TRACTATA ALTAICA

DENIS SINOR

sexagenario
optime de rebus altaicis merito
dedicata

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

B 27979



TRACTATA ALTAICA

DENIS SINOR

sexagenario
optime de rebus altaicis merito
dedicata

redigerunt

Walther Heissig
John R. Krueger
Felix J. Oinas
Edmond Schütz

1976

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

SZEGED

B 87949

SZTE Egyetemi Könyvtár

J000188692

CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

Tractata altaica : Denis Sinor, sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata / red. Walther Heissig ... – Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 1976.

ISBN 3-447-01798-8

NE: Heissig , Walther [Hrsg.]; Sinor , Denis : Festschrift

© Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1976
Alle Rechte vorbehalten
Photographische und photomechanische Wiedergaben jeder Art nur mit ausdrücklicher Genehmigung des Verlages
Gesamtherstellung: Buchdruckerei Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed in Germany

Contents

Pentti Aalto
The "Elementa Linguae Tartaricae" by Ferdinand Verbiest, S. J. . . . 1

Françoise Aubin
Cadenas et clef - note d'ethno-linguistique mongole 11

Robert Austerlitz
L'appellation du renne en japonais, ainou et surtout en ghiliak 45

N. A. Baskakov
Über die Herkunft des Ethnonyms "baškir" 51

Charles R. Bawden
On the Evils of Strong Drink: A Mongol Tract from the Early 20th Century 59

Lajos Bese
Some Investigations on the History of the Verbal Inflection in Mongolian 81

A. J. E. Bodrogligeti
The Authorship and Sources of the Muʿīnu' l-Murīd 87

John Andrew Boyle
Alexander and the Turcs 107

Gyula Décsy
Ein k. und k.-Phänomen 119

Linda Dégh
Two Letters from Home 125

Vladimir Drimba
Devinettes tatares de Dobroudja 147

Joseph Fletcher
Confrontations between Muslim Missionaries and Nomad Unbelievers in the Late Sixteenth Century 167

Herbert Franke
Two Chinese-Khitan Macaronic Poems 175

Walter Fuchs
Jušen-manǰurische Wortgleichungen 181

István Futaky, Peer Buchholz, Hans G. Hoyer
Zur Geschichte des Tabaks in Westsibirien 189

Annemarie von Gabain
Ein chinesisch-uigurischer Blockdruck 2o3

Eric P. Hamp
Palatalization and Harmony in Gagauz and Karaite 211

Gombojab Hangin
Na. Sayinčoγtu's (Sayičungγa) Works:
The Period of Nationalistic Realism 215

Arthur T. Hatto
The Catalogue of Heroes and Heroines in the Kirgiz "Joloi-Kan" 237

Shirô Hattori
Some Problems on the Reconstruction of the Mongolian Sounds
of the Secret History of the Mongols: On the Word Gu-un 261

Georg Hazai
Ein uigurisches Kolophon zu einem Avalokiteśvara-Lobpreis 273

Walther Heissig
Die Čaγadai-"Bilig" und ihre Historizität 277

Erkki Itkonen
Etymologische Beiträge 291

Sechin Jagchid
The Manchu Ch'ing Policy towards Mongolian Religion 3o1

Aulis J. Joki
Some Samoyed-Tunguz Word Comparisons 321

Zsuzsa Kakuk
Zur Frage des tschuwaschischen -n und -m 325

Béla Kálmán
Aus der Geschichte des Futurs im Ungarischen 337

György Kara
Writing, Symbols and Ornaments on Two Mongolian Scrolls 345

John R. Krueger
A Decree on the Origins of Lamaism Among the Kalmyks (1756) 355

László Lőrincz
Die Heldenepik der Altai-Türken - inhaltlich-typologische Analyse . . . 365

