

# MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '05



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## Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony

Charles University, Philosophical Faculty  
Institute of South and Central Asian Studies,  
Seminar of Mongolian Studies



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## CONTENTS

Preface

7

Alena Oberfalzerová:  
Nomads in the reality of dreams (Live interview with a living Goddess –  
and a healer)

11

Veronika Kapišovská:  
Language Planning in Mongolia I

55

J. Lubsangdorji:  
The phonetics of foreignisms coming through Russian into present-day  
Mongolian (2. Consonants)

85

Veronika Zikmundová:  
Some aspects of humour in spoken Sibe language

107

Daniel Berounský:  
The Thirteen Northern Lords of the Hori Buryats in the Tibetan Ritual  
Texts of the Aga Monastery

123

Jaroslav Vacek:  
*Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 2.2. Roots with  
initial velars and final liquids and retroflex stops

171



## Preface

The present issue of *Mongolica Pragensia* is the fourth volume of the series and includes a new set of papers on the subject of Mongolian ethnolinguistics and sociolinguistics. In the last three years *Mongolica Pragensia* has attracted the attention of colleagues abroad, particularly in Mongolia. The volume as a whole is a result of the work of our team in the year 2005. Besides purely Mongolian topics, the papers also touch upon related subjects of Sibe and Tibetan studies (or rather the links between the Tibetan and Mongolian vision of the world), and ‘traditionally’ selected aspects of the Dravidian and Altaic relationship. However, the key topics concentrate on the ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic questions, particularly with regard to the problems of communication (forms of expression, metaphorical language, humour) and the contact of different languages.

In the first paper ‘*Nomads in the reality of dreams (Live interview with a living Goddess – and a healer)*’, A. Oberfalzerová presents the results of her fieldwork in Mongolia, this time discussing the use of language in the context of a discourse on the ‘spiritual’ values offered by a young healer who is considered by her compatriots to be an incarnation of the female divine energy of the Goddess *Dari-eh* (Skt. *Tārā*). The paper analyzes some typical aspects of her idiom, phrases, metaphors and symbols, and also other purely general linguistic means used in her speech (e.g. the substituting expressions). The paper includes a transcript of the original discussion and its translation. It thus also becomes an exciting document offering information about one aspect of the life of Mongolian nomads, viz. their present-day approach to the sphere of spiritual values linked with healing obviously going back, consciously or more probably rather spontaneously, to the shamanistic tradition. In that respect the text of the healer’s discourse can be studied further not only from the linguistic point of view, but also e.g. for the purpose of psychological or religious studies.

The paper ‘*Language Planning in Mongolia I*’ by V. Kapišovská, on the other hand, is devoted to a problem, which the Mongolian society faced in the last century. It surveys various aspects of language planning as they can be

documented from various official papers and other sources and also interviews with many informants, including both specialists and common people. She first defines the language situation in Mongolia, specifies the position of various languages and social groups. She shows in which way the Mongolian situation was specific and what changes it underwent in the course of the various 'historical periods' of the 20th century. The topic, however, will be continued in the future with an analysis of the most recent developments.

J. Luvsandorj's paper '*Phonetics of foreignisms coming through Russian into present-day Mongolian (2. Consonants)*', carries on the discussion from the previous volume of *Mongolica Pragensia* about the question of 'mongolization' of Mongolian borrowings from Russian. This time the author concentrates on consonants, and besides that he discusses some questions of the transmission of foreign phonetic features on the basis of writing (and reading) classical Mongolian script and Cyrillic script. One section deals with the transmission of foreign elements through ordinary colloquial speech. One especially interesting feature is the number of folk-etymological interpretations, which the author lists in his paper. Like other languages, Mongolian has undergone the process of extensive borrowing from many languages and the integration of foreign words also involved extensive processes of folk-etymological reinterpretation of these words. Thus the results of this work are not only able to document the respective communicative processes behind the processes of borrowing from Russian, but can further enrich the theory by a practical interpretation of various concrete aspects of language contact as documented in Mongolian.

Like in the previous volumes, V. Zikmundová carries on her investigation of the Sibe language. Drawing upon the results of her extensive fieldwork, she deals with the function of humour in communication. In her paper '*Some aspects of humour in spoken Sibe language*' she presents interesting findings from Sibe. The study of 'humour', this 'extremely complex, deep and difficult-to-grasp phenomenon', can be of practical interest not only in literature, but can also help to better understand the problems of communication within a certain social group. Since it tells much about the psychology of the respective linguistic communities, it should certainly not be neglected in teaching languages. V. Zikmundová's paper defines some specific features of the use of humour in Sibe and offers a number of interesting examples of its use in everyday communication.

In his paper '*The Thirteen Northern Lords of the Hori Buryats in the Tibetan Ritual Texts of the Aga Monastery*' D. Berounský discusses the ritual to the Thirteen Northern Lords of the Hori Buryats and its transition from

the ritual performed by a shaman into the Buddhisized form. This is an interesting case of intercultural communication in the process of accepting a ritual, and reshaping of the cult into its current Tibetanized form. The Tibetan language appears to play a significant role in such a process of change. On another level of presentation the paper collects relevant notes on the cult of the Thirteen Northern Lords from the Buryat chronicles, testimonies collected by past ethnographers. It offers one particular case of Tibetanization of the religious ideas among the Buryats. It is well documented by a full text related to the respective ritual and its translation.

The paper '*Verba dicendi and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic. 2.2. Etyma with initial velars and final liquids and retroflex stops*' by J. Vacek continues in the study of *verba dicendi*, dealt with in the previous volumes. The paper completes the study of one group (initial velars) by adding examples with final liquids and retroflex stops as found in the (C)VC- roots. As a part of a broader etymological and typological study of these verbs, closely connected with the process of communication, the paper puts forwards further examples of the formal similarities between the mentioned languages. As already mentioned earlier, this has consequences not only for comparative linguistics as such, but it also contributes to the study of the problems (both practical and theoretical) of ancient language families and possibly also aspects of language contacts and communication within ancient linguistic areas.

Finally the editors should like to express thanks to the reviewers of this volume, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pavel Novák, CSc., from the Department of General Linguistics and Phonetics, Charles University, and Prof. Dr. Ts. Shagdar-surung, Scientific Secretary of The Centre for Mongol Studies, professor of the Dept. of Textology and Altaistics of The School of Mongolian language and Culture, National University of Mongolia. By reading the volume and offering valuable advice they have helped the authors of the individual contributions. Our thanks are also due to Mrs. Josefine Heinrichs, M.A., for correcting the English version of the papers. Last but not least, we should also like to thank the Triton Publishing House for the prompt processing of the text for publication.

*The Editors*



# Nomads in the reality of dreams (Live interview with a living Goddess – and a healer)

Alena Oberfalzerová

**Summary:** In the present article I am continuing my previous work (Oberfalzerová 2002, 2003, 2004) whose intention it was to grasp the live language of present-day nomads and its use in talking about their basic ideas of the world that create their values and influence their real life. In the present work this is done on the basis of an exclusive interview with a young nomadic woman who is viewed by her community as a living Goddess *Dari-eh* (Skt. *Tārā*) – and a healer. She unfolds the basic fears and sorrows of present-day Mongolian nomads and the way to solve them. Her presentation displays a blending of the traditional faith of nomads, Shamanism, Lamaism and traditional taboo themes, with modern changes in society, and especially the reflection of these changes in their speech itself.

The key subject of my field research is a phenomenon common to mankind since ancient times – viz. dreams, their understanding and purpose in the life of both the individual and the community/ethnic group. Against the background of the interpretation of dream symbols and the used means of expression – a great number of metaphors, culturally specific expressions, language phrases and substituting expressions – the present-day and, at the same time, the traditional image of the world of this specific culture shows through.

I have commented on some phrases and passages of the text (and of its translation) so that the reader can appreciate both the content of the conversations and their cultural particularities and, last but not least, their formal linguistic means of expression. All conversations are unabridged in order to preserve their authenticity and to make them eventually available for further research.

## Introduction

In this article, I follow up on my previous work with recorded live conversations about the dreams of Mongolian rural nomads. The subject was the metaphorical way of expression, the symbolism they use and particularly, their traditional belief and its manifestations at present time. My intention today is to demonstrate in a relevant way the method of communication in two separate recordings of conversations with a highly respected person – a living goddess, *Dari-eh* (Skt. *Tārā*) – as people in the region call her, a young healer and a shaman. These exclusive recordings confirm a number of theoretical conclusions of our previous research. It is not surprising at all that the facts deduced previously from the live communication and recordings of specific conversations are proved here again – the faith in the power of the word,

especially the power of the spoken word, and consequently the expressions adapted to this faith, curses and rumours sent down upon people, human souls wandering about, their incarnations, applied psychology and psychotherapy in the Mongolian nomadic environment, dreams and their status in the people's lives, their predictive and protective abilities, and above all their interpretation, and not just dream interpretation: all here and now.

The main theme, however, crystallized during the interview – how to help a man at this very moment. And this is not declared through the mouth of wise old man, with whom most of the knowledge and instructions how to follow the rules of traditional life dies out; it is all pronounced here by a thirty-year old woman, who herself follows everything that is 'traditional' (understand – verified by experience). By using the verbal expression 'it is said' ('*gedeg*'), which so often appears at the end of an essential testimony, truth (if this latter term is culturally adequate at all, which I do not suppose it is, as it is openly made relative by an individual experience), she always brings into the speech an assurance of a people's verified experience one can 'somehow' rely upon.

Many interesting realities are kept just in folklore and in the dream of the people and conversations about them. They reveal the basic faith of the people; they show what they are afraid of, what they like and what is actually happening to them. They die. This is a unique recording of a woman, who encounters people and meets with their problems very frequently and is pleased by their reliance, even though she herself is not very well educated – she finished school after the 8th grade. She does not belong to the old generation, she is young; she is very illustrative. Her abilities, talent, empathy and strong intuition made her *Dari-eh*. First she thought that the Tibetan gods were more powerful and started to learn Tibetan. It was difficult. Afterwards she realized there is no difference between the kind of gods she invokes, that the 'tools' do not lose the power!

It is, however, very important to take into consideration that this was actually a communication with a foreigner, even if attended and 'protected' by the presence of a distinguished Mongolian teacher living abroad (the fact that he comes originally from the Mongolian countryside played a very important role). It is my intention to leave the interview in its original form with only slightest changes, including some notes for reduction of pronunciation or intonation; there are actually two conversations, the major part of the second one, however, is beyond the theme, so I did a double shortening – I kept only a part of it, the one that at least distantly touches upon the theme (which is really a rough point of view as the completeness would be illustrative, but I think I could take some liberty to do it). I did not mention



a number of poems the shaman read from her notebook that interspersed and documented her own experience. I did not include a part of the second interview regarding sexuality and intimate therapeutical (human) processes and interventions.

## A living goddess character

This woman is very popular among many people who started to call her *Dari-eh* (*Tārā*), which is a very honourable name. She works with uncommon fields (healing, purgation, magic) and people see her as clairvoyant. D. Bayarmo'nh (male, 48 years), from the C'uluut river, met her two years ago and they both decided to become step-sister and step-brother to each other (*tal ah*). The woman was given a house in Ho'vsgol and therefore she decided to give her yurt to his brother 'as a present'. She put it on a truck and arrived together with her husband and two children. We asked Bayarmo'nh how much the yurt costs in this region and how much money he gave *Tārā* back 'as a present'. The yurt with no furnishings but with the complete insulation (three layers – felt, rain-proof material and the top white piece of linen) costs \$ 450. He gave *Tārā* \$ 480 plus \$ 100 to the driver. After *Dari-eh* with her children had arrived in the evening, Bayarmo'nh brought them to us to help her small son, who had a toothache and had cried the whole night and could not sleep. He introduced us to her and described the reason for his visit in the following words: 'Let your mercy help with the power of a *mantra* and blessings of your personal guardian (jidam/patron/guardian angel!)' Then I cleaned the little child's tooth and gave him medicine. When we wanted to talk to *Tārā* privately, she agreed with pleasure and the others went out of the yurt.

## Live conversations

### 1. First encounter

*Q. Bid tanaas zarim yum asuuh yumsan. Bid hu'muusiin bodoh arga, yarianii baril, yalanguyaa zu'udiig sonirhon sudalz' baigaa humuus.*

*Dari-eh :*

*– Tanii asuuz' baigaa yum c'ini yostoi z'inhene nadtai holbootoi yum baina aa.*

*Q. Bi o'oriin zu'ud iig anhaarc' baidag. Ta zu'udee anhaardag uu?*

– Yag unen! Bi odoo yōroosoo zōvhon **zu'udeeree l yavdag hu'n (1)** gez' heled bolno! Bi odoo yarih geed z'aahan tevdeed baina, asuultad tulgamdaad. Bi odoo yōroosoo bu' r [bu'uur] odoo ter l minii, hen c' meddeggu, oilgodoggu yum – ganchan minii zu'ud. Ta hoyor odoo harin yostoi ter minii hen c' meddeggu, oilgodoggu yumii asuulaa.

– Ene deer odoo bi c' odoo bu'ur, hu'nd yamar negen yum tohioldoh bolno, tiimee? Ter bu'gd c' odoo s'al ondoo yōroosoo yumaar, **ondoo yumaar to'soolz' (2)** zu'udlegddeg. Odoo z'is'ee ni neg hu'n margaas' manaid ireh gez'eene gedeg yumuu tiimee, tehed ter hu'n yamar **yumnaas horlogdoz' (3)?**, c' uham daldiin yamar **yum**, ter hu'niig **horloz'?** gedgiin, tiimee, ter zu'udeer medegdddeg. Minii zu'ud yōroosoo tegeel neg hac'in, bi helz' yarihad bol u'nems'ihgui tiim hac'in, odoo neg baigalитай uyaldaatai c' geh yumuu tiimee, odoo ene gazar, bi tegeed ta hoyor c' barag oilgoh baihdaa, ene Gazar Lus gedeg c'ini odoo barag l amid a-amitan, odoo na-(nadtai), ingeel holbootoi, ingeel bi o'noodor Hairhand oc'ool mōrgool yavzeehad nad yamar negen **du'rs baidlaar (2)**, bi sain yavah yumuu, muu yavah yumuu ter bu'gdiiig **u'zuulz' haruulz' (2)** baidag.

– Bi dan tiim **z'on zu'udeeree l yavdag (1)** hu'n. Odoo z'is'ee ni gehed c'ini odoo bi ter zu'udnii tuhai yumiiig, nad odoo yuu zu'udlegdne ve, ter bu'gdiiig odoo devter deer bic'eed odoo, harin ta hoyoriig end baigaag yōroosoo, iim gez' med-sengui l dee, ternees ter devter odoo ter zu'udend yuu boloh, yōr ni ireeduid yuu boloh-teriig hen c' medehguigeer ingeed, sanasan ene bodol, tarhind orz' irsen, zu'udend yag helsen, z'is'ee ni gehed c'ini l odoo bi ingeel zu'udleel untz'aihad, odoo bi bagaasaa tiim yuutai hu'n – odoo neg ongodtoi c' geh yumuu tiimee, odoo ingeel untaz' baihad neg saihan [saeehan] tiim burhan c' yumuu tiimee, toonoor orz' ireel, odoo c'i iim baina, tiim odoo inge teg' gedeg c' yumuu, surgaal murgaal heleh, tiimee, ter bu'gdii ni bi yag ceez'ileh yumuu, devter deer bic'eel, ter bu'gd odoo yag biyeldeg.

Q. We are interested in the people's way of thinking, their way of communication. We especially do the research on their dreams.

Dari-eh replied:

– What you asked is exactly what relates to me very closely. [she smiled]

Q. I am paying attention to my dreams. Do you observe them too?

– Definitely. One can easily say about me that I am actually a woman **who lives only in connection with her dreams (1)**. I am a bit shy now; I am puzzled by your questions. For me, my dreams are the most significant thing. No one knows this and no one can understand it. But they mean everything to me. So the two of you are asking me about my inner secret no one knows about and no one would understand.

– I would say that anything can happen to anyone, right? But all of this is revealed in dreams through **totally different things (2)**, totally different symbols (lit. things). For example, when I expect someone to visit me the next day, the night before the dream tells me (lit. through the dream I am being let know) what kind of thing **he has been poisoned/intoxicated with (3)**, precisely what kind of mysterious power<sup>1</sup> has possessed him. All my dreams are actually one strange thing. No matter what I tell people, the dreams are so curious that they would not believe. I can tell they are connected with nature. You may understand this. The lord of the earth and water (lit. ‘earth *Lus*’, i.e. earth and *Lus*; grammatically a pair word, or *hors’oo u’g*) is just a living animal, creature (lit. living creature, living ‘power’) and he is connected with me. For example, if I visited *Hairhan* (the petrification of the sacred bull) to pay a tribute to him, on my way back he would definitely **reveal to me everything through some kind of a creature (2)** or the move of an animal: if everything will do well or bad in my life.

– **I follow only the scenes of symbols (1)** (lit. I walk by intuition and dreams). That is why I always take notes about my dreams and what they reveal to me and what happens next. Unfortunately, I did not know you would be here; everything is only in my notebook, what happens in the dream and afterwards in the future. No one would understand, no one knows. I take notes about my thoughts and what comes up in my mind, what kind of symbols the dream introduces to me, or what it predicts (foresees). While dreaming during the sleep – and that is what I have had since my childhood – I have a kind of shamanic demon, a guardian and a helper (lit. I have an *ongod*), maybe I can call it a good god or something like that, who comes to me through the *tonoo* (the yurt’s roof window) to give me advice: ‘Now you are like this (showing me his own situation and power), do this and that (telling me, what I should do next).’ I remember or write down into my notebook the particular advice and directions he gives me, I remember it and then everything happens just like that, everything comes true (lit. it is embodied/impersonated).

1) *Daldiin yum, hōndlongiin yum*. See my article dealing with the subject (Oberfalzerová 2003, pp. 15–16).

**Comment:**

1. **zu'udeeree yava-**, lit. to walk all through the dreams, metaphorically I cannot do without dreams, I live only according to my dreams. It is an idiomatic expression, a set expression through which she emphasizes the importance the dreams have for her, their predictive value.

E.g. *Eez' iinhee/bags' iinhaa/dargiinhaa u'geer/zo'vlosnoor/surgasnaar yava-* follow the words of your mother, listen to your mother, do everything according to your mother's advice. In a somewhat ironic sense it means to be under the mother's influence.

*Surgasnaar yav-* to follow the instructions of the elders.

Later on she widened the significance: **z'on zu'udeeree yava-**, lit. to walk by intuition and dreams, to follow dreams and intuition.

2. **ondoo yumaar to'soolo-** lit. to portray oneself through different things, metaphorically to reveal oneself in symbols. It is a very important word combination that appears only in speech, never in the written language. The word **yum** is a substituting expression, it substitutes bad or good signs, bad or good events, things, etc. This is a typical example of the nomads' way of thinking – things are revealed in symbols, never directly. In a little while, she mentioned again this significance by using different expressions: **yamar negen du'rs baidlaar u'zuulz' haruulz' baidag**.

3. **yum horlo-/yumnaas horlogdo-** lit. the thing has poisoned/to be poisoned by something, someone, metaphorically to let get ill, to let die, to throw someone into unhappiness, poverty, bad situation, etc. The belief that a negative power is sent to attack, or attacks itself, and is responsible for the unpleasant situation of a man, is clearly seen here. The word **yum** means again a widely seen natural power, a negative power, etc.

– *Odoo bi c'ini barag ardc'ilal garahaas o'mno l tiim yo'r ni l, hen c' odoo oilgohgu'i l dee, zu'udleed terbugtiig[bugdiiig] bic'iz', odoo ter devter deer, uran zohiol c'gez' helehed hecuu yum, odoo yuu c'gez' helehed hecuu yum, d'orov-tavan z'iliin o'mno ter bu'gdiig buulgaad bic'deg. Ter meriigee avc'irc' u'zuulz' yuu yaadag baiz' l dee.*

– *Neg hac'in, minii yo'roosoo ganc, hen c' meddegguu yumiig asuudag-ih bayarlaz' baina, tiim zu'udeeree l bi yo'roosoo tegz' yavdag.*

– *Zuud c'ini yo'roosoo lamidral baigaa yum daa, bu'h amidral, tegeed ih daldin, tiim neg hac'in, odoo ter, hu'n, z'is'ee ni gehed c'ini, haraal gez' yaridags'uudee, mongolc'uud c'ini odoo neg tiim neg z'aahan, odoo ene bo'o-mo'o geel, odoo ene taliig bol medne bizdee tiimee, tiin, ene tal c'ini z'aahan neg tiim neg negendee z'aahan uurlasan, yaasan c' baidag yum be hereldsen, tehed negen negendee muu yum hiih ed nariig temeegeer (4) du'rsleed zu'udelz' baih, tiimee, temee yanz bu'riin hu'n ho'oz' yavna geh yum bol ter hu'niig, odoo neg ugeer helehed ter hu'niig muu haraal idez' baina (5) c' gedgiimuu, tiimee.*

– I began to do all this even before democracy succeeded, no one can understand it. Besides dreams, I also take notes about all other things, it is not literature, it is hard to call it like that. Approximately four years ago I started to write everything down. If I had brought it (lit. it and similar things) here to show it to you, you would be able to give your opinion about it (lit. to say what to do and how), what a pity.

– The fact that you are asking me about the very strangest thing of mine that no other person knows about, pleases me very much [she smiles]. I follow only my own dreams (lit. I walk just like that).

– After all, the dream is a real life, the whole (human) life is a dream, and, at the same time, it is a very mysterious and peculiar thing. For example, among Mongols the same thing exists – it is the shaman's curse, which they are scared of, but you know that, do you not? People often (lit. a bit) become upset and then they are capable of doing anything, they often (lit. a bit) argue with each other and then they want to do each other harm (lit. do a bad thing). Then, such things appear in my dream in the shape (as a symbol) of *a camel (4)*. If I dream about a camel chasing a man, it means that the man, in short, is troubled by a curse (lit. *he is eaten by a curse (5)*), and other examples alike.

#### Comment:

**4. temee** – camel, although one of the very frequent and useful animals kept for breeding, appears in the folklore, according to the cultural tradition, as a negative symbol. The camel, a very strange looking animal, stands also beside the curse connected with death. One speaker mentioned in one of his testimonies that when a prisoner dreams about a camel, he will be freed – it means the camel helps the negative character. A pregnant woman cannot eat the camel's meat as the child would be born with swollen lips, etc.

