MONGOLIAN STUDIES

EDITED BY

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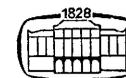
This analysis made by us on the basis of the inner reconstruction makes us cautious in drawing quick conclusions concerning the borrowed character of some or other roots particularly that of colour names.[13]

One must be familiar with the deepest foundations of the language studied. Some important facts are often hidden in the folklore, mythology, border dialects, archaic phrases and phraseology of isolated local dialects that are not laid down in dictionaries and written texts.

VERBAL PREFIXES IN MONGOLIAN DIALECTS

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY

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Our knowledge of Mongolian dialects varies in depth and range. This fact sets considerable limits to the results that can be expected in comparative Mongolian dialectology. For example, when attempting to compare verbal prefixes in contemporary Mongolian, I have had to restrict myself largely to the linguistic material of Buriat and Khalkha, and — to a lesser extent — Kalmućk and Ordos. This is certainly a limiting factor. Naturally, such limited comparisons can also be justified in certain cases, especially where there is a lack of comparative dialectology, as is the case with Mongolian studies.

The problem whether the individual units of the present state of language can be considered as parts, say dialects, of one single Mongolian language or wheter they are in fact Mongolian languages in a more or less close relationship to one another, is far from being even broadly outlined in any exact way. A close examination of the problem is rendered even more difficult by the fact that new literary languages, based on Buriat, Khalkha and Kalmuck, have emerged. Thus, problems of an exclusively linguistic nature become intermingled with social elements, too.

In two papers of mine I have ventured to lay down rules for the use of Mongolian verbal prefixes for a descriptive grammar.[1] It is clear from them that the rules for the use of prefixes in the individual dialects decisively agree with one another. Mongolian verabal prefixes are thus governed by one structural rule in all dialects in which they occur. Minor variations can only occur within the scope of this rule.

Mongolian verbal prefixes are quasi- or semi-nominals. It is logical therefore to include them in the lexicon. In this capacity, however, Mongolian verbal prefixes in the dialects differ from one another in many ways. Further on in my study I shall deal with certain aspects of the differences in addition to the similarities.

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[13] Other colour names like *chara*, *šara* etc. will be dealt with in the next paper.

[1] L. Bese, *A study in Buriat preverbs*: AOH XIX (1966), pp. 217—244. and *On Khalkha preverbs*: AOH XXI (1968), p. 225—235.

1. *Distribution of types of verbal prefixes*

In all contemporary Mongolian dialects the root prefix forms the basic type. The root prefix in contemporary Mongolian also has a derivative complemented with an $.r(A)$ verbal prefix formant. At the same time, a variety of verbal prefix co-occurrences may also be found. In addition, elements other than verbal prefixes may be coordinated with the individual prefixes.

The distribution of these types in contemporary dialects is shown below:

Prefix types	Buriat		Khalkha		Ordos	Kalmuck
	lit.	folkl.	lit.	folkl.	folklore	folklore
Pr (root pref.)	+	+	+	+	+	+
2Pr	+	+	+	+	+	+
3Pr	−	−	−	(+)	−	−
4Pr	+	−	−	−	no data	no data
Pr + twin	+	+	+	+		+
Pr.rA	+	+	−	+	−	−
2Pr.rA	+	+	+	+	−	+
Pr + adverb	−	−	+	−	−	−
Pr + *aja*	+	−	−	−	−	−
üj + Pr	+	−	−	−	−	−

According to the table Pr and 2Pr occur in every dialect. There is no evidence for the Pr.rA type in Ordos. The norms of literary Khalkha do not permit this type. Pr.rA is not frequent in spoken Khalkha either. 2Pr.rA is only frequent in Buriat. In the other dialects, however, it does not occur. A few occurrences of it only are known from Khalkha folklore. 4Pr (or correctly 2×2Pr) can be found in literary Buriat only. This type of co-occurrence is nothing but a literary extremity. 3Pr in Khalkha is also an extreme in the spoken language. The Pr+twin (i.e. a partially reduplicated element) type occurs primarily in the colloquial language. The frequency of other types can be neglected statistically.

For comparative dialectology Pr, 2Pr, Pr.rA, and 2Pr.rA types are of particular importance. These are all derivatives of the root prefix (Pr), and appear in every contemporary Mongolian dialect. (In the peripheries of the area of Mongolian languages the verbal prefix is not known at all.) Buriat, in turn, markedly differs from the other dialects as regards the occurrence of Pr.rA and 2Pr.rA. This separation of Buriat will be seen to be even more clear-cut in the examination of the frequency of the individual types (cf. 4.1).

The study of differences between the occurrences of Pr.rA and 2Pr.rA in Khalkha (in literary Khalkha and folklore) is also very instructive. What it clearly shows is that there may be differences in the occurrence of verbal prefix types in the colloquial or literary language, and folklore, respectively.

2. *Distribution of the stock of dialectal verbal prefixes*

The second part of this comparison is devoted to registering the agreements and differences of the stock of verbal prefixes in contemporary Mongolian dialects.

The stock of verbal prefixes of contemporary Mongolian dialects or dialectal literary languages has been listed, to a considerable extent, by Ramstedt's Kalmuck, Mostaert's Ordos, Čeremisov's Buriat, and Luvsandêndêv's Khalkha dictionary. It is hardly necessary to prove to the scholars of Mongolian that these lexicographers have all done an excellent job. This is clearly shown by the fact that, with the help of informants, I could only add one prefix (*kegz* «out») te Ramstedt's Kalmuck prefix Material, and also one from Džangar (*balc* «zer-») (cf. Bese, 1970). Similarly, my Buriat literary and folklore corpus (cf. Bese, 1966: 217, notes 2. and 3.) could add hardly more than one or two verbal prefixes to Čeremisov's Buriat material, although I had an opportunity to be convinced of the actual size of the Khalkha verbal prefix stock through various channels of information on the spoken language.

At the same time, these authors exerted an influence on one another, particularly in the lexicographical field. It is obvious, for instance, that Luvsandêndêv relied heavily on the content and formal elements of the results of Čeremisov's dictionary (cf. Bese, A. Luvsandêndêv, *Mongol oros tolǐ: AOH* IX, 340−343). It is, then, justified to suppose that the verbal prefix stock registered by Luvsandêndêv was assembled as a result of a comparison with Čeremisov's material. It may thus be stated that verbal prefixes which have not been taken over from the Buriat to the Khlakha dictionary, practically do not occur in Khalkha dialect.

If, in addition, we take it into consideration that all dictionaries mentioned above contain essantially the same amount of items, it can be assumed that comparative dialectology will find that the agrements and differences as shown by the table below vary within realistic value limits.

An additional problem is raised by the selection of what is called the dominant dialect underlying such comparisons. Considering the present state

of Mongolian, this problem has not yet been solved. For the lack of a better solution, I shall follow the common practice of Mongolian studies by adopting the method of taking Classical Written Mongolian — or the presumably corresponding form — the basis of comparison. By this method several other problems on the phonological level may be omitted. From the dialectological point of view these problems may also be of great moment, but they do not constitute a particular case as far as comparing verbal prefixes is concerned.

