein Zeichen der Verehrung – mit entsprechend negativen Konsequenzen für die Darbringenden. Melodien können dabei zugleich eine Art Erkennungszeichen für die verehrte Gottheit sein. Unvollständige Melodien verhindern, daß diese Gottheit den Sänger, den Musikanten oder die Gruppe von Singenden, aus der die Darbringung kommt, genau identifizieren und ihren Segen, ihre Wohltaten eben denselben angedeihen lassen kann. Dafür spricht die Vorstellung der Sibe-Mandschuren, in einem ihrer epischen Gesänge geäußert, daß die ins Ili-Gebiet fortziehenden Sibe dort “die Sibe ohne Lieder” sein werden<sup>9</sup>, sowie die

<sup>7</sup> Zum Beispiel I. A. Plotkin (Ed.), *I. A. Tuvinskie narodnye skazki*. 1. Kyzyl, 1954:6; deutsch in E. Taube, (Hrsg. und übers.), *Tuwinische Volksmärchen*. Berlin, 1978 (*Volksmärchen. Eine internationale Reihe*):188; chakas.: *Der zauberische Märchen-erzähler* (unveröffentlichtes Manuskript von P. A. Trojakov. 1977); vgl. E. Taube, “Zur Jagd bei den Tuwinern des Cengel-sum in der Westmongolei” in *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig*. Bd. 31, 1977:44. – Den Zusammenhang von Jagdbrauchtum und Märchen behandelt auch D. K. Zelenin, “Die religiöse Funktion der Volksmärchen” in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. 31. Leiden, 1932:21-31 (überarbeitet und erweitert in Russ.: “Religiozno-magičeskaja funkcija fol’klornych skazok” in *Sbornik v česti ak. S. F. Ol’denburga*. Leningrad, 1934:215-240).

<sup>8</sup> Näheres dazu findet sich in meinem Beitrag: “Die Musik in den Märchen zentralasiatischer Völker” in: U. & H.-A. Heindrichs (Hrsg.), *Das Märchen und die Künste*. (*Veröffentlichungen der Europäischen Märchengesellschaft*. 21). Wolfsegg, 1996:103-120.

<sup>9</sup> Giovanni Sary, *Epengesänge der Sibe-Mandschuren*. (*Asiatische Forschungen*. 106) Wiesbaden, 1988:14; siehe dazu meinen Rezensionsartikel: “Ein Quell für Fragen zu Folkloretraditionen und Glaubensvorstellungen nicht nur der Sibe-Mandschuren” in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 85 (1990):Sp. 268-270.



Verwendung nur einer oder einiger weniger Melodien für die Gesamtheit der Lieder einer bestimmten Gemeinschaft, wie bei den Diva (Tuwiner) von Cëngël und den Darchat zu beobachten.<sup>10</sup> Ich nehme an, daß auch die Herausbildung bestimmter epischer Dichtungen zu einer Art Charakterstoffen einzelner ethnischer oder Stammesgruppen mit einer solchen Identifikationsfunktion zusammenhängt.

Zweitens: Wir wissen von der Existenz von Herren der Märchen – aus den Märchen selbst (Altaische Tuwiner, Kasachen und andere) und aus ethnographischem Material (Altaier, Tuwiner). Diese Herren der *töl*, der *xaj* ~ oder *qaj čörčök* oder ihrer Äquivalente – im allgemeinen sind es drei solche Herrengeister – wachen darüber, daß der Erzähler erzählt, wenn er darum gebeten wird, so wie ja auch der Schamane gehen muß, wenn man ihn ruft, ungeachtet der wirtschaftlichen Lage des Rufenden. Zugrunde liegt die Vorstellung vom Berufen-Sein oder Begabt-Sein und davon, daß Berufung wie Begabung zu einem bestimmten Zweck erfolgen – nämlich dadurch zum Nutzen der Gemeinschaft zu wirken. Das bedeutet, daß den Betroffenen daraus die Pflicht erwächst, diesen Zweck zu erfüllen – andernfalls sind sie für die Gemeinschaft wertlos oder gar schädlich und werden durch die genannten Herrengeister mit dem Tode bestraft, wie ein altai-tuwinisches und ein kasachisches Märchen erzählen.<sup>11</sup> Bestrafung mit Tod oder Versteinerung bei Verletzung der Pflicht, am Weihnachtsabend oder bei bestimmten dorf-gemeinschaftlichen Hilfeleistungen Märchen zu erzählen, oder weil der Erzähler beim Erzählen einschläft, kennen wir auch von den Inguschen im Kaukasus und einigen ostslawischen Völkern.<sup>12</sup> Wie in den relevanten Belegen der beiden zentralasiatischen Türkvölker ist es auch hier ein Dritter, der den Pflichtverletzer rettet – in den ostslawischen Varianten “vor der Rache der drei Märchen”.

<sup>10</sup> Ch. Cërensodnom, *Darchad ardyn duuny urlagijn tuchaj tovčchon*. Ulaanbaatar, 1964:4; K. N. Jackovskaja, *Sto pesni darchata G. Davaadžija*. Moskva, 1978:11; E. Taube, *Tuwinsche Lieder...* [wie Anm.4.]:130 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Tuwin.: Siehe das vorn publizierte Märchen; kasach.: B. S. Kaziev (Ed.), *V strane skazok. Skazki, legendy, predanija, basni, apology, pritči*. Alma Ata, 1993:117-119.

<sup>12</sup> A. O. Mal'sagov (Ed.), *Skazki i legendy ingušej i čečencev*. Moskva, 1983. Nr. 36: *Nakazanie tomu, kto ne rasskažet skazku* [Strafe für den, der kein Märchen erzählt]; L. G. Barag et al., *Vostočno-slavjanskaja skazka. Sravnitel'nyj ukazatel' sjužetov*. Leningrad, 1979. Nr. 516\*: *Vernyj sluga spasaet baryna ot mesti trojch koljad (skazok)* (Treuer Diener rettet den Herrn vor der Rache der 3 Koljaden [Märchen]).

Ein Märchen aus dem Sennenmilieu der Schweiz mit dem Titel "Dreierlei Milch"<sup>13</sup> hat einige markante Motive mit diesen beiden Märchen von viehzüchternomadischen Türkvölkern aus Zentralasien gemeinsam: das Auftauchen von ebenfalls 3 solchen Herrengeistern am nächtlichen Herdfeuer der Sennhütte wie an dem der Jurte und das Belauschtwerden derselben durch einen Dritten. Während die beiden Märchen aus Zentralasien uns darüber unterrichten, daß Verweigerung des Erzählens durch den Begabten die Herren der Märchen so erzürnt, daß sie seinen Tod beschließen, liefert das schweizerische Märchen gleichsam den ersten Teil dieses Vorstellungskomplexes – nämlich den Begabungsvorgang, wobei es hier nicht um Märchen, sondern um gutes, weittragendes Singen geht. Das aber ist für den gedanklichen Hintergrund irrelevant, umsomehr, da *töl*, *qaj čörčök* und ähnliches, Märchen und Heldenepen also, häufig gesungen werden. Diese Herrengeister bestimmter Formen der Volksdichtung sind demnach vermutlich nicht nur für den Text, sondern auch für die Melodien zuständig.<sup>14</sup> Es wäre denkbar, daß diese Art Herrengeister nicht nur über die Anwendung der Begabung durch den Begabten wachen, sondern auch darüber, daß er es auf die rechte Weise tut. Das heißt, es kommt auf das vollkommene Erzählen und Singen an, nicht auf Erzählen und Singen unter allen Umständen.

Es gibt jedoch noch einen dritten überzeugenden Grund für die einschränkende Bedingung, nur dann zu erzählen, wenn die Namen positiver Handlungsträger sicher gewußt werden. In ihrem Vorwort zu V. A. Avrorins *Materialy po nanajskomu jazyku i fol'kloru* (Leningrad, 1986) geht E. P. Lebedeva näher darauf ein, daß die Nanaier daran glaubten, daß die Geschehnisse ihrer *nijnman* – gewöhnlich mit 'Märchen' übersetzt – bei allen ihren fantastischen Elementen doch irgendwann einmal sich tatsächlich ereignet haben (Lebedeva hält daher die Übersetzung 'Märchen' für *nijnman* entsprechend dem heutigen europäischen Verständnis dieses Begriffs für unpassend), und daß sich – offenbar noch zu Beginn der 80er Jahre – bei einem Teil der nanaischen Gesellschaft der "Glaube an die reale Existenz der

<sup>13</sup> Dieses Märchen erzählte Inge von der Crone aus Arconciel (Schweiz) 1993 in Erlangen auf dem Jahreskongreß der Europäischen Märchengesellschaft (Quelle mir unbekannt).

<sup>14</sup> Man wird erinnert an Basilovs Information, daß bestimmte Melodien bestimmten Geistern vorbehalten sind; siehe V. N. Basilov, "Blessing in a Dream. A story told by an Uzbek musician" *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*. 27 (1995):239.

Helden und Heldinnen dieser *ninman* erhalten hat”.<sup>15</sup> Sie sieht darin Reste eines Denkens, nach dem alle Gestalten, die die menschliche Fantasie hervorbringt, real existieren und so auch in des Menschen Leben und Tun hineinwirken können. Als Erster machte bereits 1937 A. A. Popov<sup>16</sup>, von seinem dolganischen Folklorematerial ausgehend, auf diesen Aspekt aufmerksam: “Die Dolganen glauben nicht nur an die Realität alles dessen, was in ihren mündlichen Werken erzählt wird, sondern *sehen* auch gleichsam die von ihrer Volksdichtung (*fol'klor*) hervorgebrachten Gestalten; nach den Vorstellungen der Dolganen sind alle Gestalten, die von den Erzählern der Heldendichtungen (*bylina*) gezeichnet werden, fähig, sich in sichtbare Schemen (*miradž*), in Schatten zu verwandeln. Dabei sind die Figuren der Folklore nicht nur fähig, sich gleichsam zu materialisieren, sichtbar zu werden, sondern können in das Leben der Menschen eingreifen, indem sie ihnen helfen ... Die sogenannte “magische Funktion” der Volksdichtung ist im gegebenen Falle nicht als Einfluß des Wortes auf den Gang der Ereignisse zu sehen, sondern als direkte oder indirekte Einmischung der von der schöpferischen Vorstellungskraft hervorgebrachten Gestalten. Zu diesem Einbruch ins Leben der Menschen bringt sie der Erzähler. Indem er die Gestalten der Helden darstellt, ihren Kampf, den glücklichen Ausgang der Geschehnisse, lenkt der Erzähler die Aktion / die Wirksamkeit (*dejstvie*) der Helden der Heldendichtungen in die ihm nötige Richtung.”<sup>17</sup> In seiner Arbeit *Perežitki drevnich doreligioznych vozzrenij dolgan na prirodu*<sup>18</sup> legt Popov seine Beobachtungen dazu ausführlicher dar<sup>19</sup>: “Die von der menschlichen Vorstellungskraft erschaffenen sichtbaren Gestalt-Begriffe (*obrazy-ponjatija*) existierten in den Vorstellungen der Dolganen wirklich, drangen aus der ihn umgebenden Welt in den Menschen ein und konnten ihn auch wieder verlassen. Sie konnten sichtbar werden, blieben aber doch nicht greifbare, unbeständige Schatten.” Und Popov führt aus der Folklore eine Anzahl Beispiele für das aktive helfende Einwirken dieser “Gestalt-Begriffe” in das Menschenleben an.

<sup>15</sup> So E. P. Lebedeva im Vorwort zu V. A. Avrorin, *Materialy po nanajskomu jazyku i fol'kloru*. Leningrad, 1986:13.

<sup>16</sup> A. A. Popov, *Dolganskij fol'klor*. Moskva, 1937.

<sup>17</sup> A. A. Popov, a. a. O. 18 (zitiert nach Lebedeva, a. a. O. 13).

<sup>18</sup> *Sovetskaja étnografija* 1958 / 2:89-90.

<sup>19</sup> Zitiert nach Lebedeva, a. a. O. S. 13f.

Die Übereinstimmung mit den Vorstellungen von den schamanischen Schutzgeistern ist nicht nur angesichts der vielen Parallelen zwischen Reckenmärchen / Heldenepen und schamanistischen Ritualen interessant<sup>20</sup>, sondern vor allem im Hinblick auf die häufig erwähnte Personalunion von Erzähler und Schamane, der ich in der Gestalt des tuwinischen Erzählers Bajünbiräd aus Cengel selbst begegnete, die dadurch eine Erklärung finden kann: die positiven Helden samt ihren Pferden darf man nach Popovs Mitteilung gleichsam als Geister verstehen, die, durch den Vortrag – wie die Hilfsgeister durch anrufende Gesänge – herbeigerufen, in den Erzähler eindringen – wie die Geister in den Schamanen – und zum Guten für die von Übeln Betroffenen wirken.

Ich meine, die Vorstellung, daß epische Helden durch das Erzählen oder Singen von Texten gleichsam in ein materielles Leben gerufen werden und sich so in den Lebensalltag der jeweiligen Gemeinschaft einschalten können, um – Übel bekämpfend – zu deren Wohle zu wirken, darf auch für jene verwandten oder in größerem Raum benachbarten Ethnien oder Völker angenommen werden, bei denen diese Vorstellung durch ethnographisches Material nicht dokumentiert ist, aber noch anklingt in einem analogen, wenn auch schon nicht mehr verstandenen und daher auch nicht erklärbaren Erzählverbot unter bestimmten Bedingungen. Denn wir haben immerhin etliche Belege für die segensreiche Wirkung des Vortrages epischer Texte – zum Beispiel des Geser-Epos: bei den Burjaten zum Schutz vor Totengeistern und anderen dämonischen Wesen<sup>21</sup> oder bei Mongolen gegen Krankheit bei Menschen, gegen Viehseuchen und drohende Gefahr.<sup>22</sup> Und nicht nur der Vortrag, auch das Herumtragen des Textes um die Jurte galt als hilfreich – es ist die Vorstellung von Wirkung auf Grund von Wandlung / Verwandlung durch drehende Bewegung, die auch bei der Erfindung der Gebetsmühle Pate gestanden haben dürfte.<sup>23</sup> Und allein das Vorhandensein eines schriftlichen Geser-Textes galt bei Mongolen als schutzbietend, wie Walther Heissigs bekannter Bericht aus

<sup>20</sup> Einige Beispiele dazu in E. Taube, "South Siberian and Central Asian Hero Tales and Shamanistic Rituals" in *Shamanism in Eurasia*. 1. Göttingen, 1984:344-352.

<sup>21</sup> B. Rintchen, "En marge du culte de Guesser khan en Mongolie" *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne* 60 (1958):9, 25.

<sup>22</sup> Walther Heissig in G. Tucci & W. Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*. Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln-Mainz, 1970 (*Die Religionen der Menschheit*. 20):410.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. dazu den Abschnitt "Wandlungen" in Jakob Taube, *Welt und Leben in Stickereien und Märchen mittelasiatischer Völker*. Wiesbaden 1993:118-128.

dem Jahre 1943 zeigt.<sup>24</sup> In diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch, daß in Xinjiang in allen Residenzen der Wang im 1. Monat des Jahres Vorträge des *Ĵanyar*-Epos stattfanden<sup>25</sup>, was also eine der im Neujahrsbrachstum üblichen Vorkehrungen gegen Übel und für Segensgewinn zu verstehen ist. Auch der Vortrag des *Ĵanyar* bei den altaischen Tuwinern steht in rituellem Kontext, wie das vorherige Entzünden eines Rauchopfers nahelegt.<sup>26</sup>

Auf welche Weise die schützende, segensreiche Wirkung zustande kommt, bleibt jedoch im allgemeinen offen. Aufklärung bringen die genannten Informationen Lebedevas von den Nanaiern und Popovs von den Dolganen. Denn wenn die Märchen- und Epenhelden wie die schamanischen Schutz- und Hilfsgeister durch Erzählen oder Anrufung in ein materielles Leben und damit ins Leben der Menschen hineingerufen werden, geschieht das entsprechend der kulturübergreifend angenommenen magischen Wirkung von Namensnennung. Hat der Erzähler den Namen vergessen, funktioniert das Aufrufen der betreffenden epischen Gestalt (des hilfreichen Geistes) nicht, und sie kann sich nicht materialisieren. Wird der Name des Heldenrosses nicht mehr erinnert, stünde der Geist-Held im Kampf gegen die die Gemeinschaft schädigenden Dämonen hilflos da, zumal das Pferd neben seinen physischen Vorzügen ja oft mit geistigen Fähigkeiten besser ausgestattet ist als der Held selbst. Würde der Erzähler eine Gestalt wegen ungenauer Erinnerung mit einem verstümmelten Namen nennen, käme sie folgerichtig auch mit verstümmeltem Körper ins Leben und wäre nicht voll wirkungsfähig.

Für die Existenz einer solchen Vorstellung gibt es unter meinem altai-tuwinischen Material einen Beleg, dessen Zusammenhang mit unserem Problemfeld mir lange nicht bewußt war. Das *üleger* "Die Kraft des Herzens der Däriki"<sup>27</sup>, eher eine Art Gespenstergeschichte, demonstriert die schützende

<sup>24</sup> *Die Mongolen. Ein Volk sucht seine Geschichte*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1978:174.

<sup>25</sup> Rinčindorj, "Über den Ĵangar in Sinkiang und die Jangarsänger" in W. Heissig (Hrsg.), *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung*. 3. Wiesbaden, 1985:274.

<sup>26</sup> "Spuren des *Ĵanyar*-Stoffes unter den Tuwinern im Altai" in M. Erdal & S. Tezcan (Hrsg.) *Beläk Bitig. Sprachstudien für Gerhard Doerfer zum 75. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden, 1995:196f.

<sup>27</sup> *In Das leopardenscheckige Pferd und andere tuwinische Märchen aus der Mongolischen Volksrepublik* (Hrsg. und übersetzt). Berlin, 1977:33f.; russ. Übersetzung in *Skazki i predanija...* [siehe Anm. 5]: Nr. 70. Diese Geschichte gehört zu den erzählenden Texten belehrender Art, die Begründungen für bestimmte Verhaltensweisen, die Beachtung bestimmter Gebote oder Verbote geben. Vgl. E. Taube, "Formen und Funktion mündlicher

Wirkung der lamaistischen Gebetsformel *om dere* (= *om dara*) *düd dere dūr sūxā* (< skr. *svāhā*):

Eines von zwei auf Menschenfleisch begierigen Šulam-Weibern will die Eheleute einer Jurte durch Streit entzweien, das andere soll, wenn die Frau aus der Jurte fortläuft und eine nahe Brücke passiert, diese packen und festhalten. Es geschieht zunächst wie geplant. Die Frau aber, auf dem Weg zur Brücke von Angst ergriffen, murmelt die Gebetsformel *Om dere dūd dere dūr sūxā*, derer sie sich aber nur bruchstückhaft erinnert, deshalb in der verstümmelten Form *Dūd dar dirjā sūxā*. Als das eine Šulam-Weib zu dem anderen an der Brücke zurückkehrt, sitzt dieses mit leeren Händen da – denn nicht jene Frau war vorübergekommen, sondern nur eine hinkende Dārīki.

Der Erzähler erklärt: "So verwandelt der Spruch (d. h. die Anrufung – E. T.) den Menschen in der Not in eine Dārīki. Weil aber jene Frau ihn nicht mehr richtig wußte, sah es so aus, als ob die Dārīki hinke." Richtiger ist wohl, daß hier von einer unvollkommenen Materialisierung der Dārīki (wohl von mong. *Dara eke*) die Rede ist. Verwiesen werden könnte auch auf die altaituwinische Überlieferung von einem Traum des Geser, der sich in der historischen Gestalt des Jāyaj Šapqan verkörperte – dieser starb, als Gesers Traum endete.<sup>28</sup> Auf jeden Fall zeigt das eben erwähnte *üleger*, daß der Glaube oder auch das Wissen um den Zusammenhang von Wort und Wirkung dieser konkreten Art den Tuwinern im Altai nicht fremd war, nämlich der Glaube an das Gestaltwerden des Namens, des Wortes.

V. Veit hatte 1980 in ihrem – wie sie es nennt – Diskussionsbeitrag auf dem 3. Epensymposium in Bonn<sup>29</sup> auf den Aspekt der "praktischen Verwendung" mongolischer Epen aufmerksam gemacht. Neben hier bereits erwähnten Berichten nannte sie als Beispiel auch den Vortrag des *Bum Erdene*-Epos durch den Sänger Parčīn im August 1912 zum Anfeuern der Truppen vor der

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Traditionen bei den Tuwinern im Altai" in W. Heissig (Hrsg.), *Formen und Funktion mündlicher Tradition*. Leverkusen, 1995:155. – Tuw. *dārīki*: kalm. *därke* < *dara eke* 'Mutter Dara (Tārā)', buddhist.weibliche Gottheit (G. J. Ramstedt, Kalmückisches Wörterbuch. Helsinki, 1935:82b).

<sup>28</sup> *Tuwinische Volksmärchen*. Berlin, 1978: Nr. 69; *Skazki i predanija ...* (siehe Anm. 5): Nr. 34; siehe dazu auch E. Taube, "Überlieferungen zur Geschichte der Tuwiner im Altai" in D. Schorkowitz, *Ethnohistorische Wege und Lehrjahre eines Philosophen. Festschrift für Lawrence Krader zum 75. Geburtstag*. Frankfurt / M, 1994:279-292.

<sup>29</sup> Veronika Veit, "Ein Beispiel für die «praktische» Verwendung mongolischer Epen" in W. Heissig (Hrsg.), *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung*. 2. Wiesbaden, 1982:177f.

Schlacht um Kobdo (Chovd). Das eben Dargelegte berücksichtigend, darf man das Anfeuern zum Kampf eher für einen sekundären Effekt halten. Was eigentlich damit bezweckt werden sollte, dürfte das Beschwören der Hilfe numinoser Kräfte gewesen sein, wie es ähnlich, nur auf andere Weise und in einem anderen Sinne, zur gleichen Zeit auf einem Berg nördlich von Kobdo der Gebete sprechende Jalhanca Qutuqtu Damdinbazar tat. Jener Vortrag des *Bum Erdene*-Epos darf primär wohl als Versuch betrachtet werden, das direkte, praktische Einwirken der damit aufgerufenen guten Geister-Helden auf das bevorstehende Kampfgeschehen herbeizuerzählen, um einen siegreichen Ausgang der Schlacht um Kobdo zu erwirken.

Mit scheint, daß wir in diesem ganzen Vorstellungskomplex Gedanken begegnen, die dem biblischen "Am Anfang war das Wort ...", "Und das Wort ward Fleisch"<sup>30</sup> sehr nahe stehen.

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<sup>30</sup> Johannes 1. 1 und 14.





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## The Unity or Multiplicity of Runic Scripts. An Account of the Attempt to Isolate a South Yenisei Alphabet

Present-day research on the general character, origin and chronology of the runic system of writing in Asia and southeastern Europe has been confronted with certain recurring questions that cannot be left unanswered. One of them is the following: are we dealing with the development of one system which originated in a given location and evolved throughout the ages or with that of several more or less similar alphabets which, although cognate in one way or another, have sufficiently long histories to be treated as independent units?

The notion that the Turkic runic alphabet is homogeneous took shape during the last two centuries and became a kind of dogma, especially when great discoveries were being made in Mongolia and in East Turkestan, during the first attempts at deciphering the unknown script. Some less impressive and shorter inscriptions but for scholars almost as important were discovered in the Yenisei Basin by D. G. Messerschmidt's expedition in 1721-1722. Notwithstanding the existence of a number of different signs, there was no serious doubt about the presumption that the scripts from Mongolia, the Yenisei Basin and the Talas area basically formed one alphabetical system with two or three variants. The notion that they are genetically related seemed evident to the majority of scholars. Soon after a new group of texts had been revealed in Semirechie, W. Radloff emphasized the existence of two alphabets: the Orkhon alphabet and the Yenisei alphabet.<sup>1</sup> After some time, S. E. Malov declared his support for the existence of the Talas alphabet. Then as now the term Orkhon-Yenisei alphabet was commonly used to denote this whole system of writing. Consequently, the newly revealed different signs, the number of which had increased as a result of further expeditions, were regarded as local variants or as individual innovations of the inscriptions' scribes.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. L. Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskikh stepej*. Moskva, 1994:8.

This theoretical attitude had important practical consequences since, in the course of time, the phonetic values of the classical signs from Orkhon, Ongin and Yenisei were for no real reason applied to certain, seemingly identical, characters of the inscriptions later discovered in central Asia and Europe. This method of deciphering did not always bring satisfactory results.

The problem of deciphering the texts gave rise to certain other important questions, one of them being: Is Orkhon script older than that of Yenisei, or vice versa? The question was debated for a century, mainly in favour of Yenisei script which, having more irregular shapes in its characters, was considered to be more ancient. Therefore, it was supposed that Yenisei script had undergone a deep transformation and become Orkhon script. Only in 1960 did L. R. Kyzlasov declare that, unlike W. Radloff, P. M. Melioranskij and S. E. Malov, he believed Yenisei script to be later than Orkhon script.<sup>2</sup> More recently, A. Róna-Tas has made an attempt to be more precise: “[...] the Yenisei inscriptions are simultaneous with or later than those of Mongolia”, he writes.<sup>3</sup> Several generations of Turkologists believed that Orkhon-Yenisei script had developed from Iranian, which was of Semitic and probably of Aramaic origin and that its variants were substantially due to the material or instruments used for writing. In particular, cursive script was considered to be the result of writing on the parchment with a brush. However, no Turkologists were able to explain the existence of double signs used to denote the same phonemes. A simple examination of the list of characters indicates the existence of different signs for *t'*, *q*, *m*, *nt* and some others, a phenomenon that could not be explained by either the alphabetic or syllabic nature of this script. The situation was especially unclear due to several specific complementary signs revealed in some new inscriptions originating mainly from Kirghizstan and Europe. We need only remember an embarrassing “Pecheneg ladder” that was detected on the wooden stick from Ačyq-Taš. S. E. Malov much hesitated to determine that inscription as belonging to the

<sup>2</sup> L. R. Kyzlasov, “Novaja datirovka pamjatnikov enisejskoj pis'mennosti” *Sovetskaja Arkheologija*, 4 (1960), 3:93-120; the same, “O datirovke pamjatnikov enisejskoj pis'mennosti” *Sovetskaja Arkheologija*, 9 (1965), 3:38-49; the same, “Kogda izčezla enisejskaja runičeskaja pis'mennost' južnosibirskikh tjurkov” *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta*, ser. 8, Istorija, 1992, 6:29-36. Cf. G. Clauson, “The Origin of the Turkish “Runic” Alphabet” *AO XXXII*, 1970:53.

<sup>3</sup> A. Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology*, Szeged, 1991:56-57.

Turkic culture.<sup>4</sup> Also A. M. Ščerbak was of the opinion that the signs of the inscription do not belong to the Turkic alphabet. S. G. Kljaštornyj suggested, in 1987, the existence of two systems of runic script: a central Asiatic and an eastern European.<sup>5</sup> This notwithstanding the old practical terms: “European runes” and “Asiatic runes” are still in general use.

In the meantime, the problem of the runic alphabet of the European zone became increasingly complicated. In their edition of short inscriptions on the bull skull from Elista, S. G. Kljaštornyj and I. Vásáry wrote in 1987:

“The inscription was written with a variant of the East-European runic script (in the following EER). The area where this EER was in use comprises the steppe zone of South-East Europe between the Volga (Lower and Middle Volga Region) and the Danube Basin (territories of present-day Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary).”<sup>6</sup>

In another passage, the same authors attempted to organize the new epigraphic material and our knowledge of it:

“The first documents of the EER that has become known to the scholarly world, are the inscriptions [...] of Nagy-Szent-Miklós found in 1799. [...] Recently, a new inscription has been discovered on the amphora from Majaki, where the alphabet is identical with that of Nagy-Szent-Miklós. Another type of the EER is represented by what is known as the Khazar script. The documents of this script have become known from the 1930s. This type of the EER, though evidently similar to the Nagy-Szent-Miklós type, represents an independent alphabet.”<sup>7</sup>

As specimens of this type of writing the following inscriptions have been indicated by these authors: 1) two inscriptions on flasks from the Museum of Novočerkassk; 2) five stone inscriptions from Majatskoe gorodišče; 3) rock

<sup>4</sup> S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurskoj pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1959:68.

<sup>5</sup> “[...] suščestvovanie dvukh sistem tjurkskoj runiki [...]”, S. G. Kljaštornyj, “Drevnetjurkskaja civilizacija: diakhroničeskie svjazi i sinkhroničeskie aspekty” *ST* 1987, 3:59.

<sup>6</sup> S. G. Kljaštornyj and I. Vásáry, “A Runic Inscription on a Bull Skull from the Volga Region” in: *Between the Danube and the Caucasus. A Collection of Papers Concerning Oriental Sources on the History of Central and South-Eastern Europe*, Budapest, 1987:171.