5. ***haraal ide-*** – lit. curse eats up. It means to be troubled by a curse, a very expressive term, it is not only a picture of the magic power of the word, it also evokes the image of a living monster eating up its victim.<sup>2</sup> There is an even stronger threat – *Haraal idmer! Haraald iduulmer!* – You are a delicacy for a curse! Be a delicacy for a curse! In a strong feeling of anger, this is one of the most forceful curses and it is used only in a strong feeling of anger and hatred when a cursing man wishes death upon an enemy. Sometimes it is used instead of mentioning the name of the man in question.

– *Tegeel odoo yōr ni sain saihan yum bolohod gehed c'ini l odoo bi, namaig neg tiim yuu, sainaar bol ingeed odoo s'aazgai avc' yavdgiim (6), baigalias bol uyaldaatai, odoo tegeel, o'noodor hu'n (7) irlee gehed, odoo manaihan c' andahgu'i, aa tegeel baahan, hic'neen hu'n ireh-tednii toogoor s'aazgai ingeel suugaal s'ags'raal, neg gold hiit irehed hu'rtel odoo bolohoo bailaa (8), tanaid z'aahan tiim evgui yum taaraldlaa gehed ter, bi baigalital l uyaldaatai, tiim l yum baigaamdaa, odoo ter yuugeer l zōngoor l yavz'eedgiim. Tiin. Tiim l hu'n l.*

– *Tegeed bi ter uc'ir ni oilgogdohgu'i, yōroosoo ter medegdes'gui hac'in hac'in yum ingeel sanaand orz' ireed baidgiin. Zu'udend c' helegdeel (9): 'odoo tiim baina s' uu', odoo ene Mongold yuug barag bolohoos ni o'mno, ter bu'gdiig bi odoo s'orgoolz'oor (10) c' yumuu, uls tōriig s'orgoolz'oor, s'orgoolz'nii tuhai neg s'uleg orz' ireel, s'uleg c' geh yumuu, tiim odoo neg hac'in, zu'udend bic'igdeel (9), teriig bi odoo margaas' ni ceez'ind baihad ni bic'eel, bic'ihed, daraa z'il yumuu heden z'iliin daraa ter yag l s'orgoolz' s'ig Mongol bolson baihgu'i yuu!. Odoo z'is' ee ni u'i tumen s'orgoolz' geh yum bol tegeel odoo yuu c'baidag yum be, ingeel, neg tiim hac'in, zu'udend tiim neg hac'in yum buudag (9) – ter bu'gd ni biyeled (9) baidag, minii zu'ud, ter yōr ni baigali ingeel cōm yōr ni amidral. Yarih geed z'aahan uc'rii ni olohgu'i baina l daa, bi tevdeed.*

– All that is good and positive *I receive (it comes to me) from (lit. takes me and go) maggies (6)*, I am connected with nature (lit. tied up to nature) and none of our people doubt it (everyone would confirm that to you): as many maggies come and croak that many *people (7)* come that day, even when I am struck by a horror (lit. when the cold comes into my aorta), it means *something's bad (be careful) (8)*, something bad will happen to you – this is

2) Similarly, about all possible curses see A. Oberfalzerová (2003, p. 18).

how I am connected with nature. I am strange because I follow my intuition, it is just like that (lit. I am just this kind of a man).

– Such wonderful, incomprehensible, unrecognizable thoughts keep coming into my mind. *There is a message in the dreams (9)*, well, I put it like this, before it all started in Mongolia, everything had been revealed to me through *the ants (10)*, the political events through the ants. A poem about ants flashed across my mind, something strange, the poem *appeared in my dream (9)*, and the next day, when I still remembered it (lit. I had it in my chest),<sup>3</sup> I wrote it down. The next year or after several years *it all came true (9)*, Mongolia became an ant-hill, right? When I have a dream about ants, it can mean anything. The curious thing is, there is something strange that *is coming to the dream (9)* – and all of this just comes true then, my dream – it is actually nature, and all together it is the life. I want to talk with you, but it is hard (I do not know how to), I feel a bit uneasy [she smiles].

#### Comment:

**6. *s'aazgai avc' yava-*** lit. magpie taking me goes. It means it carries me on its back, the magpie is my guardian. People with strange abilities have their own animal guardians sent to them by a *Lus*, the lord of the mountains, etc. (wolf, snake, crow). In *Hangai*, magpie is a common bird and it dwells near the people's homes. It is seen as a messenger of good as well as bad news. Its constant cry is viewed as a speech. It is always important which of the eight directions of the yurt it sits on and precisely at what time, etc. There is a short predictive *sūtra* explaining what it means – for example, an illness will get better/worse, a guest will come/will not come, someone will hear good/bad words from their relatives, etc. Besides Mongolia, the symbolism of the magpie appears also in many other countries of Central Asia (Manchu-Tungus ethnic groups, China, Tibet). People toss leftovers or fat to feed magpies saying the following words: '*Sain hel! Sain hel! Sarhiinagaar du'uren s'ar tos o'gno!*' 'Tell us good news, tell as good news, I will give you omasum full of butter.' The magpie also helps to get rid of the fat on a skinned animal's skin.

*Avc' yava-* to help, to bear on one's back – it is a very widespread expression, it is possible to use it in reference to anything (*ailiig avc' yavdag/yavaa hu'n* – a man who is responsible for running the whole household, etc.)

3) *cee'ind bai-* cf. A. Oberfalzerová (2002, p. 104).

7. *hu'n* – the word *man*<sup>4</sup> is used in the meaning of an unknown man, foreigner, patient, uninvited visitor.

8. *(-aad) bolohoo bai-* colloquial expression for an occasion when a man occurs in a precarious situation and it is necessary to do something.

9. *zu'udend helegde-* to be said (symbolically) in the dream; *zu'udend bic'igde-* to be written in the dream (through poem, lines of verses); *zu'udend buu-* to descend, to let oneself get in the dream (to appear, to portray oneself); *zu'ud biyele-* the dream comes true (realizes itself in the life) – those are typical expressions connected to dreams, *Dari-eh* used them all in one sentence.

10. *s'orgoolz'* – ants are viewed by Mongols in different ways; they can be a symbol of chaos, disorder, a furious crowd, people's panic behaviour, etc. In the folklore, it also can be a negative statement about the Chinese.

– *Ter bu'gdiig l ta hoyort u'zuuldeg baiz' l dee, ter bic'sen yaasan ter yumaa. Heden devter deer, end tendgui orood irehed ni hamaagu'i, caasan deer bic'eed avdag. Tegeed teriig bol s'uleg gez' heleh hecuu. Yag amidral yum. Odoo ter hu'nii yuu bodos' baina, odoo z'is' ee ni ene ulst'or o'orc'logdood, amidral yamar bolz' baina tiimee, hu'nii setgehui yamar bolz' baina – ter bu'gdiig caasan deer bic'eed buulgaad avdag hu'n baigaam.*

– *Ter odoo yamar uc'irtai, yuutai, burhan odoo yuutai, bi burhand ih su'z'igtei ho'on (=hu'n ee!). Odoo minii ganc yo'roosoo yuu yaadag yum ter (11). Ogloo oroigu'i l zalbirc', odoo ter maani namaig, nadad yo'roosoo minii amidral, bu'h yumiig l daaz' yavdag yum ter. Tiin. Burhand odoo bi ih itgedeg. Ta nar odoo yamar s'as'intai uls yum bilee? Ta c'ini mongol hu'n, mongol s'as'intai l baiz' taarah baih.*

– *Tegeed bi c' odoo z'aahan hirtc'ihsen hu'n (12) yumuu gez' boddog yum, o'oriigee. Bi ehleed odoo ene 18 nastai, tegeed odoo namaig c'ini ene manai end ingeed ene havi, aimag dayaaraa zugeer l yor' ni minii saihan setgeliig tegdgiimu, ene amitan, tegeed odoo minii ter daldiin hu'c' baidag yumuu, neg z'izighen tan baidag gesen, hodoodnii tiimee, neg o'vc'nii tarni s'ivs'eed (13) o'gohteir ingeed edgec'ihdeg yum. End tendgui minii gol bariz' edgeedeg yum – eleg. Hen c' odoo namaig yuu yaahgu'i. Odoo no'goo 'hodoodnii nariingez' yaridag. Teriig*

4) Cf. A. Oberfalzerová (2002, pp. 90–91).



*odoo bi haa c', barag odoo arav-horiod hu'n odoo bi edgeec'ihed baigaa. Odoo ter bi-minii hu'c'bis', burhanii hu'c'.*

– Ter yanz bu'riin **ho'ndlongoos bolson yumtai (14)** baigaad tegdgiimu, yaadag yum be, neg yum uns'aad, ter ovc'niihoo tarniig uns'aad, yuugii ni uns'aad Mandal (< Man-lha) burhanaa bodood ingeel o'gdog. Ter hu'n edge-deg. Tiim l, minii c'adal ni yoroosoo tiim l yum. Tiim l hu'n baigaam. Tegeel o'oriigee bas uc'rii ni oldoggu'i yumaa. Tegeel ene olon tumen namaig ih hundetgez' dan Dari-eh gez' helz' yavdgiim.

– Bi c'ini tegeed, manai eez'iin tald ih su'rhii saihan tom tom lam nar, odoo ene Ras'aantiin, bi odoo barag ene nutgiin l hu'n yum baigaa yum. Minii eez'iin udam ugsgaa geed. Zarim ni bolohooroo iisaagaa (=iis'eegee) ene, **Zaya-ban-dida (15)** geed baidags'dee, namaig c' odoo ternii, bi terniigee meddeggu-ee, ter teriig c' gedgiim, zarim ni odoo ter, olond tustahaar tegdgiimu, namaig **No-goön Dari-eh (16)** l gedgiin. Olnii yuu yum baigaa biddee(=bizdee), yaahav ter. O'oriigee tegz' bodoh ni c' odoo haas'aa yum. Tegeed tiimerhuu.

– Bi tegz' **gar'c'irz'eesiim (17)**, ene ardc'ilalaas urid. Yanz bu'r bolz': unaz' tataz', eldev yum uzegdez' bariz' tiimee, terneesee aiz' bariad hac'in bolood, tegeed odoo-nii ene ulsuud c'ini ih, muu sain yumand ih sonirhdog yum bainas'dee, tegeel yanz bu'riin yum ih mas'ceverhen baih yostoi yum – zaahan **sevtc'ihsen (12)** yum bolov uu gez' boddog yum, o'oriigee. Tegeel hu'muus c'ini sonirhoh, yanz bu'riin l hu'n ireh, yanz bu'riin yum u'zuuleh, tegeed ter c'ini bas **yanz bu'riin l yumtai ulsuud (14)** baiz' taarnas'dee! Tegeed zaahan sevteed, medez' c'adah yumaa medehee baicciim (baic'ihsan yum) boluu (bolov uu) l gez' o'oriigee boddog yum.

– I would show you everything I have in my notes and stuff. Whenever and wherever something/it comes into my mind, I put it down on paper, I have already several notebooks. It can hardly be called poetry. It is the whole life. What people think about, for example, how they are doing after all the political changes, how the people's thinking changes – all of this I write down and save, I am just like that.

– Why is it like that and what causes it, is it the Deity? I believe in gods a lot. **They are at all the only ones who are doing it (11)** (lit. doing it how = helping me, guarding me, sending me dreams, warning me). Every morning and evening I pray to them, and that is why they ..., after all, they support all my life and all my activities. It is just like that. I believe in the gods very much. I do not know what your religion is, but you are Mongol so I guess you follow the Mongolian faith.

– I think I am already **stigmatized by life (12)** (lit. dirty), this is what I think about myself. When I was eighteen, the whole community here, and later on

everybody in the *aimak*, started to believe in me. Maybe it is for my good soul, or for the fact that I have that mysterious power. There is some Tibetan medicine, small pills also good for stomach, when *I whisper a mantra (13)* against diseases over them, I give them to people and they begin to heal. I heal people through different ways, especially the liver. No one complains (lit. do not do to me what how). We all know about stomach cancer. I can (tell) anywhere, I cured ten cases, maybe twenty. It did not happen through my power, but through the power of gods.

– Maybe they start to heal because their problems *were caused by negative powers (14)* or by something similar to it, I do not know. I whisper something, I whisper a curative *mantra* against the disease, and when I whisper, I think about the *Mandal* deity (Tib. *man lha* – deity of medicaments in Tibetan medicine) and like that I give it (medicine) to people. And they heal. Yes, and so my ability is just about this. And that is how it is with me [she smiles]. I do not understand it myself quite well. But everybody worships me very much and calls me Mother Goddess, the Green *Tārā*.

– As far as I am concerned, on my mother's side there was a lot of great distinguished lamas from the Ras'aant monastery, I can consider myself to be a native of this region, if it is seen from my mother's ancestors. Some people even see me as (she pointed into the south direction) *Zayapandita (15)*, but I do not know if I can be him, some of them just call me mother – *the Green Tārā (16)*, maybe because I help so many people. Well it is a tribute that so many people like that (worship, admire me, etc.). If I thought about myself this way, where would it lead to? (It is not possible to think about oneself this way.) This is how it is (with me).

– They thought of me like that, *I became transparent (17)*, lit. I came out (a reincarnation) even before the revolution started. Many strange things happened to me: I used to fall into seizure or become unconscious, all kinds of supernatural things were revealed to me, I was scared of them and it made me crazy (lit. I became strange). It is unbelievable but today people express pleasure seeing other people's bad luck. Otherwise, I would be very pure, but I think all of this *caused a slight damage (12)* to me. People were interested in me a lot, all kinds of people visited me *with all kinds of requests (14)*, of course these people had problems. I think this is just the reason I am a bit damaged, I am able to recognize everything and help.

**Comment:**

**11. *Ter odoo ...yuutai, burhan odoo yuutai...Odoo minii ganc yo'roosoo yuu yaadag yum ter.*** Lit. 'It now.. has what, gods now have what.. Now my, the only at all, what does like what, that is it.' This sentence is a typical example of the over-use of substituting expressions in an easy colloquial everyday speech. It is entirely incomprehensible for foreigners, but often incomprehensible for a Mongol from the city as well. It is caused not by an insufficient vocabulary, the woman is a talented poetry writer, it is more a process of thinking and consecutive interpretation.

**12. *hirtc'ihsen hu'n*,** or synonymous *sevtc'ihsen*, lit. dirty man or beaten man. It means the man was messed up by the dirt/filth of the life. She says carefully and with regret about herself that she used to be a very pure soul, but in spite of it all she still considers herself a goddess.

**13. *tarni s'ivs'i-*** lit. to whisper a *mantra*. In colloquial language it is used when putting into something or somebody the magical power of the prayer, text, or sentence. In earlier times this activity could be performed only by lamas, today, every experienced person – wise elders, living shamans and people with healing abilities can do so. In the past, it was very dangerous to make a mistake in the text of a prayer, most of all in a Tibetan text. Today, the content has been reduced to simply monitored sacred words. A very close expression *tarni uns'i-* lit. to read a *mantra* – is used for a common prayer, it means anyone is permitted to read it. On the other hand, the verb *s'ivs'i-* when used in the meaning of *s'ingee-* to absorb, to dissolve – means that only competent individuals can do it. This way *Dari-eh* makes it clear that she is an exceptional creature.

**14. *yumtai hu' n/ulsuud (ho'ndlongoos bolson yumtai, yanz bu'riin yumtai)*** lit. man/people having the thing, with the thing (to have the thing originated in a negative power, to have various things). This word combination is very important to be able to understand the communication among Mongolian nomads; it is the identification of a strange man, psychically challenged. In written language the synonymous phrase *gaz'igtai hu'n* is used. In a different context the expression means a wealthy man, to be wealthy.

**15. *Zaya-bandida*** is a significant historical figure, it is the name of one of the thirteen *hutagts*, saint incarnations, confirmed by a Manchu Emperor by

giving them his own seal. His first reincarnation appeared in the Arhanghai region in the 17th century. People say that some religious men think she is his further reincarnation.

**16. *Nogoon Dari-eh*** lit. Green *Tārā* (Skt. *Śyāmatārā*), one of the most respected guardians of the religious people in lamaistic faith, mother of energy and of all Buddhas.

**17. *garc' ire-*** lit. going out to come. a paraphrase for *huvilgaan todro-* manifestation of the reincarnation, his/her emanation. *Dari-eh* used a more ordinary expression to look more modest. In different cases, the phrase is also used for a reincarnation of an ordinary being (for example a member of a family).

Q. *Minii bodohod, o'oroo tiim c' bis' baihaa, burhan tengerees tусгай хүц' ирүүлсөн l боловuu – unaz' tataad ene ter baisan baina?*

– Aa, заа тийн, unaz' tataad, tegeed ingeed eldev yum – horhoi c' uzegdeh s'ig, tegeel зугеер neg lam хүн c' uzegdeed ingeed дугаад, tiim orc'ind yavz' baiz' c'addaggu'i, манай аав еез' ih тарc'илна aa, uc'rii ni medehgui ulsuud c'ini yaah vee dee! – tiimerhu'u l baisiim.

Q. *Lus Savdagaas тусгай хүц' ирүүлехд tegz' unaz' tatah, yanz буриин yum l байдгай байхs?*

– Yag unen!

Q. *Ta o'oriinhoo zu'udnii belge temdgiig o'oroo meddeg uu, Lus Savdagaas c' yumuu asuudag uu?*

– Yag unen...

Q. *Ocigdor bi Lamiin Ulaanii ovoond baisan. Ter s'oniin zu'udend minii neg kliyiin huuhun, neg ho'zorc'oor mergeluulehed ter, namaig c'amd durgu'i bol-no gez' heleed kliyiin setgeliig zovooson, bas ter ho'zorc', minii ecegt utasdz' muu ug helsen tuhai baisan. Tegeed bi ireh z'il end avc' rahaar bodoz' baisan бага хуугеe avc'rahgu'i ni deer baiх gez' bodson. Ter ovootoi bi holboz' ingez' bodson. Ene zu'udnii uc'ir, belge temdgiin tuhai ta helne uu? Ta yuu gez' tail-barlamaar baina?*

– Ene bol Lusiin todorhoi yum baina s'uudee. Bi odoo yo'roosoo yag ter o'oriin ni saya helsei l tailbarlana. Tiin, zaahan hatuu s'iruun, **nutag us (18)** bolvol, tiimee. Tehleeree tegeel oilgono biz. **Gazar us (18)** ni **ter hu'nd tiimee (19)**, tegeel oilgono biz. Tehdee minii zu'ud, ene o'or ornii hu'nii zu'ud bol ondoo baidgiim. Miniin bolohooroo dan tiim odoo, yuugeer orz' irdeg. Tiim **eldev**

**tiim (20)** odoo, *Lus gehed c'ini tiimee, odoo ingez' hu'neer heleed baihu'i, mogoi mogoi*<sup>5</sup> c' yumuu tiimee, tiim neg mongolc'ilson zu'udeer orz' ireed baidag. Ene bolohooroo tiim neg...

Q. Mogoi harsan.

– Teheeree hereggi. Mogoi harsan bol tegeel z'aahan hatuu bai ni ee, tiimee, edniihen end irehed. Z'aahan hatuuduu, bas z'aahan tiim neg gazar baidag s'uudee tiimee, teheeree tiim l boloh ni l dee. (c'anga duugaar:) Tegeed teriig **argadaz' boloh yum (21)** bas, tiimee. Teriig **argadaz' boloh yum s'uudee**.

Q. Yaaz' argadval deer ve?

– Ta l medez' baigaa daa, uc'ir uhaanii ni. Hervee yag l yuu yaadag hu'nd. Tegeel argadaz' guiz' mo'rgood, argadsanii daraa, yag **arga avc' uu, gu'i yuu (21)** gedgii ni bas zu'udeeree mederc'ihne. Tegeel bolc'ihno s'uudee tiimee, tiin.

Q. Ttaalamz'tai hariult baina.

– Yag unen.

Q. Hu'muus o'oroos c'ini zu'udee asuuh yum baih yumuu?

– Asuuna aa, argelz'. Zaa odoo z'is'ee ni gehed c'ini l, manai ene Mongold c'ini zaa neg ailaas neg **idee irsen (22)** yumaa' gehed, esvel 'neg mah hureed irsen (22)' yumaa, tegeed odoo o'noo s'ono teriigee **ideed honoson (23)** c'ini o'noo s'ono'ingoo bi mah zu'udleed, 'mahnaas ingeed ot mot garz'aina' gez zu'udelz'eena, tegeed iim bolc'ihloo – o'gloo bosood togoloon? (ayuulhai) deer o'vodod ehellee' gehed l ter hu'n, ter mahnaas, odoo neg ugeer helehed setgeleeree, 'su'z'ig sez'ig' gez' baidags' dee, sez'igeer o'vdc'ihsonoo s'oni zu'udleed, odoo teruugeer mahnii buzar bolc'ihson baihu'i yuu! Tegeed 'yamar uc'irtai yum be?' geed irehlee ene oilgomz'toi. Tiim zu'ud mu'udniihee yumiig asuuz' irne. Esvel, 'odoo bi ter huuhdee neg tegz' yavna gez' ih zu'udleh yum' (gez' asuuz' irdeg),

Q. I do not think you are that sick. You had been given a special power from gods, therefore, you sometimes fell unconscious.

– Oh yes, I used to have seizures and during those attacks all kinds of things were revealed to me, something resembling a snake (lit. worm), or an ordinary lama appeared to me, he was following me, I could not continue living in such conditions (environment). My parents were very desperate, poor parents did not know why all this was happening! And just like that it was.

Q. *Lus Savdags* sent you a special power, that is why you had seizures, all kinds of things like that happen then, do they not?

– It is true.

5) See Comment No. 60.

Q. You yourself can understand the signs in your own dreams or you are asking the powers, for example *Lus Savdags*?

– Exactly... [she answers my question which I defined in a wrong way, I let myself carry along the theme, I offered the answer, in a difficult situation she agrees with anything, before she had never answered like that, she was looking for expressions in Russian<sup>6</sup>]

Q. Yesterday I was at the *Lamiin ulaanii ovoo*. That night I had a dream about my client. She went to visit a fortune-teller who told her that I would not like her. After that my client was very troubled about that. This fortune-teller also called my father and told him bad things about me. I thought that next year I would take my son here, but after that happened I thought I would not do it. I was suspicious that it was the visit at the *ovo*. Would you tell me the purpose, the meaning of the dream? How would you explain it?<sup>7</sup>

– It is perfectly clear that this is the work of **Lus (18)** (It is definitely a thing related to *Lus*, it comes from *Lus*). I would connect it with what you have just said. Yes, **lords of this region and waters (18)** treat you very harshly and sharply (lit. earth and water, meaning the living one). You yourself understand it, do you not? Earth and water 'yes' (or 'thus', 'is it not?'; implying 'does not favour') **(19)** this person, you see, you can understand it like that. But my dreams are totally different ... (from those of the Mongols, ours) from the dreams of foreigners. As for my dreams, there is always something that is revealed through something (the intention of *Lus* or gods). **Through such various (20)** ... (creatures, things), for example *Lus* does not show himself as a man (he does not talk with a real man), but as a snake. He appears in the dreams – as a snake or as other different (animals) – according to Mongolian (understanding of) dreams. But because it concerns you, he shows himself in a different way.

