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SA = Arabic copy of Smilovice version
SC = Cyrillic handwritten copy of Smilovice version
ST = Cyrillic typewritten copy of Smilovice version

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THE BUSH PROTECTS THE LITTLE BIRD

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This short note is but an essay at an idea to be proved or rejected by further investigation. It is an attempt to connect a saying well-known from medieval Mongol oral tradition with another, less known, Turkish saying as it appears in a single occurrence in an early-eighteenth-century case of Ottoman diplomacy.

The Mongol saying is mentioned first in the Secret History of Mongols (*Mongqolun niuca tobcaan = MNT*, section 85), in the episode of Temüjin's escape from the Tayichi'ut camp. That night of the "red moon" he realized he had no other way than to take refuge in the tent of Sorqan Shira, the man who had found but had not denounced him. And despite this man's warning to flee away (unarmed, with no horse and provisions) immediately, he decided to hide himself in Sorqan Shira's home where once he had been treated with sympathy by the man's children. And when Sorqan Shira reproached him endangering the family with his seeking refuge there despite the warning, there were again the children, Chimbai and Chilawun, who defended the undesired guest against their father with the saying, then obviously a commonplace: *šibawuqani turumtai butatur qorqobasu buta aburaǰu'ui* "[The] bush saved [the] little bird when [the] *turumtai*-falcon chased [it] into [the] bush."

See:

Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Vol. II. Wiesbaden 1965, 502–504, no. 896, s.v. *turumtai* with his German translation of the proverb in *MNT* § 85: "ein Vögelchen, das ein *turimtai* [read *turumtai*] in den Busch Zufluchtnahme gezwungen hat, da schützt der Busch." (502); quoting Juvaynî's version in John A. Boyle's translation: "The kite that takes refuge in a thicket from the talons of the falcon is safe from its fury" (*The History of the World-Conqueror by 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini*. Vol. I. Manchester University Press 1958, 242, also note 8, "*turumtai*, ... perhaps the Merlin", quoting Barthold and Mostaert, see below), Anonymous *Altan Tobči* parallel *siryun iregsen boljimar-i buta qoryodayuluyu* in Charles R. Bawden's rendering (*The Mongolian Chronicle Altan Tobči*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 1955, 122–123, note 17.2): "the bush hides a lark which has entered fleeing", and his *Erdeni-yin Tobči* variant *sir<a>yura iregsen boljimar-tur buta qory-a bolun bögetele* ... "while a bush is a fortress [= refuge] to the lark which has come [to pierce into = to shelter] ..." For this latter sentence John R. Krueger

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gave an exact interpretation: "Inasmuch as a bush is a fold for a meadow-lark come to take refuge ..." (*Poetical Passages in the Erdeni-yin Tobči.* 's-Gravenhage, Mouton 1961, 48). Perhaps "lark" is enough (cf. Khalkha *bolǰimor* id.); a meadow-lark may be too big. Southern Mongolian *bolǰomor* 'sparrow' (= *boro bilǰuuqai* in Bürintegüs' orthoepic and orthographic dictionary *Mongγol kelen-ü ǰöb daγudalγ-a ǰöb bičilge-yin toli*, Jining, *Öbör Mongγol-un suryan kümüǰil-ün keblel-ün qoriy-a.* 1977, 175, *bolǰmor* = Chin. *majiao* 'house-sparrow' in Daobu = Dob, *Menggu yu jianzi*, Beijing, Minzu chubanshe 1983, 174), was the target in Inner Mongolian brochures of the time of the "Great Leap" as one of the *qoortan,* harmful animals, a winged victim of the "animal purges" in Mao's China. Cf. also Bao'an/Čen *bëlǰir* id., Santa/Böke *bunǰu* id. and 'small bird', Yugur/Bulučilaγu *xara βölǰir* 'swallow', Middle Mong. *bilda'ur, bilǰi'ur,* Mong. *bilǰuuqai,* etc., *Acta Orient. Hung.* XLIV (1990) 285;