<sup>7</sup> Kljaštornyj – Vásáry, op.cit.:172.

inscriptions from the ruins of Khumara (North Caucasus); 4) inscriptions from Karakent (North Caucasus); 5) inscriptions on the Talas (Ačyq-Taš) stick; 6) a big inscription from Majatskoe gorodišče; 7) the inscription on the bull skull being precisely the subject of their edition. They added that along with these groups of the EER there still exist three other types of the script in question, viz. 1) inscriptions from Murfatlar along with inscriptions from the caves in the Crimea; 2) Avar inscriptions from the Carpathian Basin; 3) the Székely script, "a late descendant of a local type of one of the EERs."<sup>8</sup> Quite remarkable is the authors' following observation:

"Because of the lack of bilingual inscriptions and the insufficient number and often fragmentary character of the documents, all attempts at their reading are tentative, and for the most part improbable."<sup>9</sup>

Since the year in which these lines were printed archaeological finds and other investigations have resulted in new observations and more or less substantial conclusions. It has become clear that the general situation in terms of geography, chronology and ethnic policy is more sophisticated than had been assumed, that some newly revealed writing systems were used by other, mainly Iranian, peoples and that their anticipated Turkic appurtenance might appear problematic. It has been supposed that the very repartition into Asian and European runes might appear unserviceable, and even false, since both groups might have possessed some deeper connections.

In recent decades, many new ideas on the runic scripts have been formulated by G. Clauson, G. Doerfer, M. Erdal, V. G. Guzev, J. Harmatta, H. W. Haussig, S. G. Kljaštornyj, I. V. Kormušin, L. R. Kyzlasov, Gy. Németh, O. Pritsak, A. Róna-Tas, O. F. Sertkaya, A. M. Ščerbak, D. D. Vasil'ev and others. Quite original, and perplexing at the same time, have been observations and proposals made by I. L. Kyzlasov. With a solid grounding in archaeology and palaeography he was well-prepared to take a new look at old problems. This should be emphasized since as soon as the golden age of Turkology, marked by such names as W. Thomsen, W. Radloff, O. Donner, P. Melioranskij or S. E. Malov, had come to an end, palaeographic studies on the Turkic runes aroused no special interest. Only some time ago they were

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<sup>8</sup> Op.cit.:173.

<sup>9</sup> L.c.

again taken up by I. V. Kormušin,<sup>10</sup> O. N. Tuna<sup>11</sup> and D. D. Vasil'ev.<sup>12</sup> Lately, I. L. Kyzlasov has devoted much of his efforts to fundamental problems of the runic script. Sometimes one has the impression that his palaeographic pedantry goes too far and becomes a kind of *l'art pour l'art*<sup>13</sup> but it should also be remembered that the present state of research, characterized by a richness and diversity of new materials on the one hand, and the fact of our helplessness in the face of certain new finds on the other, simply demands the creation of a dependable palaeographic base and the formulation of bold new ideas. It has soon appeared that purely palaeographic observations have served I. L. Kyzlasov to formulate far-fetched hypotheses.

I. L. Kyzlasov started anew discussing some terminological questions which threw his colleagues into confusion, as evidenced by a lack of any broader acceptance of his proposals. He declared, for example, the traditional term "Turkic runes" to be misleading and proposed to replace it by a "steppe runic script" or "steppe runes". He named the script of five inscriptions of the Ferghana Valley (viz. from the ruins of Kaladj-Kafir, Kaladj-Bolo, Kizil-Piljau, Oš-khona and Kuva) the "script of the Isphara" and the script of the Nagy-Szent-Miklós treasure along with the inscription on the spindle from Szarvas – the "script of the Tisza". In addition, he made a hypothesis – which in most of his studies is presented as a proven fact – saying that in the basin of the Middle and Upper Yenisei there had existed along with the generally known "Yenisei alphabet" some other runic scripts, viz. a "South Yenisei script" which up to the present day has been left unnoticed, and probably also an "Upper Yenisei script," some traces of which have been observed by him

<sup>10</sup> I. V. Kormušin, "K osnovnym ponjatijam tjurkskoj runičeskoj paleografii" *ST* 1975, 2: 25-47.

<sup>11</sup> O. N. Tuna, "On the Phonetic Values of the Symbols , and . Used in Some of the Texts in Kök-Turkish Script" *CAJ* 9, 1966, 4:241-263.

<sup>12</sup> D. D. Vasil'ev, *Korpus tjurkskikh runičeskikh pamjatnikov bassejna Eniseja*, Leningrad 1983.

<sup>13</sup> "[...] these faults are not vital, there is enough reliable material to show what letters the alphabets of these inscriptions contained, but no account should be taken of letters of dubious shapes, particularly when they are parts of words which do not seem to make sense, and it is sad that a good scholar like O. N. Tuna should have spent so much time trying to find phonetic values for letters which probably never existed," Sir Gerard Clauson, *Op. cit.*:64.

and which can be tentatively ascribed to the Chik people.<sup>14</sup> The supposed "South Yenisei script" must be related not only to the "Yenisei script" but also, more closely, to the "Don script" and "Kuban script" as well.<sup>15</sup> In this connection I. L. Kyzlasov proposes a new repartition and elimination of two groups: an "Asian group" consisting of the alphabets of the Orkhon, the Yenisei and the Talas, and "Eurasian group" embracing the "Don alphabet," the "Kuban alphabet," the "Isphara alphabet," "the alphabet of Ačyq-Taš" and the "South Yenisei alphabet." It should be understood that the old classification is rendered groundless and unnecessary.

It is interesting to know how I. L. Kyzlasov clears the way for his repartition. He cuts namely himself off all other runic type scripts the relation of which to the Turkic world seems to him dubious, so not only off the Sekler script but also off the inscriptions from the Black Sea shore, those of the North-East Anatolia, those of the Balkan countries like the shamanic inscription from Monastira near Ravna (tentatively but rather reasonably deciphered by M. Moskov just as a specimen of an Asian runic script)<sup>16</sup>, that of the Issyk Kurgan (resembling so much the Turkic runes that A. S. Amandjolov did not hesitate to read it as a Turkic text)<sup>17</sup> along with similar texts from Afghanistan.<sup>18</sup> I. L. Kyzlasov contends that the relation of those texts to the "steppe runes" has not been proved. He writes in this connection what follows:

"Notwithstanding a widespread opinion concerning the affiliation of the northeastern zone of the Black Sea to the Turkic runic script this cannot be really proved. Studies by I. Dončeva, E. Tryjarski, T. I. Makarova, S. A. Pletneva and other scholars have demonstrated that the bulk of those inscriptions has a tamga-like

<sup>14</sup> I.L. Kyzlasov, *Drevnetjurkskaja runičeskaja pis'mennost Evrazii (Opyt paleografičeskogo analiza)*, Moskva, 1990:117-128; the same, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti stepnoj zony Evrazii. Problemy istočnikovedenija*. Avtoreferat, Akademija Nauk SSSR. Instytut Arkheologii, Moskva, 1990:12-14; the same, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskikh stepej*:42-56, 289-320.

<sup>15</sup> I. L. Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskikh stepej*:54.

<sup>16</sup> M. Moskov, "Prabŭlgarski runičeski nadpis" *Palaeobulgarica – Starobŭlgaristika*, 1983:35-46.

<sup>17</sup> A. S. Amandjolov, *Tjurkskaja runičeskaja grafika III (nagljadnyj material – irtyšskie, ilijskie i syrdarinskie nadpisi)*, Alma-Ata, 1985:31-39.

<sup>18</sup> A. A. Motamedi, "Discovery of an Inscription in an Unknown Language at Ai-Khanum" *Afghanistan*, June 1980:45-48.

character. In spite of a certain external similarity of a number of those signs to the runes [...] neither single tamgas nor combinations of them appear to be actual texts. [...] The published materials do not allow us to identify them with any runic alphabet. The same problem applies to the inscription found in the village of Ravna.”<sup>19</sup>

One gets impression that I. L. Kyzlasov has not been sufficiently informed about all proposals lately made to explain the inscriptions from Murfatlar and Pliska.<sup>20</sup> He seems also not to have seriously assumed his attitude with regard to the Caucasian materials and proposals made by S. J. Bajčorov in his book published in 1989.<sup>21</sup>

His opinion on the well-know Kievan Khazar document is as follows:

“According to Pritsak, these are runes of the Orkhon type. His proposed decipherment has been the result of some interpretations which are strained. [...] It is clear that the inscription can be neither related to the Orkhon script, as proposed by Pritsak, nor ascribed to any of the known alphabets. The signs number 1, 4, and 5 from the right make this impossible.”<sup>22</sup>

The above remarks have seemed necessary to draw your attention to the scope and methods of I. L. Kyzlasov's research and, in particular, to his proposals concerning the existence of the “South Yenisei alphabet”. According to him, first specimens of that alphabet were disclosed already in 1888, and

<sup>19</sup> Cf. I. L. Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskikh stepej*:38.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. E. Tryjarski, “Has a Key Been Found to Decipher the Eurasian Script of the Runic Type?” in: *Laut- und Wortgeschichte der Türksprachen. Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums Berlin, 7.-10. Juli 1992*. Herausgeg. v. B. Kellner-Heinkele und M. Stachowski, Wiesbaden, 1995:191, notes 13, 14, 194, note 30; the same, “Kritische Bemerkungen über die neuen Versuche der Entzifferung der protobulgarischen Inschriften” in: *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang Vorträge der Tagung “Annemarie v. Gabain und die Turfanforschung”*, veranstaltet von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (9-12. 12. 1994.) Herausgeg. von R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, I. Warnke und P. Zieme, /Berlin/ 1996:343-352.

<sup>21</sup> S. J. Bajčorov, *Drevnetjurkskie runičeskie pamjatniki Evropy. Otnošenje severokavkazskogo areala drevnetjurkskoj runičeskoj pis'mennosti k volgo-donskomu i dunajskomu arealom*, Stavropol', 1989.

<sup>22</sup> I. L. Kyzlasov, *Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskikh stepej*:34, 48.

from that year on 17 or 18 inscriptions in that script were brought to light and published. They are as follows:

- 4 inscriptions from Sulek,
- inscription on a whorl of a spindle from the Minusinsk Museum,
- inscriptions on a vessel from Ujbat čaatas,
- inscription from Sargol,
- 2 inscriptions on two horn-plates of the arc from Ajmyrlyq,
- inscription on the Ozernaja Mountain,
- 5 inscriptions on steles from Elegej,
- inscription on a stele from the cemetery of Turan,
- inscription from the Činge River,
- inscription on a small arrowhead from Karban.

The list should be supplemented by another inscription from Turan lately brought to light.<sup>23</sup>

All of these inscriptions are short and represent (the Karban inscription excluded) 43 signs. A remarkable feature of the "South Yenisei" inscriptions should be a great heterogeneity of the variants of letters and word dividers. One is allowed to suppose that those inscriptions do not present a palaeographic entity but belong to different specimens. The present state of South-Siberian sources does not permit a well argued analysis of the problem and we must still await new materials.<sup>24</sup>

According to I. L. Kyzlasov, 14 "South Yenisei signs" have no counterparts in the "Yenisei alphabet". In the case they have, I. L. Kyzlasov often perceives a formal resemblance only.<sup>25</sup> Since the area of the "South Yenisei script" must be located within the zone of the "Yenisei alphabet", the possibility of the influence exerted by the latter on the former, or vice versa, cannot be excluded. I. L. Kyzlasov's conclusion is that the proximity of both scripts is, however, limited (to 11-12 signs), and he is rather unwilling to speak about their genetic relationship.<sup>26</sup>

His guess is that the "Yenisei script" and the "South Yenisei" script coexisted for a certain time. Archaeological analysis regarding the "South

<sup>23</sup> Op.cit.:289-320.

<sup>24</sup> Op.cit.:43, 48-56 and Table XV.

<sup>25</sup> Op.cit.:48.

<sup>26</sup> Op.cit.:48-49.



Yenisei" script allow to date its existence back to the second half of the 8th century A.D. up to the 10th century A.D. This coexistence should be among others evidenced by the text of Edegej I which is of mixed character, viz. is written with the "Yenisei characters" but also contains three "South Yenisei signs".<sup>27</sup>

In connection with I. L. Kyzlasov's attempt at explaining the mixed character of some texts a brief remark can be made. It is reasonable to suppose that the authors of those inscriptions had knowledge of both writing systems. Certainly, they did not belong to broader social circles since knowledge of reading and writing among the nomads of the epoch can hardly be supposed. The question can rather be of skilled workmen, or experienced amateurs, who were invited by neighbouring clans or tribes. In such circumstances a substitution of one sign for another can be easily understood. On the other hand, it would be interesting to dwell on some psychological reasons for the phenomenon. We are allowed to suppose that they could be instilled in human ambition, in a desire to mark one's individuality or ability. Such feelings could be a feature of the engraver, of the ruler, of his kinsmen or representatives. All of them would be happy to possess a useful, slightly cryptographic means of communication of their own.

An interesting and useful hypothesis regarding the existence of the "South Yenisei" script demands, of course, the approbation of other specialists. An attempt at verifying it is, however, rather difficult. The main reason is that not all inscriptions forming a base for this hypothesis are accessible in the form of photographs. This is the case of 11 or 12 inscriptions presented neither by earlier researchers like Malov, Batmanov, Kiselev, Orkun, Vasil'ev, Kljaštornyj, nor by Kyzlasov himself. With regard to all analysed inscriptions the lecturer has at his disposal only copies handwritten by I. L. Kyzlasov or by his predecessors. In some cases the situation is delicate since the discoverer of the inscription, its copyist and its editor are one and the same person, viz. I. L. Kyzlasov himself.

It is natural that editions of epigraphic monuments contain doubtful points and misreadings; it is no wonder therefore that they also occur in the texts studied by I. L. Kyzlasov. To provide a few examples, we might indicate the inscription on a spindle in the Minusinsk Museum. D. D. Vasil'ev (*Korpus tjurkskikh runičeskikh pamjatnikov bassejna Eniseja*,

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<sup>27</sup> Op.cit.:51.

1983:74, E 87) gives  $\uparrow$ , while the same sign is rendered by I. L. Kyzlasov (*Runičeskie pis'mennosti evrazijskikh stepej*, 1994:299, Ju 5) as  $\uparrow$  (a sign which supports I. L. Kyzlasov's hypothesis). In the case of Sulak VI, Kara Jüz, H. N. Orkun gives the signs which seem to be retouched while I. L. Kyzlasov most probably reproduces the present-day state of the monument which lately has seriously deteriorated (the sign  $\uparrow$  ( $\gamma$ ), reproduced by Orkun, does not figure in Kyzlasov's edition at all). As concerns the Karban inscription, I. L. Kyzlasov reproduces two foreign drawings, viz. one by V. N. Jelin, and the other by E. P. Matočkin. It is easy to perceive serious differences in the proposed readings ( $\uparrow$  and  $\uparrow$  versus  $\uparrow$  and  $\uparrow$ ).

These cursory observations, the list of which could probably be lengthened after a more detailed analysis, suggest that we should accept the new proposals with caution. On the other hand, the existence of clearly written signs such as  $\uparrow$ ,  $\uparrow$ ,  $\uparrow$ ,  $\square$ ,  $\uparrow$ ,  $\cap$  and  $\uparrow$  seems to speak in favour of I. L. Kyzlasov's hypothesis.

The problem of the genesis of runic scripts, their mutual relation and repartition demands further intensive research.

FİKRET TÜRKMEN  
(İzmir)

Anadolu mizahında bazı İran ve Arap kökenli mizah tipleri

Anadolu halk kültürünü incelerken oldukça karmaşık tesirleri dikkate almak ve yorumları doğru yapmak zarureti vardır. Doğu ile batının arasında bir köprü durumunda olan coğrafyası onun kültürünü de etkilemiştir. Eski Anadolu uygarlıklarının kalıntıları yanında Selçuklu ve Osmanlı İmparatorluklarının coğrafyasında yaşayan pek çok kavmin kültürü, batı, yani hıristiyan kültürü, Orta doğunun karmaşık kültürleri ve İslam kültürü, nihayet Türklerin birlikte getirdikleri otantik Orta Asya kültürü, bu coğrafyada harmanlanmıştır. Halk kültürünün bütün türlerinde, bu harman bazan birinin baskın olduğu, bazan bir kaçının birlikte kompleks bir yapı içinde birleştiği görülür. Bin yıla yakın bir zaman diliminde, Anadolu Türk kültürü bu kompleks yapısı içinde gelişmiş, ödünç aldığı bir konuyu kendi bünyesinde uydurmuş, kendi ihtiyacına göre kendi geleneğini yaratmıştır. Bazı kültür unsurlarını alarak yeni sentezler yaratmış ve orijinal ifade kalıpları ile estetik ihtiyacını karşılamıştır.

İslamın getirdiği değerler de aynı metodla uyarlanmış ve kendi tiplerini yaratmıştır. Özellikle Arap ve Farslardan (İranlılardan) aldığı şekil ve türleri kendine göre yorumlamış, hattâ bazan ödünç aldığı orijinal konuyu yeniden işleyerek millileştirmiştir. İranlı bir meslektaşımın söylediği “Milliyeti bilinmeyen bir şairin eserlerine bakınız, eğer tek dille yazmışsa başka dilden eseri yoksa o Araptır. Eğer iki dille eser vermişse o İranlıdır. Üç dilde eser vermişse o Türktür” sözünde belirttiği gibi Anadolu'da kültürde de Arap ve İran kültürü ile yakın bir ilişki vardır.

Gerçekten de XI. yüzyıldan itibaren birinci sınıf şair ve ediplerimize baktığımız zaman bu görüşün doğru olduğunu fark ederiz. Hemen hepsi de üç dille eser yazmışlardır. Arapça, Farsça ve Türkçe divanları vardır. Türk kütüphanelerindeki yazma eserleri incelediğiniz zaman da aynı durum görülebilir.

Okumuş zümredeki bu durum, halk kültürü için de doğrudur. Ancak halk kültüründeki ödünç alma oranı, kelime hazinesi vb. unsurlar daha farklıdır. Halkın yarattığı kültürel ürünler hem hayatın içinde, hem de tabiatla daha içicedir.

Anadolu mizahına baktığımız zaman fizik ve sosyal çevrenin insan ve toplum üzerindeki çeşitli baskısından biri ve birkaçının ortadan kalkmasıyla duyulan rahatlama, insan vücudunun doğal hareketlerinden sapması ile bir kurtuluş duygusu, olaylar ve tabii durumlar arasındaki sıra ve düzenin bozulması veya unsurlardan birinin eksilmesi Anadolu insanını da güldürmektedir. Yani bütün insanların ortak "Gülme" nedenleri vardır. O halde mizahtaki millî farklılıklar nereden gelmektedir ve farklı topluluklar birbirlerini nasıl etkilemektedir? Bu durum Türklerin, Arapların ve İranlıların nelere ve niçin güldükleri sorusunu da birlikte getirmektedir.

Ortaçağ İslam tarihi üzerinde çalışmaları ile tanıdığımız Franz Rosenthal "Erken İslam Mizahı-1956 (Humer in Early Islam)" adlı eserinde bunun sebebini "Belli bir zamanda ve belli bir mekanda mevcut olan sosyal ve doğal fiziksel kısıtlamalar, başka zaman ve mekandakilerden farklı olurlar" demektedir. Gerçekten komik ifadenin özel bir türüne olan ilgi bir yerde ortaya çıkabilir ve belli bir zaman diliminde korunabilir. Ancak komik unsur özü itibarı ile değişmediği halde, onu ifade ediş tarzı değişir. Böylece milletler arasındaki hatta kuşaklar arasındaki farklılıklar açıklanabilir.

Arap ve Fars mizahını incelerken dil ve din faktörünün iyice anlaşılması gerekmektedir. Orta doğunun önemli mizah tipleri bütün Türk dünyasında, Arap ve Fars kültüründe, bazan orijinal isimleriyle bazan da mahallîleşerek karşımıza çıkarlar. Meselâ, Nasrettin Hoca tipi Molla Nasrettin olarak İran, Cuha-yı Rumi olarak Arap kültüründe de yer almaktadır. Bu isimlendirmeler bize yukarıda sözünü ettiğimiz orijinal olma ve uyarlama olayını da göstermektedir.

Nasrettin Hoca'yı bilimsel olarak inceleyen A. Wesselski (Der Hodscha Nasrettin, Weimar-1911) O'nun fıkralarının prototipleri üzerinde durmuş, Cuha'nın Arap edebiyatındaki mizahî hikâyelerini de R. Basset (Mille et Les Contes, Récits et Légendes Arabes, Paris 1924-6) her iki tipin folklorik yönlerine ağırlık vermişlerdir.

Arap edebiyatında zengin bir şaka ve fıkra hazinesi vardır. Bunların çoğu anonimdir. Aptal bedeviler, karı-koca, kadı ve diğer meslek grupları gibi ana figürler sık sık fıkra konusu olmuşlardır.

Gülmenin günah sayıldığını düşünen pek çok mistik olmasına rağmen, Hz. Muhammed'in şakadan hoşlandığını belirten yazarlar da mevcuttur. Bu konuda Rosenthal'ın kitabındaki Birinci Bölüm'de geniş bilgi ve zengin bir bibliyografya verilmiştir.

Arap mizahında sevinç aslî unsurlardan biridir. Erken dönem mizahında “gülme” konusu ile ilgili münakaşaların yapıldığı bilinmektedir. Ancak bu münakaşalardan kesin sonuçlar alınmamakla birlikte, “gülme”nin kaynağı ve sebepleri üzerinde görüşler ileri sürülmüştür. Bu konudaki F. Rosenthal'ın yukarda sözünü ettiğimiz “Erken İslam Mizahı” adlı incelemesinde, Taberî'nin, İshak bin İmran'ın, Süleyman el-İsrailî'nin, İbn el Matrân'ın son olarak da Ebu Hayyan el-Tevhidî'nin görüşlerini vermektedir. Bunların hepsindeki ortak görüş her bir tarihî devrinde, “gülme”de hem toplayıcı hem de dağıtıcı bir başlangıç vardır şeklinde özetlenebilir.

Ortaçağ müslüman ideolojisinde kendi mistik ve estetik felsefesi içinde kuralcılık, dünyanın fâniliği, anlaşılmazlık gibi duygular hakimdir. Gülüş ile ilgili yaratılan eserlerde zıt tipler feodal bir karakter karşısına çıkartılan sefil, ahmak veya deli (dîvâne) görünüşlü halk filozofları vardır. Bunlar aslında kendi dönemlerinin sistemlerine, ahlâk normlarına, âdet ve an'anelerine karşı çıkan akıllı ve entellektüel tiplerdir. Sıfatları arasında nedimlik, dervişlik, hocalık, divanelikler ön plandadır. Nedimlik kendi dönemlerinin en şerefli san'atıdır. Nedimler bütün kanun ve kaîdeleri bilen, musiki aleti çalabilen, Kur'an'ı ezberden okuyabilen, şahların veya padişahların tarihlerini bilip anlatabilen tiplerdir.

Fars kültüründe de aynı durum dikkati çeker. İran yazılı kaynaklarında bu konuda oldukça ilginç bilgiler mevcuttur. Meşhur Ferûdiddin Attar'ın “Kabûsnâme” adlı eserinde bu konu ile ilgili ayrı bir fasıl bulunmaktadır.

İran'da nedimlerin sadece hükümdarları eğlendirmediklerini, aynı zamanda latifeli sözlerle saray kanunlarını, acımasız bürokratları, cimri zenginleri de hicvettikleri görülür. Bu bakımdan gerek İran gerekse Arap mizahında her hükümdarın yanında bir nedim bulunur. Harun Reşit'in yanında Behlûl Danâ, Sultan Mahmut'un (Gazneli) yanında Telhek, yine Harun Reşit'in yanında Ebu Nuvas görülmektedir. Hatta halk kültürü XIII. yüzyılın Nasrettin Hoca'sını da XV. yüzyılda yaşamış olan Timur'un yanına götürmektedir.

Kanaatime göre, Nasrettin Hoca'yı XV. asra taşıyan anlayış Arap ve Fars tesiri ile olmuştur. Anadolu halk kültüründe daha sonraki yüzyıllarda yaşayan Bekri Mustafa tipi'nin de bir nedim olması, bu düşüncenin tesiri olarak açıklanabilir.

Arap ve İran hükümdarlarının, halkla aralarındaki iletişimi bu nedimlerle sağladıkları anlaşılmaktadır. Komik ve irtical kabiliyeti olan nedimler, toplumdaki gerilimi, hükümdarın halk üzerindeki baskısını hafifletmek gibi bir fonksiyona sahiptirler. Kurum olarak, hükümdar yanında bulunma yani ne-

dim veya müshâhip olmanın, hem hükümdar hem de halk için çok önemli olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Arap ve İran mizah tiplerinin bir başka özelliği de, islamiyet dolayısı ile, mistik olmalarıdır. Hazır cevap olmalarının yanında, divâne görünürler. Daha sonraki yüzyıllarda meşhur olmuş alimler, düşünür, şair ve edipler, devlet adamları fıkralara kahraman olmuşlardır. Bunlar bazan meşhur mizah tiplerinin konuları olarak, yaşayışları veya sözleri ile fıkralarda görünür, bazan da bizzat kendilerinin ağzından bir macera olarak başlarından geçen olaylar anlatılır.

İster mizah tipleri ister başka kahramanların sözleri ve davranışları üzerinde olsun, fıkralarda tipler birbirlerine çok yakın olup ortak denilebilecek karakteristik özelliklere sahiptirler. Davranışlarındaki benzerlik, ortak gülüşün özellikle mistik yönü ile kendini gösterir.

Anadolu halk mizahında pekçok Arap ve İranlı tip bulunmakla birlikte biz bunlarda halk kültüründe halen yaşayan Araplardan Cuha Behlül ve Ebu Nuvas, İranlılardan da Telhek ve Daho tipleri üzerinde durmak istiyoruz. Bu tiplerin fıkraları elbetteki, sadece Anadolu halk kültüründe etkili olmamıştır. Cuha veya Behlül' bütün Türk dünyasında, bazan isimlerine bağlı olarak, bazan da başka mahalli tiplere mal edilen fıkraları ile bilinmektedirler.

Anadolu sahasında en çok latifesi (fıkrası) bilinen Arap tipi Cuha'dır. Cuhî de denmektedir. Asıl adının Sabit olduğu rivayet edilmekte, Emevîlerin son döneminde (VIII. yüzyıl) yaşadığı Küfe'de yerleştiği bilinmektedir. Saflığı ve aptallığı pekçok fıkraya konu olmuştur. Hayatı efsaneleşmiş, şöhreti, Anadolu dahil, bütün islam âlemine yayılmıştır. Bazı yerli fıkralar O'na mal edilmiş, bazan da O'na ait fıkralar yerli tiplere yüklenmiştir.

Anadolu'da özellikle Nasrettin Hoca'nın fıkralarıyla karıştığı, hatta hayatının da O'na benzediği, bu yüzden Hoca'ya, Cuha-yı Rum da denmesi birçok araştırmacının aynı isimli iki kişinin yaşadığını iddia etmesine sebep olmuştur. Cuha kelimesinin Hoca kelimesiyle benzeştiğini ileri sürerek ikisinin de aynı kişi olduğu iddiası bile ortaya atılmıştır. Bir başka iddia da Nasrettin Hoca fıkralarının, Cuha'nınkilerin bir adaptasyonu olduğu şeklindedir.

Aslında Cuha yanındaki eşeği ile Nasrettin Hoca'ya çok benzer. Fıkraları arasında Hoca ile karışan pek çok fıkrası vardır. Nitekim körleri sudan geçirirken her biri için 10 akçe pazarlık eder. Ancak sudan geçerken onlardan birini su aparır. Ağlaşan körlere, "10 akçe eksik verin, siz niye ah vah ediyorsunuz, 10 akçe zarar eden benim" diye cevap verir.

Bu fıkra Nasrettin Hoca ile ilgili olarak da Anadolu'da sözlü gelenekte yaşamaktadır.

Cuha birgün babasıyla giderken, babasına gördükleri cenazenin nereye gittiğini sorar, babası, “Nasıl söyleyim oğlum, onun gittiği yerde ne yemek, ne içmek, ne de giyecek herhangi bir şey var, deyince, Cuha; öyleyse bizim eve gidiyorlar” diye cevap verir.

Bu fıkra da Hoca'ya atfen anlatılmaktadır.

Arap fıkra tiplerinden biri de Ebu Nuvas'tır. Abbasiler döneminde Basra veya Ehvas şehrinde doğmuş ve devrinin önemli bilginlerinden ders almış ve halifelere intisab etmiştir. Bilhassa Harun Reşit'le olan rindane latifeleri ile tanınmıştır.

Dünyayı yaşanması gereken bir mal gibi düşünmüş, işlediği günahları açık bir yüreklilikle anlatmıştır. Hiciv mizah ve yer yer istihza dolu mizahı oldukça yaygındır.

Harun Reşit, yanındaki adamlara kızar ve Ebu Nuvas'a saraydaki ahmakların listesini çıkarmasını ister.

Ebu Nuvas, en başa halifenin adını yazar. Sebebini sorunca da, daha önce tanımadığı bir adama yüz dinar verip at ısmarladığını söyler. O zaman halife, “Yani atı getirmeyecek mi?” diye sorunca, Ebu Nuvas, “o zaman sizin adınızı siler onunkini yazarım” der. Bu fıkra, Bekri Mustafa'ya (IV. Murat'ın nedimi ve içkiye düşkünlüğü ile meşhur tip) atfedilmektedir.

Aynı şekilde Ebu Nuvas'ın “Allah'ım bana 1000 altın gönder 999 olsa kabul etmem” diye başlayan latifesi de Nasrettin Hoca'ya mal edilen meşhur fıkralardandır.

Arap fıkra tiplerinden en meşhuru Behlül'den, bilgeliği dolayısı ile Behlül Dâna, veya Behlül Dânende olarak da bahsedilmektedir. İmam Cafer Sadık'ın talebesi olduğu rivayet edilir. Halk geleneği O'nu, Harun Reşit'in kardeşi olarak takdim eder. Feridüddin Attar, O'nun fıkralarını genişletmiş ve edebî hale sokmuştur. (Türk Dili ve Ed. Ansiklopedisi, I. cilt, s. 378)

Fıkralarının başlıca iki tipi vardır. Harun Reşit ve kendisi arasında geçen münakaşalar sonunda, mutlaka galip çıkar.