Julius Mägiste
Zum eventuellen Dual im Ostseefinnischen 381

Iben Raphael Meyer
Zur Geschichte des vierfachen Wechsels im Türkischen 385

Roy Andrew Miller
Old Japanese Sirö "Fortress, Citadel" 397

N. Ts. Münküyev
A Mongolian Hunting Practice of the 13th Century and the
Buryat Terms zeegete aba and aba khaidag 417

Shichiro Murayama
Ramstedt und Polivanov als Altaist-Japanologen 435

Felix J. Oinas
The Tragedy of Kalevipoeg and of the South Slavic Heroes 447

Nicholas Poppe
Ancient Mongolian 463

Omeljan Pritsak
The Hsiung-nu Word for "Stone" 479

Igor de Rachewiltz

Some Remarks on the Stele of Yisüngge 487

Paul Ratchnevsky

La condition de la femme mongole au $12^{e}/13^{e}$ siècle 5o9

Alo Raun

The expression of 'Best' in the (Balto-) Finnic Languages 531

András Róna-Tas

On the Meaning of "Altaic" 549

Jean-Paul Roux

A propos des osselets de Gengis Khan 557

Maria Salga

On Initial Images in Mongolian Folk-Poetry 569

Alice Sarkőzi

A Mongolian Manual of Divination by Means of Characteristics of the Land 583

Edmond Schütz

Bolgaro-Turkic Term -- Hungarian Horsemanship 6o5

Bertold Spuler

Le christianisme chez les mongols aux $XIII^{e}$ et XIV^{e} siècles 621

E. Tenišev

Mongolische Entlehnungen in der Sprache der "Šir-a Uighuren" 633

Kaare Thomsen

Über einige Vokalphoneme im Mongolischen 641

Edward Tryjarski

An Armeno-Kipchak Sermon by Anton Vertabed from the 17^{th} Century 647

Steven Bela Vardy

The Birth of the Hungarian "Kulturgeschichte" School A Study of History of Hungarian Historical Studies 675

Andrew Vászonyi

The Star-Boarder - Traces of Cicisbeism in an Immigrant Community 695

Wolfgang Veenker

Zum Typ CVC der ersten Silbe im Vogulischen 715

Vilmos Voigt

Formation of Metric Systems on the Balkans 733

Hartmut Walravens

Übersicht über chinesische Steinabklatsche mit mandjurischen Inschriften in amerikanischen Sammlungen 743

Michael Weiers

Ein Schreiben südostmongolischer Stammesfürsten an den Mandschuherrscher Sure Han aus dem Jahre 1636 755

Peter Zieme

Singqu Säli Tutung — Übersetzer buddhistischer Schriften ins Uigurische 767

SZEGED

Shirô Hattori (Tokyo)

SOME PROBLEMS ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MONGOLIAN SOUNDS OF THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS: ON THE WORD GU-UN[1)]

1. The Secret History of the Mongols, i.e., the Yüan-ch'ao Mi-shih (元朝秘史), the original text of which was probably completed in 1240, is an extremely important document not only from the linguistic point of view but also from the viewpoints of many other humanistic and social sciences.

One aspect of its linguistic importance is the fact that its transcription of the Mongolian sounds by means of Chinese characters makes distinctions in general between /k/ and /g/, /t/ and /d/, /č/ and /ǰ/, /h/ and /'/; /o/ and /u/, /ö/ and /ü/, /a/ and /ä/, etc., whereas the contemporary Uighuro-Mongolian script does not discriminate the greater part of these phonemic oppositions. However, there are not a few cases of deviation from the general principle of transcription in this historical document. One such example will be studied here, examining partially the method of reconstruction of the Secret History Mongolian sounds in general.

2. In the Secret History there is a word gu-un, with its alternative stem gu-u, which means "man".[2] The former form occurs 100 times excluding three examples in a proper name, and the latter 51 times excluding one example in a verb gu-u-le-l-dun (I 25-2).[3] In this document, some words show fluctuation in orthography and occur in two or more variant transcriptions, but this word gu-un (with gu-u) shows no fluctuation with respect to the initial syllable at all.

The Chinese sound for gu is [ku²] in the Chung-yüan Yin-yün (中原音韻 1324), therefore it should represent the Mongolian syllable /gü/ (or /güü/) according to the principle of transcription of this document. From this viewpoint it is quite legitimate to transliterate the word gu-un as "gü'ün" or "gu'un", as certain Western scholars did.[4]

However, the forms corresponding to this word in the present Mongolian languages and dialects are:

Monguor /kun/ ‖ Dagur /kuu/~/kuuN/ ‖ Ordos /kün/ ‖

Khalkha /xʊN/ ‖ Buriat /xʊN/∼ /xʊʊn-/ ‖ Kalmuck /kʊʊn/ [kʊmn] /kʊmän/.

On the basis of these forms and Written Mongolian , the author reconstructs Proto-Mongolian /*kümʊʊn/∼/*kʊmʊn/, which will yield the alternative forms of Kalmuck.[5] The author assumes that the intervocalic /*-m-/ later disappeared when it was followed by a long vowel, while it has been preserved when followed by a short vowel.