Q. I also saw a snake (in my dream).

– Well, then it is not necessary (to bring your son). If you saw a snake in your dream, it would be a bit hard if he would come. a bit unkind, hard, disapproving, it is a bit bitter (unforgiving) land (lord of the earth), it is like that. But it is possible **to please him (21)** (the implacable lord). We can please him...

6) If it happens to a researcher that impatience or other circumstances cause that he/she is not able to continue the conversation any longer and tends to answer all the questions him/herself, it is sometimes useful to do so and to get absorbed deeply in his/her own experience and start to talk about it. This especially helps if one talks about one's immediate reactions to the topic. Even if the research may not seem to benefit from it – it in fact does.

7) Again, a question asked in a wrong way, it was rather an offered answer than anything else.

Q. How can you please him best?

– But you probably know better the basic sense of it all when you too do it for people. So when I pray and ask for reconciliation, after I do that, it is revealed again only through dreams if he agrees with this way. (And this is all). And that is enough.

Q. I like it.

– Exactly. [she smiled]

Q. And does it happen to you that people ask you about the meaning of their dreams?

– They do all the time. Should I mention an example, imagine, someone comes and says that, as this happens in Mongolia, *he's got some 'idee' from a family* (lit. *some meal - 'idee' - comes*) (22) or that *they were given some meat* (22) (lit. the meat having reached came). And after they had *had it for dinner* (23) the whole night they had a dream about meat, from which the worms crawl out, and that afterwards this and that happened – when he woke up in the morning he felt pain in his rib-cage (the part where the gall-bladder, the part of fear, is situated), the man said, I knew right away it was the contamination from the meat, in other words, there is also a psychical reason – 'faith and fear' (to fear something, to abominate something and to believe it) he fell sick from the fear and it all appeared in the dream. It is clear, why it happened. And they visit me with such dreams and questions. Often, they also come with questions about their children, for example: 'I had this and that dream about my child', etc.

#### Comment:

18. *nutag us/gazar us* lit. native land and water/earth and water. This *hors'oo* (pair word) bears lots of meanings, besides the native land, here it also means lords of earth and waters – *Lus Savdag*,<sup>8</sup> it is the reviving of nature and natural phenomena.

19. *tiimee* should be replaced by e.g. *hatuu s'iruun*, 'hard and harsh', i.e. *hatuu s'iruun handaz' baina* 'tends to be hard and harsh', or *hatuu s'iruun sanaatai baina* 'intends to be hard and harsh' with other possible stronger or less strong variant expressions, e.g. *zòvs'oorohgui* 'does not permit', *durgui*

8) For more detail about *Lus Savdag* see the explanation in M.A. Thesis, written by J. Vobořilová (2004, p. 86–89).

'dislikes', *taalahgui baih gez* 'does not like'. Such a substituting phrase (in this case *tiimee*) may sometimes be quite significant in communication – uttering a negative form is considered to be callous and inconsiderate. Thus the listener is expected to infer himself/herself what the other person really wanted to say. It is important whom she speaks with, whether it is an elderly or respected person (I was treated as the respected one), or whether it is a youngster or someone who needs help in order to understand. In that case she would say directly: *gazar us togs'irz' baina* (land and water runs amok, becomes wild), *uurlaz' baina* (is angry) or *helegnez' baina* (rages) [this is the strongest expression]. There is also the word *gaituulah* (to frighten, scare deliberately, which is a sinful act), which implies the threat of *tenger*, *noyon*, *burhan*, *Lus Savdag*, and the threat can be used by a khagan, teacher, lama, fortune-teller, shaman (*haan*, *noyon*, *bags'*, *lam*, *uzmerc'*, *bo'o*) etc.<sup>9</sup> This implies frightening someone and to do so with the intention to evoke fear and dread.

20. When there is an important subject, object, she again uses a substitute *eldev yuugaar* 'by all kinds of what/something'. In this case, she is not able to specify in detail how the signs appear in her dreams. She does not know enough abstract terms. But then she mentions *Lus* as an example. The word *odoo* is a very frequent word in her speech, it is only a filler.

21. *aragadaz'* lit. to cause, in ethno-communication it means to please, to calm a worshipped entity. There are two basic ways to do it: to praise in words (to read *magtaal*) or to ritually sacrifice or smoke out. *Arga av*<sup>-10</sup> to accept the way, to hear<sup>11</sup> – it is the term used for the worshipped.

22. *idee ire-/mah hureed ire*– It is a custom in Mongolia that out of gratitude, respect or as an expression of thanks for help, a meal is brought or sent to

9) For another occurrence of the expression *gaituulah* cf. J. Lubsangdorji and J. Vacek (1997, p. 30, Leaf 13B, line 8; translation pp. 46–7: 'attach calamity/bad luck'). Lessing has *yaitu-* 'to fall into misfortune or distress', but does not have the above causative form of the verb. Hangin has *gaitah* 'to meet with bad luck, fall upon evil days'. The causative *gaituul-* would lit. mean 'to cause misfortune, calamity' or, 'to cause to meet with bad luck' respectively, but it is idiomatically used in the above sense, which implies scaring people by misuse of power and taking advantage of their fear.

10) *Boogiin alivaa zan u'il bol hu'nii yor'tonc, ongodiin yor'tonc hoyoriin hoorondiin o'goo avaanii urlag, tu'uniig durselsen belgedelt naadam yum* [All the shaman rituals and ceremonies are actually symbolic games expressing mutual balancing between the world of human beings and the world of ongons.] (R. Hamayon 1990, p. 337; in Dulam 1999, p. 12).

11) For more details cf. A. Oberfalzerová (2003, p. 13).



e.g. a lama, a shaman, a healer, relatives, elderly people in the region or friends as a gift. It is most of all dairy products as a symbol of the pure and grateful mind (everything has to be already processed, not raw, including milk – it has to be boiled – tea, cheese, milk vodka, etc.).

**23. *ideed hono***- lit. having eaten to sleep over. In Mongolian custom the expression means to eat only one meal a day before sleep, in free translation a dinner, a meal. *Honogiin hool* – an evening meal, a meal before a sleep, heavy meal with meat. Breakfast and lunch are called *und uuh*, lit. to finish drinks, when something small is eaten – cheese, *o'rom*, some bread and tea with milk.

[suddenly something else occurs to the speaker, she does not finish the sentence and immediately changes the topic, which she subconsciously connects with the theme of the conversation – the dreams]

...*odoo ter su'nsgui hu'n (24) c'ini hac'in zu'udeldgiim baidags'dee, ter su'ns gedgiig bi ih mederdgim, odoo neg su'nsgui hu'n (24) orood irlee gehed l manaid, neeh l hac'in, neg tiim hu'n c' bis, yuu c' bis', tiim yum orood ireh s'ig haragddag yum. Tegeed teriig bol odoo manai ene haviar, z'inhene su'nsgui hu'n gez' yamar hu'n baidgiig manai endhiinhen mederdeg. Odoo manai ter haviar, z'is'ee ni neg o'vc'tei hu'n bailaa gehed 'odoo ingeed ovdood edgehgui ingeed baina aa geed hureed irehed su'nsnii o'd (25) geed – ene c'bu'ur 'Lhamiin gurvan s'oo' (26) gez' duulsan uu? Ter s'oogooroo ingez' uzez' hayadag yum. Tegeed yag zo'ngooroo mederdeg.*

– *Tegeed medrehed 'Aa ene-tanai ene hu'n su'nsgui baina aa, su'ns gez' ene hu'nd yuu c' baihgui, tiim bolohooroo, ene su'ns ors'in togtnohgui bolohooroo ene hu'n – hu'n bis', odoo ingeed o'ngorood, odoo c'uham ter hu'nii su'nsiig bu'ur odoo sain [saeen] (27) nomii ni uns'aad, uns'dag ni odoo yum bolcon hu'n (28) baidag s'uudee, tiim huneer duuduulz' ir ee!*

– *Tegvel 'ene hu'nii o'vc'in hongorohoor baina' geed tegdeg baihgui yuu. Teheer no'goo uls maani: 'Zaa yavlaa, duuduullaa, ingeed yanz bu'riin huneer duuduullaa, irz' uu? – Ireegui baina aa!' Onoo hu'n udahgui, neg arav honogiin daraa yumuu, ingeed hed honogiin daraa o'ngordog (29). Iim hac'in yum boldog.*

– People say that men whose **soul is away (from them) (24)** have very strange dreams. I am very sensitive about what they call person's soul. When such **a man without the soul (24)** enters our house, I feel something very strange

has come in, not even a man, not even a thing, it is very hard to call it a man, but I cannot really say it is not a man either. People here in our region, everybody here can easily feel a man whose soul escaped really far away from him. People here, for example when someone falls sick and says: 'It hurts here, it hurts there, it does not heal...', etc., come to me. Have you heard about the so-called '*feather of the soul*' (25) or '*Three dice of Lhamo*' (26), the guardian Buddhist gods? So I cast the dice and predict. *I see it through my own intuition*. And when I have realized it I will say: 'So this man is without a soul, there is no soul, not even traces of the soul in this man, therefore this man is not a man. He is almost dying, but there is a way to call the soul back, if you have the texts of the prayers read *well* [weeeell] (27), after all there are texts about calling souls back, they must be read by *an experienced man* (28), let such a man do it.'

– And so the man's illness is relieved. I say it like that, do I not? And the people keep coming again and say: 'So we travelled (anywhere possible), we had (the soul) called back, we had all kinds of people call it back, is it coming back?' (I can see immediately) 'It is not coming.' And soon after that, maybe within ten days, but some people even within several days, the man *dies* (29). Such dreadful things happen.

#### Comment:

24. *su'nsgui hu'n* lit. man without soul; or also *Su'ns zailah*, *su'ns ni zailsan hu'n*, man whose soul went far away from him. At that time the soul dwells around his body or around the yurt, near the opening of the yurt, it follows the body, but it is not able to go back inside. Sometimes it goes far away from the body and dwells in the rocks or mountains. There is an old shamanistic image about three souls.<sup>12</sup> Today, what remained of the tradition appears in many customs, for example it is necessary to break the part where the pelvic bones join, because one of the souls dwells in the hip. It is not exactly a Buddhist tradition. The soul comes back and helps children, it dwells in the world of the souls. Today, these two traditions are combined. *Su'ns duudah heregtei*.<sup>13</sup> For example when the lama reads a special *mantra*, the soul is called back by a shaman or an elder with good knowledge of shamanistic

12) For more details see interview with B. Rintchen (1965, pp. 10–15).

13) On 'calling the soul' cf. also Dulam, Vacek (1983, pp. 74ff. and 130ff., plus the respective notes, pp. 148 ff).

songs or by a choir of singing women and by their dance. It is manifested by a specific glance, the eyes of life, the colour of the eyes is pale, almost without any colour. *Su'nsui bolson*, metaphorically it means cruel, heartless. It is often used in cases, when a man fears a lot – *bi su'nsui aisan, ih aigaad su'ns ni zailc'ihlaa*. It happens mostly out of a fear, for example to fall asleep near the burial place, or to ride through the night, to meet someone; or the horse stops during the night and it is not possible to make it move, that means the *c'o'tgor* tied its legs; or if you meet lords/powers of nature or if a man has a dreadful dream about the dead, in all these cases it can happen.

**25. *su'nsui o'd*** 'Feather of the soul' – It originally meant a feather of the night bird. It was used to recognize a man without the soul, it started to shiver in front of him. Gradually, it acquired a different content, but in this region, *Ho'vsgo'l*, the region with a very strong shamanistic tradition, the name was preserved, but it specified only the divining dice introduced to the region with coming lamaism. Earlier, the feather was glued to express letters with the inscription *nis, nis* – 'fly, fly', later on the feather was painted on the letter instead.

**26. *Lhamiin gurban s'oo***<sup>14</sup> – There is a special interpretation book on the dice, but the speaker does not know or need it, she casts the dice only to impress the sick person, even if she knows in advance that a man without a soul came in. But as she knows human psyche well she performs for him what he believes in.

**27. *sain*** [saen] – By prolonging the vowel and raising the voice one octave higher the word gains huge importance. She implies that it is not just reading of any prayers, it is a real magic ceremony. The word *sain*, good, or *saihan*, nice, with this intonation gives the following verb many expressive meanings – to do things really carefully, really well, with perfection rather than slapdash. The contrary is *hal bal, haltar baltar*, 'spotted, dirty', and further on a figurative expression *hal balgui* – 'unperturbed': *hoyuurlaa hal balgui salya*, let's part fair; *hal balgui ni deer*, it is better not to cause problems.

**28. *uns'dag ni yum bolcon hu'n*** – This is a grammatical pattern *-dag ni yum bolson*, lit. his reading became the thing. Figuratively the word 'thing' is a substitute for a real power, for a magic skill. In a different example – *heldeg ni yum*

<sup>14</sup>) Elephant's or camel's bones, or the canine tooth of the boar, or sandal-wood, blessed objects.

*bolson/boldog hu'n* – the man, whatever he says, comes true, an experienced man, with years of practice. This pattern is not combined with other words.

**29. o'ngoro-**, to dismiss/to pass over a thing, is a common metaphor.<sup>15</sup> It is further emphasized by adding the suffix of repetitive action *-dag*, which forms a verbal noun: *o'ngordog*, the deceased (a very honourable expression for the dead). For example *o'ngordogiin ayaga* – a bowl that belonged to the deceased, etc., *o'ngordogteigoo tanilcasan z'il* – the year when I met the deceased man. In the recorded conversations a similar form appeared in connection with a pilot – *nisdeg* – in colloquial Mongolian this is a common expression though there is also an official term *nisegc'*. In folklore speech this word is used for the airport – *nisdeg* – instead of *niseh ongocnii buudal*.

– *Tegeed odoo yanz bu'riin l yum boldog. Z'is'ee ni odoo, ter yamar teriigee bi oilgodoggu'i, ingeel manaid yanz bu'riin hu'n irdeg. Z'is'ee ni neg hu'n ingeed yovz'eegad (= yavz' baigaad) untc'iz geneldee. Untaccan c'ini sereed irsen c'ini ih lolon s'uvuu muvuu o'or deer ni ingeed buuc'ihsan, yanz bu'riin muuhai yum humaar biyend ni hu'rc'. Tegeed seruun baigaad baihad yag tiim baina gene ee. Terneesee bolood no'goo hu'n c'ini has'girc' orilood davhiad, morin deeree davisan c'ini tolgoi deerees ni ingeed s'uvuu tons'iz' bariad, ingeed no'gootohii c'ini heer yavuuldgu'i. Tegeed gertee ireed haluuraad s'onoz'ingoo, s'uvuu s'aazgai idez' baina, namaig yanz bu'r bolgoz' baina' gez' zu'udelsen baihu'i yuu.*

– *Ter bas Hangai Lus, odoo tegeed haz'uugaar ni bas neg 'Muu yum' (30) gez' odoo bas baina's dee, orc'longiin muu sanaatai hu'nii muu ni ingeed bu'rdc'ihsen yavz'eedag, ter ni yamarvaa negen hu'niig dairdag. Tiim yum baidag. Ter ni – tiim hu'n neg irdgiimaa, manaid. 'Odoo ingeed bi 11 honog unttaggu'i. S'onoz'ingoo ingez' zu'udleed, ingeed yanz bu'r bolood ingeed baina aa' geed. Tegenguut bi, ter hu'nd neg tiim buzar – yanz bu'riin yum arilgah tarnitai – ovc'inii tarnitai – zugeer neg z'aahaan elsen c'ihher ingeed tarnidaad ingeed 'Zaa odoo saihan untana aa' geed zu'udnii tarni hiigeed ingeed yaasan c'ini,... bi o'oroo o'noohii c'ini. S'onoz'ingoo s'uvuu s'aazgaid bariulaad, em uugaad, odoo haluunii em baina's dee, – terii c'ini tav-zurgaa davharlaz' uugaad namddaggu'i, zovhon l haluuraad, o'or yum baihu'i, o'odoo yavaad. Iim hac'in yum odoo, ter c'uham yamar holbootoi baina? Yamar holboo gehev ta yo'r ni?*

Q. *O'oroo l avc'ihsan baina's dee, ter hu'nii ter horlolliig?*

15) For more details cf A. Oberfalzerová (2002, Doctoral Thesis, p.130).

– Tiin, tegeel odoo manai tendhiinhen buṛ gaihaz' baigaa yum. Tegeel ter huṇ yag margaas' ni oṛh tatsan yum s'ig zugeer bolool, zuṛud yamar s'onoṛ'in bus-gaad (bi), yaaz' so'no tamirdaz' baisan gez' sanana! Tegeed o'oroosoo zailuulaha medehgui, yaah uc'raa medehgui hec'neen honog haluuc', buṛ tamirguṛi – tiim amid mah boldgiim bainaa! Tegz'eetar (tegz' baital) neg, neg saihaan zuṛud zuṛudeldgiim bainadaa.

– Bi neg bags'tai baisan huṛdee (=huṇ l dee). Odoo ene Moṛongiin toṛvd, ene, aa, saihaan tiim hoḡs'o'on lam huṇ baidgiimaa, odoo Gombo gez'. Tehsen c'ini, oṛtooo baigaa Savdagiig oṛtooo avc'irc' c'adahguṛi – c'inii hohi (gez' bags' helz') gez' zuṛudeldgiim. Tegtel l margaas' ni odoo, ih tiim Lus Savdagt zalbirtag l daa. Tegeel noḡoo **Lus Savdagtaigaa Hangai delhiiteigaa hamz'aad** (31) arilgac'ih yostoi yumiig c'i c'adahguṛi, ingeed oṛtooo **bugluulaad** (32) baidag – muu baina, tegeed bi ene oṛiinhoo Oron hangaid hatuu dandaa odoo, Dulaan Han gez' baidags'dee, ted nertee zalbiraad, suḡeer zalbiraad, ingeed oroṛi untahdaa, yuu yaagaad, suḡu oḡgood, 'olon tal buṛiin tus taaluul geel zalbiraal. Tegtel so'no o'noo haluun namdaad honoz' baigaamdaa. Ter c'uham yuunii holboo baidag yumbe, ter. Tiimerhuṇ l yum boldgiimdaa.

– Anyway, all kinds of similar things happen. For example, I do not understand it myself (who am I), but people with various problems visit me. For example one man, while at the pasture, fell asleep. He told me he had a dream about how carnivorous birds tear and peck at him. A lot of birds flew down on him and did various dreadful things with his body. When he wakes up, he feels his body is cold and torn just as in the dream. Out of this dream that is continuing in reality this man jumps on the horse shouting and hurries home with the pecking and furious birds on his head; so it was hard for him to ride. When he arrives home, he has a fever, and so the birds keep annoying this poor man for the whole night. It all came out of *Hangai Lus's* (Lord of Earth) anger. He sent an accompanying invisible **bad power** (30)<sup>16</sup> onto this man. This power arose from the collected people's bad thoughts (souls of the dead men) and while wandering through the world these souls found their victim, this man, this is what happened to this man (and this poisoned him like that). And such a man (difficult patient) came to me saying: 'I haven't slept for eleven days, I dream like that the whole night, all the time the same happens, they always assault me in various ways. I gave him a bit of loose sugar, into which I read a dream-cleansing *mantra*; that is what I did. The whole night the birds attacked me. I took a fever relief medicine, you know this one,

16) See my previous article A. Oberfalzerová (2003, pp. 38–40).

no? – I took it five more times, but the fever was not reduced, everything was fine but for the fever and kind of a creepy feeling, like something climbing up. Such a strange thing happened. Who knows, what connections exist?

Q. Did you yourself take the man's poison?

– People around were surprised by it. The next day the man was completely all right, as when you take off the yurt's top cover (= to brighten up with light). But I was rattling along the whole night, I remember how I got very weak at night. I did not know how to get rid of it (to purify myself), I did not know at all what to do, I was burning many days, totally paralyzed – I looked just like a live (actual) meat (a living dead). But, imagine, at that time I had a beautiful dream. I had a teacher. He now lives in town, in Mo'ron, he is an old lama, his name is Gombo. In my dream he is telling me: 'To have inside one's own *Savdag* (unlike others) and not to know how to use him – this serves you right. *With the help of Luses and Savdags – Lords of the Nature* (31) – it would be easy to get rid of bad powers completely, and you cannot manage it, *to do such a mess with oneself* (32), you are bad'. Then I earnestly prayed to our local Lords of the Nature (*Oron Hangaid*), there are the Du-laan Han mountains here, I prayed to the lord of these mountains too, I sacrificed milk and tossed it into their directions, and when I went to sleep in the evening, I again sacrificed milk and asked for all the possible help, I prayed like that. And that night the fever disappeared. What is the connection between all these events? So such things happened to me.

#### Comment:

30. *Muu yum baina s'uu dee*, lit. bad thing exists. A euphemism that reflects the meaning according to the context. Here it means negative powers – besides demons, they can also be represented by another invisible power, also by a bad thought, bad deed, sin. It bears a very emotional charge, there is a set phrase – *muu yum sügle-*, *ors'i-*, *daira-*, *duuda-*, *zailuula-* a demon embedded, settled, to meet him, to send him back, etc. This construction is used always in the same situations, to warn in an ethno-pedagogical way, to scare somebody or to learn from the advise of an authority – healer, lama, shaman, experienced old man, fortune-teller, etc., in contrast to patient, man in despair, young man, ordinary or inexperienced man. In another situation it is used to influence the people's psyche to take one's own profit. Therefore, the type of conversation and the way of using the words is subordinate to it. A great variability of contents of these metaphors or substitute expressions may be

into some extent influenced by a thousand-years long co-existence of different religious ideologies and faith at the same time.