Onda tipik bir “aptal görünen alim” görüntüsü vardır. Divâne Behlül denmesi de bu yüzdendir. Fıkralarından O'nun bilerek divâne görüldüğünü, bu sayede pek çok tehlikeden korunduğunu anlayabiliriz.

Kendisine Behlül Dâna diyen ve zengin olmak için akıl soran birine demir ve kömürü ıslatıp satmasını tavsiye eder. Adam zengin olur. Divâne Behlül diye hitap eden birinde de soğanı ıslatıp beklettikten sonra satmasını öğüt-

ler, adam iflas eder. Sebebini sorduklarında da, “Alimden ve divâneden akıl böyle olur” der.

İran menşe'li (kökenli) fıkra tiplerinden Daho'nun fıkraları Bektaşî tipindedir. Anadolu fıkraları ile aynı özelliklere sahiptir. Anadolu'da Bektaşî fıkrası olarak anlatılan, “Bir akçe için hamamı yıkan Allah, senin istediklerin için şehri yıkar”. Fıkrası Daho'ya mal edilmektedir. Nasrettin Hoca'nın “sesi sabah olunca çıkacak”, “Zerdaliyi yiyen gerdeğe girsin” fıkraları ile anonim olan “Kedi yıkanırken ölmedi; sıkarken öldü” fıkraları da Daho'ya ait olarak gösterilmektedir.

Ancak bu tiplerin dışında isimleri anılmadan, ya anonimleşmiş yahut belli Türk tiplerine adapte edilmiş Arap fıkraları da, Anadolu mizahında karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bunlardan en eski örnek, İbn en-Nedim'in meşhur Fihrist'inde adı geçen Ebu'l-Enbas'a atfedilen “Dinleyicilerine kendisinin ne anlatacağını soran, dinleyicilerin de bilmiyoruz demeleri üzerine, bilmeyenlere ne anlatayım diyerek kürsüden inen” vaizin fıkrası, Anadolu'da Nasrettin Hoca'ya mal edilmiştir. Ebu'l-Enbas Medine'de yaşamış ünlü bir astrologtur. Hakkında oldukça geniş bir literatür mevcuttur (Bkz. Erken İslam'da Mizah, s. 15 dipnot 1). Görüldüğü gibi Arap ve Fars menşe'li fıkralar ortak İslam değerlerine sahip milletler arasında hızlı bir yayılma imkanına kavuşmuştur.

Sonuç olarak Anadolu halk kültüründe hem Arap hem de İran kökenli fıkra tipleri bazan kendi isimleri ile bazan da başka Anadolu tiplerine mal edilerek yaşamaktadır. Bu durumdaki fıkraların ortak özellikleri mistik olmalarının yanı sıra divâne görünen akıllı tipinde Fars kökenli olanlarda da Bektaşî otodoksisine yakın olmalarıdır.

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## Die Sonne und ihre Familie in der Mythologie der tungusischen Völker

Die Sonne spielt in so manchen Mythologien eine bedeutende Rolle, es soll uns daher nicht wundern, wenn sie bei Völkern, die in subarktischen und arktischen Gegenden leben, eine besondere Verehrung genießt. Wenn nach dem finsternen und grimmigen Winter die Tage wieder länger und lichter werden, veranstalten fast alle der sibirischen Völker ein Frühlingfest zum Begrüßen der Sonne. Die Tungusen hatten auch so eines, das *Ikenipke*-Fest, das mehrere Tage dauerte und das wichtigste im Jahr war. Nun möchte ich mich aber nicht mit diesem Fest beschäftigen, sondern mit dem Objekt der Feier, der Sonne.

Bei den tungusischen Völkern sind die Himmelskörper und überhaupt alle Naturerscheinungen, keine leblosen Dinge, sondern beseelte Wesen, die entweder Geisterherren oder Herrinnen haben, oder selbst die Geisterwesen, Gottheiten darstellen. Diese oft anthropomorphen Himmelskörper, in erster Linie die Sonne, aber auch der Mond und der Morgenstern, haben in der Mythologie der tungusischen Völker eine Familie. Für die Vorstellungen der Tungusen über die numinösen Wesen ist es übrigens bezeichnend, daß sie mit ihrer Familie, ja Sippe erscheinen, so z.B. der Geist des Herdfeuers, der Jagdgeist, usw.

Zuerst wenden wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit den Namen und Eigenschaften der Sonne zu. Es ist sehr merkwürdig in den tungusischen Sprachen, daß die gänglichen Bezeichnung der Sonne in den verschiedenen Zweigen der Sprachfamilie aus unterschiedlichen Wortstämmen gebildet werden. Im südlichen Zweig *ma. šun*, *nan. siu*, in den weiteren Südsprachen *siun / seun*, was etymologisch dem nördlichen *sigun / siwun* entspricht, dem Wortstamm des Namens des Herrengestes der Sonne, *ewk. Sigundar*. Die Ewenki nennen die Sonne aber meistens *dilača*, daraus stammt der andere, seltenere Namen des Sonnengestes *Dilač'in*. Zwar kennen die Ewenen auch das Wort *dilača*, aber sie sprechen eher über *n'ulten*, wenn sie die Sonne meinen. Die Entsprechung von *ew.* und *ewk. n'ulten* ist das *ewk. Yulten*, ebenfalls ein Name des Sonnengestes. Die Benennung *dilača* ist wahrscheinlich eine

Ableitung aus ewk. *dil* 'Kopf', *N'ulten* und *Yulten* aber wurden aus ewk. *n'u- / yu-* 'herauskommen, sich erheben' gebildet. Diese letzteren zwei scheinen Tabunamen zu sein. Ein weiterer Namen des Sonnengeistes *Tirgani*, hat eigentlich die Bedeutung 'Tag, Tageszeit'.<sup>1</sup>

Selbstverständlich gehört die Sonne zur Oberen Welt, und wird oft mit dem Himmel, oder dem obersten Geisteswesen, oder Gott identifiziert. Es muß aber bemerkt werden, daß bei den tungusischen Völkern der Himmel keine so hervorgehobene Rolle besaß, wie *tängri* bei den Steppennomaden. Bei den zu den Steppenvölkern gehörenden Türken und Mongolen wurden Sonne und Mond auch verehrt, aber sie standen unter dem ewigen blauen Himmel.<sup>2</sup> Nach den Vorstellungen der Tungusen leben in der Oberen Welt, im Himmel, die Himmelsleute, Männer wie Frauen, die schön und glänzend sein sollten. Nach einzelnen Erzählungen ist in der 'Oberen Welt' alles aus Gold und Silber, die Behausungen, der Tisch, das Bett, usw. Die Ewonen meinen, dort fließe Milch in den Flüssen und der Sand sei Goldstaub.<sup>3</sup> Es gibt auch eine Vorstellung, nach der im Himmel ein großer Fluß fließe, an dem ein Mädchen mit blühendem Gesicht lebe, das die Sonne wäre. Auch im Mond erscheint ein Mädchen, das sich mit zwei Eimern und seinem Hündchen vor seiner Stiefmutter dorthin geflüchtet hat.<sup>4</sup>

Bei den germanischen Völkern und dementsprechend in der deutschen Sprache, ist die Sonne weiblich, sie ist die 'Mutter Sonne'. In der Mythologie der Griechen des Altertums erscheint der Sonnengott, Helios meistens in seiner männlichen Gestalt, obwohl es auch eine weibliche Form, Helia gab. Helios besaß eine ausgedehnte Familie.<sup>5</sup> Die Mythologie der tungusischen Völkern kennt ebenfalls sowohl männliche, wie auch weibliche Sonnen. Es gibt sowohl "Sonnenmütterchen" wie auch "Sonnenväterchen", "Sonnenalte". Meistens hat der Mond das entgegengesetzte Geschlecht der Sonne, und zusammen stellen sie ein Ehepaar dar. Manchmal aber ist der Mond der ältere Bruder der Sonne, der schon bleich und weißhaarig ist. Es gibt aber auch eine Mythe, in der die Geister beider Himmelskörper

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Cincius 1971:180; 1977:78, 186, 206; Vasilevič 1958:128, 307, 350, 572, 638.

<sup>2</sup> Klimkeit 1983:17-21.

<sup>3</sup> Vasilevič 1966:202; Lebedeva 1981:22, 144-50.

<sup>4</sup> Avrorin 1987:35-6.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Kerényi 1988:151-161, bes. 151, 153.

ursprünglich Mädchen gewesen sind, die wegen ihrem Liebesverhältnis mit einem tungusischen Jungen zu Sonne und Mond wurden.<sup>6</sup>

Obwohl Sonne und Mond in den Mythen als anthropomorphe Wesen erscheinen, sind ihre Abbildungen nur sehr selten menschenähnlich. Cincius beschreibt einen Opferplatz der Ewenki, an dem die kleine, holzgeschnitzte Abbildung der Sonne als Weiberl, und die des Mondes, als Manderl, angebracht sind.<sup>7</sup> Meistens aber symbolisieren nur strahlende Kreise, Räder oder in vier geteilte Scheiben die Sonne und zweigeteilte oder halbe Scheiben, seltener die bekannte Sichelform, den Mond. An den sogenannten "Schamanenzeichnungen", oder den Abbildungen des Sippenbaumes steht die Sonne immer links, der Mond aber rechts.<sup>8</sup>

Ein bedeutender Teil der Mythen oder mythischen Erzählungen handeln vom Treffen des Helden mit der Sonne und ihren Familienmitgliedern. In diesen Fällen ist die Sonne meistens männlich und besitzt Söhne und Töchter, seltener auch eine Gattin, *Onerdon*. Bezeichnend ist es, daß in den Mythen und Märchen nicht nur eine Sonne vorkommt: Die Morgensonne hat eine selbstständige Persönlichkeit und hat dementsprechend einen eigenen Namen, *Sekardin*. Sehr oft wird die Morgensonne als *Gewan etirken* 'Morgen Väterchen' bezeichnet (ewk. *gewan* 'Morgen, Übergang von der Nacht zum Tag'; hier ist dieselbe Verschiebung der Bedeutung zu beobachten, wie im Falle *tirgani* 'Tageszeit, Sonne')<sup>9</sup> Die Morgensonne besitzt selbstverständlich auch eine Familie.

Unter den Kindern der Sonnen finden wir Söhne und Töchter. Die Söhne spielen meistens keine wichtige Rolle in den Mythen. Sie erscheinen meistens einzeln und sind geschickte Schützen, deren Pfeil nie das Ziel verfehlt. Wenn sie sich mit dem Helden treffen, versöhnen sie sich nach kurzem Zweikampf und bieten dem Helden eine ihrer Schwestern zur Heirat an.<sup>10</sup> Die Namen der Sonnensöhne sind *Dergeldin*, *Mongundor*, *Monguličan*, letztere zwei aus ewk. *mongun* 'Silber, Erz', und endlich *Garpani* oder *Garpawulčan* aus ewk. *garpa-* 'schießen, Strahlen aussenden'. Ob die in einigen Erzählungen auftauchenden himmlischen Recken zugleich auch Sonnensöhne sein können, ist nicht klar zu entscheiden. Die himmlischen Recken gehören nicht

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<sup>6</sup> Vasilevič 1959:165.

<sup>7</sup> Cincius 1971:180.

<sup>8</sup> Ivanov 1954.

<sup>9</sup> Vasilevič 1958:84; 1957:174, 179.

<sup>10</sup> Taube 1995:206; Lebedeva 1981:13; Vasilevič 1966:213.

immer zu den positivsten Gestalten, sie sind hochnäsiger und prahlerischer und oft muß der Held mit ihnen kämpfen, besonders bei Bewährungsproben. Wir kennen einstweilen nur eine Mythe, in der der Sonnensohn Funktionen der Sonne übernimmt. Der Sonnenalte, als Herr von Licht und Wärme, schickt seinen Sohn jeden Morgen zu der Himmelsöffnung, die zur Erde führt. So wie der Sonnensohn mit seiner Fackel immer näher und näher kommt, wird es immer lichter auf Erden. Im Frühling schüttet der Sonnenalte die Wärme aus seinem Sack auf die 'Mittlere Welt', die Erde aus.<sup>11</sup>

Die Töchter der Sonnen sind sehr oft die wichtigsten Personen in den Mythen. Selbstverständlich sind sie von strahlender Schönheit, sie haben ein rundes, blankes Gesicht und wunderschöne lange Haare, die sie gern kämmen. Ihre Kleider sind aus purer Seide, oder Gold. Sie können allein, zu zweit oder am häufigsten zu dritt auftreten. Wenn von nur einer Sontentochter die Rede ist, dann erscheint sie als die schicksalserkorene Braut des Helden, der seinerseits der Herr der 'Mittleren Welt', der Welt der Menschen ist. Sie trägt die Namen *Sekak*, *Sekakčan*, *Sekalan*, *Darpek*, *Mongunkon*, *Mongukčon* 'Silberne', *Solkokčon* 'Seidene', seltener *Unjaptuk* 'Fingerring' oder, *N'ungurmok* 'Herrin'. Der Held muß einen langen Weg mit vielen Hindernissen bewältigen, um zu ihr zu gelangen. Ungeheuerliche Helden der Unterwelt müssen besiegt werden und zu allerletzt kommt er zu dem Fluß des Todes, wo Blut über Totenschädel und Knochenkies strömt. Wenn auch dieses Hindernis überwunden ist, stellt die Sontentochter noch weitere Aufgaben. Entweder muß der Held ihren verlorenen Ring finden, oder die Sontentochter zeigt sich als Herrin des Waldes und Wildes, und die Proben sind dementsprechend das Heranbringen oder Bewachen von wilden Bären und Riesenhirschen.<sup>12</sup> Selbst können die Sontentöchter auch in Tiergestalt erscheinen, z.B. als Eber<sup>13</sup>, aber gewisse Züge verbinden sie auch mit den Bären, so auch in der oben angeführten Mythe, wo sie auf dem Weg zum Heim des Helden zu Leuten kommen, die eben ein Bärenfest abhalten. Die Sontentochter weigert sich daran teilzunehmen, sie verwandelt sich in einen Vogel und fliegt weg. In einer mythischen Erzählung der Onon Kamniganen kommt der Held seinem Pfeil folgend in das Land der Sonne, findet seinen

<sup>11</sup> Anissimov 1958:68.

<sup>12</sup> Vasilevič 1966:276-280. Sontentöchter waren auch in der griechischen Mythologie zugleich Potnia Theron, so nach Kerényi 1988:153 Kirke, die Odysseus Gefährten verzau-  
berte.

<sup>13</sup> Avrorin 1966:160-168.

Pfeil bei der Sonnentochter. Er bekommt als Geschenk des Sonnenalten einen kleinen gelben Hund, der ihm auf dem Heimweg behilflich ist. Zuhause angekommen, entpuppt sich der Hund als die Sonnentochter, die sich Kraft seines auf sie geschossenen Pfeiles, für seine Frau hält.<sup>14</sup> Bei den jakutischen Ewenki besitzt die Sonnentochter, *Simoksin*, ein feuriges Rad, an dem sich die Helden als Bewährungsprobe herumdrehen müssen.<sup>15</sup>

Zwei Himmelstöchter in der Gestalt von Enten, Gänsen oder Schwänen, necken den Helden, den ersten Bewohner der Erde, den Urvater der Tungusen. Er wird böse und schießt einen Pfeil auf sie ab. Nach verschiedenen Abenteuern kommt der Held ins Land der Sonne, des *Sigundar*; oft so, daß er seinen Pfeil in die Sonne schießt. Bei *Sigundar* hält er um die Hand seiner zwei Töchter an. Dieser bewilligt es dem Schein nach, aber im Geheimen sucht er den Helden zu töten. Dieser verwandelt sich in eine Fliege und entkommt. Es folgen noch weitere lebensgefährliche Proben, Kämpfe mit Ungeheuern. Zuletzt hilft dem Helden ein kleiner Junge, von dem sich nach dem Sieg herausstellt, daß er der Sohn des Helden von einer der zwei Sonnentöchtern ist. Durch den abgeschossenen Pfeil wurde die Sonnentochter geschwängert. Am Ende kehrt der Held mit Frau und reicher Ausstattung zur Erde und seinem Heim zurück. Der Sonnenalte als Schwiegervater ist in den meisten Mythen ähnlich heimtückisch und bössartig. Manchmal sind auch die Sonnentöchter bössartig und sperren den Helden in ein Knochenhaus.<sup>16</sup> Vielleicht werden so die schädlichen Kräfte der Sonne versinnbildlicht. Dieses Sujet mit den zwei Sonnentöchtern hat sehr viele Varianten. In einer anderen Mythe werden zwei Sonnenmädchen, die aber keine Schwestern zu sein scheinen, *Tirgakčan* und *Darpekčan* ('Mittag' und 'Morgen') die Frauen des Helden *Otani*, des Sohnes des Mondes. Die beiden Frauen zerrauen sich aus Eifersucht die Haare, bis sie ihr Mann, beide an den langen Haaren packend, auseinander zerrt.<sup>17</sup> Die Mythe hängt wahrscheinlich mit der Erscheinung zusammen, daß es Zeiten gibt, wo der Mond nicht nur im Morgengrauen, aber auch noch am helllichten Tag zu sehen ist.

Drei Sonnenmädchen erscheinen in sehr vielen Mythen. Sie können in Vogelgestalt, besonders als Wildgänse oder Schwäne die Helferinnen und Ratgeberinnen des Helden sein. In diesem Zusammenhang gehören sie zu

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14 Damdinov 1982:135-156.

15 Romanova-Myreeva 1971:242-243.

16 Vasilevič 1966:280-284; Vasilevič-Al'kor 1936:99-103, 271, 184-185.

17 Vasilevič 1966:221-234.

dem breiten Kreis der Schwanenmädchen, die in ganz Nordeurasien in Mythen und Märchen zuhause sind (ATh 313, 400, 465, 465A). Die Ursprungsmythe der Mandschu-Dynastie kommt Typ ATh 313 am nächsten: Drei himmlische Feen, *Enggulen*, *Jenggulen*, *Fekulen*, pflegen in Schwanengefieder den Bulhōri See, am Bukōri Berg, zum Baden aufzusuchen. Bei so einem Bad verschluckt *Fekulen* eine rote Frucht, die aus dem Schnabel einer himmlischen Elster herunterfällt und wird dadurch schwanger. Ihr Sohn *Bukōri Yongson* wird zum Ahnvater der Mandschu.<sup>18</sup> In das allverbreitete Schema der drei Vogelmadchen passt auch die Erzählung von den zwei Brüdern. Der ältere war ein fleißiger Jäger, der jüngere ein Dümmling, der zuhause blieb. Drei Schwanenmädchen verwöhnen tagsüber den Dümmling. Der ältere Bruder belauscht die Mädchen, versteckt das Federkleid der einen, die so zurückbleibt und zu seiner Frau wird und ihm ein Söhnchen gebährt. Nach Jahren verrät ihr der Dümmling das Versteck des Kleides. Sie fliegt samt Kind weg. Der ältere Bruder geht ihr in den Himmel nach, kann sie und ihr Söhnchen aber nur nach schweren Abenteuern und Proben wiedererlangen.<sup>19</sup>

Doch zeigt sich die Sonnennatur der drei Mädchen in vielen Mythen der Tungusen noch viel plastischer. Besonders dann, wenn sie als die Töchter der Morgensonne, des *Gewan*-Väterchen erscheinen. Die zwei jüngeren Töchter des *Gewan* heißen fast immer *Darpek* und *Sekak* (*Sekalan* etc.), die Namen der ältesten können *Mongukčon*, *Solkokčon* oder *Kukkumačan* sein. Die Mädchen, besonders *Sekak* handeln als aktive Heldinnen, kriegerische Jungfrauen, von denen Unterwelts-Helden besiegt werden und Ehemänner wieder ins Leben gerufen werden.<sup>20</sup> Sehr interessant ist eine Mythe in der Sammlung "*Historische Folklore*", die von Vasilevič '*Sekak*' betitelt wurde.<sup>21</sup> Die junge Heldin, *Sekak* zieht auf Abenteuer aus. Sie reist direkt in die Sonne und findet dort auf einer schönen Waldwiese ein viereckiges Haus, das genau unter der Sonne steht. In ihm wohnt das Mädchen *Tirgakčan* (ewk. *tirgani* 'Mittag', vgl. *Tirgani* 'Geist der Tageszeit, Mittagssonne'), die Mittagssonne, die alles auf Erden sehen kann. Sie plaudern eine Weile, dann reisen sie zusammen zu *Dogikčon* (aus ewk. *do-* 'absinken'), der 'absinkenden Sonne', die in den Bergen wohnt. In dieser Mythe stellen die

<sup>18</sup> Hauer 1926:1.

<sup>19</sup> Avrorin 1966:142-147; Lebedeva 1981:23, 39, 55, 144-150; Vasilevič-Al'kor 1936:208.

<sup>20</sup> Vasilevič-Al'kor 1936:106; Vasilevič 1966:234-241; Romanova-Myreeva 1971:72,73,79.

<sup>21</sup> Vasilevič 1966:202-207.

drei Töchter des Morgens die drei Phasen des Tageswandels der Sonne dar: die Morgensonne *Sekak*, die Mittagssonne, *Tirgakčan* und die Abendsonne, *Dogikčon*. *Sekak* ist immer die Jüngste der Schwestern, und kann darum für die Morgensonne gehalten werden. Die Etymologie des Namens ist aber nicht völlig klar. Nach dem Dialekt-Wörterbuch der Ewenki Jakutiens von Romanova und Mireewa (136) bedeutet *sekalan* 1. Nordlicht, 2. Morgenrot 3. Luchs; *sekalača* 'Regenbogen', *sekaladjaran* 'lügende Sonne, Lichterscheinung bei hartem Frost, die neben der Sonne noch zwei bleichere Scheiben vortäuscht, Nordlicht', *sekan* 'Ohrring'. Der Luchs ist bei den Ewenki das Tier des Morgenraus. Die anderen Wörter bedeuten alle (? bogenförmige) Lichterscheinungen des Himmels, die gewissermaßen dem Morgenraus ähnlich sind. In diese Wortfamilie gehört auch der andere Name des Morgenväterchens, *Sekardin*.

Das Wort *sekaladjaran* aus der Wortfamilie um *Sekak*, erscheint in einer weiteren interessanten Mythe. Im südlichen Zweig der Mandschu-Tungusen ist *Hadau* der bedeutendste Mythenheld, Demiurg, erster Schamane usw. Am Anfang der Welt leuchteten drei Sonnenschwestern am Himmel, darum war es so heiß, daß die Erde schmolz und unbewohnbar wurde. *Hadau* war ein ausgezeichnete Schütze und schoß die zwei seitlichen Sonnenschwestern ab. Nun konnte sich die Erde erhärten und die Lebewesen erschienen auf ihr.<sup>22</sup> Bei hartem Frost kann man aber noch die Schatten der abgeschossenen Sonnenschwestern neben der Sonne sehen, siehe *sekaladjaran*, 'Scheinsonne' der Ewenki Sprache. Das interessante ist aber, daß die *Hadau*-Mythe, also das Abschießen der Sonnen, bei den nördlichen Tungusen unbekannt ist. Die Geschichte vom Abschießen der überzähligen Sonnen wurde mit der chinesischen Mythe von *Yi*, dem Bogenschützen in Zusammenhang gebracht. Nur sind es bei den Chinesen zehn Sonnenschwestern, von denen neun abgeschossen werden müssen.<sup>23</sup> Die Übernahme der Mythe vollzog sich wahrscheinlich nicht unmittelbar. Sie gehörte ursprünglich zum Mythenschatz der Urbewohner des Amur-Gebietes, von denen die sie überschichtenden tungusischen Stämme sehr vieles übernahmen, unter anderem auch den Mythenkreis des *Hadau*.<sup>24</sup> Bezeichnenderweise veränderten sie die Zahl der Sonnenschwestern von den in ihren Mythen

<sup>22</sup> Avrorin 1966:193-194; Lopatin 1922:237; 1960:134; Doerfer 198, 155.

<sup>23</sup> Zheng 1990:50-51.

<sup>24</sup> Avrorin 1966:193-4; 1986:9-11, 69; Lopatin 1922:239.

unbekannten zehn auf das verbreitete drei.<sup>25</sup> Die Triade der Sonnentöchter war auch der Mythologie der Griechen nicht fremd, nach einer Tradition waren es die drei Fürchterlichen: *Kirke*, *Phasiphae* und *Medea*, nach der anderen *Lampetia* 'die Erhellende', *Phaetusa* 'die Leuchtende' und *Aigle* 'das Licht', auch die drei Chariten galten als solche.<sup>26</sup> Es ist interessant zu beobachten, daß in der Auffassung der Tungusen die drei Sonnentöchter in ihren Namen nicht nur das Sonnenlicht im allgemeinen darstellten, sondern ihre Triade von den drei Tageszeiten, Morgen, Mittag, Abend mit besonderem Inhalt bereichert wird.

Durch die Dreizahl der göttlichen Mädchen, die sich auch in den drei Himmelsfeen und den drei Schwanenmädchen zeigt, wurden wahrscheinlich die Sonnentöchter auch mit den Eigenschaften dieser Triaden versehen. Bei den mythischen Personen kommt das Ineinanderspielen der benachbarten Funktionen häufig vor.<sup>27</sup>

Der breite Kreis der Familie der Sonne der tungusischen Völker, besonders der Sonnentöchter, besitzt eine beträchtliche historische Tiefe und örtliche Verbreitung.

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<sup>25</sup> Die Dreierzahl ist sowohl bei den Mongolen wie auch bei den Mandschu-Tungusen die beliebteste mythologische Zahl, vgl. Sagaster 1981:240; Stary 1992:270-271; Fu Yuguang 1993:246.

<sup>26</sup> Kerényi 1988:153.

<sup>27</sup> Hatto 1994:71-105.



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## Woman's headdress and its semiotic status in ancient Eurasian cultures

The techniques of other disciplines (linguistics, cultural studies, sociology and anthropology) used in archaeology provide a new approach to quite conventional archaeological material. The funeral rite, like any cultural phenomenon, can be considered a sign system. The role of signs in this case is connected to objects such as funeral stock, sacred tones, etc. and certain materialized actions (tomb, enclosure, funeral chamber etc.). As a rule, the oral language of the rite in cultures of the preliterate period is unknown. The combination of signs, symbols and forms is the "text" of the rite with its own language, which provides information about the buried person's sex, age, social position and cause of death. These sign-objects signify various characteristic features of the buried person. In this context it may prove interesting to interpret female headdresses originating from Alakul graves, dating from the midsecond century BC and belonging to the Andronovskaya culture of the Bronze Age (one of the branches of the Indo-Aryan tribes mentioned in Avesta). It became possible, using fragments and the set of decoration details, to restore 17 examples of female headdresses from the Lisakovsky, Takanay, Bozengen and Satan necropoleis in north and central Kazakhstan.\* On the basis of this we have attempted to define two types of plaited women's headdresses (ill. 1). The first type is a plaited headband in the form of two strings of beads, whose inferior parts are ornamented with leaf-shaped pendants. The second type is a stitched leather cap. The plait decoration is a combination of bronze sheets of geometric forms and beads. The inferior part is also trimmed with leaf-shaped pendants. Golden rings, bronze plates, as well as pendants made of animal bones and shells are also parts of the plait decoration. Comparing the age of the buried women and types of hairdresses we can see the following. Headdresses of the first type are in graves of girls aged 10-15 (7 examples), those of the second type

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\* I would like to thank my colleagues (V. Logvin and V. Evdokimov) who kindly allowed me to use their materials in my report.

in graves of girls aged 16-25 (10 examples). (Parenthetically, one should take into account the large number of looted graves of the Andronovo period, thus informative possibilities are considerably reduced.) Therefore, the plaited headdress in Andronov society indicated the age of the dead woman. According to ethnographic data it is quite certain that the headdress is one of the main elements of a woman's attire. Its change marks the main steps in a woman's life connected with changes in her social status. The headdress is the necessary attribute of the rites of passage which embrace the person's whole life cycle. These are birth, baptism, initiation into adulthood, weddings and funerals.<sup>1</sup> In this ritual context the change in headdress can be considered an important behavioural archetype in the cultures of many peoples of the world. Being a part of her attire the headdress marks a woman's family and social position and indicates her marital status. In addition, it is also a part of a magical realm, in that it aids in protecting a woman's reproductive abilities.<sup>2</sup> It can also be said that the plaited headdress is the symbol of the change in marital status mainly in rituals of Eurasian nations speaking Finno-Ugric and Turkic languages, such as the Marys, Tatars, Kazakhs, Mordvas, Turkmens etc. (ill. 2-8). Scholars associate the appearance of plait decoration completely covering the woman's hair with the magic of hair and the desire to protect her woman hood.<sup>3</sup> The plaited headdress is worn by girls who are brides of marriageable age. The custom required hair to be partly covered. Some time after childbirth hair is fully covered, as a rule.<sup>4</sup>

We think that interpretation of archaeological data is possible with data from extant cultures. In this case the functional-typological similarity between ritual objects is more important than territorial or chronological unity and outward resemblance. Thus the plait decoration together with the headdress of the first type was worn by girls aged 10-14, i.e. girls not yet of marriageable age who had already passed initiation. The little girls who were younger than 8-10 years old had no plait decoration. Plait decoration of the second type ornamented the bride's headdress and belonged to girls older than 15-16. In the Novie Yabalickli necropolis in Bashkirtostan, the grave of

<sup>1</sup> Gennep von A. *The rites of passage*. / Cambridge Chicago Press. 1963.

