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Front cover:

“Khusraw watching Shīrīn combing her hair after bathing”, miniature from the manuscript *Farhād wa Shīrīn* by Kamāl al-Dīn Bāfiqī Waḥshī and Muḥammad Shafīʿ al-Shīrāzī Wiṣāl in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number A 910. Copied by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl al-Anjawī al-Shīrāzī in Rabīʿ I 1284 / July 1867, fol. 51b, 6.4×4.2 cm.

Back cover:

- Plate 1.** ‘*Unwān* and page decoration, a Qājār style, the same manuscript, fols. 1b – 2a, 14.3×8.8 cm.
Plate 2. “Farhād in the castle of Shīrīn”, miniature, the same manuscript, fol. 48b, 4.9×3.2 cm.
Plate 3. “Shīrīn sees Farhād while coming to see the works at Mount Bīsūtūn”, miniature, the same manuscript, fol. 65b, 4.8×5.1 cm.

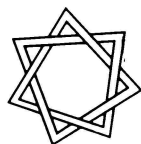
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MONGOLIAN BORROWINGS IN DOCUMENTS OF YUAN CHANCELLERY

Scholars studying Chinese literature of the Yuan (i.e. Mongol) period often stress the point that Baihua (the written language of that time) is strongly influenced by Mongolian, the fact, which, in their opinion, is responsible for great difficulties in reading and understanding the Yuan texts. Some sinologists believe that Chinese transcriptions of loanwords, including many administrative and technical terms (often corrupted beyond any recognition), are to be found not only in the Yuan official documents, but also in plays and novels of the period. They also consider it rather interesting for historical linguists to collect and to study this lexical material in order (i) to trace the origins of numerous "barbarisms" in Baihua, and (ii) to estimate the effect they have had on the present-day Chinese language [1]. To answer these questions, two groups of Yuan texts — Chinese translations from Mongolian and original Chinese writings — can be drawn on.

The present research is based on a collection of inscriptions which was published by Cai Meibiao in 1955 [2]. Since only a few of them were published earlier most inscriptions have become open to public for the first time. The bulk of these inscriptions (engravings) are official documents translated from Mongolian. Their contents is reproduced from the prints of original Chinese stelae. Some of the prints have been produced directly from the stelae still available. However, the overall number of surviving stelae is very small, so the rest of the prints have to be looked for in different libraries or storehouses. From the linguistic viewpoint, the documents are of primary interest to the study of languages in contact, although the sphere of their linguistic investigation may be much broader.

The question of Mongolian borrowings in Chinese is directly connected with a wider problem of interaction between the two languages different in their structure. The Mongolian-Chinese interaction was not so much the result of a natural process of everyday oral contacts of the two languages, as was provoked by the language policy of Mongolian rulers in China. The language of Mongolian conquerors became the main official language of the country: Mongolian officials commonly communicated with the local population with the aid of interpreters to a great many of whom Chinese was not a mother tongue.

The interference process influenced but a narrow stratum of the Chinese language — the official speech — which developed in the womb of the Mongolian chancel-

lery in Yuan China (1280—1368), in other words, a language style used for translating documents from Mongolian into Chinese. (In other spheres of usage only traces of the Mongolian influence can be noticed.) The process of "mongolization" of the Chinese language was thus largely compelled, and it was no mere chance that this process considerably affected only those fields of written activities which were completely under Mongol control. However, this fact by no means diminishes the scholarly interest to the phenomenon, instead it makes it stronger, since the "mongolization" of Chinese presents an excellent example of a language interference which, due to legislative acts, established a "social hierarchy" of the conqueror's language and that of the subjugated local population. It is also important that a great deal of documents coming from the Yuan chancellery have survived, providing a broad field for study [3].

The same type of the language is presented in grants of the Mongolian court to temples and monasteries as well as in other inscriptions on stelae. These inscriptions, which were carved on stone in many Buddhist and Taoist shrines, were collected by Chinese linguists, and the Corpus of this palaeographical materials was published by Cai Meibiao in 1955 (see n. 2). The inscriptions have not been subjected to a thorough linguistic study hitherto, although they drew attention of historians and palaeographers as early as in the mid-nineteenth century. All the researches who have worked on these texts point out that the language of the documents is very peculiar and not easy to understand. Some scholars ascribe this to the translators' carelessness [4]. But this opinion can be refuted because, on the one hand, the style of the documents' language shows that it has to do with more than a single copyist or translator — materials of this kind were widely spread throughout the period — and, on the other, deviations from the Standard Chinese are not chaotic; they are instead rigidly regular. Strictly speaking, the language of the documents can be regarded as a variant of the language with its own norm since its formulae of a standardized character cannot be traced to any individual "creative" activity of a particular translator or copyist.

