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TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BURYAT GLOSSARIES

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In its main lines, the history of the Mongol languages which form the central group (Buryat, Khalkha, Eastern Mongol, Ordos, Oirat, Kalmyk, Moghol) can be traced no farther back than the XIII-XIV centuries. During this older period, various recorded traditions evolved which are known as Middle Mongol (records in Uyghur, Chinese, hP'ags-pa, Arabic, and several other scripts), out of which Written Mongol survived as a literary language into the present century.¹ Although Middle Mongol monuments clearly reflect dialect differences, there is little evidence that the various modern languages of the central group were already differentiated as such during that period.² Rather, it is assumed by most Mongolists that the modern languages developed on individual lines—convergent in some features, divergent in others—during the XV or XVI centuries.³ Thus, the beginning point in this development may be taken to be the language of the Middle Mongol monuments, and the ending point to be the various modern Mongol languages that have been more or less exhaustively recorded at the end of the XIX and beginning of the XX centuries.

The recovery of the middle stages in this evolution is only now being undertaken by Mongolists, and a key position in this investigation is occupied by the various glossaries recorded in the late XVII and XVIII centuries for Kalmyk, Khalkha, and Buryat. So far as Kalmyk is concerned, the groundwork for future study is firmly established thanks to the publication of a sourcebook of early glossaries by Gerhard Doerfer,⁴ and to the thorough edition of Strahlenberg's "Vocabularium Calmucko-Mungalicum" by John R. Krueger.⁵ Moreover, for the Oirat dialect group, to which Kalmyk belongs, one should not overlook the early Classical Oirat texts which often reflect dialect facts.⁶

With regard to Khalkha, very little has as yet been done, apart from Kara's edition of a list of Khalkha terms for merchandise from the XVIII century.⁷ Because of the minor, and potentially imperceptible, phonetic differences that may have existed between Khalkha and various Eastern Mongol dialects at that time, the interpretation of such records is subject to ambiguity. Certainly, for this dialect area as a whole, one cannot ignore the dialect features in certain XVII-XVIII centuries Written Mongol texts, which have been termed "Non-Classical Written Mongol" by Ligeti,⁸ and "Progressive Written Mongol" by Doerfer.⁹ Also of importance in this respect are the Mongol records in Manchu script,¹⁰ and in the transient script called Soyombo.¹¹

The early Buryat evidence has scarcely been approached, although Kara did expose a supposedly Buryat song in Gmelin's travel account as another form of Mongol,¹² and Nicholas Poppe, long before others turned to such sources, devoted several remarks to the Buryat recordings in Pallas and Čemesov.¹³ Apart from the glossaries surveyed below, one should mention certain Written Mongol texts composed or copied by Buryats, and containing Buryat features.¹⁴

The present paper consists of an edition of the XVIII century Buryat glossaries of Fischer and Pallas (see Glossary), and is offered as a modest contribution to the problem of delineating the early history of the Buryat language.

Early Buryat Language Sources

Our earliest Buryat recordings necessarily cannot antedate the advance of the Russians into the region West of the Baikal. The Russians first heard of the Buryat people in 1609 from Turkic peoples living along the Kan and Yenisey Rivers. The Turkic name of the Buryats, *birat* or *pirat*, was immediately adopted by the Russians as *bratskie ljudi* "Buryat people" which, due to its similarity with the Russian word *brat* "brother", was transformed into "the brotherly people". After the first direct contacts with the Ikinat Buryat tribe in 1629, the Russians quickly brought the entire area West of the Baikal into the system of Tsarist tribute during the years 1630-1650. Throughout the XVII century, reports by local administrators and tribute-collectors were filed to Saint Petersburg or

Moscow which contain a wealth of information on the Buryat and Tunguz tribes of this region. This immense documentation potentially contains onomastic and other linguistic material that could throw light on the history of the Buryat dialects.¹⁵

Otherwise, it has been claimed that the earliest Buryat recordings are to be found in the *Noord en Oost Tartarye* of Nicolaes Witsen, first published in 1692. Thus, Anton Schiefner stated that Buryat and Kalmyk month names appeared in Volume I, pp. 71, 301, of the 1705 edition of Witsen, but, in fact, these are there termed "Daur" and display none of the characteristics of Buryat.¹⁶ Moreover, Bulič has termed the entire "Daur" glossary in Volume I, pp. 68-73, of the 1705 edition, simply "Buryat", without stating his reasons for doing so.¹⁷ Ultimately, such statements stem from the fact that Witsen's "Daur" material is not after all Dagur Mongol, but some central Mongol language that shows features of both Oirat and Eastern Mongol dialects.¹⁸ As such, it cannot be included among the early Buryat sources.

The daybooks of Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt, recorded during his trip through Siberia in 1720-1727, appear to contain the first Buryat lexical materials.¹⁹ Since the publication of these daybooks has not yet been completed, it must suffice for the present to note the word lists jotted down by Messerschmidt during 1723 at various stages of his trip from Verkholensk to Irkutsk, some of which I cite farther on.

Johann Georg Gmelin's account of his trip through Siberia during 1733-1743,²⁰ contains only the "Buryat" song which was later incorporated into Schiefner's edition of Castrén's Buryat materials.²¹ Schiefner also noted that Buryat vocabulary could be found in the travel account of Georgi, the original edition of which is unavailable to me.²²

In addition, apart from the Fischer and Pallas glossaries discussed below, there are several Buryat sources of this period that remain in manuscript: (1) an Irkutsk nobleman named Ivan Čemesov compiled a brief list of words which is preserved among the Adelung papers in the State Public Library at Leningrad;²³ (2) in the same collection, there is a vocabulary and phrases in the Selenga dialect collected at the behest of the governor of Irkutsk, a certain Klička, in 1779-1780;²⁴ (3) a multi-lingual glossary of Tatar (Čats dialect), Arin, Kamasin, Buryat and Latin, is found among the Müller papers;²⁵ (4) a Buryat-Russian glossary of some 400

words in the Exirit dialect from the 1730's-1740's was appended to a compilation of information upon the Buryats initiated by Tatiščev and preserved among the Müller papers.²⁶

The Fischer Glossary

One of the two Buryat glossaries edited below appeared in Johann Eberhard Fischer's "Vocabularium continens trecenta vocabula triginta quatuor gentium, maxima ex parte Sibiricarum", Section III, column 10: "Buratorum sive Brattorum in provincia Irkutensi: it. ad Uda, Biruss, Oka, Ija, et alios fluvios".²⁷ The Buryat, as other glossaries in this manuscript, probably dates from the 1730's, and was drawn up by an unknown person.²⁸ The numerals and other vocabulary items from this list were copied into later sources which, for that reason, are not of the least value to us.²⁹

The Buryat words are recorded in Latin script and are disposed through the standard 307 main entries and 12 "Analecta" of the "Vocabularium", although not every entry is provided with a Buryat equivalent. Access to the meaning of each entry can be gained through either the Latin (Section I, column 1) or the Russian (Section III, column 1) lists. Although the Buryat words are, not unexpectedly, recorded in an imprecise manner, it can be said that the glossary as a whole is internally consistent as regards both spellings and language.

The chief value of the Fischer glossary resides in the fact that, with very few exceptions, the material reflects an early XVIII century Western, probably Exirit Buryat dialect. In the following, I shall illustrate the major sound changes that characterize literary Buryat (=B) with the material from Fischer cited after the numbered edition below (see Glossary).

*The treatment of *s:* The sound change $s > h$ (except before i and in final position) is encountered throughout Fischer, who spells h - as ch - (Nrs. 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99), with the exception of ph - (100) and ϕ (92); within the word, $-h$ - is spelled $-h$ - (21, 38, 56, 76, 85, 87, 106, 131, 135, 144, 152, 170, 192, 200, 217, 223, 229, 266, 267, 285, 286), with the exception of $-ch$ - (125) and $-g$ - (158, 203). This is consistently reflected in Messerschmidt as well: II 178 *Juhun* "nine" [B *yüheŋ*], 178 *Guruhun* ~ 181 *Guruhum* "roebuck" [B *güröheŋ*], 181 *Cholongo* "wea-

sel" [B *holongo*], 181 *Chung* "milk" [B *hūŋ*], 182 *Ku-hung* "birch-tree" [B *xuhaŋ*], 182 *Narre-hung* "spruce, fir" [B *narhaŋ* "pine"], 183 *Uhung* "water" [B *uhaŋ*], 183 *Dabbohung* "salt" [B *dabhaŋ*].

The development of *si* to *š+V[owel]* in Buryat is reflected as follows in Fischer: *si* > *ši*, spelled as *sch*i (107, 260, 275), *si* > *še* (221), *si* > *ša* (168). Messerschmidt has the odd development to *č* in several cases: II 181 *Tscheluhum* "lynx" [B *šelūheŋ*], 182 *Tschinne-hung* "larch-tree" [B *šeneheŋ*], but 182 *Kosche* "Pinus Sativa" [B *xuša* "Siberian cedar"].

The change *-s* > *-d*, so characteristic of Buryat, is found throughout Fischer (41, 190, 224, 287).

*The treatment of *č*: The sound change *č* > *s* (except before *i*) occurs in Buryat and in the dialect of Fischer, who spells *s* as *f* or *sf* (19, 66, 67, 146, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 218, 234, 249, 250, 266, 274), with the exception of *s-* (157, 162) and *fs* (234); note the single exception to this change in 156 *sagan* ~ *tsagan* "white" for B *sagāŋ*. By comparison, Messerschmidt has: II 178 *Tschapzagan* "white" [B *sab sagāŋ*], 178, 181 *zagan* "reindeer" [B *sagāŋ*], 183 *Ssargon* "paper" [B *sārhaŋ*], 183 *Zahon* "snow" [B *sahaŋ*].

The development of *či* > *š+V* in Buryat is not reflected in Fischer, where we find *či* > *či*, spelled as *tschi* (22, 25, 53, 84, 119, 167, 169, 171, 172, 173, 183, 243), *či* > *ču* (148) and *či* > *čo* (175). However, that such a change had already occurred in the Buryat area is clear from Messerschmidt's recordings: II 178 *Guschyn* "30" [B *gušaŋ*], 178 *Duschyn* "40" [B *düšeŋ*], 181 *Schonno* "wolf" [B *šono*].

*The treatment of *j*: The change *j* > *z* (except before *i*) occurs in Buryat and in most cases in Fischer, who spells *z-* and *-z-* as *f-* and *-f-* (13, 75, 151, 252, 286, 287, 290, 291, 294); Fischer has three cases in which *j* > *dz-*, which is spelled *df-* (287, 289, 293). Messerschmidt has largely retained *j*: II 181 *Dschebbön* "trout" [WMo *jebege* "Siberian salmon, lenok"], 181 *Dshegen* "glutton, wolverine" [B *zēgeŋ*], 181 *Dsheren* "Rupicapra, antelope" [B *zēreŋ*], 183 *Dshed* "copper" [B *zed*], 183 *Yndshagan* "wild goat" [WMo *inʃaɣa(n)* "young of antelope or wild goat"]; but also has other reflexes: 178 *Dsoo* ~ *Dsoon* "100" [B *zūŋ*], 183 *Casher* "earth" [B *gazar*]. The Fischer spellings with *f* [= *s*] in place of *z*, and the several reflexes of *j*, perhaps indicate certain difficulties in

the perception of this sound on the parts of both Fischer and Messerschmidt. The most that can be said is that the change $j > z$, which is characteristic of Buryat, is reflected in Fischer in several cases. It is the *positive* attestation of a sound change rather than the *negative* attestation that is crucial in the interpretation of these early sources.

The development of $j > z + V$, characteristic of Buryat, is not reflected in Fischer, who has $j > ji$, spelled *dschi* (296, 297, 298, 300), and one case of $j > je$ (293). Messerschmidt's recordings are largely corroborative: II 178 *Dsheron* "60" [B *žaraŋ*], 182 *Dshidoh* "pine-tree" [B *žodō*], 182 *Nadshir* "Summer" [B *nažar*].

*The treatment of *VγV, *VgV:* The change of such disyllabic groups to long vowels, traces of which are already found in Middle Mongol, is consistent in Buryat and in the Fischer material: $a\gamma a > \bar{a}$ (48, 160, 206, 252), $ege > \bar{e}$ (57, 63, 187, 255), $ige > \bar{e}$ (288), $a\gamma u > \bar{u}$ (70, 96, 136[o], 205, 250, 293[o]), $u\gamma u > \bar{u}$ (196, 202, 210), $eg\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ (51, 86, 97, 225, 277), $ig\bar{u} > \bar{u}$ (218), $o\gamma o > \bar{o}$ (131, 190), $o\gamma a > \bar{o}$ (43, 191), $u\gamma a > \bar{o}$ (294), $\bar{o}ge > \bar{o}$ (87, 138, 222, 265). Needless to say, the length of the vowel is not actually so indicated by the doubling of the vowel letter in Fischer. There are two exceptions to this treatment of the disyllabics: 28 *borogon* "storm" [B *borōŋ*], and 153 *öttugu* "bear" [Wmo *ötöge*].

*The treatment of *iya, *iye:* In Buryat, such sequences result in a long vowel, with palatalization of the preceding consonant. This is also reflected in Fischer (59, 182, 183, 185, 208), although once again it may be noted that vowel length is not so indicated graphically. It may also be pointed out that palatalization occurs in a few other words: 108 *mjakan* "meat" [B *m'axaŋ*], and 273 *kurjaga* "lamb" [B *xur'gaŋ*].