<sup>2</sup> Tchvir, L.A. *Tadzhikskie juvelimije ukrasheniya*. / Moskva, 1977.

<sup>3</sup> Klueva, K., Mikhailov, I.A. *Nakosnije ukrasheniya u sibirskich narodov*. / Sb. MA 3-L., 1988, 1, XIII, 105.

<sup>4</sup> Zelenin, D. "Zhenskije golovnije ubori vostochnich (russkich) slavjan" *Slovenia* 1927/5:93.

a woman was found whose hair had been ornamented in the same manner as the Andronov plait decorations of the second type.<sup>5</sup> An analysis of the metal in the headdress indicated that it had come from the Andronov region on the Kazakhstan steppe. The woman was buried together with a child. Her plaited headdress was not put on her head but lay near her. Perhaps after childbirth, and her change in status the headdress was not put on, and was placed in the grave as a sign of her original homeland. Besides, in Andronov graves of women more than 30 years old there were no plait decorations at all. Probably women had another style of headdress at this age. Perhaps they wore a headdress which hid their hair completely, but as it was made of cloth it was not preserved. Considering the headdress of the second type as a mark of a virgin bride's attire one may turn to the ancient metaphor of the "death-wedding".<sup>6</sup> Burial and marriage rituals are both rites of passage, and therefore they suggest semantic community. This connection between death and marriage is expressed in the funeral. A virgin of marriageable age who has died is buried as a bride because she has been unable to fulfil her life's function.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the performance of the rite emphasized eternal change of cycles and the continuity of human life. Therefore, in the Andronov funeral rite the headdress serves a dual function. It was both the object and the sign at the same time, combining a number of functions: aesthetic, person's sex, age, territorial group, social status, and magic.<sup>8</sup> The last function was stressed rather expressively in the Andronov headdresses of both types. The actual plait of the decorations and the headdresses was painted red, the beloved colour of bridal attire symbolizing life and fertility.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the headdress was decorated with amulets and pendants made from shells, animals, fangs, teeth and heel bones. The Mary, Chuvash, Yakut, Tadjik, Turkmen and other peoples used kauri shells as amulets in their plait decorations. Andronov people use sea shells (from the *codaria tigrina*) from warm seas including the Black Sea, and river shells (from the *divaricella copiru*) wide-spread in

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<sup>5</sup> Kuzminich, S.V. "Andronovskije importi Priuralja" / *Kultura bronzovogo veka vostochnoj Evrope*. Kujbishev, 1983:136.

<sup>6</sup> Baiburin, A.K. – Levinton, G.A. "Pokhoroni i svadbi" / *Balto-slavjanske etnokulturnie i archeologicheskie drevnosti. Pogrebalnij obrjad*. Moskva, 1985:6.

<sup>7</sup> Sokolova, V.K. "Ob istoriko-etnograficheskom znachenii narodno-poeticheskoj obrjadnosti" / *Folklor i etnografija*. Leningrad 1967:192.

<sup>8</sup> Sumtsov, N.F. *Kulturnie peredzivanja*. Kiev, 1980.

<sup>9</sup> Tchvir, L.A. *Tadjikskije juvelirne ukrashenija*. / Moskva, 1977:101.

Eurasian rivers. Their unusual form and symbolic connection with water elements make them an amulet, protected from the Evil Eye. Fangs, teeth and heel bones mainly of wild animals from the *canis lupus* family also entered the magical realm of the amulets whose function was to preserve the mother's and child's health.<sup>10</sup> This function is preserved in the traditional costume even now. The leaf-like pendants, which form the bottom of the plait decoration can be related as plant motifs in the Andronov costume. They are in the form of a tree leaf. This motif is wide-spread in female headdresses (e.g. the Bride's Wreath, the diadema from Novocherkassk and the headdress of the Summer Queen). It is based primarily on the comparison of time and plants, connected with Fertility Magic.

In conclusion, the universal archetype of the change in headdress in the rites of passage began to form in the ritual life of Andronov tribes in a steppe region between the Urals and Siberia in the second century BC. In wedding rituals alone the headdress becomes the main symbol of female attire and its symbolism is defined by a thousand years of a people's culture. When discussing integration among different peoples we return to the priority of language parallels. Archaeology reveals many ancient levels of human culture, which is included in the world of subjects. In this case we may speak of the Indo-Iranian subject heritage in the modern cultures of Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples.

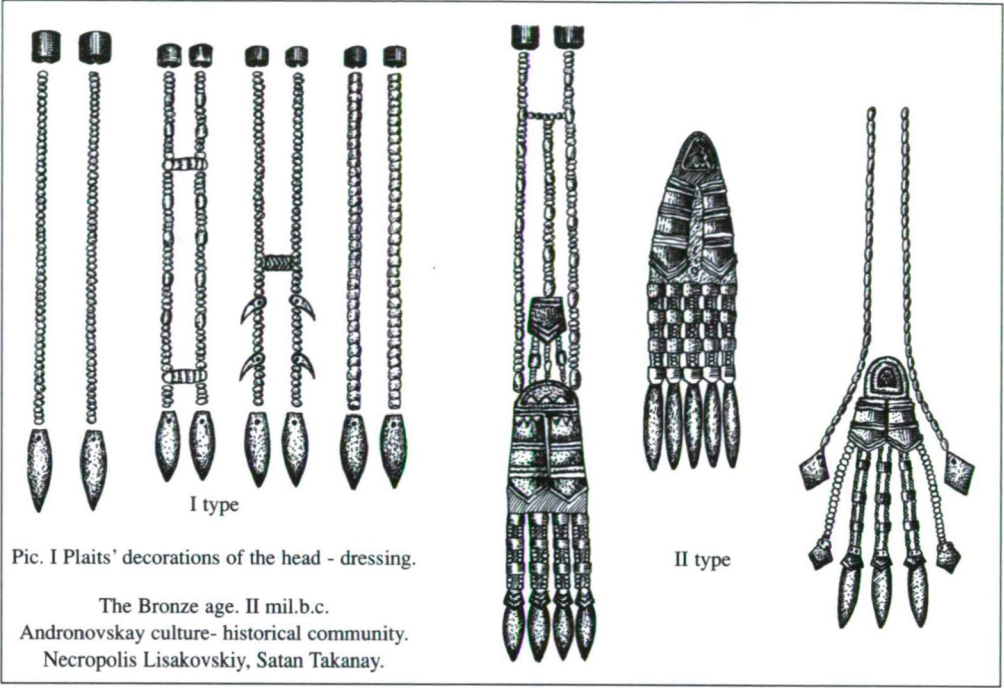
#### Illustrations from text books

1. Folk costumes of the peoples of Russia in graphic arts of the 18th-20th centuries. St Petersburg, 1993. - Ill. 2 (A, B); Ill. 3 (A).
2. Suslova, S.V. Zhenskie ukrasheniya Kazanskich tatar. Moskva, 1980 - Ill. 3 (B).
3. Agapov, P., Kadirbaev, M. Sokrovishcha drevnego Kazakhstana. Almaty, 1979 - Ill. 4 (A).
4. Svanberg, I. Turkish ethnobotany SLA, 1986-1987. - Ill. 4 (B).
5. Kostjum narodov Sredney Azii. Moskva, 1979 - Ill. 5 (A, B); Ill. 7 (A).

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<sup>10</sup> Potapov, L. "Volk v starinnich narodnich poverjach i primetach uzbekov" KCU 3 Moskva, 1958, XXX:136.

6. Traditsionnaya odezhda narodov Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana. Moskva, 1989 - Ill. 6 (A, B).
7. Traditional jewellery from Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Moskva, 1984 - Ill. 7 (A, B).
8. Drevnyaya odezhda narodov Vostochnoy Evrope. Moskva, 1992 - Ill. 7 (A).
9. Vainshtein, I. Mir kochevnikov Centra Azii. Moskva, 1991 - Ill. 7 (B).



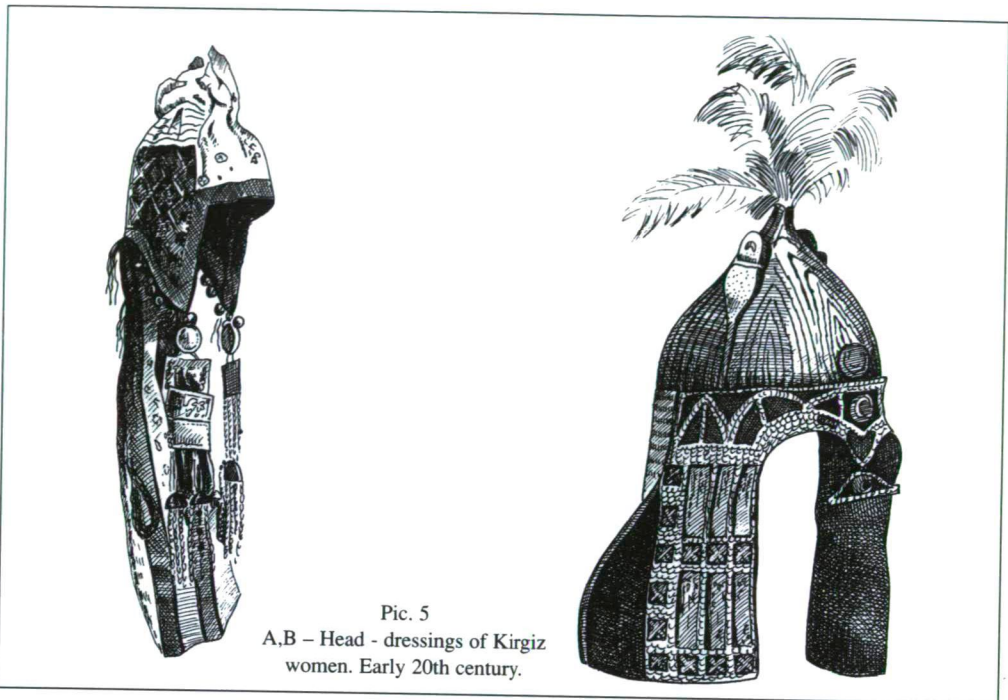




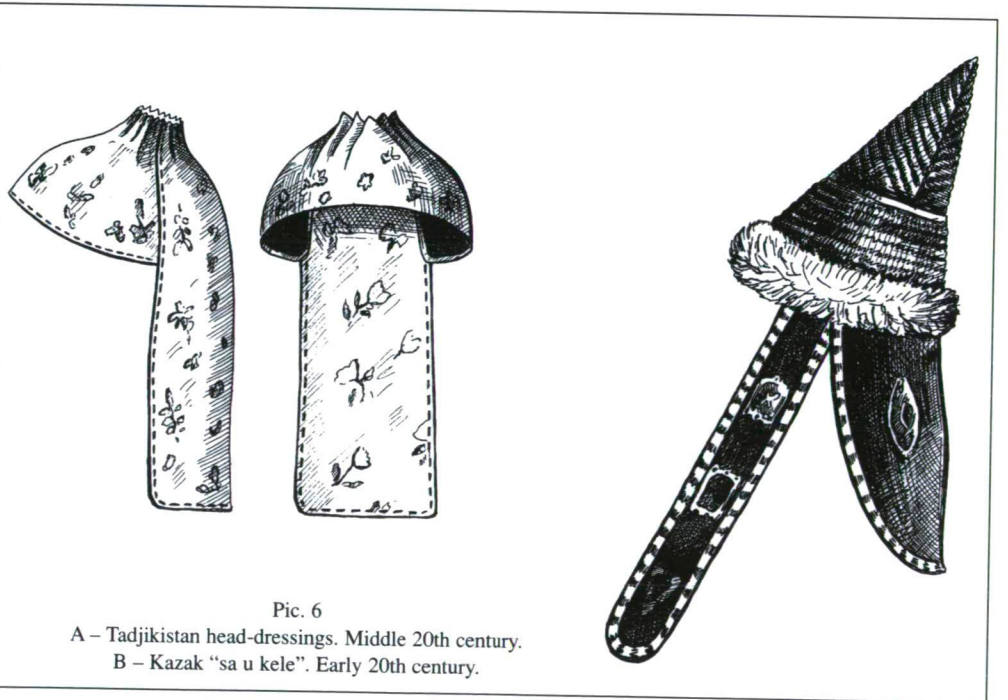
Pic. 3  
A,B – Tatar woman. Kazan.  
Early 20th century.



Pic. 4  
A,B – Kazak woman.  
Early 20th century.



Pic. 5  
 A,B – Head - dressings of Kirgiz women. Early 20th century.



Pic. 6  
 A – Tadjikistan head-dressings. Middle 20th century.  
 B – Kazak "sa u kele". Early 20th century.



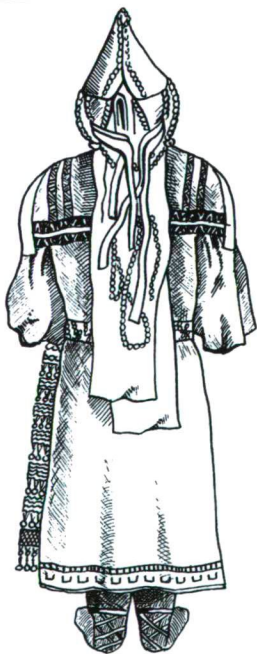
Pic. 7  
A – Turkmenian girl. 19th century.  
Early 20th century.



B – Hair ornament. Northern  
Tadjikistan.



C – “Asuk” hair ornament.  
Turkmenia. Early 20th century.



A – Ugric (vod) woman. Early  
20th century.



B – Tuvian woman. Early 20th  
century.

Pic. 8



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## New material on the portraits of meritorious officers of the Qianlong campaigns

At the Berlin PIAC meeting (1991) a preliminary report was given on the prehistory of these portraits and also a list of 235 such pictures actually executed.<sup>1</sup> There may have been more of them but so far no further information has come to light. Recent research makes an update of the former report desirable.

Just a brief reminder. The Qianlong emperor conducted nine major campaigns against “rebels” during his sixty-year reign. In order to put his military exploits on record, he had large silk paintings recall the more important incidents of these campaigns, and a large number of portraits of meritorious officers prepared. In addition, a new map of the empire, especially the newly acquired dominions and the border areas, was drawn, chronicles of the campaigns published in Chinese and Manchu, a hexaglot dictionary concerning the Western Dominions (Xinjiang) compiled and victory inscriptions erected.

We know from the biography of the Jesuit court painter Brother Denis Attiret, how the portraits of meritorious officers were done:

“Pendant tout le temps qu'a duré cette guerre contre les Eleuths et les autres Tartares leurs alliés, dès que les troupes de l'empire avaient remporté quelque victoire, pris quelque ville ou soumis quelque horde, aussitôt ordre était donné aux peintres d'en faire la représentation. Ceux d'entre les principaux officiers qui avaient eu le plus de part à ce qui venait de se passer étaient choisis de préférence pour figurer en peinture, comme ils l'avaient fait dans la réalité. Mais comment peindre des modèles qui n'étaient pas présents, qu'on n'avait jamais vus et dont, par conséquent, on ne pouvait se former une idée suffisante pour les représenter, du moins à peu près? ... Ceux qui devaient servir de modèles étaient absents; ils étaient quelquefois dans des endroits éloignés de la capitale de plus de huit cents lieues de chemin; n'importe; on les mandait à la cour et ils s'y rendaient avec cette célérité

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<sup>1</sup> “Portraits of meritorious officers, accompanied by Manchu eulogies” in B. Kellner-Heinkele (ed.), *Acta Berolinensia. The concept of sovereignty in the Altaic world*. PIAC 34th meeting, Berlin 21-26 July, 1991. (Asiatische Forschungen). Wiesbaden, 1993:307-330.

dont les seuls Tartares sont capables. Le jour même de leur arrivée, ils étaient admis en présence. L'empereur les interrogait sur ce qu'il voulait savoir, faisait tirer leurs portraits et les renvoyait tout de suite à l'armée, pour y continuer le service comme auparavant. Tout cela se faisait de part et d'autre avec tant de précipitation que l'arrivée de ces officiers n'était souvent connue à la cour qu'après qu'ils en étaient repartis, et que les peintres n'avaient tout au plus qu'une heure ou deux de temps pour mettre sur la toile ce qui, en d'autres circonstances, leur aurait fait employer pour le moins deux ou trois jours."<sup>2</sup>

One may safely assume that sketches were also made on the spot, especially in Xinjiang, for some of the brave soldiers did not survive the battles, and besides the portraits the emperor required also sketches of the battlegrounds and the military actions themselves which would later on be represented on large silk-paintings and on copper-engravings and exhibited in the Ziguangge palace hall in the capital. The first series of pictures as is well known was painted in 1760, at first the portraits, then the battle pictures.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime a number of portraits has been discovered, and some additional evidence poses new questions.

The Museum of East Asian Art at Cologne recently acquired a life-size portrait of general Mingliyang (A 93,15). It is the third portrait of the first set from the Jinchuan campaign [III,3].

Sotheby's auctioned off the "portrait of Wu Fu [Ufu], brigadier general of the Gansu region", no. 12 of the second set from the Xinjiang campaign (1760) [II,12] (Sotheby's, New York, Dec. 2, 1992).

Again Sotheby's sold a "portrait of Te Gu Si Ba [i.e. Tanibu], imperial bodyguard of the second rank", no. 41 of the second set from the Xinjiang campaign [II,41]. (Sotheby's, New York, June 1, 1993).

The Museum of Ethnology, Munich, possesses a portrait of Burha, no. 18 of the second set from the Xinjiang campaign [II,18].

<sup>2</sup> Henri Bernard, "Le frère Attiret au service de K'ien-long (1739-1768)" *Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore* 3,4 (1948):438-439.

<sup>3</sup> See Walter Fuchs, "Die Entwürfe der Schlachtenkupfer der Kienlung- und Taokuang-Zeit" *Monumenta serica* 9 (1944):108. For later series we know from *Shilu* 984 (July 2, 1775) that Agôï was ordered to have the meritorious officers painted (Fuchs, 115). The 44 portraits of the 2nd Eastern Turkestan series were painted in 1828 (Order *dingsi*, 5th month, 1828) (Fuchs, 119). A previous decree gave the order to submit small portraits first (*jimao*, 4th month, 1828). See *Shilu* 135/11b and 136/27a-29a, 31a-b.

Ka Bo Tsang<sup>4</sup> published the portraits of Fuheng<sup>5</sup>, Ayusi<sup>6</sup>, Janggimboo<sup>7</sup>, Yan Xiangshi<sup>8</sup>, the two Namjal (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto), and Badai (Museum of East Asiatic Art, Berlin). While these seven portraits were known before the author published them again as part of a careful study and gave translations of the eulogies (from the Chinese).

The referee himself was lucky enough to acquire the portrait of Cemcuk-jab (no. 6 of the second set from Xinjiang) [II,6].

Another portrait, that of Yanjimboo, is in the possession of the Naprstek Museum in Prague.

The portrait of Mutar was offered to the Berlin Museum of Ethnology in 1930 by the Hamburg art dealer J. Konietzko but the Museum had to decline because of lack of funds. The curator, Ferdinand Lessing<sup>9</sup>, copied the eulogy, however, which is in the museum files (E 49/30).

In 1911 the art-dealer H. Bercowitz (Berlin) had already offered the Museum two such portraits from the collections of count York: Bolbonca (Xiyu – I,20) and Cebdenjab (Xiyu – I,5) (information from the museum files).

There is also one portrait in the Überseemuseum Bremen, which, however, is badly damaged and could therefore not be consulted.

All these are hanging scrolls giving life-size portraits, with bilingual eulogies. The officers belonging to the first sets received their praise by the emperor himself, those of the second sets – because of lesser merits – by high court officials. They all carry the seal of the imperial collection, *Qianlong yulan zhi bao*.

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<sup>4</sup> "Portraits of meritorious officials: eight examples from the first set commissioned by the Qianlong emperor" *Arts asiatiques* 47 (1992):54, 69-88. This is an extended version of his earlier article: "Ji fenggong shu weize. Qing Gaozong shi wugongdi tuxiang jilu – gongchen xiang yu zhantu" *Gugong wenhua yuekan* 93 (1990):38-65.

<sup>5</sup> After *Fine Chinese decorative works of art*. New York: Sotheby 1987, no. 56 (auction of April 23-25, 1987). Also reproduced in *Manzu wenhua* 15 (1991) 3rd cover page.

<sup>6</sup> Tianjin Municipal Museum of History.

<sup>7</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Sold by Sotheby's, June 3, 1986 (catalogue p. 90).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. P. Moss, *Between heaven and earth*, 15; originally sold by Ernst Hauswedell, auction 183 of April 29, 1972, no. 210.

<sup>9</sup> 1882-1961. See R. C. Rudolph, "Ferdinand D. Lessing in memoriam" *Oriens extremus* 9 (1962):1-5. A sketch of his life and activities is in preparation.

While the first report just indicated extant portraits it is now necessary to distinguish between the large hanging scrolls and the portraits done in oil on paper. Of the latter category the following are known to exist:

The Hamburg Museum of Ethnology possesses two such portraits:

Kiyan king men-i jai jergi hiya Urtunasun [Jinchuan – IV, 29]

Ilaci jergi hiya sinlun hasiha baturu Aldanca [Xiyu – I, 49]

The Berlin Museum of Ethnology possesses the following portraits:

I.D. 22151

Meyen-i amban meiren-i janggin-i jergi bihe Nacin baturu Koma

The division commander, ranking as a Lt. General of the Banners, Nacin baturu Koma [†1775].<sup>10</sup>

I.D. 22267

Meyen-i amban meiren-i janggin-i jergi bihe Jordan baturu Forontai

Portrait of the Lt. general Jordan baturu Forontai, division commander [†1775].<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The imperial eulogy which is not part of the picture runs (*Guochao qixian leizheng chubian*, 354a):

“Kämpfe schrecklichen Ausmaßes hast du gefochten,  
Auch kluge Stragien an den Tag gelegt.  
Auf heimlichen Märschen, offene Wege meidend,  
An Kletterbohnenranken geklammert, hast du zerklüftete Berge überquert.  
Geradewegs über Berggipfel bist du geklettert,  
Mit Feuer hast du die steinernen Wehrtürme angegriffen,  
Zweihundert Burgen hast du zerstört,  
Deiner Person Verdienste ragen hoch!”

*Europa und die Kaiser von China* 12,12:329; ZAS 12 (1978):556.

<sup>11</sup> The imperial eulogy as given in *Guochao qixian leizheng chubian* (354a) (not part of the picture):

“Wer zum General aufgestiegen ist durch seine Verdienste,  
Wie könnte man ihm garantieren, daß nie Gefahr ihm drohe?  
Er kämpfte in vorderster Front, fand beschämend es, zurückzubleiben.  
Niemals änderte er seine aufrechte Haltung.  
In der Schlacht von Dangg'a kämpfte er nur vorwärts und fand den Tod.  
Das erfüllt mein Herz mit Trauer.

Ihn in besonderem Maße zu würdigen, heiße ich gut!»

*Europa und die Kaiser von China* 12,13:329; ZAS 12 (1978):560.



I.D. 24423

Uju jergi hiya Yangdak baturu Tortoboo.

The bodyguard of the first rank, Yangdak baturu Tortoboo [†1807].

*Europa und die Kaiser von China* 12,14:329; ZAS 12 (1978):564.

I.D. 24355

Zanla-i uju jergi hiya sangnaha Mutar.

The Zanla Mutar [†1795] who was awarded the (title of) bodyguard of the first rank.

*Europa und die Kaiser von China* 12,15:329; ZAS 12 (1978):568.

I.D. 22158

Tuliyen-i argan danara hafan Šugdanbao baturu Ajungboo.

The native captain of the first class, of the military colonists Šugdanbao baturu Ajungboo.

*Europa und die Kaiser von China* 12,16:330; ZAS 12 (1978):574.

I.D. 22157

Okši-i tus'e Tukšen baturu Yamantar.

The chief of the Okši, Tukšen baturu Yamantar.

*Europa und die Kaiser von China* 12,17:330; ZAS 12 (1978):576.

I.D. 22155

Cosgiyab-i tus'e Corgiyamz'an

The chief of the Cosgiyab, Corgiyamz'an.

*Europa und die Kaiser von China* 12,18:330; ZAS 12 (1978):580.

I.D. 31806

Jai jergi hiya Gujir baturu tuwašara hafan Manjortu

The bodyguard of the 2nd rank the tuwašara hafan<sup>12</sup> Manjortu.

ZAS 12 (1978):550.

I.D. 22152

Jai jergi hiya hasiha baturu Dalhan.

<sup>12</sup> Chinese: *yün-ch'i-yü* 'an honorary hereditary title of the 8th rank'.

The bodyguard of the 2nd rank, Dalhan.  
ZAS 12 (1978):554.

Two further portraits of this kind, those of Šulin (III,19) and Ha Guoxing (III,16), are now in the referee's possession.

Portraits of Šuhede (Jinchuan 4), and Ma Quan (Jinchuan 18) belong to the Reiss-Museum, Mannheim.

Portraits of Fengśengge (Jinchuan 2), Mingliyang (Jinchuan 3), Septenbaljur (Jinchuan 7), Purpu (Jinchuan 14), Ma Biao (Jinchuan 17), Esentei (Jinchuan 9), and Hingcao (Jinchuan 15) were sold by E. J. Brill (Leiden) and advertised in catalogue 544 (1985).

The portrait of Yu Minzhong (III,5) belongs to a private collection in Heidelberg.

Not belonging to the series of military campaigns but executed in the same style, are some portraits of Turgut taiji, namely Zebekjab, Gungke, Zebekdorji (Turgut 2), Buyancuk (Turgut 5), Momuntu (Turgut 7), Yerempil (Turgut 9), Kirib (Turgut 7), Arakba (Turgut 14), Monggôn (Turgut 16), Noohai (Turgut 17), and Kenze (Turgut 21). They were sold by Brill through the mentioned catalogue.

The Reiss-Museum, Mannheim, has another two of this series: Ubasi (Turgut 1), and Cedeng (Turgut 10).

The present location of the portrait of Yerin (Turgut 4) may be the Portheim Foundation, Heidelberg, which has another one of the series, Bambar.

The Turgut series was probably commissioned following the return of the Turguts from Russia.<sup>13</sup> It links up with the portraits of Mongolian princes in

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<sup>13</sup> See Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot, "Monument de la transmigration des Tourgouths" *Mémoires concernant les Chinois* 1 (1776):405-418. Annotated translation (from the Manchu) of an imperial stone inscription, erected at the Potala in Jehol in 1771, commemorating the return of the Turgut from Russia to China. The inscription was published by Franke & Laufer, pl. 63-66: *Turgôt-i gubci aiman ijishôn-i dahame jihe ejebun*. A German translation is to be found in *Abhandlungen sinesischer Jesuiten*. 1:665-668. – A second inscription is abstracted by Mish: John Leo Mish, "The return of the Turgut. A Manchu inscription from Jehol" *Journal of Asian History* 4 (1970):80-82. (Paraphrase of an Imperial stone inscription commemorating the return of the Turgut, an Oirat tribe, from Russia to China in 1771. The inscription was placed in the Potala in Jehol and published from a rubbing by Franke & Laufer (pl. 68): *Turgut-i aiman-i urse de ujen kesi isibuha ejebun*.)

the Berlin Museum of Ethnology, which form part of a Dörbed series, described by Veit.

All these items are half-length (bust) portraits, done in oil on paper, as mentioned. The imperial, or court, eulogies are missing, but names and titles are given in both Manchu and Chinese. There are no imperial seals.

The technique as well as the style of these portraits point to a Westerner, or strong Western influence. Until his death in 1768, Denis Attiret was the most prolific portrait painter at the imperial court, and he is said to have done more than 200 portraits. While the emperor was not fond of oil paintings he allowed Attiret to use this technique for portraits.<sup>14</sup>

For later paintings we may assume that they were done by Giuseppe Panzi (†1811) and Ignaz Sichelbarth (†1780), or by members of their workshop.

There is another version of the campaign portraits, namely handscrolls. Tsang mentions a fragment of the Eastern Turkestan series, which only consists of the portrait of Ayusi (in the possession of Prof. Noumoff, Montreal). According to the *Shiqu baoji xubian* it was completed by Jin Tingbiao (†1767) in the sixth month of 1760. The emperor personally copied the eulogies to the portraits and affixed no less than 62 seals on the scroll. One year later the painter received orders to start on the second scroll.<sup>15</sup>

Another fragment, this time of the Jinchuan series, covering 17 portraits, from Agôî to Ma Biyoo, was sold by August Bödiger in Bonn on May 3, 1991.<sup>16</sup> It seems to have been resold immediately at Sotheby's (June 1, 1992). According to the *Shiqu baoji xubian* it was done by Jia Quan and finished in 1779. It carries the date 1776<sup>17</sup>; the texts of the eulogies correspond with the hanging scrolls, but are only in Chinese.

<sup>14</sup> Bernard 58.

<sup>15</sup> Tsang 1992:72; after *Shiqu baoji xubian*. vol. 36:11a-13b: Yubi pingding Yili Huibu wushi gongchenxiang zan. Also: "Qing gongting huajia Lang Shining nianpu" *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 1988/2:67.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Martin Gimm, *Kaiser Qianlong als Poet*. Stuttgart, 1994:74, note.

<sup>17</sup> Zeng Jiabao, "«Pingding Jinchuan qian wushi gongchen xiang» juan canben" *Wenwu* 1993/10:53-56.