		Buriat	Khalkha	Ordos	Kalmuck
1.	AMQA «down»	amcha	—	—	—
2.	BAҐČA «into»	bagsa	—	—	—
3.	BAҐU «in two»	—	—	—	buu
4.	BALA «asunder»	bala	—	—	—
5.	BALBA «completely»	—	balba	balba	balw
6.	BALČA «in two»	—	—	—	balc
7.	BELTE «out»	bêltê	—	—	—
8.	BILA «together»	bila	—	—	—
9.	BILBA «together»	—	—	bilba	—
10.	BIČA «asunder»	bisa	bjac	—	—
11.	BULČA «through»	—	—	—	bulc
12.	BULҐU «out»	bulga	bulga	bulgu	bulgᵘ
13.	BULTU «completely»	—	—	—	bultᵘ
14.	BUTA «asunder»	buta	but	—	butᵘ
15.	BÜLGÜ «trough»	bülgê	—	—	—
16.	BÜLTE «out»	—	bült	—	—
17.	ČOҐU «through»	soo	coo	—	coo
18.	ČÖMÜ «through»	sümê	còm	—	—
19.	ČUҐU «asunder»	—	cuu	—	—
20.	DALBA «down»	dalba	—	—	—
21.	DELBE «apart»	dêlbê	dêlbê	delbe	—
22.	DOLU «down»	dolo	—	—	—
23.	DÜLE «into pieces»	dülê	—	—	—
24.	EBTÜ «through»	—	—	—	iptᵉ
25.	ELTE «away»	—	êlt	—	—
26.	EMTE «away»	—	êmt	—	—
27.	ĴADA «asunder»	zada	dzad	—	—
28.	ĴEDE «asunder»	zêdê	—	—	—
29.	ĴULҐU «down, out»	—	dzulga	—	—
30.	ĴIRU «into pieces»	zura	dzur	—	—
31.	QAҐA «in half, apart»	chacha	chacha, chaga	chaga	chagᵃ
32.	QAҐĴA «asunder»	chagza	—	—	—

		Buriat	Khalkha	Ordos	Kalmuck
33.	QALČA «asunder»	—	chalc	—	—
34.	QALBU «aside, apart»	chalba	—	—	—
35.	QALĴA «in two pieces»	chalza	chaldz	—	—
36.	QALTU «away»	chalta	chalti, chaltĭ	—	—
37.	QAMQA «asunder»	chamcha	chamcha	chamcha	chamchᵃ
38.	QANGGI «up, upwards»	changi	changi	—	—
39.	KEGĴE «out»	chêgzê	chêgdz	—	—
40.	KEMKE «asunder»	chêmchê	chêmch	kχemkχe	kcmkᵉ
41.	KIҐA «asunder»	chjaa	chjaa	—	—
42.	QOBQU «asunder»	chovcho	chovch	—	chovchᵃ
43.	QODU «through»	chodo	—	—	—
44.	QOҐBU «away»	cholbo	cholbi	cholbo	cholvⁱ
45.	QOLTU «down, away»	cholto	cholt	—	—
46.	QUҐA «in two pieces»	chucha	chuga	chugu	chugᵘ
47.	QUҐU «out, asunder»	chuu	chuu	—	—
48.	KÜGÜ «out»	—	chüü	—	küü
49.	MILA «asunder»	mila	—	—	—
50.	MOҐČU «asunder»	mogso	—	—	—
51.	MULTU «out»	multa	mult	—	moltᵒ
52.	MÜLTÜ «out»	mültê	mült	mòltò	möltᵒ̈
53.	NEBTE «through»	nêbtê	nêvt	nebte	ncptᵉ
54.	NIČA «asunder»	nisa	njac	—	—
55.	NIĴA «asunder»	niza	—	—	—
56.	NILA «asunder»	nila	—	—	—
57.	NUҐU «into pieces»	nuga	nuga	—	—
58.	NOLҐU «into pieces»	—	—	nulgu	—
59.	OҐČU «away»	—	ogc	—	—
60.	OҐLU «out»	oglo	oglo	—	—
61.	ONGGI «out»	ongi	—	—	—
62.	OTU «through»	oto	—	—	—
63.	ÖMÜ «away»	—	òm	—	—
64.	SAMNA «asunder»	hamna	—	—	—
65.	SEME «out»	—	—	—	scmᵉ
66.	SENDÜ «out»	—	—	—	sendᵉ
67.	SETE «through»	hêtê	sêt	—	—
68.	SOKI «out»	—	soch	—	—
69.	SÖNGÜ «through»	hügnê	—	—	söngᵒ̈
70.	SEBTE «through»	šêbtê	—	—	—
71.	SIBTU «through»	šobto	šuvt	šubtu, šugtu	šobtᵒ, šuptᵘ
72.	SILBU «out»	šolbo	šolbo	—	—
73.	SUҐU «out»	huga, hucha	suga	dzugu	sugᵘ

	Buriat	Khalkha	Ordos	Kalmuck
74. SIГU «down, away»	šuu	šuu	—	šuu
75. SIGÜ «down»	—	—	—	šüü
76. TAYI «away»	—	—	—	tää
77. TASU «asunder»	taha	tas	dasu	tas
78. TEGÜ «down»	tüü	—	—	
79. TESÜ «asunder»	têhê	tês	—	tes
80. TÜGDÜ «down»	tügdê	—	—	—
81. UDA «asunder»	uda	—	—	—
82. UГJA «out»	ugza	ugdza	—	—
83. ÜLTÜ «asunder»	ülti	ült	—	—
84. YÜLE «out»	julê	—	—	—

The table above does not point out too many common elements of the stock of verbal prefixes of contemporary Mongolian dialects: BULГU «out», QAГA «apart», QAMQA «asunder», KEMKE «asunder», QUГA «in two pieces», MÜLTÜ «out», NEBTE «through», SUГU «out», SIBTU «through», TASU «asunder». Even if Khalkha and Ordos are looked upon as variants of one single central dialect, the number of common elements cannot be increased by more than six other prefixes: BUTA «asunder», ČOГU «through», QOBQU «asunder», QOLBU «away», MULTU «out», TESÜ «asunder». Nineteen more prefixes may be added to the common elements by comparing Buriat to the other dialects. Such a comparison, however, already seems to be meaningless.

It is striking that most of the common verbal prefixes can be found in Khalkha and Buriat. This, however, is partly due to the quantitative difference in the stocks of verbal prefixes of the individual dialects. As a matter of fact most of the 84 verbal prefixes listed above occur only in Buriat. Only half of them can be found in Khalkha and even less than half in Kalmuck.

