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THE LANGUAGE OF THE T'O-PA WEI *

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In the second decade of the third century A. D., a century which proved to be so eventful in the history of China, when the wily Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操, having triumphed over his chief rivals north of the Yangtse, was turning his attention to the great " Problem of the Frontier " and to the re-establishment of Chinese communications with Central Asia, there appeared in the northern marshes of Shansi a little tribe of nomads who were predestined to leave an indelible stamp on the life of the Middle Kingdom in the tragic centuries to come. Their fame was to spread through the entire continent from ocean to ocean, and they were to bestow upon China one of her many names.

Their advent passed almost unnoticed by the Chinese (so far as we can judge from contemporary sources) in the midst of the manifold problems that confronted Ts'ao's and his successor's chancellery in dealing with the complex relations existing at the time between China and the Hsiung-nu 匈奴, Hsien-pi 鮮卑, and Wu-huan 烏桓 nomadic organizations. Ch'ü-pei 去卑, then regent of the Hsiung-nu by the grace of Ts'ao, must have, however, reported to Yeh 鄴, the Chinese capital, about the pressure exercised upon his northern frontier by the newcomers.[1]

* Abbreviations used: Capital letters followed by Roman numerals indicate the Twenty Four Dynastic Histories (the 1902 reprint of the Ch'ien-lung 1739 edition by the *Shih-hsüeh Hui-shê* 史學會社) and chapter referred to, viz.: E—*Chin Shu* 晉書; F—*Sung Shu* 宋書; G—*Nan Ch'i Shu* 南齊書; J—*Wei Shu* 魏書; K—*Pei Ch'i Shu* 北齊書; L—*Chou Shu* 周書; O—*Pei Shih* 北史: 2P—*Hsin T'ang Shu* 新唐書. KD—B. KARLGREN, *Analytic Dictionary of Sino-Japanese*; pht.—posthumous title; tk.—Turkish; mo.—Mongol; ma.—Manchu; tk. mo.—" turco-mongol."

[1] O 53, 1 b, biography of P'o-liu-han Ch'ang 破六韓常 (cf. K 27, 1 b), has preserved for us the only mention of the early clashes between the T'o-pa and the Hsiung-nu. Ch'ang traced his ancestry back to P'an-liu hsi 潘六奚, younger brother of Ch'ü-pei, who was sent by the regent to stop the inroads of the T'o-pa, but was defeated and taken prisoner together with his five sons.

These invaders, known as T'o-pa 拓跋, formed at first part of the great Hsien-pi confederacy under T'an-shih-huai 檀石槐[2] in the second half of the second century, and possibly entered into the loose union of tribes created about 225 by the Hsien-pi chieftain K'o-pi-nêng 軻比能. They emerge as a distinct political entity under the "First Progenitor" (Shih-tsu 始祖) of the future emperors of Wei, T'o-pa Li-wei 拓跋力微. In 248 Li-wei, heretofore subject to the Mo-lu-hui 沒鹿回 horde, murdered its chiefs and became the supreme head of a nomadic organization numbering "over 200,000 bowmen" (J1, 1b). Ten years later, he established himself on the Chinese frontier and entered into close relations with the Ts'ao-Wei Empire. We shall find the T'o-pa in the welter of the great movement of the "Barbarians" which caused the "Fall of the Chinese Empire" half a century later, and see them achieve supremacy over the entire North of China by 450 A. D.

It must have been prior to the rise of Li-wei that a group of T'o-pa, known in Chinese history as the T'u-fa 禿髮, led by Li-wei's elder brother P'i-ku 匹孤, detached itself from the main body and, skirting the western bend of the Yellow River, proceeded southwestward into Kansu, where they founded a kingdom of their own, the Southern Liang 南涼, which flourished from 397 to 414 and was destroyed by the Western Ch'in 西秦. J 99, E 126, and *Shih-liu Kuo Ch'un-ch'iu* 十六國春秋, ch. 88, in their account of the ancestry of the T'u-fa kings, do not mention the blood relationship uniting them with the T'o-pa, but from J 41 (biography of Yüan Ho 源賀, cf. *infra* § 20) and the brief genealogy of the Yüan 源 family preserved in 2P 75 A, we know that this relationship was recognized by the T'o-pa Wei rulers.[2a]

Who were, then, these T'o-pa or T'u-fa and what was the "barbarian tongue" which resounded in their tents before they established themselves as rulers of China and exchanged it for the genteel Sinitic monosyllables? Before attempting to reconstruct and analyze their name, the author would think wise to pass in review the fragmentary vocabulary material of T'o-pa which has been preserved to us in the Chinese sources.

Our knowledge of the T'o-pa language is chiefly derived from titles and proper names that can be culled from the *Wei Shu* and from two of the histories of Southern Chinese dynasties, primarily F 95 and G 57. Proper names have not heretofore been studied, while it is mainly through

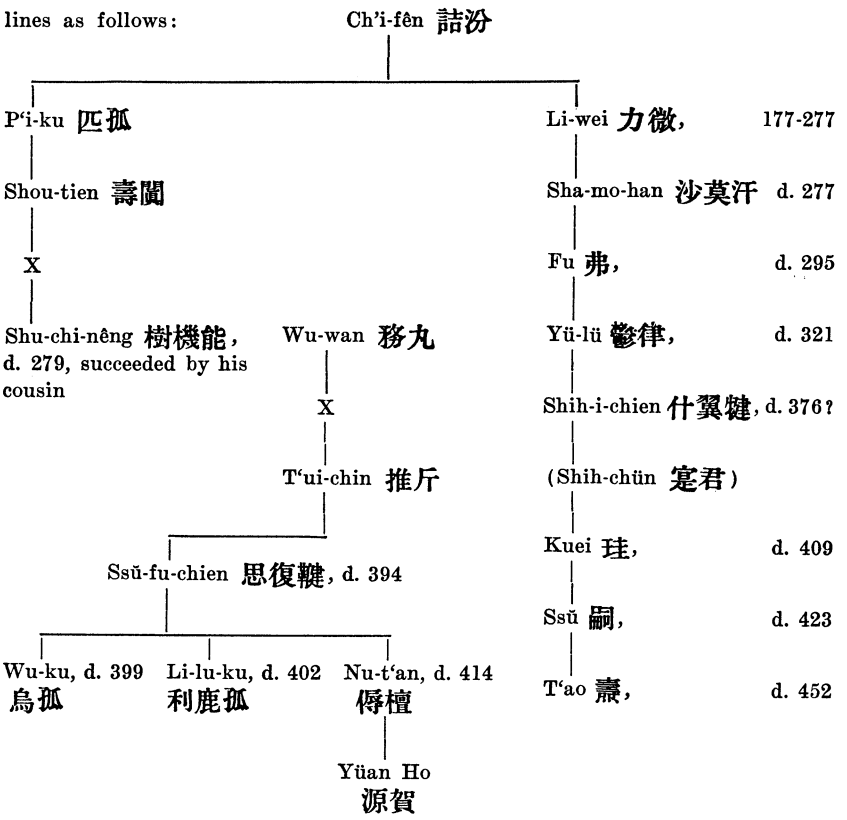
[2] KD 967, 883, 460: *d'ân-d'iäk-g'wai* < mo. **dalda*γ*ai*—"secret," "hidden"? Cf. the story of his birth and childhood, *San Kuo Chih*, 30.