He also assumes parallel phonetic changes in the case of intervocalic /*-g-/ and /*-b-/.[6] For instance, observe the following examples of alternation which probably reflect the alternation of long and short vowels in the proto-language:

Proto-Mongolian

/*kuruguun/ ⟶ /kuru'uun/ ⟶ /xuruu/ «finger» (Khalkha)
/*kurugun/ ⟶ /kurugun/ ⟶ /xurgaN/ « " » (Buriat)

/*'ägääm/ ⟶ /'ä'ääm/ ⟶ /'ääm(ä)/ «shoulder» (Bait)
/*'ägäm/ ⟶ /'ägäm/ ⟶ /'ägäm(ä)/ «clavicle» (Khalkha)

/*käbääli/ ⟶ /kä'ääli/ ⟶ /xääl(ä)/ «foetus» (Khalkha)
/*käbäli/ ⟶ /käbäli/ ⟶ /xäbäl(ä)/ «belly» (")

/*kʊmʊʊn/ ⟶ /kʊ'ʊʊn/ ⟶ /kʊʊn/ «man» (Kalmuck)
/*kʊmʊn/ ⟶ /kʊmʊn/ ⟶ /kʊmän/ « " » (")

The alternative forms of Buriat /xʊN/∼/xʊʊn-/ show that the original long vowel was maintained here when the syllable was open, but it was shortened when the syllable was closed. The same shortening took place in Monguor, Ordos, and Khalkha.

According to the author's assumption, the transcription gu-un∼gu-u with Chinese characters shows that the Mongolian language of the Secret History was still at the stage of /-ʊ'ʊʊn/∼/-ʊ'ʊʊ/, i.e., /V'VV/ (not the stage of /VV/).

3. Now, how can we explain the initial g- (not k-) of this word in the Secret History?

It is not impossible that the Mongolian language of this document is not the direct ancestor of any extant Mongolian language(s) or dialect(s) known to us. If this is the case, then is it possible that the initial plosive of PM /*kʊmʊʊn/ was vocalized into /g-/ on account of the nasalization of vowel(s) caused by the disappearance of the intervocalic /*-m-/, yielding /gʊ'ʊʊn/ in this language? That leads to

assuming that a peculiar sound change took place in the Secret History Mongolian which is not found in the other languages and dialects.

To this question, however, the author will answer No. He reconstructs PM /*kämää-/ "to say (that ....)" on the basis of hPags-pa k'e·e-,[7] Written Mongolian , etc., which correspond to the Secret History ke- /kää-/, ke-e- /kä'ää-/ "to say (that ....)", and ke-yen /kä'ään/ "saying (that ....)".[8] The stem ke- /kää-/[9] occurs 59 times, the stem ke-e- /kä'ää-/ 433 times (besides the stem ke-e-g-de- /kä'äägdä-/ 41 times, the stem ke-e-l-du- /kä'ääldʊ-/ 67 times, the stem ke-e-u-l- /kä'ää'ʊʊl-/ 2 times), and the form ke-yen /kä'ään/ 387 times. However, we cannot find even one example of ge- /gää-/, ge-e- /gä'ää-/, or ge-yen /gä'ään/ with the meaning "to say (that ....)" or "saying (that ....)" in this document. Therefore the disappearance of the intervocalic /*-m-/ in the case of this verb did not cause the vocalization of the initial /*k-/ in the Secret History. In the same way it is very probable that PM /*kʊmʊʊn/ became /kʊ'ʊʊn/, not /gʊ'ʊʊn/, in the language of this document. The hPags-pa form k'u·un "man" augments this probability.

Incidentally, the verbs of the present Mongolian languages and dialects such as gä-, gi- "to say (that ....)" are evidently reduced forms of PM /*kämää-/, which have been used enclitically in weak positions.

4. In the Secret History we find a noun gu-cu "strength" (II 22-8 and 34 other examples, including the examples with the suffixes /-tän/ and /-tʊ/, and excluding those in proper names) with the alternative form gu-cun "strength" (XI 29-2, IX 31-5, and XII 28-10), which corresponds to the following forms of the present languages and dialects:

Monguor /kuzi/[kʊdʒi] ‖ Dagur /kuci/ ‖ Ordos /gʊči/ ‖
Khalkha /xʊč(ä)/ ‖ Buriat /xʊšäN/ ‖ Kalmuck [kʊtʃn̥] /kʊčän/.