*The treatment of *i:* The assimilation of *i* in the root syllable to the vowel in the following syllable— a process that is referred to as "i-breaking"— takes place in only a few of the words recorded by Fischer; cf. 108 *mjakan* "meat" [B *m'axaŋ*], but 105 *mingan* "1,000" [B *m'angaŋ*]; *ni-* remains as *ni-* (137, 139); *si-* remains in one case (170), but breaks in another (168); *či-* remains (167, 169, 171, 172, 173), with one exception (175); *ji-* remains (296, 297, 298, 300), but breaks in two words that have special developments even in Buryat: 294 *dschergon* "6", cf. Messer-

schmidt II 178 *Dsergön*, WMo *ḡirḡuḡan*, but B *zurgāḡ* (here, B develops from **ḡurḡōn* < **ḡirḡuḡan*); and 295 *surkan* "heart", cf. Secret History *ḡürüḡe* ~ *ḡirüḡe*, WMo *ḡirüke*, but B *zürxeḡ* (here, B develops from **ḡürüke* not **ḡirüke*).

Apart from these sound changes, to whose chronology we shall return below, the Fischer material displays several specifically Buryat features, such as 21 *bihiluk* "finger-ring", a metathesis of WMo *bilisüg*, found only in B *behelig* (also cf. 66, 214). Certain recordings reflect Exirit-Bulagat dialect forms, such as 99 *chei* "night", E-B *hüi*, but B *hüni*, WMo *söni* (cf. Messerschmidt II 182 *Huy-bulbu* "night" = WMo *söni bolba*), and a few others (also cf. 19, 28, 123).

The Pallas Glossary

The second Buryat glossary edited below appeared in the comparative dictionary whose compilation was instigated by Catherine the Great and was finally completed by Peter Simon Pallas, *Linguarum Totius Orbis Vocabularia Comparativa*, I-II, Petropolis 1786-1789. The two volumes consist of 273 Russian head-words, arranged semantically, for which equivalents are provided in some 200 languages of the world; the Buryat entries are under #136. In addition to this, there is an appendix to Volume II, pp. 472-491, which contains the numerals 1-10, 100, and 1,000; Buryat is there entered under #141.

One should not exaggerate the value of the wordlists in Pallas. When other sources for a particular dialect are weak or few, one can and ought to use the relevant glossary in this dictionary as an early linguistic witness. However, it is clear that the Buryat glossary in Pallas is a pastiche, and this is not an isolated example. It displays the earmarks of having been compiled from a variety of independent wordlists; for example, several entries seem to have been taken from a copy of Fischer's "Vocabularium", or from the list used by Fischer for his work: 28 F, P *borogon* "storm" [B *borōḡ*], 190 F *totcho*, P *totxo* "dust" [B *tōdxo*], 214 F, P *utu* "high" [B *uta* "long"]. The recording in 134 P *bi-noxoj* "cat" [= *bü noqai* "not a dog"?] is peculiar to Messerschmidt II 181 *Bynochoi* "cat", and evidently shows an awareness of the latter's materials. Bulič informs us that Bachmeister, who was originally assigned to edit Catherine's dictionary,

requested Gmelin to collect the necessary wordlists for Buryat, Siberian Tatar, Qača, and other dialects, so that some part of the material eventually edited by Pallas may have stemmed from the latter.³⁰ The fact is, we probably will never know with certainty the composition of Pallas' glossaries, but their potentially multiple origins renders any interpretation ambiguous.

My analysis of this list will be limited to a few remarks.³¹ At the outset, it is clear that at least two dialects are represented in the recordings:

- A. a dialect in which $s > h$ (17, 20, 38, 56, 76, 78, 89, 90, 91, 98, 99, 100, 115, 119, 131, 144, 158, 174, 203, 217, 223, 229, 261, 270, 285, 286), $\check{c} > s$ (19, 146, 156, 274), $\check{c}i > \check{s} + V$ (119, 149, 171, 174, 175), and $j > z$ (75, 286, 290, 293, 295);
- B. a dialect in which $s > s$ (9, 88, 89, 90, 158, 203, 285, 286), $\check{c} > ts$ (11, 19, 156, 158, 161, 162, 274), $\check{c}i > \check{c} + V$ (140, 171, 175), $j > dz$ (295).

For certain sound changes, the material is scant or contradictory; for example, the treatment of *si* (78, 166, 221), *ši* (249), and *ji* (127, 298). On the other hand, one finds consistency in the change $-s > d$ (1, 190), and the development of $*V\gamma V$, $*VgV > \bar{V}$ (37, 43, 48, 49, 51, 57, 70, 114, 130, 131, 139, 175, 190, 202, 205, 206, 222, 255, 277, 293; with the exception of 28 *borogon* as Fischer). The "breaking" of *i* is accompanied by palatalization in the following cases: 108 *mjaxan*, *mjakan* "meat" [B *m'axaŋ*], 137 *njudun* "eye" [B *n'üdeŋ*], 139 *njurhun* "back" [B *n'urgaŋ*]; also cf. 285 *yuhun*, *yusun* "9" [B *yüheŋ*].

Now, the dialect "A" above is certainly, as Fischer's material, drawn from a Western Buryat dialect, whereas dialect "B" is not clearly Buryat at all, but one of the Selenga dialects which are closer to Khalkha than to Buryat.³² On the other hand, even some of the examples cited for dialects "A" and "B" are ambiguous: 158 *tsahun* ~ *tsasun* "snow" [B *sahaŋ*], 286 *sagahun* ~ *sagasun* "fish" [B *zagaŋ*], 19 *bazahan* "boy" ~ *batsaxan* "children" [B *basagaŋ*]. In these, one finds a mixture of features of "A" ($s > h$, $\check{c} > s$, $j > z$) and "B" ($s > s$, $\check{c} > ts$, $j > dz$), for which I have no explanation. I would only insist on the point that the seeds of ambiguity are already implanted in any glossary of mixed origins.

The Chronology of Buryat Sound Changes

The primary value of the Fischer glossary is that, with very few

exceptions, it is an internally consistent representation of a single Buryat dialect of the first part of the XVIII century. It enables us to establish that all of the major sound changes which distinguish Buryat from other Mongol languages of the central group had occurred by this time—with the possible exception of the developments of *si*, *či*, and *ji*. It is appropriate to pose the question whether we are able to extend this statement of absolute chronology back in time.

Sanžeev has asserted, without otherwise supporting his statement, that the XVII century Russian documents referred to above contain conclusive evidence for the linguistic history of Buryat: “[According to these documents] the Buryat dialects still had the consonants *s*, *ts*, *č*, which now correspond to *h*, *s*, *š*; in other words, at that time, there did not exist between the Buryat and Khalkha dialects those fundamental differences in the area of phonetics that there are now.”³³ Doerfer not only adheres to Sanžeev’s view, but adds that it is verified in the linguistic materials in Rumjantsev-Okun’s publication of XVII century Russian documents concerning the Buryats (= *Sbornik*).³⁴

So far as I can presently judge, Sanžeev’s view cannot be confirmed—he does not cite his source—and Doerfer’s view can be subjected to doubt. The *Sbornik* indeed includes a number of Mongol texts: (1) a letter from the Mongol *taiši*, Tsetsen Noyon, in Cyrillic transcription with a Russian translation, dated 1687 (*Sbornik*, pp. 299-302); (2) twelve letters in Written Mongol script without translations, dated 1689 (*Sbornik*, pp. 344-356); (3) a letter in Cyrillic transcription with an interlinear Russian translation, from the year 1689 (*Sbornik*, p. 359); (4) several letters from the Kalmyk prince, Bušuxu Xan, in Cyrillic transcription with Russian translation, dated 1691 (*Sbornik*, pp. 392-400). These letters deal with Kalmyk and “Mungal” (=Khalkha) personalities and events, rather than with the Buryats, and accordingly do not display any linguistic features characteristic of Buryat. If such texts constitute the “verification” to which Doerfer refers, then I take exception to his view. Otherwise, the onomastica and technical terms scattered through the documents in the *Sbornik* do not provide us with any obviously Buryat forms. Nonetheless, I would withhold judgment until such documents were systematically culled—a thankless and tedious task!—for Buryat linguistic material.

Another problem of absolute chronology is that of the change *-s>-d*, which is already noted in Middle Mongol, and for which characteristic

doublets such as *jed~jes* "copper" and *egüd~egüs* "to originate, be born" can be found in Written Mongol.³⁵ Doerfer has proposed that Russian loan words in Buryat permit the conclusion that *s>d(-t)* is no older than the XVII century, since that is when the Buryats first came into contact with the Russians. In support of his argument, Doerfer cites the proper name *Fedot* (gen. *Fedóhi*) ← Russian *Feodosij*.³⁶ Poppe, too, has cited the tribal name *Exirit* among the modern Buryats, which first appears as *Ikires* in the XIV century history of Rašid ad-Dīn.³⁷ To these examples, I would add Buryat *Orod* "Russian" ← *Rus'* (through Turkic *oros*), Boxan dialect *orōd* "rye" ← Russian *rož'*.³⁸ Despite the force of this argument, it is difficult to discount the possibility that the change is even older, for it surely cannot be separated from the development already found in Middle Mongol. Moreover, one could argue that *-s* is changed to *-d(-t)* in these examples because Buryat does not permit *-s* in syllable or word final position, that is, *-s>d* could be a structural rather than a historical rule. Once more, I would reserve judgment on the chronology of this sound change, and call for a full treatment of the Russian loanwords in Buryat, for the light that such a study could throw on this and other problems.

Failing the proof of an absolute chronology prior to the XVIII century, I should like to offer a few remarks toward a relative chronology of several Buryat sound changes. The development of the disyllabics **VγV*, **VgV* into long vowels must have occurred before the changes *s>h* and *č>s*. This is entailed by the form of a word such as Buryat *übsū* "breast", whose direct antecedent had to be **übčū* < Written Mongol *ebčigü*; thus, the sequence *igü* developed into *ū* prior to the change *č>s*. Were the reverse the case, we would expect Buryat **übsū*, since the group *či* becomes *š+V* in Buryat. Secondly, the change *s>h* (except before *i* and in final position) had to occur prior to the change *č>s* (except before *i*); otherwise, all words in which *č* became *s* would also have been subject to the change *s>h*. The developments of *si*, *či*, and *ji*, are less clear chronologically. Fischer essentially retains these consonants (but *si>ši*), whereas, it must be recalled, Messerschmidt has clear cases in which the change *či>ši* has occurred, and both Fischer and Messerschmidt have a few cases of the progressive development of *ji* (see above). Provisionally, I would describe *či>ši*, at least, as a case of an ongoing sound change in the Western Buryat dialect area in the early XVIII century, one whose isogloss included the dialect of Messerschmidt, but excluded for the time being the dialect of Fischer.

On the basis of the foregoing, I would propose the following relative chronology: (1) $*V\gamma V$, $*VgV > \bar{V}$; (2) $s > h$ (except before i and in final position); (3) $\check{c} > s$ (except before i), and, undoubtedly, with it $\check{j} > z$ (except before i); (4) the developments of si , $\check{c}i$, and $\check{j}i$, with an uncertain internal connection.³⁹

GLOSSARY

Each numbered entry is headed by the literary Buryat identification cited from K. M. Čeremisov, *Burjatsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1973. Buryat is transcribed after the system in N. Poppe, *Buriat Grammar*, UAS # 2, 1960, pp. 26-31, except that I use \ddot{u} for his y , and y for his j . After Buryat, I cite F = Fischer, plus the number of his entry and an English translation of the Russian or Latin gloss; the entries in "Analecta I" are abbreviated $F An$, plus the number. I do not include the Buryat onomastica of "Analecta II". Following Fischer, I cite P = Pallas, plus the number of the headword and an English translation of the Russian entry; the numerals in the Appendix to Volume II are abbreviated $P App$. For technical reasons, the Pallas citations are transliterated from Cyrillic script. This transliteration is normal, but users might observe the following: Pallas x = Latin x , Γ = h , Θ = e , \varnothing = \acute{e} , Ξ = y , \check{H} = j , Я = ja , Ю = ju , Б , Б = $'$, Б = б . Then, phrases from both F and P are entered, with references (s . = see) for components of the phrases. Apart from specific comments on individual recordings, each entry is concluded with the Written Mongol equivalent in square brackets, as found in Ferdinand Lessing, et al., *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1960. At the end of the glossary, there are provided keys to the unidentified recordings, to the entries without WMO equivalents, and to the WMO equivalents.

1. *adxa*- "to pour", P 241 *otxaxu* "to pour" [*asqa*].
2. *agta* "castrated horse, gelding", F 144 *aktà murin* "gelding" (s . *moriŋ*) [*aγta*].
3. *algana* "perch-fish", F An9 *algana* "perch, ruff-fish" [*alayana*].
4. *altaŋ* "gold", F 52 *altà* "id.", P 122 *altan* "id." [*altan*].
5. *ama(ŋ)* "mouth", F 87 *amà* "id.", P 27 *amá* "id." [*ama(n)*].
6. *amida* "living", F 266 *amidù* "id.", P 68, 225 *amidú* "life, living" [*amidu*].