Tsang postulates still another version which, however, does not seem to be extant. According to a note of 14.X. Qianlong 28 (1763)<sup>18</sup> two days earlier orders had been issued for portraits of the first Xinjiang series to be made in ink and colour on silk, “its responsibilities to be shared by Jin Tingbiao, Ignaz Sichelbart(h) and painters from the workshop for the manufacture of enamel wares. Jin was to enlarge the images of the figures from the first scroll of the handscroll onto the hanging scroll format. Sichelbart(h) was to paint in the faces and the painters from the enamel workshop to define the drapery folds and apply colours. The second entry [19.V.Qianlong 29 (1764)] records only a short instruction to be observed in the execution of the portraits of the fifty officials of lesser merits - the drapery folds to be first sketched for approval by painters from the Painting Academy. This change in the choice of the work force probably signifies the emperor’s dissatisfaction with the result of similar work done by the enamel workshop painters in the portraits of the first group.”<sup>19</sup>

The relationship of the different versions poses some problems of interpretation, in the absence of further documentary evidence:

– There is definitely a very close relationship between the bust portraits and the hanging scrolls. From the evidence given by Brother Attiret, and the fact that the bust portraits carry both Chinese and Manchu captions, one would assume that the bust portraits were first: they were then turned into hanging scrolls by the court painters. The simple statement of rank and name was expanded by eulogies in both languages. This theory is further supported by the fact that the faces of the officers are the same – the faces seem to be copied from the bust portraits either by a foreigner, or by a painter trained in Western techniques while all the rest of the *kakemono* is done in traditional Chinese manner.

– The hanging scrolls of the first Eastern Turkestan series, or at least their eulogies, are dated (spring) 1760. So we would have to assume that the bust portraits are a little bit earlier.

– The handscrolls as documented by the known fragments and the documentary evidence in the *Shiqu baoji* seem to indicate that they were done simultaneously with the hanging scrolls, or perhaps, a little bit before or

<sup>18</sup> “Yubi pingding Yili Huibu wushi gongchenxiang zan” *Shiqu baoji xubian* vol. 36:11a-13b.

<sup>19</sup> Tsang 1992:72, after Nei Chongzheng, “Tan Qingdai Ziguangge gongchenxiang” *Wenwu* 1990/1:67.

after. Two explanations why the emperor may have wanted handscrolls are quite obvious:

— As he apparently wrote in the eulogies himself, it may have been his hand or draft copy which served the court painters as the master copy when they finished the hanging scrolls.

— It is also possible that he wanted some handy and easy reference material, without having to visit the Ziguangge. This would also explain why the Manchu text is left out. While the emperor was very fond of the Manchu language and insisted to use it for his official productions (victory inscriptions, *fanglue*, eulogies etc.) it was not necessary for this purpose. In this case the hand scrolls would have been done after the hanging scrolls, in agreement with the given dates.

The other version stipulated by Tsang on account of the two notes quoted seems to be a bit enigmatic. We have to assume that by 1763 the hanging scrolls (dated spring 1760), and the handscrolls (dated VI.1760) and the bust portraits as the fore-runners of both were there. Actually, as Fuchs stated<sup>20</sup> the pictures of the officers and the battle scenes were in the Ziguangge in 1761. Why should the emperor want to have the handscroll portraits enlarged as they were already in existence and on display in the Ziguangge? Also what about the Manchu eulogies? Otherwise the procedure is exactly as we outlined when musing over the purpose of the handscrolls. Therefore the main problem are the dates given.

Could it be that the emperor wanted another set of *kakemono* for another palace? Or were the hanging scrolls actually painted later, and the date spring 1760 would refer only to the composition of the eulogies? In this case the bust portraits would be the originals in the Ziguangge, and the handscrolls would have served as a model for the figures only while the faces would have been copied from the oil paintings. This question certainly deserves further investigation.

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<sup>20</sup> Fuchs 108.

*News on related material*

## Battle engravings reproduced in red lacquer

As early as 1876 two red lacquer engravings after the copper plates of battle scenes were described by J. Witkowski.<sup>21</sup> They belong to the Jinchuan series. O. Münsterberg reproduced another one from the Stübel collection (Dresden), attack on Douliumen from the Taiwan series while Haenisch described the Zhule scene from the same series.<sup>22</sup> The latter belonged to the Berlin Museum of Ethnology but got lost during WW II. Only recently it returned to Berlin (ID 23831, size 75 x 110 height by width). The Stübel copy was sold to A. Förster in Vienna in 1921, or 1922, and its present whereabouts are unknown.<sup>23</sup> Recently another example from the Jinchuan series has become known (corresponding to the first engraving of the series).<sup>24</sup> If we add the testimony of Bushell<sup>25</sup> we are led to assume that at least the Jinchuan and the Formosa campaign were presented in a series of lacquer engravings. Specimens of the Eastern Turkestan series have not come to light yet but one would strongly suspect that they did exist.

The British Museum acquired one of the original copper plates of the engravings of the Annam series (no. 2; sold by Christie's, London, on June 12, 1989). So far only the 34 copper-plates at the Berlin Museum of Ethnology were known; they belong to several different series.<sup>26</sup>

The British Museum owns a copy of the Xinjiang series of copper- engravings with the text written in, supposedly by the emperor himself. The same is true for a set in the possession of the Dutch antiquarian Nico Israel. There are or were at least five copies known that carried the inscriptions on

21 "Erklärung zweier chinesischer Bilder aus rothem Lack" *Mitteilungen der OAG* 1/10 (1876):37.

22 O. Münsterberg, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*. 2. Eßlingen, 1912:435. (Translation of the text by O. Franke, *ibid.* 438).

23 *T'oung Pao* 25 (1928):131-133: Paul Pelliot in his review on Edward F. Strange, *Chinese lacquer*. London, 1926.

24 *The minor arts of China*, to be exhibited for sale by Spink & Son, London, 15-25 March 1983, #3.

25 *Chinese art*, ed. London 1921:119.

26 See *Europa und die Kaiser von China*. Frankfurt. 1985; H. Walravens, *China illustrata*. Weinheim, 1987.

the prints. The date, surprising enough, is 1755. This means it refers to the emperor's text not to the date when it was written into the engravings which arrived much later. And so it is doubtful, indeed, if *yü-pi* here means more than just "imperial brush". It may mean written by the emperor himself; but this question needs more research, especially in the *shih-lu*, or imperials regests.

*Appendix: Manchu texts of hanging scrolls*

Sotheby's April 23-25, 1987 (translated by Tsang from the Chinese)

Aliha bithei da. uju jergi tondo baturu gung Fuheng: [I,1]

Uju de dalaha amban bime fujuri boo urgunjere jobošoro be gurun-i emgi uhelehe. udu aniyai onggoro Gin cuwan-i coohai mudan de. umesi colgoroko gungge ilibuha bihe: sirame wargi bade coohalara bodogon seci. sini teile mini gônin de acanahabi. Siyoo hoi gese afanara be baiburakô simbe ujui gungge de obuci acambi:

Abkai wehiyehe-i śanyan muduri aniyai niyengniyeri Han-i arahangge:

Author's collection:

Hebei amban. Kalkai jasak doroi wang Cemcukjab: [II,6]

amargi ba-i fiyanji dalikô bihe. aifini tondo unenggi gônin iletulehe. ambarame Uriyanghai-i babe toktobure de. aburi ehe hólha be yooni necihiyehe: ubašaha hólha be gidanaha. ubiyacuka hólha Cinggunzab be weihun jafaha. ujen kesi isibume giyôn wang fungnefi. uheri ilan mudan dabali baitalaha:

Abkai wehiyehe śanyan muduri aniya niyengniyeri. amban Lio tung hiyôn. amban Lio luwen. amban Ioi min jung HESE be dahame gingguleme maktacun araha.

Note on the scroll: Dr. Wuensch, Peking, 7ten Juni 1905.

Pingding Xiyu Ziguangge zi wushi gongchen xiang zan wu zan zan dachen Kuoerka zhasake dolo [...] <sup>27</sup>

Yan Xiangshi (translated by Tsang from the Chinese)

Meyen-i amban. G'an jeo-i fidame kadalara amban Yan siyang śi. [II,7]

Ere Guce hoton be afara de. erei śenggin de wehe gojiha ede teng seme umai aśśahakô ofi. erebe sabuha ele urse ferguweme saiśanduha: amala

<sup>27</sup> Neg. C 779, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Berlin.

Yerkiyeng-ni bade afara de. ambaramé gidanafi oyonggo babe gajihabi: arbut dembei horonggo baturu ofi. akdulame wargi jecen be tuwakiyame mutehebi:

Abkai wehiyehe śanyan muduri aniyai niyengniyeri amban Lio tong hiyôn. amban Lio luwen. amban Ioi min jung hese be dahame gingguleme maktacun araha:

Museum für Völkerkunde, München:

Gôsai da Bayantu baturu Burha [II,18]

Ilhi bade morin dabkifi gidanaha bihe. Isil kôl noor de gabtaśame afambihe. ibefi hôlha be fafursame wahangge. inu asuru agôra-i dacun de akdahakô bihe. ulan be dabafi hôlhai kôwaran be birehebi. udunggeri poo sindame hôlhai karan be efulehebi. umai hôlha be waha teile akô. urunakô helen jafafi teni amasi bederembi.

Abkai wehiyehe śanyan muduri [*keng-ch'en*] aniya niyengniyeri. amban Lio tong hiyôn. amban Lio luwen. amban Ioi min jung

Hese be dahame gingguleme maktacun araha

Metropolitan Museum. 1760, h. 188.6, w. 95.1 cm Acc. no. 1986.206, purchased by The Dillon Fund. Sotheby's: *Fine Chinese paintings*, June 3, 1986, #90 (Sale 5468).

A coloured print (postcard) is available from the museum (without the eulogy).

Uju jergi hiya Hôrca baturu Janggimboo [II,45] (translated by Tsang from the Chinese)

Emteli beye hôlhai faidan de suwe dosiha ek dak seme oino be oljilame jafaha. ehelinggu hôlhai uju be tutala sicifi. emu ikiri gida de uliha: afabuha bithe be bijan-i baci alime gaiha, afahai Bar ku!-i bade isinaha. asuru morin be teyebuhe ba akô. amasi coohai kôwaran de booleanjiha:

Abkai wehiyehe śanyan muduri [*keng-ch'en*] aniya niyengniyeri. amban Lio tong hiyôn. amban Lio luwen. amban Ioi min jung Hese be dahame gingguleme maktacun araha

A reproduction including the eulogy is to be found in *Mandat des Him-mels*<sup>28</sup> ill. 37.

<sup>28</sup> *Kaiser und Künstler in China. Chinesische Malerei und Schriftkunst aus dem Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Zürich: Museum Rietberg, 1996.*



Cologne

Jecen be toktobure ici ergi aisilara jiyanggiyôn. uju jergi faśśangga baturu be. Cengdu-i jiyanggiyôn Mingliyang. [III,3]

Emhun emu jugôn-i cooha be kadalaha. ehe hôlha be ududu mudan afame waha. ere niyamangga fujuri booi juse ofi. emgeri jalan halame kesi be aliha. unenggi be tucibume gungge ilibuha. umesi urgunjeme saísame tuwaha. uttu ofi Cengdu-i jiyanggiyôn sindafi. uthai Gin cuwan-i ba be kadalabuha.

Abkai wehiyehe-i fulgiyan bonio aniyai niyengniyeri.

Han-i arahangge:

Portrait offered by J. Konietzko:

Sala amban zamba baturu S'e cuan-i aiman-i aisilame kadalara da Mutar. [IV,49]

Ajige Gin cuwan-i dahaha fanzi ofi ombula gungge ilibufi toloho seme wajirakô an-i fanzi coohai meyen be kadalabufi afahadari šuwe ibeme fuhali ilinjirakô. eiterecipe uhei mujilen-i baita mutebure jakade ehe hôlha sabe wacihiyame geterembuhebi. ede jergi wesimbure sula amban obufi emu adali kesi isibume gosime tuwahabi.

Abkai wehiyehe suwayan bonio aniya [1788] juwari ujui biyade Han-i arahangge:

Prague

This portrait is particularly interesting as it is not included in the lists given in the 1991 paper.

Ilhi gabsihyan-i janggan Jebkengge baturu Yanjimboo.

An gu keng-ni bade. aburi ehe hôlha omiha. amcame ibefi yeru be efulefi. ambarame śancin be tuwa sindaha. ikiri haksan kamni be nurhume bireme. isinaha ici hôlha fekun waliyaburakôngge akô. itulhen-i cecike be dasihire adali, ilihai wafaburakôngge akô.

Abkai wehiyehe suwayan bonio aniya juwari forgon de Han-i arahangge.

On account of the date [1788] and the fact that the eulogy is by the emperor, one would assume that this portrait belongs to the first set of the Taiwan series for which only the name-list of the second set (20 portraits) seems to be extant.

Tanibu [II,41] - Sotheby's 1.6.1993, # 53

For the sake of completeness the Manchu texts of the three portraits (hanging scrolls) in the Berlin Museum of East Asian Art, Berlin, are given here, too, in spite of the fact that they have been dealt with several times:

Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin

Acc. no. 1957-3

Acquired from Mrs. E. Krupsack, Berlin

155 (295) x 95 (125) cm.

Daiselaha jalan-i janggin. Erke baturu Badai: [II,17]

Etuhéseme Bolot be gidanafi. ehelinggu hólha-i da be jafame baha. ebéseme Ho tiyan-i babe dame unggire de. emhun teile hólhai feye de dosinaha. udu morin ci tuhecibe dasame yaluhabi. ududu yargiyalabuha babe ainame ainame hósihabi. uttu bime hashô ici gabtahadari uli be dahame hólha be tuhebuhebi:

Abkai wehiyehe śanyan muduri aniya. niyengniyeri. amban Lio tung hioan. amban Lio luwen. amban Ioi min jung Hese be dahame gingguleme maktacun araha:

The deputy*canling* Erke baturu Badai.

He took the Bolot prisoner, and none of the leaders of the rebels escaped him. When he defended Khotan, he alone entered their territory. He fell from his horse, a fiery battle horse; his wounds were only superficially nursed but he continued shooting. Each time he sent an arrow, an enemy fell.

*Europa und die Kaiser von China*, 12/20 (S.330)

Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin

Acc. no. 1957-1

Acquired from Mrs. E. Krupsack, Berlin

154 (165) x 92,5 (123,5)

Meyen-i amban. Cahar bai uheri da bihe. Kundur baturu Banningga: [II,20]

ubaśaha hólha be sabume ambula jilidaha. uthai nukaha u be urunakô isire adali gônihaha. unggifi Buraci-i bade afara de. umai sirdan wehe de sengguwerakô funtume dosinaha. ergen šelefi baturulame fafursahabi. ede hólhai faidan-i dolo beye jocihahi. ehe hólha be jafame gajifi wafi. enteke tondo amban de wecebuhebi:

Abkai wehiyehe śanyan muduri aniya. amban Lio tung hioan. amban Lio luwen. amban Ioi min jung Hese be dahame gingguleme maktacun araha:

The former banner commandant, deputy commander of the garrison of Chahar, Kundur baturu Banninga [II,20].

Every time he saw the rebels he became furious. Then he wanted to eliminate them as you would pull out thorns. During the battle of Buraci arrows were shot, stones were thrown and lances were crossed. He threw himself into the battle, full of energy, until he fell amidst the rebels. After the rebel leaders were dismembered, they were sacrificed to honour his loyalty.

Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst Berlin, Acc. no. 1957-2  
 Acquired from Mrs. E. Krupsack, Berlin.  
 154,5 (295) x 96 (125) cm

Ilaci jergi hiya Keder baturu Hamtukô: [II,48]

tere Kara usu-i ba sehe. tere Badakśan-i ba sehe. teyen akô orin emu mudan afame. teteke haksan tuksicuke bade sengguwerakô funturśehe. ede sain colo śangname buhe. enteke Keder gebu de teherehe. ergen śelefi fafur-śarangge be guwekiyebume ofi. enteheme faśśan be ejebuhe:

Abkai wehiyehe śanyan muduri aniya niyengniyeri. amban Lio tung hioan. amban Lio luwen. amban Ioi min jung Hese be dahame gingguleme maktacun araha:

The Imperial Body-guard of the 3rd rank, Hamtukô.

There were 21 military encounters at Kara-usu and Badakśan but in his eyes there were no dangers and no difficulties. The honouring title and his merits suit Keder very well! It is here taken on record that he led the attack and gained merit.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Texts and translations of this and the following item already in: H. Walravens, *China illustrata*. Weinheim, 1987:239-240.

*List of bust portraits*

(in oil)

*Duerbote xiang* [Dörbed portraits]

- 30 Dörbed-i han Cereng
- Batumöngke
- Dörbed-i jasak gôsai beise Gendun
- 4. Coros-i hošoi cin wang Dawaci
- 5. Dörbed-i jasak doroi beile Gangdorji
- 7. Dörbed-i jasak-i gôsai beise Erdeni
- 11. Coros-i gung Dawa
- 12. Dörbed-i gung Buyan Tegus

For a description see Veit, ZAS 4 (1970).

*Turgut series*

(14 of at least 21 pictures are known)

– Torgôt uju jergi taiji Zebekjab  
Tuerhute toudeng taiji Cebekezhabu  
Photograph. Brill<sup>31</sup>

– Hoošot beile Gungke  
Heshite beile Gongke  
Photograph. Brill

1. Torgôt han Ubasi  
Tuerhute han Wobaxi  
Turgut series. 1  
Photograph.  
Mannheim, Reiss-Museum

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<sup>30</sup> Number not recorded or not intelligible.

<sup>31</sup> The reference «Brill» indicates that the item is listed in the above mentioned Brill catalogue. «Photographs» refers to those in the referee's collection.

2. Torgôt cin wang Zebekdorji  
Tuerhute qinwang Cebeke duoerji  
1 recent, two old photographs, 1 old hand-coloured photograph. Brill
  
4. Hôit Dolot uju jergi taiji Yerin  
Huite tolote toudeng taiji Yelin  
Turgut series. 4.  
Portheim-Stiftung, Heidelberg?  
2 old photographs
  
5. Hoošot beile Buyancuk.  
Photograph. Brill
  
7. Torgôt beise Momuntu  
Tuerhute beizi Momentu  
Photograph. Brill
  
9. Hoošot beise Yerempil  
Heshite beizi Yelemupier  
1 recent, 2 old photographs. Brill
  
10. Torgôt uju jergi taiji Cedeng  
Tuerhute toudeng taiji Cedeng  
Photograph.  
Mannheim, Reiss-Museum
  
13. Torgôt uju jergi taiji Kirib  
Qilibu  
Photograph. Brill
  
14. Torgôt uju jergi Arakba  
Tuerhute Alakeba  
Photograph. Brill
  
16. Hoošot uju jergi taiji Monggôn  
Heshite toudeng taiji Menggun  
Photograph. Brill

17. Hoošot uju jergi taiji Noohai  
Heshite toudeng taiji Nuohai  
Photograph. Brill

21. Coros-i duici jergi taiji Kenze  
Zhelesi sideng taiji Kenze  
Photograph. Brill

*23 portraits of meritorious officers*

I.Xiyu, first set

I,43 Jai jergi hiya Gujir baturu tuwašara hafan Manjortu. BMV<sup>32</sup>  
I,49 Aldanca. Hamburg

III.Liang Jinchuan, first set

2. [Manchu text only:]

[...] dorgi amban jecen be toktobure hashô ergi aisilara [?.....] jurgan-i aliha amban gôsa be kadalara amban. uju jergi [.....] Sangga baturu gung uju jergi jingkini hafan Fengšengge.

Photograph. Brill

3. Jecen be toktobure ici ergi aisilara jiyanggiyôn Cengdu-i jiyanggiyôn uju jergi faššangga baturu be Mingliyang

Dingbian yufu jiangjun Chengdu jiangjun yideng [...] bo Mingliang  
1 recent, 2 old photographs. Brill

4. [G]ocika amban taize taiboo aliha bithei da. gôsa be kadalara amban. tuwašara hafan Šuhede

Mannheim, Reiss-Museum

The Chinese text is hardly legible.

Photograph.

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<sup>32</sup> BMV: Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin. For a description see Veit, Rasidonduk ZAS 12 (1978).

5. Private collection, Heidelberg

Taize taiboo aliha bithei da uju jergi adaha hafan Ioi min jung  
Taizi taibao daxueshi yideng qingche duwei Yu Minzhong  
2 old photographs.

7. Hebei amban hiya kadalara dorgi amban gurun-i efu hošoi cin wang  
bihe Septenbaljur

Yuancan zan dachen lingshiwei nei dachen gulun o[...] zeng heshi qin-  
wang Sebutengbaerzhuer  
Photograph. Brill

9. Kiyan cing men-i hiya hebei amban tui janggin. meiren-i janggin. uju  
jergi fujun baturu ashan-i hafan Esentei.

Qianqingmen shiwei canzan dachen huojun tongling fudutong toudeng  
xiannan Esente  
Photograph. Brill

14. Gocika hiya. meyen-i amban. meiren-i janggin ilaci jergi fašsangga  
baturu ashan-i hafan Purpu.

Yuqian shiwei lingdui dachen fudutong sandeng [...] nan Puerpu  
Photograph. Brill

15. Kiyan cing men-i hiya meyen-i amban. Gingjeo-i giyanggiyôn. gurun  
de aisilara gung [...] Hingcao.

Qianqingmen shiwei lingdui dachen Jingzhou jiangjun [...] ren fu guo-  
gong zongshi Xingchao  
Photograph. Brill

16. Hebei amban. Si an-i fideme kadalara amban bihe Ha guwe hing  
Yuancan zan dachen Xi'an tidu Ha Guoxing  
Author's coll.

17. [meyen]-i amban Si an-i fideme kadalara amban Ma biyoo  
Lingdui dachen Xi'an tidu Ma Biao  
1 recent and 2 old photographs. Brill

18. Ma ciowan.

Yuan lingdui dachen Jiangnan tidu Ma Quan

Photograph.

Mannheim, Reiss-Museum

The Manchu text is hardly legible.

19. Meyen-i amban Si an-i meiren-i janggin Šulin

Lingdui dachen Xi'an fudutong Shulin

Author's coll.

27. Meyen-i amban meiren-i janggin-i jergi bihe Nacin baturu Koma.

BMV

29. Meyen-i amban meiren-i janggin-i jergi bihe Jordan baturu Forontai.

BMV

43. Jai jergi hiya Hasiha baturu Dalhan. BMV

44. Uju jergi hiya Yangdak baturu Tortoboo. BMV

46. Okśi-i tus'e Tukśen baturu Yamantar. BMV

47. Cosgiyab-i tus'e Corgiyamz'an. BMV

49. Zanla-i uju jergi hiya šangnaha Mutar. BMV

IV. Liang Jinchuan, second set

IV,29 Urtunasun. Hamburg

IV,48 Tuliyen-i arga danara hafan Šugdanbao baturu Ajungboo.

Illustrations:

1. Cemcukjab. Hanging scroll.

2. Cemcukjab. Inscription on the outside of the scroll.

3. Cemcukjab. Eulogy by the three court officials.

4. Ha guwe hing. [III.16] Bust portrait in oil.

5. Šulin. [III,19] Bust portrait in oil.

Note the realistic representation of the pock marks.





參贊大臣喀爾喀  
扎薩克多羅郡王  
車木楚克扎布  
朔方蕃衛忠愨夙敦  
收鳥梁海甌脫氣吞  
更躡叛魁青滾雜卜  
五等既崇三遷彌速

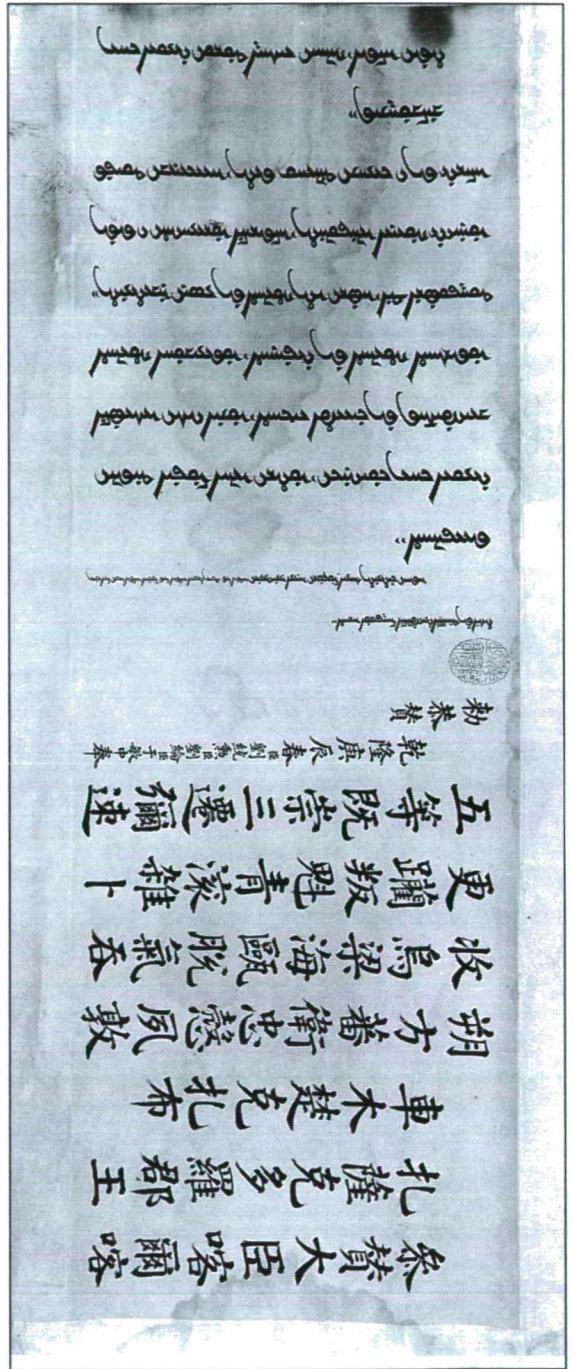
乾隆庚辰春月  
勅撰

Manchu script inscriptions in vertical columns.

Cemcukjab. Hanging scroll.



Cemcukjab. Inscription on the outside of the scroll.



Cemcukjab. Eulogy by the three court officials.



Ha guwe hing.  
[III. 16.]  
Bust portrait in oil.



Sulin. [III. 19.]  
Bust portrait in oil.  
Note the realistic  
representation of the pock  
marks.



DAVID C. WRIGHT  
(Provo, Utah)

The Death of Chinggis Khan  
in Mongolian, Chinese, Persian, and European Sources

The particular circumstances of the death of the great Mongolian hero Chinggis Khan will probably always be mysterious.<sup>1</sup> Several versions of his death exist. The official Chinese-language history of the Mongol or Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) in China records simply that the khan died in a tent in the summer of 1227.<sup>2</sup> A Mongolian chronicle entitled *Altan Tobči* gives a similarly brief account of his death.<sup>3</sup>

According to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the thirteenth-century Mongolian-language record of the Mongols' exploits and conquests, Chinggis Khan died in 1227 of a fever that set in when he was thrown from his horse during his final campaign against the Tanguts<sup>4</sup>:

“Wintering that winter, saying, «I shall set forth against the Tang'ud people», newly numbering the number, in the autumn of the year of the dog [1226], Činggis Qahan set forth against the Tang'ud people. From the *qadund*, [taking with him] Yesüi qadun, he departed. As, on the way, in the winter, he hunted the many wild horses of [1v] Arbuqa, Činggis Qahan was riding Josotu Boro.<sup>5</sup> When the wild horses came, passing by, Josotu Boro being terrified, when Činggis Qahan fell from the horse, his flesh paining exceedingly, he pitched [at] Čo'orqad. As he

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<sup>1</sup> An important study of the death of Chinggis Khan is Eric Haenisch, “Die letzten Feldzüge Chinggis Han's und sein Tod” *Asia Major* (ser. 1) 9 (1933):503-551. Paul Pelliot's review of this article can be found in *T'oung Pao* 31 (1934-35):157-167.

<sup>2</sup> Sung Lien (ed.), *Yuan-shih*. Peking: Chung-hua Shu chü, 1976. v. 1. *chüan* 1:25.

<sup>3</sup> The account reads: “He died in the Bing Pig year, on the twelfth of the seventh month, being sixty seven years old.” Charles Bawden (trans.), *The Mongolian Chronicle Altan Tobchi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955:143.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Woodman Cleaves (trans.), *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982:205-209. Another English version of *The Secret History* has been done by Paul Kahn, who reworked the very scholarly Cleaves translation into more readily readable English: Paul Kahn, *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Origin of Chingis Khan*. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1984.

<sup>5</sup> This is the name of a horse, signifying ‘Red-Earth Grey’.

passed that night, when, on the morrow, [2r] Yesüi Qadun spake, she said, «Princes and chiefs, talk [ye] unto one another. The Qahan, at night, hath passed the night, [his] flesh [being] hot.»<sup>6</sup>

Despite his fever, Chinggis Khan ordered an attack on the Tangut kingdom. He died soon after the Tangut king was captured and executed. This version of his death is sometimes regarded as the “official” or standard one.<sup>7</sup>

The Persian historian Juvaini has Chinggis Khan falling ill due to a “disease arising from the insalubrity of the climate”:

“When Chinggiz-Khan returned from the lands of the West to his old encampment in the East, he carried out his intention to proceed against the Tangut. And after the whole region had been purged of the evilness of his enemies and they had all been conquered and subjugated, he was overcome by an incurable disease arising from the insalubrity of the climate. He called to him his sons Chaghatai, Ogetei, Ulugh-Noyan, Kölgen, Jürchetei and Orchan, and addressed them as follows: «The severity of my illness is greater than can be cured by treatment, and, of a truth, one of you must defend the throne and the power of the State and raise up that pedestal which has received so strong a foundation.»”