Whatever turn further investigations might take, it seems to be certain that the verbal prefix stocks of contemporary Mongolian dialects vary in size.[2]

[2] It should be noted that the Mongolian verbal prefix is a peculiar root morpheme from which various derivatives may be formed from (cf. Bese, 1966: 231, 1968: 230—231). Usually, if a root morpheme does not act as a verbal prefix in one of the dialects, its derivatives may well occur. E. g. Mo. ČÖMÜ «through» is not used as a verbal prefix in Kalmuck, but it appears in derivatives: cöm. l- «zerbrechen», cöm. r- «zerfallen», cöm.č- «zerdrücken». This is a problem that should not be confused with the questions of prefix stock.

3. *Differences in the frequency of use*
Verbal prefixes and prefix+verb stem compounds are used by Mongolian dialects with a defined frequency. Therefore, differences in the frequency of use may, singly, be characteristic of the individual dialects. This problem is dealt with briefly in the following survey.

3.1 First the facts of two dialectal literary languages are compared. The first column refers to the facts of the prose of literary Buriat, the second to those of literary Khalkha.

	Buriat	Khalkha
Pr (root) type	one per 1 260 words	one per 2,940 words
2Pr type	one per 9 755 words	none per 152 750 words
Pr.rA type	one per 13 480 words	none per 152 750 words

My Buriat literary corpus (cf. Bese, 1966: 217, note 2) of seven volumes contains a literary prose text of 2 766 pages. I chose one page from each of the seven volumes, then I counted the words on each page. The average of the seven selected pages was 268 words. This figure multiplied by the number of pages resulted in 734,288 words. Taking every prefix+verb stem compound for one word, one occurrence per some 965 words could have been indicated. The same method was adopted in compiling my Khalkha literary corpus of 152 750 words. The comparison was extended to only three types (see also Bese, 1966: 237—238.). The rest can now be statistically ignored.

At any rate, what the figures show is that the frequency of the use of the root prefix in literary Buriat is over two times (2.3 times) as high as in literary Khalkha. The frequency of other verbal prefixes or prefix+verb stem compounds indicates even greater differences. These are well worth mentioning since they characterize clearly the difference between the literary languages of the two dialects.

3.2 I shall now proceed to compare three epic texts of Mongolian folklore. One of them is the Buriat Unga-Geser[3] of 12,537 lines, the other consists of

[3] *Abaj Geser*. Vstupiteljnaja statjja, podgotovka teksta, perevod i kommentarii k nemu A. I. Ulanova. Ulan-Udê 1960.

three minor Khalkha epics[4] of 7,305 lines, and the third is the Kalmuck Dzangar[5] of 12,001 lines.

In Unga-Geser there is a total of 94 prefixes or prefix+verb stem compounds for 12,537 lines. In other words, there is one prefix per 133.4 lines. For the individual types:

Pr (root) type   73 (78%) i.e. one occurrence per   171.7   lines
2Pr type   13 (14%) i.e. one occurrence per   964.4   lines
Pr.rA type   8   (8%) i.e. one occurrence per 1567   lines

In Khalkha texts there is a total of 66 verbal prefixes per 7,305 lines, that is, one prefix per 110.7 lines.

Their distribution by types:

Pr (root) type   53 (80%)   i.e. one occurrence per   137.8 lines
2Pr type   11 (17%)   i.e. one occurrence per   664.1 lines
Pr.rA type   1   (1.5%) i.e. one occurrence per 7,305   lines

In the Kalmuck Džangar one can find a total of 114 verbal prefixes in 12 001 lines, that is, one per 105.5 lines. Distribution by types:

Pr (root) type   97 (85.1%) i.e. one occurrence per   123.7 lines
2Pr type   6   (5.3%) i.e. one occurrence per 2 000.2 lines
Pr.rA type   3   (2.6%) i.e. one occurrence per 4 000.3 lines

It is an interesting fact that the frequency rate in the epic of the three dialects is essentially the same. Accordingly, while the frequency in the literary language of the individual Mongolian dialects seems to differ widely, it shows much the same rate in the folklore, e.g. in the epics, of the dialects. Consequently, the informative value of verbal prefixes or prefix+verb stem compounds in literary Buriat prose is different from that in literary Khalkha prose. The informative value in the epics of Mongolian folklore, in turn, ranges largely within the same limits, independently of the particular dialects. It seems almost certain that further investigations in this field will provide notheworthy results.

[4] Rinčinsambuu, G., *Mongol ardyn baatarlag tuulĭs*. Êmchtgên bolovsruulž, òmnòch ủg, tajlbar sêlt ủjldsên — — —. Ulaanbaatar 1960. p. 155.
[5] Džangr. Chalĭmg geroičesk êpos. Jasvrni Basanga B. B. Moskva 1960. p. 362.

3.3 Comparisons as shown above point to one more implication: the frequency rate of the particular types of verbal prefixes also differs within the individual dialects. It may be presumed, therefore, that the individual Mongolian dialects form particular sub-systems as regards the frequency of types. The difference between literary Buriat and literary Khalkha is especially striking. E.g. while there is one occurrence of the 2Pr type for 9,755 Buriat words, not one single to-occurrence of a 2Pr type can be found in the entire Khalkha literary corpus.

4. *A comparison between Buriat and Khalkha literary texts*

The symbol-like (semiotic) formation of information content, its formal and structural proportions, and thus the possible agreements and differences in Mongolian dialects may be examined from several aspects. An important role is played in the symbol-like (semiotic) formation by phonologic or morphonologic differences which influence the mutual understanding among the speakers of the particular dialects. This theorem, *mutatis mutandis*, is true of the syntactical level, and even more so of the lexical level. Since the Mongolian verbal prefix (or prefix+verb stem compound) belongs to the domain of the lexicon, the answer to this question should be sought for, first of all, in lexical terms. For the lack of other possibilities, the material of Buriat and Khalkha literary languages must form the subject matter of this examination.

From the preceding chapters it appears that the stocks of verbal prefixes (prefix+verb stem compounds) in Buriat and Khalkha literary languages are different in size. But a difference may be pointed out in the frequency rate of this lexicological stock in the respective literary languages of the two dialects. From this the conclusion may be drawn that the formal and structural proportions of thoughts of identical content will evolve in compliance with such differences between the two literary languages.

Considering that I was only able to study recorded linguistic material, namely literary works translated from Buriat into Khalkha, the question that has been posed above has had to be modified. According to this modification the question may be raised thus; what form has been given to a certain, semiotically formed, and formally and structurally proportioned information content in the literary language of the other dialect? Since the translation of literary works is under discussion, it seems to be certain that there is a wide range of possible forms. It can be assumed, however, that the possibilities of forms are decisively limited by linguistic (dialectological) norms, too.