Specific features of the language of the Yuan documents can be explained if examined from the viewpoint of language interference. To this question my book "Mongolian-Chinese Interference" [5] is dedicated. For studying

grammatical issues of the Mongolian-Chinese interference it appears quite sufficient to base on the language of the documents collected by Cai Meibiao. The material collected by him is both representative and homogeneous and at the same time is limited in volume, which makes it easy to use [6]. However, a serious shortcoming of Cai Meibiao's material is numerous errors and misprints [7]. To characterize properly the lexical interference under discussion in my work I had to employ additional data from other sources: in order to demonstrate Mongolisms in Yuan Chinese I base my study mainly on data provided in the Index to "A Code of Yuan" by Paul Ratchnevsky [8].

Available Mongolian texts written in square script (originals of documents) are also of use for such kind of investigation, although they are less in number. The comparison between them and the Chinese versions permits us to elucidate the principles of translation applied at that time and to see how close a Chinese translation is to its Mongolian original. But what is more important, such a comparison can help to elucidate the very mechanism of interference [9].

The language of the Yuan official documents reveals a strong Mongolian influence. As was mentioned above the traces of the interference are noticeable not only on the lexical level (vocabulary is usually subject to external influence), but on the grammatical level as well. The grammatical influence of Mongolian on Chinese is mostly seen in word order: Chinese inscriptions which contain decrees of the Yuan emperors generally follow the rules of the Mongolian syntax. Among the most typical features of this kind we can list the following [10]:

1) the object takes a position preceding to the predicate (no matter what kind of a verb is used for the latter) and it doesn't need any special formant or suffix. The only exception is the indirect object denoting a person to whom something is given (an addressee) or a person from whom something is taken away (a giver). In both cases, the indirect object, standing before the verb, may take the postposition 根底 (的) *gēndǐ*;

2) phrases of existential nature usually have the word order reverse to that of Standard Chinese, i.e. the verb 有 *yǒu* 'to be' goes after, not before, the nominal subject;

3) a "locative" construction to denote a person or a thing according to their location is built with the aid of the verbs 有 *yǒu* 'to be', 'to be situated', 屬 *shǔ* 'to belong', 住 *zhù* 'to live';

4) in some cases a personal pronoun functioning as an attribute is positioned not before the determined word but after it.

Because of the political prestige of the Mongolian language in the Chinese society lexical interference was rather great. In the Chinese documents of the period one can find three main types of borrowings: (i) direct lexical borrowings (loan-words), (ii) calques, (iii) semantic borrowings [11]. The first type is predominant. In the process of direct lexical borrowing, both the meaning and the sound of a borrowed word are copied. It is not infrequent that the sounds of a borrowed word deviate from the strict phonetic form of its original: a speaker not accustomed to the phonetics of an unknown language reproduces a word in accordance with his native language. Phonetic changes, which

a borrowed word undergoes in the process of adaptation, are sometimes so drastic that the speaker of the borrowed language fails to recognize in it the word from his own language [12].

Loan-words are adapted to Chinese grammar, in particular, they take the plural suffix 每 *mei* and the postposition 根底 (的) *gēndǐ*. Besides, there exist hybrid lexical formations, with one element belonging to Chinese and the other taken from Mongolian. For example, along with the word 奧魯 *aolu* (= *a'urug*) 'the lower (i.e. basic) camp' one can see 奧魯官 *aolu guan* 'an officer of the lower camp' and 奧魯萬戶府 *aolu wanhu fu* 'governing board of camps containing ten thousand [men]'.

The semantic field of borrowings from Mongolian can be deduced from the examples listed below (here we reproduce nearly all the Mongolian loan-words which can be found in the above-mentioned "Index" to Ratchnevsky's work) [13]:

andaxi 按打奚 (按答奚) ← *aldagi* (*andagi*) 'to make a mistake, error, blunder';

aolu 奧魯 ← *a'urug* 'lower (i.e. basic) camp';

aolu guan 奧魯官 ← 'an officer of a lower camp';

aolu wanhu fu 奧魯萬戶府 ← 'governing board of camps containing ten thousand [men]';

balahachi 八剌哈赤 ← *balayači* 'guard at the gates of the inner wall of the Emperor's City';

bicheche 必徹徹 ← *bičēči* 'clerk', 'scribe', 'secretary';

bielige 別里哥 ← *belge* 'sign', 'mark', 'token', 'symbol';

bolanxi 孛蘭奚 ← *bularyu* 'stray';

daluhuachi 達魯花赤 ← *daruyači* 'chief', 'superior', 'governor';

dashiman 答失蠻 ← *dašman* 'Moslem clergyman';

hahan 哈罕 ← *qayan* 'Great Khan', 'emperor', 'king';

huoerchi 火兒赤 ← *qorči* 'archer';

kuoduanchi 闊端赤 ← *kötölči* 'guide', 'escort', (a servant who accompanies an official envoy);

molunchi 莫倫赤 ← *morinči* 'herdsman of horses', 'stableman';

qielimachi 怯里馬赤 ← *kelimeči* 'translator', 'interpreter';

qixie 怯薛 ← *kešig* 'emperor's guard';