7. *arbaŋ* "10", F 286 *arbàn* "id.", P App *arban*, *ara bon* "id.", F 287 *arbàn-negè* "11" (s. *nege(ŋ)*), F 288 *arbàn-koir* "12" (s. *xoyor*), F 289 *arban-gurban* "13" (s. *gurban*), F 305 *arban-mingàn* "10,000" (s. *m'anggan*) [*arban*].
8. *argamža* "rope, tether", F 139 *argamdschi* "id." [*aryamʃi*].
9. *arhaŋ* "skin, hide", P 42 *arasú* "id." [*arasun*].
10. *arxi* "araki, milk brandy, vodka, wine", F 213 *araki* "vodka, wine", P 180 *araki, arexi* "wine" [*araki*].
11. *ašāŋ* "load, burden", P 178 *atsán* "(cart)load" [*ačiyān*].
12. *axa, axai* "older brother", F 68 *achai, akai* "id.", P 7 *axá* "id.", F 76 *bitschi achàn* "girl" seems to contain this word (cf. Bur *bišaŋxai* "third oldest brother"), F 71 *achàn-ese* "younger sister" also seems to belong here (s. *ese*) [*aqa*].
13. *azarga* "stallion", F 143 *asarga* "id." [*aʃirya > *aʃarya*, cf. Khalkha *adzraga*].
14. *bābai* "father", F 77 *bábai* "master, lord", P 3 *baabai* "father" [cf. Khalkha *bāvai*, Kalmyk *bāw^a* "father"].
15. *bai* "to stand, stay; be, exist", F 228, 238 *bi bayakù* "I am standing" (s. *bi*), 239 *tschi baina* "you (sg.) are standing" (s. *ši*), 240 *ohon baina* "he is standing" (s. *ōheŋ*), 241 *bida baina* "we (incl.) are standing" (s. *bide*), 242 *ta baina* "you (pl.) are standing" (s. *ta*), 243 *tede baina* "they are standing" (s. *tede*); a pseudo-paradigm with the *nomen futuri* marker *-qu* in the first person and the present tense marker *-na* in the remainder [*bai*].
16. **baigun*: P 224 *baigun* "slow" [Unidentified].
- * 17. *balgāhaŋ* "cattle-pen, sheep-cote", P 171 *balgahún* "city" [*balyasun*; the older meaning has been lost in Bur].
18. *barlag* "slave, serf, servant, worker", F 78, 79 *barlúk* "man-servant, maid-servant" [*barluγ*].
19. *basagaŋ* "1. daughter, girl; 2. (Exirit-Bulagat) children, child", F 67 *basagàn* "daughter", 74 *bassagan* "children", 75 *bassagan* "boy", P 6 *bozagan* "daughter", P 12 *bazahan* "boy", P 13 *batsaxan* "children" [*bačaryan*].
20. *behe* "sash, girdle", P 176 *buge* "id." [*büse*].
21. *behelig* "finger-ring", F 130 *bihiluk* "id." [Bur is a metathesis of WMo *bilisüg*, also cf. *bilečüg, bilüčüg*].
22. *beše-* "to write", *bešeg* "writing", F 220 *bitshigłana* "to write" [*bičigle-*; the derived verbal form is unknown to Bur].

23. *bi* "I", F 228, 238 *bi* "id." (s. *bai*-) [*bi*].
24. *bide* "we (incl.)", F 241 *bida* "id." (s. *bai*-) [*bida*].
25. *bīṣṣaxaŋ* "small", F 257 *bitschiakun* "id.", P 207 *bičikin*, *bīṣṣaxan* "id.", P 13 *bīṣṣaxan* "children", F 76 *bitschi achàn* "girl" (s. *axai*), P 7 *byšindu* "younger brother" (s. *dū*) [*bičiqan*].
26. *boldog* "hill, knoll, mound", F 37 *boldùk* "id.", P 108 *bolduk* "id." [*bolduγ*].
27. *bōri* "hillock, mound", P 108 *bori* "id." [? cf. Russ. *bugór* "id."].
28. *borō(ŋ)* "1. rain; 2. (Exir-Bul) incessant rain, foul weather", F Anl *borogon* "storm", P 81 *borogón* "storm" [*boroyan*].
29. *buga* "deer", F An4 *bugù* "cervus; deer" [*buγu*].
30. *bulad* "steel", F 58 *bulat* "id." [*bolod*].
31. *bulag* "source", F 47 *bulak* "id." [*bulay*].
32. *bulgaŋ* "sable", F 169 *bulgàn* "id." [*bulayān*].
33. *bur* "mud, clay", P 103 *bor* "clay" [*bur*].
34. *burxaŋ* "god", F 1 *burchàn* "id.", P 1 *burxán* "id." [*burqan*].
35. *buxa* "bull", F 147 *bukà* "id.", P 148 *buxá* "id." [*buqa*].
36. *bül'eŋ* "warm", P 113 *bulá* "heat" [*büliyen*].
37. *dabāŋ* "mountain pass", P 106 *daban* "mountain" [*dabayān*].
- 38. *dabhaŋ* "salt", F 209 *dabuhùn* "id.", P 124 *dabuhun* "id." [*dabusun*].
39. *dalai* "sea", F 44 *dalai* "id.", P 99 *dalaj* "id." [*dalai*].
40. *dalaŋ* "70", F 297 *dalàn* "id." [*dalan*].
41. *debduxer* "bedding, mattress", F 123 *debytkýr* "bed, bedding" [*debisker*].
42. *degel* "furcoat, overcoat", F 106 *dygüll* "id." [*debel, degel*].
43. *dolōŋ* "7", F 283 *dolòn* "id.", P App *dólon* "id.", F 27 *nege-dolò* "week (one-seven)" (s. *nege(ŋ)*) [*doloyan*].
44. *donggodo-* "to sing, cuckoo (of birds), to cry out", F 9 *dongotkù* "thunder" [*dongyud-* "to make a sound, etc."].
45. *dotor* "entrails, viscera", F 99 *dotòr* "id." [*dotur*].
46. *dūgai* "silent; be silent!", F 223 *dugai* "be silent!" [*daγu ügei, duγui*].
47. *dūgar-*: *teŋgeri dūgarna* "it is thundering", P 200 *tingeri-doharanan* "thunder" (s. *teŋgeri*) [*daγu yar-, duuγar-, cf. tenggeri duuγar-* "to thunder"].
48. *dulāŋ* "warm", *dulāxaŋ* "somewhat warm", F 262 *dulakan* "warm", P 113 *dulang* "heat" [*dulayān, dulaγaqan*].

49. *dūŋ* "sound": *teŋger'in dūŋ* "thunder", P 200 *tingeri-don* "thunder; heavenly voice" (s. *teŋgeri*) [*tenggeri-yin dayun* "thunder"].

50. *dunda* "middle", F 17 *odür-dünda* "mid-day" (s. *üder*), F 19 *chei-dünda* "midnight" (s. *hüni*) [*dunda*].

51. *dū* "younger brother or sister", F 69 *du* "younger brother", P 7 *du* "younger brother", *byšindu* "id." (s. *büšixan*), P 8 *dumené* "younger sister" (+ the possessive *-mni*) [*degüü*].

52. *dürben* "4", F 280 *derbyn* "id.", P App *dérbon*, *durbu* "id." [*dörben*].

53. *düşer* "40", F 294 *dutschin* "id." [*döčin*].

54. *ebi* "(dial.) mother", P 4 *ibej*, *eby* "id." [Kalmyk *ewē* "mama"; an old word that might survive in WMo *ebi* "female beaver", *ebsi* "female of a big bear"].

55. *edi* "to eat", F 218 *idykū* "id.", P 227 *idikū*, *iduxū* "id." [*ide*].

56. *elhej* "sand", F 49 *elehün* "id.", P 102 *ilxun*, *exxun* "id." [*elesün*].

57. *ēm* "shoulder", F 92 *em* "elbow" (this is the gloss given in the corresponding Russian column, whereas "brachium" is given in the Latin column; however, even the Mongol column has 92 *murū* = *mörū* "shoulder"), P 33 *em* "shoulder" [*egem*].

58. *eme* "woman", F 73 *emè* "wife", P 4 *eme* "mother", P 10 *eme*, *imýmene* "wife" (+ the possessive *-mni*) [*eme*].

59. *en'ë* "to laugh", F 236 *injáku* "I laugh" [*iniye*].

60. *eŋgiŋ* "1. female camel; 2. (Xori, Oka) female elk", F An6 *injàn* (the Russian column is blank; the Latin has "capreolus"; the Mongol has *guran* = *γura(n)* "roebuck, wild goat") [*inggen*; this identification is admittedly weak].

61. *erbēxei* "butterfly", *har'haŋ erbēxei* "bat", F 183 *örbugai* "bat" [*erbegekei* "butterfly", *sarisun baγbayai* "bat"].

62. *ere* "man, husband", F 72 *erè* "id.", P 9 *eré*, *irimene* "id." (+ the possessive *-mni*), P 148 *ère-ukyr* "ox" (s. *üxer*), P 159 *ere-tak'ja* "cock" (s. *tax'a*) [*ere*].

63. *erte*, *ertër* "early", F 269 *irtër* "early", P 89 *erte* "morning" [*erte*, *erteger*].

64. *erx'ı* "thumb", P 36 *erekej* "finger" [*erekei*].

65. *er'ye* "river bank", P 107 *irgi* "id." [*ergi*].

66. **ese* "older sister", F 70 *esè* "older sister", P 8 *esé* "[older] sister", F 71 *achàn-esè* "younger sister" (s. *axai*) [← Turkic *eče* "older sister";

otherwise, not to be equated with Bur *ezī* "woman, aunt" = WMo *ejei* "term of endearment used to address children or older women".

67. *esege* "father", F 64 *essygy* "id." [*ečige* > **ečege*, cf. Khalkha *etsege*].

68. *exe* "mother", F 65 *ekè* "id.", P 4 *eke* "id." [*eke*].

69. *gal* "fire", F 30 *gall* "id.", P 112 *gal* "id.", F 32 *ko-galtay* "coal" (s. *xō*), P 84 *galtsakina* "lightning" (s. *saxil-*) [*yal*].

70. *galūn* "goose", F 179 *galūn* "id.", P 162 *galún* "id." [*yalayun*].

71. *gar* "hand, arm", F 93 *gar* "id.", P 35 *gar* "id." [*yar*].

72. **garila*: P 146 *garilá* "fly" [Unidentified].

73. *gaxai* "pig", P 153 *gaxaj* "id." [*yaqai*].

74. **gazad*: P 99 *gazad* "sea" [Unidentified].

75. *gazar* "earth, land", F 35 *gasyr* "id.", P 97 *gazar* "id.", P 195 *tarimjar-gazar* "field" (s. *tar'alaj*) [*yar*].

76. *gedehen* "belly", F 97 *jetyhū* "id.", P 38 *gituxu, gedehūn* "id." [*gedesūn*].

77. *ger* "house", F 114 *gyr* "id." (written under 115 "hut", but connected to 114 by a line) [*ger*].

78. *gešū(heŋ)* "branch", P 137 *gūsheu* "id." [*gesigüü, *gesigüsün*].

79. *gol* "river", F 46 *gol* "id.", P 100 *gol* "id." [*yool*].

80. *gorxo(ŋ)* "small river", P 100 *gorexon* "river" [*goriqa, yoruqa*].

81. *gūli(ŋ)* "brass, yellow copper", F 55 *góli* "white copper" [*yauli, yuuli*].

82. **gulunu*: P 114 *gulunu* "depth" [Unidentified].

83. *gurban* "3", F 279 *gurbàn* "id.", P App *gurban* "id.", F 289 *urban-gurban* "13" (s. *arban*) [*yurban*].

84. *gušan* "30", F 293 *gutschin* "id." [*yučín*].

85. *gutahan, gutal* "boots", F 110, 111 *gotuhùn* "bashmaky; boots" [*yutal, *yutasun*].

86. *gū(ŋ)* "mare", F 145 *gu* "id." [*gegüü*].

• 87. *gürōheŋ* "wild goat, male roebuck", F An5 *gurjohòn* "roebuck" (= Latin column "caprea") [*görögesün*].

88. *haiŋ, haixan* "good", P 219 *sajn* "well, benign", P 217 *saixan* "good" [*sain, saiqan*].

89. *halxiŋ* "wind", P 79 *halkin* "id.", P 80 *xui-salki* "whirlwind" (s. *xui*) [*salkin*].

• 90. *hara* "month, moon", F 12 *chorà* "moon", F 28 *charà* "month", P 76 *hará, sará* "month" [*sara*].