On the basis of these forms, we have to reconstruct PM /*k-/. In Ordos, this /*k-/ became /g-/ when it was followed by a short vowel + č (or other voiceless consonants) which begins the second syllable. Did the same sound change take place in the language of the Secret History? The author's answer is No again, because we find the following forms, but no examples of the same sound change as that in Ordos, except for one case which will be mentioned below.

ke-ce-u /käčä'ʊʊ/(X 25-10), ke-ce-un /käčä'ʊʊn/(XII 17-10), ke-ceu^{2}-u- /käčä'ʊʊ-/(XI 23-1) ‖ Khalkha /xäcʊʊ/ "difficult" ‖

Ordos /gäčüü/ ke-te /kätä/(II 25-9) Khalkha /xät(ä) "flint and steel" ‖ Ordos /gätä/

ki-ci-e- /kiči'ää-/(IX 21-7), ki-ci-ye- /kičijää-/ (XII 57-3), ki-ci-yen /kičijään/(XI 26-1) ‖ Khalkha /xičää-/ "to endeavor" Ordos /gäčää-/

ki-ta-d /kitad(-)/(IV 10-9 and 25 other examples) ‖ Khalkha /xjatad/[10] "the Chinese" ‖ Ordos /gitad/

ki-tu-qai /kitugai/ (V 2-8 and 10 other examples) ‖ Khalkha /xut(a)ga/ "knife" ‖ Ordos /'utaɢa/

ko-to-l- /kötäl-/(I 9-2, II 15-2), ko[3]-to-l-/kötäl-/(I 37-1, II 28-4, VII 6-4) ‖ Khalkha xötlö-/xöt(ä)lä-/ "to lead (a horse)" ‖ Ordos götöl-/götäl-/[11]

The only exception is the following fluctuation:

ke-b-te(-) /käbtä(-)/(II 19-2 and 11 other examples), ke-b-te-u-l- /käbtä'üül-/(VII 20-9 and 3 other examples, excluding nouns); ke-b-de- /käbdä-/(II 4-5, 17-9, 17-10), ke-b-de-u-l /käbdä'üül/(XII 36-10; this is a noun); ge-b-te-∼-ten /gäbtä-/(VI 46-2, VIII 20-4, IX 47-7, X 40-1; IV 41-9, XI 24-4) ‖ Monguor /kidjee-/ "to lie (down)" ‖ Dagur /kärtä-/ ‖ Ordos /gäbtä-/ ‖ Khalkha /xäb(ä)tä-/ ‖ Buriat /xäbtä-/ ‖ Kalmuck [kept^{ə}-]

These examples of fluctuation in the transcription of the Secret History cannot be passed over without attention. Regarding de in ke-b-de and ke-b-de-u-l, we have to investigate whether they are mere examples of scribal deviation or examples of remnants of an older pronunciation. However, six examples of ge-b-te (∼ge-b-ten) may be viewed as an indication that the change /käbtä-/ > /gäbtä-/ was occurring in the Secret History Mongolian when the short vowel in the first syllable was followed by a consonant cluster /-bt-/[-pt-], because we find the following examples in this document:

ta-bun "five" (I 11-8 and 31 other examples)

da-b-tu-a-r "the fifth" (X 12-8, 13-1)

We find no example written as da-bun "five" or as ta-b-tu-a-r "the fifth" in this book.

Comparing with the following examples:

ji-r-qo-du-a-r "the sixth" (IV 14-7, VIII 29-6)

do-lo-du-a-r "the seventh" (XI 52-7)

we can conclude that the original initial /d-/ of this suffix attached to the numeral stems had become /t-/ when directly preceded by /-b/, and then the cluster /-bt-/[-pt-] probably changed the initial /t-/ in

the first syllable of tabtuar into /d-/. It is possible that the same change occurred also in kebte-, which became gebte-.

Now, returning to the point, it is almost certain, when we compare gu-cu(n) in the Secret History with the ḥPags-pa forms küčün∼kuču(n) "strength", that these gu-cu, gu-cun represent /küčü/, /küčün/, not /güčü/, /güčün/.