qixedai (*qixietai*) 怯薛歹 (怯薛台) ← *kešigtei* 'a soldier of the emperor's guard';

qixedan 怯薛丹 ← *kešigten* 'soldiers of the emperor's guard';

saoli 掃里 ← *sa'uri* 'place to sit', 'seat', 'dwelling', 'residence', 'lodging';

suerma 速兒麼 (*suoluma* 唆魯麼) ← *surma* (*sorma, sörme*) 'wine';

tanmachi 探馬赤 ← *tamači* (*tammači*) 'irregular troops recruited from nomadic tribes';

tuotuohehun 脫脫禾孫 ← *toqtoyasun* (*totoyusun*) 'a relay officer obliged to control official messengers and couriers';

wulachi 兀剌赤 ← *ulāči[n]* 'relay coachman', 'relay service attendant';

xibaochi 昔寶赤 ← *šibaoči* 'falconer';
yeke 也可 ← *yeke* 'great', 'big', 'large';
yeke qixie 也可怯薛 ← *yeke kešig* 'the first of four corps of the emperor's guard';
yeke zhaluhuchi 也可札魯忽赤 ← *yeke jaryuči* 'great judge';
yelikewen 也里可溫 ← *erke'ün* 'Christian' (the name of Christians, mainly Nestorians, used during the Yuan dynasty);
yunduchi 云都赤 ← *üldüči* 'sword-maker', 'sword-bearer', 'swordsmen';
zhalichi 札里赤 ← *jarliqči* 'Mongolian editor responsible for writing emperor's edicts';
zhaluhuchi 札魯忽赤 ← *jaryuči* 'judge', 'lawyer';
zhan 站 ← *jam* 'postal relay station';
zhanche 站車 ← *jamče* 'coach of relay service';
zhanchi 站赤 ← *jamči* 'relay serviceman';
zhanchi guan 站赤官 ← 'relay service officer';
zhan guan 站官 ← 'relay service officer';
zhanhu 站戶 ← 'peasant's homestead put down in the list of relay service';
zhier 枝兒 ← *jī'ür* 'wing', 'flank', 'side';
zhier toumu 枝兒頭目 ← 'chief of the corps (?)' [14].

To make a calque means to have the structure and meaning of a foreign compound or derivative word reproduced in a target language, with all its morphemes being replaced by those from this language. Calques, in their turn, are divided into three types:

- 1) calques in the strict sense, or loan translations, which reproduce a source language pattern accurately in an element-by-element mode;
- 2) loan renditions, in which case a complex unit of a source language model gives only a general stimulus for the process of reproducing;
- 3) loan creations which are generated to obtain notations equivalent to those already existing in a language-“receiver” rather than to give names to some innovations of cultural level from a “language-giver” [15].

The number of calques in Ratchnevsky's "Index" is less than the number of direct loans, but the very list of them is a convincing evidence that this method of enriching the lexicon of official documents was far from being occasional. However, most of the words given here are represented not by calques in the strict sense (i.e. by loan translations), but exactly by loan renditions and loan creations. In addition, some words marked by Ratchnevsky as calques (he names them "traduction" to differentiate from "transcription", by which direct loan is meant) can be encountered even in texts of the pre-Yuan times. For example, the word 聖旨 *shengzhi* 'emperor's decree' is recorded in a Song collection of stories [16]. Nevertheless, words of that sort could be specially coined anew just in the Yuan epoch to convey some specific concepts, thus giving rise to argument about their origin.

Among grammatical and lexical calques we can mention the following:

baijian sahua 拜見撒花 'to give a gift' (cf. *sauqa*);

baijianwu 拜見物 'donations at the audience' (= *a'uljarin*);
bozao 撥槽 'wine' (= *surma*);
changsheng Tian qili-li 長生天氣力裏 'by the Power of eternal Heavens' (= *mongke tengri-yin kücün-dur*);
chengzi-li guanren 城子裏官人 'governor of a city' (*halaqudun daruqa*);
cishe 次舍 'dwelling', 'residence', 'lodging' (= *sa'uri*);
duanshiguan 斷事官 'officer whose task is to solve a case', 'judge' (= *jarguči*);
fuma 駙馬 'son-in-law of an emperor, prince or nobleman' (Class. Mong. *körge*; Modern Mong. *tahunan*[g]);
kelian 科斂 'tax' (= *qubčiri*);
lanyī 闌遺 'to take care of things lost' (= *bularγu*);
lu 路 'road', 'circuit' (= *cölge*);
madao 麼道 'so to say' — at the end of direct speech or quotation (= *ge'eju* [17]);
paitou 牌頭 (*paizitou* 牌子頭) 'chief of ten men' (= *arabad-un noyan*);
qieliangkou 怯憐口 'slaves in family services' (= *ger'ün ke'üt*);
qinjuan 親眷 'relatives', 'close relatives' (= *ursatun*; Class. Mong. *uruq satun*);
shangtou 上頭 'for', 'for the sake of', 'in consequence of', 'as', 'because' (= *tula*);
shengshou 生受 'suffering', 'torment', 'sadness', 'hardship' (= *jobalang*);
shengzhi 聖旨 'emperor's decree (order)' (= *jarliy*);
tili 體例 'generally accepted rule', 'traditional custom', 'habit of common usage', 'principle' (= *yosu[n]*);
toumu 頭目 'chief of an ethnic or professional group' (= *ötögüs*);
ye-zhe 也者 — modal particle at the end of a phrase (= *-aya/-eye*);
yi tili 依體例 'according to a custom, rule or law' (= *yosu'ar*);
you lai 有來 — modal particle at the end of a phrase (= *bülü'e*) 'was', 'were', 'has/have been' — past tense of *bü* 'to be';
zhangyinguan 掌印官 'officer who keeps the seal' (= *daryuči*).

