MÉLANGES
OFFERTS À LOUIS BAZIN
par ses disciples, collègues et amis

édités par Jean-Louis BACQUE-GRAMMONT et René DUR
avec le concours de Frédéric HITZEL et Akem TİHER

et publiés par
l’Institut Français d’Études Anatoliennes d’Istanbul

L’HARMATTAN
PARIS
1992
# TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT et Jacques THOBIE, Présentation .......................................................... I-IV
Taštë TEKİN, The Hunnic (Hsing-żu) Couplet in Chīn-ṣu .......................................................... 1
James HAMILTON, Calendriers manichéens ouïgours de 988, 989 et 1003 .................................. 7
Geng SHIMIN, Hans-Joachim KLIMKEIT und Jens Peter LAUT, "Der Gang zum Bodhi-Baum". ... 25
Gilbert LAZARD, Tork-o tajik ........................................................................................................ 41
Hans Robert ROEMER, Arabo-Turcica Erwägungen zu einer Bestandsaufnahme türkischen Sprachguts in arabischem Schriftum .............................................................................. 47
Gyorgy HAZAI, À propos des systèmes morphonologiques des langues turques anciennes ... 53
Andreas TIEZTE, Altosm. ol. "habitare" ............................................................................................ 57
Edward TRYJARSKI, Une profession de foi des Arméniens de Pologne formulée en arméno-kiptchak .................................................................................................................................................. 63
Guy IMART, Quelques réflexions sur les emprunts turcs en russe littéraire .................................. 77
Annie BERTHIER, L’origine de l’étude de la langue turque en France. Liste des grammaires et dictionnaires manuscrits du fonds turc de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris ...................... 87
Marielle KALUS, Les premières grammaires turques (XVII\textsuperscript{e} et XVIII\textsuperscript{e} siècles) en France et leur édition ................................................................................................................................. 95
Frédéric HITZEL, Une voie de pénétration des idées révolutionnaires : les militaires français à Istanbul ................................................................................................................................................. 101
Maria COUROUCLIS, Vertus viriles, le mangan, les turquismes dans le monde des rébètes en Grèce .......................................................................................................................................................... 111
Daniel BALLAND, Les Tures de Kaboul : géographie sociale d’une minorité .................................. 117
Rémy DOR, Adaptation phonotactique. Influence du vocalisme turc sur un dialecte kirghiz contemporain ............................................................................................................................................ 123
Pertev Nahlı BORATAV, Textes de la tradition orale des Yörük et des Tahtacı ...................... 129
Altan GOKALP, Le mystère de la nymphe blonde ........................................................................ 135
Michèle NICOLAS, Les fêtes du renouveau ...................................................................................... 141
Abdulkadir YUVALI, Évolution ethnique en Asie de l’Ouest au XIII\textsuperscript{e} siècle .................. 147
THE HUNNIC (HSIUNG-NU) COUPLET IN CHIN-SHU

As is known in the circles of Turkic and Altaic studies, in Chin-shu, the Chinese history of the Chin dynasty, there occurs a Hunnic (Hsiung-nu) couplet or sentence mentioned in connection with an event which took place in Lo-yang in 329 A.D. The passage at the end of which the Hunnic text is given with an accompanying word-for-word Chinese translation was first published by Shiratori. It reads as follows:

Der König Shi Lo stammte aus einer Familie der Hiung-nu Hoh. Als er einst im Begriff war, mit dem feindlichen König Liu Yao Krieg zu führen, warnten ihn alle seine Vasallen, indem sie behaupteten, dass der Krieg für ihn unglücklich enden würde. Shi Lo fragte den Priester Fo-t'u-teng, welcher im Jahre 310 n. Chr. aus Indien nach der damaligen Hauptstadt Chinas Lo-yang gekommen war und bei Shi Lo in grosser Achtung stand, wie man es mit dem Krieg halten solle. Da schwang der Priester eine ringförmige Schelle und deutete ihren Klang:

秀支 苏支国 儆谷 励克雷
siu-k'i  t'i-li-kang  puh-koh  k'ü-t'u-tang

Dieses siu-k'i bedeutet auf hohisch "Armee", t'i-li-kang "ausziehen", puh-koh ist der Rang des Liu Yao und k'ü-t'u-tang bedeutet "gefangen nehmen". Aus dem Ganzen ergibt sich also der folgende Sinn: Wenn man (in dem Krieg) auszieht, so kann man Liu Yao gefangen nehmen.