5. In the Secret History the verb meaning "to reach, to arrive at" appears always in the forms of gu-r[1]- gu-r(-) (IV 49-10 and 121 other examples), gu-ru- (I 4-9 and 13 other examples), and gu-run (III 2-4 and 5 other examples), while the corresponding forms of the present Mongolian languages and dialects are:

Monguor /kuru-/ ‖ Dagur /kur-/ ‖ Moghol /kuru-/ ‖ Ordos /kür-/ ‖ Khalkha /xürä-/ ‖ Buriat /xürä-/ ‖ Kalmuck /kür-/.

Therefore, we have to reconstruct /*kür-/ for Proto-Mongolian.

Is it possible that a vocalization of PM /*k-/ due to the following /*-Vr(-)/ took place in the language of the Secret History? The author author's answer is No again. Compare the following forms:

ke-r[1] ∼ ke-r /kär/ "how" (I 37-5 and 59 other examples) ‖ Khalkha xärxä- "how to do" (< kär ki-) ‖ Buriat xär "how"

ke-ri-e / käri'ää/(III 47-6, VIII 12-10, IX 3-10), kei[2]-re-e /käri'ää/ or /kärä'ää/(III 18-2) ‖ Monguor /kərjee/ "crow" ‖ Ordos /kärää/ ‖ Khalkha /xärää/ ‖ Kalmuck /kärää/

ki-ru-e /kirü'ää/(X 19-7) ‖ Monguor /ciruu/ "saw (instrument)" Ordos köröö /körää/ ‖ Khalkha xöröö /xörää/ ‖ Kalmuck /körää/

ko[3]r-be- /körbä-/(XI 24-3) ‖ Khalkha xörβö-/xöräbä-/ "to turn over"

ko[3]-ri-su /körisü/(XI 24-3), ko-ri-su /körisü/ (III 18-3) ‖ Khalkha xörs "cuticle"

There occur no examples of these words written as ge-r, ge-ri-e, gi-ru-e, go-r-be, go-ri-su, etc.

The causative form of gu-r "to reach" is usually written as gu-r-ge- and gu-r-gen (38 examples in all), but we find one example of ku[2]-r[1]-ge- /kürgä-/(II 37-6).

Moreover, the documents in the ḥPags-pa script have such examples as kürge-∼kurge- "to bring, deliver", kürtele "until, up to". It is almost certain that gu-r[1]- ∼ gu-r(-), gu-ru-, gu-run in the Secret History represent /kür(-), kürü-, kürün/.

6. However, the character gu does not always represent Mongolian /kü/ in the Secret History. There are cases where gu undoubtedly represents Mongolian /gü/. For example,

gu-nu(V 41-7), gun(XII 34-10), gun-nu(VIII 10-6) ‖ Monguor(T)[12] guun "deep" ‖ Ordos /gün/ ‖ Khalkha /gʊN/ ‖ Buriat /gʊN/ ‖ Kalmuck /gün/.

Not only do the present dialects indicate PM /*g-/, but we also have the internal proof in this document itself shown above. The contemporary Chinese sound of the character gun is [kun^1] as opposed to [kʉn^1] of the character kun which is used to denote the Mongolian /kün/, e.g.,

kun-du /kündü/(IV 47-5 and 3 other examples) ‖ Monguor /kundun/ "heavy" ‖ Ordos /kündü/ ‖ Khalkha xünd /xʊNdä/.

On the other hand, the other examples also show that the character gun represents the Mongolian /gün/ or /güm/. One example of the latter case is:

sang-gun (IV 33-3 and 24 other examples),
sang-gu-mi^2 (VI 9-7 and 7 other examples),
sang-gu-mun (V 32-6 and 9 other examples).

The shape of this person's name is probably /säŋgüm/. However, inasmuch as the contemporary Chinese had no syllable [kum], they were obliged to use the character gun [kun^1] in order to represent the Mongolian /güm/.

The former example of the alternation of gun and gu-nu and the example of the latter alternation of gun and gu-mi, gu-mun obviously indicate that gu represents the Mongolian /gü/ in these cases.

One more example of similar alternation which can be compared with the forms of the present languages and dialects is given below:

mung-gu /möŋgü/[13] (X 13-2, 4, XI 47-3), mung-gun /möŋgün/ (XI 5-9 and 6 other examples) "silver" ‖ Monguor /mjängu/ ‖ Dagur /mäŋgu/ ‖ Ordos möŋgö /möŋgä/~ müŋgü/ ‖ Khalkha möngö /möNgä/.

This gu evidently represents Mongolian /gü/.