By way of illustration, let us take the following Buriat sentence together with its Khalkha translation: Bur. *Ênê stanci dêêrê chùn echê olon* «At this station there are many people» or Khal. *Ênê òrtòònd chùn olon*. The Buriat example and its Khalkha translation show several relevant positional elements. The structure of the two sentences is identical, both of them being what is called a nominal sentence. The word order is identical, too. Several identical elements can be found among the word morphemes within this structure: Bur. *ênê* «this» : Khal. *ênê* «id.»; Bur. *chùn* «man, people» : Khal. *chùn* «id.»; Bur. *olon* «much, many» : Khal. *olon* «id.» However, a few translation shifts may also be observed at this level. By way of example the corresponding word for *echê* «much, many» of the source language, *ich* «id.» of the target language cannot be found in the translation. Probably this shift is due only to some stylistic reasons. Another shift is shown by the Khalkha *-d* dat.-loc. case-ending instead of the Bur. *dêêrê* «on, at» postposition. I do not intend to go into any details as to what reasons might have influenced the translator's choice: whether there are normative differences in the use or wheter it is a question of different personal taste and the like. What I should now like to do is to draw the attention to the difference between the Bur. *stanci* «railroad station» and the Khal. *òrtòò* «id.». I do so chiefly because Buriat also has the word *ùrtòò* which — together with the Khal. *òrtòò* — can be conceived as two variants of one and the same linguistic symbol, that is, one single denotation, as a result of the regularity of phonetic agreements and differences between them. However, this purely Mongolian denotation in the literary language of two dialects may still not denote one and the same thing, that is, «railroad station». The Bur. *ùrtòò* may only denote «postal relay station», since literary Buriat uses *stanci*, a word of Russian origin, to denote «railroad station». This is why the Buriat word of Russian origin, to denote «railroad station». This is why the Buriat form of the Mongolian ÖRTEGE «postal relay station» may not occur in such a nominal group as the Bur. *tùmêr zamaj* — «railroad —». Its Khalkha form, in turn, may occur in the Khalkha nominal group *tòmòr zamyn* —. From the point of view of translation, then, the Bur. *ùrtòò* and the Khal. *òrtòò* are not equivalent: although they are formally identical their essential difference is that they represent two different lexical data. Thus the correct textual translation equivalent of the Khal. *tòmòr zamyn òrtòò* is not the Bur. *tùmêr zamaj ùrtòò*, but *tùmêr zamaj stanci*. In other words, the latter form is correct in Buriat. Such different denotations enable us to observe the operation of the linguistic norms of the literary languages of two dialects, a fact which cannot be ignored by the translator. The exploration of differences in the use of Mongolian verbal prefixes is even more complex because we try to feel the regulating role and work of differing dialectal norms from the translations of literary works.

4.1 I should like to demonstrate the problem exposed in the introductory part by a comparison of Žamijan Baldanžabon's novel, *Bùrgêd. Ariguun bùùbêjn ušaralta jabadalnuud* (Ulan-Udê 1956, 101 p.) with its Khalkha translation (Žamijan Baldanžabon, *Bùrgêd. Ariguun bùùvêjn ùjl javdluud*: Buriad chêlnêês Ž. Lodon, C. Sumijad nar chòvrùùlêv. Ulaanbaatar 1957).

Baldanžabon is of Aga-Buriat origin (cf. Pisateli Burjatii, p. 31.). According to our present knowledge, Aga-Buriat belongs to the Eastern Buriat (Khori) group, and forms a sub-dialect. Although it is almost identical with Khori-Buriat, Aga-Buriat has much in common with Khalkha. In Poppe's opinion, the word stock of the Aga sub-dialect is largely identical with that of Khalkha. Consequently, Aga-Buriats understand Khalkhas very well and vice versa. At the same time, according to the verbal information kindly supplied by L. Š. Šagdarov, himself an Aga-Buriat, within the Eastern Buriat dialects, Aga-Buriat is much more sparing in the use of certain verbal prefix types, particularly the Pr.rA type, than Khori and in particular the Western Buriat dialects. All these coincide with Poppe's findings.

In the other parts of this paper, I shall demonstrate all the prefix occurrences that can be found in Baldanžabon's novel. First I shall give (a) sample sentence taken from the source language, where the prefix verbal stem compound occurs, then its «translation» into the target language. Finally, I shall comment briefly on the translation. In order to get closer to my aim I shall examine all the possible prefix equivalences in the particular literary language of the two Mongolian dialects.

Therefore other equivalences or shifts (which may be possible in the context, morphology, phonetics or lexicon) are left out of consideration.

1. Bur. *Gofmanšie huga charajn bodožo, Borogšoonoj chažuudani gùjžê erêêd, tolgojgoo tonšono:. . .* (p. 21.)
«Jumping up, Gofman runs to B. and hits him on the head: . . .»
Khal. *Gofman boson charajž Borogšoony dêrgêd irêêd, tolgojgoo šaaž: . . .* (p. 18.)

The equivalent translation of Bur. *huga charajn bodožo* «jumping up» is *sug charajn bosč* in Khalkha. The use of the latter in the «translation» would have been possible.

2. Bur. ... *Šarii gulbaagaj duugarchalaar, Sandan noen taha türin dab-tana.* (p. 45.)

«As S. gulbaa begins to speak, S. noyon, immediately nodding his assent, confirms (it) ...»

Khal. ... *Šarij gulbaag chêlêchêd Samdan noen tosč avaad nêêrêê čadachaa boliloo!* (p. 38.)

tas türê- does not occur in Khalkha.

3. Bur. *Sandan noen Chalzan Žamsa choer huya charajldan bodožo ürielдên bajža mêdüülnê.* (p. 45.).

«Jumping up, S. noyon and Ch. Ž. the bald one, announce, competing with each other.»

Khal. *Samdan noen chalzan Žamc choer uchaschijn bosč, bie bieêsêê örsöldön chêlsên nĭ: ...* (p. 38.)

sug charajn bosč (cf. sample sentence 1) is possible in Khalkha, too. Apart from other motives, the translator may perhaps be supposed not to have used this equivalent because the frequency of prefix+verb stem compounds is less in Khalkha than in Buriat.

4. Bur. *Hajtaj chün bêšê, chêrêgtê chêrêggüj jüümê ongilžo bolocho aabza gêžê dosoonĭ chacha oroodchibo.* (p. 94.)

«A man who needlessly pokes his nose into other people's affairs is certainly not a good one — it flashed through his mind.»

Khal. *Er nĭ l sajn chün biš, chêrêgtêj chêrêggüj jum ongičiž boloch l chün bajch — gêž gênêt sanaand nĭ orov.* (p. 78.)

In Khalkha *chacha oroodchi-* does not exist; therefore *genet or-* stands for it.

5. Bur. *Bêšêêšê, gêntê chalba hürên, Sandan noenoj gêr têêsê hobilso güjžêrchinê.* (p. 94.)

«Springing out at once, the clerk runs at breakneck speed towards S. noyon's house.»