Louis Ligeti's translation (Ligeti, Lajos, *A mongolok titkos története* [The Secret History of the Mongols]. Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó 1962, 24): "Mikor a verebet a torontál-sólyom a bokorba űzi, a bokor oltalmába fogadja." (When the *turumtai*-falcon chases the sparrow into the bush, the bush provides it with shelter.);

Igor de Rachewiltz's translation in the *Papers on Far Eastern History*, no. 4 Canberra, September 1971, 141: "When a sparrow hawk chases a sparrow into a bush, even the bush protects him." (Here "even" may correspond to Chinese *ye* in the summary following the section; see also *butaber* in Lubsangdanjin's *Altan Tobči* below.);

Antoine Mostaert in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XIII (1950) 312 on *turumtai*; 313: "Ses deux fils, Čimbai et Čila'un [= Čilawun] dirent: 'Si un *turumtai* (= nom d'un oiseau de proie de petite taille) fait se refugier un petit oiseau dans un buisson, le buisson le sauve (m.à m.: "le sauva").'" Also Ordos proverb with praeteritum perfecti is mentioned (*MNT* has praet. imperfecti).

Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin's *Golden Chronicle (Altan tobči)* has a slightly different version: *sibaγuqan <turuγun-a> turumtay-a (turuγun-a) üldegdeǰü : buta-ṯur qoryalabasu butaber aburayu :* "Even the shrub saves the [life of the] little bird if it, pursued by the *turumtai*-falcon, seeks refuge in the bush." This version may show that the sentence in the *MNT* as it appears in Chinese transcription could have been considered later too terse and the first verb *qorqo-* 'to chase into' could seem obsolete; here *qoryala-* 'to take shelter' is used instead, changing the structure of the sentence. Middle Mong. *MNT qorqo-/qorqa-*, causative and transitive from intransitive *qor-* 'to hide oneself, to take refuge' as in *MNT* § 129; hence also *qorqa*, Mong. *qorγ-a/qoryo*, Khalkha *xorgo* 'shelter' and Mong. *qoryala-*, *qoryoda-* 'to take refuge'. (The second word of the Mongol sentence is a variant of the mostly Middle Mong. *turaγun, tura'un* 'crow/raven' and it may, by a scribal error, come from the interlinear glose if the older Ulaanbaatar MS. is a copy of a copy with interlinear notes. (For the insertion "the life of" see the Chinese summary in the *MNT*. For *turuγun*, see *turaγun* in James E. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels: The Subhāṣita-*

ratnanidhi of Sa Skya Paṇḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian. Indiana University, Bloomington 1969, 301, note 4.)