Shiratori was the first scholar who attempted to interpret this short Hsiung-nu text in terms of Turkic. He identified siu-k'i as Old Turkic son-guš "fight", t'i-li-kang as Chagatay tolgan- "to move around, circle", puh-koh as Old Turkic bödik "the throne (acc.)", k'ü- as Old Turkic kop "wholly, completely" and t'u-tang as Common Turkic tut- "to catch, seize".

It goes without saying that all these identifications with the exception of t'u-tang = tut- are wrong.

Ramstedt who became interested in this Hsiung-nu text interpreted the individual words in it as follows:

1) siu-k'i = OT sükä (sükä "fighting army, fight", -kä dative suffix);
2) t'i-li-kang or t'ai-li-kang = tal'iqä (or tal'i-)qan (= OT tal'iqäni) "go out!";
3) puh-koh = OT bögä "wise" used as the title of the rival leader or ügä (an Old Turkic high rank);
4) k'ü- = OT -g (accusative suffix belonging to the previous word);
5) t'u-tang = the imperative form of Turkic tut- "to seize, capture".

Under the light of these identifications, Ramstedt's interpretation of the Hunnic couplet can be given as follows:

sükä tal'iqä (or tal'iqan) "zieh aus zum Krieg" und
bögä (or ügä) tutañ "fange den Bögä".

Ramstedt's interpretation of the second word of this Hunnic text as the imperative form

2) K. Shiratori, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
of *tal'iq-, i.e., the older form of OT rašiq- "to go out", is a very important discovery. According to him, the Ho language, i.e., the Hunnic dialect in which this couplet had been uttered was very close to Old Turkic, but obviously it was an /l/ language like present-day Chuvash. Ramstedt who was understandably happy to find an older form with /l/ of OT rašiq- in this text dating from the first half of the 4th century pointed out that the time gap between Hunnic *ralţiq- and Old Turkic *ralţiq- was long enough for the occurrence of the sound change */l/ > */r/ as he assumed for Turkic.

The first attempt to interpret the Hunnic text after the appearance of Kariagin's dictionary was made by the well-known French Turkologist Louis Bazin. Bazin first gave the ancient pronunciations of the 10 Chinese characters transcribing the Hunnic couplet. They read:

siōg tāg tseī lād kāng b'ūnuk kūk gū tūk tāng

Bazin interpreted this text as follows:

sāg tāgī iḏqān “envoyez l’armée à l’attaque, boqurīy turgān capturez le commandant !”

As is seen, Bazin’s interpretation is quite different from that of Ramstedt’s. According to Bazin:

1 The first sign represents *siōg, i.e., a word which is identical with the accusative form of Old Turkic si "army";

2 The second and third signs stand for *tādgi "attack", a hypothetical deverbal noun in -di derived from OT tāg- "to attack";

3 The fourth and fifth signs should be read and understood as *iḏqān, an older (Proto-Turkic) 2. p. plural imperative form in -qān of the verb iḏ "to send";

4 The sixth, seventh and eighth signs represent *boqurīy, the accusative form of the title *boqur- meaning "leader";

5 Finally, the last two signs transcribe *turgān which is the metathetical form of an original *turgān, i.e., the older imperative form in -qān of the verb turg "to capture".