[2a] The genealogy of the two branches of the T'o-pa presents itself on general

the efforts of Professors Kurakichi Shiratori and Paul Pelliot [3] that the following equivalences have been established between Chinese transcriptions and reconstructed T'o-pa titles:

1. *K'o-sun* 可孫, *KD* 414, 833: *k'â-suən*—"title of the T'o-pa Empress," G 57. Tk. **qasun~qatun* < *qaγatun*—"wife of the sovereign

lines as follows:



The reader might be surprised that Shih-chün 寔君 is designated as the father of Kuei. The author has been forced, however, to accept this conclusion and will sometime undertake to demonstrate this correction of the *Wei Shu*.

[3] SHIRATORI Kurakichi, Über die Sprach der Hiungnu und der Tunghu-Stämme, *Bulletin (Izvestiia) de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences* 1902, vol. 17. 2, pp. 015-018, henceforth quoted as *Izv.*; Über die Sprache des Tung-hu Volks (Pt. VI and VII), *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 22. 11 and 12, pp. 1-24 and 1-27, quoted as *SZ*. PELLIOT'S occasional observations are scattered in numerous brief notes in *JA* and *TP*, as indicated in the text of this article.

(khan)," which is found in T'u-chüeh Turkish as *k'o-ho-tun* 可賀敦 KD 342, 1143: *k'â-γâ-tuən* < *qaγatun* (L50, 1a), and in T'u-yü-hun as *k'o-tsun* 可尊, KD 1112: k'â-tsuən (*ibid.*), cf. K. SHIRATORI, *Izv.*, 15, 18, and *SZ*, 22. 5, 75-84, also P. PELLIOT, *JA* 1930, 260. *-tun, -sun, -tsun* may be a feminine suffix which re-appears in Hsien-pi *a-ma-tun* 阿摩敦 KD 1,593: 'â-muâ-tuən < **aβaγatun*?—" mother " (L 11, 2a, cf. O 57), cf. T'u-yü-hun *mo-ho* 莫何, KD 638: *mâk, muo-g-γâ* < **(a)baγa*—" father." This suffix possibly corresponds to the mongol feminine suffixes *-lun, -tani, -tai.*[4]

2. *K'o-po-chên* 可薄眞, KD 764, 1194: *k'â-b'âk-t'śi̯ĕn* < tk. *qapaγčin* —" door-keeper," *ibid.*; *Izv.*, 17; *SZ* 22. 12, 20; PELLIOT, *JA* 1925, I, 255. The initial sonant of 薄 *b'âk* offers no difficulty as we have the same title appearing in F 95 as the name of the T'o-pa prince Yü 余 son of T'o-pa T'ao, in the form 可博眞, with 博 KD 50 *pâk* for *b'âk.*

3. *Ch'i-wan-chên* 乞萬眞, KD 332, 1295: *k'i̯ət-miᵂɒn-t'śi̯ĕn* < mo. *kälmärčin*—" interpreter," *ibid.*; *Izv., loc. cit.*; *SZ* 17-19; PELLIOT, *loc. cit.* The Turkish form of the same word (with initial t- for k-) **tilmač(i)* > germ. Dolmetscher, russ. tolmač, may underlie the nickname of the ancestor of the Ho-lien Hsia Hsiung-nu, T'ieh-fu 鐵弗 ~T'ieh-fa 鐵伐 (KD 991: *t'iet*; 47, 16: *pi̯uət, bi̯ᵂɒt*) Liu Hu 劉虎, who was, according to J 95, the son of a Hu 胡 father and a Hsien-pi mother (and, therefore, bilingual and able to interpret both languages?).

4. *Pi-tê-chên* 比德眞, KD 714, 981: *pji-*(or *b'ji*)*-tək-t'śi̯ĕn* < tk. mo. *bitäkčin* or **pitäkčin*—" scribe," *ibid.*; *Izv.*, 16; *SZ* 11-14; PELLIOT, 254-255. This word calls for no observations, outside of those made by Pelliot, while a whole monograph would be required to determine the origin (Chinese or Indo-European?) of tk. **bitig*—" writing."[5]

5. *Hsien-chên* 咸眞, KD 148: *γâm-*(<*γɒm*)*-t'śi̯ĕn* < tk. *yamčin* > russ. yamščik—" rider of the post," *ibid.*; *Izv.*, 7; *SZ* 21-24; PELLIOT, *TP* 1930, 192-195; B. VLADIMIRTSOV, Zametki k drevne-tyurkskim . . . tekstam, *Doklady Akademii Nauk* 1929, 290-294.

[4] On which cf. PELLIOT, *TP* 1932, 50-51, also B. VLADIMIRTSOV, Traces du genre grammatical dans la langue mongole (in Russian), *Doklady Akademii Nauk* 1925, 31-34.

[5] If one pre-suppose that the chief of the Kirghiz was the proud possessor of a " secretariat," one could see in the obscure *mi-ti-chih* 密的支, KD 617, 860, 1212: *mi̯ĕt-tiek-t'śi̯ę*, of 2P 217 B, designating the large tent of the Kirghiz ruler, a variant transcription of **bitigči.* It is through a strange lapsus that Father Hyacinth in his *Sobranie svedenii* . . . I: 2, 445, identifies this term with tk. *mesǧed* < ar. *masjid*—" mosque."

6. *Tou-lu* 豆盧, KD 1015, 579: *d'ẓu-luo*—" to become loyal " (歸義) < tk. mo. *törü*—" law," " right," O 68, 1 a; *Izv.*, 18; *SZ* 7-8. The same word is found in Tou-lu-t'u 豆盧突, KD 498: *d'ẓu-luo-t'uət* (with the final *-t* quiescent) < **törütü?*, the cognomen of Yü-wên Chao 宇文招, prince of the Northern Chou, L13, 1 a.

Several other identifications proposed by Shiratori are tempting, but not conclusive; attention to some of them will be called when occasion demands. As to the following list of T'o-pa words, most of them have been discussed by the writer before; [6] they include, besides words identifiable through Chinese translations, many terms the meaning of which has been established through phonetic equivalences or their occurrence in " etymological " contexts.