91. *haxal* "beard", F 83 *chakàl* "id.", P 31 *xakàl*, *axal* "id." [*saqal*].
92. *hodoṅ* "wing feathers", F 176 *odùn* "wing" [*sodun*].
93. *hogto-* "to get drunk", F 217 *choktobò* "drunk" [*soyta-, soyto-*].
94. *homo(ṅ)* "arrow", F 134 *chomù* "id." [*sumu(n)*].
95. *horhoṅ* "winter fur of an antelope", F 82 *chorchùn* "fur, hair (of animal)" [*sorsun*].
96. *hūlga* "bucket, pail", F 125 *chulga* "barrel, cask" [*saṅulḡa*].
- X 97. *hūl* "tail", F 207 *chul* "id." [*segül*].
98. *hūṅ* "milk", F 185 *chun* "id.", P 47 *xun*, *hung* "id." [*sün*].
99. *hūni* "night", F 15 *chei* "id.", P 88 *hǰū*, *huj* "id.", F 19 *chei-dúnda* "midnight" (s. *dúnda*) [*sōni*; the F and P forms reflect the Exirit-Bulagat *hūi* as cited in: *Issledovanie burjatskikh govorov*, I, Ulan-Ude 1965, p. 88; II, 1968, p. 40].
100. *hūxe* "axe", F 140 *phukè* "id.", P 175 *huke* "id." [*sūke*].
101. **kep*: F 40 *kep* "road" [Unidentified].
102. **kohon*: F 225 *kohòn-murè* "to go on horseback" (s. *moriṅ*) [Unidentified].
103. **kuru-*: F 215 *kurunà* "thirsty" [Unidentified].
104. *malgai* "hat, cap", F 107 *malgai* "id." [*malayai*].
105. *m'angṅ* "1,000", F 303 *mingàn* "id.", P App *mingàn* "id.", F 304 *koir-mingàn* "2,000" (s. *xoyor*), 305 *arban-mingàn* "10,000" (s. *arbaṅ*), 306 *dson-mingàn* "100,000" (s. *zūṅ*), 307 *mingàn-mingàn* "1,000,000" [*mingṅan*].
106. *maṅgir* "wild onion", F 194 *mangihòn* "onion" [*manggir*, **mang-gisun*].
107. *margāša* "tomorrow", F 271 *margaschi* "id." [*maryasi*].
108. *m'axaṅ* "meat, flesh", F 208 *mjakàn* "id.", P 43 *mjaxán*, *mjakan* "id." [*miqan*].
109. **mendume*: F 171 *mèndumè* "*osjetr-sturgeon*" [Unidentified; however, *Yaqut mindimen* is listed for the "*tajmen-fish*" in: G.U. Lindberg-A.S. Gerd, *Slovar' nazvanij presnovodnykh ryb SSSR*, Leningrad 1972, p. 96 (4.3.4)].
110. *modoṅ* "tree, woods", F 41, 42 *modùn* "id.", P 126, 128 *modun* "id." [*modun*].
111. *mordo-* "to mount a horse, to set out", F 224 *mordochù* "to go" [*morda-*].
112. *moriṅ* "horse", F 142 *murìn* "id.", P 152 *múrin* "id.", F 144 *aktà murìn* "gelding" (s. *agta*), F 225 *kohòn-murè* "to go on horseback" (Bur

- mor'or yaba* = WMo *mori ber yabu*-, otherwise, **kohon* not identified) [*morin*].
113. *murā*: *murā xudxa* - "(Alar) to mix flour in water", *murāgai arxi* "home-brewed liquor", *murāe bozo* "(West) a *burda*-drink (a thick turbid drink mixed from various liquids)", F 211 *murā* "beer" [?? cf. the phrase *mura qoroqai* "Cantharis, Spanish fly"].
114. *mūxai* "bad", P 222 *muxaj* "id." [*mayuqai*].
115. *mül'heŋ* "ice", P 86 *muluxung*, *mumogun* "id." [*mölsün*].
116. *münder* "hail", F 8 *mundür* "id.", P 83 *mandur*, *mendur* "id." [*möndür*].
117. *müŋgeŋ* "silver, money, kopeck", F 53, 59, 62 *mongu* "silver, money, kopeck", P 123 *mungu* "silver" [*mönggün*].
118. *münö* "today", F 270 *minö* "id." [*mönü*].
119. *nabša(haŋ)* "leaf, leaves", F 202 *namtschi* "id.", P 133 *napšegu* "id." [*nabči*, **nabčisun*].
120. *naimaŋ* "8", F 284 *nayamàn* "id.", P App *najman*, *najmu* "id." [*naiman*].
121. **nal'a*:- P 230 *naljaxu* "to beat" [Unidentified].
122. *namar* "Fall", P 93 *namur* "id." [*namur*].
123. *namtar* "(West; = *nabtar*) low", F 259 *namtär* "id.", P 205 *namtar*, *namdarxan* "id." [*nabtar*, *nabtarqan*].
124. *nara(ŋ)* "sun", F 11 *nara* "id.", P 75 *nará*, *njará* "id." [*nara*].
- 125. *narhaŋ* "pine", F 200 *narchün* "id." [*narasun*].
126. *nayaŋ* "80", F 298 *najän* "id." [*nayan*].
127. *nažar* "(Lit. and West) Summer", P 91 *našir* "id." [this is a specifically Buryat word, found in the Western dialects as Exir-Bulg *nažar*, Tunka *nažar* ~ *zuŋ*, Eastern *zuŋ*, the latter = WMo *jun*; cf. *Issledovanie burjatskikh govorov*, I, Ulan-Ude 1965, p. 28; II, 1968, p. 40; cf. Ligeti, *Acta Ling. Hung.* XI, 1961, p. 37, n. 14].
128. **nede*: P 159 *nedé* "cock" [Unidentified].
129. *nege(ŋ)* "1", F 277 *negé* "id.", P App *nygen* "id.", F 287 *arbàn-negé* "11" (s. *arbaŋ*), F 27 *nege-dolò* "week (one-seven)" (s. *dolōŋ*) [*nigen*].
130. *nogōŋ* "greens, grass", P 211 *nohun* "green" [*noŋoŋan*].
131. *nōhoŋ* "hair (of animal)", F 81 *nohon* "hair", P 25 *nohún* "hair" [*noŋosun*].
132. *noitoŋ* "moist, wet", F 264 *noító* "id.", P 213 *nojtn* "id." [*noitan*].
133. *nomo* "bow", F 133 *nomù* "id." [*numu*].

134. *noxoi* "dog", F 163 *nokoi* "id.", P 154 *noxoj* "id.", P 155 *bi-noxoj* "cat" (that is, "not a dog" = *bü noqai*?) [*noqai*].
135. *nugahan* "duck", F 180 *noguhù* "id.", P 163 *nogohun* "id." [*nuγusun*].
136. *nūr* "lake", F 45 *nor* "id." [*naγur*].
137. *n'üdeγ* "eye", F 84 *nidù* "id.", P 20 *njúdún* "id." [*nidün*].
138. *nügöder* "the day after tomorrow", F 272 *nogódur* "id." [*nögöge edür*].
139. *n'urgan* "back", F 103 *nirgùn* "id.", P 39 *njürhun* "id." [*niruγun*].
140. *n'üsegeγ* "bare, naked; barren", P 109 *ničigin'-xadda* "valley" (cf. Bur *n'üsegeγ baisanūd* "sheer cliffs", *n'üsegeγ tala* "barren steppe", WMo *ničügün aγula* "bare mountain"; s. *xada*) [*ničügün*].
141. *nüxer* "friend, comrade, spouse, husband, wife", P9 *njüri* "husband" [*nökör*].
142. *odon* "star", F 13 *odùn* "id.", P 77 *odon* "id." [*odun*].
143. *oi* "woods", P 126 *oj* "id." [*oi*].
144. *oimhon* "stockings", F 109 *ömuhùn* "id." [*oimasun*].
145. **okšun*: P 120 *okšun* "ditch" [Unidentified].
146. *oiγgoso* "boat", F 138 *ongossù* "ship, vessel", P 197 *ongossu* "ship" [*ongyoča*].
147. *oroi* "late", F 268 *oroi* "id." [*oroi*].
148. *ošo* "to go", F 226 *otschukù* "id." [*oči*].
149. *ōšo(γ)* "mouth cavity, interior side of the cheek", P 26 *ooši* "cheeks" [*ooči*].
150. *otol* "to cut", P 237 *otollu* "id." [*oγtal*, *oγtol*].
151. **ozogoi* "penis", F 101 *osogoi* "id." [*oγuγu*; note that words for the genitals do not appear in Soviet dictionaries].
152. *ōheγ* "he, he himself", F 240 *ōhon baina* "he is standing" (s. *bai*) [*ōbesün*].
153. **ötöge* "bear", F 159 *öttugù* "id." [taboo word either lost or replaced by other expressions in Bur, but it was recorded for the Nizhneudinsk dialect as *otokoi* "female bear" by: M. A. Castrén, *Versuch einer burjätischen Sprachlehre*, SPb. 1857, p. 97; cf. Messerschmidt II 178, 181 *Utuguh* "bear"; WMo *ötege*].
154. **ötümek* "bread", F 188 *ötumÿk* "id.", P 179 *utumyk* "id." [← Turkic *ötmek* "id."].

155. *sada-* “to be full”, F 216 *satbà* “full, satiated” [čad-].
156. *sagāŋ* “white”, *sab sagāŋ* “completely white”, F 250 *sapsagan* “white”, P 208 *tsagán*, *sapsagan* “white”, F 56 *tsagàn-túlga* “tin” (s. *túlga(ŋ)*) [čayan, čab čayan].
157. *sagāŋ* “deer”, F 160 *sugàn* “id.” [<čayan “white”].
- 158. *sahaŋ* “snow”, F 7 *ssagùn* “id.”, P 85 *tsahun*, *tsasun* “id.” [časun].
 - 159. *sai-* “to grow white; to grow light”, F 260 *sajaku* “light, clear” [čai-].
 - 160. *sārhaŋ* “paper”, F 129 *sarhùn* “id.” [čayarsun].
 - 161. *saxil-* “to sparkle”, *gal saxilna* “lightning is flashing”, P 84 *galtsakina* “lightning” (s. *gal*) [čakil-; s. following].
 - 162. *saxilgāŋ* “lighting”, F 10 *sakilgàn* “id.”, P 84 *tsakilgan* “id.” [čakilyan].
 - 163. **seba-*: P 233 *sbbano* “to take” [Unidentified, but probably an error of some kind for *ab-*, *aba-* “to take”].
 - 164. *surxai* “pike-fish”, F An8 *ssurukài* “id.” [čuruqai].
 - 165. *sūxa* “bladder; earlier used of a vessel for boiled butter”, F 100 *soòka* “bladder”.
 - 166. *šabar* “clay, dirt”, P 103 *šabor* “clay”, 105 *šabar* “dirt” [sibar].
 - 167. *šanɖagaŋ* “hare”, F 156 *tschindagàn* “id.” [čindayan].
 - 168. *šara* “yellow”, *šab šara* “completely yellow”, F 255 *schapschara* “yellow” [sira, šab sira].
 - 169. *šarga* “sleigh, sled”, F 137 *tschirgà* “id.” [čirya].
 - 170. *šeneheŋ* “larch-tree”, F 201 *schinyhùn* “id.” [sinesün].
 - 171. *šexenŋ* “ear”, F 85 *tschikìn* “id.”, P 23 *šikjún*, *čikin* “id.”, P 151 *šexin* “horn” (simply a “point-and-ask” error) [čikin].
 - 172. *ši* “you (sg.)”, F 239 *tschi baina* “you (sg.) are standing” (s. *bai-*) [či].
 - 173. *šono* “wolf”, F 158 *tschinò* “id.” [činoa].
 - 174. *šuhaŋ* “blood”, P 45 *šuxu* “id.” [čisun].
 - 175. *šulūŋ* “rock”, F 51 *tscholò* “id.”, P 121 *čelon*, *šalun* “id.” [čilaŋun].
 - 176. *ta* “you (pl.)”, F 242 *ta baina* “you (pl.) are standing” (s. *bai-*) [ta].
 - 177. *tabaŋ* “5”, F 281 *tabùn* “id.”, P App *tábon* “id.” [tabun].
 - 178. *tabiŋ* “50”, F 295 *tabìn* “id.” [tabin].
 - 179. *tala* “steppe, field”, F 39 *talà* “steppe”, P 139 *tola*, *talá* “meadow” [tala].

180. *talxan* "flour, meal", F 193 *talkàn* "id." [*talqan*].
181. *tar'alan gazar* "field, plow land", P 195 *tarimjar'gazar* "field" (the P form is not quite clear; s. *gazar*) [*tariyalang*].
182. *tar'an* "bread, grain", *xara tar'an* "rye", *ulan tar'an* "wheat", F 189 *tarjan* "rye", F 190 *ulan-tarjan* "wheat" (s. *ulan*) [*tariyan*].
183. *tar'asan* "peasant, farmer", F 113 *tarjatschin* "village" [*tariyačin*].
184. *tarxi* "head", P 24 *tarokj* "forehead" [*tariki* "occiput"].
185. *tax'a* "chicken", F 177, 178 *takja* "cock, chicken", P 161 *tak'ja* "chicken", 159 *ere-tak'ja* "cock" (s. *ere*) [*takiya*].
186. *tede* "they, those", F 243 *tede baina* "they are standing" (s. *bai*) [*tede*].
187. *temen* "camel", F 162 *temen* "id." [*temegen*].
188. *tengeri* "sky, heaven", F 3 *tyngeri* "id.", P 2 *tingeri* "id.", P 200 *tingeri-doharanan* "thunder" (s. *dugar*), P 200 *tingeri-don* "thunder" (s. *dun*) [*tenggeri*].
189. *tergen* "wagon, cart", F 135 *tergen* "id.", P 178 *tergen* "(cart)load" [*tergen*].
190. *todxo* "a fine dust", F 50 *totcho* "clay", P 103 *totxo* "clay" [*toγosqa* "brick"].
191. *togon* "kettle", F 124 *togon* "id." [*toγoγan*].
192. *tohon* "oil, butter", F 186, 187 *tohun* "butter, (lamp) oil" [*tosun*].
193. *tolgoi* "head", F 80 *tulgai* "id.", P 16 *tulgaj, tologoj* "id." [*toloγai*].
194. *tugal* "calf", F 149 *tugul* "id." [*tuγul*].
195. *tulai* "hare", F 156 *tulai* "id." [*taulai, tulai*].
196. *tulga(η)* "lead", *sagun tulga(η)* "tin", *uxer tulga(η)* "lead", F 56 *tsagan-tulga* "tin" (s. *sagun*), F 56 and An2 *ukyr-tulga* "lead" (s. *uxer*) [*tuγulγa*; cf. *čayan tuγulγa* "tin", *qara tuγulγa* "lead"; for this odd use of *üker* "ox", cf. *üker čilaγun* "large rock"].
197. *tura* "hut, house; city", F 112 *tura* "city", P 171 *tura* "city" [*tura*].
198. *tümer* "iron", F 57 *tumyr* "id." [*temür*].
199. *türgeṇ* "quick", P 223 *turgen* "id." [*türgeṇ*].
200. *tür'heṇ* "roe, caviar", F 174 *turuhun* "id." [*türisün*].
201. *tüxerig* "ruble", F 136 *tokorjūk* "wheel" [*tögerig* "circle", Khalkha *tögrig* "monetary unit of the MPR"].
202. *ü-* "to drink", F 219 *uukü* "id.", P 228 *uukü, uxü* "id." [*uγu-*].
- 203. *uhan* "water", F 34 *ugun* "id.", P 98 *uhun, usun* "id." [*usun*].