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<sup>6</sup> Cleaves 205. Kahn's reworking of the *Secret History's* account of Chinggis Khan's death is found on 176-181. His account of the fatal injury is much more readable than the scholarly Cleaves translation:

“Chinggis Khan was hunting wild horses in the Arbukha region, riding his horse known as Red-Earth Grey. As some soldiers drove the wild horses from the bush, Red-Earth Grey bolted and threw Chinggis Khan to the ground. The fall caused him a great deal of pain, and he pitched his camp there at Chogorkhad. That night his condition grew worse, and the next morning Yesui Khatun called the princes and commanders together. «Talk among yourselves and decide what to do», she said. «The Khan has spent a bad night and his flesh has grown hot.»” (176)

<sup>7</sup> Walther Heissig calls this version the “official” one; see his *A Lost Civilization: The Mongols Rediscovered* (J. S. Thomson, trans.). London: Thames and Hudson, 1964:112-114.

Chinggis then designated Ogodei as his successor, and the other brothers made a promise in writing to be obedient and loyal to Ogodei. Soon after this Chinggis died of his illness:

Chingiz-Khan's illness grew worse, and it being impossible to remove him from where he was he passed away on the 4th of Ramazan, 624 [18th of August, 1227].<sup>8</sup>

Rashid al-Din, another Persian historian, related Chinggis Khan's death in a straightforward manner, with no apparent illness or circumstance other than human mortality as the cause of his death:

"In the *qaqa yil*, that is, the Year of the Pig, falling within the months of the year 624/1126-1127, Chingiz-Khan, by reason of that condition which no mortal can escape, passed away in the region of Tangqut, having set out for the country of the Nangiyas [China] and having reached the frontier [of that country]."<sup>9</sup>

European sources also do not agree on the cause of his death. The well-known Venetian traveller Marco Polo wrote that Chinggis was hit in the knee by an arrow during a siege on a castle of "Prestor John" (Ong Khan) and eventually died of the wound.<sup>10</sup> John of Plano Carpini, a Franciscan friar sent by Pope Innocent IV to Mongolia in 1245, perhaps wanted to see some form of divine judgement or punishment in Chinggis Khan's death. He has Chinggis "killed by a thunderbolt, having completed his decrees and statutes."<sup>11</sup> (John more than likely did not make this account. It might be a Russian adaptation of the work of the late fifth-century Byzantine Church historian Socrates and Theodoret and their story of the death of Rua, king of

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<sup>8</sup> John Andrew Boyle (trans.), *The History of the World-Conqueror*. London: Manchester University Press, 1958. v. 1:180-181, 183.

<sup>9</sup> John Andrew Boyle (trans.), *The Successors of Genghis Khan, Translated from the Persian of Rashid al-Din*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971:29.

<sup>10</sup> Manuel Komroff (rev. and ed.), *The Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian*. New York: Liveright, 1926:88. Of course, Chinggis Khan's battles with Ong Khan were twenty-four years previous to 1227; on this, see Henri Yule and Henri Cordier (trans. and ed.), *The Travels of Marco Polo*. New York: Dover Publications, 1993 [reprint of original 1903 ed.]. v. 1:244-245 and n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Christopher Dawson (ed.), *The Mongol Mission*. London: Sheed and Ward, Ltd., 1955:26.

the Huns. These accounts have Rua killed by a thunderbolt for daring to attack the Christian domains of Byzantium and as something of a fulfillment of the Biblical prophecies about Gog and Magog.<sup>12</sup> These accounts were available in Carpini's time and likely constitute the analogous basis for Carpini's account, which he in turn almost certainly got from his informants among Russian clerics. Just as King Rua of the Huns was struck by lightning for daring to attack Christian Byzantium, so Chinggis Khan was struck by lightning for daring to launch a Gog-and-Magog-like attack on Christian Russia.<sup>13</sup>)

Armenian historians of the Mongols do not comment on the manner of Chinggis Khan's death.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps the most fanciful and bizarre account of all is, ironically enough, from a seventeenth-century Mongolian-language chronicle. According to the eminent German Mongolist Walther Heissig, one chronicle describes the death of Chinggis Khan in the following terms: In 1227 Chinggis Khan was campaigning against the Tanguts, a non-Chinese people whose kingdom was located in modern Ning-hsia (Ningxia) and Kansu (Gansu) provinces in northern China. After capturing and executing the Tangut king, Chinggis took the king's wife, the Tangut queen Gürbelč'in yuu-a (Mongolian for 'Lizard-like Beauty'), as a concubine. Not pleased with this novel form of courting, Gürbelč'in yuu-a made plans to kill her new captor and husband. She placed a small sharp piece of metal into her sexual organ, and after Chinggis Khan imposed himself on her, she mortally wounded him in his sexual organ.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> On which see Ezekiel 38:39 and Revelation 20:7-9.

<sup>13</sup> Personal written communications from Felicitas Schmieder, 1 July 1996, and 12 February 1997. See also her *Johannes von Plano Carpini, Kunde von den Mongolen 1245-1247*, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert von Felicitas Schmieder, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997, Kap. V, 19, note 98.

<sup>14</sup> On Grigor of Akanc, see Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye (trans. and eds.), "History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols)" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12/3-4 (Dec. 1949):269-399. On Kirakos of Ganjak's brief history of the Mongols, see John Andrew Boyle (trans. and ed.), "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols", *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963):199-214.

<sup>15</sup> Heissig 112-114. The relevant passage from Heissig (113) is as follows: "... in the Mongolian chronicles of the seventeenth century, which are based on much older historical works and traditions, the view is constantly expressed that Korbelchin, his beautiful 'lizard-like' wife, had done him an injury of which the great warrior had died. Jenghiz



Subsequent Mongolian historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries rejected this version as a fabricated libel perpetrated by Western Mongols, who had traditionally been ill-disposed towards Chinggis Khan. But some seventeenth-century Mongolian chronicles seem to have this version in mind, although they hint very cautiously and delicately at its specifics.

One example of such careful and indirect treatment of Chinggis Khan's death is found in the seventeenth-century *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, the 'Bejeweled Chronicle'. In several ways the account contained in this chronicle seems almost a bowdlerized or sanitized reworking of the more shocking and bizarre version given above. In the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* we find the Tangut king, just prior to his execution, making the following statement to Chinggis Khan:

*Gürbelč'in γuu-a-yi minu č'i beye-degen abqu bügesü бүкү beye-yi inu sayitur negjijü üjegdeküi* 'If thou takest unto thyself the body of my Gürbelč'in γuu-a, inspect her entire body thoroughly and it shall be seen'.<sup>16</sup>

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Khan, after his victory over the Tanghuts – a Buddhist people with a culture of their own derived from Tibet, who lived in the country stretching from the bend of the Hwang Ho westwards and south-westwards to the Himalayas – is said to have coveted the wife of the Tanghut king. He had the king executed and took the woman into his harem. One can well imagine that Korbeltchin was not greatly impressed by this novel form of courting. In any case a whole series of Mongolian chronicles report that, after they had slept together, some «injury was done» to Jenghiz Khan's imperial body. Korbeltchin, so the story goes, fled, pursued by the Mongolian guards and flung herself into the Yellow River, which flowed near the camp. Jenghiz Khan died. The injury that he suffered is usually hinted at very cautiously. An early seventeenth-century chronicle, however, is quite specific and records with complete clarity: «The prince's wife Korbeltchin pressed a small piece of metal into her sexual organ and, after she had injured the ruler's sexual organ, she fled, threw herself into the Hwang Ho and died.»

<sup>16</sup> The three passages I have translated and quoted here come directly from the Mongolian text reproduced in I. J. Schmidt, *Erdeni-yin Tobchi: Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen*. St. Petersburg, 1829:100, 102, along with a less than fully adequate German translation. Schmidt's text has a number of errors and cannot serve by itself as the base text of a new translation. (For some of its problems, see C. Z. Zamcarano (Rudolph Loewenthal, trans.), *The Mongolian Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955:26-40). A carefully transcribed and edited text was published in 1990: M. Gô, J. de Rachewiltz, J. R. Krueger, and B. Ulan (eds.), *Sayang Secen Erdeni-yin Tobči Precious Summary: A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*. v. 1. *The Urga Text Transcribed and Edited*. Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs. New Series 15.)

In several important translations, the full sense of *üjegdeküi* ('it shall be seen') is not adequately conveyed. John Krueger's translation of the passage above is as follows: "If you take to yourself my GÖrbeljin Guua, scrutinize her entire body well."<sup>17</sup> Chinese translations are also inadequate. *Meng-ku Yuan-liu*, the eighteenth-century Chinese translation of the *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, renders this passage approximately as follows: "Again, if you take unto yourself GÜrbelčĭn yuu-a, you may take the side of her body and inspect it meticulously."<sup>18</sup> A modern translation published in Inner Mongolia in 1981 says more or less the same thing: "Furthermore, if you take unto yourself my GÜrbelčĭn yuu-a, you should meticulously inspect her entire body."<sup>19</sup> But according to Lessing, the meaning of *üjegde-* (YZEGDE-) is 'to be seen or visible; to give birth to [!] (rare)'.<sup>20</sup> The agglutinative suffix *-küi* is what Poppe labeled the "Nomen futuri"<sup>21</sup> which "expresses an action which will take place in the future".<sup>22</sup> The sense of 'it shall be seen' in *üjegdeküi* is, then, unmistakable.

We may well wonder what is being hinted at by the instructions to search GÜrbelčĭn yuu-a's body thoroughly. Knowing what we do about the "libelous" account of Chinggis Khan's death, it is somewhat tempting to conclude that this is a reference to some type of sharp instrument. Perhaps she and her husband had made prior plans for the assassination of Chinggis Khan?

She may have had ample opportunity to be alone to hide a weapon, as she was allowed a few moments of privacy. According to the *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, her beauty was admired by all after she had been taken into Chinggis's harem. Before her union with Chinggis, she announced that her physical

<sup>17</sup> John R. Krueger (trans.), *The Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans (Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin Tobči): A History of the Eastern Mongols to 1662*. Bloomington, Indiana (The Mongolia Society Occasional Papers no. 2), 1964:68.

<sup>18</sup> *Ch'in-ting Meng-ku yuan-liu*. Taipei: T'ai-wan Shang-wu (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen, Ser. 3), ca. 1972, *chüan* 4:4A. Original Chinese translation first published during the reign of the Ch'ien-lung emperor in the late eighteenth century.

<sup>19</sup> *Hsin-i chiao-chu Meng-ku yuan-liu*. Hohhot: Nei Meng-ku jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1981:176.

<sup>20</sup> Ferdinand D. Lessing (ed.), *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960:1015.

<sup>21</sup> Nicholas Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964:94, § 360.

<sup>22</sup> Poppe 94, § 359.

beauty would be even more radiant if she were allowed to bathe. Permission to bathe was granted, but she was ashamed to disrobe in front of Chinggis's retinue: *olan nököd tan-ača içimüi bi ta bükün-iyer ende bayıγun bi γaγcha-γar odču ukiyasuγai* 'I shame because of [the presence of] thine attendants. All of you stay here, and allow me to bathe alone'.

This request was also granted, and the bathing did indeed add to her already ravishing beauty. When night fell, she did harm to Chinggis Khan's body: *tendeče söni bolju umtaγsan-u qoyina ejen-ü altan beye-dur gem bol-γaγsan-iyar čiligerken büiküi-e* 'And it came to pass that at nightfall, after he [Chinggis Khan] was asleep, she did the harm to his golden body, and he fell ill'.

Having done the deed, she threw herself into the Yellow River (*Qara Mören*) and drowned.<sup>23</sup> (After her death the Yellow River was sometimes called the *Khotun-gol*, or 'Lady's River', by some Mongols.) Chinggis's illness soon grew serious, and he died in August of 1227.

The elements of this version of Chinggis Khan's death are highly improbable; hiding blades in such a manner would surely have severely injured, if not quickly killed, Gürbelčün γuu-a. The details of this particular account of the great khan's death are likely not as reflective of historical truth as they are of lurid, exaggerated male anxieties and unsavory fascinations with sex and violent death.

The historiographical nature of the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* is a separate but important and related issue. The *Erdeni-yin Tobči* seems primarily a literary work, not a straightforward and strictly factual chronicle written on rationalistic Western models. It contains clearly fantastic passages that cannot be taken literally. For instance, in passages immediately preceding the Tangut king's cryptic warning to Chinggis Khan about Gürbelčün γuu-a's body, we have the Tangut king transforming himself into a serpent and Chinggis Khan transforming himself into a fabulous (snake-catching?) bird in response. The king then transforms himself into a tiger, and Chinggis responds by turning himself into a lion, the king of beasts. The Tangut king is left without powers after Chinggis Khan transforms himself into the lord of the skies, so he sur-

<sup>23</sup> John R. Kureger's translation of this important passage is as follows: "Then when night had fallen and they had gone to sleep, because she had performed an evil to the Ruler's exalted body, the Ruler grew ill, and Queen Görbeljin Guua rose, went to the Qara Mören, plunged in and died." (John R. Krueger (trans.) 69. The translation in the "Second Edition" (1967) is identical.)

renders. He bleeds not blood but milk when he is slashed with his own mysterious folding Egyptian knife hidden in his boot.<sup>24</sup>

Clearly, then, the literary and hyperbolic need to be distinguished from the historical facts, and this is no mean task. But from the strictly historical point of view, common sense and human experience can perhaps afford some guidance in classifying or interpreting the events in the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* as impossible, improbable, possible, and likely. The magical transformations described above are impossible or extremely improbable because they do not conform with the empirical observations of human experience. For the same reasons it seems improbable that Gürbelčín yuu-a could have secreted a sharp instrument inside her sexual organ for any extended period of time, as this would have led to serious injury almost immediately.

It is, however, well within the realm of possibility that she could have assassinated Chinggis Khan in some way. The fact remains that a whole series of seventeenth-century Mongolian chronicles do hint strongly that Gürbelčín guu-a did some bodily injury to Chinggis Khan after they had slept together. Similar accounts among the Kazakhs have also been discovered by folklorists.<sup>25</sup> The seventeenth-century chronicles are perhaps not as accurate or reliable as the more contemporary sources on Mongolian history. If there is some ultimate element of truth in this particular version, it is perhaps that the death of Chinggis Khan was due to assassination rather than natural or accidental causes.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The knife is described as a folding knife of three parts. This is more than likely a simple "butterfly" knife, perhaps not entirely unlike those used by American gangsters today. Two covers pivot at the base of the blade and fold over against themselves to enclose the blade in a closed position. When opened, the blade and the two covers constitute three separate parts until the two covers are attached to each other to form the knife's handle. The "Egyptian" steel is likely *Damascus* steel, a very fine knife steel folded by a blacksmith nine times into 512 layers, a process which leaves a very distinctive grain in the steel. Damascus steel has been highly prized by knife fanciers for centuries. I owe these insights to Prof. David C. Montgomery of Brigham Young University.

<sup>25</sup> Personal conversation with Dr. Birtalan Ágnes (of Budapest's University Elte, Dept. for Inner Asian Studies), Szeged, Hungary, June 1996.

<sup>26</sup> In April of 1993 I discussed this question at Brigham Young University with Dr. Renchingin Otgon, Director of the State Central Library in Ulan-bator, Mongolia and a scholar of Mongolian history. He stated to me his belief that Gürbelčín yuu-a probably did assassinate Chinggis Khan in some way.

It must also be remembered, however, that this is only *one* of several accounts or versions of Chinggis Khan's death. Historians must be content to conclude with Paul Ratchnevsky, the distinguished biographer of the great khan, that the circumstances of Chinggis Khan's death will, along with many aspects of his death, always remain a mystery; only in specifying the general time of his death (August 1227) do the historical sources agree.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Paul Ratchnevsky (Thomas Haining, trans.), *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991:141-142. On the issue of the exact date of Chinggis Khan's death, see Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1959. v. 1:305-309. Pp. 309-330 of the same work contain much detail on the disagreements over the exact place of his death.



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## Alkoholische Getränke bei den alten Türken

Mehr oder weniger alle Religionen lehnen den Gebrauch alkoholischer Getränke ab, so daß es nicht wunder nimmt, daß wir auch in religiösen Texten, die uns für die Epoche der Uiguren in Turfan und Dunhuang (8.-14. Jh.) hauptsächlich zur Verfügung stehen, etliche Belege finden, die darauf Bezug nehmen. Es kann hier allerdings nicht die Aufgabe sein, eine Sichtung des gesamten Materials vorzunehmen. Vielmehr möchte ich mich auf einige Termini beschränken, die bisher selten oder gar nicht vorgekommen sind.

In einer Liste buddhistischer Gebote heißt es: *bišinč äsürtgülük bor baru ičmáz-mn*<sup>1</sup> 'Fünftens: berausenden Wein<sup>2</sup> trinke ich überhaupt<sup>3</sup> nicht.' Die verderbliche Rolle des Alkohols ist über jeden Zweifel erhaben, aber dennoch gibt es Zeiten und Gelegenheiten, wo man ihn nicht wegdenken kann. Wie schon B. Laufer und andere meinten: was wäre Literatur und Kunst ohne Wein? Zur Einführung und zur Erbauung möchte ich kurz einen Passus aus einer Hagiographie referieren. Auf einem Wandgemälde in Bázäklik findet sich die prächtige Darstellung dreier Mönche mit Kartuschen ihrer Namen in Chinesisch und uigurischer Umschrift, von denen einer den Namen 法慧 Fahui, uig. *vaphui*, trägt. Kürzlich hat K. Kudara gezeigt, daß es sich bei diesem Fahui um den Chan-Mönch desselben Namens aus dem 5. Jh. handelt<sup>4</sup>, dessen Biographie im *Mingsengzhuan* mitgeteilt wird. Sie wurde von Liu Mau-tsai ins Deutsche übersetzt und kann wie folgt zusammengefaßt werden: Fahui stammte aus Gaochang, der Stadt also, die bei den Türken später Qočo heißen sollte. In seiner Jugend liebte er Jagd und Wein, Musik

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<sup>1</sup> Turfan-Sammlung der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW): Ch/U 8149 verso 6-8.

<sup>2</sup> Im Hochzeitssegen: *älgürči bor*, vgl. dazu vgl. M. Erdal, *Old Turkic Word Formation. A Functional Approach to the Lexicon, 1-2*, Wiesbaden 1991:536 Anm. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Im Qutadγu Bilig gibt es *bari*, *haru* 'alle(s)', vgl. Indeks. Vgl. É. V. Sevortjan, *Étimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskich jazykov. Obščetjurkskie i mežtjurkskie osnovy na bukvu «B»*, Moskva 1978:62. Oder doch *härü*?

<sup>4</sup> K. Kudara, On the trail of a Central Asian Monk: A Bezeklik portrait identified, in: *Studies on the Buddhist Art of Central Asia*, XXII, Kyoto 1992:1-25.

und Gesang. Seine Frau war so hübsch, daß sie von anderen angehimmelt wurde. Als Fahui verreist war, wurde sie verprügelt. Nachdem Fahui davon Kenntnis erhalten hatte, verließ er seine Familie, um Mönch in Kuča zu werden. (...) Später kehrte er nach Gaochang zurück und lehrte die Nonnen im Kloster "Höhle der Unsterblichen". Doch eine der Nonnen riet ihm, noch einmal nach Kuča zu gehen, um noch tiefer in die Lehre einzudringen. Fahui begab sich wieder nach Kuča zu Zhiyue. Dieser rief ihn zu sich und setzte ihm 15 Liter Wein vor mit der Aufforderung, diesen zu trinken. Fahui erschrak und sagte: Ich kam her, um der Lehre teilhaftig zu werden. Er lehnte ab. Zhiyue verstieß ihn. Fahui sann nach und kam zu dem Entschluß, sich dem Meister nicht zu widersetzen. Er ging erneut zum Meister und trank den Wein mit einemmal aus. Nachdem Fahui betrunken dalag, verließ ihn Zhiyue und schloß das Zimmer ab. Vom Rausch erwacht, bereute Fahui seine Tat. Als er sich das Leben nehmen wollte, erlangte er die dritte Heiligkeitsstufe. Später kehrte Fahui wieder nach Gaochang zurück und verbreitete die Lehre. Er starb daselbst, ohne krank gewesen zu sein.<sup>5</sup>

In den religiösen und weltlichen Texten der zentralasiatischen Uiguren lassen sich zahlreiche Bezeichnungen für alkoholische Getränke finden, vor allem auch in den uigurischen Dokumenten.

### 1. *bor* 'Wein'

Weingärten (*borluq*) spielten eine immense Rolle, wie sich allein aus einer Übersicht über die Kauf- und Pachtverträge ergibt. Daß in vorislamischer Zeit der Weinanbau stark verbreitet war, nimmt auch Golomb an.<sup>6</sup> Wein (*bor*) zählt zu den Objekten, die Gegenstand von Leihkontrakten wurden, wenngleich bisher auch nur ein Beispiel bekannt ist (SUK Lo30).

In dem Report des Qumar Toyri<sup>7</sup> wird einmal auch ein Preis genannt: *sünčitäki bir küp bor satıyı üč yüz otuz quanpo* 'Der Verkaufspreis eines *sünčitäki* Lehmgefäßes Wein: 330 quanpo'. Was *sünči* bedeutet, ist unklar, vielleicht handelt es sich um einen Ortsnamen. Des weiteren kommt die

<sup>5</sup> Liu Mau-tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. v. bis zum 6. Jh. n. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1969:189-190.

<sup>6</sup> L. Golomb, *Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkestan. Oasenwirtschaft und Nomadentum*, Posieux 1959:77.

<sup>7</sup> Fragment der Ryūkoku-Bibliothek: Ot. Ry. 1415.



Wendung *yavlaq bor* 'starker Wein' vor (*iki qap yavlaq bor* 'zwei Gefäße starken Weins').

Das Dokument U 6154<sup>8</sup> ist eine Liste von Personen (im Dativ), an die *bor* zu geben ist, meist nur mit davorstehender Zahl ohne Maßeinheit, so daß man nicht sicher sein kann, welches Maß gemeint ist. Nur in einem Fall wird als Maßeinheit *tämbin* gegeben.

In einem Familienregister gibt es auch Aufzeichnungen über den Kauf von Wein (*bor*).<sup>9</sup> Von besonderem Interesse ist ein "Weingarten-Segen". Derartige Segen-Texte müssen sehr beliebt gewesen sein, wie die "Ernte-Segen" zeigen. Leider ist von dem anzunehmenden Text nur das kleine Bruchstück Ch/U 8135<sup>10</sup> (verso) erhalten:

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 01 | <i>tözün. tün-nüng kün-nüng ärtmiš</i> [        | ] |
| 02 | <i>kiši-lär igsiz bolzun. ašadači kiši-[lär</i> | ] |
| 03 | <i>-qa tükäl-lig bo borluq igäsi bäg</i> [      | ] |
| 04 | [   | ] |
| 05 | [   | ] |
| 06 | [   | ] |
| 07 | [   | ] |

'In allen vergangenen [Zeiten] der Nacht und des Tages mögen die [...] Menschen ohne Krankheit sein! Die essenden Menschen [des ...] teilhaftig, der Herr dieses Weingartens Herr in [allen ...] Zeiten Seligkeit und Freude [mögen sein!] Der Herr [dieses Weingartens], die *inal*-Herren [...] diesen besonders guten Weingarten möge [...] 160<sup>11</sup> Jahre lang [...]'

<sup>8</sup> Fragment der Turfan-Sammlung der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW).

<sup>9</sup> H. Umemura, Uiguru monjo "SJ Kr. 4/638": konrei, sōgi hiyo no kiroku. A Re-examination of the Uyghur document "SJ Kr. 4/638": an account book concerning weddings and funerals, in: *Risshō daigaku kyōyōbu kiyō* 20 (1987):35-87.

<sup>10</sup> Fragment der Turfan-Sammlung der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW).

<sup>11</sup> Die Bildung der zusammengesetzten Zahlen mit *artuqi* ist sonst umgekehrt, vgl. K. Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*, Wiesbaden 1977 ff. (im folgenden: UW), S. 211a: *on artuqi yiti* = 17 etc., doch nach skt. *Vorbid sapta uttaram śatam* '107' kann man sich auch die hier vorliegende Konstruktion vorstellen. Das könnte vielleicht ein Hinweis darauf sein, daß der Schreiber in buddhistischen Texten geschult war.

Während im *Qutady Bilig borči* in der Bedeutung 'Weintrinker' vorkommt, bedeutet dies in den Dokumenten wohl meist 'Weinverkäufer'.<sup>12</sup> Aus dem Beleg in dem Fragment U 2799 verso 3 geht immerhin eindeutig hervor, daß zumindest für diesen Text die zweite Bedeutung zutreffend ist: *bor bägni satar borči* 'borči, der Wein und Bier verkauft'.

## 2. *süčüg* 'süßer Wein, Most (?)'

Ausgehend von der Grundbedeutung des Wortes *süčüg* kann man vermuten, daß eine besondere Sorte von Wein gemeint sein muß, wenn auch in osmanischen Texten *süci* oder *sücü* einfach als 'Wein' überliefert ist.<sup>13</sup> G. Clauson übersetzt es ebenso wie *bor* als 'wine'. Sein Hauptargument ist der Leihkontrakt Lo30<sup>14</sup> (USp 1), in dem der Leiher verpflichtet wird, für 1/2 *qap bor* 1 *qap süčüg* zurückzugeben.<sup>15</sup> Hier sei ein weiterer Beleg in einem Dokument vorgestellt:

U 5316: T III 168 (Arat: 176/27), Matsui Nr.38.

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 01 <i>ud yil yidinč ay bir oduzqa</i> | Rind-Jahr, siebenter Monat, am Einundzwanzigsten.   |
| 02 <i>toy-qa ičgü üč qap süčüg</i>    | 3 Schläuche Wein, auf dem Hochzeitsfest zu trinken, |
| 03 <i>-ni qotuz uri büdürüp birip</i> | hat Qotuz Uri fertiggemacht und übergeben.          |
| 04 <i>baš käsig-kä tuḍsun</i>         | Für die Haupt-Wache sei es gehalten! (??)           |

Auf Grund der 3 Stempelabdrücke (1. <sup>2</sup>Phags-pa *qudluq*, 2. ?, 3. (tib.) *cchi*) ergibt sich für dieses Fragment eine eindeutige zeitliche Festlegung in die Yuan-Zeit.

Aus einem dem unter 1. erwähnten "Weingarten-Segen" ähnlichen Fragment der Deguchi-Sammlung sei ein Abschnitt zitiert: *borluq išin simdasar-*

<sup>12</sup> G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972 (im folgenden: ED):357.

<sup>13</sup> E. Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich w świetle przekazu Mahmūda z Kaszgaru (XI w.)*, Warszawa 1993:123.

<sup>14</sup> N. Yamada, *Sammlung uigurischer Kontrakte* (im folgenden = SUK), hrsg. von T. Moriyasu, J. Oda, H. Umemura, P. Zieme, 1-3, Osaka 1993.

<sup>15</sup> ED:796-797. Weitere Leihkontrakte sind SUK Lo03, Lo14 und Lo23.

[biz ...] b[or]l[uγ] suvsuš yoq ärsär boγsumuz amti quruγay: al künči tägir [...]lig süčüg aqmaγay qyrst<sup>?</sup> (?) täg süčüg aqmasar arqasi bodun-ning [...] bolmaγay<sup>16</sup> ‘Wenn wir die Weingartenarbeit vernachlässigen und wenn es deshalb keine Weingetränke geben sollte, dann werden unsere Kehlen jetzt trocken sein. ??? - süßer Wein wird nicht fließen. Wenn wie? der süße Wein nicht fließen wird, wird das ganze<sup>17</sup> Volk [kein Glück] haben.’ Für die Stelle *al künči tägir* habe ich noch keine Erklärung.

### 3. *bägni* ‘Bier’

Ausführlich behandelt G. Doerfer das Wort *bägni* (TMEN Nr. 759): er spricht sich für eine Herkunft aus dem Iranischen aus, zumal das Pendant, *bor*, mit Sicherheit aus dem Mir. stammt.<sup>18</sup> Demgegenüber rechnete W.B. Henning eher mit einer Entlehnung aus dem Türkischen.<sup>19</sup> Kürzlich sprach sich D. Weber wiederum für eine iranische Etymologie aus, und in bezug auf das türkische Wort, das er nicht von den iranischen Belegen abtrennen möchte, schreibt er: “If we try to establish, none the less, an Iranian etymology Turkish must have taken the word from an Iranian source we cannot determine yet precisely.”<sup>20</sup>

Während die iranische Etymologie unsicher bleibt, ist die Bedeutung recht klar. Nach einem neuen von D. Maue veröffentlichten Text ist *bägni* die Entsprechung von skt. *surā* ‘Bier’.<sup>21</sup>

Es ist auffällig, daß *bägni* allein selten belegt ist, üblicherweise ist immer die Rede von *bor bägni*. In einem Heilkundetext ist an einer Stelle ohne

<sup>16</sup> *Fragmenta Buddhica Turfanica. An Album of Fragments of Buddhist Text Excavated at Turfan*, Preserved by Rev. Jojun Deguchi. Compiled with an Introduction and Commentary by A. Fujieda, Kyoto 1978: Taf. LIII. Nr. 317, Z. 15 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *arqasi* ‘ganz’, erstarrte Form *arqa* + *sī*, vgl. UW:198a.