7. The T'o-pa prince Jên 仁, prince of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (J 17) is called in F 95 *K'u-jên-chên* 庫仁眞, KD 431, 930: *k'uo-ńźi̯ĕn-tśi̯ĕn*. Here again a prince of the blood is bearing a title of a dignitary. Although there is no clue as to the meaning of the T'o-pa word, the almost perfect phonetic equivalence makes it clear that we have here the turco-mongol term *qoyinčin ~ qoninčin*—" sheep-herdsman," Chinese initial *ńź-* transcribing equally well " altaic " *yi-* or *ńi-*. The root of this word, *qoyin ~ qonin*—" sheep " appears, transcribed by the same Chinese characters, as the personal name of the Hsiung-nu regent of the T'o-pa kingdom from 376 to 383, Liu K'u-jên.[7]

8. The mo. term *aqan*—" elder brother," which is registered in the T'u-yü-hun language (cf. PELLIOT, *TP* 1920-21, 329) doubtless underlies the T'o-pa title *a-kan* 阿干, KD 396: *'â-kân* < **aqan*, attested chiefly in the combination *nei a-kan* 內阿干—" *aqan* of the interior." Cf. J 15, biography of T'o-pa Tsun 遵 who bore that title, and 2 P 71 B, 15 a, where it is mentioned as a position held under the Wei by Yü-wên Hsi 宇文系.

9. *K'o-han* 可汗, *k'â-kân* < *qaγan*. Although the title " Khan " is not mentioned in the texts as the one borne by the early T'o-pa rulers, we are justified in assuming that this was the case for the following reasons: in 310 T'o-pa I-lu 猗盧 is given in addition to the title of duke of Tai 代, that of great *shan-yü* 單于, which in Chinese texts of the period is a " learned " archaic equivalent of *qaγan*; the T'o-pa Empress, as we have

[6] In *Sino-Altaica*, Series I-IV (privately mimeographed).

[7] Another Liu K'u-jên 庫仁 is mentioned in J 26, biography of Wei Chüan 尉眷, as one of eight high officials of the Wei, and the same element enters into the name of a Juan-juan chieftain, appearing on the same page.

seen, bore the corresponding feminine title *qaγatun*. In the famous song of Mu-lan 木蘭, which was undoubtedly composed in the North during the time of T'o-pa domination, the Emperor is referred to as *k'o-han*. The title, made famous by the Orkhon Turks, was probably derived by them from the Juan-juan, who, in turn, must have borrowed it either from the T'o-pa or the Mu-jung.

10. Most of the T'o-pa princes of the blood mentioned in F 95 and G 57 are referred to as *Chih-chin* 直勤 (or 懃), KD 1220, 389: *d'i̯ək-g'i̯ən*. This is obviously the equivalent of *t'ê-chin* 特勤, KD 811: *d'ək-g'i̯ən*, which transcribes regularly in T'ang texts the Orkhon Turkish *tigin, tägin* > mo. *čigin*—" prince."

11. *Chih-chên* 直眞, *d'i̯ək-ʦi̯ĕn*—" chief officers of the interior " 內左右, G 57. In *Izv.*, 16, SHIRATORI suggests tk. *ič*—" interior," basing himself on the modern pronunciation of *chih* 直; in *SZ* 9-10, the no more acceptable ma. *doko*—" lining " and other tungus forms. In order to understand the T'o-pa term, one must compare it with the parallel title of the " chief officers of the exterior," which was, according to the same Chinese source:

12. *Wu-ai-chên* 烏矮眞, KD 1288, 1306: *'uo-'âi-ʦi̯ĕn* < **'u'âičin* or **'uγâičin*. Shiratori unwarrantedly alters *wu* 烏 into *niao* 鳥, KD 662: *tieu*, and adduces again Tungus forms (*op. cit.* 10-11). The Chinese terms *nei* 內 and *wai* 外 mean also " *agnatus* " and " *cognatus*," respectively, and it is doubtless in those meanings that we must take the above two expressions. **Tägčin*[8] must, thus, in all probability be connected with the tk. root of § 10, found in Orkhon Turkish *täg*—" Geschlecht," while **'uγaičin* is derived from tk. *uq*—" *id.*," a synonym of tk. mo. *uruq* " family relations on the mother's or wife's side." We have further substantiation of this etymology in a passage in J 113, 1 a, where it is stated that in the early T'o-pa organization various clans not directly related to the T'o-pa but who joined their confederacy were collectively called *Wu-wan* 烏丸, KD 1293: *'uo-γuân*. The two chiefs appointed over such *Wu-wan* must undoubtedly be the officials termed **'uoγaičin*.

13-14. In its description of the Wei army during the campaign of 495, G 57, 3 a, speaking of the retinue of T'o-pa Hung and the enormous chariot in which he traveled, says that the chariot was surrounded by 曷剌眞槊多白眞氈 " lances of the *ho-la-chên* and yak-tailed standards of the *to-po-chên*." KD 73, 509: *γât-lât-ʦi̯ĕn* yield us a T'o-pa form **atlačin*, while KD 1006, 685: *tâb'ɐk-ʦi̯ĕn* gives **tabaqčin*. **Atlačin* is

[8] Cf. the proper name *t'ê-chên* 特眞 < **tägčin*, occurring in L 17, 2a.

obviously derived from tk. *atla*—" to ride on horseback " (cf., however, PELLIOT, *TP* 1930, 306-308, for the history of that word in turkish), **tabaqčïn*, from tk. mo. *tabaq*—" ground, sole of the foot." It thus seems safe to suppose that **atlačïn* and **tabaqčïn* represent the T'o-pa terms designating " cavalrymen " and " foot-soldiers " respectively.

15. *Hu-lo-chên* 胡洛眞, KD 91, 411: *γuo-lâk-t́śi̯ĕn* < *γuraqčïn* or *'uraqčïn* (PELLIOT, JA 1930, 261)—title of " the officer who girded (the ruler?) with weapons " 帶仗人, G 57. Shiratori suggested at first (*Izv.*, 16) tk. *qïlïč*—" sword " and Hsiung-nu **kinglak* 徑路—" sword," but later (*SZ* 22. 12, 17-18) he attempted to connect the T'o-pa word with mo. *χorči*—" *quiver-bearer*," and with the tk. root **qur*—" encircle," " guard," " fortify," [9] but trying to derive from it a meaning close to " weapons " (he repeats apparently his observations in his study of Mongol words in the *Korye Să, Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報, 1929, XVIII, 149-244, cf. Pelliot's remarks, *JA*, *loc. cit.*). In spite of the initial γ- or '-, the word underlying this title must undoubtedly be connected with Hsiung-nu *kuo-lo* 郭洛, 廓落, 鉤絡, **q*^{w}*aγlaq* or **q*^{w}*aγraq* (also possibly **quraq*)—" girdle," on which see PELLIOT, *TP* 1928-29, 143-144, commenting upon Wang Kuo-wei's study of that word in the *Hu Fu K'ao* 胡服考.

As the T'o-pa *nomen agentis* was apparently understood by the Chinese as meaning " the (royal) girdler," **γuraq* (< **χuraq* < **quraq*?) must indeed go back to tk. **qur*—" encircle," " gird," and does not specifically refer to arms or designate any particular weapon.[10]

16. As to the T'o-pa word for " quiver," it might possibly enter as an element in another title which appears in F 25, 3 a and F 51, 1 a as the name of a T'o-pa general and governor of Yü chou 豫州, defeated by Liu Tao-lien 劉道憐 in the sixth month of 405. This T'o-pa leader can with surety be identified with Mu Ch'ung 穆崇 (J 28, O 20) who at the

[9] It seems that mo. *qor*—" quiver " is to be connected with tk. *qubur*—" holster " > russ. *kobur*, *kobura*—" *id.*," derived from the same root (either **qob*—" thick and round " or **qob*—" empty," " hole ") as mo. *qo'ur* ~ *qour*, tk. *qobuz* > russ. *kobza*—" a kind of a guitar " (cf. PELLIOT, *TP* 1914, 258), and not from the root **qur*—" to encircle " which lies at the basis of orkhon tk. *qur*—" Gürtel," tk. *quřaq* > *qušaq*—" girdle."