In the case of semantic borrowings the meaning of a word is shifted under the influence of a foreign language, that is, a word obtains some new meaning owing to its semantic and phonetic similarity to a word of the language in contact. If a bilingual speaker identifies semantically a word of his native language with some word of a second language, he may, furthermore, use the two in identical syntactic positions, though for the borrowing language such a usage have not been registered before. The character of semantic borrowings used in documents can be illustrated by the verbs 別 *bie* 'to break', 'to violate', 有 *you* 'to be', 'to be situated', and by the preposition 裏 *li* which is used in introductory formulae of a decree, as well as by some other features [18].

As far as original Chinese literature is concerned, at present we can talk only about the lexical interference, and

so the problem in question is reduced to studying the character and amount of loan-words in the texts. From this viewpoint, Chinese literature of the Yuan period looks relatively homogeneous, with some exceptions though. As an example we can mention hybrid Chinese-Mongolian texts discovered by A. Waley. Among them of special interest is an anonymous collection of songs called "Hunting" (14th century) from the poetical anthology 詞林摘艷 *Ci lin zhe yan* ("The Most Beautiful from the Ci Forest"). As Waley notes, some parts of the collection so abound in Mongolisms that it is difficult to catch the structure of the phrase and to understand the meaning [19].

Many dramatic works of the very same period demonstrate an absolutely different picture: mongolisms they contain are not so numerous. Our analysis of the collection "Selected Yuan Plays" [20], containing more than 500 pages, and of the data extracted from the article "Some loan-words in the language of Yuan plays" by Cai Meibiao [21], made it possible to complete a list of no more than a dozen of Mongolian words: 把都兒 *baduer* (= *bayatur*) 'hero', 'knight', 'brave'; 撒敦 *sadun* (= *sadun*) 'relative', 'friend'; 哈喇 *hala* (= *ala-*) 'to kill', 'to murder'; 虎剌孩 *hulalai* (= *χulayai*) 'robber', 'thief'; 米罕 *mihan* (= *miχa-[n]*) 'meat'; 撒因 *sayin* (= *sain*) 'good', 'fine', 'nice'; 鐵里溫 *tieliwen* (= *tolugai*) 'head'; 兀剌赤 *wulachi* (= *ulāci[n]*) 'relay coachman', 'relay service attendant' [22]. The postposition 裏 *li* is found here as well, e.g. 暗地裏 *andi-li* 'secretely' (along with *andi*), 倒處裏

daochu-li 'everywhere' (along with *daochu*), 自小裏 *zi xiao-li* 'since childhood' (along with *zi xiao*), etc. These and some other Mongolian words occur quite regularly in the texts, however, their role in them is but insignificant. Waley explains this by the fact that specialists in Chinese studies have at their disposal relatively late versions of the plays, which date back to the Ming period, i.e. to the epoch when mongolisms had already been out of use for some time. By that time the Chinese had not been able to understand them, and, therefore, the mongolisms must have been replaced by their Chinese equivalents. We can hardly share this point of view. The comparison of the Ming versions of some plays with their Yuan originals, which recently became available, demonstrates that they are similar in lexicon. (By the way, this comparison permits us to suggest that both the Ming plays and the Yuan ones are variants of texts which co-existed in the Yuan period.) Such a negative attitude of Chinese playwrights towards mongolisms can be satisfactorily explained by what one can name a "language loyalty", a phenomenon which came into existence under the threat of a deep foreign influence. Being a reaction to the language interference, such a "loyalty" turns the mother tongue in its standard form into a symbol and "common cause".

Exceptions to the above-mentioned general rule are very rare. As an example, let us consider the following lines from a play by Guan Hanqing [23]:

CHINESE TEXT

米罕整斤吞	抹鄰不會騎	弩門並速門
弓箭怎的射	撒因答刺孫	見了搶着喫
喝的莎塔八	跌倒就是睡	若說我姓名
家將不能記	一對忽剌孩	都是狗養的

TRANSCRIPTION

Michan zheng jin tun. Molin bu hui qi. Numen bing sumen. Gong jian zendi she. Sayin dalasun. Jianliao qiangzhao chi. Hede suotaba. Diedao jiushi shui. Ruo shuo wo xing ming. Jiajiang bu neng ji. Yi dui hulalai. Du shi gou yang di.