Khal. *Bičêêč gênêt cochin, Samdan noeny gerijn züg chol chol charajn güjv.* (p. 78.)

chalba üsrê- is not possible in Khalkha

6. Bur. *Baga ama chalamgy bajhanhaa boloo cha jum daa, — gêhên bodol bêšêêšyn dotor gansata chacha oroodchino.* (p. 59.)

«He might already be a little in high spirits — this was the only thought that flashed through the clerk's mind»

Khal. *Baga zêrêg am chalamttaj bajsnych l bolov uu daa gêsên sêtgêgdêl bičêêčijn dotor gênêt törž öngörsön chojno ööröö gem chijsên gêž ...* (p. 73.)

In Khalkha *chacha oroodchi-* corresponding with the Buriat is not possible (cf. example 4).

7. Bur. ... *gulban ... daljaa chuchara charbuulhan charsaga mêtê ... orošono.* (p. 84.)

«... (the) gulban ... like a falcon with wings broken by being shot with an arrow ... goes away.»

Khal. ... *gulbaa ... dalavčaa chugartal charvuulsan charcaga mêt ... orčichloo.* (p. 69)

In Khalkha *chuchar charvuul-* «shoot something, shoot into pieces» is not possible due to the modern Mo. *.rA* prefix formant.

8. Bur. *Êηêêniietnaj xuulĭ mêdêê haa, ta choeroj gêzêgyetnaj taha tatacha.* (p. 80.)

«If the law learns about it (for you), the plaits of you two will be torn off».

Khal. *Üünij činĭ chuulĭ mêdvêl, ta choeryn gêzgijg taslach bajch daa.* (p. 66.)

The translator might have used the equivalent translation of *taha tata-*, as well, since Khalkha *tas tat-* «to tear off» is the full equivalent of the Buriat form.

9. Bur. *Chülhê halhan bolohon Ulchaan Chulchaan choer chêlêeê chodoro tatuulhan jüümêndêl, üügênêldên, dêêrê dêêrêhêên amidan chanjaaldan bajža, bêe bêeê zaalsana.* (p. 79.)

«Covered with perspiration, sticking their tongues well out, bellowing, puffing and huffing at each other, U. and Kh. keep pointing to each other's direction.»

Kh. *Chöls us bolson Ulchaan Chulchaan choer chêlêe suga tatuulsan jum šig düngêlên amisgaadaž, bie bieê zaana.* (p. 65.)

Since the prefix *chod* has no equivalent in Khakha, *chod tatuul-*, that corresponds to Buriat, is anomalous.

10. Bur. *Gêbêšie, büchy chubsaha chunarynĭ nêbtê šobto norošohon bajža, šüdênüüdynĭ tabžaganaldan, duugarcha gêchêdêê, chêlêniinĭ êêdêldêžê bajba.* (p. 75.)

«Incidentally, since their clothes were thoroughly drenched through and their teeth were chattering, when they wanted to speak, their tongues failed.»

Khal. *Gêvč bůch chuvcas, chunar nĭ šal norood, ichl daarsan bololtoj duugarachdaa chêl nĭ êêdêrnê.* (p. 62.)

The full equivanlent translation of Bur. *nêbtê šobto noro-* «to drench through» is *nêvt šuvt nor-* «id.» in Khal. The translator could have also used this.

11. Bur. *Mún Vitimêj uhanda nêbtê šobto norošohon saarha charmaan soohoo gargaža, . . .* (p. 55.)

«Then the man, taking out of his pocket the paper which got completely drenched, through in the water of Vitim . . .»

Khal. *Bas Vitim môrnij usand nêvt norčichson nêg caas, chalaasan dotroosoo gargan . . .* (p. 46.)

As regards the meaning Khal. *nêvt norčichson* is equivalent to the Bur. *nêbtê šobto norošohon*, even if it is not strictly speaking equivalent.

12. Bur. *Gêbêšie, Ariguun Bůůbêjn bulad zorigynĭ juušie haanĭ, tümêr šêrêm chaaltyešie dêlbê tatachaar, hêlmê zadyn êriiešie tůůrê sochichoor bajgaa hên.* (p. 53.)

«Anyway, independently of A. B.'s steely will, when he wanted to break open the cast-iron gate, he completely nicked the edge of his sword and pike.»

Khal. *Gêvč Ariguun Bůůvêjn bold mêt zorig nĭ, juug č, tômôr širêm chaalgyg č dêlbê tatan, sêlêm zadny irijg č êmtlêchêêr bajlaa.* (p. 44.)

In the Buriat text (source language) there are two verbs with a prefix: *dêlbê tata-* «to break; to pull out or apart» and *tůůrê sochi-* «to nick». The first Khal. translation gives a full equivalent (*dêlbê tat-* «id.»). This was not possible, however, in the second instance since the prefix+verb stem compound *tůůr cochi-* is anomalous in Khalkha.

The following table is meant to sum up this survey. The values of the columns headed by Roman numerals are the following: I. a certain type is translated into an identical type (a. identical Pr+ identical V-; b. or different Pr, or different V-), II. a certain type is translated into another, III. Pr+V- compound in the source language is also possible in the target language. IV. the Khalkha translation is relatively accurate.

Pr + V· compounds in the Buriat source language	In the Khalkha target language				
	I		II	III	IV
	a	b			
1. *huga charaj-* «to jump»	—	—	+	+	—
2. *taha tůri-* «to nod one's assent»	—	—	+	—	—
3. *huga charajlda-* v. rec. of *huga charaj-* «to jump»	—	—	+	+	+
4. *chacha oroodchi-* «to find an entrance into»	—	—	+	—	—
5. *chalba hůrê-* «to jump (to one side)»	—	—	+	—	—
6. *chacha oroodchi-* «to find an entrance into»	—	—	+	—	—
7. *chuchara charbuul-* v. causat. of *chuchara charbu-* «to break by shooting with an arrow»					
8. *taka tata-* «to tear off»	—	—	+	+	—
9. *chodoro tatuul-* v. causat. of *chodoro tata-* «to stick out»					
10. *nêbtê šobto norošo-* «to drench through»	—	+	+	+	—
11. *nêbtê šobto norošo-* «to drench through»	—	+	—	+	+
12. a. *dêlbê tata-* «to break»	+	—	—	+	+
12. b. *tůůrê sochi-* «to nick»	—	—	—	—	+

From column III it appears that in six out of thirteen cases the translator could have taken the opportunity of using full equivalents. By way of contrast, columns I (a and b) and II show how small an extent the translator made use of them. (Naturally it was not on account of this that the translator did a poor job, cf. column IV.) Column III. is very instructive anyhow: it appears from it that only six out of thirteen occurrences can be translated into their respective full equivalents. Data in col. III., then, correspond with the findings of the preceding examination (cf. 4. 1), according to which literary Buriat uses more than twice as many prefixes as literary Khalkha.

4.2 It is clear from the above that the Khalkha text (target language) cannot be, in every respect, a full equivalent of the Buriat text (source language), even if the examination is restricted to the study of verbal prefixes. In the course of translation, then, certain translation shifts have to be taken into account. The extent and degree of shifts, at the same time, define the limits of translating from Buriat dialect into Khalkha. The examination of translations, therefore, facilitates the exploration of normative differences between the two dialects.