**31. *Lus Savdagtaigaa Hangai delhiiteigaa hamz'aad*** – the reason for using the verb *hamz'*- (to cooperate, to do with joint effort) is to communicate that the speaker is not an ordinary man, that she works with Lords of the Nature, she is in connection with them. An ordinary man could not express it this way, only a shaman or a lama.<sup>17</sup>

**32. *bugla-/bugluula-*** lit. to have a dead man inside/to host a dead man. It means to be poisoned, captured by evil powers. It is a very strong expression, the use of which evokes fear among listeners. *Bug* is also a common expression for all monsters – vampires, demons, *c'otgors*, dead men and other negative powers. The verb *bugla-* indicates that even more of these monsters dwell in one place, in the yurt or in the man's body, and that is why it is connected with the dread. There is one more expression with the same meaning about a negative reality *s'ugle-/s'ugluule-*,<sup>18</sup> *muu yum/don/c'otgor s'ugle-* the original Tibetan meaning 'to dwell' was shifted to the metaphor of contamination, terrible demon, *c'odgor* and so *m'ongonii don s'uglesen hu'muus* people who live only for money, the word *don* expresses that a demon lives in a man, *hormoin don s'uglesen hu'uhen* – a girl obsessed by sex, it is a stronger metaphor than *hormoin buzar*,<sup>19</sup> which can be purified again, *bugla-/s'ugle-* implies a defilement, which is almost impossible to remove or dissolve.

– *Bi bol odoo medehgui ene ter yum baih yumaa. Ih yaria niileh hu'n baina aa. Ih sonin hu'n.*

Q. Mergen zu'ud tand baina uu? Z'is'ee helne uu?

– *Yag unen. Mergen zu'ud baina aa. Mergen zu'ud gehed odoo o'orsniihoo ah du'utei holbootoi yumiig zu'udelz' bolohuu? Tiimee, teglee ingelee geed?*

Q. *Bololgui yaahav.*

– *Bi neg egc'iigee nodnin, ovdohoos ni o'mno – hec'neen sariin o'mno muu-hai zu'udleed boldoggui-ee. Ih l carai muutai (33) gu'igeed baih yum. Tegeed l*

17) See my previous article A. Obetfalzerová (2004, p. 35).

18) The etymology of the word and it is metaphorical meaning (like a broken metaphor) is described in the article about use of Tibetan words in present-day Mongolian by J. Lubsang-dorji (2002, p. 121).

19) *hormoin buzar* – cf. A. Oberfalzerová (2004, pp.18–19).

biye ni ovdood. Tegz'eetar hoinoos ni ih evgui muuhai tiim yanziin z'iz'ighen, evgui-odoo neg **'oroolon' (34)** gez' yaridags'dee, tiim l yum ho'ogood baih yum! Zaa ene arai c' u'gui baih, zu'ud yum c'ini (gez' bi bodson). Tegsen neereen l yag gurvān sariin daraa no'goo egc' maani, yamar c' onos' ni oldohgu'i, yag l tiim oroolon gedegt ho'ogdoz' baisan baigaam – zu'udeer bol **muu yumand l o'rtc'ihson hu'n (35)** s'ig baigaam. Odoo Ulaanbaatar oc'ood. Oroolon gedeg-tiim ovc'in tusc'iz'ee. Tegeed odoo emnelegeer emc'ilz' boldgu'i yumii c'ini yaahav dee, o'or arga-odoo ene yanz bu'riin yum – arc usaar ugaagaad tegeed gaigu'i boloh to'lovtei l. Tiim zu'ud baidgiim. Tiin. Tiimerhuu l bainadaa, tegeed sain oilgohgu'i baihaadaa.

– As for myself, I experience many unbelievable things. You are people I can get on well with, I have things I can talk about with you. You are really very interesting people.

Q. Do you have predictive dreams? Would you tell us some of them?

– Definitely. I have predictive dreams. They are connected with my siblings, how they do this and that. I can tell you about it, right?

Q. Of course.

– I had a dream about my older sister last year before she fell sick, several months before, a bad dream, I felt terrible. She was running, **her face was all pale (33)**. And soon after, she really fell sick. After that I had another dream, how a very sleazy, small, disgusting beast is following her – people talk about one creature, it is called **'oroolon' (34)** – it was him. I told myself, maybe it is not it, it is just a dream. But then, three months later, my sister really, without any diagnosis found..., I was certain that this terrible *oroolon* was following her. According to our dream interpretation it looks as if **a negative power crossed the path and attacked her (35)**. She even went to Ulaanbaatar, it was clear she got an *Oroolon* disease, therefore she could not be helped in the hospital, nothing helped. We found other ways, for example various means – clearing up by the juniper smoke, washing up in magic water – then she started to feel better. So I have these kinds of dreams. Yes. It happened like that, you do not understand it much, do you?

#### Comment:

**33. carai muutai** – a set expression, lit. to have a bad face. It can stand before various names – *carai muutai hu'n, bags', naiz, aav, ah* (man, teacher, friend, father, brother):



1. it means someone who looks sick, pale or is contrite;
2. before verbs *carai muutai handaz'/yariz'/baih* – it means not to have a good relationship, synonym *carai o'gohgoi* (lit. not give a face).

*Caraigui hu'n* – a mean, unwilling man; *caraigui ail* – hostile ail; *carai muutai hot* – town with no functioning services, no restaurants, reluctant people, etc.

*Carai muutai/carai saitai* is used as a compliment on the appearance of young people, on their beauty. The same as *carailag hu'uhen, zaluu*, which means a beautiful girl, boy. In the traditional life, the face was the only part of the body to which the attention was paid and that could be actually seen, other parts of the body are never mentioned. On the other hand *carai saitai/caraitai* – to look healthy, to be happy.

**34. oroolon** – one of the negative entities, freely moving on the earth, from Tibetan (*ro-trunk, langs* – getting up) vampire.<sup>20</sup>

**35. muu yumand o'rto-** lit. to hit the wrong thing, to strike the wrong thing. It means to be in the power of one of many lost or running invisible dreadful negative entities (see *ho'ndlongiin yum*).

*Q. Ho'doonii ulsad 'dairlaga' geed neg yum baidgiim. Teruuntei holbogdson hu'n ireh yumuu?*

– Ter, sayiin ter cini l z'inhene ter **dairlaga (36)** gedeg c'ini baihu'i yuu. Odoo z'is'ee ni o'dor **dairdag** l yum. O'dor zugeer honind yavzaigaa huuhe galzuurcaad hureed irdeg. Tegtel odoo yamar negen tiim muu yumnii genetii tiim odoo muu yum untz'ahad (=untaz' baihad) l teruun deer ter huuhe (oc'iz'), dairuulah – teriig l bi odoo dairlaga gez' bodood baigaa yumdaa.

*Q. Ter dairlaga bol engiin hu'nii nudend uzegdehgui ni medeez'. Gevc' o'ort c'ini (37) haragddag baiz' boloh yum. Ter yamars'uu baidaltai yum baina?*

– Dairlagiin tuhaid uu? Minii bodloor bolohoor ni ter yo'roosoo neg l hac'in, yo'roosoo neg tiim odoo ene hu'nees c'ini yanz bu'riin hii, odoo, **o'ngorson bartisan (38)** hu'nees c' yumuu tiimee, odoo ter yam-**yamar negen baigaliin yuugeer (39)** neg tiim evgui yum yalgardag baina's dee; sain hunees bol sain yum, muu hunees ter muu yum yalgardag bolovuu gez' boddog.

20) On 'negative powers' see A. Oberfalzerová (2003, pp. 16–19).

– Tiimerhuu yumand odoo tiim neg, haa c' yum be, minii zu'udend odoo neg **su'g su'ns (40)** s'ig – neg hac'in, tailbarlaz' helehed hecuu – tiim l neg yum yavaad baih s'ig baigaa yum.

– Tegeed bi ter neg – yuu yaazaahdaa ter yanz bu'riin **yum uzdeg hardag (41)** tiim l boloh gez'eehdaa tiimee, ter dairlagii c'ini c' harzaigaam, odoo ter muu hu'nees garaad irlee gehed, **muu sain yum (42)** hu'nii c'ini avah gez' irz'eehiig c' harzaigaam, sain yum ni bolohooroo ter hu'nii derged oc'iz' suugaad c' yu-muu, muu Lus Savdag bains'dee, orolcdog yum. Ter ni bolohoor ho'ocoldood baidag, naad ter muuhai dairlaga ni geheeree, odoo ter yostoi no'goo ulgert garaadaidag (garaad baidag) ter ert, unen baidgiimuu, hudlaa baidgiimuu, evgui muuhai du'rstei, helber galbirgu'i c' yum s'ig, tiim yum dagaad baih yum, tiim l yum nadad bodogddog.

Q. Rural people talk about something they call '**dairlaga**' (36). Do people come here with problems connected with him?

– Well, what I have just spoken about is the *dairlaga*. They can encounter/hit even during the day. For example an entirely healthy child going to graze sheep comes back home out of his/her mind, mad, crazy. Some invisible power sleeps and when the child suddenly disturbs him, he knocks her/him down without even knowing it – I do not understand what *dairlaga* is.

Q. It is obvious that an ordinary man cannot see the *dairlaga*. But **you (37)** can see him. What does it look like?

– [she thinks for a minute] I think it is a very horrible thing, all kinds of gas things come out of people, mostly out of **the dead people (38)**. **By the power of nature (39)** these unpleasant things separate, emanate. I think out of good people the good entities emanate, out of bad people the bad entities emanate.

– As an example I can mention this – something strange, **shapeless (40)**, hard to explain, such thing is present in my dreams.

– When I started to have these **abilities** (lit. when I did what how) I used **to see all kinds of things (41)**, even the *dairlaga*, and how out of bad people all kinds of **bad things (42)** were coming out, and they were coming out to grasp human life. But also positive powers visit certain man and dwell with him/her (lit. they sit next to him/her – it evokes an easy situation in order to help). Sometimes *Luses* and *Savdags* are also furious, you know that already, then they take part. Therefore, they get a man be chased (by bad powers), this horrible *dairlaga* looks just like in fairy tales, if it is true or not, I do not really know, these demons, they look really ugly, as if they are shapeless, and such a similar power traces people, that is what I think.

**Comment:**

**36. *dairlaga*** – We mostly encounter the *dairlaga*, which follows its own routes – ‘*guideltei gazar*’ ‘place of running’, at certain hours, and if some poor man crosses its route, it is not a purposeful nuisance, as in the case of ‘*avla-ga*’ which deliberately attracts human life to go under water or down from a rock, etc. *Dari-eh*, however, describes the *dairlaga* as something that sleeps in nature (in hollows, on the leeward side of rocks, basking in the sun, etc.), and when someone suddenly disturbs it, it starts to run away injuring the intruder. People are brought up in a big fear of nature from their childhood, and consequently they sacrifice to nature to pay respect to it. It is necessary to move along roads and paths and to be careful when moving around rocks and dangerous places; in such places it is necessary to get off the horse, say a prayer or sing a song, but not remain silent.

**37. *o’ort c’ini*** – one’s own. It is used to address someone and avoid using a polite or personal form. If it is a respected person, but younger, a neutral personal pronoun – self is used. *Oort tani* occurs as well, but it does not sound natural, it is artificially pleasing.

**38. *o’ngorson barisan*<sup>21</sup> *hu’n*** – it is an equivalent to *o’ngorson mo’ngorson hu’n* – dead or otherwise afflicted man – with a distant soul, insane person, etc.

**39. *yamar negen baigaliin yuugeer*** – lit. somewhat natural something. The speaker hardly specifies in particular what would be involved when speaking about the powers of nature, natural law, the order, *ezens*, *Luses* and *Savdags*, therefore she helps herself by using a substituting expression.

**40. *su’g su’ns*** – pair word (*hors’oo u’g*), lit. form and soul. It expresses shapeless entity, *su’g su’nsui ai-* – to be scared to death, *su’g su’ns ni zail-* – (his) soul left (him).

**41. *uzdeg hardag*** – a synonymous pair word comprising of a concrete *u’ze-* to see in details, into the depth, to see something and search, and *har-* to see in general, in full extend, to see an image of nature as in the mirror. The pair creates a new substituting function: *uzdeg hardag hu’n* – a man, who can see

21) About the verb *bari-* in connection with pair verbs see the textbook by J. Lubsangdorji and J. Vacek (2004, 1, pp. 215–216).

what others cannot, with some kind of an evident predictive ability, but he is not yet *uzmerc'* – a prophet. She cannot use the latter word to describe herself.

**42. *muu sain yum*** – demon – the original meaning is mentioned in old dictionaries – probably a foreign expression, later borrowed as a Mongolian pair word, today lit. bad and good things, in transferred meaning bad things, bad people, hostile, unpleasant things and people, etc. There is also a different meaning – *muu sain medee*, *muu sain hu'uhed* – poor children (in affectionate way).

– *Tegeel bi temcseer baigaal ho'vh bolgoc'ihdog (43). Ta c'uham teriig yuu gez' boddog ve? Minii huvid bol neg tiim l yum baigaad baih s'ig baih yum (44).*

Q. *Dairlaga gez' gazriin yum (45), zohih uns'laga nomii ni uns'aad terniig zo'olloz', hu' n amitnaas holuur 'yavuulz' bolno gez' bi bodoz' baina.*

– *Yag unen. Ta bid hoyoriin bodol. Ter, ter c'ini bas neg ugeer helehed, haraal gedeg yum medeh uu ta? Haraal. Ter c'ini odoo bas boloh to'lovtei yum s'ig baina s'uudee. Odoo terii c'ini hu'n bu'r huc'rehee baigaad tiimee, oron ger, ur hu' uhed, yanz bu'riin yumaa iduuleed (46), sovingoor muu yumaar orz'ireed. Tehed teriigee avc' s'utdeg yum (47). Teheer bas zo'olorc' boldgiim. Tiimerhuu l yumdaa. Odoo tegeed ih yaria yarihteer tanii (cagiig avna).*

Q. *Zaa, saihaan bolloo. Daraa neg dairaldval tanii zu'udnii temdegleliig uzeh yumsan.*

– *Harin teen, harin teen baigaamaa, yag. Bi teriigee neg saihaan bic'c'heed [bic'c'eed], hoyuulaa.*

Q. *Setgeliin tuhai az'il bic'iz' baigaa, tegeed tantai ene sedveer saihaan yarilaa.*

– *Yag unen. Tegeel odoo o'vcnii c'ini tavin huvi ni setgel orolcdog gedeg. Setgeleeree hu'n o'vddog gesen. Tiimee, ter yag unen biz? Tehleeree ter yaah ve? Ter-uugeeree l hu'n bosood irz' (48) baih s'ig baigaa yumdaa. Tiin.*

– *Tiimerhuu yum bol odoo, anagaah uhaanii yuund bol odoo baidag genee: tiimerhuu yumiig bodoz' setgel ni caidag yum gez'. Teheeree tanii az'il mas' amz'ilttai, butemz'tei, sain bolno!*

– And I fight with them and make them harmless (lit. *I make foam out of them (43)*). What do you think about that? I think, it is possible that it is *something like that (44)*.

Q. *Dairlaga is for sure an earthly demon (45). I think, when a proper eulogy is read, it is possible to calm it and send it away from people.*

– Exactly, we think the same. There is also another thing. In one word, *the curse*, do you know the curse? It can also have an influence. A man is totally helpless against it, *it eats up (46)* the dwellings, offspring, all kinds of things. I know it by intuition, through bad signs (who uttered the curse and where the curse comes from).

– When this happens, *I accept it and worship it (46)*. This is also the way to console (harmonize) the curse. So it is just like that. I will not talk about many other... I do not want to take your time. [she smiled]

Q. That was very nice. When we meet again, I would like to see your notes about the dreams.

– Of course, of course, yes. [aloud] I will make them nice and together we ... [she laughed aloud]

Q. I am writing my work on the human psyche, so this was a very interesting theme for me.

– Definitely. It is said that fifty percent of all diseases come from the psychic state of a man. A man falls sick because of his psychic state. It is true, isn't it? So what to do then? And it seems to me that it is the psyche that helps the man *to heal (47)* himself/herself. Just like that. People say that medical research today is aware of it too, that by the power of positive thinking it is possible to cure oneself. That is why your work will be successful and will do well, it will be good! [she laughed aloud]

#### Comment:

43. *ho'vh bolgoc'ih-* – to let the foam be made, with the help of soft hair. A local phrase for making things harmless.

44. *iim l yum baih s'ig baigaa yum* – perhaps it is just like that.

45. *gazriin yum* – lit. a thing of earth, an earth phenomenon. In its first meaning it is a phenomenon, for example a mirage, but in its figurative meaning it is a term for all negative powers dwelling on the earth. Those coming from the human contamination do not belong to this category, it is in fact not as widely used as *ho'ndlongiin yum*. Ceval<sup>22</sup> refers to this combination only in connection with a huge ulcer that festers inwards, but there is an image exists that it is connected with some forbidden act for which the *Lus*, lord of

22) Cf. Ceval 1966, p. 135, s.v.

the earth, punishes. I remember a storytelling in which such an ulcer was viewed as a punishment for taking a *sūtra* out of an *ovoo*.

**46. *haraald iduul***- lit. to be eaten by a curse (or *haraal ide*- + object), meaning that the curse will be completed (will come true), but it is used here as a living subject, which afterwards eats human life, dwellings, can eat anything. See also Comment No. 5.

**47. *haraal avc' s'ute***- Other than the lamas of certain sects and shamans, who try to stop or send away the curse and to do so perform special ceremonies, *Dari-eh* accepts the curse and makes it a subject for worship. By doing so they both become allies, co-workers and then she harmonizes, consoles the lord of the curse, the independent power created by the one who made the curse.

**48. *bosood ire***- lit. having got up to come – the modality of this combination is surprisingly to get up at once, to get up at a time, metaphorically 'to help something/somebody to stand up on one's own feet'.

## II. Second encounter (part of the conversation)

*Q. Bid zu'udnii tuhai yarilsanaas hois' udlaa. Sonin zu'ud ih baisan uu?*

– *Dandaa muu talaar l yum zuudlehees sain talaar yo'r ni yum zuudleegui.*

*Q. Bidentei uulzsanaas hois' zu'udnii tuhai tanii bodold o'orc'lolt garsan uu?*

– *Garaagu'i, yag l heveeree.*

*Q. Baga nasniihaa hulmuuz'liin dursamz'aas yariarai.*

– *Bidnii bagad c'ini odoog bodvol aihtar yostoi deg z'ayagtai baisan. Bi ene Rašaantiin taliin hu'n. Bi bu'ur багаасаа tiim huuhed baisan yum. Sanaand orz' irsen yumaa **holboz' heleed** (49) baidag...Ene navsgar devtert zarim ni baina. Zarim ni c' hayagdaad. Uragdaad. Hend c' hereggui yum. Minii eniig yamar hu'n tooh yum bis'. Suuldee o'oroo c' toohoo bolison. Minii s'utdeg yum bol tiim l yum baidgiin: ...Burhan bags'daa m'orgoyo, ...Lam gurban erdenedee m'orgoyo, ...<sup>21</sup> Dari-ehdee m'orgoyo, ...Hairhandaa m'orgoyo. Ene bol **minii duudlaga** (50). O'oroo zohiogood l, tegeel zalbirc'ihdag yum. Bugdeeree l na-maig harz' baigaa yum c'ini! Sanaand orz' irsen yumaa l bic'eed baidag. Zarimii ni bi o'oroo c' oilgodoggu'i.*

– *Ene uls t'oriiig s'orgoolz' gez' dursleed bic'sen yum, aihtar c' yum bis', olon z'iliin o'mno, ene uls tor' yanz bu'r bolz' baihad, yamar c' uc'irtai yum bilee?*

*Minii eez'iin tuhaid bol bi iim l yum boddog [geed neg s'uleg uns'iv]. Namaig bagad manaid hu'n amitan ireed l eez' maani cai c'anadag baihgū'i yuu, **uur nu'duuriin c'imee sonsogdood l (51)**. Minii eez' burhan bolc'son l doo, 60 nas-taadaa, Nyamaa gedeg hu'n baisan.*

*– Ih yum bic'deg baisan. Minii ene golduu l burhanii tuhai yum. Bus'uuhan ingeel orood irdeg. Tegeed l bic'eed baidag baisan. Tiim neg bayarlasan, gunigla-san uyed l sanaand orz' ireed baidag yum [s'uleg uns'iv].*

*Q. Aviyas baina.*

*– Hōgz'uulsen bol boloh l baisan baih. Daan c'hōgz'uulz' c'adaagu'i yum. Baga nasandaa ih yum mō'rooddog, zō'gnodog bodoltoi huuhed baisan. Morind ih durtai huuhed baisan. Amidraliin tuhai iimerhuu yum boddog baisan. Uhaa-rahui gedeg s'uleg: 'Tangad nomiin usegt ni s'id ors'ood baina uu daa? Tavan hos'uu mald ni **buyan (52)** ors'ood baina uu daa? **Taliin gurvān tolgoid (53)** ni uc'ir ors'ood baina uu daa?'*

Q. It has been a long time since we talked about dreams, have you had interesting dreams?

– All this time I had dreams about bad things and situations, I did not have a good dream. [*Dari-eh* smiles].

Q. After we met, has your opinion about dreams changed? [*Dari-eh* smiles].

– It has not, it is still the same.

Q. Tell me something about your childhood.

– When we were young, unlike today, we were raised with strict discipline. I am from the Ras'aant somon district. [D. takes her notes out and says:] Even when I was small I was a child like that. Sometimes when I talked I expressed what ***I think in verses (49)***. Some of that is in this torn notebook. Some of them I threw away. The pages disappeared. They are not important things. No one cares about my writings. Finally, I stopped taking it seriously as well. What I worship is this [D. opened a notebook and started to read the poem about her guardians. She mentioned in that lots of *bodhisattvas*, 21 representations of the goddess *Tārā*, etc., but among them there were also non-Buddhist cults – *Hairhan* – saint mountains or different representations of nature cults.]. This is ***my own invocation of gods (50)***. I wrote it myself and I pray according to that. All of them (the mentioned) protect me (lit. they follow me, they are in contact). Everything that comes to my mind I write down. [D. read another poem about the political situation in the country and she said:] I do not understand some of them myself.

– Many years ago the political situation changed, I do not know the meaning it all had, but I wrote a poem, it was not that important, in which I compared

it to an ant-hill. [she read the poem] About my mother, I think the following [she read another poem]...

When I was small, a lot of people came to visit us, my mother always made some tea so I could hear the *sound of the mortar (51)* (how she crushed tea in the mortar). [She reads a poem about her mother, in which she recalls it.] My mother died when she was 60, her name was Nyamaa. I used to write about it a lot. This (in the notebook) is mostly about gods. Poems occur to me out of nowhere, all of a sudden. So I write them down. [She read another poem with a political theme]. It comes to me when I go through happy or sad moments. [she read another poem]

Q. You have a talent.

– If I had developed it, then you could say that. But I did not manage. When I was small I often dreamed in my thoughts, fantasized and predicted. [she read another poem] I liked horses a lot. [she read another one] My thoughts about life are in the poem Thoughts: 'Maybe the magic power dwells in the letters of Tibetan books? Maybe *the Grace (52)* dwells in our five kinds of cattle? Maybe the sense of it all dwells *on the three tops of mountains (53)* (in nature)...' [She continued reading her poems]

#### Comment:

**49. holboz' hele- / u'g holbo-** lit. connecting to say/connect words. It means to have rhythmical speech, to alliterate. It is an old nomadic tradition that in special situations, holidays, emotionally moving situations, festive events, etc. people would start uttering verses. They provide phrases with rhythm and speak in rhymes. *Holboo* means a poem in Southern Mongolia (China) even today. The pair word (*hors'oo u'g*) *s'u'leg holboo* is found in them. In northern Mongolia, only the word *s'u'leg* exists, but there is a phrase *u'g holboz' yari-* lit. to speak connecting words.