The sentence in question was rightly transcribed and fairly interpreted by John R. Krueger (*Poetical Passages*, 49–50): "When the little crane-bird is pursued by the *turumtai*-hawk ... It is saved by the bush." But here *turuγun* is taken for *toγuraγun* (Middle Mong. *toqora'un/toqura'un,* etc.) 'crane' (cf. Ligeti: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV (1962) 69) and *buta*[ ]*ber* translated as instrumental *butabar* — the same in Ligeti's *Histoire secrète des Mongols, Texte en écriture ouigoure incorporé dans la chronique Altan Tobči de Blo-bzaṅ bstan-'jin.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1974, 48; and in Hans-Peter Vietze und Gendeng Lubsang, *Altan Tobči. Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzaṅ bstan 'jin. Text und Index.* (Tokyo, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Afrika 1992, 15) — impossible if the verb is as obstinately transitive as *abura-*. The latter editors read *sibaγuγan doroqun-a doromtay-a*, etc. = ? Similarly helpless is C. Šagdar's reading (*Altan towč* in Cyrillic, Ulaanbaatar, Ulsîn Xewleliin Gajar 1990, 27): *šuwuun türüxünee üldegdeǰ* (*xarcagand xöögdsön šuwuu* N.T.) *butand xoroolbaas but awar'yuu.* The manuscript has *butaber* at the end of the line, what can be the reason of pasting the particle to the previous word. In the Written Mongol texts of the New Mongol period, the particle *ber* could also be read *bar* after back-vowel words as if a suffix, and there are, even in modern literary Khalkha in Cyrillic script, cases of confusing this particle with the instrumental suffix marking the subject in a pseudo-Tibetan way; the commonest form of this kind is *terbeer* < Mong. *tere ber* 'he/she'.) Cf. also Nina P. Šastina, ed., Lubsan Danzan, *Altan tobči ("Zolotoe Skazanie").* Moskva, Nauka 1973, 78, 322, notes 56–57 with Vasilij V. Bartol'd (Wilhem Barthold)'s remark on the parallel of *MNT* § 85 and a passage in Juvaynî's *History of the World-Conqueror.* Šastina's translation: "Ptaška, gonimaja hiščnikom, prjačetsja v kust, i kust spasaet ee." (The small bird pursued by the bird of prey hides itself in the shrub, and the shrub saves it.)

In Juvaynî's passage discussed by Doerfer, the proverb appears in Köten/Köden's answer to Empress Dowager Töregene/Döregene's demand of extradition of Maḥmûd Yalawach and his companions (cf. V. V. Bartol'd, *Turkestan v êpohu mongol'skogo našestvija.* In: *Sočinenija.* Vol. I, 88, note 3, also quoting Palladij Kafarov's Russian translation of the Chinese translation of the sentence in the *Secret History*; Kafarov has "thick grass" for what is "shrub/bush" in the Mongolian original, the name of the bird of prey is *lundor*, Russian transcription of the Chinese name).

The same story is retold by Rashîd ad-Dîn in his *Collection of Histories*, see *The Successors of Genghis Khan.* Translated from the Persian of Rashîd ad-Dîn by John A. Boyle (New York–London, Columbia University Press, 1971, 177): "Tell thy mother: 'The kite that takes refuge in a thicket from the talons of the falcon is safe from its enemy's fury. ...'." Also Russian translation by Jurij P. Verhovskij in *Sbornik letopisej* (ed. by I. P. Petruševskij, Moskva–Leningrad, Akademija nauk 1960, 115–116), Köden's answer to his mother demanding the

extradition of Yalawach and Chinqay: "Skažite moej materi, čto kogda vorobej ukryvaetsja v ternovnike ot kogtej sokola, to on nahodit tam spasenie ot jarosti protivnika ... = Tell my mother: when the sparrow hides in the buckthorn, it finds there refuge from the fury of the enemy ..." Instead of Boyle's "kite" (so in Steingass' *Persian–English Dictionary*), Verhovskij translated "sparrow" for Arabo-Persian *bigāṣ/bugāṣ*, which is better for the context (see also Edward W. Lane's *Arabic–English Lexicon*. Book I. London–Edinburgh, Williams and Norgate 1863, reprint of The Islamic Texts Society 1984, 229a: "A bird that does not prey, ... *or* small birds that do not prey, such as sparrows and the like, ...").

The occurrence of the saying in Juvaynî's *History* and Rashîd ad-Dîn's *Collection* affirms its being not an improvisation by the children of Temüjin's unwilling host, but an allegory commonly used among the Mongols in the 13th and 14th centuries. I have not found any living equivalent of this proverb in the modern sources.