In pursuance of our objective, normative differences between literary Buriat and Khalkha will be demonstrated by meanas of examining two Buriat novels and their Khalkha translations.

The first work is Choca Namsaraev's novel Ŭŭrêj tolon (Ulan-Udê 1959. 398 p.) and its Khalkha translation: Ŭŭrijn colmon. (Zasvarlaž, nêmsên 1956 only chêvlêlêês nĭ chalch ajalguunaa chórvúúlsên G. Žamsranžav.) Ulaanbaatar 1959. The second novel: Žamso Tumunov, Nojrhoo hêrihên tala (Ulan-Udê 1949, 251 p.) and its Khalkha translation: Nojroos sêrsên tal. (Buriadaas mongol ajalguunaa G. Cerendorž.) Ulaanbaatar 1956. To put it in a simpler way, I combined the prefix material of the two novels into one table, marking Tumunov's work with 1, and Namsaraev's with 2, V.

4.21 A certain type is translated into an identical type

Belonging to this group are those prefix+verb stem compounds whose Khalkha equivalents (i.e. in the target language) mostly agree with the original. However, equivalence or the degree of shifts may be different at the level of formal comparison. Accordingly, various sub-groups have been formed as follows:

4.21.1 Identical Pr+identical V-:

Buriat		Khalkha
1. *bulga mušch-*	«to twist out» (1: 197) :	*bulga mušgi-*
2. *buta buuda-*	«to open fire» (1: 211) :	*but buud-*
3. *buta sochi-*	«to smash to pieces» (1: 247) :	*but cochi-*
4. *buta sochi-*	«id.» (1: 248) :	*but cochi-*
5. *chacha zùhê-*	«to cut into pieces» (2, V: 88) :	*chaga zùsê-*
6. *chucha mušch-*	«to twist out» (l: 182) :	*chuga mušgi-*
7. *chucha sochi-*	«to cut through» (1: 208, 2, V: 201) :	*chuga cochi-*
8. *chucha sochi-*	«id.» (2, V: 150) :	*chuga cochi-*
9. *huga tata-*	«to pull out with a jerk» (1: 92, 2, V: 261) :	*suga tat-*
10. *multa tat-*	«to take off or out» (1: 51) :	*mult tat-*
11. *nêbtê char-*	«to look through something» (1: 120) :	*nêvt char-*
12. *nêbtê charba-*	«to shoot through» (2, V: 273) :	*nêvt charva-*
13. *nêbtê žêgnê-*	«to warm thoroughly» (2, V: 272) :	*nêvt žignê-*

Buriat		Khalkha
14. *nuga dara-*	«to bend one's neck» (1: 126) :	*nuga dara-*
15. *nuga sochi-*	«to strike» (2, V: 315) :	*nuga cochi-*
16. *taha buud-*	«shoot off or away» (1: 250) :	*tas buud-*
17. *taha chaza-*	«to bite or gnaw through or in two» (2, V: 175) :	*tas chaza-*
18. *taha otol-*	«to cut right through or asunder» (1: 79, 211, 225) :	*tas ogtol-*
19. *taha sabša-*	«to cut off or apart» (2, V: 175) :	*tas cavč-*
20. *ugza tat-*	«to pull out» (1: 58) :	*ugz tat-*
21. *taha tat-*	«to tear off» (1: 15, 202, 219) :	*tas tat-*
22. *chucha nuga chêl-*	«to offend» (2, V: 47) :	*chuga nuga chêl-*
23. *chúcha nuga chêl-*	«id.» (2, V: 51) :	*chuga nuga chêl-*
24. *chuchara sochi-*	«to break into pieces» (2, V: 124) :	*chugar cochi-*
25. *tahara sabša-*	«to chop (sy's head off)» (2, V: 369) :	*tasar cavči-*
26. *tahara sabša-*	«id.» (2, V: 184, 222) :	*tasar cavči-*

4.21.2 Identical Pr + different V-

1. *chacha sochi-*	«to cut into pieces» (2, V: 165) :	*chaga zùs-*
2. *chucha daruulsa-*	«to fasten» (2, V: 229) :	*chuga dajruulči-*
3. *multa buu-*	«to break loose» (2, V: 331) :	*mult sêži-*
4. *nêbtê duulda-*	«can be heard through (sg)» (2, V: 320) :	*nêvt sonsogd-*
5. *taha dara-*	«to trample down» (1 : 154) :	*tas charva-*
6. *taha sochi-*	«to strike» (2, V: 149):	*tas šavchuurd-*
7. *taha tajra-*	«to cut up or asunder» (2, V: 282) :	*tas ogtol-*

4.21.3 Other Pr + identical V-

1) *chagza sochjuul-* v. causat. of *chagza sochi-* «to rip sg.» (1: 175) :		*chêgz cochiul-*
2) *chamcha sochi-* «to smash into pieces» (1: 153) :		*chêmch cochi-*
3) *chamcha sabša-* «to break» (1: 132) :		*chêmch cavči-*
4) *chobcho sochi-* «to break off, asunder, apart» (1: 217) :		*but cochi-*

Buriat		Khalkha
5) *chodo tata-*	«to draw out» (1: 44) :	*šuvt tat-*
6) *chodo tata-*	«id.» (1: 20) :	*ugz tat-*
7) *chodo tata-*	«id.» (1: 93) :	*šuvt tat-*
8) *hügnê tata-*	«to take off» (1: 14) :	*mult tat-*
9) *multa tata-*	«to take off or out» (2, V: 148) :	*šuvt tat-*
10) *mültê buud-*	«to shoot» (1: 247) :	*chêmch buud-*
11) *niza sochi-*	«to break into pieces» (2, V: 310) :	*chuga cochi-*
12) *soo sochi-*	«to bash one's head» (2, V: 233) :	*chaga cochi-*
13) *šobto buud-*	«to pierce through» (1: 155) :	*nêvt buud-*
14) *têhê chadcha-*	«to gouge out sy's eye» (2, V: 104) :	*soch chatga-*
15) *chagza chacha gešche-*	«to tread (a path)» (1: 148) :	*ongi gišge-*
16) *chuu chobcho zulgaa-*	«to pluck out» (2, V: 58) :	*chovch zulgaa-*
17) *hamna buta sochi-*	«to smash to pieces» :	*butcochi-*
18) *hamna buta gêschuul-*	«to crush» (2, V: 51) :	*chêmch but gišguul-*
19) *ongi taha sochi-*	«to rout» (1: 225) :	*but cochi-*
20) *üj buta sochi-*	«to smash to pieces» (2, V: 369) :	*but cochi-*
21) *chamchara sochi-*	«to smash into pieces» (2, V: 251) :	*chêmch, chovchcochi-*
22) *chodor tata-*	«to draw out» (1: 188) :	*suga tata-*
23) *sooro sochi-*	«to break sy's head» (2, V: 254) :	*chaga cochi-*
24) *chachar maažuulša-*	«to scratch» (2, V: 92) :	*zad maažuul-*
25) *chodor šobtor tata-*	«to draw out» (2, V: 17) :	*šuvt tat-*
26) *chodoro šobtoro tata-*	«id.» (2, V: 255) :	*suga šuvt tat-*
27) *chodoro šobtoro tata-*	«id.» (2, V: 297) :	*suga šuvt tatalt bol-*
28) *chodoro šobtoro tat-*	«id.» (2, V: 263) :	*suga šuvt tat-*
29) *chodoro šobtoro tata-*	«id,» (2, V: 73) :	*suga šuvt tata-*