204. *uila*- "to cry", F 237 *ililaku* "I cry" (the *il*- seems to be a poor writing for *u*- in the Fischer manuscript) [*uila*-].
205. *ūla* "mountain", F 36 *ūla* "id.", P 106 *ula* "id." [*aγula*].
206. *ulāḡ* "red", F 252 *ulān* "id.", P 210 *ulān* "id.", F 190 *ulān-tarjān* "wheat" (s. *tar'āḡ*) [*ulayan*].
207. *unaga(ḡ)* "foal up to one year old", F 146 *unagā* "foal" [*unaya(n)*].
208. *un'ār* "smoke", F 31 *unjē* "id." [*uniyar*].
209. *unta*- "to sleep", F 221, 232 *untakū* "id.", F 235 *uly untakū* "I am not sleeping" (with the negative particle *ülū*) [*unta*-].
210. *ural* "lips", F 88 *urūl* "id." [*uruyul*].
211. *urda* "in front of", F 275 *urdā* "id." [*urida*].
212. **urzag*: P 89 *urzag* "morning" [Unidentified].
213. *uržader* "the day before yesterday", F 274 *urdydur* "id." [*urfidur*, *urfi edür*; the F form reflects a mediary stage in the development from *urida edür*].
214. *uta* "long", P 117 *uto* "length", F 258 *utu* "high", P 204 *utú* "high" (taken from F?) [F and P reflect the meaning of the word in the Bulagat dialect; cf. I. A. Podgorbunskij, *Russko-Mongolo-Burjatskij Slovar'*, Irkutsk 1909, p. 55, under *vysokij*) [*urta*].
215. **utu*: P 132 *utú* "trunk, stump" [Unidentified].
216. *übel* "Winter", P 94 *ubul* "id." [*ebül*].
217. *übheḡ* "grass, hay", F 205, 206 *öbuhùn* "id.", P 127 *ubugú* "grass" [*ebesün*].
218. *übsü(ḡ)* "breast", F 95 *opsü* "id." [*ebčigü(n)*].
219. *üdeḡ* "door", F 121 *úndan* "id." (error) [*egüden*].
220. *üder* "day", F 14 *odür* "id.", P 87 *odjür* "id.", F 17 *odür-dünda* "mid-day" (s. *dünda*) [*edür*].
221. *üdeše* "evening", F 18 *udyschē* "id.", P 90 *udeš'*, *udyči* "id." [*üdesi*].
222. *üglō* "morning", F 16 *oglö* "id.", P 89 *ugule* "id." [*örlöge*].
223. *üheḡ* "hair", P 25 *uhun* "id." [*üsün*].
224. *ülde*- "to be hungry", F 214 *ölydbÿ* "hungry" [*öles*-, *ölös*-].
225. *üle(ḡ)* "cloud", *ülete* "cloudy", F 4 *úlae(? ulu)*, *úlete* "id." [*egüle*, *egületei*].
226. *ül'mī* "metatarsus, foot", P 40 *ulme* "foot" [*ölmei*].
227. *ümdeḡ* "trousers", F 108 *umudün* "id." [*ömödün*].
228. *ündegeḡ* "egg", F 184 *ömduhùn* "id.", P 160 *undug'*, *ymdugun* "id." [*öndegen*, *ömdegen*].

229. *ündehen* "root", F 203 *undyhün* "id.", P136 *undexú* "id." [*ündüsün*].
230. *ünder* "high", P 115 *undir* "height", P 204 *yndýr* "high" [*öndür*].
231. *ün'ë(η)* "cow", P 149 *un'ja, un'* "id." [*üniye*].
232. *ürge(η)* "chin, lower jaw", F 91 *urgü* "small beard" (that is, on the chin), P 26 *urhun* "cheeks" [*eregüü*].
233. *ürgeη* "wide", P 116 *urgu* "width" [*örgen*].
234. *üsegder* "yesterday", F 273 *ossjugodür* "id." [*ečügedür, öčügedür*].
235. **ütügün* "vagina", F 102 *utugün* "id." [*ütügün*; also registered in Castrén, *Versuch einer burjätischen Sprachlehre*, p. 106: *utugun* "female sexual organ" (Nizhneudinsk)].
236. *üxe-* "to die", F 267 *ukà* "dead" [*ükü-*].
237. *üxedel* "dead body, grave, devil, vampire", F 2 *ocudèl* "devil" [*üküdel*].
238. *üxel* "death", P 71 *kul'* "id." [*ükül*].
239. *üxer* "ox", F 148 *ukýr* "cow", F 56 *ukýr-túlga* "lead" (s. *túlga(η)*), P 148 *ère-ukyr* "ox" (s. *ere*) [*üker*].
240. *üxiη* "girl, daughter", F 76 *okin* "girl", P 6 *ukin* "daughter", P 11 *okin* "girl, maiden" [*ökin*].
241. *xabar* "Spring", P 92 *xabur* "id." [*qabur*].
242. *xada* "mountain", P 106 *xadda* "id.", P 109 *ničigin'-xadda* "valley" (s. *n'üsegeη*) [*qada*].
243. *xaiša* "scissors", F 128 *kaitschi* "id." [*qaiči*].
244. *xalbaga* "spoon", F 127 *kalbagà* "id." [*qalbara*].
245. *xamar* "nose", F 86 *kabàr* "id.", P 18 *xabàr* "id." [*qabar*].
246. *xandagai* "elk", F 161 *kandagài* "id." [*qandagai*].
247. *xara* "black, dark", *xabxar* "(Lit. and West) dark", F 251, 261 *kapkara* "black, dark", P 209 *kara* "black" [*qara, qab qara*].
248. *xara-* "to see", F 233 *karakù* "I see", F 234 *uly karakù* "I do not see" (with the negative particle *ülü*) [*qara-*].
249. *xasar* "cheeks", F 90 *kassyr* "id.", P 26 *kašír* "cheeks" [*qačar, qačir*].
250. *xasüri* "spruce, fir", F 199 *kassùran* "id." [*qačaryura*].
251. *xata-* "to dry", F 265 *katabà* "dry" [*qata-*].
252. *xazàr* "bridle, curb-bit", F 141 *kasàr* "id." [*qačaryar*].
253. *xele-* "to say", F 222 *kelekù* "id." [*kele-*].
254. *xelenj* "tongue", F 89 *kylýn* "id.", P 30 *kylín* "id." [*kelen*].

255. *xēre* "deserted place, steppe, field", F 38 *ker* "field", P 138 *gir'*, *ker'* "field" [*kegere*].
256. *xərmeŋ* "squirrel", F 157 *kyrmùn* "id." [*keremùn*].
257. *x'ı* "air, wind", F 5 *kei* "wind", P 79 *kej* "wind" [*kei*].
258. *xilēme(ŋ)* "bread", P 179 *kilema* "id." [← Russ. *xleb* "id."].
259. *xılme* "sterlet, sturgeon", F 172 *kylemè* "id." [*kilime*].
260. *xoišo* "North [< 'behind']", from this time", F 276 *koischi* "behind" [*qoisi*].
261. *xoltohoŋ* "bark (of a tree)", P 135 *goltohun'* "id." [*qoltusun*].
262. *xoni(ŋ)* "sheep", F 152 *koni* "ram" [*qoni(n)*].
263. *xoriŋ* "20", F 290 *korin* "id." [*qorin*].
264. *xoyor* "2", F 278 *koir* "id.", P App *xojûr'* "id.", F 288 *arbàn-koir* "12" (s. *arbaŋ*), F 302 *koir dson* "200" (s. *zūŋ*), F 304 *koir-mingàn* "2,000" (s. *maŋgaŋ*) [*qoyar*].
265. *xō* "coal", F 32 *ko-galtay* "coal" (s. *gal*) [*köge*].
266. *xubsahaŋ* "clothing", F 105 *kupsahàn* "id." [*qubčasun*].
- 267. *xuhaŋ* "birch-tree", F 198 *kuhùn* "id." [*qusun*].
268. *xui*, *xui halxiŋ* "whirlwind", P 80 *kuj*, *xuj-salki* "id." (s. *halxiŋ*) [*qui*, *qui salkin*].
269. *xulgana* "mouse", F 165 *kulgunà* "id.", P 156 *xologunà* "id." [*quluyana*].
270. *x'umhaŋ* "nails, claws", P 37 *kumuhun'* "id." [*qumusun*, *kimusun*].
271. *xura* "rain", F 6 *kurà* "id.", P 82 *xúra*, *kurán'* "id." [*qura*].
272. *xurgaŋ* "finger", F 94 *kurugùn* "id.", P 36 *kurugun'* "id." [*quruyun*].
273. *xur'ga(ŋ)* "lamb", F 154 *kurjagà* "id." [*quriya(n)*, *quraya(n)*].
274. *xusa* "ram", F 153 *kussà* "he-goat", P 150 *xutsá*, *xusa* "ram" [*quča*].
275. *xuša* "Siberian cedar", F Anll *kuschi* "id." [*qusi*].
276. *xutaga*, (West) *xot'ogo* "knife", F 126 *kitohò* "id." [*kituŋa*, *qutaŋa*].
277. *xübūŋ* "son", F 66 *kobùn* "id.", P 5 *kobún* "id." [*kübegün*].
278. *xüiteŋ* "cold", F 263 *kjuitò* "id.", P 72 *kuitun'*, *xoitu* "id." [*küiten*].
279. *xül* "foot", F 104 *kull* "id.", P 40 *kul'* "id." [*köl*].
280. *xüŋ* "man", F 63 *kun* "id.", P 14 *kun'* "id." [*kümün*].
281. *xüŋgeŋ* "light, easy", P 214 *kungun'* "id." [*köŋgeŋ*].
282. *xüxe* "blue, green", F 253, 254 *kokù* "id." [*köke*].
283. *yeren* "90", F 299 *jürŋn* "id." [*yeren*].
284. *yexe* "big, great", F 256 *ikè* "id.", P 206 *ðké*, *ike* "id." [*yeke*].

- 285. *yüheŋ* "9", F 285 *jihùn* "id.", P App *juhun'*, *jusun'* "id." [*yisün*].
- 286. *zagahan* "fish", F 170 *sagohùn* "id.", P 144 *sagahun'*, *sagasun'* "id.: [*jīyasun*>**jāyasun*, cf. Khalkha *dzagas*].
- 287. *zed* "red copper", F 54 *dset* "id." [*Jes*, *Jed*].
- 288. *zedegene* "strawberry", F 196 *sedyganà* "id." [cf. Kalmyk *zed^egene* "a berry, strawberry(?)", Khalkha *dzedgene* "garden strawberry"]].
- 289. *zēgeŋ* "glutton, wolverine", F An7 *dsègan* "id." [*jigege*].
- 290. *zon* "people", P 15 *zon'* "id." [*Jon*].
- 291. *zula* "candle, lamp", F 131, 132 *sulà* "candle, wax candle" [*jula*].
- 292. *zulxai* "felt flap [*iznanka*, *vojloka'*]", F 117 *solochài* "window" [derived from *julu-* "to lay or spread out felt", on which see A. Róna-Tas, "Felt-Making in Mongolia," *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* XVI, 1963, p. 201, n.5].
- 293. *zūŋ* "100", F 300 *dson* "id.", P App *zoon'* "id.", F 302 *koir-dson* "200" (s. *xoyor*), F 306 *dson-mingàn* "100,000" (s. *m'angŋ*), F 61 *dso-mongù* "ruble" (that is, "100 kopecks"; s. *mūŋgeŋ*) [*Jaγun*].
- 294. *zurgāŋ* "6", F 282 *dschergòn* "id.", P App *džurgo*, *žergon'* "id." [*jīryuyan*].
- 295. *zürxeŋ* "heart", F 96 *surkàn* "id.", P 46 *serkun'*, *dzurkan'* "id." [*jīrūke(n)*<**jūrūke*; cf. "Secret History" *jūrūge*~*jīrūge*].
- 296. *žalga* "hollow, depression, dell", F 46 *dschilga* "river" (F here defines *gol* as "fluvius" and *dschilga* as "amnis") [*jīlγa*].
- 297. *žaraŋ* "60", F 296 *dschiron* "id." [*jīran*].
- 298. *žel* "year", F 29 *dschill* "id.", P 95 *žil'* "id." [*jīl*].
- 299. **žirkiltei*: P 221 *žirkiltej* "bad, ugly" [Unidentified].
- 300. *žodō* "silver fir", F An10 *dschidō* "abies alba (silver fir)" [cf. Khalkha *žodō* "id."].