TRANSLATION

'[We] can eat a whole *jin* of meat. [We] cannot ride a horse. [We have] bows and arrows, but [do not know] how to shoot. If [we] find good wine, [we] vie with each other in lapping [it]. [We] get drunk and, having tripped [over something], [we] fall asleep. If [we] tell our names, even the servants do not remember [them]. [We are] a couple of robbers, sons of a bitch'.

In this short passage eight Mongolian words are used: 米罕 *mihan* (= *miχ-a[n]*) 'meat'; 抹鄰 *molin* (= *mori[n]*) 'horse'; 弩門 *numen* (= *numu[n]*) 'bow'; 速門 *sumen* (= *sumu[n]*) 'arrow'; 撒因 *sayin* (= *sain*) 'good', 'fine', 'nice'; 答刺孫 *dalasun* (= *darasu[n]*) 'wine'; 莎塔八 *suotaba* (= *soytaba*) 'to be[come] drunk', 'drunk' (past from *sogta-*); 忽剌孩 *hulalai* (= *χulayai*) 'robber', 'thief'.

This excerpt seems to be a deliberate parody or an attempt to express stylized speech of the characters rather than a regular application of foreign words in the Chinese language.

So we can talk of a deep Mongolian influence upon Chinese only in connection with the texts translated directly from Mongolian. In original Chinese literature, or, at least, in most part of it, Mongolian influence is far less if any. As for the "hybrid" works presented by Waley, their authors are likely to have followed a certain social task and this made their language sound a bit unnatural or artificial.

The variant of the official language produced by the Yuan dynasty went out of use with the dynasty's decay, and the phenomenon which we call the Mongolian-Chinese interference proved to be short-lived.

Notes

1. I. de Rachewiltz, "Some remarks on the language problem in Yuan China", *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 5 (1967), Nos. 1—2, p. 80.

2. Cai Meibiao 蔡美彪, *Yuan dai baihua bei jilu* 元代白話碑集錄 (Collection of Baihua Inscriptions on the Yuan Stelae) (Peking, 1955).

3. Most of the documents are published, see 大元聖政國朝典章 *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dian zhang* (or 元典章 *Yuan dian zhang*) (Decrees of the Yuan Dynasty) and 通制條格 *Tong-zhi tiao-ge* (Codified Rules from "Universal Laws"). Cf. also P. Ratchnevsky, *Un code de Yuan* (Paris, 1937—1985), i—v. The monograph contains the translation of the section 刑法志 *Xing fa zhi* ("Criminal legislation") from 元史 *Yuan shi* (The History of Yuan Dynasty). The notes to the main text also contain translations of certain documents from *Yuan dian zhang*. The language of *Yuan dian zhang* is discussed in Abe Takeo 安部健夫, "Doku Gentenshō sakki sansōki" 讀元典章札記三則 ("Three occasional remarks when reading the *Yuan dian zhang*"), in *Ishihama sensei koki kinen tōyōgaku ronsō*, pt. 1 (Osaka, 1958), pp. 1—17; Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 and Tanaka Kenji 田中謙二, *Gentenshō no buntai* 元典章の文體 ("The style of *Yuan dian zhang*"), in Appen. to *Kōteibon Gentenshō keibu* 校定本元典章刑部 (Revised Text of "*Yuan dian zhang*, Criminal Legislation"), i, eds. Iwamura Shinobi and Tanaka Kenji (Kyoto, 1964). The volume contains two articles published before: Yoshikawa Kōjirō, *Gentenshō ni mieta kambun ritoku no buntai* 元典章に見えた漢文吏牘の文體 ("Chinese style of chancellery in '*Yuan dian zhang*'"), in *Tōhō gakuho*, 24 (1954), pp. 367—96; Tanaka Kenji, *Gentenshō ni okeru mōbun chokuyakutai no bunshō* 元典章における漢文直譯體の文章 ("The style of literal translations from Mongolian in '*Yuan dian zhang*'"), *ibid.*, 32 (1962), pp. 187—224; and in *Tōyōshi kenkyū*, 19/4 (1961), pp. 483—501.

4. See, for example, Igor de Rachewiltz (*op. cit.*, pp. 68—9): "The *pai-hua* of most of these documents is simply atrocious; clearly they are the slipshod work of poor and hasty translators. Often the Chinese text is so literal a translation from Mongolian that even the Mongolian word order is retained. This fact shows that the translation was almost certainly dictated. However, by the end of the thirteenth century this language had to some extent crystallized into stereotyped formulas, the peculiarities of which were discussed for the first time by Edouard Chavannes in a series of masterly articles in *T'oung Pao*".