4.21.4 Other Pr + other V

1) *chamcha sochi-*	«to break into bits» (1: 198) :	*chêmch dêlê-*
2) *buta sochi-*	«to asmash to pieces» (1: 138) :	*chaga üsrê-*
3) *oto šogšo-*	«to run through» (1: 184) :	*šuvt güjlgê-*
4) *šobto sochi-*	«to break through» (1: 315) :	*coo nüchêl-*
5) *têhê chabšuulžarchi-*	«to break up» (2, V: 96) :	*njac cochi-*
6) *nêbtê šobto güjlg-*	«to run through» (1: 221) :	*šuvt davchi-*

Buriat		Khalkha
7) *šobto nêbtê güjlg-*	«id.» (1: 122) :	*šuvt davchi-*
8) *cholto-jolto hürêšê-*	«to pull out» (1: 142) :	*suga tata-*
9) *üj buta sochi-*	«to liqudate» (2, V: 386) :	*buta nirgê-*
10) *multara hêžêgdê-*	«to dart up» (2, V: 170) :	*oglo üsrê-*

4.22 Type translated into another type

The prefix + verb stem compound in Mongolian as a lexical unit falls within the same contextual class as various other lexical units and syntactic structures. Thus, e.g. the Buriat prefix + verb stem compound *oglo tata-* «to pull, to pull out» may belong to the same contextual class as Buriat *zulgaa-*, *zulgaaža chaja-*, *chodo tata-*. The same holds true for Khalkha, too, where, e.g. *suga tata-* «to pull out» and *sugala-* and *zulgaa-* may belong to one and the same contextual class. Thus, when translating from Buriat into Khalkha, the translator is permitted to translate a Buriat prefix + verb stem compound into a Khalkha prefix + verb stem compound, but he may also use other lexemes or structures. This is a case of the unit shift. Since this problem is not dealt with here, I shall not list the Khalkha (target language) equivalents of Buriat (source language) forms.

1) *chacha butara-* «to break in to pieces» (1: 102, 138, 240)
2) *chacha tutuulša-* v. fact. of *chacha tata-* «to tear apart or asunder» (1: 198)
3) *chacha zuur-* «to puddle about», «to poach (up) the ground» (1: 198)
4) *chalba hirê-* «to jump on one side» (1: 46, 63, 79, 92)
5) *chamcha sochi-* «to break to pieces» (2, V: 311)
6) *chobcho tata-* «to pull off» (2, V: 59, 86, 1: 9, 42)
7) *cholbo hür-* «to dodge» (1: 156)
8) *chodo nugara-* «to bend» (1: 21)
9) *chodo oro-* «to pass through» (2, V: 246)
10) *chodo tata-* «to tear out, to pull out» (1: 240)
11) *chuu tata-* «to drag out, pull out» (1: 224)
12) *chuu tatažarchi-* «to pull out» (1: 24)
13) *chuu tatuul-* v. fact. of *chuu tata-* «to pull put» (2, V: 126)
14) *chucha buuza-* «to pull down» (2, V: 283)
15) *chucha šaa-* «to break in two» (1: 124)
16) *chucha tata-* «to pull out with a jerk» (2, V: 157)
17) *huga charaj-* «to start, to jump» (1: 4, 63, 236, 2V: 17, 28, 32)
18) *huga tata-* «to pull out with a jerk» (2, V: 15)

19) *multa buu-* «to jump down or off» (1: 58, 2, V : 331)
20) *multa hùrê-* «to pull out» (2, V: 86)
21) *multa sochi-* «to knock out» (1: 217)
22) *nêbtê chara-* «to look through sg.» (1: 201)
23) *niza dara-* «to trample down» (1: 205)
24) *oto alchala-* «to go through» (1: 184)
25) *oto chatarald-* «to go through» (1: 48)
26) *oto jab-* «to go through» (1: 11)
27) *sùmê tùlchi-* «to push in or out» (2, V: 301)
28) *taha dùùrê-* «to be(come) full» (2, V: 84)
29) *taha šabchad-* «to whip» 91: 221)
30) *taha tata-* «to tear off» (2, V: 52)
31) *taha têbêri-* «to embrace» (1: 24)
32) *buta sochi-* «to smash into pieces» (1: 243)
33) *têhê chadcha-* «to gouge out sy's eye» (2, V: 125)
34) *hùgê charaj-* «to start, to jump» (1: 114)
35) *bisa têhê bajaža-* «to get rich» (2, V: 260)
36) *chacha šuu chêlê-* «to talk at random» (1: 85)
37) *chacha šuu oro-* «to impress sg. on mind» (1: 75)
38) *chodo hêtê najmaal-* «to handle sg.» (2, V: 261)
39) *chodo šobto gùj-* «to run this way and that» (2, V: 269), 1: 99)
40) *chucha nuga charaa-* «to scold» (2, V: 90)
41) *hamna buta chùmêri-* «to turn over» (1: 234)
42) *multa dolo tabi-* «to come out in one's true colours» (2, V: 376)
43) *njulga šulga sochi-* «to crack» (2, V: 347)
44) *oto taha arša-* «to wrangle» (1: 76)
45) *oto taha marta-* «to clean forget» (1: 73)
46) *oto taha charaa-* «to abuse» (1: 227)
47) *oto taha êrijuul-* «to jumble, to scramble» (1: 248)
48) *oto hêtê chòòrêldê-* «to chat» (1: 100)
49) *oto taha gùj-* «to break up» (1: 103)
50) *šobto nêbtê buuda-* «to pierce through» (1: 203)
51) *šulga njulga bološo-* «to crack» (1: 181)
52) *taha šuu tata-* «to tear off» (1: 100)
53) *têhê bisa bajaža-* «to get rich» (2, V: 264)
54) *zada buta buuda-* «to open fire» (1: 246)
55) *chalta chulta chara-* «to blink, to wink» (1: 54)
56) *chalta chulta mendeše-* «to greet, to salute» (1: 9)
57) *chachara šuura buu-* «to go down, to fall» (2, V: 324)