Unidentified: Nrs. 16, 60[?], 72, 74, 82, 101, 102, 103, 109, 121, 128, 145, 163, 212, 215, 299

Without Written Mongol Equivalents: Nrs. 14, 27, 54, 66, 113, 127, 154, 165, 258, 288, 292, 300

Written Mongol Index

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ačiyān</i> 11 | <i>burqan</i> 34 | <i>dongγud-</i> 44 |
| <i>aγta</i> 2 | <i>büliyen</i> 36 | <i>dotur</i> 45 |
| <i>aγula</i> 205 | <i>büse</i> 20 | <i>döčün</i> 53 |
| <i>ajirγa</i> 13 | | <i>dörben</i> 52 |
| <i>alaγana</i> 3 | <i>čab čaγan</i> 156 | <i>duγui</i> 46 |
| <i>altan</i> 4 | <i>čad-</i> 155 | <i>dulaγan</i> 48 |
| <i>ama(n)</i> 5 | <i>čaγan</i> 156, 157, 196 | <i>dulaγaqan</i> 48 |
| <i>amidu</i> 6 | <i>čaγarsun</i> 160 | <i>dunda</i> 50 |
| <i>aqa</i> 12 | <i>čai-</i> 159 | <i>duuγar-</i> 47 |
| <i>araki</i> 10 | <i>čakil-</i> 161 | |
| <i>arasun</i> 9 | <i>čakilγan</i> 162 | <i>ebčigü(n)</i> 218 |
| <i>arban</i> 7 | <i>časun</i> 158 | <i>ebesün</i> 217 |
| <i>arγamfi</i> 8 | <i>či</i> 172 | <i>ebül</i> 216 |
| <i>asqa-l</i> | <i>čikin</i> 171 | <i>ečige</i> 67 |
| | <i>čilaγun</i> 175, 196 | <i>ečügedür</i> 234 |
| <i>bačaγan</i> 19 | <i>čindaγan</i> 167 | <i>edür</i> 220 |
| <i>bai-</i> 15 | <i>činoa</i> 173 | <i>egem</i> 57 |
| <i>balγasun</i> 17 | <i>čirγa</i> 169 | <i>egüden</i> 219 |
| <i>barluγ</i> 18 | <i>čisun</i> 174 | <i>egüle</i> 225 |
| <i>bi</i> 23 | <i>čuruqai</i> 164 | <i>eke</i> 68 |
| <i>bičigle-</i> 22 | | <i>elesün</i> 56 |
| <i>bičiqan</i> 25 | <i>dabaγan</i> 37 | <i>eme</i> 58 |
| <i>bida</i> 24 | <i>dabusun</i> 38 | <i>erbegekei</i> 61 |
| <i>bilečüg</i> 21 | <i>daγu(n)</i> 49 | <i>ere</i> 62 |
| <i>bilisüg</i> 21 | <i>daγu γar-</i> 47 | <i>eregüü</i> 232 |
| <i>bolduγ</i> 26 | <i>daγu ügei</i> 46 | <i>erekei</i> 64 |
| <i>bolod</i> 30 | <i>dalai</i> 39 | <i>ergi</i> 65 |
| <i>boroγan</i> 28 | <i>dalan</i> 40 | <i>erte</i> 63 |
| <i>buγu</i> 29 | <i>debel</i> 42 | <i>erteger</i> 63 |
| <i>bulaγ</i> 31 | <i>debisker</i> 41 | |
| <i>bulaγan</i> 32 | <i>degel</i> 42 | <i>γaγar</i> 75 |
| <i>buqa</i> 35 | <i>degüü</i> 51 | <i>γal</i> 69 |
| <i>bur</i> 33 | <i>doloγan</i> 43 | <i>γalaγun</i> 70 |

- yaqai* 73
yar 71
yauli 81
yool 79
yorıqa 80
yučın 84
yurban 83
yutal 85
yuuli 81

gedesün 76
gegüü 86
ger 77
gesigüü 78
görügesün 87

ide- 55
inggen 60
iniye- 59

jaγun 293
jed 287
jes 287
jiγasun 286
jiγege 289
jıl 298
jılγa 296
jıran 297
jırγuyan 294
jırüke(n) 295
jon 290
jula 291

kegere 255
kei 257
kele- 253
kelen 254
keremün 256

kılime 259
kimusun 270
kituγa 276
köge 265
köke 282
köl 279
könggen 281
kübegün 277
küiten 278
kümün 280

maγuqai 114
malaγai 104
manggır 106
marγasi 107
mingγan 105
miqan 108
modun 110
morda- 111
morin 112
mölsün 115
möndür 116
mönggün 117
mönü 118

nabči 119
nabtar 123
nabtarqan 123
naγur 136
naiman 120
namur 122
nara 124
narasun 125
nayan 126
ničügün 140
nidün 137
nigen 129
niruγun 139

noγoγan 130
noγosun 131
noitan 132
noqai 134
nögöge edür 138
nökör 141
nuγusun 135
numu 133

oči- 148
odun 142
oytal- 150
oi 143
oimasun 144
ojuγu 151
ongγoča 146
ooči 149
oroı 147
öbesün 152
öčügedür 234
ökin 240
öles- 224
ölmei 226
ömdegen 228
ömödün 227
öndegen 228
öndür 230
örgen 233
örlöge 222
ötege 153

qab qara 247
qabar 245
qabur 241
qačaγura 250
qačar 249
qačır 249
qada 242

<i>qaiči</i> 243	<i>sibar</i> 166	<i>tögerig</i> 201
<i>qajǵar</i> 252	<i>sinesün</i> 170	<i>tuγul</i> 194
<i>qalǵa</i> 244	<i>sira</i> 168	<i>tuγulǵa</i> 196
<i>qandayai</i> 246	<i>sodun</i> 92	<i>tulai</i> 195
<i>qara</i> 196, 247	<i>soǵta-</i> 93	<i>tura</i> 197
<i>qara-</i> 248	<i>sorsun</i> 95	<i>türgen</i> 199
<i>qata-</i> 251	<i>söni</i> 99	<i>türisün</i> 200
<i>qoisi</i> 260	<i>sumu(n)</i> 94	
<i>qoltusun</i> 261	<i>süke</i> 100	<i>uγu-</i> 202
<i>qoni(n)</i> 262	<i>sün</i> 98	<i>uila-</i> 204
<i>qorin</i> 263	<i>šab sira</i> 168	<i>ulaγan</i> 206
<i>qoyar</i> 264		<i>unaγa(n)</i> 207
<i>qubčasun</i> 266	<i>ta</i> 176	<i>uniyar</i> 208
<i>quča</i> 274	<i>tabin</i> 178	<i>unta-</i> 209
<i>qui</i> 268	<i>tabun</i> 177	<i>urida</i> 211
<i>quluγana</i> 269	<i>takiya</i> 185	<i>urǵidur</i> 213
<i>qumusun</i> 270	<i>tala</i> 179	<i>urta</i> 214
<i>qura</i> 271	<i>talqan</i> 180	<i>uruγul</i> 210
<i>quraγa(n)</i> 273	<i>tariki</i> 184	<i>usun</i> 203
<i>quriγa(n)</i> 273	<i>tariyačın</i> 183	<i>üdesi</i> 221
<i>quruγun</i> 272	<i>tariyalang</i> 181	<i>üker</i> 196, 239
<i>qusi</i> 275	<i>tariyan</i> 182	<i>ükü-</i> 236
<i>qusun</i> 267	<i>taulai</i> 195	<i>üküdel</i> 237
<i>qutayǵa</i> 276	<i>tede</i> 186	<i>ükül</i> 238
	<i>temegen</i> 187	<i>ündüsün</i> 229
<i>saγulǵa</i> 96	<i>temür</i> 198	<i>üniye</i> 231
<i>sain</i> 88	<i>tenggeri</i> 47, 49, 188	<i>üsün</i> 223
<i>saiqan</i> 88	<i>tergen</i> 189	<i>ütügün</i> 235
<i>salkin</i> 89, 268	<i>toγoγan</i> 191	
<i>saqal</i> 91	<i>toγosqa</i> 190	<i>yeke</i> 284
<i>sara</i> 90	<i>toloγai</i> 193	<i>yeren</i> 283
<i>segül</i> 97	<i>tosun</i> 192	<i>yisün</i> 285

NOTES

1. This periodization is along the lines of that developed by: L. Ligeti, "Les

- fragments du *Subhāṣitaratnaṇidhi* mongol en écriture 'Phags-pa," *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae* XVII, 1964, pp. 239-292 (esp. pp. 281-292); Michael Weiers, *Untersuchungen zu einer historischen Grammatik des prähistorischen Schrift-mongolisch*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 1-9; id., "Zur Frage des Verhältnisses des Altmongolischen zum Mittelmongolischen," *Mongolian Studies*, edited by L. Ligeti, Budapest 1970, pp. 581-590.
2. On differences between Western and Eastern Middle Mongol, cf.: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, I. Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, pp. 8-13. Moreover, Rašid ad-Dīn had already observed in the XIV century that the language of the Oirat was different than that of the other Mongols; cf. Doerfer, *Op. cit.*, p. 496, and his article: "Oiratisch *Madaga* 'Messer'," *Central Asiatic Journal* IX, 1964, pp. 23-28.
 3. Cf. B. Ja. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo jazyka i khalkhaskogo narečija. Vvedenie i fonetika*, Leningrad 1929, p. 44: XV century; N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, MSFOu CX, Helsinki 1955, p. 16: XVI century; G. Kara, *Chants d'un barde mongol*, Budapest 1970, p. 279: XVI century.
 4. *Ältere westeuropäische Quellen zur kalmückischen Sprachgeschichte* (Witsen 1692 bis Zwick 1827), Wiesbaden 1965; henceforth: *Quellen*.
 5. *The Kalmyk-Mongolian Vocabulary in Strahlenberg's Geography of 1730*, Stockholm 1975; see my review in: *Mongolian Studies* III, 1976, pp. 117-125.
 6. Cf. G. Kara's remarks in: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* LXIV, 1969, cc. 206-209.
 7. G. Kara, "Les mots mongols dans une liste de marchandises chez Gmelin (1738)," *Acta Or. Hung.* XIII, 1961, pp. 175-200; also note the Mongol glossaries in Fischer, Section III, column 1 (= *Quellen*, pp. 118-139), and in Pallas, # 135.
 8. L. Ligeti, "Deux tablettes de T'ai-tsong des Ts'ing," *Acta Or. Hung.* VIII, 1958, pp. 201-239 (esp. pp. 207-211, 228-234); N. Poppe, "Geserica," *Asia Major* III, 1926, pp. 1-32, 167-193.
 9. Cf. Doerfer's remarks in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik* V/2, Leiden/Köln 1964, pp. 37, 39, 82-83; *Oriens* XVIII-XIX, 1965-66, p. 433; *Central Asiatic Journal* XIV, 1970, pp. 311, 312ff. Doerfer has prepared a file of such "progressive" elements in the *Anonymous Altan Tobči* (ed. Charles Bawden, Wiesbaden 1955).
 10. One such manual in Manchu script was analyzed by: Louis J. Nagy, "A Contribution to the Phonology of an Unknown East-Mongolian Dialect," *Acta Or. Hung.* X, 1960, pp. 269-294.
 11. Cf. G. Kara, "Un texte mongol en écriture soyombo," *Acta Or. Hung.* IX, 1959, pp. 1-38; Rintschen, "Zwei unbekannte mongolische Alphabete aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert," *Acta Or. Hung.* II, 1952, pp. 63-71; P. Poucha, "Über einige in der Mongolei gesammelte lamaistische, mongolische und tibetische Schriften," *Collectanea Mongolica. Festschrift für Professor Dr. Rintschen zum 60. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1966, pp. 163-171 (esp. pp. 168-169).
 12. G. Kara, "Une chanson 'bouriate' du XVIII^e siècle," *Acta Or. Hung.* XIX, 1966, pp. 201-209; here, the conclusively negative form is *borgossine* = *borgas-ine*, but Buryat *burgāhar* "twig".

13. N. N. Poppe, *Burjat-mongol'skoe jazykoznanie*, Leningrad 1935, pp. 40, 46-47, 64-66.
14. Most such texts are too late to be of relevance for the present problems; cf. N. Poppe, "An Essay in Mongolian on Medicinal Waters," *Asia Major* VI, 1957, pp. 99-105 (esp. pp. 100-101); Rintchen, "À propos d'une pièce de chancellerie bouriate du XIX siècle", *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics*, Tokyo 1970, pp. 500-504; B. Ja. Vladimirtsov, "Mongol'skij sbornik rasskazov iz Pantsatantra," *Sbornik Muzeja antropologü i etnografü* V, 1921, p. 448 (n.1); D.-N. D. Doržiev, "Upotreblenie padežej v 'Prošenii Ar'jaeva' i 'Raporte Modžieva'," *K izučeniju burjatskogo jazyka*, Ulan-Ude 1969, pp. 79-83 (esp. p. 79, nn. 1-2). It is interesting to note that already in the XVII century, Witsen recorded the fact that "the Bratsi have a special writing, although few of them know how to read"; cf. *Noord en Oost Tartarye* II, 1705², p. 668.
15. The fullest collection of such texts is: G. N. Rumjantsev—S. B. Okun, *Sbornik dokumentov po istorii Burjatii. XVII vek*, Ulan-Ude 1960; henceforth: *Sbornik*.
16. See his preface to: M. A. Castrén, *Versuch einer burjätischen Sprachlehre*, SPb. 1857, p. xiv. These month names were also cited by: L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en mongolie chinoise, 1928-1931*, Budapest 1933, p. 45 (n.1).
17. S. K. Bulič, *Očerk istorii jazykoznanija v Rossii*, I, SPb. 1904, p. 201.
18. Cf. Kara, "Les mots mongols dans une liste de marchandises . . .," p. 178 (n.10). After a brief examination of this list, I concur with Kara's finding, but might point out that certain recordings are ambiguous: Witsen I 71a Soey "night", cf. Buryat *hüni*, but Western Bur *hüi*, Kalmyk *sō~sōni*; 72a Oetoe "high", Bur *uta*, Kalm *utu* "long", but Western Bur *utu* "high" [see Glossary Nr.214]; 73a Dzon "Summer", Bur *zuḡ*, Kalm *zun*, but Western Bur *nažar*.
19. D. G. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien, 1720-1727*, I-IV [=*Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, VIII*], Berlin 1962-1968—the publication is projected in 7 volumes. Buryat lists can be found in Volume II, pp. 178, 181, 182, 183.
20. J. G. Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743*, I-IV [=*Sammlung neuer und merkwürdiger Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande, IV-VII*], Göttingen 1751-1752.
21. Cf. Castrén, *Versuch einer burjätischen Sprachlehre*, pp. 240-241; evidently, the song was also reproduced in the rare journal: *Sibirskij Vestnik* I/3-4, 1824, p. 54 [unavailable to me].
22. Cf. Schiefner's preface to Castrén, p. xiv, and Kara, *Chants d'un barde mongol*, p. 279; Schiefner apparently dealt with the month names recorded by Georgi in his: "Das dreizehnmonatliche Jahr und die Monatsnamen der sibirischen Völker," *Mélanges russes* III, 1857, pp. 307-402 (esp. pp. 315-319). In a later Russian compilation of Georgi's observations, one finds a chapter (Volume IV, pp. 24-37) devoted to the Buryat that contains a number of Buryat words; cf. *Opisanie v sekh' obitajuščikh' v' Rossijskom' gosudarstve narodov*, I-IV [in two volumes], SPb. 1799.
23. Cf. Poppe, *Burjat-mongol'skoe jazykoznanie*, pp. 46, 64-66.
24. Cf. Poppe, *Op. cit.*, p. 46; also: A. N. Kononov, *Istoriija izučenija tjurkskich jazykov v Rossii*, Leningrad 1972, p. 79.