Besides, Sorqan Shira also uttered another metaphoric image when describing the fugitive's pleasant face, *MNT* § 83: *nidündüriyen qaltu ni'urturiyan geretü* "with fire in your eyes, with light on your face." Variants of this pair of metaphors were used respectively by Dei Sechen when he first saw Temüjin, his future son-in-law, and by Yisügei, Temüjin's father, when he looked at his future daughter-in-law, *MNT* § 62: *ene kö'ün činu nidüntüriyen qaltu ni'urturiyan geretü kö'ün büi* "This son of yours is a son with fire in his eyes and with light on his face" and *MNT* § 66: *öki inu üǰebesü ni'urturiyan geretei nidüntüriyen qaltai ökini üǰeǰü* "When (Yisügei) looked at (Dei Sechen)'s daughter, he saw (that) daughter having light on her face and fire in her eyes," further, it is a part of the desperate flattery worded by the captured Tayichi'ut leader Tarqutai Kiriltuq, *MNT* § 149: *üčügen čaqtur nidündüriyen qaltu ni'urturiyan geretü büle'e* "in his youth (Temüjin) had fire in his eyes and light on his face." According to a biography in Song Lian's *Yuan Shih*, chapter 124, Chinggis Khan himself deigned to say one of the two halves of this double saying when praising an Uigur youth, Mungsuz ("The Carefree"), it was translated into Chinese: *mu zhong you huo* "having fire in (his) eyes" (about him, see also B. Ögel, *Sino–Turcica*. Taipei 1964, 92 –98).

The Turco–Mongol name (Turkic *turumtay*, Mongolian *turumtai*) of the bird of prey in the saying became the name of the county of Torontál in the south of old Hungary (place name < personal name; personal name < bird name; cf. also *torontál*, a special type of carpet, originally from the county of Torontál; place name > name of a product coming from that place). Discussing the history of the Hungarian word, Louis Ligeti listed the Turkic and Mongolian forms including the one in the Secret History, see Ligeti, Lajos, *Jövevényszavaink és a vitás etimológiák kérdése (torontayl, torontál)* [Our loan words and the problem of the doubtful etymologies]. In: *Pais-Emlékkönyv*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1956, 336–346 (reprinted in: *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai és ami körülöttük van* [The Turkic relations of the Hungarian language and what is around them]. Vol. I. Budapest, MTA Könyvtára 1977, 171–181).

The shrub/bush defending the little bird from the *turumtai/turumtay*-falcon (perhaps sparrow hawk, merlin, etc.) was perhaps a common part of the oral tradition of the Inner Asian nomads, Mongols and Turks, of the period.

A similar, though not the same, saying is found in the account of Prince Franciscus Rákóczi II in exile in Turkey on how the Ottoman court refused the Austrian request of his extradition. His Latin-written reminiscences relate the debate that took place the year after the conclusion of the peace treaty of Passarowitz (21 July 1718), when eight years had passed after the end of the Prince's ill-fated war against the Habsburgs, in the spring of 1719, between the Ottoman Vizier İbrahim and the Count and general Damian Hugo Virmond, then new ambassador of Vienna in Constantinople/İstanbul ("Comes a Firmont, caractere Magni Legati Caesarei insignitus" in Rákóczi's *Confessions*: Principis Francisci II. Rákóczi *Confessiones* et *Aspirationes principi Christiani*. E codice Bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis edidit Commissio fontium historiae patriae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapestini: Bibliopolium Academiae Hungaricae, 1876, 336). Here is the context in which the saying occurs (339–340):