5. I. T. Zograph, *Mongol'sko-kitaiskaia interferentsiia (iazyk mongol'skoi kantseliarii v Kitae)* (Mongolian-Chinese Interference: the Official Language of Yuan China) (Moscow, 1984). The book can be of use first of all for specialists in language contacts. The goal of the book is firstly to provide a description of the 1280—1368 Chinese language as presented in documents from the Yuan chancellery. Secondly, the book aims to show how language interference contributed to the emergence of this variant of the language. In the introduction, general observations concerning "languages in contact" theory are given. It is followed by a brief analysis of the linguistic situation in Yuan China and of the language policy of the Mongol rulers, characteristics of the source materials, and a survey of the results of the Mongolian-Chinese interaction. Due attention is also paid in the book to specific features of such an amorphous language as the Chinese, the features that can affect the lines of its borrowing from some other outer sources. Finally, an outline of grammar is given to present a systematic description of "empty words" and grammatical constructions with special emphasis on "irregularities" (from the viewpoint of Standard Middle Chinese), which must be taken into consideration for the correct reading of the texts of the Yuan period. As a specimen of the language, the texts of nine documents previously published by Cai Meibiao are given in the original, accompanied by the transcription and Russian translation with a commentary and glossary:

(1) the 1276 edict (令旨 *lingzhi*) by Mangala (the third son of emperor Qubilai), the king of Anxi 安西, for the Taoist temple Yuwangmiao 禹王廟 (or Shenyumiao 神禹廟), region Hanchengxian 韓城縣, province Shenxi 陝西, Cai No. 23 (p. 25); (2) the 1280 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Qubilai, for the Buddhist monastery Feiquanguan 飛泉觀, region Lingxianxian 靈仙縣 in Yuzhou 蔚州 (now Yuxian 蔚縣, province Hebei 河北, Cai No. 27 (p. 29); (3) the 1311 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Ayurbarvada, for the Buddhist monastery Chongshengsi 崇聖寺, region Dalixian 大理縣, province Yunnan 雲南, Cai No. 59 (p. 61); (4) the 1314 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Ayurbarvada, for the Taoist temple Dachongyang wanshougong 大重陽萬壽宮, region Zhouzhixian 整屋縣, province Shenxi 陝西, Cai No. 64 (p. 66); (5) the 1314 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Ayurbarvada, for Taoist temple Shanying chuxianggong 善應儲祥宮 (and its supervisor Chen Daoming 陳道明) in village Shanyingcun 善應村, region Anyangxian 安陽縣, province Henan 河南, Cai No. 65 (p. 67); (6) the 1321 decree (懿旨 *yizhi*) by the widow of the emperor of Dharmapāla (the grandson of Qubilai), for four Taoist groups in Longxingguan 龍興觀, Hongyanguan 洪元宮, Yanxianguan 煙霞觀, Yuquanguan 玉泉觀, headed by supervisors Wang Jinshan 王進善, Zhang Yuanzhi 張元志, Song Daochun 宋道春, Wang Daoji 王道吉, region Yizhou 易州 (now Yixian 易縣), province Hebei 河北, Cai No. 75 (p. 78); (7) the 1324 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Yesūn-Temür, for the Taoist monastery Dongyuemiao 東嶽廟 (and its supervisor Zhang Delin 張德瑛) on mount Taishan 泰山, region Tai'anxian 泰安縣, province Shandong 山東, Cai No. 76 (p. 79); (8) the 1314 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Ayurbarvada, for the Buddhist temple Kaihuasi 開化寺 (headed by His Holiness Jian 堅吉祥 and His Holiness Quan 詮吉祥) in region Yuanshixian 元氏縣, province Hebei 河北, Cai No. 63 (p. 65); (9) the 1326 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Yesūn-Temür, for the Taoist temple Tianbaogong 天寶宮 (headed by the supervisor Wang Qinggui 王清貴) in Xuzhou 許州, province Henan 河南, Cai No. 77 (p. 80);

6. We have made use of only those documents from the Cai Meibiao edition, which were translated from Mongolian. The original Chinese documents, also represented in the edition but written in another variant of the language, were not drawn on by us. Cf. comments of Iriya Yoshitaka below, n. 7.

7. A detailed review of Cai Meibiao's edition is given in Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, "A critical review of Cai Meibiao's 'Collection of Baihua inscriptions on the Yuan stelae'", *Tōhō gakuho*, 26 (1956). According to Iriya Yoshitaka, the work by Cai Meibiao contains so many weak points that they overweight its advantages. As a collection of documents edited with the purpose to provide basic material for scholarly research, the book is unfortunately not accurate enough. To correct Cai Meibiao's mistakes, Iriya Yoshitaka used mainly the following works: 金石錄; 地方志; 馮承鈞 "元代白話碑" (民國二十二年'商務印書館刊), R. Bonaparte, *Documents de l'époque mongole des XIII et XIV siècles* (Paris, 1895); Ed. Chavannes, "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole", *T'oung*

Pao, 5 (1904); 6 (1905); 9 (1908). His main claims are: (1) not for each text it is indicated whether the original stele still exists, and what script was used as the basic one; where the edition of the text used by the author can be found; (2) there are at least 30 inscriptions containing texts in the colloquial language not examined by Cai Meibiao in his book; (3) in order to unify the titles Cai Meibiao changed deliberately some of them; (4) when reproducing a text already quoted in Feng Chengjun, Cai Meibiao never checked the original, thus repeating the mistakes of Feng Chengjun; (5) it is not clear why Cai Meibiao included in his book texts Nos. 20 and 29 written in Wenyan. If he considered this style as deserving his attention, he should also have included other existing inscriptions in Wenyan; (6) there are many misprints and mere mistakes, e.g., related to the rules of punctuation, some words are missing in the Index, etc.