25. Cf. G. F. Miller, *Istorija Sibiri*, I, Moskva-Leningrad 1937, p. 561.
26. This compilation, with the unfortunate omission of the glossary, was published by: G. N. Rumjantsev, "Materialy dlja istorii Verkholenskogo kraja v XVIII veke," *Issledovanija i materialy po istorii Burjatii* [=Trudy Burjatskogo kompleksnogo naučno-issledovatel'skogo Instituta, XI. Serija istoričeskaja], Ulan-Ude 1963, pp. 192-198.
27. It is reproduced in *Quellen*, pp. 118-139. The area enclosed by these rivers, in the cartography of that period, is well illustrated on the foldout map of Volume II of Gmelin's *Reise* (see above, n.20).
28. Cf. Doerfer, *Quellen*, pp. 11-12.
29. The numerals were later quoted by Fischer 1768 (= *Quellen*, p. 208), and then by Schlözer 1771 (= *Quellen*, p. 209), to whom Fischer had sent the manuscript in 1767; cf. Bulič, *Očerki istorii jazykoznanija v Rossii*, p. 220. Moreover, all of the Buryat material in Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta* of 1823 (= *Quellen*, pp. 243-251) is taken from Fischer.
30. Cf. Bulič, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.
31. Cf. the comments by Poppe, *Burjat-mongol'skoe jazykoznanie*, pp. 46-47, 64-66.
32. Cf. Kara, "Les mots mongols dans une liste de marchandises. . .," pp. 176-178 (n.9). Recent descriptions of Tsongol and Sartul, which comprise the Selenga group: N. Poppe, "Über einige Besonderheiten des Tsongol-Dialektes," *Zentralasiatische Studien* V, 1971, pp. 145-155; I. D. Buraev, "Sartul'skij govor," and Ts. B. Budaev, "Tsongol'skij govor," in: *Issledovanie burjatskikh govorov*, I, Ulan-Ude 1965, pp. 108-150, 151-186.
33. G. D. Sanžeev, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skikh jazykov*, I, Moskva 1953, p. 9. Sanžeev of course errs in stating that Mongol had an affricate *ts*; actually, Buryat *h*, *s*, *š*, develop from *s*, *č*, *či/ši*, respectively.
34. Cf. Doerfer's remarks in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik* V/2, 1964, p. 39; *Oriens* XVIII-XIX, 1965-66, p. 434.
35. See my remarks on *-s>d* in: *Mongolian Studies* III, 1976, p. 124.
36. Doerfer, *Oriens* XVIII-XIX, p. 434. The name is also found as *Fedot* in *Sbornik*, p. 422, under the year 1701.
37. Poppe, *Burjat-mongol'skoe jazykoznanie*, p. 63.
38. Cf. *Issledovanie burjatskikh govorov*, I, 1965, p. 64.
39. I have studiously refrained from opening the issue of Buryat and Yaquut connections insofar as these pertain to the historical phonology of Buryat, but will return to this subject in the future, after completion of a study of the Yaquut materials from Witsen 1692 to Böhlingk 1851. In the meantime, cf. the remarks of L. Ligeti, *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVI, 1963, pp. 325-329, and G. Doerfer, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* LVIII, 1963, cc. 504-507 [reviews of S. Kalužynski, *Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache*, Warszawa 1962], and of G. Kara, "Le glossaire yakoute de Witsen," *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXV, 1972, pp. 432-435.

REVIEW ARTICLES

The Kalmyk-Mongolian Vocabulary in Stralenberg's Geography of 1730.
By John Krueger. Stockholm: Asiatica Suecana, Early 18th Century Documents and Studies, Volume 1. The Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1975, 205 pp. No price.

In 1709, a Swedish officer named Philip Johan von Stralenberg (born Tabbert) was taken prisoner by the Russians subsequent to the defeat of the Swedish army at Poltava. Stralenberg was to spend 14 years in captivity, of which more than 10 (1711-1722) were passed in the frontier city of Tobolsk in West Siberia. There, he occupied himself with, among other things, the compilation of a variety of historical, geographical, ethnological and linguistic information on parts of Russia and its inhabitants. Following his release in 1723, Stralenberg put together the book that made him famous: *Das nord- und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia* (Stockholm 1730) [= *NOTEA*]. Despite its historical obfuscations and etymological ramblings, the *NOTEA* was one of the first books to introduce to a large public the fascinating diversity of the peoples of Northern Asia, and to Stralenberg it is customary to attribute the first classification of the "Tatar languages", the first publication of illustrations of the Turkic Runic inscriptions from the Yenisey, the first use in Western scholarship of the XVII century genealogical work *Sağara-i Turk* of Abu'l-yāzī, and the first extensive recordings of vocabulary in various Mongol, Turkic, and other Asian languages.

At the scholarly remove of several centuries, it is possible to deny Stralenberg first place in certain of these categories. Indeed, it is largely in his ethnographical and linguistic notations that we are able to find

anything of current value, highest among which is the *Vocabularium Calmucko-Mungalicum* (NOTEA, pp. 137-156).

It is with the latter material that Professor Krueger deals in *The Kalmyk Mongolian Vocabulary in Stralenberg's Geography of 1730* [= *KMV*]. In his Introduction, the author sketches the historical circumstances of Stralenberg's capture (*KMV* 10-11), his life and career (11-13), and the publishing history and translations of the NOTEA (15-22). In the German original of the NOTEA, the vocabulary contained some 1431 entries of Kalmyk words in Latin spelling with German definitions in Fraktur script. Krueger provides a facsimile of this list (32-42), as well as facsimiles of the vocabulary in the English (154-165), French (167-187) and Spanish (189-201) translations, thereby rendering reference to the original book and its offspring unnecessary.

Here, I should like to make equally unnecessary any scholarly concern as to a fifth version, unnoticed by the author, of a portion of the *KMV*. On pp. 53-57 of the *Vocabolario Poliglotta con prolegomeni sopra piu' di CL. lingue* (Roma 1787) by Don Lorenzo Hervas, one finds approximately 160 "Kalmuka" words with Italian glosses which are clearly derived from the *KMV* of Stralenberg. Even a cursory comparison reveals that Hervas used neither the French nor the Spanish translations. For example, Hervas has *A-medo* "io vivo" [I live], whereas the Spanish has "me veo" [I see], an error there that reflects misreading the French "je vis" [I live] as "je vois" [I see] (cf. *KMV* 62 *amidu*). Hervas has *Alema-modo* "albero-di-mele" [apple-tree], whereas the French and, after it, the Spanish have the error *alenia modo* (*KMV* 61 *alima modun*). That Hervas had at his disposal the English translation and not the German original is shown by the following: Hervas *Chankaila* "io cuopro" [I cover] = English *Chankayla*, but German *Chankagla* (*KMV* 110 *qabqayla*); Hervas *Doboel* "popolo" [the people] = English *Doboel*, but German *Doböl* (*KMV* 143 List B). The Hervas duplications, of course, may safely be ignored.

Krueger devotes some attention to the problems of the dating and authorship of the Kalmyk vocabulary (*KMV* 24-27). To the latter, the author concludes, rightly, in my opinion, that "... more can be explained about the Glossary and how and why it was written the way it is, by presuming it to be the work of someone other than Stralenberg" (27). There is evidence, to be sure, that at least some of the linguistic materials

in the *NOTEA* were collected by persons other than Stralenberg. In the *Tabula Polyglotta* appended to the work, there is a small Yaqut glossary of some 60 words and numerals (see the edition of J. R. Krueger, *Yakut Manual*, UAS 21, 1962, pp. 305-309). Stralenberg most certainly was never in Yaqutia, and it is increasingly probable that this glossary was adapted from a list provided him by Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt, who did record Yaqut material in Irkutsk from a Russian who had been born in Yaqutsk and knew Yaqut as a second language (see D. G. Messerschmidt, *Forschungsreise durch Sibirien, 1720-1727*, Volume II, Berlin 1964, pp. 201-202 *et passim*; this scientific edition of Messerschmidt's journals has reached four of the projected seven volumes in the *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, VIII*, Berlin 1962-1968, but was unknown to Krueger, cf. *KMV* 12, 25). Consciously or unconsciously, Stralenberg appears to have "Tatarized" several of the Yaqut words in this list, which is the only way to account for *baschput* "our head" = Tatar *baş*, Yaqut *bas*, *utsch* "three" = Tatar *üč*, Yaqut *üs*, etc. Already in the Yaqut glossary in the *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (Amsterdam 1692, pp. 430-431) of Nicolaes Witsen, there occur the expected forms *bos* and *us*, respectively (cf. G. Kara, *Le glossaire yakoute de Witsen, Acta Orientalia Hungaricae XXV*, 1972, pp. 431-439).

The Yaqut case points to one possible explanation of the errors in the *KMV*, that is, to the recording, haphazard in itself, of the basic glossary or of a group of word-lists by a person or persons other than Stralenberg, and the latter's subsequent editing of the material. It is known that Stralenberg frequently relied on bi-lingual natives in Tobolsk for his information on various subjects. As an example, it has been shown that a Tatar named Azbakevič translated the work of Abu-l-γāzī mentioned above to Stralenberg from the Chayatai original into Russian, which was the basis of his German translation (cf. A. N. Kononov, *Istoriia izučeniia tjurkskikh jazykov v Rossii*, Leningrad 1972, pp. 58ff.). A native Kalmyk fluent in Russian could certainly have been the source of the entry in *KMV* 91 *zaræ* [= WMo *ǰirγaqai*] "the ribs", which reflects a confusion of Russian *ryba* "fish", as well as of the occasional Written Mongol forms as *KMV* 60 *agutschi* [= WMo *ayučī*] "good". One cannot suppose that Stralenberg knew how to read Written Mongol, nor that he would have recorded such a glossary with Russian instead of German glosses.

Another avenue of investigation that presents some hope for the

solution of this issue is the relationship between Stralenberg and the great historian of Russia, Vasilij Tatiščev. The two had met already in 1720 in Tobolsk to discuss the translation of Abu-l-γāzī, and then, in 1724, while on official business, Tatiščev again called on Stralenberg (Kononov, *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-63). These meetings must be seen in the light of the Tatiščev papers that exist in Leningrad archives, among which are some multi-language glossaries that include Kalmyk and a large "Russian-Tatar-Kalmyk Dictionary" (Kononov, *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-73). The manuscript form of the latter work seems to date from 1737-1741, during which Tatiščev served as Director of Public Works in the Orenburg Kraj (cf. *Biobibliografičeskij slovar' otečestvennykh tjurkologov. Dooktjabr'skij period*, Moskva 1974, pp. 16, 269), but it is possible that even earlier collections were undertaken by Tatiščev, and the question of the relationship of these with the *KMV* of Stralenberg could easily be answered by those with access to these archives.

However that may be, the main purpose of the work under review was to provide an edition of the *KMV* material and, in this regard, the author has succeeded in a highly commendable fashion. His organization of the vocabulary (cf. *KMV* 22-24) follows principles that facilitate the location of a given word and its comparison with Written Mongol and modern Kalmyk forms. Thus, the *KMV* is presented in two sections. List A (58-140) contains those words for which the author was able to find a Written Mongol equivalent in Lessing's dictionary of that language. The headwords in this list are the WMo forms in alphabetical order, accompanied by the Kalmyk form from Ramstedt's *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch* [= *KW*]. These are followed by the *KMV* word spelled and defined as in the German original, with precise references, glosses and variant spellings in the English, French and Spanish versions. Most entries are terminated by relevant discussions of peculiar recordings or errors. The author has identified better than 90% of the material, and one is left with the impression that the monograph reflects a labor of patience and care in the face of baffling spellings and definitions and the host of vagaries that such a recording situation creates (cf. *KMV* 27-28). List B (141-149) contains the material for which the author could not locate a Written Mongol form or an appropriate equivalent word in other Mongol languages. To these two Lists there is provided a Locator Index (43-57), which lists the Kalmyk words in their original order in *NOTEA* next to the

Written Mongol or other identifications made by the author. A third List C (150-151) contains all the other Kalmyk words cited by Stralenberg in the pages of *NOTEA* and in the appended *Tıbula Polyglotta*. At the end of the monograph are found references to archival and published sources concerning Stralenberg, and a bibliography (202-205).