> "Haec fuere praeludia propositionum Legati Caesarei, quas de me reitirare decrevit novis et urgentibus ab Aula sua acceptis mandatis et literis; occasione igitur nacta, cum ad convivium supremi Classis Praefecti cum Vezirio invitatus fuisset, praevie cum illi colloquium petiit, cui referendo pomposam et benignam Legati Turcici exceptionem Viennae subjunxit; nova se accepisse mandata, ut extradationem personae meae tanquam inimici domini sui cum ceateris Hungaris adurgeret; ad quod Vezirius respondit, jam saepe se dixisse, me esse hospitem Portae et similia in me exercere conscientiam, honorem et legem Portae vetare; petere proinde, ut desistat a similibus petendis. Sed respondit Legatus, non posse Aulam sibi persuadere sinceram esse erga se Portae amicitiam, quamdiu inimicos suos in limine suo tenet (contra) rationem status imperiorum; suadet igitur, ut pro mutua confidentia stabilienda hinc adminimum amovear, et releger in tam remota loca, et sub tam arcta custodia tenear, ut cum nemine possim correspondere; cum par sit mea erga duo Imperia secreta inimicitia, quam foveo in corde et personaliter contra Vezirium; ad haec firmius urgenda tradidit Principis Eugenii Sabaudiae, Praesidis Concilii Bellici, ex mandato Caesaris scriptas literas et petitum nomine Electorum Imperii (quamvis false), et reassumpsit dicens praeterea hoc jam occasione pacis Pasarovicensis, proxime conclusae, fuisse a plenipotentiariis Portae per rescriptum particulare promissum.
>
> Sed ad haec indignabundus respondit Vezirius: Me esse hospitem Imperatoris invitatum, et sub protectione Portae; etiamsi ini-

micus ejus essem, securum; **non esse arbustulum, quod aviculam refugientem ad se non defendat pro posse suo**; quidni tantum Imperium hoc praestare debere; quod promissum concernit ignorare se, nec [340] quid ex mandato suo factum fuisse praeter id, quod publicis tabulis pacis insertum est; inquisiturum tamen se a Legato secundario, hic existente et facti rationem petiturum. ..."

"These were the preludes of the propositions of the Caesar's ambassador that he decided to repeat concerning my person, in conformity with the new and urging instructions and letters he received from his Court. Thus, when opportunity arose, when invited to the dinner of the prefect of the highest class together with the Vizier, he strove forward to talk with him, enthralled him by bringing up the ostentatious and favourable exception of the Turkish ambassador in Vienna, to undertake the new instructions in order to pursue the extradition of my person, so harmful for his lord, and (the extradition) of the other Hungarians. At that the Vizier replied: he had already often stated that I was the guest of the Porte and to take similar (measures) against me would contradict the conscience, honour and law of the Porte, and therefore he demanded to put an end to similar demands. Nevertheless the ambassador answered: the Court can not be convinced of that the friendship of the Porte toward it be sincere as long as the Porte keeps the enemies of the Court within its boundaries, against the reason of the status of the Empires. Thus, for the sake of mutual confidence that is to be stabilized, he suggests at least to remove (these enemies) and to settle them in such a remote place and to keep them under such a severe custody that I can not correspond with anybody, since equal is my secret enmity I nurture in my heart toward the two Empires and personally against the Vizier. About these rather strongly urged (matters) he handed over the letters written by Prince Eugene of Savoy, president of the War Council, by the order of the Caesar and the request, though falsely, in the name of the Electors of the Empire, and claimed again what had already been said on the occasion of the recently concluded peace of Passarowitz, and what was promised by the plenipotentaries of the Porte in a particular rescript.

At these however the Vizier replied indignantly that I was a guest invited by the Emperor and being under the protection of the Porte, I was safe even if hostile. **There is no shrub**, *(he said)*, **that would not, by all means it has, defend the little bird that flees into it.** Why should not then such a great empire be obliged to take this upon itself? As to the (alleged) promise (he said) he had no knowledge (of it), and none was made by his command before that what is inserted in the public tables of peace; nevertheless he would

inquire the second (Ottoman) ambassador here present and he would request explanation of what had been done ...".