<sup>18</sup> G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, I-IV*, Wiesbaden 1963-1975 (im folgenden: TMEN) Nr. 759. So auch ED:328a.

<sup>19</sup> W. B. Henning, A Sogdian God, in: *Selected Papers II*:245 (620).

<sup>20</sup> D. Weber, An Ossetic query (Osset. *bägänylhägäni* ‘beer’), in: *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies held in Turin, September 7th-11th, 1987 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea, Part 2 Middle and New Iranian Studies*, hrsg. von G. Gnoli und A. Panaino, Rom 1990:589.

<sup>21</sup> D. Maue, *Altürkische Handschriften I*, Stuttgart 1996:Text 24 Nr. 12.

weiteren Kontext belegt: *änätkäk b(ä)gni-si* 'indisches Bier'.<sup>22</sup> In einem anderen Heilkundetext wird ein Heilmittel gegen Trunkenheit genannt: in H I 52 ist *bor-qa bägili-kä* geschrieben, eine Zeile weiter *bor bägini*, was den Herausgeber zu der Bemerkung veranlaßte: "Sind wir berechtigt, den L-Haken von *bäkili* zu entfernen?"<sup>23</sup> Solange nur ein Beleg von der Norm abweicht, hatte Rachmatis Frage Bestand, doch in einem völlig anderen Fragment, das vermutlich zum Kalender gehörigen Rezepten und Vorschriften zu den Tagen (des Tierzyklus) zuzurechnen ist<sup>24</sup>, kommt ebenfalls die Schreibung *bägli* vor, und zwar in der Wendung *bägli azu bor* 'Bier oder Wein'.<sup>25</sup> Damit stellt sich erneut die Frage, wie man *bägili* oder *bägli* erklären kann. Vermutlich muß man mit zwei parallelen Formen rechnen, denn die verblüffende Lösung, einfach alle Belege *bägli* zu lesen unter der Annahme, daß der *l*-Haken in den meisten Belegen vergessen wurde, läßt sich wegen der klaren Präsenz von *-n-* nicht vertreten.

Andere Wörter für 'Bier' sind nur von Käsyaṛī überliefert: *buxsum, toma buxsum* etc. B. Ögel nimmt an, daß diese Wörter das bezeichnen, wofür später *boza* gebraucht wurde.<sup>26</sup>

In der Übersetzung eines Paradoxon im *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* wird chin. 酒 *jiu* 'Wine, spirits, fermented liquors' durch *bor bägini* übersetzt: *qlti birök näcätä singäk-käy-ä bor bā'gni ičip äsürüp, kánt suzaq sayu tüzü-tä kązä yapa tägzinip, ärüş üküš äv barq itgäli usar ančata timin tilägülük ol, tngri tngrişi burxan šarir-in, [2.85] (1108-1114)* Wenn Fliegen Wein und Bier trinken und betrunken werden und in Städten und Dörfern überall herum-

<sup>22</sup> G. R. Rachmati, Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren. II., in: *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1932/3:194.

<sup>23</sup> G. R. Rachmati, Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren [I], in: *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1932:466 Anm. zu Z. 52.

<sup>24</sup> Bekannt sind bisher folgende Fragmente : TT VII Nr. 24, Nr. 25; die unter Nr. 1 (Volkskalender: Krankheitswahrsagung) von H. Halén, Die uigurischen Mannerheim-Fragmente (2), in: *Studia Orientalia* 67 (1991):161-163 veröffentlichten Fragmente sowie das unpublizierte Bruchstück Ch/U 7292 (T II T 1464) der Turfan-Sammlung der BBAW.

<sup>25</sup> Ch/U 7292 (T II T 1464) der Turfan-Sammlung der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW), verso 05.

<sup>26</sup> B. Ögel, *Türk Kültürü tarihine giriş* 2, Istanbul 1978:191: "Darı şarabı, içkisini, geniş bir adı, bozadır. Yukarıda adı geçen XI. yüzyıl Türklerinin *Tuma buhsun* adlı darı şarabı, herhalde bozadan başka birşey olmasa gerektir."

streifend umhergehen und sehr viele Häuser errichten können, dann ist so-  
gleich eine Reliquie des Göttergotts Buddha zu erbitten.’<sup>27</sup>

#### 4. *sorma* ‘Weizenbier’<sup>28</sup>

Zwei Belegstellen gibt es im *Erntesegen*, wo es auch naheliegt, an ein  
aus Weizen hergestelltes Getränk zu denken: (68-69) *isindi-lig kup-tä sorma*  
*kälürüp*, (78-79) *küp-lüg idiš-lär-tä sorma alip*.<sup>29</sup>

In einem Reisebegleitschreiben (Ch/U 7145 verso, Z. 4) [...] *p on badman*  
*sorm-a bir išič* (Z. 5) [...] *b]adman sorm-a bir küri min b [= birip]*  
‘[...]gebe]n: zehn *batman*<sup>30</sup> Weizenbier, ein Krug [...], [...] *b]atman* Weizen-  
bier, ein Scheffel Mehl *g[geben]*.’

Ein weiteres Dokument, eine Liste von Abgaben (?) (Ch/U 6977 verso)  
weist folgenden Text auf:

01 [	]	<i>i</i>
02 [	]	<i>ama[ ]' [ ]' twyl' tu bi[lä]</i>
03 [	]	<i>i]diš som-a</i>
04 [	]	<i>stun bilä iki idiš som-[a]</i>
05 [	]	<i>tudγay-biz tip aldi</i>
06 [	]	<i>bilä b[i]r idiš sorm-a</i>

<sup>27</sup> P. Zieme, *Altun Yaruq Sudur. Vorworte und das erste Buch*, Turnhout 1996:160-161.

<sup>28</sup> ED 852b; TMEN Nr. 1241: “Weizenbier, Weizen-Fruchtwein (?), eine Art Bier”; L. Li-  
geti, Un vocabulaire sino-ouigour des Ming. *Le Kao-tch'ang-kouan yi-chou* du Bureau  
des traducteurs, in: *AOH 19* (1966):196. A. D. 1330 in chin. Umschrift: 速兒麻 vgl. H.  
Franke, Additional Notes on Non-Chinese term in the Yüan Imperial Dietray Compendi-  
um Yin-shan cheng-hao, in: *Zentralasiatische Studien 4* (1970):14.

<sup>29</sup> P. Zieme, Ein uigurischer Erntesegen, in: *Altorientalische Forschungen 3* (1975):114.

<sup>30</sup> *badman* oder *batman* kann als Einheit für Flüssigkeiten wie für feste Stoffe verwendet  
werden, vgl. ED:305-306. Weitere Belege bei N. Yamada, Four Notes on Several Names  
for Weights and Measures in Uighur Documents, in: L. Ligeti (Hrsg.), *Studia Turcica*,  
Budapest 1971:498 für Getreide. Während G. Clauson (ED.) dieses Wort für türkisch  
hält, schlug M. Weiers eine Herleitung aus griechisch Πέντε μνᾶ “fünf Minen” vor,  
vgl. M. Weiers, Mongolische Reisebegleitschreiben aus Čayatai, in: *Zentralasiatische*  
*Studien 1* (1967):29. Während nach den von M. Weiers zusammengetragenen Beispielen  
aus verschiedenen Zeiten und Regionen die Angaben für ein *batman* zwischen 1 und 3 kg  
betragen, entspricht im Neu-ug. 1 *patman* 573.44 kg (vgl. H. G. Schwarz, *An Uyghur-*  
*English Dictionary*, Bellingham 1992:1080). Wie dieser enorme Unterschied zu erklären  
ist, weiß ich nicht.

07 [	<i>i}diš som-a</i>
08 [	<i>]l'cy bilä bir idiš som-a</i>
09 [	<i>]som-a taman torči baši</i>
10 [	<i>i}diš som-a</i>
11 [	<i>]som-a</i>
12 [	<i>]k'cy lär aldï t'n' som-a iki-kä</i>
13 [	<i>]y bir idiš som-a</i>
14 [	<i>]iki idiš som-a</i>
15 [	<i>]yarim idiš som-a</i>
16 [	<i>b]iš yarim idiš som-a</i>

Da vermutlich die Hälfte einer jeden Zeile fehlt, läßt sich keine vollständige Übersetzung des Dokuments geben. So viel ist klar, es handelt sich um eine Auflistung von Personen, meist zwei, die eine bestimmte Anzahl von *sorma*, gemessen in *idiš* 'Gefäß', zu geben haben. Soweit die Zahlen erhalten sind, werden Mengen zwischen 1/2 und 5 1/2 *idiš* genannt. Interessant ist, daß der überwiegenden Schreibweise *swm*' = *som-a* auch einmal *swrm*' = *sorm-a* gegenübersteht. Es dürfte naheliegen, daß die abgeschliffene Form bereits häufiger verwendet wurde. *Käšyarï* hat auch *soma*, eine Form, bei der das *-r-* ausgefallen sein dürfte.<sup>31</sup>

### 5. *arqï* / *arxi* 'Milch-Branntwein'<sup>32</sup>

Die einst von U. Johansen gestellte Frage "Tranken die alten Türken Milch-Branntwein?"<sup>33</sup> hat sie für die vormongolische Zeit verneinen müssen, doch für das 13. Jh. findet sie bereits auch Hinweise auf den Genuß von *arxi* bei den Mongolen. In einem Prosagedicht (*fu*) spricht sich Chu Tejun (1284-1355) streng gegen den Gebrauch von *a-lai-chi* (*\*aragi*, i.e. brandy) aus, und H. Franke schreibt: "aragi/araki was a non-Chinese beverage, acceptable to the Mongols but not to a self-respecting Chinese."<sup>34</sup> Erhärtet wird diese Auf-

<sup>31</sup> ED:828b.

<sup>32</sup> *arqï* < mo. *arγi* (*araki*), vgl. È. V. Sevortjan, *Ètimologičeskij solvar' tjurkskich jazykov Obščetjurkskie i mežtjurkskie osnovy na glasnye*, Moskva 1974:166-167.

<sup>33</sup> U. Johansen, Tranken die alten Türken Milch-Branntwein?, in: *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 33 (1961):226-234.

<sup>34</sup> H. Franke, A note on wine, in: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 8 (1974):245.

fassung, wenn man das Vorkommen des Wortes *araki* in einem mongolischen Dokument berücksichtigt.<sup>35</sup>

Gerade als ich die uigurischen Dokumente durchsah, ob es auch in ihnen Belege für *arqi* gibt, traf ein neues Buch ein, in welchem D. Matsui<sup>36</sup> ganz und gar unabhängig von mir die nachfolgenden Texte fast genauso gelesen hat.<sup>37</sup> Dabei hat er auch völlig richtig die Deutung des Wortes *arqi* gegeben, allerdings schlägt er als Lesung *araqı* vor. Das ist zwar möglich, doch läßt sich auch die Lesung *arqi* rechtfertigen, denn beides ist vom Schriftbild her möglich.

Zwei hierhergehörige uigurische Fragmente sind durch die auf ihnen befindlichen <sup>3</sup>Phags-pa-Siegel mit Sicherheit in die Yuan-Zeit zu datieren.

U 5288 (TM 77, [...]D 51) [Matsui No.32]: Die Personen, deren Namen teils klerikalen Ursprungs sind, sollen je *bir saba arqi* 'ein Gefäß<sup>38</sup> Schnaps' abgeben. Auf Grund des <sup>3</sup>Phags-pa-Siegels (*qutluq* 'Gesegnet (sei!)') kann man mit Sicherheit sagen, daß das Dokument der Yuan-Zeit zuzurechnen ist. Dabei überrascht das Vorkommen des Wortes *manistan*, eine mir. Bezeichnung für "(manichäisches) Kloster", vor allem wegen der Frage, die für die Religionsgeschichte sehr wichtig ist, wie lange man mit dem Bestehen manichäischer Gemeinden in der Turfan-Oase zu rechnen hat. Meine Vermutung geht dahin, daß *Manistanlıy* nur noch als ein historischer Personennamen gebraucht wird, denn Manichäismus und der Gebrauch alkoholischer Getränke schließen sich aus. In der berühmten Erzählung über Mani und Ohrmazd den Kühnen heißt es: *inçip ötrü bir är ät yimäz bor içmäz βγ wrmzt tiginig tüşürti al(i)ngadurtı* 'ein Mann, der Fleisch nicht ißt und Wein nicht trinkt, hat den Prinzen Ohrmazd den Kühnen zu Fall gebracht und besiegt.'<sup>39</sup>

U 5510 (T II 920). Rückseite leer [Matsui No.43]. Auch dieses Fragment weist ein <sup>3</sup>Phags-pa-Siegel auf: [*oron*] *qudluq* '[Das Reich sei] gesegnet!'. In

<sup>35</sup> D. Cerensodnom, M. Taube, *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Berlin 1993 (Berliner Turfantexte XVI), Text 73: *bor araki*, übersetzt durch 'Traubenwein'.

<sup>36</sup> Matsui Dai, *Administration in Uighuristan under the Mongols*, Dissertation Osaka University 1996.

<sup>37</sup> In der jetzigen Fassung verzichte ich deshalb auf die Anführung der ganzen Texte.

<sup>38</sup> *saba* < mo. *saba* 'Gefäß', vgl. BT XVII 74:10 *qoyar saba umdan* 'zwei Gefäße mit Getränken', vgl. Radl. Wb IV, 411 *saba* 'ein Ledersack zum Bereiten des Kumiss'.

<sup>39</sup> Geng Shimin, H.-J. Klimkeit, J. P. Laut, *ManisWettkampf mit dem Prinzen*. Ein neues manichäisch-türkisches Fragment aus Turfan, in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 137 (1987):50, 53, Z. 59-60.

diesem Dokument lautet der wiederkehrende Passus: N.N. + *üč tämbin arqı saba-si bilä* 'N.N + drei *tämbin*<sup>40</sup> Schnaps mit einem Gefäß'.

## 6. Ung. *szesz* 'Alkohol'

Zum Schluß möchte ich auf ein ungarisches Wort zu sprechen kommen, das semantisch, aber vielleicht nicht nur semantisch, sondern auch seiner Herkunft nach, hierher gehört: *szesz* 'Alkohol'. Im *Etymologischen Wörterbuch des Ungarischen* wird es als ein Wort betrachtet, dessen Herkunft ungeklärt ist: "Unbest[immten Ursprungs], ev[entuel]l Lehnw[ort] aus einer türk[ischen] Spr[ache] vor der Landnahme".<sup>41</sup> Unter der Voraussetzung, daß die anderen Bedeutungen 'Geruch; Dunst, Dampf' ebenso alt und vielleicht die ursprünglichen sind (wenngleich die sicher sekundäre Bedeutung 'Laune' bereits für 1531 belegt ist), möchte ich den folgenden Vorschlag unterbreiten. Wenn man von dem alttürkischen Wort *is* 'Rauch, Duftstoff' und einer nicht sicher bezeugten Variante mit einem *y*-Vorschlag ausgeht, wäre es möglich, einen Entlehnungsweg mit unklaren Zwischenstufen zu rekonstruieren, der von atü. \**yis* zu *szesz* führte. Die Entsprechung zu atü. *y*- wäre dann etwa wie in *yel* zu ung. *szél*.<sup>42</sup> Der Vokal *-i-* sollte wie in anderen Fällen eher ung. *-o-* sein, so daß auch diese Herleitung nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten ist. Nicht ganz klar ist auch die semantische Entwicklung. Aus dem türkischen Areal konnte ich *is* 'Rauch, Dunst' jedenfalls nicht in einer solchen Bedeutung aufspüren, so müßte man auch diese Entwicklung ins Ungarische verlagern.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei darauf hingewiesen, daß die Ableitungen von *is* und *yid* in Sevortjans Etymologischem Wörterbuch alle unter einem

<sup>40</sup> M. Weiers, Mongolische Reisebegleitschreiben aus Čayatai, in: *Zentralasiatische Studien I* (1967):39 führt *tambin* auf chin. 罈 *tán* (mchin. *tam*, vgl. E. G. Pulleyblank, *Lexikon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*, Vancouver 1991:300-301) + 瓶 *píng* zurück, ohne anzumerken, daß diese Zusammensetzung nicht belegt ist.

<sup>41</sup> Lief. 6, Budapest s. a.:1429b.

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. D. Sinor, Turkic *yer* 'Ground, Place, Earth' ~ Chuvash *šer* ~ Hungarian *szér*, in: *Gedanke und Wirkung. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Nikolaus Poppe*, hrsg. von W. Heissig und K. Sagaster, Wiesbaden 1989:329-335; M. K. Palló, Die Vertretung ung. *sz-(s)* < türk. *j-* in den alten türkischen Lehnwörtern der ungarischen Sprache, in: *UAJb* 33 (1961):128-135.



Lemma behandelt werden.<sup>43</sup> G. Doerfer geht davon aus, daß "Kontaminationen mit semantisch nahestehenden Wörtern zu vermuten sind (...) *yid* 'Gestank' mag ebenso beeinflussend gewirkt haben wie auch *isi-* 'heiß sein' (u.a. vom Ofen); die ursprünglich getrennten Wörter \**hiš* 'Ruß', \**hisi-* 'heiß sein', *yid* haben sich lautlich sehr genähert."<sup>44</sup> Interessant ist, daß die Rabyuzī-Handschriften A, B und C in dieser Beziehung sich wie folgt unterscheiden: (A) *Sulaymānniñ isin aldī* = (B) *Sulaymānniñ yidiğin buldī* = (C) *Sulaymānniñ yidin buldī*.<sup>45</sup> Man könnte den Eindruck gewinnen, es handle sich nur um phonetische Varianten, doch sind *is* und *yid* klar zu trennen.

<sup>43</sup> Für das Tatarische vgl. Á. Berta, *Lautgeschichte der tatarischen Dialekte*, Szeged 1989:118. Die Belege sind aber zu trennen, denn tat. *is* und *is* sind verschiedene Wörter.

<sup>44</sup> G. Doerfer, Materialien zu türk. *h-* (I), in: *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher N. F. 1* (1981):133.

<sup>45</sup> H. E. Boeschoten, M. Vandamme, S. Tezcan, Al-Rabghūzī. *The Stories of the Prophets. Qısaş al-Anbiyā'. An Eastern Turkish Version*, Leiden- New York- Köln 1995/1:665b.



МАРИАНН ЗИЛАХИ  
(Сегед)

Языковое нововведение ли в татарском языке?

В современном татарском языке существуют отличающиеся от других кыпчакских явлений морфологические, синтаксические структуры. Некоторые из них можно считать новизмами, возникшими в татарском языке после его отделения от родственных тюркских языков. При исследовании синтаксиса книжного стиля, разговорного варианта и диалектов татарского языка, в связи с вопросительными предложениями возникли два интересных вопроса в употреблении вопросительной частицы *мы, ме*.

1. - место частицы в вопросительном предложении

2. - ее место в глагольном сказуемом.

1.1 В татарском литературном языке вопросительная частица присоединяется к сказуемому предложения (Богородицкий 1953:194; Бурганова 1955:57). При этом не обязательно, чтобы логическое ударение падало на это слово, логическое ударение принимает на себя тот член, к которому относится вопрос (СТЛЯ 57).

*Марат монда яшиме? - Эйе, монда.*

Марат    здесь    жить.наст.Зед.вопр.

'Марат здесь живет? - Да, здесь.'

1.2 Как исключение из этого правила, во многих татарских диалектах частица может присоединяться к любому слову, к которому относится вопрос (Сафиуллина 1978:42).

1.2.1 Центральный диалект, бастанский говор (Махмутова 1974:42):

*Эшкә барасынмы?*

работа: дат. идти: наст. 2ед. вопр.

‘Пойдешь ли на работу?’

лит. *Эшкә барасыңмы?*

*Эшкәме барасын?*

работа: дат. вопр. идти: наст. 2ед.

‘На работу ли идешь?’

лит. *Эшкә барасыңмы?*

1.2.2 Центральный диалект, нократский говор (Бурганова 1962:50):

*Бегенме күрдең Закирны?*

сегодня: вопр. видеть: прош. 2ед. Закир: вин.

‘Сегодня что ли видел Закира?’

лит. *Закирны бүген күрдеңме?*

1.2.3 Мишарский диалект (Махмутова 1962:149):

*Озаккамы килдегез?*

надолго: вопр. приехать: прош. 2мн.

‘Надолго ли приехали?’

лит. *Озакка килдегезме?*

1.3 Законно возникает вопрос: в результате какого влияния формировалось разграничение употребления вопросительной частицы?

1.3.1 Как общеизвестно, в русском языке вопросительная частица *ли* может присоединяться к любому члену предложения, может стоять и перед глагольным сказуемым и после него.

*Мария ли здесь живет?*

*Мария здесь ли живет?*

1.3.2 Рассматривая финно-угорские языки, расположенные в соседстве с татарским языком – удмуртский (ГСУЯ 26-28), мари́йский (СМЯ 303), мордовский язык - можно определить, что в этих языках вопросительные слова относятся к тому члену предложения, к которому относится вопрос. Для других финно-угорских языков, например, для финского, зырянского (СКЯ 23-24), мансийского и хантыйского (К. Sal 1956:82) тоже не характерно данное явление татарского книжного стиля.

1.3.3 Что касается тюркских языков кыпчакской группы, в караимском, ногайском, башкирском, кумыкском, киргизском языках частица прибавляется к любой части речи. То же самое явление в среднекыпчакском письменном памятнике, в Codex Cumanicus (Drimba 1973:12-13).

Для тюркских языков характерно то, что вопросительная частица в основном стоит в конце предложения, и отсюда двигается на другие составные части предложения, то есть вызывает фокусное положение.

### 1.3.3.1 Караимский язык:

*Кеп-мя клейсизь ўрюйўзь* (КРПС 314).

много.вопр. хотеть.наст.2мн. ходить.наст.2мн.

‘Сколько хотите, столько и ходите.’

*Келдик-мо анар болуслукба?* (Мусаев 1964:329)

приходить.прош.1мн.вопр. он.дат. помощь.тв.

‘Мы разве пришли к нему на помощь?’

### 1.3.3.2 Башкирский язык:

*Бөгөн кайттыма?* (Максютова 1963:111)

сегодня вернуться.прош.3ед.вопр.

‘Сегодня вернулся ли?’

*Озақмы йөрөнөгөз?* (Саяргалеев 1959:76)

долго:вопр. илти:наст.2мн.

‘Долго ли идете?’

1.3.3.3 Однако в казахском языке имеются отличия. Здесь существуют две вопросительные частицы: *ма/ме, па/пе, ба/бе* употребляется в составе глагольных и именных сказуемых, а частица *шы/ши* стоит в составе именных сказуемых.

Ал, Жамал *шы?* *Өзің ші?* (Балакаев 1959:111)

ну Жамал вопр. сам:2ед.вопр.

‘Ну, а Жамал? А ты сам?’

В использовании вопросительной частицы казахский язык похож на татарский литературный язык, то есть вопросительная частица прибавляется к сказуемому. “В зависимости от характера логического ударения меняется расположение членов вопросительного предложения” (Балакаев 1959:112).

*Сен баяндамага дайындалдың ба?*

ответ: *дайындалдым*

ты доклад:дат.      подготовиться:прош.2ед.вопр.

‘Ты подготовился к докладу?’

‘подготовился’

*Баяндамага сен дайындалдың ба?*

ответ: мен

доклад:дат.      ты подготовиться:прош.2ед.вопр.

‘Ты подготовился к докладу?’

‘я’

Из-за недостаточного количества примеров, предостойт систематическое изучение диалектов казахского языка, чтобы получить точную информацию об этом вопросе.

1.3.4 Вопросительная частица чувашского языка *и/ши* употребляется как русская частица *ли* (Горский 1952:7).

1.4 Это явление татарского литературного языка, когда вопросительная частица стоит после сказуемого, единствен-

ное среди соседних языков, кроме казахского. Возникают следующие вопросы:

1.4.1 Существует ли связь между названными похожими явлениями татарского и казахского языков?

1.4.2 Можно ли причислить данное языковое явление в татарском языке к одной из тенденций искусственного обновления литературного языка?

1.4.3 В какой степени наблюдается отмеченное правило татарского литературного языка в разговорной речи?

1.5 На основании устного сообщения татарских коллег могу сказать, что это правило не употребляется в разговорной речи, но нарушение правила, то есть употребление вопросительной частицы путем прибавления к разным членам предложения, оскорбляет слух взыскательного говорящего. Может быть, это тенденция, которой в настоящее время не следуют ни в разговорном языке, ни в диалектах.

2. Место вопросительной частицы внутри глагольного сказуемого.

2.1 В татарском литературном языке вопросительная частица присоединяется к окончанию положительной или отрицательной глагольной формы. Сохраняется порядок повествовательного типа, причем форму глагола-сказуемого необходимо заканчивать вопросительной частицей во всех лицах (Богородицкий 1953:194; Бурганова 1955:57; СТЛЯ 57).

ЭШЛ(Ә)-И — ЭШЛИ:

работать:наст. (Зед.) 'работает'

ед.	эшли-м-ме?	'я работаю ли?'
	эшли-сең-ме?	'ты работаешь ли?'
	эшли-ме?	'он работает ли?'

мн.	эшли-без-ме?	'мы работаем ли?'
	эшли-сез-ме?	'вы работаете ли?'
	эшли-лэр-ме?	'они работают ли?'
ед.	эшлэ-ми-м-ме?	'я не работаю ли?'
	эшлэ-ми-сең-ме?	'ты не работаешь ли?'
	эшлэ-ми-ме?	'он не работает ли?'
мн.	эшлэ-ми-без-ме?	'мы не работаем ли?'
	эшлэ-ми-сез-ме?	'вы не работаете ли?'
	эшлэ-ми-лэр-ме?	'они не работают ли?'

2.2 В диалектах вопросительная частица присоединяется непосредственно к основам глаголов, аффиксы других морфем следуют после нее.

2.2.1 В заказанском говоре - центральный диалект - это явление наблюдается у глаголов во втором лице единственного и множественного чисел настоящего времени, изъявительного наклонения (Бурганова 1974:9). При этом редуцированные звуки *ы, е* исчезают.

<i>бар-а-м-сың?</i>	<i>утыр-а-м-сыз?</i>	<i>бел-ми-м-сең?</i>
пойти:наст.вопр.2ед.	сидеть:наст.вопр.2ед.	знать:отриц.вопр.2ед.
'ты пойдешь ли?'	'вы сидите ли?'	'ты не знаешь ли?'
лит. <i>бар-а-сың-мы?</i>	лит. <i>утыр-а-сыз-мы?</i>	лит. <i>бел-ми-сең-ме?</i>

2.2.2 Буинско-тарханский говор, центральный диалект (Бурганова 1955:64):

<i>кер-ми-м-сең?</i>	<i>тели-м-сез?</i>
зайти:отриц.вопр.2ед.	хотеть:вопр.2мн.
'ты не зайдешь ли?'	'вы хотите ли?'
лит. <i>кер-ми-сең-ме?</i>	лит. <i>тели-сез-ме?</i>

Данное явление характерно для мишарского диалекта (Махмутова 1962:149), для говоров кряшен (Баязитова 1986:127), и для Куйбышевской области (Якупова 1962:215). Отмечается



тот факт, что данный способ употребляется преимущественно в речи старшего поколения (Рамазанова 1974:106-107).

2.3 Похожее явление видно и в языках кыпчакской группы тюркских языков. Однако в разных языках существуют несопадающие ограничения в употреблении данной формы относительно либо диалекта, либо лица и числа или времени, либо круга употребляющих.

2.3.1 В кумыкском языке, во 2-ом и 3-ем лицах множественного числа аффикс вопроса может стоять и перед аффиксом лица, и после него (Дмитриев 1940:102):

<i>бар-а-МЫ-сыз?</i>	<i>бар-май-МЫ-лар?</i>	<i>бар-а-МЫ-лар?</i>
идти.наст.вопр.2мн.	идти.отриц.наст.вопр.3мн.	идти.наст.вопр.3мн.
'идете ли вы?'	'не идете ли вы?'	'идут ли они?'
лит. <i>бар-а-сыз-МЫ?</i>	лит. <i>бар-май-лар-МЫ?</i>	лит. <i>бар-а-лар-МЫ?</i>

Такой же порядок в будущем, и в прошедшем временах:

<i>бар-ар-МЫ-сыз?</i>	<i>бар-ажакъ-МЫ-сыз?</i>	<i>бар-ды-МЫ-лар?</i>
идти.наст.-буд.вопр.2мн.	идти.буд.вопр.2мн.	идти.прош.вопр.3мн.
'пойдете ли вы?'	'пойдете ли вы (обязательно)?'	'пошли ли они?'
лит. <i>бар-ар-сыз-МЫ?</i>	лит. <i>бар-ажакъ-сыз-МЫ?</i>	лит. <i>бар-ды-лар-МЫ?</i>

2.3.2 В башкирском языке обычно присоединяется форма *мы* к основе, после чего следует аффикс второго лица единственного и множественного чисел. В айском говоре: у 2-го лица единственного и множественного чисел (Максютова 1963:111):

<i>ал-ды-МЫ-н?</i>	<i>ал-ды-МЫ-гыз?</i>
взять.прош.вопр.2ед.	взять.прош.вопр.2мн.
'ты взял ли?'	'вы взяли ли?'
лит. <i>ал-ды-н-МЫ?</i>	лит. <i>ал-ды-гыз-МЫ?</i>

В караимском и казахском языках тоже наблюдаются случаи, когда вопросительная частица предшествует морфеме лица:

### 2.3.3 Караимский язык (Мусаев 1964:328):

*бар-ал-ыр-мо-сыз?*

идти.вспом.глагол.наст.-буд.вопр.2мн.