**50. ene bol minii duudlaga** This is my invocation. *Duudlaga* means invocation, calling up gods and spirits, a very important tool for shamans to invoke/call protective spirits into their body, a poem set to music that helps to make the connection. Each shaman has his own song, some gods have one particular *duudlaga*. Other people are not capable of making connections, therefore by using this word the speaker associates herself with these people, she classifies herself among shamans.



51. **uur nu'duuriin c'imee** – sound of mortar and pestle; a symbol of a working woman or mother, whose task it was to crush several times a day a 'brick' of compressed tea leaves to make tea.

52. **buyan** – word of many meanings, the basic meaning is good deeds, good doings, act of kindness, credits, manifestation of the grace of god. It is a very strong and important word. For example: *Maliin buyangaar amidarz' baina*. We live by the grace of our cattle.

*Buyant mal mini*. Oh my graceful cattle.

*Eez'iin/aaviin buyangaar hooloor/mo'ngoor dutahgui baina*. By the grace of mother/father we do not suffer from food/money shortage.

*Buyantai hu'n* – merciful man, e.g. *Manai aav ih buyantai hu'n baisan s'uu*. Our father is a very kind man (graceful, nice, helping).

53. **taliin gurban tolgoi** – lit. three heads of the steppe. They are the symbol of unbelievable power of nature, tops of mountains raised above the landscape are worshipped, here *ezens* (the lords of places) dwell, here *ovoos* are being built. They are frequent places of encounters, important practical places of everyday contacts with nature. Number three is important – poetic and magical. There is a set phrase in the folklore: *bolzootiin bor tolgoi* – plain hill of encounters, a place where people most often meet.

Q. *Tanai eez' yamar hu'n (54) baisan be?*

– *Nad s'ig l hu'n baisan*. *Tegehdee bor*. *Ug ni cagaan l hu'n baisan baih*. *Malc'in*. *Har az'ilc'in hu'n*. *Bid nariig o'sgoh geel borloc'son yum (55)*. *Arvan huuhed tor'son*. *Uhez' uregdeed naim yo's (56) uldsen*. *Bi yag dundah ni*. *Zurgaan ohin*, *gurban banditai*. *Tegeed yag dundah ni bi*. *Ehnii gurav ni ohin*, *daraahi ni bandi baisan*. *Hoyor gurban nas hureed o'ngorson*.

– *Surguulid Tosond baisan*. *Naimdugaar angi to'gsood tegeed l surguulias garsan*. *Tegeel ho'doo garaad iim*, *erdem nom dutaad*. *Hic'eeluudees oros held ih durtai baisan*, *matematikt harin durgui, tolgoi ovtgood baidgiin*. *Surguulid baihdaa yaruu nairag s'ulegiin nom barag uns'daggu'i baisan*. *Yaruu nairagc' naraas C'oinomiin nomiig hezee hoino uns'san*, *neg z'iz'ighen devter, bu'r sayahan uns'san*.

– *Bi nohoinoos ih aidaag baisan*. *Baga baihad neg ovormongol aild oroh geed nohoid ni hazuulsan*. *Tegeed aidaag bolson*. *Morind hairtai*. *Moriig bol er hu'n*

*s'ig unadag baisan. Arvan zurgaataidaa ehelz' unasan. Yo'son z'oriin mori (57) unadag baisan. Odoo bol morinoos aidag bolson s'ig baina. Gehdee l saihan mori harahaar setgel h'oorood, goyo bolz' ireed (58) baigaa yum.*

– Eez' aav namaig neg ih ailgadaggu'i baisan. *Uhaan l suugaarai (59)*. Yu-miig buruu talaas ni bis', zov' talaas ni oilgoz' suraarai gedeg baisan.

Q. Yuug horiglodog baisan be?

– Manai aav eez' hoyor kommunizmiin uyiin hu'n uc'raas neg ih ceerleh yum baigaagu'i. Hudlaa yarih, hulgai hiihiig l ih horigloz' baisan. Hudlaa yariz' c'adahgu'i. Hudlaa yarival nu'ur ulaigaad l barigdc'ihana, sonin. Odoo c' heveeree s'uu. Odoo hudlaa yarih, hulgai hiih evgui cag bolz' irz' baina s'uu.

Q. *What (54)* was your mother *like*?

– She looked the same as I do, but she had *darker skin (55)*. Earlier she was for sure lighter (lit. with white face). She was a shepherdess, a very hard working person. She worked really hard in order to raise us. She gave birth to ten children. Some of them died, *eight – nine (56)* remained. I am right in the middle. Six daughters and three sons. I am right in the middle. First, three girls were born. Then the boy. He died when he was two, three years old.

– I went to school in Toson. After finishing my 8<sup>th</sup> grade I stopped attending the school. Then I lived in the country. That is the reason I did not become very educated. My favourite subject was Russian, I did not like mathematics, it always gave me a headache. [she smiled] During my school years I did not read poetry at all. Only later I read a small notebook of poems by C'oinom, it was actually very recently.

– I was afraid of dogs a lot. When I was a child I wanted to enter the yurt of one family from Inner Mongolia and their dog bit me. Since then I have been afraid of them. I love horses a lot. I used to ride horses just like men do. I started to ride a horse when I was sixteen. I used to ride *all kinds of horses (57)*. Today I am rather afraid of them. But when I look at a beautiful horse, I start to shiver/my mood gets better and *I feel great (58)*.

– My parents did not scare me a lot. Just *think/ be wise (59)*. They used to say: 'Learn to see things in their positive way, not in the negative one!'

Q. Were you forbidden to do something?

– My parents were people of the communist era, therefore, they were not afraid of things a lot. I was forbidden to lie or steal. Today, I cannot lie, my face gets red and I am found out immediately, it is strange. Even today I am the same. Unpleasant times are coming, people are lying and stealing.

**Comment:**

54. *yamar hu'n* – nomads understand the question 'what kind of person' was your mother as a question about her appearance not her character, in which case the question would have to be more specified. That is why *Dari-eh* describes her face in such details.

55. *borloc'son yum* – lit. to turn brown. It bears a metaphorical meaning here to drudge, to work hard in the sun, in the wind and in freezing temperatures, which if reflected in the face. The same is in the case of *harlah* – the meaning is even stronger. *Dotor harlah*, it means to poison one's stomach by eating only meat. On the other hand, milk and dairy products clean the stomach. *Ter medee sonsohod gol harlasan*. When I heard it, my heart started to hurt, it broke off my heart (lit. it damaged my aorta).

Human temperament is also described as *s'artai hu'n* lit. to be light, fair, an impulsive man is yellow. It is said : *S'ar hu'n s'artai*. Fair people use to be impulsive, short-tempered, lit. yellow/fair people have yellowness/fairness.

56. *naim yo's* – Man's age, number of children, number of foals, number of cattle is not specified accurately, the number is always underestimated or people use the word 'some'. People are cautious to protect the information against the listeners' bad ears – invisible negative powers and rumours.

57. *yo'son z'oriin/zu'iliin mori* – lit. horses of nine recepies/types. It means all kinds of horses, the number nine is the symbol for many kinds/types, a lot of various characters, many types. In a similar way the number five was used, it means a big quantity. *Olon tavan u'g yariad yaahav*. There is no need to say much, lit. Many five words to say not necessary.

58. *goyo bolz' ire* – lit. pleasant moment having become comes, it is a pattern used for evoking immediate enjoyable feeling. It is often used in a sexual context.

59. *uhaan suu-* – lit. the intellect/mind sits down, metaphorically to be reasonable. The word *suu-* to sit, is metaphorically also used when mentioning bad thoughts – *muu sanaa suu-* lit. bad thought sits down. Thoughts and other trains of thoughts are often personified.

Q. Mogoigoos aiz' baisan uu?

– **Horhoin cuglaan (60)** gez' baidags'dee. Bi bu'ur бага baihad dotor ni yavaad orc'son yum. Tosongiin tend neg had asgatai gazar baidags'dee. Tend olon to'mor utas s'ig yum baihad ni horhoi gez' medehgui, dotor ni yavaad orc'siim. Tegsen duuren mogoi baisan. Ih aisan. Baga baihad neg ho'gs'ntei hoyuul o'ndor uuliin asgand baigaa arsaanaas oc'iz' avdag baisan. Neg udaa bi arsaan avahaar oc'tol minii hól door neg ih tom mogoi baisan. Aisan. Gevc' bi terniig **Lus namaig huleez' avc' baiz' (61)** gez' boddog yum.

Q. Melhiig yuu gez' boddog ve?

– Bas l Lus gez' boddog, harahad evgui l amitan.

Q. Mogoi zuudelbel yamar ve?

– Bi huuhedtei bolohod dandaa mogoi zuudelz' baisan. Ene hoyor huuhdiig olohod.<sup>23</sup> Bas ediin zasgiin talaas c' as'ig olohiin zuud.

Q. Huuhed oloh ter uyed no'hor yamar zuudtei baisan be?

– Bas mogoi zuudelz' baisan.

Q. Muuhai zu'ud yuu ve?

– Minii hamgiin s'ivs'igtei muuhai zu'ud yuu l baidgiin – s'ud. Ter odoo yamar uc'irtai yum, ta nar l medeh baih. S'ud l unaz' baina gez' zuudleh yum bol zaaval neg hu'n burhan bolc'dog, minii talaas. Unaz' baina, avaad tavic'laa geh yum bol yamar c' **zasal (62)** baihgu'i, tegeel o'ngorno. Ho'dolz' baina geh yum bol biye muudna.

Q. Nas barsan hu'n zuudend haragdval yamar ve?

– Bi teriig muu gez' boddog yum. Bi eez' aaviigaa mon' c' ih zuudelsen. Nad-aas buyan nehez' baina gez' bодool, maani uns'aad l tegeel zul o'rgoc'ihdog yum. Odoo ter c'ini bas ih goyo yum bainas'dee. Eez' aaviigaa olon z'il sanaad bu'r betgerc'sen baidag yum bainas'dee. Tegeed zuudend uulzahaar goyo. Margaas' ni setgel goyo baidag. Eez'iigee z'aahan carai muutai yavz' baina gez' zuudelz' baisan. Tegeed, yamar gazar torson yum bol doo gez' boddog. Aaviigaa gyal-lzaad sain yavz' baina gez' zuudeldeg.

Q. **Eez' aav hoyoriinhoo alind ni ilu'u hairtai baisan be? (63)**

– Ali alind ni l ih hairtai baisan. Adil hairtai baisan.

Q. Bayarlasan, gomdson yavdal?

– Hamgiin ih gomdolt yum bol eez'iigee nas barahad baisan. Eez' maani neg saihan bolz' ireel, eez'dee havar zolgohoor oc'ihod eez' maani eruul saihan baisan. Biye ni saiz'raad dandaa iim saihan baih ni gez' bayarlaz' baisan. Getel namar ni genethen nas barc'san.

23) huuhed oloh — lit. to find a child; cf. A. Oberfalzerová (2002, p. 80).

– *Bas neg bayarlasan zu'il bol bi anhniihaa huuhdiig gargahdaa gertee har-iz' gargah geed (64) hadam eez'dee hudlaa s'altgaan heleed gertee harihaa yavsan. Zamdaa óvdohod ni s'úd zuusaar harisan. Eez'iinhee derged mend hoyor yas salsandaa (65) sanaa amarc' ih bayartai baisan. Tórno gedeg uhe-hteí adil gez' ih aiz' baisan yum.*

Q. *Taniig tórohod nóhor c'ini derged baisan uu?*

– *Nóhor gadaa l baisan. Odoo bol derged baiz' boloh l yum s'ig bainalee.*

Q. Were you afraid of snakes?

– After all there is *the snakes' meeting (60)*. When I was small I happened to get among them. There is a place with stones close to Toson, a place with rocks. There were a lot of iron ropes, I did not know they were snakes, so I got right into the middle of them. There were a lot of them. I was scared a lot. When I was small, I used to go together with an old man to fetch the spring water running out from the rock on the top. Once I went to get the water I saw a big snake next to my legs. I was scared. *I think Lus greeted me (61)*.

Q. And what do you think about frogs?

– The are also *Lus* (understand envoy of *Lus*), it is a nasty/unpleasant creature to see.

Q. When one dreams about a snake, what does it mean? [she smiles]

– When I got pregnant I always dreamed about a snake. When I got pregnant with these two children. Such a dream also means material benefit.

Q. What did your husband dream about while you were pregnant?

– He also had dreams about snakes.

Q. What it is a bad dream?

– My most dreadful dream was about a tooth. You probably know its meaning. When I dream about how my tooth falls out, it means some people close to me will die. When the dream is about how the tooth falls out or how you take out the denture, *nothing helps (62)*, you cannot do anything about it, someone will die. When in the dream the tooth dangles, I fall sick.

Q. What does it mean to see a dead man in the dream?

– I think, it is bad. I had dreams about my parents many times. I always told myself that they reminded me to do good things, so I said a *mantra* and lit the candles. It is nice, isn't it? People often miss their parents for many years, they even die from this nostalgia. It is so nice to meet them in the dreams. Next day they are happy. I had a dream about my mother having a worried face. Then I thought which place she was born in again. I had a dream about my father how he was doing well (lit. flashing he walked well). [she smiles]

**Q. Which one of your parents did you like better? (63)**

– Both of them I liked very much. The same way.

**Q. What touched you most in your life?**

– I think when my mother died. I went to visit my mother in spring to say hello (like a ceremony during the new year), she got better, almost cured. I was very glad and thought that when she got better it would last forever. But in autumn, all of a sudden, she died.

– I was also very happy when I had a chance **to deliver a child at home (64)**. When I was due to deliver my first child, I wanted to go back home and give birth there, so I told some lies to my mother-in-law and went home. I had pain already on my way home, but I gritted my teeth and managed it. I was so happy and relieved that **I delivered a healthy baby (65)** next to my mother. I was very scared I thought that to give birth is like dying. [she smiles]

**Q. When you were in labour was your husband with you?**

– He was outside. [she smiles] I think today men are permitted inside.

**Comment:**

**60. horhoin cuglaan** – lit. meeting of snakes. It is generally accepted that to get among a great number of snakes, to visit their meeting, means that such a person will be doing well in everything, will get wealthy, will have special abilities and will be healthy. It is said that the lord of snakes comes crawling to that man, who is saying the prayers and bows to the snakes, and throws down one of his horns as a sign of presenting him with a big fortune and wealth (according to narratives of herdsman).

**61. Lus namaig huleez' avc' baiz'** – By this testimony the speaker wants to express that she had two special chances to meet with snakes and it confirms that she is not an ordinary person. To be at the snakes' meeting means fortune, gaining extraordinary abilities. The second encounter with the snake was not of a little account either; it meant an encounter with a *Lus* and implies his big protection.

**62. zasal hii-/av-** *zasal* means a medicine, medical tool; with the verb *hii-* (to make) it is a ceremony performed by a lama or a shaman, *o'vc' in zasal avsan* – lit. the disease took the hit, metaphorically it means to cure oneself. Here the disease is an animated subject sent down upon a person. The same as *o'vc' in zailuul-* to delay a disease, *oirto-* to get closer. On the other hand, it

is forbidden to use the verb *ire-*, if it is used in connection with *Luses*, gods, a disease or rain, because it is too strong and aims concretely against the person uttering it. Instead it is necessary to use the periphrasis *hu're-* to reach, *tus-* to strike off/push off.

**63. Which one of your parents did you like better?(63)** We put this question to many interviewed persons on purpose, the answer never differed. To prefer one of the parents is forbidden, no matter what kind of person she/he was. It would be followed by a bad sign.

**64. *huuhdiig gertee garga-*** According to the custom, children are born in the mother's new house, in her new yurt; but against all the customs, *Dari-eh* returned to her original home under the serious pretext she could not tell openly to her mother-in-law.

**65. *hoyor yas sala-*** lit. to separate two bones, metaphorically it means to give birth to a baby.

## Conclusion

The present paper is another contribution to the discussion of a subject treated in the papers published previously (Oberfalzerová 2002, 2003, 2004). It has been the aim of these papers to use the living language as an instrument to understand the basic ideas about the world of the present-day nomadic people, the ideas, which are the basis of their values and which affect their everyday life.

I have here presented an exclusive interview with a young nomadic woman, whom her neighbourhood considers to be a living Goddess (*Tārā*) – a healer, whose experience displays the basic apprehensions and sorrows of present-day Mongolian nomads and the manners of how they can be alleviated. It is possible to follow here the interplay of the traditional beliefs of the nomads, Shamanism and Lamaism, and of the traditional taboo topics with modern changes in society, and we can particularly observe, how these changes are reflected in the mode of linguistic expression in general.

One of the basic topics of our fieldwork was the very ancient common phenomenon of humanity, viz. – dreaming, its understanding and purpose in the life of both the individual and of the community/ethnos. On the background of the interpretation of dream symbols and the used means of language –

a great number of metaphors, culture-specific expressions, phrases and substituting words – it is possible to perceive both the present and the traditional vision of the world of this specific culture. This also becomes necessarily evident in the manner of present-day communication.

I have used the method of presenting commentaries, which follow the translations of the individual passages, so that the reader may be guided not only through the contents of the discussions, but also through their specific cultural features and last but not least, so that he may appreciate their formal means of expression. I have left the discussion unabridged without editing it in any way in order to preserve its authenticity and so that it may eventually be used for further analysis (all the recordings are registered in such a way that they are available for later work).

In the end I should like to underline that this manner of work would not have been possible without the participation of and close co-operation with the native speaker, Assoc. Prof. Lubsangdorji, who due to his life experience stands in between two cultures – the Euro-American culture, in whose midst he has been living for the last almost twenty years, and the nomadic culture, from which he originally comes and which he intimately knows. Hopefully this fieldwork method (recording the living language in a discussion on an appropriate topic and its interpretation) allows us to approximate a greater objectiveness of the linguistic and ethnological work.

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# Language Planning in Mongolia I<sup>1</sup>

Veronika Kapišovská

**Summary:** The paper presented here is the first part of a survey focused on language planning in Mongolia from the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century up to the present day. Whereas this part covers the period of the 20<sup>th</sup> century only, it is based mostly on historical sources and relevant researches done so far, although some personal experiences obtained while staying in Mongolia in the early 1990s, as well as valuable information kindly given to me by Mongolian linguists, teachers and commoners was also used. This paper is structured chronologically, and, starting with a brief account of the demographic and linguistic situation in Mongolia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it deals further with language related changes described in a broader context of the Soviet language policy.

## Introduction

Language planning usually refers to intentional efforts to influence or regulate the language behaviour of a society and could be performed directly by means of more or less radical, but obvious changes (spelling reform or introduction of a new writing system) as well as gradually and less perceptibly through various other spheres of social life, such as schools, mass-media or cultural events. That is by no means a new phenomenon: in the case of the Mongols certain aspects of language planning could be traced far back in history, for example in 1640 the Grand Code (Yeke čaγaγa or Их цааз)<sup>2</sup> or later during the Manchu rule; but it was comparatively recent that several distinct and crucial language related changes took place. The strong political, ideological and economical ties to the Soviet Union, strengthened by a certain portion of confidence in the correctness and modernity, made the Mongols

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1) In the following, speaking about Mongolia will refer to Outer Mongolia, Mongolian People's Republic or today's Mongolia, if not otherwise stated. I would like to thank all those who helped me in various ways, especially Assoc. Prof. J. Luvsandorji for correcting my transliterations from the Mongolian script, Prof. D. Tumurtogoo and E. Purevjav for providing me with some valuable information and materials, as well as some others who were interviewed or just discussed some issues related to the topic of this paper.

2) Шагдарсүрэн 2000, p. 18.

follow the Soviet language policy, thus shaping the present day linguistic situation in the country. Therefore this paper focuses on the recent history of the Mongolian language, the general aspects of which are well known. Here, however, it is discussed in the context of the Soviet language planning which is important to properly understand the situation.

## Language Planning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century

**The demographic and linguistic situation.** For the Mongols, the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was connected with the struggle for independence and sovereignty; a hard, but decisive struggle that influenced the further fate of their country.<sup>3</sup> According to the information available, there were about 542 thousand Mongolians living in pre-revolutionary Mongolia,<sup>4</sup> with the 492 thousand of Khalkhas as the most numerous group, followed by Durbets (39 thousand), Zakhchins (5 thousand), Ölöts (3 thousand), Myangats (2 thousand) and Khotons (1 thousand).<sup>5</sup> One common, unifying language did not exist. The Mongols were speaking various dialects which more or less differed from one another, but most of the Mongolian dialects were so close to each other that their speakers were able to communicate without the slightest problem.<sup>6</sup> Khalkha Mongolian was the most prestigious of all the dialects, not only because it had the greatest number of speakers, but mainly because it was spoken in Urga, the respected political, religious and trading centre, the residence of Bogdögegen and later, during the period of 1911–1921, also the residence of the first autonomous government. Since 1921, when the peoples' government (*ардын засаг*) was established, it has become even more prestigious than ever before.<sup>7</sup> The fact that the importance and prestige of Khalk-

3) Usually, 1921 is considered to be the successful end of this struggle, but in fact it was only in 1924 (November the 26<sup>th</sup>) when the Mongolian Peoples' Republic was proclaimed, and even much later, at the Yalta conference (14.2.1945) the Mongolian status quo was acknowledged. In the referendum that has followed on October the 20<sup>th</sup>, the Mongols unanimously voted for the independence of the country. The Chinese Kuomintang government has officially acknowledged the Mongolian sovereignty on January the 5<sup>th</sup>, 1946. (For detailed reference on historical events of that period see Монгол Улсын Түүх 2004; Коростовец 2004; Рупен 2000, p. 71–125, 151–308.)

4) Майский 1959, p. 30.

5) Ibid. p. 34. Even if these figures are far from being complete and precise, they at least give us an apprehension of the situation of those days. For population characteristics and explanatory notes to the 1918 census see Майский 1959, p. 28–37.

6) Владимирцов 1929, p. 3–4.