Cf. Dr. Márki, Sándor, *II. Rákóczi Ferencz.* III. kötet, *1709–1735*. Budapest, A Magyar Történeti Társulat kiadása 1910, 64–65: the Austrian demand of extradition or deportation of R. and his companions, a topic in the Passarowitz negotiations[Turk. Pasarofča, Serb. Požarevac, Hung. Pozserovác; on this Serbian town and the Treaty of P., see Fehim Bajraktarević's article in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition.* Vol. VIII, fasc. 135–136 (Leiden etc., Brill 1993), 278–279, or, *E. J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam.* Vol. VI (reprint, Leiden etc., 1987), 1077–1078]; 342–343: Austrian ambassador, count and general Damian Hugo Virmond's efforts in Constantinople against R., his debate with the Vizier, [İbrâhîm Paša Nevšehirli], the latter's refusal of the Austrian claim; quotation of "the bush and the little bird" allegory, translation from the *Confessions*: "R. a császár meghívott vendége és a porta védelme alatt áll. Biztonságban van, ha ellenség volna is. Nincs olyan bokor, mely, ha lehet, a menedéket kereső madarat nem védené. Hát hogyne védené meg ekkora birodalom?" (= R. is an invited guest of the Emperor and is under the protection of the Porte. He is in security, even if he were an enemy. There is no shrub that, if possible, would not defend the bird seeking refuge. Then how would not such a great empire defend him?)

See also *Târîx-i Râšid (Raşit Tarihi)* quoted by Karácson, Imre dr., *Rákóczi a török történetírásban* [R. in the Turkish historiography]. *Katholikus Szemle. Tizenhetedik kötet.* Budapest 1903, 753–759 (the dispute on the extradition is described without "the bush and the little bird" allegory); Hopp, Lajos, ed., *Mikes Kelemen összes művei* [K. Mikes's collected works]. Vol. I. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1966, 486; Köpeczi, Béla, *A bujdosó Rákóczi* [R. in Exile]. (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1991), 367; on the *Confessions*: 489–503. On the salary of İbrahim Müteferrika, Turkish official and printer of Hungarian origin, one of R.'s interpreters and possible informers about the dispute, see Tayyib Gökbilgin, *II. Rákóczi Ferencre és a bujdosókra vonatkozó új török források* [New Turkish sources on R. and the (other) exiles]. In: *Rákóczi-tanulmányok* [Studies on R.]. Ed. by L. Hopp–B. Köpeczi–Ágnes R. Várkonyi. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1980, 711–715, on his person: see Niyazi Berkes's article in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition.* Vol. III, fasc. 55–56 (1969) 996–998; on the fee of Mustafa, another interpreter of R., see Maria M. Mravkarova's note in the *Rákóczi-tanulmányok,* 717–722. On İbrahim Paşa's Embassy in Vienna, cf. Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnameleri* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu 1968), 26–27 (note 26, quoting *Raşit Tarihi)*, 52–53 (Professor Gustav Bayerle was kind to lend me his copy of this study).

I have not yet found equivalents of this motif in the literary tradition and the living folklore of the Turkic peoples — a field too vast and I have not access but to some of its minute portions. Among the 18085 Kazan Tatar idioms, proverbs and aphorisms published in Xuǰiäxmät Š. Mäxmütov's collection (*Tatar xalïk iǰatï. Mäkal'lär häm äytemnär. Tatarskoe narodnoe tvorčestvo.*

Poslovicy i pogovorki. Kazan', Tatarskoe Knižnoe Izdatel'stvo 1987), nos 3820–4228 deal with wild birds *(košlar)* including such birds of prey as *ätälge, bayguš, börkät, karčïga, lačïn, toriimtay, šoŋkar, yabalak*, e.g., *Toriimtaydan ochkïr koš bulmas, turgay tašlap kaz almas*. "There is no swifter flyer than the red-footed falcon; throwing a lark one does not get a goose." (148, no. 4218), or, *šoŋkardan koš kurkïr, turgaydan kort kurkïr*. "The bird fears the falcon, the worm fears the sparrow." (147, no. 4194). In one of E. Kemal Eyüboğlu's Turkish proverbs (*On üçüncü yüzyıldan günümüze kadar Şiirde ve Halk Dilinde Atasözleri ve Deyimler* [Proverbs and sayings in the poetry and folk language from the 13th century to our days]. Birinci kitap, İstanbul 1973, 56, I borrowed from Professor Bayerle's library) the hare finds shelter in the bush: *Çalı dibinde tavşan yuvası*. "Hare's lair [is] at the bottom of the bush" (not in Metin Yurtbaşı's recent and excellent work, *A Dictionary of Turkish Proverbs*. Ankara, Turkish Daily News 1993, with more than 5,000 items, a book of which I learned from Professor İlhan Başgöz), but here the bush is "passive", the home of a quadruped, so this is another "story".