Prof. Gabain who reviewed Bazin’s interpretation criticised his views as follows:

1 According to the Chinese translation, not only the first sign, but the first two signs mean "army";

2 The suffix -di forming nouns from verbs is a comparatively new suffix in Turkic;

3 According to the Chinese translation, not only the fourth and fifth signs, but the third, fourth and fifth signs mean "to go out";

4 The older form of the Old Turkic 2. p. plural imperative suffix -di -a would not have been *-qaḥ);

5 Bazin’s interpretation of the second line as *boqurīy turgān is based on the assumption that we have two metathetical forms (i.e., *-q instead of -t- and *tuqān instead of turgān) which is unlikely.

After criticizing Bazin in this way, Prof. Gabain herself made an attempt to interpret the Hunnic couplet. Gabain’s interpretation is, “mit starkem Zweifel am letzten Wort”, as follows:

sārīg iḏqān “Du wirst das Heer herausführen”;

boqurīy kōturkān “Du wirst den ‘Hirsch’ entführen”.

As is seen, Gabain reads the first two signs meaning "army" as *sārīg. She maintains that this could be a dialect form of Old Turkic ēārīg. In other words, she believes that a sound change ē > s- similar to the change in Sages and Bashkir might have taken place in this particular dialect of Hunnic. It goes without saying that such a view can hardly be accepted; for the sound change ē > s- in Khakas (and Bashkir) is only a recent development in Turkic. To think that the same change might have occurred also in Proto-Turkic times would be anachronistic.

Gabain accepts Ramstedt’s interpretation of the third, fourth and fifth signs with the only difference that she sees here a verbal stem *iḏqān- i.e., the causative form of a hypothetical *udqān- instead of Ramstedt’s *ralţiq- or *talţiq- (= OT rašiq-). She thinks that what we have here is not an intensive stem in -q- as in OT rašiq- (< tās+ī- q-), but a causative stem in -t- as in *tašt-(<tās+ī- "herausgehen"). It should be said that this is not very convincing, because OT rašiq- is a direct derivative from the noun tās "outside, exterior", but not an intensive stem in -q- derived from a hypothetical *taš+ī-.

Finally, Gabain’s interpretation of the eighth, ninth and tenth signs as *kōturkān, i.e., a metathetical form of an original *kōturkān "du
wirst entführen" is indeed very doubtful, as she herself admits. In connection with this, it must be emphasized that OT köfar means "to raise lift", not "to capture, seize".

Benzing who took the Hunnic text in hand after Gabain did not attempt to read and interpret it, but he contented himself with summarizing Ramstedt's, Bazin's and Gabain's readings and interpretations. Nevertheless, Benzing could not himself take away from stating that the two words of the Hunnic text could be identified rather safely: t'uk-tang clearly represents *tuqa- "festhalten" which is identical with Mo. toqta- "halten" and OT tuq- "halten" (for the sound correspondence, cf. Mo. aqta "Wallach = OT at "Pferd"); sidg (tieg ?) might belong to OT sił "army", but whether the text is in Turkic, or Mongolian, or Tungus could be understood only after an elegant interpretation of the remaining words.

Benzing's reading of the signs t'uk-tang as *tuqa- and his equating this verb with Mo. toqta- (better toqta-) and Turkic tuq- is very interesting. This view of Benzing, however, has been criticised rather severely by Clauson. According to Clauson, "Mo. toqta- means not 'to grasp' but 'to be immobile, fixed, still, permanent; to decide, settle a matter'. Furthermore, Clauson claimed that the equation Mo. aqta "gelding = Trk. at "horse" could not be correct, since 'Mo. aqta is not old Mongolian at all, it is a 13th century loan word, from Persian axta, the Past Passive Participle of axtan 'to geld'."