7) Ibid. p. 49–50.

ha Mongolian reached far beyond the border of Mongolia is indicated also by the situation that has arisen due to the implementation of a Latinized alphabet for Buryats in the early 1930s, when Khalkha Mongolian, considered by some of the Buryats to be the prestigious variety of “their” own language, was approved by the Central Executive Committee of the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR and the Buryat Regional Committee as the literary language of the Buryats. Supposedly due to the political reasons this decision was abolished soon afterwards and a new decision was adopted, namely that the new literary language of the Buryats should be developed on the basis of one of the Buryat dialects – the one of the Selenge Buryats. But three years later this was changed again and the dialect of the Khorii Buryats was chosen as the basis for the Buryat literary language.<sup>8</sup>

In written communication Mongolian rendered in Mongolian script<sup>9</sup> was used. Written Mongolian reflects the Ancient Mongolian well from the point of view of its phonetic and morphologic development<sup>10</sup> and therefore is universal for all Mongols, regardless of the dialect they speak.

Foreigners and also some domestic sources (especially in later periods, when the aspect of ideology and propaganda has also to be taken into account) reported a very low literacy rate among the Mongols.<sup>11</sup> Now, almost a century later, it is hardly possible to judge the situation objectively, but the high illiteracy rate was undoubtedly a fact, Rinchen argues there was a misunderstanding about the specifics and variability in the case of literacy in Mongolia.<sup>12</sup> He distinguishes 3 categories of those who were to different extent familiar with reading or writing, or both. The first and the biggest group were the representatives of all the strata of the clergy who, according to the official data of 1918, accounted for 40 percent of all the male population in the country.<sup>13</sup> For those who received a monastic education Tibetan and Tibetan alphabet were in the first place, while Mongolian was usually a second-rate language. Those lamas with good Mongolian or those who were able to compose their masterpieces in Mongolian were few, and, in case

8) Алпатов 2000, p. 70. For Khalkha as a basis for the new Buryat-Mongolian alphabet and Poppe's project of the Latin alphabet see Поппе 1930, p. 68–71.

9) In the course of their history the Mongols have used several writing systems. The Mongolian script, also referred to as the old, traditional, classical or Uighur (*уйгар монгол бичиг*), whose origin goes back to the Aramaic script, survived the centuries and was the most generally used script in the period of time being discussed.

10) Поппе 1955, p. 15.

11) Майский 1959, p. 72–73; Ринчен 1964, p. 34; Монгол Улсын Түүх 2004, p. 96.

12) Ринчен 1964, p. 29–39.

13) Майский 1959, p. 42; Ринчен 1964, p. 29.

monasteries were practicing the divine services and worshipping ceremonies in Mongolian, this was banned directly by the Bogdodegen or the Manchus in favour of Tibetan.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand it is necessary to emphasize that exploiting the Tibetan alphabet for writing down the Mongolian language was very popular among lamas; this practice even gave rise to a specific form of Mongolian literature.

The second, smaller group, was formed by the officials, many of whom knew also Manchu apart from Mongolian script, and also Chinese into lesser extent. The last category, which would be somewhere between the previous two, if considered by size, was formed by so-called passively literates, who were interested in learning to read in the first place, as the tales, legends, chronicles and other genres of literature were very popular among Mongols. The low interest in learning to write can be explained by the lack of paper and other writing tools, especially in the countryside, but also by the unwillingness to serve in an office, as it would have been difficult to avoid service if one was known for the ability to write. Those people usually learned at the home of somebody famous and respected in the neighbourhood for his erudition and therefore were referred to as home-schooled people (*ээрүйн сургуультагч*). Mostly, they learned only Mongolian script, but Tibetan was also popular, and, less commonly, Manchu. It is said that quite a lot of women were good at reading.<sup>15</sup>

Damdinsüren introducing his own family describes the tradition of home schooling in his memoirs:

“My grandfather Eregzendonoi was born in Üizen beise khoshuun of Tsetsen khan aimak sometime around 1860 ... Although he could not write Mongolian script, he could read [it].” (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 20). “My father Tsend was born in 1882... From five to ten children of the immediate neighbourhood were staying in my father’s yurt, whom my father was teaching the Mongolian script. ... They did not stay in our place for the whole year long. They stayed (and studied) there for several months a year. My father used to serve in a county board as a scribe (*тамгын бичээч*) several times a year and every time when he was leaving for the service he used to take one or two of his disciples with him. They were called scribe disciples (*сурах бичээч*) and their work was to copy accounts, records and documents. My father did not teach these children for many hours. Every morning he checked the homework he had given them the day before and corrected the mistakes. For the rest of the day they grazed the lambs and calves and did some lighter work around, such as tying the heads of the sheep during milking. Thus my father taught many people of the Matad region to read and write.” (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 24–26).<sup>16</sup>

14) Ринчен 1964, p. 30.

15) Ibid. p. 30–31, 33.

16) According to Rinchen (Ринчен 1964, p. 33) the tradition of home education survived for some time after revolution. In fact, it must have been practiced much longer as even today

According to Rinchen<sup>17</sup> the low literacy rate was caused also by certain shortcomings during the registration of the literacy level in the first years after the revolution, such as ambiguous description of categories, in addition to overahumbleness in evaluating one's own abilities which was common among people of those days. Most of those who could write but not read allocated themselves to be registered into the category of those who "did not know the script" (*бичиг мэдэхгүй*). Many authors of textbooks, employees of the state authorities, translators, scribes, xylographers and others for whom reading and writing was part of their everyday work claimed they "have an idea [about the script], know [the script] so-so" (*төсөөлдөг, дунд зэрэг мэддэг*) or "know the Mongolian [script] badly" (*монгол муу мэднэ*). For example, Jamyan, the chairman of the Institute for Sutras and Writings (the predecessor of the Academy of Sciences), being the author of several primers, master in the art of writing with a bamboo pen claimed himself as "having an idea about the Mongolian script" and another member of the same institute, Batochir shadar, who worked on translations of the important documents from Manchu said he "has an idea about Mongolian and Manju [script]".

**Eliminating illiteracy after 1921.** Having come into power after the revolution in 1921, the new government declared eliminating the backwardness that had persisted for centuries and establishing the new age culture and an educational system as two of its crucial objectives.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently on November 2, 1921 the first post-revolutionary elementary school for one hundred children was founded in the capital. At the beginning the school wrestled with the lack of teachers and public scepticism, which resulted in reducing the number of subjects from the intended eight to only Mongolian language and mathematics.<sup>19</sup> At the Ministry of *shabinars* a course of writing for 20 children of Arats was opened in May 1923, and very soon the number of children was increased to 40. The main subjects taught were Mongolian script and interpretation of the Mongolian Constitution.<sup>20</sup>

Some efforts for establishing a school of a new, more organized and public-like type, had been made in previous periods, too. For example, in the

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there are still people in Mongolia who have learned Tibetan or Mongolian script when it was officially banned.

17) Ринчен 1964, p. 33–34.

18) Монгол Улсын Түүх 2004, p. 137.

19) Ринчен 1964, p. 137. For detailed information on lack of teachers, taking Buryat teachers from Soviet Union, language problems and other difficulties see Ринчен 1964, p. 21–22.

20) Daszdzeweg 1974, p. 212.

last years of the Manchu rule several schools were founded, mainly in Khuree, Uliastai and Inner Mongolia. They were specialized mainly in Manchu and Chinese, and today are seen rather as a means of intensifying the policy of Sinization towards the Mongols.<sup>21</sup> But then according to historians referring to the preserved archival documents, the Mongolian autonomous government planned to establish a whole system of elementary and secondary schools and college universities. The first school of a new type for 47 children from all the regions was opened on March the 24th, 1912 under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; in different aimaks and khoshuuns 60 elementary schools were founded one after the other.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the first Russian-Mongolian school appeared in the capital, at Ivan Yakovlevich Korostovets' initiative.<sup>23</sup>

The educational activities of the Mongolian government after the revolution were not limited to those focused on young people, but also those aimed at adults and soldiers, where eliminating illiteracy was a priority.<sup>24</sup> The "red corners" (*улаан булан*) and "clubs" (*клуб*) disseminated all around the country were the place where public writing courses (*дугуйлан*) were organized. In 1929 the opening of a school for Mongolian script for about 50 young lamas and a writing course for lamas from 9 to 17 years of age were approved.<sup>25</sup>

Paradoxically, the literacy growth had a rather negative impact on the quality of the texts, on spelling and stylistics in particular, as mastery in stylistics required years of exercise and practice and respectable masters of style (*эх зохиогч*) and their art were therefore held in high esteem. Damdinsüren, the author of the first of a series of booklets aimed at improving the Mongolian language, points out to the number of misspellings and grammar mistakes in official documents, newspapers, announcements and bulletin boards as

21) Монгол Улсын Түүх 2004, p. 43–50.

22) Ibid. p. 96.

23) Коростовец 2004, p. 218–219; Монгол Улсын Түүх 2004, p. 97. I.Ya. Korostovets was a notable Russian diplomat and the head of the Russian mission negotiating with the Mongols the independence of their country and the first official agreements between Russia and Mongolia. The idea of establishing the Russian-Mongolian school was given rise to due to the fact that Mongols did not know Russian, which resulted in Russians being forced to employ Buryats as translators, which was rather inconvenient. Later he tried to raise an interest for Russian schools among Mongols, but the Mongolian aristocracy and the lamas reacted with disbelief. After a long period of persuasion, the Mongolian princes agreed to send several boys to study in Russia at last. However, the idea failed and the boys were not accepted at the school due to the lack of financial means. The above mentioned school opened in Urga was later closed for the same reasons.

24) Монгол Улсын Түүх 2004, p. 137.

25) Dasdzeweg 1974, p. 213.



well as in the public inscriptions all around the city.<sup>26</sup> Especially in relation to the names of authorities and public places such as shops, cafeterias, doctor's consulting rooms etc., he claims that "... while [their] names written in Russian are correct, those written correctly in Mongolian are as few as the stars during the day..."<sup>27</sup> He also criticizes misuse of colloquial expressions in written language, limited lexicon, misuse of Russian words, unnecessary calquing (loan translations) or bad translations, all of which lead to a decline of the quality and comprehensibility of a text.

**Implementation of the Latin alphabet.** Meanwhile, the neighbouring Soviet Union continued to implement an intensive and most favourable language policy towards the languages of non-Russian nationalities, which had started soon after the 1917 revolution. On the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party in March 1921 the special resolution on the Nationality question was adopted, in which the main objectives, such as development and consolidation of judicial, administrative, economic and governmental bodies, the press, schools and other cultural institutions in the native languages were set up.<sup>28</sup> This nationality and language policy was based on the principle of equal rights for all languages, thereby refusing the idea of a single mandatory state language, promoted by Lenin and even Stalin at the beginning of his political career. These ideas had other, purely practical reasons though: were the non-Russian nationalities to accept the revolution and the Soviet power, they needed to understand the revolutionary ideas first, and it was therefore better to instruct them through the national languages and by local people familiar with the particular language, the customs and the way of life.<sup>29</sup>

As most of the languages of the nationalities in the USSR did not have a standardised form, nor a writing system in the 1920s, it was necessary to start with the extensive work referred to as "language building" (*языковое строительство*) in Russian sources.<sup>30</sup> The question of an alphabet reform or a complete change to a new one arose in connection with Muslim nationalities that have traditionally been using the Arabic script for their predomi-

26) Damdinsürüng 1934, p.13–38.

27) "... *ner-e ben oros üsüg iyer bičigsen abasu jöb baiqu bögetel-e, mongyol-iyar abasu jöb bičigsen inü edür-ün odun metü qobur baiy-a ...*" (Ibid. p. 16).

28) Алпатов 2000, p. 38; Crisp 1989, p. 24.

29) Ibid. p. 42.

30) Presented here is a very simplified account of the Soviet language policy of the given period just in order to give the background to what was happening in Mongolia. For extended information see Алпатов 2000 and Kirkwood 1989.

nantly Turkic languages. The intensive advocacy on behalf of the reform of the Arabic script so that it could conform to the phonetic structure of Turkic languages was later overthrown by the support of the Latin alphabet that was politically neutral and the best compromise out of three options – reformed Arabic, Cyrillic, or Latin.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, at that time the Soviet Union lived in expectation of the world revolution and the Latin alphabet was the best one to become a future world alphabet, it was ideal for the written communication within the USSR, as well as on an international scale.<sup>32</sup> The gradual implementation of the Latin alphabet for all Turkic languages was officially approved at the First All-Union Turcological Congress held in 1926 in Baku and by the early 1930s the Latin alphabet was introduced to most other languages of the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR, both those that were previously without any writing system as well as those using the other scripts.<sup>33</sup> The Kalmyks in the Kalmyk ASSR and the Buryats in the Buryat SSR began to use the Latin alphabet in 1927<sup>34</sup> and 1931 respectively.

The sources about Mongolian history provide only very little space to the period of Latinization in Mongolia, if at all. But based on the various resolutions, newspapers and other sources of that time it is possible to get a more or less correct account of this particular period in the history of the Mongolian language. Probably the first official document related to the Latin alphabet was the resolution of the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of the MPRP held on February 1930.<sup>35</sup> We do not have any information whether there were any political or linguistic discussions preceding this resolution. It was several years later, on the MPRP's 9<sup>th</sup> Congress (September 1934), when the former prime minister (1936–1939) and historian Anandyn Amar is said to have declared that: "...[We] must not change the Mongolian script ... [We] must not change the national order and customs once settled ... If we happen to forget the Mongolian language and fall under the influence of any other country's language, the Mongolian nationality will be extinguished..."<sup>36</sup>

31) The Arab alphabet had a lot of other shortcomings apart from the linguistic ones, such as for example a too strong connection to the past and the religion, and moreover, using the Arab script would result in isolation of the Muslim world from the other USSR nationalities as well as from the outside world. (Алпатов 2000, p. 68). On the other hand, Cyrillic was negatively perceived by those USSR nationalities which had been exposed to the Russification policy of the Tsarist Russia. (Crisp 1989, p. 28).

32) Алпатов 2000, p. 68.

33) Ibid. p. 69–70.

34) According to Kornousova (Kornousova 2001, p. 6) it was in 1930.

35) Latin үсүг-үн довтолган-и өргөн-ийер гүйцедкекү тугай. *Үнэн*, No. 189, 15.8.1931.

36) Шагдарсүрэн 2000, p. 18. Doc. Luvsandorji remembers the same ideas being expressed in

There are certain sources<sup>37</sup> which lead to the conclusion that in the early 1930s there was the intention to create one single alphabet and a literary language based on one dialect for to serve all Mongolian languages, including Kalmyk and Buryat. This matter was discussed at a conference held on 10–17th January 1931 in Moscow under the auspices of the Scientific association for nationality and colonial questions. At that time, however, initiatives of that kind were perceived as the display of pan-mongolism and capitalistic jingoism and therefore condemned to be rejected soon.

The necessity for changing the alphabet was widely explained in the spirit of the time: the Mongolian script described as the instrument of feudalism and exploitation, the script of yellow and black (i.e. religious and secular) oppressors and officials who had oppressed the Mongolian people for centuries. The impracticality of the Mongolian script, already referred to as “old” (*хуучин*) was pointed out, such as one letter having more than one form caused discomfort for typographers. It was also said that the Mongolian script was not adjusted for use in various areas of science, for example in physics, astrological calculations, natural sciences or even in music, which makes it an immediate obstacle in the development of “learning and culture of the new revolution of our days.”<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, the Latin alphabet, generally referred to as “the new alphabet” (*šine üsüg*) was promoted as the instrument that would help to uproot feudalism and install a culture of revolution. As the alphabet of international character which is used not only in Western Europe and America, but also in Azerbaidzhan, Uzbekistan and other regions of USSR, it would help to enlighten the extremely backward Mongolian people and install the progressive societal order.<sup>39</sup> In no later texts Western Europe or America are mentioned.

According to the USSR’s model the Council for Latin Alphabet or the Council for the New Alphabet, as some other sources refer to this organisation, was established to control the development of a new alphabet.<sup>40</sup>

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a little booklet written by Jamyan, the former chairman of the Institute of Sutras and Writings, that had once passed his hands.

37) Понне 1930; Пунне 2000, p. 280–281.

38) Kuučin ysegiig kalazi niiteer latiinčilka tukai. *Ünen*, No. 145, 22.8.1932.; Latin üsüg-ün dobtulyan-i örgen-iyer güiçedkekü tuqai. *Ünen*, No. 189, 15.8.1931.

39) Latin üsüg-ün dobtulyan-i örgen-iyer güiçedkekü tuqai. *Ünen*, No. 189, 15.8.1931.

40) All-Union Central Committee for the New Turkic Alphabet was established in Baku in 1925 (or a year later according to some other sources). It was moved to Moscow in 1930 and re-organized to the All-Union Central Committee for the New Alphabet. At the time of implementing the Cyrillic alphabets (1937) it was liquidated and most of its leading linguists met a tragic fate. (Алпатов 2000, p. 48, 88; Crips 1989, p 28).

B. Ishdorj, Dugarjav and Jamsaranov were entrusted with the work; Ishdorj's booklet called "The Instructions to the New Mongolian Alphabet" (*Монголын шинэ үсгийн заавар*) was published in Ulan Bator in 1931.<sup>41</sup> D. Natsagdorj, the famous writer and founder of Mongolian modern literature, also developed the Latinized alphabet. Working as an editor of "The Youth's Truth" (*Залуучуудын үнэн*), he started to work on his own version of the alphabet and continued to improve it while working at the Academy of Sciences (*Шинжлэх ухааны хүрээлэн*) in 1931–1936. Later it was published in *The Rules of the Mongolian Language and Latinization* (*Монгол хэлний ба латинчлалтын дүрэм*). Compared with Ishdorj's Latin alphabet published in the newspapers as the approved version, there were *ch* and *sh* used in Natsagdorj's alphabet instead of *ç* [č] a *ş* [š], that was based on the alphabets used in the countries with a "developed culture" and, among other things, was also supposed to eliminate possible difficulties with typography or typewriting.<sup>42</sup>

Although the deadlines for implementing the Latin alphabet set up by the MPRS's Central Committee after the party's 8<sup>th</sup> Congress (September 1931 for schools, courses, newspapers, etc.; May 1932 for clerks; May 1933 for offices, factories and public institutions) were not met, a regular column called "The new alphabet" (*Шинэ үсгийн булан*) began to appear in the newspapers followed by whole articles and pages written in the new, Latinized alphabet. The headlines and articles in the newspapers are the very place where the development of the Mongolian Latinized alphabet can be traced. One of the most remarkable details is representing long vowels with an apostrophe after a single vowel indicating its length, subsequently changed to doubling the particular vowel.

In expectation of the impending implementation of the Latin alphabet many people began to refuse to learn the traditional Mongolian script and there were even cases where the old books and sutras were destroyed and burned since they were regarded as attributes of the feudal regime. Damdinsüren strongly criticized this kind of behaviour in his above mentioned booklet and added that "...the time to implement the new alphabet (to the wide masses) has not come yet".<sup>43</sup>

The decision on the final implementation of the Latin alphabet to be executed was adopted in the resolution of the MPRP's Central Committee dated

41) Пүрэвжав 2004, p. 2; Төмөрготоо 2005, p. 21.

42) Пүрэвжав 2004, p. 2

43) Damdinsürüng 1934, p. 7.

3.5.1940 that was based on the resolution of the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the MPRP about the implementation of the Latin alphabet and the Arabic numerals in order to facilitate the development of culture and education and elimination of illiteracy.<sup>44</sup>

This resolution was subsequently ratified by the resolution of the Council of the People's Ministers dated 26.7.1940 and the resolution adopted on the joint meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the MPRP and Council of the People's Ministers dated 21.2.1941. In the end, however, the Latin alphabet was not destined to be implemented at all, for about a month later (25.3.1941) the presidium of CC MPRP and CM issued another joint resolution overruling all the previous resolutions and declaring the introduction of a new alphabet based on the Cyrillic alphabet.<sup>45</sup> And again, the reasons for this sudden and surprising change of course must be searched for in Soviet Union.

**Implementation of the Cyrillic alphabet.** After it became clear that the world revolution could not be expected very soon, the political development in the USSR changed course and focused on building socialism within one country. The ideas of internationalism were no longer an issue and the question of interethnic communication within the Soviet Union became a priority, and, basically there was no doubt that the role of the communicational agent would fall onto Russian. From the second half of the 1930s the language policy began to change, too. According to the present-day Russian linguists, the 1st of June 1935, when the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of USSR made the decision to implement the Cyrillic alphabet for nationalities of the North, was the landmark.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, even after this decision, new Latinized alphabets were created and those previously created were further improved. The shift from the Latin alphabets to the Cyrillic ones generated a big discussion: the linguists of the All-Union Central Committee for the New Alphabet considered such a change dangerous and warned that such a sudden change of the alphabets might result in temporary illiteracy. However, the matter had already been decided higher up.<sup>47</sup>

The shift to Cyrillic logically affected only the Latin alphabets: none of the new alphabets created during the 1920s –1930s survived till 1950. The

44) For full text of the resolution see p. 71.

45) For full text of the resolution see p. 74.

46) Алпатов 2000, p. 87.

47) Ibid. p. 88.

Kalmyks began to use the new alphabet in 1937,<sup>48</sup> the Buryats in 1939. The implementation of the new Cyrillic alphabets was even more accelerated than that of Latinized alphabets, as a rule it had to be completed within a year. Linguists agree that with only minor exceptions (for example the Chuwash alphabet) the newly created alphabets were not qualitatively as good as the previous Latin alphabets, because in spite of the fact that the experience gained from creating the Latinized alphabets were used and in many cases those alphabets were simply transliterated into Cyrillic, and although the linguists who were lucky to survive the repressions participated in the work there was lack of any coordination (AUCENA did not exist any more) and the power to make decisions was in the hands of linguistically unqualified local authorities.<sup>49</sup>

In Mongolia the reasoning against the traditional script remained basically the same. Now, however, the ties to the Soviet Union were emphasized more often, as well as the benefits resulting from the fact that the spelling rules of the new Cyrillic alphabet would be based on colloquial Mongolian thus reflecting the pronunciation naturally, facilitating its mastery. At the same time it was mentioned that introducing the Latin alphabet was strongly criticized; it was not welcome by the people and moreover, the characters of the Latin alphabet did not fit well to write Mongolian.<sup>50</sup> Based on some statements in the newspapers we can come to the conclusion that the new Cyrillic alphabet elicited also some negative reactions and the voices warned against the loss of independence and transformation of all Mongolian into the Russian. The advocates of this attitude were likened to nationalists, lamas and feudal lords against whom the relentless struggle was proclaimed.<sup>51</sup>

Ts. Damdinsüren, a researcher of the Academy of Science, was appointed to work out the new alphabet. The newly created alphabet contained all the characters of the Russian alphabet with two more characters *γ* and *ø* for the non-pharyngeal vowels [ū] and [ö] added. Along with the alphabet the new spelling rules based on the Central Khalkh dialect were developed in conformity with the principles applied for introducing the new alphabets and developing the new literary languages in the Soviet Union that should

48) Kornousova 2001, p. 6.