[10] As to the T'o-pa word for " weapons," it must underlie another title appearing in F 95, 3b, *jo-k'u-chên* 若庫眞, KD 938, 431: *ńźi̯ak-k'uo-t́śi̯ĕn*, as the name of the T'o-pa governor of Yü 豫 chou in 448, who is, I believe, to be identified with Chang-sun Lan 長孫蘭 (J 26), governor of that province about that time. According to Lan's biography, he was in charge of T'o-pa T'ao's arms when following his Emperor in the latter's campaigns.

begining of the fifth century occupied the post of governor of Yü chou and died in the seventh month of 406 (J 28 and J 2). Mu Ch'ung was one of the trustiest supporters of T'o-pa Kuei and, at the time of the establishment of the Wei Empire, received the title of *shih-chung* 侍中 and was appointed *t'ai wei* 太尉. It is possible that the name or title which is given him by the Southern Chinese history, *So-tu-chên* 索度眞, KD 818, 1128: *sâk-dâk-*(or *d'uo-g*)*-ṫśi̯ĕn* < **saqdaqčïn* or **saqdučïn* contains the tk. root **saq*—" bewahren," mo. *saki*—" to guard," and means " guardsman " (possibly " commander of the guard," *i. e. t'ai wei*).

The same root might underlie *So-kan* 索干 < **saqan* which is given in G 57, 2 b as the name of the capital of the T'o-pa. **Saqan* could indeed mean " watch," " guarded place " (cf. tk. *saqla*—" dwelling "), although it is also possible that it is simply a variant form of Sang-kan 桑乾, KD 769, 299: *sâng-kân*, the region of the Sang-kan river in Shansi, where the T'o-pa *ordo* was then situated.

**Saqdaq* can, on the other hand, be connected with mo. *saγadaq*, tk. *sadaq*—" quiver " > russ. *saidak*—" quiver." Mu Ch'ung may thus have borne the title of **saγadaqčin*, an old Turco-mongol term for the later mo. *qorči*—" quiver-bearer."

17. *P'u-ta-chên* 樸大眞, KD 760, 952: *p'ăk-d'âi-ṫśi̯ĕn*—title of the " officer in charge of (the ruler's) clothes," 擔衣人, G 57; *SZ* 22. 12, 14-15, where rather unsatisfactory mongol and tungus parallels meaning " to cover " are offered. In the light of the above etymology of *hu-lo-chên*, it would be tempting to identify in *p'u-ta-chên* the officer in charge of one of the most important pieces of turco-mongol apparel, the *boghtaq*, a head-dress the wearing of which was not in ancient times exclusively limited to women. The initial surd of *p'u* would then present the same problem as the initial of *pi* 比 in § 4. The history of the term *boghtaq* < tk. *boqtaq* ~ *boqta'* would require a special study (cf. PELLIOT, *JA* 1925, I, 222). It is most probably of Chinese origin.

18. *Chê-hui-chên* 折潰眞, KD 1185, 456: *ṫśi̯ät-γuâi-ṫśi̯ĕn*, G 57, 爲主出受辭人, which Shiratori translates (*Izv.*, 16) " ein Mann welcher um des Herrn willen den Gruss erwidert." It seems to me that *tz'ŭ* 辭 should be taken here rather in the judicial sense of " pleas and accusations." The T'o-pa term could then represent **jilγuâičin* < mo. *jiluγa*(*duq*)*či* —" administrator " < tk. mo. *jiluγa* ~ *jiluγu*—" reins "; possibly, although the vocalization of the T'o-pa term speaks against it, mo. *jarγači*— " bailiff " or *jarγuči*—" judge."

19. *A-chên* 阿眞, *'â-ṫśi̯ĕn*—a title entering into the designation of a

part of the T'o-pa palace, the *a-chên* kitchen 廚, G 57. Shiratori is inclined (*SZ* 22. 12, 15-16) to interpret *a* 阿 as being a mistake for *fu* 附, KD 44: *b'i̯u*, which appears in the title *fu-chên* 附眞, equated by him with tk. mo. **baγurčin*—"cook." The vocalization of the Chinese character does not, however, support this hypothesis. One would rather think that *'â-ťśi̯ĕn* represents the common tk. **ačin* < *ašči̇n*—"cook" < *aš*—"food." [11]

20. In the list of Wei generals which appears in the letter of T'o-pa Hung to a Sung transfuge (F 95) is mentioned a T'o-pa *t'ai-wei Chih-chin Chia-t'ou-pa-yü-chih* 直懃駕頭拔羽直, who is without any doubt to be identified with Yüan Ho 源賀 who was appointed *t'ai wei* in the third month of 466 (J 6).

The biography of this prominent individual (J 41) yields us all the necessary clues for deciphering his "barbarian" name. Yüan Ho was the son of T'u-fa Nu-t'an 禿髮傉檀, last ruler of the Southern Liang, and had sought refuge with the Wei after the destruction of his father's kingdom. Acknowledging the original relationship which united the T'o-pa and T'u-fa, T'o-pa T'ao conferred upon him the surname Yüan 源 (="origin," "-al"). This was apparently tantamount to accepting the fugitive prince as a member of the Imperial Clan and explains the title *chih-chin* 直懃 < *tägin*—"prince of the blood."

The young prince's original personal name was P'o Ch'iang 破羌 (="smiting the Ch'iang"), and the name Ho 賀, says J 41, was given to him by T'o-pa T'ao for his distinguished services in campaigns against Kansu barbarians. "Having chosen a personal name," said T'o-pa T'ao in conferring the new name, "a man must strive to realize its meaning (in his deeds). How can yours be said not to correspond (*lit.* be untrue)?" As Ho 賀 and Chia 駕 are often graphically interchanged, it seems clear that the *Wei Shu* name is only a sinicized monosyllabic abbreviation of *Chia-t'ou-pa-yü-chih*. KD 342, 1015, 750, 1320, 1220 give us *γâ-d'əu-b'ʷat-(g)i̯u-d'i̯ək* < **atïbälgütäg*, possibly, if the lost consonant of *d'əu* was still sounded in that period, < **atïγbälgütäg*. In this Turkish phrase we can distinguish the elements: *at*—"name," *bälgü*—"omen," *täg*—"like," "as." In the light of the above story of the cir-

[11] *Ch'i-hai-chên* 乞害眞 *k'i̯ət-γât-ťśi̯ĕn*—"executioner" might contain any of the numerous tk. mo. stems **KES*—"to cut," or mo. *kituga*—"sword." As to the remaining two titles *yang-chên* 羊眞—"high official" and *fu-chu-chên* 拂竹眞—"postmen of the lower rank" (cf. PELLIOT, *loc. cit.*) they do not yield to analysis. For the last, equations advanced by both Shiratori and the present writer seem to be unsatisfactory.

cumstances under which the name was conferred, it seems obvious that the emperor nicknamed the prince "*Nomen Atque Omen.*" The grammatical structure of the phrase is not, however, entirely clear. We can interpret it as *at-ï* (possessive suffix) *bälgü täg*—"his name (is) like an omen," although in that case we should expect *bälgü* to be in the instrumental case. There is also the faint possibility that in *at-ïγ* we have the accusative of *at*—"name," while *b'ʷat-(g)i̯u-d'i̯ək* might be a verbal form of *bäkü̈t*—"to establish," or *bälgürt*—"to reveal." The phonetic equivalence would, however, be less good; in addition, the weakness of the *g-* in *(g)i̯u* suggests strongly *bälgü*~dial. *bälyü*.