The Hunnic couplet in Chin-shu has recently been touched by Ligeti, Pulleyblank and Doerfer. As is known, Ligeti, the eminent Hungarian scholar, has always been sceptical about the Hsiung-nus being the ancestors of Turks. He rather believed that the Hsiung-nu were the ancestors of Kets or Yenisei Ostyaks. Consequently, he stated that the so-called Hunnic text in Chin-shu was not in Turkic or Altaic, but it was in the Ho language as understood clearly from the passage.

Pulleyblank who has recently dealt with the problem of the identification of the Hsiung-nu and their language also touched the problem of the language of the so-called "Hsiung-nu couplet". On the several attempts made to interpret this couplet Pulleyblank commented as follows:

On the supposition that the Hsiung-nu spoke Turkish a number of attempts have been made to interpret the couplet in terms of Turkish (in recent times we may note the attempts of Ramstedt 1922, Bazin 1948, and Gabain 1949). None of these interpretations can be considered very successful since all do more or less violence to the phonetic values of the Chinese characters and to the explanation given in the accompanying Chinese text.

He then gave the ancient pronunciations of the Chinese characters used in the transcription of the Hsiung-nu couplet. Pulleyblank's reconstruction of the Hsiung-nu text is as follows:

秀文 替立周
süux-kěn bəe(t)j-lilt(l)j-skan
"army" "go out"

俊容 傅秋昌
buk-kok(j)šok gōh-thok(bok)tan
"Liu Yao's rank" "capture"

Pulleyblank did not attempt to add to the list of suggested reconstructions, at least for the present. But he nevertheless remarked that *-h was a common verbal ending in Yenissian, especially in Kottish, thus implying that the Hsiung-nu of the Chinese sources spoke a language of the Yenissian family, i.e., not early Turkish or any form of Altaic.

In the same year, Doerfer, after reproducing Ramstedt's, Bazin's and Gabain's interpretations which differ greatly from one another, ironically claimed that the so-called Hunnic text could even be read and interpreted in terms of Akkadian (and he actually did this).

7) J. Benzing, op. cit., p. 687.
cently, in his long article dealing with the language of the Huns, Doerfer has maintained the same negative and ironic attitude and claimed that the so-called Hunnic text might even be read in the Eskimo language! 13

After this rather long introduction, I now would like to offer my interpretation of the Hunnic couplet in Chin-skü dating from the 4th century. As will be seen, my interpretation is mostly identical with that of Ramstedt (the first line and the last word of the second line). I also partly agree with Bazin on his interpretation of the rival Hsiung-nu leader’s title. Here is my interpretation:

1 晩仗 Karlgen sí̄g tīg, Pulleyblank sú̄x kēh “army”. The first sign is in all probability nothing but the Old Turkic word for “army”, i.e., sú̄ as Ramstedt, Bazin and Benzing rightfully assumed. The diphthong ìb in Karlgen’s reconstruction and the long ū in Pulleyblank’s transcription suggest that OT sú had a long ū. As a matter of fact, OT sú is spelt sú̄ in some Uighur texts. Therefore it is very probable that this word had a long ū.

As for the second sign, Kalgen’s and Pulleyblank’s reconstructions of this sign are quite different from one another. If Pulleyblank’s reconstruction is correct we may then assume that the first two signs meaning “army” stand for an original *sú̄ka, i.e., the dative form of OT sú. The reconstruction of the first two signs as *sú̄ká *to the army (on campaign) fits the reconstruction of the following three signs (see below).

2 替友問 Karlgen tīei līád káng, Pulleyblank bët(t)s-līte(t)s-kā “go out”. As I have already mentioned, Ramstedt reconstructed these three signs as *taliqá or *talíqa and regarded this as the older form in /V/ of OT tālîqā “go out!” (2nd person plural imperative of OT taq- “to go out”). I completely agree with Ramstedt on this very interesting and rightly assumption of his. Only, I am of the opinion that the second form suggested by Ramstedt, i.e., talíqa fits better the ancient phonetic value of the fifth sign: káng = -qá. It is also very probable that the Hunnic or Proto-Turkic word underlying these three signs is not *taliqá, but *taliqa. Thus, the first line reads as follows: sú̄ká *taliqa (or *taliqá) “Go out against the army (on campaign)!