49) Алпатов 2000, p. 89. For more details about Stalin's language policy see Алпатов 2000, p. 89-133.

50) Oros üsüg deger-e ündüsülgсsн mongyol šine üseg-i batulqu tuqai. Sinjileküi uqayan, 1941, No. 1, p. 8.

51) Ibid. p. 9.

have been based on any commonly used dialects.<sup>52</sup> This way Khalkh, already prestigious enough, was raised to the standard variety<sup>53</sup> of Mongolian that had fundamental significance for the further development of the linguistic situation in Mongolia, because apart from natural influence it inevitably had it was intentionally used for the ideological purposes of elimination the differences between the dialects and creating a socialist national identity with one unifying language.

The deadlines for implementation of the new alphabet must have been very short: the first newspaper with the headlines in Cyrillic were published on 12.5.1941 (ҮНЭН, No. 38 (992)), later on the regular column "The new script" (*Шинэ үсгийн булан*) began to appear again. The details of the new alphabet as well as the spelling rules were, judging by the newspapers of those days, adjusted already in the course of the implementation: for example the letter *e* was later changed into *э*, or, before the long vowels began to be marked by means of doubling, as it is today, they were marked with a line under the vowel in question, etc.

On January the 14st, 1946 all the newspapers in the country were using in the new Cyrillic alphabet.<sup>54</sup> Despite the strict schedule the implementation of the new alphabet and the elimination of illiteracy apparently did not proceed as fast as planned. At the beginning the lack of qualified teachers was a big problem, and therefore schoolchildren were often appointed teachers in courses for adults, especially during the summer holidays.<sup>55</sup> The lack of writing material, teaching aids and even textbooks for the beginners was another problem. The administrative units, organization, but even the teachers had quotas set up specifying how many people must be taught to read and write; there was certain sum of money offered as a reward for the teachers.<sup>56</sup> The quality of the training, especially in adult classes, remains questionable. Doc. Luvsandorji mentions that the literacy certificates were often given just in return for attending the courses regardless of whether the

52) Алпатов 2000, p. 48. The same principle has been already applied in Mongolian latinized alphabet.

53) A standard variety (or standard language) is a particular variety of a language that has been given either legal or quasi-legal status. It is said to be the most "correct" language of a nation. Written texts usually follow its spelling and grammar norms.

54) According to the information available as from that day the Cyrillic script should have been used in all spheres of life. (Cf. Хөдөлмөрчдийг-2).

55) J. Luvsandorji.

56) Хөдөлмөрчдийг бичигт сургаж байгаа ажлын явцаас. *Үнэн*, 12.8.1949, № 284 (4360); Хөдөлмөрчдийг-2; Завхан аймагт ардын бичиг сургаж байгаа. *Үнэн*, 5.11.1949, № 258 (4334), p. 3.

people were really able to read and write. For example, 42% of 3515 newly literate adults examined in Ulan Bator in May 1949 failed.<sup>57</sup> Despite these and some other problems a gradual growth of the literacy rate was officially declared; for example in 1949 it reached 55%. It is also worth noting the great contribution of the army in particular in implementing the new alphabet.<sup>58</sup> Finally, the last deadline for completing the new alphabet and implementation of the spelling rules was fixed on 1.7.1950.<sup>59</sup>

The new alphabet, but especially the spelling rules generated a virulent discussion in professional circles. The critical voices, that could not publicly express their opinions during the implementing of the new alphabet, were not long in coming as soon as the political atmosphere enabled it. In the second half of the 1950s, in a time of political warming following Marshal Kh. Choibalsan's (26.1.1952) and J. Stalin's (5.3.1953) death, several articles discussing this matter appeared in the press, and after that a collection of specialized articles by B. Rinchen, L. Mishig, Sh. Luvsanvandan, Ts. Damdinsüren and other leading Mongolian linguists.<sup>60</sup> They were critical in relation to many aspects of the newly employed alphabet and spelling rules, starting with the linguistically insufficiently founded approach through the excessive pursuit to bring the written language as closely as possible to the phonology of the colloquial language up to purely linguistic issues. They also presented a number of suggestions how the spelling rules should be reformed. The question of improving or reforming the spelling rules was discussed by Mongolian, Soviet and Chinese linguists at the International Scientific Conference held in June 1957 in Ulan Bator.<sup>61</sup> Although Damdinsüren publicly recognized some deficiencies of the new spelling rules,<sup>62</sup> he refused any possible adjustments, warning i.a. that any reform might result in a new wave of illiteracy.<sup>63</sup> It is

57) Хөдөлмөрчдийг-2.

58) Ibid.; Рупен 2000, p. 304.

59) Хөдөлмөрчдийг-2.

60) The public discussion on the Mongolian spelling rules was undoubtedly supported by the fact that the possible employment of the Cyrillic alphabet was discussed for some time in Inner Mongolia, too. (Cf. Дамдинсүрэн 1957, p. 9).

61) Пүрэвжав 2004, p. 5; Цагаан толгой 27 үсэгтэй болох уу? *Өдрийн сонин*, 17.12.2004, № 309. Он: www.sonin.mn.

62) Дамдинсүрэн 1957, p. 9.

63) Пүрэвжав 2004, p. 5. The position of Damdinsüren obviously was not easy. Different stories are being told about how he was forced to create the new alphabet and use Cyrillic as its base. One such story says that Choibalsan and Tsendenbal made him work out the alphabet after being released from jail where he had spend 11 months as a result of a false accusation (Choimaа, Ванчиндорж 1994). According to another piece of unofficial information he was privately disclosing he had to obey some decisions of Marshal Choibalsan made



therefore possible that his argumentation made up one of the reasons why the Mongols still use the spelling rules codified at that time with only minor changes since then.

For the following decades the language standard was set up by the newspaper of the Central Committee of the MPRP “Truth” (Үнэн), or, by the state radio and television for the spoken language.<sup>64</sup> At the same time the influence and prestige of Russian was gradually growing, becoming extremely strong especially in the 1970s–1980s.

**Efforts to restore the Mongolian script.** But let’s return to the Mongolian script for a while. Due to the lack of textbooks published in the Cyrillic alphabet it is said the old textbooks in Mongolian script were in use approximately until 1960s, which required preserving the Mongolian script in the curriculum for at least this period. Later it was taught only at the colleges and universities of humanities.<sup>65</sup>

In the middle of 1985 it was decided to start with the experimental instruction of the Mongolian script as a facultative subject in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> classes of the general education secondary schools.<sup>66</sup> This change of attitude was undoubtedly related to the beginning crisis of the socialist block reflected in the policy of openness in public (*гласность*) and a relative slackening of the reins, which subsequently led to the full dissolution of the USSR in 1991. The efforts to reinstate the traditional script and employ it as the official script of the country from 1994<sup>67</sup> proved to be the symbol of freedom from another country’s dependence, entering the way to democracy and moreover, the symbol of restoration of the own traditions and culture.

Most of the activities related to the Mongolian script after 1990 were focused on preparation and requalification of teachers, supply with textbooks, teaching aids and reading books, a methodology for teaching the script at schools, organizing public courses and seminars, publishing newspapers and other publications in Mongolian script, etc. The schools with teachers of the required qualification introduced the Mongolian script schooling in 1<sup>st</sup> classes in the school year 1990–1991, and commencing the school year 1992–1993

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under the influence of his Russian adviser, who spoke no Mongolian at all. He, however, has never mentioned this publicly and advocated his views by means of the linguistically founded arguments. (Doc. Luvsandorji).

64) Төмөргогоо.

65) Далхажав 1977.

66) *Монгол бичиг* 2004, p. 9–11.

67) Ibid. p. 30.

the Mongolian script schooling was introduced in the 1<sup>st</sup> classes all around the country.<sup>68</sup> TV gradually broadcasted 40 lessons of the Mongolian script lectured by Prof. Sh. Choimaa, one of the leading specialists in the Mongolian script and classical Mongolian.

With all the ebullience and vision of the old traditions returned, the difficult economical situation that accompanied the transition from a centralized and state regulated economy to a market economy in the early 1990s was crucially underestimated. And the problem was not only a lack of paper or printing machines. The collapse of most of the enterprises, price liberalization, the deficiency of consumer goods and food that resulted even in introducing food-cards for a period of time, as well as some other signs of the so-called transition period meant for most people that solving the economic problems and assuring certainty for their families became the utmost priority, and the importance of knowing or not knowing the Mongolian script became secondary.

Just four years later, the government, not satisfied with the results of introducing the Mongolian script, made an attempt to stop the entire project and restore the Cyrillic alphabet as a means for schooling. At the same time it was proposed to work out a National Programme for the Mongolian Script (*Монгол бичгийн үндэсний хөтөлбөр*) that was supposed to guarantee the preservation of the Mongolian script within the schooling program and establish favourable conditions for full mastery and implementation the Mongolian script in the future.<sup>69</sup> Despite two presidential vetoes and the adoption of a National Programme for the Mongolian Script (23.6.1995) the intention to re-introduce Mongolian script seems to have failed, though this has officially not been declared. Some people, however, would like to have the Mongolian script reinstated and still consider this question open.<sup>70</sup>

## Conclusion

Although the processes described in this paper may seem to be related more to the script or alphabet, in fact due to the principle of “making the spelling rules as close to the phonetic representation of Mongolian as possible” they have crucially affected the further development of the Mongolian language

68) *Монгол бичиг* 2004, p. 22.

69) *Ibid.* p. 43-61.

70) Алтанцэцэг, Санчир.

and become one of the factors which have shaped the language situation in Mongolia one could observe in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The language (or script) related changes described here must be seen as a part of the historical period they occurred in; usually they had a strong political and ideological background, but the personal confidence of people in charge in the benefit of implementing those changes must not be neglected. Moreover, it is shown here that the issue of a language or an alphabet could be very well transformed into an instrument of enforcing ideological convictions of the ruling power, just as it could acquire a symbolical meaning, as was pointed out when the efforts to restore the Mongolian script in early 1990s were described.

Today, the linguists say there are many things from the past that still remain unsolved, but they are also aware of increasing number of new issues and influences that will have to be dealt with in the future. Therefore this paper is going to be followed by a second part in which the current trends in Mongolian language planning will be discussed in near future.

## Appendix I

### One of the resolutions on implementation of the Latin alphabet

*Nam-un töb qoriyan-u terigülegčid-ün qural-un toytayal-ud*

*Mongyol arad-un qubisqaltu nam-un töb qoriyan-u terigülegčid-ün 5 duyar qural-ača mongyol üsüg-i latinčilaqu tuqai yaryaysan toytayal*

*Mongyol-un sin-e üsüg-ün tuqai sinjileküi uqayan-u küriyeleng-ün iledgel-i sonusuyad mongyol arad-un qubisqaltu nam-un töb qoriyan-ača temdeglekü inü: edüge man-u kereglejü бүкүү qayučin mongyol биңг болbasu kimi, fheška toyan-u uqayan-u jerge sinjileküi uqayan-u č-u čiqula ner-e tomiya nuyud-i jöb бүгед todorqai-bar биңжу болqu үгеi-yin deder-e olan yangju-bar qubilday učir өргөн olan түмен arad-un surqu-tur berkesiyeltei ba arad olan-u yarian-u kelen-ü ayalу-bar биңг jokiyal-i биңжу болqu үгеi qarılčan jorigүү jerge el-e učir-ača man-u orun-u ündüsün-ü mayiy бүкүү бүгед qubisqal-un činar бүкүү soyol болbasural-i qurdun-iyar kögǵigülkü yabudal-dur sayad boluysayar bayimui. Iymu-yin tula qayučin üsüg-i ögerečilekü asayudal anu man-u ködelmüričin arad түмен-ü soyol болbasural-un qočuruydaysan bayidal-i usadyaqu ba soyol болbasural-un bayiуululta-yi činaysita kügǵigülkü yabudal-dur masi yeke ulus törü-yin čiqula qolbuydal-tai asayudal bolumui.*

*Mongyol arad-un qubisqaltu nam-un arbaduyar yeke qural-ača “soyol bol-basural-i kögöjigülkü ba arad tümen-i bičig üsüg-tür suryaqu yabudal-i döküm bolyaqu-yin tula latin üsüg-i suryaqu ačil-i jokiyaju tabun jil-ün dotur-a lat-in üsüg-i suryaqu-ača yadan-a, arav toy-a-yi kereglekü jirüm-i delgeregülin yabuyulsuyai” kemen jiyaysan boduly-a-ača ündüsülejü nam-un töb qorıyan-u terigülegčid-ün qural-ača toytayaqu anu.*

*Nige. Mongyol-un sin-e üsüg-i kereglekü tuqai asayudal-i bolbasurayulun beldgekü-yin tulata jasay-un yajar-un komis-i bayiyulqu yabudal-i sayid nar-un jöblel-dür dayayalyasuyai.*

*Qoyar. Mongyol-un latinčılaysan sin-e üsüg-ün tölüblegen-ü tuqai sinjile-küi uqayan-u küriyeleng-ün iledgel-i enekü komis-tur siljigüljü kelelčegülsügei. Turba. Sinjileküi uqayan-u küriyeleng-dür dayayalyaqa anu.*

1. *Sin-e üsüg-ün tölüblegen-i olan neite-yin qural jöblelgen nügüd ba keblel-üd-iyer damjiyulun örgen-iyer sigümjilen kelelčegülkü ačil-i yabuyulsuyai.*

2. *Enekü sin-e üsüg-i kereglekü tuqai tölüblege-yi bolbasurayulju batulayulqu quyučay-a-yi ene on 9 sar-a-yin nigen-ü inaru toytayasuyai.*

*Dörbe. Arav toy-a-yi kereglekü tuqai tölüblege-yi 6 sar-a-yin nigen-ü inaru bolabsurayulun batulayulqu-yi sinjileküi uqayan-u küriyeleng-eče erkilen güyčedgekü ba bolbasurayulun jokiyaysan sin-e üsüg-ün tölüblege debter-i oyir-a-yin čay-tur keblen neyitelekü yabudal-i ulus-un keblel-dür dayayalyasuyai. 30 on 5 sar-a-yin 3 edür-e terigülegčid-ün 5 duyar qural-un 2 duyar jüyl-dür batulabai*

### **The resolutions of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party**

#### **The resolution of the latinization of the Mongolian script (i.e. alphabet) adopted on the 5<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party**

Having listened to the report of the Academy of Science concerning the new Mongolian script (i.e. alphabet) the Central Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party states as follows: Since it is not possible to use the old Mongolian script (i.e. alphabet) [used by us currently] for writing down the chemical, physical, mathematical and other important scientific terms unambiguously, and they are being reproduced in many different ways, which makes it difficult for people to study, and, since it is not possible to

write books and literature in the colloquial speech of people because the two differ [from each other], it (i.e. the old Mongolian script) restrains the quick development of our country's national style as well as culture and education of the revolution. Therefore the question of changing our old script (i.e. alphabet) becomes the foremost important political task in order to eliminate the cultural and educational backwardness of our workpeople and to further develop [our] culture and educational system.

Based on the policy indicated by the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party saying that "in order to develop the culture and education and to facilitate the teaching of reading and writing to our people, teaching of Latin alphabet shall be organized, and except for learning the Latin alphabet, the rules for the use of Arabic numerals shall be disseminated within five years" the Central Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party and the Council of Ministers resolve as follows:

Firstly, the Council of Ministers shall be in charge of establishing a government committee for working out and preparing the implementation of the new Mongolian script (i.e. alphabet).

Secondly, a report on the project of the Mongolian latinized alphabet [worked out] by the Academy of Sciences shall be passed to and discussed by this committee.

Thirdly, let the Academy of Sciences shall be in charge of:

1. organizing public discussions and criticism of the project of the new alphabet at public meetings and councils, as well as through the press.
2. the term for working out and approving the project of implementing this new alphabet shall be fixed on [no later than] 1<sup>st</sup> of 9<sup>th</sup> month of this year.

Fourthly, the Academy of Sciences shall be in charge of fulfillment of working out and approving of the project of implementation of the Arabic numerals by the 1<sup>st</sup> of June and the State Printing [House] shall be in charge of printing the booklets of the new alphabet in the near future. Approved on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month of the 30<sup>th</sup> year [of the Mongol State] as the 2<sup>nd</sup> item [of the agenda] of the Presidium's 5<sup>th</sup> meeting.

## Appendix II

### The first resolution on implementation of the Cyrillic alphabet

31 on 3 sar-a 25-u edür<sup>71</sup>

*Mongyol arad-un qubisqaltu nam-un töb qoriyan-u terigülegčid ba sayid nar-un jöblel-ün qamturaysan qural-ača yaryaysan 22, 18 duyar qural-un toytayal*

*Mongyol-un sin-e üsüg-i toytayaqu tuqai*

*Mongyol üsüg-i latinčilaqu-dur mön kü latin üsüg-tür mongyol kelen-dür kereglegdekü temdeg dutaydal tai ba mön keblel-ün tal-a-yin dutaydal jerge teknik-ün berkesiyel tokiyalduqu bayimui. Tus orun-u soyul bolbasural-un činayšida-yin kögfilte inü yayča kü jöbleltü qolbuyatu ulus-un arad tümen tei aq-a degüü-yin qolbuy-a-yi bekijigüljü tegün-ü bayalay soyol-i ejemsikü jam-iyar yabuqu bolumui.*

*Man-u erke čilüge-ben oluysan arad tümen-dür čiqula kereglegdekü büküile qubisqal-un jokiyal bičig oros kelen deger-e keblegdedeg ba mongyol arad ulus-un бүкүүle ажу ақуі-уіп салбури нууд-тур кереглегдекү mergejil бүкүүi үндүсүн-ү sin-e күчүн-i youl төлөб jöbleltü qolbayatu ulus-tur ya-buyulju bolbasurayulday bayimui. Ene бүгүде-уі қаруалжау mongyol arad-un qubisqaltu nam-un töb qoriy-a ba sayid nar-un jöblel-eče toytayaqu anu.*

1. Mongyol bičig-i sin-e oros üsüg deger-e siljigülün abqu yabudal čiqula kemen üjemüi.
2. Sin-e-ber төлүблегсен mongyol üsüg-үн төлүблеге-уі jöbsiyerejü neyite-dür kelelčegülkü-ber jarlasuyai. Egün-ü jergejege-ber latin üsüg-i sudulqu yabudal-i joysuyaju neyite arad tümen ba bülгүм дууууиланг-уд-тур enekü toytayal-iyar suduluyulsuyai.
3. Oros üsüg deger-e үндүсүлегсен mongyol-un sin-e üsüg-үн ечүс-үн төлүблеге-уі neyite-dür jarlaju kelelčegülügsen sanal-i qarayaljan 1 sar-a-yin dotur-a mongyol arad-un qubisqaltu nam-un töb qoriyan-u terigülegčid ba jasay-un yajar-iyar oruyulun batulayulqu yabudal-i nöкүр čedenbal daruy-a-tai ulus-un komis-tur dayayalyasuyai.
4. Sin-e üsüg-үн төлүблеген-ү qamtu-bar üsüg-үн дүрүм ба sin-e üsüg-tür siljin oruqu quyučay-a болун жирүм-ун туқай abqu ару-а кемжйен-ү

71) Ard'n yndesni' erx, No. 27 (977), 31.3.1941, p. 1.

*tölublege-yi bolbasirayulun talbiqu yabudal-i ulus-un komis ba sinjileküi uqayan-u küriyeleng-dür dayayalyasuyai.*

5. *Arad-un sayid nar-un jöblel-ün qural-aça yaryaysan 1940 on-u 7 sar-a-yin 26-u edür-ün 27 duyar toytayal, mön mongyol arad-un qubisqaltu nam-un töb qoriyan-u terigülegčid-ün ba sayid nar-un jöblel-ün qural-aça yaryaysan 1941 on-u 2 sar-a-yin 21-ü edür-e-ün (mongyol-un sin-e üsüg-i latinčilan abqu) tuqai 17, 13 duyar toytayal-i ögerečilesügei.*

*Nam-un töb qoriyan-u yerüngkei narin bičig-ün daruy-a Čedenbal. Yerüngkei sayid maršal Čoyibalsang.*

The 25<sup>th</sup> day of the 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the 31<sup>st</sup> year [of the Mongol State]

**The resolution No. 22, 18 adopted at the joint meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party and the Council of Ministers**

Setting up the new Mongolian alphabet

As to the latinization of the Mongolian alphabet, there were some technical difficulties, such as [it has turned out that] the Latin alphabet is deficient in characters to be used for the Mongolian language and is also unsuitable for printing purposes. In the future [we] shall be strengthening brotherly ties with the people of the Soviet Union only and develop the culture and education of this (i.e. our) country in order to master their rich culture.

All the revolutionary literature that is so necessary for our people is published in Russian and all the new national specialists of all fields employed in every economic sector of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic are being sent to the Soviet Union for training and education. Having taken into consideration all these [facts] the Central Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party and the Council of Ministers resolve as follows:

1. Replacing the Mongolian script with the new Russian (i.e. cyrilized) script is considered to be important.
2. It shall be announced to agree on the newly planned project of the Mongolian alphabet and present it for public discussion. At the same time studying of the Latin alphabet shall be stopped and all the people, groups and clubs shall study as stipulated in this resolution.
3. The State Committee lead by Comrade Tsedenbal shall be in charge of

passing the project of the new Mongolian alphabet based on the Russian alphabet after it has been publicly announced and discussed, and the results [of the discussions] taken into consideration, to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party and the Government for approval.

4. The State Committee and Academy of Sciences shall be in charge of preparing a draft of the measures to be taken in connection with the deadlines and the procedure of implementing the new alphabet along with the project of the new alphabet [itself].
5. The resolution No. 27 shall be adopted at the meeting of the Council of Ministers on July the 26th, 1940, as well as the resolution No. 17, 13 about (Adopting the new latinized Mongolian alphabet) adopted at the meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Peoples' Revolutionary Party and the Council of Ministers on February the 21st, 1941 shall be changed.