21. According to both F 95 and G 57, T'o-pa Hsün 濬 (440-453-465), son of T'o-pa Huang 晃 (428-451), and fourth sovereign of the Wei dynasty bore the cognomen (*tzŭ* 字) Wu-lei *chih-chin* 烏雷直勤 i. e. "Prince Wu-lei," KD 520: *'uo-luâi tigin*. The biography of this T'o-pa prince (J 5, O 2) yields, I believe, an explanation of his title. Hsün was greatly loved by his grandfather, T'o-pa T'ao, who conferred upon him the title (*hao* 號) of "Imperial Grandson of the Line" 世嫡皇孫. *'Uo-luâi* doubtless contains the Turkish term *urï*—"son," "male descendant" (attested already in Orkhon turkish, cf. *uruγ*—"posterity").

22. G 59 mentions a certain Chia-lu-hun 駕鹿渾, prince of P'ing-yüan, as commander of the T'o-pa army during a campaign against the Juan-juan. The same individual appears in G 57 as Fu-lu-ku Ho-lu-hun 伏鹿孤賀鹿渾, duke of Chü-lu 鉅鹿 and governor of Hêng 恒 chou, and is said to have been one of the leaders of the 496 rebellion against T'o-pa Hung.

According to J 113, the T'o-pa surname Fu-lu-ku was later abbreviated to Lu 陸. The official described in G 57 and G 59 is thus unquestionably to be identified with Lu Jui 陸叡, son of Lu Li 麗, who, according to his biography in J 40: a) commanded the T'o-pa army against the Juan-juan in 496, b) bore from 466 to 492 the title of prince of P'ing-yüan 平原, and that of duke of Chü-lu, from 492 to his death, c) perished in the conspiracy of 496, together with Mu T'ai 穆泰, J 27 (who had just succeeded him as governor of Hêng chou) and other high officials.

Jui's mother, the lady Chang 張氏, had been formerly a concubine of T'o-pa Huang and was undoubtedly given in marriage to Li as a reward for the important rôle the latter played in the counter-revolution of 453 which placed T'o-pa Hsün on the throne. Jui was thus the issue of a union between commoner and a "lady of the palace."

In the light of this evidence, it would not be unreasonable to suppose

that in Jui's "barbarian" name, Ho-lu-hun 賀鹿渾, KD 576, 508: *γâ-luk-γi̯uən*, we have the earliest transcription of the Turco-mongol term **arγun*—"métis," "half-breed," "Bâtard," the original of the well-known *Argon*—"half-breed" of Marco Polo (cf. PAUTHIER, 214-217; YULE-CORDIER, I, 290-292; PELLIOT, *JA* 1927, 2, 265, note).

23. The common turkish *tümän*—"ten thousand" forms without any question the original of T'u-wan 吐萬, KD 1129: *t'uo-mi̯wən* < **tümän*, the name of a T'o-pa prince, a great-grandson of T'o-pa Kuei. The same two characters appear in the *T'ung Chih* 19, 9 b, as a Northern surname derived from the name of a Tai 代 tribe.

24. The T'o-pa surname Ch'ü-chin 去斤, KD 491, 385: *k'i̯wo(-b)-ki̯ən*, later changed to *Ai* 艾 ("artemisia," "old man"), is a good transcription of tk. *kök*, mo. *köke*—"blue." We have in this case an apparent attempt on the part of those responsible for the change to suggest, while simplifying the surname, the turkish original semantically. *Kök* forms undoubtedly the base of mo. *kökšin*—"old man" ("blue-gray haired"? Ch. *Ai* 艾—"old man" < "moxa-haired," while "artemisia" suggests "sage-brush-colored" ~ "blue"). The same word Ch'ü-chin 去斤 occurs in the *Yüan-ho Chün-hsien T'u-chih*, ch. 3, as the Hsien-pi name of the Ch'ing 清 ("clear" ~ Ch. 青 *ch'ing*—"blue") river in Shensi.

25. The original surname of Tou Pin 竇賓, chief of the Mo-lu-hui horde who befriended Li-wei, was, according to J 113 and 2 P 71 B, 2 b, Hou-tou-ling 侯豆陵 or Ko-t'u-lin 紇突隣, KD 79, 560: *γə̂u-d'əu-liəng*; KD 332, 498, 556: *γuət-d'uət-li̯ĕn*. At the basis of this transcription lies possibly the common Turkish *qudu*—"father-in-law," the name of the Tou clan being undoubtedly derived from the fact of their intermarriage with the early T'o-pa.[12]

26. Yu-lien 宥連, KD 251, 551: *ji̯ə̂u* (< *g-ui̯*)*-li̯än*, Northern surname later changed into Ch. *Yü* 雲—"cloud," J 113, < mo. *egülen*—"cloud." The same Mongol word appears as a proper name in L 17, 2a in the transcription Yu-lien 祐連, KD 150, pronunciation identical.

27. Ch'i-nu 叱奴, KD 1055, 674: *tśi̯ĕt-* (with the final *-t* quiescent)*-nuo*, Northern surname, later changed into Ch. *lang* 狼—"wolf," *ibid.* < mo. *činoa*—"wolf." Possible variant Ch'ou-nu 醜奴, KD 460: *tś'i̯ə̂u-nuo* registering the mo. form *čono*—"id."[13] There is no evidence that

[12] The term *qudu* appears already in the Hsiung-nu language as a designation of dignitaries belonging to clans other than that of the *shan-yü*, the *ku-tu-hou* 骨都侯. It is uncertain whether *hou* 侯 is here a suffix or the Chinese title *hou*.

[13] Both of these surnames may have been derived from the names of tribes of

both these terms were genuine T'o-pa surnames or words. There exists, on the other hand, some indication that the tk. word for "wolf," *büri*, is present in the cognomen of T'o-pa T'ao, Fo-li 佛狸, KD 47, 529: *b'i̯uət-lji*.