Here it should be reminded that OT sú “army” was also used with the meaning “an army (on a campaign)”, or directly “fight, battle, war”. Observe the following example: qān súká b(a)míši y(e)zīs s(a)nemsí “A khan went to the army (i.e., in war) and routed the enemy” (Irk Bitig, XXXIV).

3 俥谷 Karlgen b’uok kük, Pulleyblank buk-kök(g)jók “Liu Yao’s rank”.

Ramstedt assumed that the underlying word here could be OT bûgá “wise”. Gabain thought that OT buyû “male deer, stag” plus the accusative suffix -γ i.e., buyûγ would make a better reconstruction for the signs b’uok-kük.

Bazin who read this title *buγy put forward an entirely different theory. According to him, this title which occurs together with the OT title tutuq “military governor” in the Bilgâ Kagan inscription (southern side, line 10) could be the prototype of the Old Ottoman title hoy “commander” : *buγy > *buγiγ > *boγiγ > *bôγ > boγ 14

Putting aside the discussion of the possibility of such a phonetic development for the time being, it should be noted that the signs b’uok-kük in the Hsiung-nu couplet might have been underlying an old title like *boγuq or bôγuq, a form which actually occurs in the sources related to Old Turkic: بَحِوزَان, boγuq san in Juwaini, buγy in the phrase iðāridkā yâyur buyûγ san in Thomosenfestschrift, Borur Qan in Chav.-Pell., JA 1913, 197 (Türkische Turfan-Texte II, p. 413).

Under the light of the discussion above, I read the first two signs of the second line as *buγuq or *bôγuq, thinking that only a form like *bôγ could be the prototype of Old Ottoman boy (cf. OT boγ > Old Ottoman aγy. Az. aγy, etc.). The element -γ in *bôγuq can best be explained as a diminutive or endearment suffix (cf. Uig. bûγ “Mutterchen”).

4 劍義 Karlgen giu t’uq lâng, Pulleyblank gōh-thok(b)kan “capture”.

The first sign can be reconstructed as *-yi, i.e., the Hunnic (Proto-Turkic) accusative suffix corresponding to the Old Turkic accusative suffix -(I)γ. As is known, the Old Turkic accusative

14) L. Bazin, op. cit., p. 211. For the pronunciation of Old Ottoman boy with ɒ see Redhouse and Ş. Sami, and for its use synonymously with ha‘ head, leader, chief’ see Taronsw Soğul Şair.
suffix -(š)γ goes back to an older *γί which corresponds to Written Mongolian accusative suffix -γι going back to an older *γι-γι. The suffix *γι-γι with a short narrow vowel in final position could easily develop into a form like -γι-γ (i.e., a form which is identical with the Old Turkic accusative suffix -γι-γ) : ἑξ-γά / ἑξ-γ "the city".

The last two signs of the second line, i.e., t'uk-rāng in Karlgren's reconstruction, obviously stand for an original *tuoqān corresponding to Old Turkic tuto. As is generally known, OT tuo has a disyllabic variant tuta- (cf. MK tu- "to seize, capture", but tuta- "a handful" / tuta-m, tutośt "continuously" / tuto-3-ś, etc.). It is obvious that Common Turkic tuta- goes back to an older *tuta- and this, in its turn, probably to a still older *tuqta- (cf. Turkic bar- "to go down, sink" = Mo. bārta- id.).

Thus, the second line of the Hunnic couplet in Chin-shu reads, in my opinion, as follows:

bōquγ-γί tuqtañ "capture the Bokuk!"

My reconstruction of the whole couplet could then be given as follows:

sūkā taliqah (or tiliqah), "Go out to the army (on campaign)

bōquγγί tuqtañ! (and) capture the Bokuk!"

T. T.