7. As should have become partially evident in the above discussion,[14] the general principle of transcription of Mongolian sounds by means of Chinese characters is:[15]

1. to use those characters which have the voiceless aspirated fortes plosive or affricate initials in the contemporary Chinese to represent the Mongolian syllables or the initial part of them which begin with the consonants corresponding to Proto-Mongolian /*t/, /*k/, or /*č/, and

2. to use those characters which have the glottalized voiceless unaspirated initials to represent the Mongolian syllables or the initial part of them which begin with the consonants corresponding to Proto-Mongolian /*b/, /*d/, /*g/, or /*ǰ/.

The general principle is as mentioned above, although there are a few exceptional deviations.

In the case of Mongolian /kü/ and /gü/, there occur the following characters and only these:[16]

ku : ku^1 [kʏ^2], ku^2 [kʉ^1], ku$^{(3)}$ [kʉɪ^2].
gu : gu$^{(1)}$ [ku^2], gu^2 [ku^2], gu^3 [ku^{1,2}], gu^4 [ku^{2,3}].

While the Chinese characters gu$^{(1)}$, gu^2, gu^3, and gu^4, especially gu$^{(1)}$, are used very frequently, the use of those transliterated with ku^1, ku^2, and ku$^{(3)}$ is restricted and their frequencies are very low. An exhaustive list of the words for the transcription of which the characters belonging to the ku-group are used is given below:

ku^1-cu (III 23-10) "(name of a person)"
ku^1-lu-g(-) (I 26-10, 27-4, VIII 19-5, 36-6, 37-8, 37-9) "(name of a person), prodigy" ‖ Ordos /külüg/ "swift horse" ‖ Buriat /xülag/ ‖ Kalmuck /küläg/
ku^1-lu-u-d(-) (V 34-4 and 11 other examples) "(the plural form of the above)"
ku^1-lu^3-u-d (I 2-8) "swift horses"
ku^2-r^1-ge-jiu (II 37-6) "escorting" ‖ Ordos /kürgä-/ "to bring to" ‖ Khalkha xürga-
ku^2-ren-l-gu (II 37-5) "(name of a mountain)"
ku^2-ru (II 16-1) "stone" ‖ ḥPags-pa kurus (iyer) "stones" ‖ Khalkha gür "ore" ‖ Kalmuck /gür/
ku (II 22-3) "(emphatic particle, usually written as gu)" ‖ Khalkha /'änäxüü/ "this, present" (< ene kü)
ku-cu-ge^2-ne (III 18-9) "mouse"
ku-cu-gu-r^1 (II 27-4) "wild rat"
ku-cu-gu^3-r (III 34-9) "(name of a person)"
ku-u-r^1-ge-ben (II 41-4) "one's own bellows [acc.]" ‖ Ordos köörgö "bellows" ‖ Khalkha xöörög ‖ Buriat xöörgö ‖ Kalmuck /köörög/
to-ku-m (V 27-4) "(name of a place)"
u-ku- (IV 29-3 and 21 other examples) "to die" ‖ Ordos /'ükü-/ ‖ Khalkha /'üxä-/

u-ku-g-de- (II 15-10) "("potential" form of u-ku- above)"
u-ku-l-du- (VII 43-4, VIII 14-10, 45-9) "to die together"
u-ku-leng-e (XI 22-2) "death[dat.]"
u-ku-u-l(-) (VIII 30-8 and 14 other examples) "to kill"
u-ku-u-l-de- (IV 49-7, VI 51-9, VIII 30-8, XII 45-8) "to get killed"
bu-le-ku (II 22-10) " to churn, to stir" ‖ Ordos /bül-/ ‖ Khalkha /bülä-/ ‖ Buriat /bülä-/ ‖ Kalmuck [bülə-] [bül-]

In all the above examples, the characters ku[1], ku[2], and ku[(3)] are used evidently or probably in order to represent the Mongolian /kü/.

8. In general, the transcribers of the Secret History apparently tried to choose as characters for general and frequent use those which had agreeable or neutral meanings, and the shapes of which are rather simple and easy to write. On the other hand they often tried to use, instead of these usual ones, those Chinese characters which had more or less semantic connection with the Mongolian words to be represented by them.[17]

The above examples of the character ku (i.e., ku[3]) belong to the latter category. Although it has a complicated shape, its meaning "cave, den" is befitting for the Mongolian words denoting "mouse", "wild rat", "to die", etc. Incidentally, the root of the verb meaning "to die" is never written as u-gu.