28. Among the genuine T'o-pa surnames, particularly arrests our attention that of I-chan 乙旃, KD 176, 965: *'i̯ĕt-tśiän*. This surname was borne by descendants of the uncle of T'o-pa Lin 隣, pht. Hsien 獻, the grandfather of Li-wei; later the surname was changed to Shu-sun 叔孫 (*shu* = "uncle"). The first part of the T'o-pa word contains without any question the tk. term *ičі*—"elder brother," "uncle" (uig. *ičі*, orkh. *ačі*). **Ičin* or **ičі-en* can be compared in structure with *tigin~tägin*, < *täg*, which contains the same derivative suffix.

29. Ho-jo 賀若, KD 938: *γâ-ńźi̯ak*, T'o-pa surname, explained in *T'ung Chih* 29, 7 b as meaning "upright in determination" 志正, most probably from tk. (uig.) *ayaγ*—"honor."

30. G 57, 2 b describes a religious ceremony performed by T'o-pa Hung in which the Emperor, prior to sacrificing to Heaven on a special altar, would ride, accompanied by his chief officers on horseback, around the altar once, while his retinue performed the same rite seven times. The ceremony was called "stamping 踢 the altar." *T'a* 踢, KD 958: *t'âp*, might represent a genuine T'o-pa word, and not the Chinese "to stamp," "to tread on"; indeed, *t'âp* can be equated with the tk. root *tap*—"to worship," re-appearing possibly in the surname T'a-lu 沓盧, *t'ap-luo* (J 113), and in T'a-kan 沓干 < **t'apqan*, a proper name in J 30, 4a.

31. Another T'o-pa surname, Yü-tu-chin 郁都甄, KD 251, 1187, 278: *i̯uk-tuo-ki̯ĕn*, and Yü-tou-chüan 郁豆眷, KD 495: *i̯uk-d'əu-ki̯ʷan*, the name under which prince T'o-pa Chia 嘉 (J 18) appears in F 23 and G 25, contains another important tk. root connected with the preceding, namely *ötüg*—"to pray," which underlies the name of Mt. Ötüken, the sacred mountain of the Orkhon Turks. On *tap* and *ötüg* as Turco-mongol idioms used at court functions cf. PELLIOT, *TP* 1930, 33, note.

32. Another Turco-mongol term of interest may underlie the surname A-fu-kan 阿伏干, KD 46: *'â-b'i̯uk-kân*~Ssŭ-fu-chien 俟伏斤, KD 183: *dz'i-b'i̯uk-ki̯ən* (but cf. PELLIOT, *TP* 1928-29, 225-229, for the archaic pronunciation of *ssŭ* 俟) possibly < mo. *ebügen*—"old man," "forefather." The same word under the first transcription occurs in

purely Mongol origin which had been incorporated into the T'o-pa organization. The identification of *yu-lien* and *ch'i-nu* was made by Shiratori and, independently, by the present writer in *Sino-Altaica* I.

F 95 as the name of a T'o-pa general who is in all probability to be identified with Wei Chien 尉建 of J 29, 2b. Cf. also the name of an important mountain in the old territory of the Wei, where T'o-pa Ho-nu 賀傉 fixed his capital in 342, Mu-kên shan 木根山, KD 643, 312: *mukkən* < **ebügen*?

The above list contains most of the T'o-pa words that can be identified with some degree of certainty. Many tempting equivalences have been discarded on the ground of insufficient evidence,[13a] but the author feels that with further careful analysis of the texts of the Chinese dynastic histories and meticulous correlation of the Northern and Southern versions of many events of the period, we should be able to reconstruct a great deal of the lost language of the T'o-pa.

Thus far we have not touched upon the origin and the meaning of the name T'o-pa itself. In order to be able to analyze it properly, we shall find ourselves obliged to review in some detail the traditions concerning the origin of the T'o-pa preserved in the first chapter of the *Wei Shu*.

The T'o-pa traced the origin of their ruling house eighty-two generations back from T'o-pa Li-wei to the times of "Emperor" Shun. In writing his introduction to T'o-pa history, Wei Shou 魏收[14] undoubtedly tried to correlate their traditions with Chinese chronology. His chronological scheme can, indeed, be reconstructed as follows, counting a generation as equal to 30 years (the usual number in Chinese sources) and marking the three crucial points of T'o-pa "pre-history":

1. Shih-chün 始均, the reputed Chinese ancestor of the house, *circa* 2210 B. C., corresponding to the "Standard Chronology" date of Shun. 67 generations later brings us down to Mao 毛, pht. Ch'êng 成, who united under his leadership "36 tribes 國 and 99 clans 姓," 2210-2010 (67 x 30) = *circa* 200 B. C., corresponding to the period of the great process of unification going on in Mongolia at the time of the formation of the Hsiung-nu Empire.

2. Counting 5 more generations (including that of Mao) until the time of T'ui-yin 推寅, pht. Hsüan 宣, under whom the first migration of the T'o-pa took place,[14a] gives us the date 50 B. C., which doubtless

[13a] Some of these, however, require special treatment, and the author hopes to return to them in the near future.

[14] For a clear and thorough account of Wei Shou and his work, see J. R. WARE, Notes on the History of the Wei Shu, *JAOS* 52 (1932), 35-45.

[14a] From their home in the extreme North to the shores of a "Great Lake" 大澤, a thousand li in circumference. The question of the location of that home and of the path of the T'o-pa migration constitutes a problem in itself. Accord-

corresponds to the period of the break-up of the Hsiung-nu organization and the southern movement of northern tribes into the territory of the Hsiung-nu.

3. With seven more generations we reach the reign of Lin 隣, pht. Hsien 獻, *circa* 160 A. D., corresponding to the time of the formation of the Hsien-pi confederacy under T'an-shih-huai. Lin proposes to migrate further south, but on account of his old age leaves the realization of the project to his son, Ch'i-fên 詰汾, pht. Shêng-wu 聖武, between 160 and 190 A. D.

Under his leadership the T'o-pa start southward through impassable mountain defiles. Discouraged by the difficulties encountered on the way, they are on the point of abandoning the enterprise, when a supernatural animal " resembling a horse with a bull's voice " leads them out of the mountains. Ch'i-fên and his tribe occupy then " the old territory of the Hsiung-nu." As the project of migrating south originated with the two " Emperors " Hsüan and Hsien, adds the *Wei Shu*, both of them received the nickname T'ui-yin 推寅, which in the language of the North has the meaning of " boring through."

Through this word *t'ui-yin*, KD 1265, 283: *t'uâi-i̯ĕn*, we can, I believe, link the T'o-pa with one of the most important and interesting complexes in the cultural history of Mongolia and the Asiatic continent which I am tempted to call the " Gog and Magog Complex." [15] It constitutes a problem of major magnitude and manifold ramifications of which only certain linguistic aspects call for our consideration in this paper. The nucleus of the legend in High Asia is composed of the following elements:

1. A tribe of metal workers is shut in a valley (or cave) in the mountains, accessible from the outside only through a narrow pass.

2. This tribe derives its origin or is otherwise connected with either a wolf or a bull.

3. They multiply and come forth from their seclusion by boring their way through the mountains.

ing to J 108: I and J 100, it was located northwest of the country of Wu-lo-hou 烏洛侯. There still existed in the middle of the fifth century an ancestral T'o-pa temple in that region, as was reported to the Wei court in 443 by Wu-lo-hou ambassadors.