At this point, I should like to present a few clarifications on the entries in Lists A and B:

KMV 70 *buqa* "bull", S[tralenberg] *bucha* "a dove"; this is probably a clipping of a form such as *kök puḡa* "dove" ("blue" + "bull") found in Siberian Turkic dialects (Radloff, *Wörterbuch* IV 1362).

KMV 82 *eliye* "hawk, vulture", S *ilga* "hawk"; phonetically, the S form seems to be an error for KW 211 *itḡa* ~ *itḡan* "bird of prey; gyrfalcon", that is, WMo *itelgü* ~ *italḡu* rather than *eliye*.

KMV 106 *oimasun* "felt stockings", S *orimissun* "stockings", with intrusive *r*, is a firm identification; however, the author includes S *omedun* ~ *amedun* "trousers" under this heading, which is an error; the latter is, of course, WMo *ömüdün* "trousers" (see below).

KMV 127 *talbiča* "place of deposit", S *tepchi* "ein Molte"; the modern German equivalent "Mulde" means "tray, trough, tub, basin", which points clearly to the correct WMo *tebsi* "large oblong plate, platter or tray, trough" as the identification for S *tepchi*.

KMV 141 S *balgus* "wax", KW 32 *balūs* ~ *balūs*, is originally a Qipchaq Turkic composition of *bal* "honey" + *aḡuz* "biestings", and is found in Qarachay, Balqar, Qazaq, Tobol *balauz* "wax" (cf. M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkssprachen*, Helsinki 1969, p. 60); here, one can only speculate about the -g- in the *KMV* form which, if it is not an error, reflects a borrowing from some Turkic language other than Qipchaq (where -ḡ- > -v-/Ø), or a very early Qipchaq loanword (prior to the XIII c., cf. the *Codex Cumanicus*, where the change is already in effect) into the Western Mongol dialect base from which Oirat dialects developed; the latter is extremely improbable, and serves to emphasize the limitations of such materials.

KMV 144 S *karssu* "paper" is not, as the author suggests, really very reminiscent of Turkic *qaḡat* ~ *qaḡaz* ← Persian *kāḡad* (cf. Räsänen, *Op. cit.*, p. 219); nor is it a question here of WMo *qayudasun* "a sheet of paper"; KW 201 *xūdḡsḡ* "bark (of a tree), etc.", let alone of WMo *čaḡasun* "paper"; in my opinion, this word recalls most closely the entry in *KMV*

85 *γuγursun* "feather, quill", *S garssu*, and should reflect a recording error of "paper" for "quill" (the POINT-AND-ASK type of error noted by Krueger, *KMV* 27-28).

As the author points out, judgment of the value of the *KMV* for the history of the Oirat dialects must be postponed, if only for the reason that there is a large body of still unsifted early Kalmyk material (*KMV* 28-30). He reviews (14-15) the glossaries of Witsen, Gmelin and Bergmann, and the sources reproduced in the valuable *Ältere westeuropäische Quellen zur Kalmückischen Sprachgeschichte (Witsen 1692 bis Zwick 1827)* (Wiesbaden 1965) [= *Quellen*] by Gerhard Doerfer. An index to the sources in the *Quellen* is in the process of compilation at Göttingen, but it should be pointed out that the *Quellen* and the appearance of the present monograph do not exhaust the early sources of Kalmyk available to scholarship.

There exist, as one would expect, manuscript Kalmyk glossaries in Russian archives (cf. Kononov, *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-73, 81, 82; T. I. Tepljašina, *Pamjatniki udmurtskoj pis'mennosti XVIII veka, I*, Moskva 1966, pp. 78-79, speaks of a manuscript containing 286 words in Tatar, Votyak, Cheremis, Tepter and Kalmyk, that perhaps served as the source of the Kalmyk list in the comparative dictionary of Pallas). It is possible that XVII century Polish documentation contains Kalmyk material, as Polish interest in the area and specifically in alliance with Kalmyks led to the formulation of a major diplomatic effort in 1653 which, however, proved abortive (cf. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, The Unrealized Legation of Kasper Szymański to the Kalmuks and Persia in 1653, *Folia Orientalia* XII, 1970, pp. 9-23). Of more immediate interest is the important description of the Azov Kalmyks contained in a Latin manuscript written in 1700 by the Czech Jesuit, Johannes Milan, a missionary in Russia in 1698-1719. This manuscript, which includes line drawings and ethnological and linguistic notes, was edited long ago (A. V. Florovskij, Ein tschechischer Jesuit unter den Asowschen Kalmücken im Jahre 1700, *Archiv Orientalní* XII, 1941, pp. 162-188), and, recently, Pavel Poucha has treated the Kalmyk words and phrases scattered through its pages (see: Kalmückische Ausdrücke beim tschechischen Jesuiten Johannes Milan-Franciscus Emilianus, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XXXII/1, 1968, pp. 61-66 [note that p. 65 *Aldar Scheschan* is not *aldar sayıqan* as Poucha, but *aldar sečen/čečen*, cf. KW 428 *tsetsn* "wise"]). In the same polyglot compilation of Hervas

noted above, there is a list of Kalmyk numerals from 1 to 10 (p. 243: *negen, chour, gurban, dorben, tabun, surgan, dolen, naimen, gesin, arban*). These, however, duplicate the 1775 list of Lindheim reproduced by Doerfer (*Quellen*, p. 213). Finally, there is a five line Kalmyk panegyric composed and read on the occasion of the inauguration of the Kazan Viceregent in 1781. It forms part of a collection of such panegyrics composed also in Chuvash, Tatar, Cheremis and Votyak that was edited from the manuscripts much later (for the Kalmyk, cf. *Sočinenija v proze i stikhakh na slučae otkrytija Kazanskogo namestničestva v publičnom sobranii na raznykh jazykakh govorenyye v tamošnej seminarii 26 dnja 1781 goda, Izvestija obščestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii pri Kazanskom Universitete* XVIII/4-6, 1908, p. 153; I have edited the Chuvash version in my *Utilizing Early Turkic Linguistic Sources: Eighteenth Century Chuvash*, M.A. Thesis, Indiana University 1970, p. 83).

To return to the question of the value of this glossary for Kalmyk historical linguistics, it should be said that Krueger's aim was to identify the words in the *KMV* and not to provide a phonological analysis of the dialect(s) it reflects. Indeed, since the frequently erratic spellings of given words point to a compilation based on multiple glossaries, whose isolation and recording procedures are irretrievable in the present form, it is perhaps futile to attempt to establish a meaningful sound pattern as though the material in *KMV* reflected one or more homogeneous dialects. Generally, the retrieval of "fine" phonetic distinctions in such a glossary is jeopardized, although "gross" distinctions, those resulting from major sound changes, may occasionally be recognized, and constitute evidence for the relative chronology of such changes. Doerfer has postulated several such changes on the basis of the material in the *Quellen* (pp. 17-24), although, in his review of the *Quellen*, Georg Kara has shown several of these to be unconvincing (cf. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* LXIV, 1969, cc. 206-209).

For his part, Krueger points out two further phonetic phenomena in the *KMV* (p. 30): (1) a "d/s alternation", and (2) a "b/m alternation". The first of these is based on the following examples:

1. *KMV* 61 [*altan*] *subud* "(gold) and pearls", S *altan subus* (KW 332 *sowsŋ* ~ 339 *suwsŋ* = WMo *subusun*);
2. *KMV* 69 *bolod* "steel", S *bolos* (KW 50 *bol^oD*);
3. *KMV* 80 *eske*- "to cut", S *aetke-/etka-* (KW 211 *iškⁱ-*);

4. KMV 90 *ḡasa-* "to put in order", S *dsada-/dsasa* (KW 468 *zas-*);

5. KMV 106 *oimasun* "felt stockings", S *omedun/amedun* "trousers"; as pointed out above, this identification is an error for WMo *ômüdün* "trousers".

Now, the existence of a "d/s alternation" is well-known in Mongol linguistics (for a recent discussion, with bibliography, cf. A. Róna-Tas, A Study on the Dariganga Phonology, *Acta Orient. Hung.* X, 1960, p. 25). It has been evident up to now that this so-called "alternation" in fact reflects a sound change of *s* > *d*; cf. the clear cases of WMo *Jes* ~ *jed* "copper" ← Turkic *ḡez* [yez], WMo *ulus*, Buryat *ulus* ~ *ulud* "country" ← Turkic *uluš*, and now example 4 above, S *dsada-* ~ *dsasa-* < Mo *ḡasa-* in all Mongol languages. Nor does the example 3 above contradict this, for it is but one of several cases of a very old change in Mongol dialects that surfaces in one or the other form in various texts and dialects; cf. "Secret History", *Hua-yi I-yü etke-*, Ibn Muḡannā *hitke-*, *Lalitavistara* 59v4 *edke-*, *Sub-ḡāṣitaratnanidhi* 162 *etke-*, *Moghol etqa-*, beside the WMo *eske-*, KMV *etka-/aetke-*; also cf. "Secret History" *getki-* "to trample", beside WMo *giski-*, KMV 86 *giski-* [note that KW 211 *iskⁱ* belongs with WMo *iskül-*, KMV 88 *iskuhl-* "to trample"!], where the *t/d* form failed to surface in Kalmyk. Occasionally, it happens that both *d/s* forms surface in modern dialects (WMo *egüs-/egüd-* "to begin", Kalm, Bur, Khal *ūs-/ūd-*), and occasionally only the *d* form (WMo *naḡas-/naḡad-* "to play", Kalm, Bur, Khal, *nād-*). Now, this picture is obscured by examples 1 and 2 above, in that both reflect a change *d* > *s* in the Stralenberg material; moreover, 2 *bolod* is a loanword from Persian *pōlād* "steel", so that the direction of change is fixed. It is true that example 1 *subud* is considered by Sir Gerard Clauson to be a metathesized form of **busud*, which he takes to be a loanword from Persian *bussad* "coral" (Three Mongolian Notes, *Collectanea Mongolica*, Wiesbaden 1966, pp. 33-34); if correct that would fix the direction of change in this word as well, but the semantic and phonetic difficulties make the etymology suspect. One might conjecture that Stralenberg's *subus* is equivalent to WMo *subusun*, which is the *indiv-ualis* (+ *-sun*) of the plural *subud* "pearls"; other examples of the rendering of *-sun* as *-s/-ss* in KMV are: 83 *ḡadasun* "nail" S *kadss/kadasu*, 91 *ḡirasun* "fish", S *tzagas/tsagassun/sagassun*, 71 *burḡasun* "willow", S *burgas* "broom", *burgasu* "fir" (questionable). This is not especially convincing, and the fact remains that *bolod* "steel" is neither plural, nor does a WMo

form **bolosun* exist. Thus, *bolod* > *bolos* and *subud* > *subus* constitute potentially important, if still unclear, evidence from this 1730 glossary.

The “*b/m* alternation” in the *KMV* rests upon the following examples:

1. *KMV* 65 *bačay* “fast”, S *matsag* (KW 258 *mats^aG*);
2. *KMV* 88 *irbis* “panther, tiger”, S *irmis* (KW 210 *irwš* [*< *irbis*]);
3. *KMV* 109 *qabar* “nose”, S *kamar* (KW 164 *xamr*). The first example is but one of several cases in Mongol languages in which a sound change *b* > *m* occurs: WMo *bečün* ~ *mečün* “ape” ← Turkic *béčün* KW 31 *balta* ~ 255 *malt^a* “axe” ← Turkic *baltu*; KW 35 *bars* ~ 257 *mars* “tiger” ← Turkic *bars*. In fact, beside *bačay* exists the form *mačay* (Lessing, p. 519; Kowalewski, p. 1996), although only the latter is found in Buryat *masag*, Ordos *ma’tš’ak* and Kalmyk as above. This is not, therefore, peculiar to the *KMV*. The modern dialects all reflect WMo *irbis* in example 2, and not Stralenberg’s *irmis*, but the third example WMo *qabar* is found as *qamar* in nearly all dialects (Khalkha, Buryat, Ordos, Kalmyk, Dagur). The change *-b- > -m-* is not unknown in other words; cf. WMo *čolbon* “Venus”, which appears as *čolmon* in Khalkha, Ordos, Jarut, and surely further examples could be adduced. Again, this change does not constitute a characteristic feature of the material.

The glossaries recorded during the XVII-XVIII centuries, of which the *KMV* is unquestionably the most substantial, are a precious source of data on the formative period of the modern dialects. Other things being equal, such materials may be expected to attest: (1) the relative chronology of major sound changes; (2) vocabulary, often in rare or primary meanings, or otherwise unattested; (3) dialects that have since disappeared or that remain virtually unstudied (in regard to such materials for Turkic and Tunguz languages of Siberia). Sufficient materials are available for such study, whose preliminaries entail the identification of the lexical items and the organization of the results in such a way as to facilitate comparison on both the diachronic and synchronic planes. The present monograph constitutes the first major edition of such material. In his careful deliberations upon the context of such recordings and in his presentation of the vocabulary, Professor Krueger leads the way to future studies.