58) *chachara šuura tata-* «to strip (sg off sy) jerkly» (2, V: 85)
59) *chodoro šobtoro tata-* «to snatch, to beg the best seats» (2, V: 139)
60) *otor hêtêr jaba-* «to go through, to go criss-cross» (1: 229)
61) *otor šobtor gùj-* «to run up and down» (1: 11, 32)
62) *sùmêrê butara sochi-* «to burst open» (2, V: 369)
63) *chachara maaza-* «to claw» (2, V: 90)
64) *otor jaba-* «to go through» (1: 252)

4.23 In the material listed above 161 Buriat prefix + verb stem compounds have been compared with their Khalkha translations. The distribution of the material by groups in quantitative terms shown the following pattern:

4.21 type is translated into identical type in 79 instances:

4.211 identical Pr + identical V–	in 33 instances
4.212 identical Pr + different V–	in 7 instances
4.213 different Pr + identical V–	in 29 instances
4.214 different Pr + different V–	in 10 instances

4.22 type is translated into another type in 84 instances:

Root prefix	in 51 instances
2Pr type prefixes	in 21 instances
Pr + twin type prefixes	in 2 instances
Pr.*rA* type prefixes	in 3 instances
2Pr.*rA* type prefixes	in 7 instances

4.24 Examining the translator's choices, it would be very interesting to scrutinize the individual items of this corpus with the help of a vernacular speaker. However, to carry out a survey in this way was not our intention. Instead I shall call attention to those conclusions which may well be drawn for Buriat and Khalkha dialects or rather for Mongolian dialectology.

4.24.1 It is interesting to note that ten out of eleven occurrences of the 2Pr type of Buriat (source language) were translated into the 2Pr type of Khalkha (target language) and one into the Khalkha 2Pr type, and four out of five occurrences of Buriat Pr. *rA* type were translated into the Khalkha Pr, and one into the 2Pr type. Three out of seven occurrences of the Buriat 2Pr.*rA* type were translated into the Khalkha Pr, and four into the 2Pr type. Thus, to translate Buriat 2Pr, Pr.*rA*, and 2Pr.*rA* types, translators use only Khalkha Pr and 2Pr types. At the same time, they do not take the opportunity to use Khalkha Pr.*r*(*A*) and 2Pr.*r*(*A*) types in their work. While these types occur both in spoken Khalkha and in Khalkha fol-

klore, they cannot be found in the literary language. In this respect, translators move within the norms of literary Khalkha.

The only deviation from the norms of literary Khalkha is that three Buriat verbal prefixes of Pr. *r A* type are translated into the same Khalkha verbal prefixes of Pr. *r (A)* type in two instances: Bur. *chuchara sochi-* «to break into pieces» : Khal. *chugar cochi-* «id.», *tahara sabša-* «to chop» : Khal. *tasar cavči-* «id.». This fact is surprising in itself. However, the norms of literary Khalkha still seem capable of «standing» that much deviation. It can also stand it because the linguistic norms of literary translations are never completely identical with those of works written in the vernacular.

4.242 The number of solutions belonging to group **4.22** — a certain type is translated into another type — seems to be considerable. A total of 84 prefixe + verb stem compounds listed seem to be a high number even if we consider that almost half of them belong to types not or rarely used in literary Khalkha. It should not be left out of consideration that the frequency of the use of prefix+verb stem compounds in literary Buriat is 2.3 times as much as in Khalkha (cf. **3.1**) And this difference is of a normative nature. From a certain point of view it is, then, conceivable that in the course of their work translators mostly omitted those types which had no formal equivalents in Khalkha.

4.243 Nor could translators shake off the norms of the Khalkha literary language. Thus, e.g. Bur. *chodo+V-* compounds are deliberately translated into Khalkha by using either other types or Khal. *šuvt* «through», *suga* «out», *ugz* «out» + *V-* compounds. The choice here is determined by the fact that the Buriat verbal prefix *chodo* «through» does not exist in Khalkha.

One of the striking things is that the Buriat *chobcho tata-* «to pull off» compound is never translated into its formal Khalkha equivalent *chovch tata-* «id.» The contextual meaning of these two formal equivalents seem to be at variance. The use of different equivalents is, due then to dialectological reasons.

We have been looking for rules and, I think, we have found them. In the case of evaluating translations this rule is also a norm. It shows that the translators worked within the norms of literary Khalkha in every respect. At the same time, the translation justifies those conclusions that had been drawn as dialectological differences between two Mongolian dialects, Buriat and Khalkha, in chapters **1, 2** and **3** relating to verbal prefixes and prefix+verb stem compounds.

THE MONGOLIAN AND TIBETAN VERSIONS OF THE TALE «HARE AND LION»

BY

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1. The tale about the wise hare and the lion can be found in the folklore and literature of many peoples.[1] According to former research the tale occurs beside India, South-East India, the Muslim World and Europe, in Equatorial Africa and in the folklore of American Negroes, too.

The witty idea of the story («Weak animal shows strong his own reflection and frightens him» — Motif K1. 715. 1) is presented through several versions and forms. Most probably a significant part of them is of Indian origin as the greatest number of versions was found in the Indian folklore and literature. Moreover, the occurrence of the tale outside India is connected with the spreading of the translations of the *Pañcatantra*. There are, however, occurrences in Africa and Negro-America, a direct connection of which with the *Pañcatantra* is hardly possible to surmise.

In this paper I compare the Mongol and Tibetan versions known to me (they are not mentioned in the tale catalogues except one[2]) in order to clarify the connections between each other and their relation to the Indian versions.[3]

2. The bulk of the Mongolian and Tibetan versions is found in two commentaries. The one is joined to *Lugs-kyi bstan-bčos skye-bo gso-ba'i thig-pa* (Sanskr. *Nītiśāstrajantupoṣanabindu*, Mong. *Arad-u teǰigeküi Rasiyan-u dusul kemegdekü yosun-u šastir*) assigned to Nāgārjuna, and the other to Sa-skya paṇḍita's *Legs-par bšad-pa rin-po-čhe'i gter* (Sanskr. *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, Mong. *Sayin üge-tü erdini-yin sang subašita kemegdekü šastir*).

[1] A. Aarne—St. Thompson, *The Types of the Folk-Tale*: FFC 184, (Helsinki 1961) and St. Thompson—W. E. Roberts, *Types of Indic Oral Tales*: FFC 180, (Helsinki 1960) Type 92; L. Bødker, *Indian Animal Tales*: FFC 170 (Helsinki 1957) Type 28; — St. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Copenhagen 1957) and St. Thompson—J. Balys, *The Oral Tales of India*, (Bloomington 1958), Motif Kl. 715. 1. Cf. also W. N. Brown, *The Pañcatantra in Modern Indian Folklore*: JAOS 39 (1919), pp. 24—28.

[2] W. F. O'Connor, *Folk Tales from Tibet* (London 1906), pp. 51—55.

[3] I would like to express my gratefulness to L. Lőrincz and G. Kara for their help in reading the Mongolian texts.