[15] For the latest literature on the subject, cf. C. E. WILSON, The Wall of Alexander against Gog and Magog; and the expedition sent out to find it by the Khalif Wāthīq in 842 A. D., *Asia Minor* I, 575 *seq.*, and A. R. ANDERSON, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932.

The essential motifs of the story occur in the legends of origin and in the history of the T'u-chüeh Turks, the Kirghiz, and the Mongols, while geographically it may be localized in the Tienshan-Altai nexus, in the region of the Upper Yenissei, and the Orkhon-Tula mountain ranges. The above elements of the legend, as they appear in the various versions, can be schematized as follows:

1. T'u-chüeh Turks: Metal workers for the Juan-juan in a closed valley where their ancestor took refuge; descendants from wolves (and possibly deer, cf. *Yu-yang Tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎, ch. IV, 1b-2a); come forth from the mountain to overthrow their masters.

2. Kirghiz: Live beyond the Kögmän mountains, accessible only through a narrow defile (cf. Tonyukuk's inscription, 24-25); their country is rich in metals; descend from a bull (*Yu-yang Tsa-tsu, loc. cit.*); issue forth to overthrow the Uighur Empire.[15a]

3. Mongols: Their ancestors locked in the Ergene-kün valley; their ruling house tracing its origin to a wolf and a doe; come out of the valley by melting the metal side of the mountain.

Linguistically the complex is connected with the following tk. mo. roots and words:

1. *Kök*—"blue," "gray." a) The T'u-chüeh Turks designated themselves as *kök türk*—"the blue Turks," cf. also *kök büri*—"the gray wolf," their sacred animal. b) The ancestral cave of the Kirghiz was situated in the Kögmän mts. (ch. Ch'ü-man 曲曼, KD 492, 595: *k'iᵂok-muân*), < *kök*—"blue," as evidenced by another Chinese name of the same mountains, Ch'ing shan 青山—"blue mts." c) The version of the Gog and Magog story by the Xth century arabic geographer Ḳudama is localized in the region of Kokonor—"the blue lake."[16]

2. Various tk. mo. roots with the meaning of "round," "blunt," "ball" (the series exhibiting little distinction between vowels of the "strong" series and the palatalized ones), such as: a) mo. *moqor*—"blunt," *moγolčoq*—"ball," *müger*—"circle," *mügürik*—"small ball"; *moqor* is related to *mungaq*—"stupid" < "blunt"? (cf. the folk-etymology of Mongol = "stupid," D'Ohsson, I, 42). b) mo. *kükel*—"round," "ball," *kükü, kükel, küken*—"breast."[17] c) mo. *tügürik*—"circle," *tuγuriq*—"*id.*," tk. *tägirmi*—"encircling," etc.[18]

[15a] It must have been ruins of cities devastated by the Kirghiz in 840 that the mission of Khalif Wāthiq saw as it passed through Dzungaria two years later.

[16] Cf. M. J. De Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vol. 6, 206.

[17] Might we have in the obscure name of the mountain where Alexander the

3. Roots meaning "to cross a mountain," "to pass through," "to bore through": a) tk. *aš*—"to cross a mountain," *ašin*—"*id*"; it is most probably this root which is hidden beneath the Chinese transcription of the clan name of the T'u-chüeh Turks, A-shih-na 阿史那, KD 1, 885, 647: *'âṣinâ*, and A-shih-tê 阿史德, KD 981: *'âṣitək*.[19] b) mo. *toγol*—"to penetrate, pass through"; *toγolγa*—"to accomplish"; *tegüs, dügür*—"to accomplish," tk. *tükä*—"to finish"; *tök*—"to pour *out*"; mo. *čoγu*—"through"; *čoγul*—"to bore through"; *tolbur*—"a boring instrument" (cf. Tegüs—the name of one of the ancestors of the Mongols who found refuge in the Ergene-kün).

4. The last root is connected in Mongol with words designating metallurgical terms: *duγulγan*—"tin," "lead"; *duγulγa*—"helmet";[19a] *toγa, toγon, toγoγan*—"cauldron"[20] (in the *KÖK* series, cf. *kügürge*—"bellows," *kügürgede*—"to blow a fire").

**TO'OL* also underlies, in my belief, the name of the T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾, KD 425: *t'uo-kuk-γuən* (cf. PELLIOT, *TP* 1920-21, 323-331), also possibly **t'uo-luk-γuən* (as 谷 is often pronounced 鹿 *luk* in transcriptions of Northern names), corresponding to Thu-lu-hun, the Tibetan rendering of the name of that people. Note that the T'u-yü-hun were a tribe "migrating through mountains" and settled eventually in the Kokonor region.

Great built his wall against Gog and Magog in the "Pseudo-Callisthenes" story, *μαγοὶ βορρᾶ*, "the breasts of the North (cf. ANDERSON, *op. cit.*, 25), a half translation, half popular etymology of two elements of an original turkish compound in the wolf version of the legend (*kök*—"breasts" and *büri*—"wolf")?

[18] A form **tügürik* > **tü'ürïk* > **türïk* might, indeed, be the real etymology of the very name of the Turks.

[19] This etymology of A-shih-na is much to be preferred to that advanced by the writer in *Sino-Altaica* I, 15, where **'âṣinâ* is derived from **ar-činoa*—"ten wolves."

[19a] The above discussion suggests also a revival of the etymology of T'u-chüeh 突厥 (<*Türküt, as established by Pelliot) by **duγulγat* the plural of *duγulγa*—"helmet." Cf. *T'ung Chih* 29. 15a, where the T'u-chüeh are referred to as 突厥窟, **d'uət-kịwət-k'uət* < **duγulγut*?

[20] This word is, I believe, attested already in the language of the Mu-jung Hsien-pi and forms the base of: T'u-ho 徒河,徒何, KD 1129: *d'uo-γâ*, the name of an important subdivision of the Hsien-pi on the Manchurian frontier, closely related to the Mu-jung. Thus Mu-jung Hui 慕容廆 is referred to in J 1, under the year 307, as the great *shan-yü* of the T'u-ho. As a variant of the name we have Tuan 段, KD 1135: *d'uân* < *toγan*; T'u-ho-chên 吐賀眞 *t'uo-γâ-tśịĕn*, name of a Juan-juan khan, J 103 (in F 95 菟害眞, KD 1132, 57: *t'uo-γât-tśịĕn*) < *toγačin*. T'u-chü-chên 吐屈眞, KD 427: *t'uo-kuət-tśịĕn*, the name of a river in the T'u-yü-hun country, is undoubtedly derived from the root *toγul*, as is the name of the river *Tula* < *Toγula*.

In the light of the above, the nickname of the two T'o-pa leaders T'ui-yin, < *t'uâi-i̯ĕn* < **tu'ayin*, assumes great importance. We see the T'o-pa as sharing in the common Turco-mongol tradition of tracing their origin to "Borers." Although there is no direct evidence of the early T'o-pa being engaged in metallurgical occupations, their practice, attested since the latter part of the IVth century, of determining the choice of consort by the success of a prospective candidate in casting a metal image of herself,[21] seems to indicate the existence of metal-working traditions in their midst.