The shape of the character ku[2] is simple enough to write and its sound [ku[1]] is appropriate to represent the Mongolian /kü/. However, its meaning "withered, dry, decayed" is not agreeable, so that it cannot be chosen as a character for general use. In the same way, the character ku[1] which means "to bend, to stoop, crooked" is also unfit for general use, although its sound [kyu[2]] is not inappropriate to represent the Mongolian /kü/.[18]

On the other hand, the character gu (i.e., gu[1]) is simple to write and its meaning "old, ancient" is agreeable. (In China the ancient age is more admirable than the present.)

Moreover, there are no words such as /gü'üün/, /güčün/, /gür-/, etc., as opposed in sound to /kü'üün/ "man", /küčün/ "strength", /kür-/ "to reach", etc., which might cause confusion if the latter were written as gu-un, gu-cun, gu-r, etc. The transcribers adopted gu (i.e., gu[1]) as a character for general use to represent both the Mongolian /gü/ and /kü/, sometimes at the cost of exact representation of the sounds.

Therefore, the transcription of the word gu-un~gu-u with initial /k-/ is undoubtedly justified.

Although the contemporary Chinese sounds of the transcribing characters are the fundamental data for the reconstruction of the Mongolian sounds of the Secret History, we have to give precedence to the comparative method, paying attention at the same time to the shape and especially to the meaning of the Chinese character in question.

NOTES

1. An abbreviated version in Mongolian was reported at the Second International Congress of Mongolists in 1970, Ulan-Bator. The gist was published in Japanese in the GENGO KENKYU (the Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan), no. 25, 1954, Tokyo, p. 58. This is an amended version of the author's paper in Japanese, published in the Festschrift for Professor Tetsujin Uno, 1974, the Toho Gakkai, Tokyo.

Regarding the author's method of reconstruction of the Proto-Mongolian forms, see also his paper "Initial Plosives of Proto-Mongolian and Their Later Developments" in SCIENCES OF LANGUAGE, no. 3, 1972, Tokyo Institute for Advanced Studies of Language, Tokyo.

2. The forms in italics of the Secret History are the author's mechanical transliterations of the Mongolian forms represented by Chinese characters, designed in one-to-one correspondence. Cf. Appendix I to this paper; the author's article (in English) in ACTA ASIATICA, no. 24, 1973, the Toho Gakkai, Tokyo; and his book (in Japanese) A Study of the Chinese Characters Representing the Mongolian Language in the Secret History of the Mongols, 1946, Tokyo.

3. "I 25-2" means "vol. I, leaf 25, line 2 recto," and "V 17-6" means "vol. V, leaf 17, line 1 verso" of the Shanghai Han-fên-lou phototype edition.

4. Erich Haenisch, Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an, Leipzig, 1939, transliterates it as "gu'un"; Paul Pelliot, Histoire

Secrète des Mongols, Paris, 1949, and Louis Ligeti, Histoire Secrète des Mongols, Budapest, 1971, as "gü'ün".

5. If the Kalmuck form /kümän/ were a loanword from the written language, it would be unnecessary to reconstruct PM /*kümün/.

6. Cf. the articles by the author in the GENGO KENKYU, no. 36, 1959; STUDIA MONGOLICA, Tomus I, Fasciculus 12, 1959, Ulan-Bator; and L. Ligeti, ed., Mongolian Studies, 1970, Budapest.

7. All the ḥPags-pa forms in this paper are cited from N. Poppe, The Mongolian Monuments in ḥPàgs-pa Script, 1957, Wiesbaden.

8. The representation in / / is the phonological transcription of the forms in the Secret History reconstructed by the author.

9. The author rectifies ki-e-d (VI 1-4) into ke-e-d. He assumes that /kää-/ is a form which has come from /kä'ää-/, and that the change /kä'ää-/ > /kää-/(i.e., /V'VV/ > /VV/, the /V/ being the same vowel) was occurring already in the language of the Secret History.

10. /xitad/ would be a better phonemic interpretation of the Khalkha form xjatad.

11. Further, the author considers it possible to interpret phonologically the Mongolian vowels a, ä, o, ö in the second and the following morae as /a/ (or as an archiphoneme /A/?): e.g., götöl- /götal-/ (or /götAl-/), köörgö /köarga/ (or /köArgA/), etc.

12. "Monguor (T)" is cited from B. X. Todaeva, Mongorskij jazyk, Moskva, 1973. The other Monguor examples are from A. Smedt et A. Mostaert, Dictionnaire monguor-français, Peiping, 1933.