Independently of Iriya Yoshitaka we also pointed to some of Cai Meibiao's mistakes: see e.g. n. 11 on p. 23, n. 13 on p. 80, and notes to the texts in our *Mongol'sko-kitaïskaia interferentsiia*. The documents reproduced in this book were compared with the corresponding texts published by Ed. Chavannes (with the exception of the last two, not found in any publications) and the errors were revealed by comparing them with other texts of similar contents. All detected mistakes and misreadings are indicated in the notes to the Russian translation of the documents. As for the criticism of Iriya Yoshitaka aimed at Cai Meibiao's edition in general, it has no direct relevance to purposes of our work, which is focused on the problems of language interference.

8. Ratchnevsky, *op. cit.*, iii (Paris, 1977), index by Paul Ratchnevsky et Françoise Aubin.

9. Such a comparison with the Mongolian original became possible thanks to the publications of A. M. Pozdnev, see his *Lektsii po istorii mongol'skoi literatury* (Lectures on the History of Mongolian Literature), pts. 1—2 (St. Petersburg, 1896—1897); also N. N. Poppe, *Kvadratnaia pis'mennost'* (Square Script) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1941). Both the books contain transcriptions of texts and their Russian translation. We used two texts from the former book (texts Nos. 4 and 6 in our book, see n. 5 above) and four texts from the book by Poppe (our texts Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6). In some cases, we consulted a book by M. Levicky, who published a number of inscriptions in square script. See M. Levicky, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises de XIV-e siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yi de 1389* (Wroclaw, 1949).

10. For more details see our book, cf. n. 5.

11. Some scholars tend to regard as borrowings words and expressions which are not borrowings in the full sense of the word but are actually a result of contacts with a foreign language and culture. Cf. e.g. E. Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America* (Philadelphia, 1953), ii, chapter 15 ("The process of borrowing"), pp. 383—411.

12. It is quite often that speakers of a foreign language considerably vary the pronunciation of separate phonemes and their sequences, in different ways substituting them with similar sounds from their native language. Below we give examples of proper nouns and some other words that occur in different spelling in Chinese documents:

Ögödei: 窩闊台 *wokutai*, 月古歹 *yuegudai*, 月古台 *yuegutai*, 月哥台 *yuegetai*, 月可台 *yueketai*, 月闊歹 *yuekuodai*, 月闊台 *yekuotai*;

Öljeitu: 完者禿 *wanzhetu*, 完者都 *wanzhedu*, 完者篤 *wanzhedu*, 完澤禿 *wanzetu*, 完澤篤 *wanzedu*;

Gegen: 格堅 *gejian*, 傑堅 *jiejian*, 潔堅 *jiejian*, 掣堅 *jiejian*, 皆堅 *zijian*;

dašman 'Moslem clergyman': 達失蠻 *dashiman*, 大石馬 *dashima*, 達實蠻 *dashimi*, 達識蠻 *dashiman*, 答失蠻 *dashiman*;

bayatur 'hero', 'knight', 'brave': 把都兒 *baduer*, 把阿禿兒 *baatuer*, 拔突 *batu*, 巴圖魯 *batulu*, 霸都魯 *badulu*;

bičēci 'secretary', 'scribe', 'clerk': 必闌赤 *bishechi*, 閤者赤 *bizhechi*, 筆且齊 *bieqieqi*, 必徹徹 *bicheche*;

jarjuči 'judge', 'lawyer': 札魯忽赤 *zhaluhuchi*, 札魯火赤 *zhaluhuochi*, 劄魯火赤 *zhaluhuochi*, 札魯花赤 *zhaluhuachi*, 撒魯火赤 *saluhuochi*;

darujači 'chief', 'superior', 'governor': 達魯花赤 *daluhuachi*, 達魯合臣 *daluhechen*, 答刺火赤 *dalahuiochi*, 答刺花赤 *dalahuachi*;

kelimeči 'translator', 'interpreter': 怯里馬赤 *qielimachi*, 乞里覓赤 *qilimichi*, 克埒穆爾齊 *kelemuerqi*;

qorči 'archer': 火魯赤 *huoluchi*, 豁兒赤 *huoerchi*, 火兒赤 *huoerchi*, 火而赤 *huoerchi*, 貨魯赤 *huoluchi*.