Anyhow, it is not quite impossible that the Ottoman allegory of the bird fleeing for refuge into the bush that protects it, as preserved in Rákóczi's account, and the medieval Mongol saying have common roots in the oral tradition of Inner Asia.

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NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF HUNGARIAN *KÖSÖNTYŰ* 'NECKLACE'

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1. The Historical–Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language (*TESz*) gives the meaning of the word *kösöntyű* as 'necklace, bracelet, clip'. It claims that the word is of uncertain origin, most probably a participle of the causative verb **kösönt* 'hang, suspend', formed the same way as several other *-ú/-ű* participial forms used as nouns like *pattantyú* (from *pattant* 'crack, snap'), and *sarkantyú* 'spur' (from a hypothetical labial form of *serkent* 'urge').[1] To support this theory the *TESz* refers to the verb *kösönködik* 'hold on, cling to' found only in dialects and considered to be a frequentative-reflexive derivation from the hypothetical stem **kösönt*.[2] Referring to Vámbéry's[3] explanation it also adds that labelling the word as a Turkic loanword in Hungarian is unacceptable.

2. On consulting the modern Hungarian dictionaries (i.e. dictionaries published since the 1860s) compiled on the basis of the available linguistic data of vocabularies, glossaries, literary works from the earliest times of Hungarian literacy, we find that the exact meaning of the word is quite obscure. The dictionaries at our disposal seem to agree only on two basic points: 1. the word is considered an archaic one, used mainly in literary works, and in some dialects; 2. *kösöntyű* means some kind of jewellery mainly worn by women, most often a pair of clasps for fastening a cloak ('Spangeband'), a necklace ('Halsband'), or in some cases, a bracelet ('Armband').[4]

[1] *TESz* Vol. 2, 623–624. For the -ú/-ű participial forms see also F. Kräuter, Adalékok a magyar történeti hangtanhoz. III. A -tyú/tyű képző eredete. *MNy* IX (1913) 119–124; L. Benkő (Ed.), *A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana. Vol. 1. A korai ómagyar kor és előzményei*. Budapest 1991, 325–326.

[2] The same explanation is found in Bárczy's dictionary: "vsz. egy fogódzkodik, kapaszkodik jelentésű, ismeretlen eredetű igei tő igeneve, vö. népnyelvi *kösönködik* ráakaszkodik." (G. Bárczy, *Magyar szófejtő szótár*. Budapest 1941, 177.)

[3] Vámbéry connected Hungarian *kösöntyű* with Turki *košanti* 'ready-made dress, adornment'. (Á. Vámbéry, *A magyarság bölcsőjénél*. Budapest 1914, 185.)

[4] "...Molnár A. szerént am. Nyakra való ékesség, nyaklánc, tovább karkötő (monile, spinter, lunula; Armband, Halsband)... . calepinusnál 'spinter', mely alatt ruhaékesítő kapocs, csat értetik." (G. Czuczor–J. Fogarasi, *A magyar nyelv szótára*. Vol. III. Pest 1865, 1115).; "monile, spinter, lunula, Spangeband, Armband, Halsband, Medaillon, Brosche" (I. Szamota–Gy. Zolnai, *Magyar oklevélszótár. Pótlék a Magyar Nyelvtörténeti Szótárhoz*. Budapest 1902–1906, 542);

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