It is in the same direction that, as it seems to me, we must look for an etymology of the name T'o-pa 拓跋, KD 883, 750: *t'ak-b'uât*. Already in *TP* 1912, 792, Professor Pelliot had suggested that in **t'ak-b'uât* we have the original of the early medieval designations of Northern China, tk. *Tabγač*, ar. *Ṭamghāj* طمغاج, Byzantine Greek Ταυγαστ. The metathesis of *b* ~ *β* and *γ* ~ *q* explains the Chinese **Taqbač* (with the final *-t* of *b'uât* representing tk. *č*).

The Chinese sources at our disposal give the following interpretation of the meaning of T'o-pa:[22]

1. J 1, 1: "lord of the soil": "Huang Ti (the ancestor of both Chinese and "Barbarians") became ruler by virtue of the soil (one of the Five Agents 五行); as in the language of the North they call "soil"—*t'ak* 拓, and "lord"—*b'uât* 跋, the T'o-pa adopted "lord of the soil" as their surname."[23]

2. As we have seen, the T'u-fa 禿髮, KD 1131, 750: *t'uk-pi̯ʷɐt*, are identical with the T'o-pa; the etymological explanation of their name should, therefore, help us to restore and to understand the original of *T'ak-b'uât*. According to J 99, the meaning of the compound T'u-fa was "covered with a blanket" or "(born) in a blanket," their eponymous ancestor having been born in this, rather natural, fashion.

[21] T'o-pa Kuei is said to have chosen by this method the daughter of Mu-jung Pao for his "Empress," while another of his wives, the daughter of Liu Chüan 劉眷, failed in the test.

[22] The etymologies given by the Chinese historians for barbarian names have often been discounted, unjustly so, for while the etymology might be fanciful, it nevertheless gives priceless phonetic hints as to the original word. One must say, on the other hand, that the Chinese historians (prior to the notorious Ch'ien-lung commission) have always been careful to qualify their statements with numerous *kai* 蓋, "it seems that . . ." and *huo yün* 或云, "according to some information. . . ."

[23] Cf. also *T'ung Chih* 29, 9a, where T'o-pa is considered to be an abbreviation of 拓后跋 *t'ak-γo̯u-b'uât*, and *b'uât* is interpreted as *shou* 受—"recipient"?

3. A comparatively recent source, the *Chi-lan* 集覽 of the *Tz'ŭ-chih T'ung-chien Kang-mu*, ch. 16, under 270 A. D., insists that T'u-fa meant "slave."

4. Both T'u-fa (*t'u*—"bald," *fa*—"hair") and the purely Chinese (*Nan Shih*) designation of the T'o-pa, So T'ou 索頭 (= braided heads") might also contain some semantic indications (through some play on words) concerning the meaning of T'o-pa.

For the first interpretation, in the light of the Chinese meanings and division of words, tk. *baš*—"head," "lord" immediately suggests itself for the second element. The first part would then be the tk. root **top*—"soil" > tk. mo. *tobraq*, mo. *tobaraq, toburaq*—"*id.*" There is, indeed, a phonetic possibility that **Taβγač* could have been understood or interpreted folk-etymologically as **Taβγač* > *Toβʷač* > *Top-baš*. Tk. *taγ ~ taγu* ~mo. *daβaγa*—"mountain," also meaning "Northland" might have entered into the etymological considerations of the historians, while **Tabaqči(n)* > *Taβqač(i)* (cf. *supra*, § 14)—"the ground-ers," "those of the soil" would offer an excellent tk. *-či* form of *tabaq*—"ground."

For the equation of T'u-fa < *t'uk-piʷɲt* with *Taqbač* we should postulate the same metathesis of *k* and *p* as in *t'ak-b'uât* and reconstruct the form as **Tupqač*. The blanket of the nomad is, of course, his saddlecloth. The common turkish term for "saddlecloth" is *čapraq* (< *čap*[24]—"to cover") whence eng. "shabrack," in mo. *toχom*, which would indicate an original **ťap ~ ťop*. The Chinese etymology could thus have arisen from **Toβač* mispronunciation of *Tabqač* and a popular etymological association with a root **ťap*—"to cover" > "saddlecloth" and an unconscious attempt to include paronomasically the root *toγ*—"to be born."

As to the *Chi-lan* explanation, it is obviously based on tk. *tapïγči ~ tapuqči*—"slave" < *tap*—"to worship," "to serve" (cf. § 30).

The association of the name of the **Taqbač* with the way they apparently dressed their hair also finds an explanation in tk. words very close phonetically to the first syllable of the T'o-pa name, namely: mo. *tuiba*—"braided hair," *toγorčaq*—"hair tied in a knot," tk. *tüpe*—"braid of hair left on the top of the skull" (the root of these words is semantically

[24] The root *čap*—"to cover," "to put on," exhibits in Turkish an interesting shift of the initial *č ~ t ~ q*, which has not so far been duly analyzed by "Altaists." Cf. mo. *qom*—"felt" *vs.* *toχom*; *qubča*—"to dress" *vs.* *jubčaγa, čuba*—"fur-coat," "coat"; also in *qaba*—"crack" *vs.* *taba, čaba*—"*ib.*" This shift had already been observed by Abū-l Ghazī who records it in *Qïpčaq* > *Čïpčaq* (cf. PELLIOT, *TP* 1930, 280).

affiliated with the stem for "round" discussed above, as well as with **dobo*—"protuberance"; curiously enough, we find in Mongol the word *kükel*—"braided hair" (the root of which also seems to be linked with the semantic series *KÖK* mentioned before). The second element would again be *baš*—"head."

The variety of the etymologies, all of which, as we have seen, are justifiable on phonetic grounds and are based on a mispronunciation or misinterpretation of an original **Taβγač*, suggests that the real explanation of their name was suppressed by the T'o-pa, either because it evoked their low origin or because of sacred associations. I am inclined to derive, basing myself on the connection of the T'o-pa with the "Gog and Magog Complex" outlined above, **Taβγač* > T'o-pa from Turkish form of mo. *daβa-*, *daβaγa-* "to cross mountains," "to make one's way through a defile" (mo. *d-* often represents tk. *t-*, cf. mo. *daβaγan* ~ tk. *taγu*—"mountain"), and interpret the name of the great T'o-pa Wei as "*Transmontani*," "*Ultramontani*."

The T'o-pa vocabulary thus reveals itself as being essentially Turkish, with a certain admixture of Mongol elements. Except in a few cases, where pure Mongol terms can only be explained as reflecting the composite nature of the T'o-pa confederacy, seemingly Mongol forms can always be traced back to Turkish or proto-turkish originals. This conclusion may sound bold. Admittedly an amateur in the field of "Altaic" linguistics, the writer has primarily attempted to call the attention of specialists to the "Case of the T'o-pa." The right of pronouncing the final verdict belongs to Turkologists.