The way these words were pronounced in the Yuan period can be reconstructed with the aid of dictionaries of rhythms dated back to the Yuan time. Their phonetic reconstructions in IPA transcription are given in the book by Zhao Yintang 趙蔭棠, *Zhongyuan yin yun yanjiu* 中原音韻研究 (Research into the Dictionary *Zhongyuan yin yun*) (Shanghai, 1956). The pronunciation but slightly differ from the modern reading of hieroglyphs.

13. Here and below Mongolian transcriptions are given in the form they are present in the sources used in our research. Sharing Ratchnevsky's view of transcription, we decided against unifying the transcriptions since it was not the aim of the study. In specifying the original meaning of Mongolian words, we followed the "Mongolian-English Dictionary" edited by F. D. Lessing (Berckley—Los-Angeles, 1960).

14. Among these lexemes (as well as calques, see below) there are some hybrid formations. U. Weinreich considered hybrid compound words as a special case of interference between compound lexical units (cf. his *Languages in Contact*, The Hague, 1962; we used the Russian translation of the work *Iazykovye kontakty*, Kiev, 1979, p. 89). Some borrowings, which can be traced back to other languages (in particular, words of Iranian or Turkic origin), appeared in Chinese via Mongolian but we do not mark them. Cf. a remark by G. D. Sanzheev: "As for Turkic elements in Manchu, they, having appeared in that language through Mongolian and in Mongolian form, are considered as Mongolian ones" (*idem*, "Manchzhuro-Mongol'skie iazykovye paralleli" ("Manchu-Mongolian language parallels"), in *Izvestiia Akademii nauk SSSR. Otdelenie gumanitarnykh nauk*, vols. 8—9, (1930), p. 601).

15. Weinreich, *op. cit.*; Russian translation, Kiev, 1979, p. 88.

16. *Jing ben tongxu xiaohuo* 京本通俗小說 (Popular Stories Published in the Capital) (Shanghai, 1954), pp. 87, 91.

17. Ratchnevsky gives the form *kemen* ("Index", p. 87).

18. The problem of reverse influence of the Chinese language on the Mongolian also deserves attention. Our comparison of Chinese and Mongolian texts, represented only by four rather short documents of similar contents, has revealed in Mongolian as many as 14 Chinese words and expressions:

bav juo hen jin jun gev tay shi ← 保和顯真弘教大師 *bao he xian zhen hong jiao da shi* 'great teacher preserving the harmony, manifesting the truth, and spreading the doctrine';

- c'an* ← 倉 *cang* 'canary';
dèm ← 店 *dian* 'hotel';
gey dèn k'u ← 解典庫 *jiedianku* 'pawnshop';
güen ← 觀 *guan* 'monastery';
güñ gōn ← 宮觀 *gong-guan* 'monasteries', 'temples';
he üen ← 下院 *xiayuan* 'homestead';
hüa ← 筏 *fá* 'raft';
jīn zīn ← 真人 *zhenren* 'veritable man';
senšhiy ← 先生 *xiansheng* 'Taoist monk';
tidèm ← 提點 *tidian* 'supervisor';
yon t'ay yiv ← 皇太后 *huang taihou* 'widowed empress', 'mother of reigning emperor';
-am mèv ← 庵廟 *an-miao* 'shrine';
·ijī ← 懿旨 *yizhi* 'decree of the empress'.

This list clearly shows that the Mongolians could not do without borrowings from the Chinese. The main reason was the absence in the Mongolian language of numerous words to denote things or concepts alien to the Mongolians. Exactly as Mongolian borrowings are changed in Chinese texts, Chinese words in the Mongolian acquire morphological features of the receiving language (e.g. pl. suffix *-ud*, suffixes of dative-locative *-da* and *-dur*, etc). Considering the Chinese-Mongolian interference of the Yuan period shows neither cultural affinity nor any other uniting factor between the speakers of both the languages. More than that, Mongolian lexicon was not quite adequate to meet the requirements of the languages' contact.

19. See A. Waley, "Chinese-Mongol hybrid songs", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XX (1957).

20. *Yuan ren zaju xuan* 元人雜劇選 (Selected Yuan *zaju*) (Peking, 1959).

21. Cai Meibiao 蔡美彪, "Yuan dai zaju-zhong-di ruogan yiyu" 元代雜劇中的若干譯語 ("Some borrowings in the language of Yuan *zaju*"), in *Zhonggo yuwen*, I (1957).

22. In our choice of Mongolian originals we follow here Chinese commentators. However, H. Franke believes (private communication) that the word 哈喇 *hala* originates from Mongolian *qayala* (contracted form *qāla*) 'to break', 'to split' rather than from *ala* 'to kill', while the word 鐵里溫 *tieliwen* originates from *teri'un* 'head' rather than *toluyai* 'head'.

23. *Guan Hanqing xiqu ji* 關漢卿戲曲集 (Collection of Plays by Guan Hanqing) (Peking, 1958), p. 251.