‘сможете ли пойти?’

В караимской вопросительной частице отраженный в письме о произносится как редуцированный звук.

### 2.3.4 Казахский язык (Жубанов 1966:165):

*бар-ган-сың ба?*

идти.прош.2ед.вопр.

*бар-а-сың-ба?*

идти.наст.2ед.вопр.

*бар-ган-бы-сың?*

идти.прош.вопр.2ед.

‘ты шел ли?’

*бар-а-мы-сың?*

идти.наст.вопр.2ед.

‘ты идешь ли?’

Однако данный вопрос в некоторых тюркских языках изучен не полностью, так в тюркологии пока нет качественных научных исследований. Даже в некоторых так называемых академических грамматиках, не обращается достаточное внимание на упомянутый вопрос. Решение данной проблемы возможно только после систематического изучения всех тюркских языков, и, в первую очередь, всех известных диалектов кыпчакских языков.

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## Сокращения

## а) источники

БД	Башкирская диалектология
ВБФ	Вопросы башкирской филологии
ГСУЯ	Грамматика современного удмуртского языка
КРПС	Караимско-русско-польский словарь
МД	Материалы по диалектологии
МТД	Материалы по татарской диалектологии
СКЯ	Современный коми язык
СМЯ	Современный марийский язык
СТЛЯ	Современный татарский литературный язык. Синтаксис
NyK.	Nyelvtudományi Közlemények

## б) лингвистические сокращения

буд.	будущее время
вспом. глаг.	вспомогательный глагол
вин.	винительный падеж
вопр.	вопросительная частица
дат.	дательный падеж
ед.	единственное число
лит.	литературная форма
мн.	множественное число
наст.	настоящее время
наст.-буд.	настоящее-будущее время
отриц.	отрицательная форма
прош.	прошедшее время
тв.	творительный падеж



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## The Concept of Nomadic Polity in the Hungarian Chapter of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio*<sup>1</sup>

Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus<sup>2</sup>, wrote a book for his son between 948-952 cited as *De administrando imperio*.<sup>3</sup> This work contains practical hints on diplomacy with the neighbouring peoples including a detailed description of their domestic affairs. Among the various nations he described, the emperor mentioned the Hungarians in three chapters (38-40). Only the 38th chapter is taken into consideration in this paper. This chapter, entitled "Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks, and whence they are descended," is a unique historical narration of the early history of the Hungarians. So it is not surprising, that this chapter has been studied in almost every respect in the historiography concerning the early history of the Hungarians.<sup>4</sup> Only one question needs to be asked: which

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- <sup>1</sup> I express my thanks to Professor S. Szádeczky-Kardoss (Szeged) for explaining and interpreting the Greek text, who have not spared his time in answering my questions.
  - <sup>2</sup> A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*. 1973; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. I. Berlin 1983:356-390; J. Karayannopoulos - G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz*. Wiesbaden 1982:392-379.
  - <sup>3</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*. I. Greek text Ed. by Gy. Moravcsik. English translation by R. H. J. Jenkins. Washington 1967, II. Commentary by F. Dvornik, R. H. J. Jenkins, B. Lewis, Gy. Moravcsik, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman. Ed. by R. H. J. Jenkins. London 1962; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. I, 361-379.
  - <sup>4</sup> Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* I:375-378; Moravcsik Gy., *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai. Fontes Byzantini historiae Hungaricae aevio ducum et regum ex stirpe Árpád descendentium*. Budapest 1984:32-34; Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian history in the ninth century*. Szeged 1996:97-203; T. Olajos's commentary on the Hungarian translation of the relevant chapters: *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai* (The written sources on the period of the Hungarian conquest). Olajos T., H. Tóth I. és Zimonyi I. közreműködésével szerkesztette (Ed.) Kristó Gy. Szeged 1995:110-136; Harmatta J., "Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos magyar vonatkozású művei" (The works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in connection with the Hungarians): *A honfoglaláskor írott forrásai* (The written sources on the period of the Hungarian conquest). Szerk. (Ed.) Kovács L., Veszprémy L. Budapest 1996:105-111.

sources did the emperor use during the compilation of the 38th chapter? It was widely accepted that this chapter was based on information from Hungarian dignitaries as Constantine remarks at the end of the 40th chapter: "... and it is his son Termatzous who came here as 'friend' with Boultzous ...". The visit of the Hungarian dignitaries to Constantinople took place in 948. Recently Harmatta pointed out that in addition to this Hungarian source of information Constantine might also have used other accounts from the Byzantine missions to the Hungarians in 894 and shortly after the conquest of the Carpathian Basin.<sup>5</sup> Therefore the possibility that various sources were unified in chapter 38 cannot be excluded. Macartney and Grégoire supposed that chapter 38 contains two stories from different sources.<sup>6</sup> But it is widely assumed that this chapter was compiled from a single source.<sup>7</sup> Chapter 38 can be divided into four chronological and thematic parts:

38. *Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks, and whence they are descended.*

1. The nation of the Turks had of old their dwelling next to Chazaria, in the place called Lebedia after the name of their first voivode, which voivode was called by the personal name of Lebedias, but in virtue of his rank was entitled voivode, as have been the rest after him. Now in this place, the aforesaid Lebedia, there runs a river Chidmas, also called Chingilous. They were not called Turks at that time, but had the name 'Sabartoi asphaloi', for some reason or other. The Turks were seven clans, and they had never had over them a prince either native or foreign, but there were among them 'voivodes', of whom first voivode was the aforesaid Lebedias. They lived together with the Chazars for three years, and *fought in alliance* with the Chazars in all their wars. Because of their *courage* and their *alliance*, the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady, because of *the fame of his valour and illustriousness of his race*, so that she might have children by him; but, as it fell out, this Lebedias had no children by this same Chazar lady.

<sup>5</sup> Harmatta J., "Lebedia és Atelkuzu" (Lebedia and Etelkuzu): *Magyar Nyelv* 80 (1984):424-425.

<sup>6</sup> C.A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*. Cambridge 1930:100-112; H. Grégoir, "Le nom et l'origine des Hongrois": *ZDMG* 91 (1937):632-633.

<sup>7</sup> Kristó, *op. cit.*, 97-98.



2. Now, the Pechenegs who were previously called 'Kangar' (for this 'Kangar' was a name signifying nobility and valour among them), these, then, stirred up war against the Chazars and, being defeated, were forced to quit their own land and to settle in that of the Turks. And when battle was joined between the Turks and the Pechenegs who were at that time called 'Kangar', the army of the Turks was defeated and split into two parts. One part went eastwards and settled in the region of Persia, and they to this day are called by the ancient denomination of the Turks 'Sabartoi asphaltoi'; but the other part, together with their voivode and chief Lebedias, settled in the western region, in places called Atelkouzou, in which places the nation of the Pechenegs now lives.

3. A short while afterwards, that chagan-prince of Chazaria sent a message to the Turks, requiring that Lebedias, their first voivode, should be sent to him. Lebedias, therefore, came to the chagan of Chazaria and asked the reason why he had sent for him to come to him. The chagan said to him: "We have invited you upon this account, in order that, since you are *noble and wise and valorous* and first among the Turks, we may appoint you prince of your nation, and you may be obedient to our word and our commands." But he, in reply, made answer to the chagan: "Your regard and purpose for me I highly esteem and express to you suitable thanks, but since I am not strong enough for this rule, I cannot obey you; on the other hand, however, there is a voivode other than me, called Almoutzis, and he has a son called Arpad; let one of these, rather, either that Almoutzis or his son Arpad, be made prince, and be obedient to your word." That chagan was pleased at this saying, and gave some of his men to go with him, and sent them to the Turks, and after they had talked the matter over with the Turks, the Turks preferred that Arpad should be prince rather than Almoutzis his father, for he was of superior parts and greatly admired for *wisdom and counsel and valour*, and capable of this rule; and so they made him prince according to the *custom*, or 'zakanon' of the Chazars, by lifting him upon a shield. Before this Arpad the Turks had never at any time had any other prince, and so even to this day the Prince of Turkey is from his family.

4. Some years later, The Pechenegs fell upon the Turks and drove them out with their prince Arpad. The Turks, in flight and seeking a land to dwell

in, came and in their turn expelled the inhabitants of Great Moravia and settled in their land, in which the Turks now live to this day.<sup>8</sup> ...

The aim of this paper is to analyze certain expressions in this chapter which correspond to those of the runic inscriptions of the second Türk empire written in the first half of the 8th century. Only the inscriptions of Köl Tegin, Bilge Kagan, Köli Čor, Ongin and Tonyuquq are taken into consideration.<sup>9</sup>

1. συμμαχέω, συμμαχία—*ešig küčüg ber-*

According to Constantine, the Hungarians lived together with the Chazars in their first known homeland for three years “and fought in alliance with the Chazars in all their wars. Because of their courage and their alliance, the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady.” The expression ‘to fight in alliance’ in the Greek text is συμμαχέω, which was translated into Hungarian by Moravcsik as ‘to fight together’ and the word alliance is συμμαχία in the next sentence.<sup>10</sup> The Greek words can be interpreted in two ways: fighting together or in alliance suggests either a relationship between two equal groups or one in which one group is subordinated to the other. The context clearly indicates that the latter interpretation is appropriate, because the Hungarians fought in Chazars wars<sup>11</sup> and had no prince at that time, while the Chazar ruler was called chagan, which was the title of the

<sup>8</sup> Moravcsik, Jenkins op. cit., 170-173.

<sup>9</sup> T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*. The Hague 1968, Texts:229-258, English translations 259-295; G. Clauson, E. Tryjarski, “The Inscription at Ikhe Khushotu”: *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 34 (1970):7-33; S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti. Teksty i issledovanija*. Moskva-Leningrad 1959:19-73; “Materialen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei” Gesammelt von G. J. Ramstedt, J. G. Granö und Pentti Aalto bearbeitet und hrsg. von Pentti Aalto. *Journal de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne* 60. Helsinki 1958:3-61.

<sup>10</sup> Moravcsik, *Fontes Byzantini*, 43.

<sup>11</sup> Kristó, op. cit., 138.

sovereign ruler in the Turkic world.<sup>12</sup> So the Hungarians submitted to the rule of the Chazars.<sup>13</sup>

The corresponding idea is embodied by the expression *ešig küčüg ber-* in the Turkic inscriptions. Clauson and Tekin translated this as 'to give one's services'.<sup>14</sup> Doerfer provided a new explanation: to do one's duty towards the ruler, to support him.<sup>15</sup> The exact meaning of the term can be traced from the context.

After the collapse of the Türk empire it is said in the Köl Tegin Inscription: "Those (Turkish) lords who were in China held the Chinese titles and obeyed the Chinese emperor and *gave their service to [ešig küčüg bermiš]* him for fifty years. For the benefit of the Chinese, they went on campaigns up to (the land of) the Bükli kagan in the east, where the sun rises, and as far as the Iron Gate in the west. For the benefit of the Chinese emperor they conquered countries. Then, the Turkish common people apparently said as follows: 'We used to be a people who had an (independent) state. Where is our own state now? For whose benefit are we conquering these lands?' they said. 'We used to be a people who had its own kagan. Where is our own kagan now? *To which kagan are we giving our services? [nä qağanqa ešig küčüg berür män]*' they said. By talking in this way (among themselves), they again became hostile to the Chinese emperor. But, after they had become hostile to him, they could not form and organize themselves (i.e., the state) well, and therefore they again submitted (to the Chinese). (The Chinese), without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) *have given their services [ešig küčüg bertükgärü]* so much (to the Chinese), said: 'We shall kill and exterminate the Turkish people.'<sup>16</sup>

Tonyuquq remarked: "It was I who was (his) counselor, and it was I who was his wartime leader during these expeditions. ... Without sleeping by

<sup>12</sup> G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972:611.

<sup>13</sup> Kristó op. cit., 131-133.

<sup>14</sup> Clauson defined the first element *iš* as 'work, labour' (ED:254), and the second *küč* as 'strength' (ED:693). The word *ber-* means 'to give'.

<sup>15</sup> According to Doerfer instead of the word *iš* 'work, labour' *eš* 'Pflicht' (duty) is more appropriate. G. Doerfer, "Zu alttürkisch  $Is^2g \sim s^2g$   $küčg$   $b^2Ir^2$  - 'dem H e r r s c h e r gegenüber seine Pflicht erfüllen, ihn unterstützen'": *Altaica Berolinensia. The Concept of Sovereignty in the Altaic World*. PIAC 34th Meeting. Ed. B. Kellner-Heinkele. Wiesbaden 1993:69-74.

<sup>16</sup> Tekin op. cit., 264-5; KT E 7-10.

night or getting rest by day, and letting my red blood pour and making my black sweat flow, *I gave my services [ešig küčüg bertim]* (to my kagans and people). I have sent (them) forward on far campaigns, I have made the fortifications and watchtowers great. I used to force withdrawing enemies to come (on us). I, together with my kagan, went on campaigns.”<sup>17</sup>

On the basis of the context of these passages the term *ešig küčüg bertim* means first and foremost either personal (Tonyuquq) or collective military service to the ruler. This meaning may be equivalent to the Greek *συμμαχέω* when it refers to an alliance between two unequal groups.

## 2. The virtues of a nomadic ruler

Suitability for rule was expressed by the sacrality of the dynasty as well as personal attributes.<sup>18</sup> The Hungarian leaders Lebedias and Arpad were characterized with the following words: Lebedias was “noble (*εὐγενής*) and wise (*φρόνιμος*) and valorous (*ἠνδρειωμένος*),” Arpad was “admired for wisdom (*φρόνησις*) and counsel (*βουλή*) and valour (*ἀνδρεία*).”

The kagans and high officials of the first Türk empire were described in the Köl Tegin Inscription with similar Turkic words: “Wise (*bilgä*<sup>19</sup>) kagans were they, brave (*alp*<sup>20</sup>) kagans were they. Their buyruqs, too, were wise and brave (*bilgä, alp*), indeed.”<sup>21</sup> Elterish was characterized in the Tonyuquq inscription as follows: “By virtue of his being wise and brave (*bilgäsin üčün, alpın üčün*), Elterish Kagan fought seventeen times against the Chinese<sup>22</sup>, ...” According to the Tonyuquq inscription “Their Kagan is said to be brave, and his counselor is said to be wise (*qağanı alp ermis, ayğučisi bilgä ermis*)”<sup>23</sup>.

17 Tekin op. cit., 289; T II. S 5-6, E 1-3.

18 Szücs J., *A magyar nemzeti tudat kialakulása* (The development of the Hungarian national identity). Ed. Zimonyi I. Szeged 1992:188.

19 Clauson ED:340.

20 *alp* ‘tough, resistant, hard to overcome, brave’ Clauson ED:127-128.

21 Tekin op. cit., 264; KT E 3.

22 Tekin op. cit., 289; T II. S 4-5.

23 Tekin op. cit., 284, 286, 287; T S3, E4, N5.

The counsellor was Tonyuquq, who was called *bilgä Tonyuquq* in his inscription.<sup>24</sup>

A third term, *ärdäm* 'manly qualities, bravery'<sup>25</sup> appears three times in addition to the above-mentioned *alp* and *bilgä* in the Köli Ćor inscription: *kädim b[ängizi] alpī ärdämi anta kükädi* "His dress and [appearance], his heroism and manly qualities gained him much fame"<sup>26</sup>; *[bi]lgäsin üčün, alpīn ärdämin [üčü]n q[azg]antī* "Since he was wise, (since) he was brave and had manly qualities, (he won)<sup>27</sup>..."; *[tab]gäčqa bunča süngüsüp alpīn ärdämin üčün kü bunča tutdi* "(Köli Ćor) fought so many times against the Chinese and he gained so much fame by virtue of his courage and his manly qualities."<sup>28</sup> The words *alp* and *ärdäm* are used as hendiaduoim.

Therefore, the personal virtues attributed to the Hungarian leaders in the Greek text, i.e. wisdom (*φρόνησις*) and counsel (*βουλή*) and valour (*ἀνδρεία*) correspond on a conceptual level to the Turkic terms in the inscriptions: *bilgä* 'wise; counsellor' *alp* 'hard, difficult; brave; hero; heroism' *ärdäm* 'courage, manly qualities; brave, courageous'. It is interesting to note that the Greek *φρόνησις* 'wisdom' and *βουλή* 'counsel' can be compared with *bilgä* 'wise; counsellor' while the term *ἀνδρεία* can be linked to the Turkic *alp* and *ärdäm*.<sup>29</sup>

Constantine remarked "Because of their courage (*ἀνδρεία*) and their alliance (*συμμαχία*), the chagan-prince of Chazaria gave in marriage to the first voivode of the Turks, called Lebedias, a noble Chazar lady, because of the fame of his valour and illustriousness of his race," (*τὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτοῦ περίφημον καὶ τὸ τοῦ γένους περιφανές*). In appreciation for the Hungarians' loyalty and the success of their campaigns the Chazar kagan gave a Chazar lady in marriage to the Hungarian leader, thus representing closer political ties to the Chazars. The personal merits of the Hungarian leader Lebedias, i.e. the fame of his valour and the

<sup>24</sup> Clauson noted that from the original meaning 'brave man' there developed a specific title of office 'counsellor' (ED:340).

<sup>25</sup> Clauson, ED:206-207.

<sup>26</sup> Tekin op. cit., 293; KĆ W4.

<sup>27</sup> Tekin op. cit., 293; KĆ W7.

<sup>28</sup> Tekin op. cit., 293; KĆ W12.

<sup>29</sup> The term *ärdäm* is etymologically comparable to the Greek *ἀνδρεία*, both originated from the word 'man'.

illustriousness of his race can be compared with the phrases in the Turkic inscription.

The first expression, *the fame of his valour* reflects the above-quoted Köli Čor fragments: *alpī ārdāmi anta kükādi* “his heroism and manly qualities gained him much fame<sup>30</sup>”; *[tab]gačqa bunča süngüsüp alpin ārdāmin üčün kü bunča tutdī* “(Köli Čor) fought so many times against the Chinese and he gained so much fame by virtue of his courage and his manly qualities.<sup>31</sup>”

The other expression, *the illustriousness of his race*, is ambiguous, since the Greek *γένος* can mean either descent or clan, tribe, people. Moravcsik translated the expression as ‘splendour of his clan’.<sup>32</sup> As for the tribe, Constantine used the term *γενεά* in general, but it also means family: “so even to this day the Prince of Turkey is from his [Arpad’s] family.” The Greek *ἔθνος* denoted the nation or people. To complicate the matter the word *γένος* is applied to the people or nation of the Hungarians in Chapter 3.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the exact meaning of *γένος* in the expression “illustriousness of his *γένος*” can be interpreted in two different ways: it refers to the notability of Levedi’s descent and it is identical with the term *εὐγενής* ‘noble’ enumerated among the merits of Levedias; it can be interpreted as a reference to the splendour of the Hungarian nation or people.

The second interpretation can be compared with the standard compound *türk bodun ati küsü* ‘the name and fame of the Turkic people’: “In order that the *name and fame of the Turkish people* would not perish, Heaven, which had raised my father, the kagan, and my mother, the katun, and which granted them the state, in order that *the name and fame of the Turkish people* would not perish, (the Heaven) enthroned (me). I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people at all; (on the contrary,) I became ruler over a poor and miserable people who were foodless on the inside and clothless on the outside. I and prince Kül, my younger brother, consulted together. In order that *the name and fame of the Turkish people*, which our father and uncle had won, would not perish, and for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep by night and I did not relax by day.<sup>34</sup>” The expression is used three

30 Tekin op. cit., 293; KČ W4.

31 Tekin op. cit., 293; KČ W12.

32 Moravcsik, *Fontes Byzantini*, 43.

33 Moravcsik, *Fontes Byzantini*, 35.

34 Tekin op. cit., 267-268; KT E 25-27.

times in the same form: *türk bodun atı küsü yoq bolmazun* 'in order that the name and fame of the Turkic people would not perish' in connection with the successful creation and preservation of the realm of the Turkic people and his ruler.

Returning to the problem of the suitability for rule, it is worth mentioning that both Hungarian leaders, Lebedias and Arpad were in possession of personal virtues (wisdom and bravery), but noble descent (*ΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ*) was attributed only to Lebedias.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, the legitimation of Arpad's rule, besides his personal virtues, was based on the appointment of the Chazar Kagan.

### 3. ἔθος, ζάκανον — *törü*

Constantine describes of Arpad's installation ceremony as follows: "and so they made him prince according to the *custom*, or 'zakanon', of the Chazars, by lifting him upon a shield." The practice of lifting upon a shield was common throughout the Byzantine and Roman world and could therefore have been borrowed by the Chazars.<sup>36</sup> The expression ἔθος 'custom' and ζάκανον a Slavic loanword in Greek meaning law may reflect the Turkic word *törü* in the inscriptions.

The meaning of *törü* is the unwritten customary law, which comprises the ideas of custom and law.<sup>37</sup>

*Olurapan türk bodunıñ elin törüsün tuta bermis, eti bermis* "After they [Bumin Kagan and İstämi Kagan] had become rulers, they organized and ruled the state and institutions of the Turkish people.<sup>38</sup>" *Anı ücün elig anča tutmis erinç, elig tutup törüg etmis* "For this reason, they were able to keep the state under control. Having kept the state under control, they arranged the state rules and regulations.<sup>39</sup>" *tabğaç qağanqa elin törüsün ali bermis* "they

<sup>35</sup> It is noteworthy that Tacitus wrote of the Germans: *reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt*. Cf. W. Schlesinger, "Über germanische Königtum": *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen. Vorträge und Forschungen* B III. Sigmaringen 1956:131-132.

<sup>36</sup> Moravcsik, *Fontes Byzantini*, 45 Note 27.

<sup>37</sup> Clauson, ED:531-532.

<sup>38</sup> Tekin op. cit., 265; KT E1.

<sup>39</sup> Tekin op. cit., 264; KT E3.

consented to accept his realm (i.e. rule) and customary law from the Chinese emperor<sup>40</sup>” *yeti yüz er är bolup elsirämiš qağansiramış bodunuğ, küngedmiš quladmiš bodunuğ, türk törüsün içginmiš bodunuğ äçüm apam törüsincä yaratmiš bošğurmiš*. “After they had numbered seven hundred, (my father, the kagan,) organized and ordered the people who had lost their state and their kagan, the people who had turned slaves and servants, the people who had lost the Turkish institutions, in accordance with the rules of my ancestors.<sup>41</sup> [elig] *törüg qazğanip uça barmış, ... ol törüdü üze äçim qağan olurti.*” (My father, the kagan), after he had founded (such a great) empire and gained power, passed away. ... In accordance with the state rules, my uncle succeeded to the throne.<sup>42</sup> *anča qazğanmiš etmiš elimiz törümüz ärti. Türk oğuz bägläri, bodun, äsiding! Üzä tängri basmasar, asra yer tälinmäsar, türk bodun elingin törügingin käm artati?* “We had such a well-acquired and well-organized state and institutions. You, Turkish and Oguz lords and people, hear this! If the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give away, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and institutions?<sup>43</sup>”

This term was connected with the supreme ruler, the kagan and its empire (*el*) in the Turkic inscriptions and it can be interpreted as state law within the sphere of the kagan's power.<sup>44</sup> Arpad was therefore installed according to the customary state law of the Chazar Kagan.

\*

These corresponding notions can be interpreted as accidental, since these expressions could be applied to other peoples. The Latin *auxilia* and *foederati* or *mores* for the German tribes and kingdoms is the equivalent of the Turkic *ešig küčüg ber-* and *törü*, so such institutions might have been considered general characteristics of tribal societies at various times and locations. As for the qualities of a ruler, these expressions were applied to non-

<sup>40</sup> KT E8; Clauson, ED:122; Tekin's translation is not correct: “For the benefit of the Chinese emperor they conquered countries.” (op. cit., 264).

<sup>41</sup> Tekin op. cit., 265; KT E13.

<sup>42</sup> Tekin op. cit., 266; KT E16.

<sup>43</sup> Tekin op. cit., 267; KT E22.

<sup>44</sup> R. Giraud, *L'empire des Turcs Célestes. Les règnes d'Elterich, Qapaghan et Bilgä*. Paris 1960:71.



Christian, barbarian kings, because the Byzantine Emperor was characterised by other qualities.<sup>45</sup> So we ought to ask the question whether the expressions in question were generally used for barbarian peoples or if there is evidence that they were specially applied to the nomads of Eurasia.

The Hungarian polity was formed under the influence of the nomadic peoples of Eastern Europe, who spoke Turkic dialects. The political institutions of the Hungarian tribal confederation was built upon the Chazar example within the empire of the Chazars, which can be regarded as the successor state to the western Türk empire. The Chazars founded their empire as a consequence of the decline of the Türk empire in the first half of the 7th century.<sup>46</sup> So it is no wonder that Constantine called the Hungarians *Tourkoi*, *Türks*, while their polity was similar to that of the *Türks* and Chazars.<sup>47</sup>

Another difficulty appears if the problems arising from translations of these words are taken into consideration. The Turkic inscriptions reflect an eastern Turkic language. The formation of the Hungarian tribal confederation took place among Turkic peoples, who spoke western Turkic dialects, but the Hungarians preserved their Finno-Ugric language. The narration of the Hungarian dignitaries was probably translated in Constantinople by Slavic interpreters into Greek.

L. Ligeti published a monograph on the old Turkic loanwords in the Hungarian language.<sup>48</sup> The words in connection with virtues of the nomadic rulers and the customary law were borrowed from old Turkic.

1. Hung. *bölcs* 'wise' is from old Turkic *bögüči* 'wizard'. The term *bögü* ~ *bügü* means sorcery, sage and wizard and the Suffix *-či* is the *nomen agentis*, so its original meaning was wizard both in Turkic and in Hungarian,

<sup>45</sup> *Εὐσέβεια* (pietas), *Δικαιοσύνη* (iustitia), *φιλανθρωπία* (philanthropia), *Μεγαλοπρέπεια*, *φιλοτιμία* E. Ewig, "Zum christlichen Königsgedanken im Frühmittelalter": *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen. Vorträge und Forschungen* B. III: Sigmaringen 1956:14; cf, also G. Rösch, "ONOMA ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ." *Studien zum offiziellen Gebrauch der Kaisertitel in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit.* Wien 1978.

<sup>46</sup> Szűcs op. cit., 195-196.

<sup>47</sup> Róna-Tas, A., "Ethnogenese und Staatsgründung. Die türkische Komponente in der Ethnogenese des Ungartums": *Reinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandlungen* 78, *Studien zur Ethnogenese*, Bd. 2:107-142; Kristó, op. cit., 68-70.

<sup>48</sup> Ligeti L., *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* (Turkic links in the Hungarian language before the Conquest and during the Árpád period). Budapest 1986.

but after the Christianization of the Hungarians it was used as an adjective meaning wise. The root *bögü* ~ *bügü* itself had the double meanings of sorcery and wizard. Clauson drew our attention to the fact that the word *bögü* connoted both wisdom and mysterious spiritual power and it was used as a *handiadin* of *bilgä* in the Uygur texts.<sup>49</sup>

2. Hung. *bátor* 'brave' is from old Turkic *bagatur* 'hero, picked warrior, brave'. It was originally a noun and the secondary adjective was attested in the old and new Turkic languages. Ligeti pointed out, that it was used only as attribute in the Greek inscriptions of the Danubian Bulgars.<sup>50</sup>

3. Hung. *érdem* 'merit' is from old Turkic *ärdäm* 'manly qualities, esp. bravery', which is a denominal noun from *er* 'man, human male'. The Hungarian word and that of the Turkic inscriptions is the same.<sup>51</sup>

4. Hung. *törvény* 'law' meant customary, traditional, unwritten law in the Middle Ages just as the old Turkic *törü*. The Hung. *törvény* can be connected with the old Turkic *törü*, but the question of the suffix at the end of the Hungarian word requires further investigation.<sup>52</sup>

In conclusion, we can sum up the results of our investigations in the following figure:

Greek	Turkic	Hungarian
συμμαχέω, συμμαχία φρονησις βουλή ἀνδρεία	<i>ešig kücüg ber- bilgä</i> -	<i>bölcs</i> -
-	<i>alp</i>	<i>bátor</i>
-	<i>ärdäm</i>	<i>érdem</i>
τὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτοῦ περίφημον τὸ τοῦ γένους περιφανές ἔθος ζάκανον	<i>alpī ärdämi anta kükädi</i>  <i>türk bodun atı küsü</i>  <i>törü</i> -	     <i>törvény</i> -

<sup>49</sup> Clauson, ED:324; *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* (A historico-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language). I-IV. Szerk. (Ed.) Benkó L. Budapest 1967-1984 = TESz I:360-361; Ligeti op. cit., 57, 272.

<sup>50</sup> Clauson, ED:313; TESz I:258; Ligeti op. cit., 66, 469-470.

<sup>51</sup> Clauson, ED:206-207; TESz I:781; Ligeti, op. cit., 30.

<sup>52</sup> Szűcs op. cit., 255-256; Clauson, ED:531-532; TESz III:975.

The testimony of the old Turkic loanwords in Hungarian corroborate our assumption that Hungarian polity as reflected in the Greek text by Constantine Porphyrogenitus was an integral part of the Chazar empire, and through it the nomadic world of Eurasia. The notions investigated above can be rightly compared with those of the Türk empire, whose history was preserved partly in their indigenous language. These political institutions flourished among the Hungarians in the middle of the 10th century after the conquest in 895, which was a turning point in the history of the Hungarians, as they lost their close contact with Turkic peoples of the southern Russian steppe.



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