13. Concerning the author's assumption that the character mung [muŋ^{1}] represents Mongolian /möŋ/ in this case, see his paper "Mongol or Mangol?" in the TOHO GAKUHO, Tokyo, vol. 12, no. 2, 1941.

14. Cf. further the book and article by the author referred to in footnote 2.

15. Except for those Chinese characters which have g- in the author's mechanical transliteration. See footnote 14.

16. The numbers enclosed in the parentheses are usually omitted, because the characters are the most frequently used among those which are transliterated with the same Roman letters.

17. Cf. the author's paper "帖連 in Yüan-ch'ao Mi-shih" (Ural-Altaische Bibliothek, V Studia Altaica, Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe, 1957).

18. In the Chung-yüan Yin-yün we find no other characters which have the sound [ku(ɿ)] or [ky(ɿ)] and agreeable meanings, and the shapes of which are simple and easy to write. Cf. Appendix II.

Appendix I

List of the Roman Transliterations with the Corresponding Chinese Characters

(The numbers enclosed in parentheses are usually omitted. See footnote 15.)

a 阿 , b 卜 , be 別 , ben 邊 , bu$^{(2)}$ 不 , bun 奔 , ce$^{(1)}$ 扯 , ceu^{2} 潮 , ci$^{(4)}$ 赤 , cu$^{(1)}$ 出 , cun 純 , d 惕 , de$^{(3)}$ 迭 , do$^{(2)}$ 朶 , du$^{(2)}$ 都 , dun$^{(1)}$ 敦 , e$^{(2)}$ 額 , g$^{(2)}$ 克 , ge$^{(1)}$ 格 , ge^{2} 鴿 , gen 堅 , gi$^{(1)}$ 吉 , go$^{(5)}$ 歌 , gu$^{(1)}$ 古 , gu^{2} 估 , gu^{3} 沽 , gu^{4} 詁 , gun$^{(1)}$ 昆 , ji$^{(1)}$ 只 , jiu$^{(2)}$ 周 , ke 客 , kei^{2} 鵨 , ki 乞 , ko$^{(1)}$ 可 , ko^{3} 闊 , ku^{1} 曲 , ku^{2} 枯 , ku$^{(3)}$ 窟 , kun 坤 , l$^{(3)}$ 勒 , le$^{(1)}$ 列 , leng$^{(1)}$ 良 , lo$^{(3)}$ 羅 , lu$^{(2)}$ 魯 , lu^{3} 鹿 , m 木 , mi^{2} 迷 , mun$^{(1)}$ 門 , mung 蒙 , ne$^{(1)}$ 捏 , nu$^{(2)}$ 訥 , qai$^{(1)}$ 豺 , qo$^{(2)}$ 蛤 , r^{1} 兒 , r$^{(2)}$ 倪 , re$^{(1)}$ 哲列 , ren$^{(2)}$ 連 , ri$^{(1)}$ 里 , ru$^{(3)}$ 魯 , run$^{(1)}$ 倫 , sang 桑 , su 速 , ta$^{(1)}$ 塔 , te$^{(1)}$ 帖 , ten 田 , to$^{(2)}$ 脫 , tu$^{(2)}$ 禿 , u$^{(1)}$ 兀 , un$^{(1)}$ 溫 , yen$^{(1)}$ 延 .

Appendix II

List of the Chinese characters in the Chung-yüan Yin-yün, for which the author reconstructs [ku(ʔ)] or [ky(ʔ)]

(The numbers in square brackets denote the four tones : 1, 1, 2, and 4 the yin-p'ing, yang-p'ing, shang-sheng, and chü-sheng respectively. The numbers in parentheses are those of the character-groups in this document, which were added by the author. The characters in braces are those added in a later edition of this book.)

[k'u^{1}] (370) 枯 剾 {恔}

[k'u^{2}] (434) 苦 {楛} {筁}

[k'u^{3}] (488) {庫} {椅}

[k'uʔ^{2}] (448) 哭 窟 酷 {勩}

[k'y^{1}] (374) 區 軀 驅 嶇 貙 {墟} {祛} {[012]欠}

[k'y^{1}] (392) 渠 蕖 磲 蘧 劬 臞 衢 臞 {蘧} {璩} {鸜} {癯}

[k'y^{3}] (486) 去 {呿}

[k'yʔ^{2}] (447) 曲 麯 屈 伸 {蛐}