Tsedenbal, the Secretary General of the Party's Central Committee  
Marshal Choibalsan, the Prime Minister







U u	M m	L l
U s	Sum	U' l
u.	.. m	l
Qurban	bu'	baina.
sum	baina.	U'land
baina.	Namnand	qurban
baina.	Usand	adu'
barina bi.		irb.
		da'q
as // d. la'nd //		
xailna // B. // q. ld //		
dul. cna //		
M m +	L l +	X x +
Nam	mal	xana
Monqol ardi'n xubisxalt nami'n aldar ix.		
U u	Y y	J j
uls	syr	bajan.
Bygd nairmdax monqol ard ulsi'n mal syrg bajlag.		
Bajan syrg mala' 200 saj xyрге.		
E e	O o	Z z
Cerg	one	zorig.
Manai xubisxalt cerg		
Ard bid cergde'n xairtai.		
Manai cergi'n zorig xurc.		
Manai ulsi'n darxan xili de'r bideni xairt ax		
dy'ner xubisxalt cergi'n albanda'n daisani'g sergilen		
nyd anilgyi manana, xerbe, daisan irbel 1939 ond		
xalxi'n qold Bajаn caqa'ni' nu'rund.		
xarxisi'n cergi'g coxisoni' adil daxin xemxi nirgexd		
belxen baina.		

Picture 3-4. Newspaper headline in Latin alphabet and the column of the New Alphabet from the period just before switching to the Cyrillic alphabet. Ardi'n yndesni' erx, No. 25 (976), 24.3.1941, p. 1, 2.

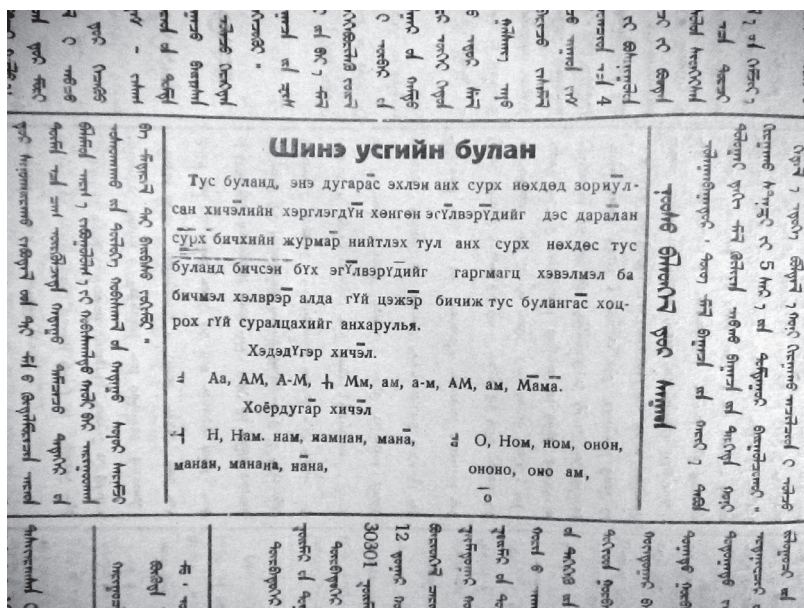




Picture 5. Newspaper headline in Cyrillic alphabet at the very beginning of its implementation. Ардын үндесний эрх, No. 38, May 1941, p. 1, 2.



Picture 6. Newspaper headline in Cyrillic alphabet published shortly after the previous one where some spelling changes applied within those few days are apparent. Ардын үндэсны эрх, No. 43 (997), 27.5.1941.



Picture 7. One of the first columns of the New Alphabet shows the spelling of the early period of implementing the Cyrillic alphabet. Ардын үндэсний эрх, No. 62 (1015), 28.7.1941, p. 4.

## Abbreviations

AUCCHA – All-Union Central Committee for the New Alphabet.

Монгол бичиг – Монгол бичиг. Хорин жилийн товчоон. УБ 2004. (See Bibliography).

MPRP – Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party

Хөдөлмөрчдийг-2 – Хөдөлмөрчдийг шинэ бичигт сургах ажлын явцын тухай Монгол Ардын Хувьсгалт Намын Төв Хорооны (1949.12.1-ний) тогтоол. *Үнэн*, 4.1.1950, № 3 (4383). (See Bibliography).

УБ – Улаанбаатар

## Interviews

ALTANTSETSEG, S. – Editress in Mongolian Television.

LUVSANDORJI, J. – Teacher of Mongolian at Charles University, Prague.

PUREVJAV, E. – Researcher in Institute for Mongolian language and Literature of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences.

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TUMURTOGOO, D., Dr.(Sc.) – Professor in the Centre for Mongolian Studies, Mongolian National University, Academician.

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# The phonetics of foreignisms coming through Russian into present-day Mongolian

## (2. Consonants)

J. Lubsangdorji

**Summary:** The paper further develops the subject by presenting one aspect of ‘mongolization’ of foreign words coming through Russian (Lubsangdorji 2004), this time concentrating on consonants. In the first part the adaptation of consonants and the related changes are systematically presented (single consonants and consonant clusters). Besides that there are two shorter sections showing the manner of transmission of foreign features on the basis of writing (and reading) the classical Mongolian script and the Cyrillic script. One section discusses the transmission of foreign elements through ordinary colloquial speech. At the end a number of interesting cases of folk etymology occurring in the process of integrating foreign words into Mongolian are briefly discussed.

### 0.

It is not the intention of this paper to present a contrastive analysis of the Russian and Mongolian system of consonants. The aim is to show the most frequent changes occurring in foreign words in Mongolian from the point of view of communication. Foreign words coming into Mongolian through Russian are printed in the Mongolian press in the original spelling. Therefore there are many cases of mispronunciation among those studying and speaking Mongolian. The concrete pronunciation is normally quite different from the written form. For example, the Khalkha pronunciation of the Russian words **бидон** < *бидон* (can, container) and **бетон** < *бетон* (concrete) is the same, viz. [b'ata:ŋ]. There is no systematic research or manual, which would record this type of pronunciation, there may be cases of misunderstanding. With this in mind I have divided the process of ‘mongolization’ of Russian consonants into two parts:

- a) pronunciation of single consonants
- b) pronunciation of double consonants or consonant clusters

The words are mentioned in the form of the nominative. However, it may be important for both research and practical learning to show how the pronunciation of these words changes if they occur in other forms, e.g. followed

by case suffixes or sometimes also by derivative suffixes. It is because the case forms (genitive, dative, ablative) of borrowings from Russian can have two variants:<sup>1</sup>

e.g.

**palaadž** < *платье* (dress, clothes)

*genitive:* **palaadžiin** / **palaadžnii**; *dative:* **palaadžind** / **palaadžid**;

*ablative:* **palaadžnaas** / **palaadžaas**; *plural:* **palaadžnuud** / **palaadžuud**

There is no established rule of how these words should be correctly declined. Therefore the variant forms can be indicated in square brackets at the end of the respective stems ([ ]). It should be underlined that doublets are in fact a regular feature of foreign words in any language.

## 1. Pronunciation of single consonants

### 1.1. Stops

#### 1.1.2. Velar stops

In Mongolian there is no phoneme *k* and therefore it is replaced by other velar consonants. The following alternative changes conditioned by the immediate phonetic combinations with either front or back vowels can be observed in borrowings:

**k** > **h** / **ᠬ** (initial and medial position, in most words)

**dooh'tor** < *доктор* (doctor)

**mih'roov**[on] < *микроб* (microbe)

**mihirsokoov**[on] < *микроскоп* (microscope)

**mihirfoᠭ**[n] < *микрофон* (microphone)

**ᠬᠠᠨ'ᠬᠢᠢ**[n] < *коньки* (a pair of skates)

**ᠬᠠᠯᠠᠭᠠᠨ**[n] < *клапан* (valve)

**ᠬᠠᠮᠪᠠᠭᠢ**[n] < *комбайн* (combine harvester)

**ᠬᠣᠯᠣᠭᠢ**[in] < *колонка* (petrol pump)

1) For example such variants arise when stems are formed either with or without -n-. They are formed on the basis of the analogy with the Mongolian distinction between nominal stems having -n- and those without -n-.

**ᠬᠣᠮᠠᠮᠤᠨ**[on] < *компот* (mixed stewed fruit)

**ᠬᠣᠮᠪᠢᠨᠵᠣᠨ**[n] < *комбинезон* (overalls)

**ᠬᠠᠪᠢᠯ** / **ᠬᠠᠪᠠᠯ** < *кабель* (cable)

**ᠬᠠᠶᠢᠢᠨᠬᠡ**[an] / **ᠬᠠᠶᠢᠢᠨ**[n] < *кабина* (cabin)

**ᠬᠠᠶᠨᠢᠢᠳ** / **ᠬᠠᠮᠨᠢᠳ** < *кабинет* (cabinet)

**k > g** (in the initial position in ‘male’ words in a few cases)

**ᠭᠣᠨᠳᠣᠨ**[n] < *кондом* (condom)

**ᠭᠠᠯᠠᠪᠰᠠᠭ**[n] < *колбаса* (sausage)

**k > g** (in ‘female’ words in the medial and final positions; the final vowels in Russian words are lost in Mongolian):

**ᠭᠢᠳᠵᠡᠮ**[en] < *екзема* (eczema)

**ᠢᠭᠢᠭᠢᠰ** < *икс* (name of Latin letter ‘x’)

**ᠢᠭᠢᠭᠢᠭ** < *изрик* (name of the letter ‘y’)

**ᠮᠢᠬᠠᠨᠠᠭ** < *механика* (mechanics)

**ᠲᠡᠬᠡᠨᠭ** < *техника* (technology)

**ᠦᠷᠦᠦᠲᠦᠰᠢᠭ** < *ручка* (door handle)

### 1.1.3. Final *d* > *t*, *t* > *d*

Note that in Mongolian the final dental voiced stop **d** is pronounced as a voiceless **t** and is received as a voiceless dental stop into Russian: Mo. *ᠠᠷᠠᠳ* / *ард* > Ru. *арат*; Mo. *ᠪᠦᠷᠠᠳ* > Ru. *Бурят*. And since the final **t** in Russian has no aspiration, it is often perceived as **d** in Mongolian.

**ᠠᠷᠠᠳ**[on]<sup>2</sup> < *форд* (Ford)

**ᠠᠷᠠᠳ** / **ᠠᠷᠠᠳ**[en] < *билét* (ticket)

**ᠬᠠᠮᠪᠢᠨᠠᠳ** / **ᠬᠠᠮᠪᠢᠨᠠᠳ** < *комбинát* ([industrial] complex)

**ᠬᠠᠮᠠᠮᠤᠨ** < *компот* (mixed stewed fruit)

2) Until about 1930 this word designated the Ford passenger car, then it designated any passenger car with many glass windows. After 1990 it became again the name of the Ford car.

#### 1.1.4. Palatalised dental stops *d'*, *t'* > Mo. *dž'*, *tš'*

Russian palatalised dental consonants have a special pronunciation,<sup>3</sup> which is the reason why in Mongolian they are pronounced as affricates.

***d'* / *di* > *dž***

***biguudž***[in] < *бигуди* (hair curler)

***džidžüür*** < *дежурный* (person on duty, orderly officer)

***dž'anaam***[an] < *динамо* (dynamo)

***ista'dž'oon***[n] < *стадион* (stadium)

***havaadž'ad* / *havaadžid*** < *хватит* (that will do!)

***t'* / *ti* / *te* > *tš* / *dž***

***ba'džiiṅh'***[in] < *ботинки* (boots)

***sa'ntšmiitar* / *sa'ndžmiitar*** < *сантиметр* (centimetre)

***tš'aatar*** < *театр* (theatre)

***palaadž***[in] < *платье* (dress)

***astaatšir*** < *стартер* (starter)

#### 1.2. Dental nasal in the final position

In the final position the Russian dental phoneme *n* is replaced by the allophone *ṅ* in Mongolian. However, before the case suffixes *ṅ* is again replaced by *n* (as indicated in the square brackets):<sup>4</sup>

***banaaṅ***[n] < *банан* (banana)

***bendzeen***[n] < *бензин* (petrol)

***bolkoṅ* / *balkoṅ***[n] < *балкон* (balcony)

3) Cf. the description of the pronunciation by Oliverius (1974, p. 96): При произношении русских мягких [t', d'] язык прижимается своей средней частью к твердому нёбу с такой силой и напряжённостью, что рекурсия (отступ) изменяется: полная преграда не разрывается полностью и сразу, а только частично и постепенно, вследствие чего появляется после [t'] звук близкий к [s'], после [d'] звук близкий к [z']. Звуки [t'] и [s'], [d'] и [z'] сливаются в аффрикаты [ts'] и [dz'].

4) In this case (and in a few similar cases finishing in the velar nasal) the square brackets do not indicate an addition to the stem before case suffixes but the change of the final velar nasal before the case suffixes. In the other cases where the stem does not finish in a velar nasal (many such cases are listed further below), the square brackets indicate the nasal, which appears additionally after the stem in declension.

**maʃiaaŋ**[an] / **maʃiɪŋ**[n] < *машина* (engine)  
**Leeneŋ**[n] < *Ленин* (Lenin)

### 1.3. Fricatives and aspirated consonants

#### 1.3.1. Voiceless velar fricative

Russian voiceless velar fricative (Cyrillic *х*) combined with the back vowels **a** / **o** is replaced by a non palatalised<sup>5</sup> ‘male’ phoneme **h**, in combination with the front vowels **e** / **i**, it is replaced by a palatalised ‘female’ phoneme **h̥**:

**miḥaaŋag** < *механика* (mechanics)  
**m̥iḥniidzam** < *механизм* (mechanism)  
**m̥iḥnaats** < *махинация* (scheming)  
**tṣeeḥ**<sup>6</sup> / **tṣiaḥ** < *чех* (Czech)

#### 1.3.2. Alveolar and palatal voiced fricatives

In Mongolian there is no phoneme *z*’ (ж) or *z* (з). The following changes can be observed:

**džurnaal** < *журнал* (class register)  
**bandaadž**[in] < *бандаж* (bandage, tyre)  
**birdž** < *биржа* (stock exchange)  
**aadz** < *Азия* (Asia)  
**dzaal**[an] < *зал* (hall)  
**dzakuusag**[an] < *закуска* (snack)  
**piitseg** / **piidzeg** < *физика* (physics)  
**narkoodz**[on] < *наркоз* (anaesthesia)  
**gipnoodz**[on] < *гипноз* (hypnosis)

5) Classical Mongolian could distinguish between the back and front variant of q / k. Though in the Cyrillic script only one letter is used (х), in spoken language the distinction is preserved: aḥ in: ах (elder brother); eḥ in: эх (mother).

6) This pronunciation is a probably a consequence of a progressive assimilation based on the following a in another combination of the word: tṣiḥsalvaah’ / tṣiaḥsalvaak < чехословакия (Czechoslovakia).

### 1.3.3. Final *ts* > *s*, *dz*

**matraas**[an] < *матрац* (mattress)

**ta<sup>i</sup>v<sup>i</sup>liidz**[an] < *таблица* (table, chart)

**kiftaandz**[an] / **g<sup>i</sup>aftaandz**[an] < *квитанция* (receipt)

### 1.3.4. Labial fricatives

Though Mongolian has a bilabial voiceless fricative *f* [ɸ] as an allophone of *b*, it cannot replace the Russian labiodental *f*. This concerns particularly the *initial position*.

**f** > **p**

**pa<sup>i</sup>neer** / **pa<sup>i</sup>niir** / **pa<sup>i</sup>n<sup>i</sup>aar**[in] < *фанера* (plywood)

**pah<sup>i</sup>ülteet** / **pah<sup>i</sup>ültiit** < *факультет* (faculty)

**piirem** < *фирма* (firm, business house)

**poh<sup>i</sup>strool** < *фокстрот* (foxtrot)

**паaprag** < *фабрика* (factory)

In the *medial position* the bilabial voiceless fricative replaces the Russian labiodental *f* or the labial voiceless stop:

**f** > **ɸ**

**aystraal** < *Австралия* [afstralija] (Australia)

**p** > **ɸ**

**aystraakts** < *абстракция* [apstrakcija] (abstraction)

Occasionally voiced labial stop is replaced by a voiceless labial stop in the medial position:

**b** > **p**

**паaprag** < *фабрика* (factory)

## 1.4. Liquids

### 1.4.1. Liquids in the initial position

In Mongolian the consonant *r* does not occur in the initial position and in borrowings it is always preceded by a vowel:

**ürüül**[en] < *руль* (rudder)

**ürüüh'**[en] < *рюмка* (liqueur glass)

**ürüütsig, afrüütsig**[en] < *ручка, авторучка* (penholder)

**ürüübel** < *рубль* (rouble)

**ürbiin**[n] < *рубин* (ruby)

**ürleeteg**[en] < *рулетка* (roulette)

**araam**[an] < *рама* (frame)

**araaguu**[n] < *рагу* (ragout)

**a'rhiiit**[an] < *рахит* (rachitis)

**ergiister** < *регистр* (register)

**ereklaam**[an] < *реклама* (advertisement)

**erkoord** < *рекорд* (record)

**erees** < *рейс* (line, route)

**ereethor** < *ректор* (rector, vice-chancellor)

**erfaraad**[an] < *реферат* (lecture, paper /at a conference/)

**erdaah'tar** < *редактор* (editor)

**orboot**[on] < *робот* (robot)

**ormoon**[n] < *роман* (roman)

### 1.4.2. Devoicing of liquids in consonant clusters before voiceless consonants

Mongolian voiced consonants are assimilated to the following voiceless consonants and this concerns also the liquids:

**paasport**[on] < *паспорт* (passport)

**soort**[on] < *сорт* (class, kind)

**pal'kaat**[an] < *плакат* (placard, poster)

**porteedz**[en] < *протез* (prosthesis)

**po'rfiisor** < *профессор* (professor)

**po'rtseent**[on] < *процент* (percent)<sup>7</sup>

7) The last four examples are also examples of treatment of the clusters including liquids, cf. below 2.1.[b].

## 2. Treatment of consonant clusters

In Mongolian the combination of two consonants without a vowel is not possible with the exception of the morphological or syllabic boundaries. Therefore, in borrowed words consonant clusters are simplified either by adding a vowel before or inserting it in between the consonants in the group, or one of the consonants is lost. However, not all consonant clusters in borrowings disappear, some of them can be preserved in the medial position, e.g. *-gr-*, *-pr-*, *-v'r-*, *-rf-*, *-rt-*, *-lm-*, *-ft-*, *-čm-*, *-čv-*, *-dzd-*, *-gv-*, *-sv-* and some others. Some of the changes of individual consonants described above in fact occurred within various consonant clusters. The question of clusters, their changes and the conditions of their preservation in borrowings may be an interesting topic for a more detailed study.

### 2.1. Initial position

In the initial position the vowel may be placed before the consonant group (mostly clusters including initial sibilants [a]) or the group can be separated by a vowel (mostly clusters including liquids in the second position [b] but alternatively also with the former type of clusters [a]):

[a]

**ispiirt**[en] / **esviir** < *спирт* (alcohol)

**istkaan**[n] < *стакан* (glass, tumbler)

**ištš'oošig** / **ištš'aašag**[an] (electricity meter) < *счётчик* (counter; meter; register)

**iškaav** / **šakaav**[an] < *шкаф* (wardrobe)

**istaalan** / **šataalan**[g] < *Сталин* (Stalin)

**istaants** / **šataandz** < *станция* (station)

**ištaav** / **šataav** < *штаб* (staff)

[b]

**paraants** < *франция* (France)

**garaam** < *грамм* (gramme)

**taraah'tar** < *трактор* (tractor)

**holoor** < *хлор* (chlorine)

**paragraam**[an] < *программа* (programme)

**šalaanh'**[an] < *шланг* (hose-pipe)



**birüük**[en] / **birüüh'**[en] < *брюки* (trousers)  
**gürüüp** < *группа* (groupe)  
**pürüüs**[en] < *брус* (longitudinal joist)  
**piliiteg** / **büleeteg**[en] < *плитка* (cooking-range)  
**biriiteg**[en] < *бритва* (razor)  
**paḷkaat**[an] < *плакат* (placard, poster)  
**poṛteedz**[en] < *протез* (prosthesis)  
**poṛfiisor** < *профессор* (professor)  
**poṛtseent**[on] < *процент* (percent)

## 2.2. Final position:

In the final position a vowel appears in between the two consonants:

**oomsog** < *Омск* (Omsk)  
**toomsog** < *Томск* (Tomsk)  
**liitar** / **liiter** < *литр* (litre)  
**m'aatar** / **miitar** / **meeter** < *метр* (meter)  
**baklaavar** / **bah'aavar** < *бакалавр* (bachelor)  
**ma'giistar** < *магистр* (master)  
**petšeen**[n] < *печенье* (baking, pastry)

## 2.3. Other changes occurring in clusters of consonants

The changes can include assimilation or dissimilation or simplification of the group. In some cases palatalisation may be caused by the adjacent palatal vowels. They concern clusters in the medial position, occasionally also in the final position.

**-kt-, -kt > h'tš**

**paraah'tsig** / **paraah'tš'ag** < *практика* (practice)  
**taah'tsig** / **taah'tš'ag** < *тактика* (tactics)  
**aah't** (sick note) < *акт* (act)

**-pt-, -pt > yt / ft**

**äytiih'** / **a'ftiih'** / **äfteek** < *аптека* (chemist's shop)  
**erzeeyt** / **erzeeft**[en] < *рецепт* (prescription)

**-bz- > vdz**

**avdzaats**[an] < абзац (paragraph)

**-bl- > vl**

**ta<sup>i</sup>v<sup>i</sup>liitag**[an] < таблетка (pill, tablet)

**ta<sup>i</sup>v<sup>i</sup>liidz**[an] < таблица (table, chart)

**-ttš- (тү) > š**

**istš<sup>i</sup>oošig / ištš<sup>i</sup>aašag**[an] (electricity meter) < счётчик (counter; meter; register)

**st > stš**

**sistšeem** < система (system)

**tsistšeer / sistšeer** < цистерна (cistern)

## 2.4. Loss of one of the consonants

In the initial and final positions, clusters can sometimes be simplified by a loss of one of the consonants.

### 2.4.1. Initial position

**pl- > l**

**lomb**[on]<sup>8</sup> < пломба (filling – of teeth)

### 2.4.2. Final position

**-st' > s**

**yoonkos**<sup>9</sup> < ёмкость (capacity, volume)

**-rt' > r**

**iskaatšar**[an] < скатерть (table-cloth)

8) Pronunciation received from the Russian medical doctors working in Mongolia. If the word had come through the written language, it would have the form poloomb[on].

9) In Mongolian colloquial language this is the designation of a container of several thousand litres: bendzeenii yoonkos (petrol tank, container); usnii yoonkos (water tank, container).

### 2.4.3.

Medially sometimes there may occur a greater loss of a whole syllable as it may be seen in the following two cases:

**araaft**[an]<sup>10</sup> < *панопт* (report) (medial -or- was lost)

**a'sseent** < *ассистент* (assistant) (medial -ist- was lost)

### 2.4.4.

The cases where Russian has double consonants in orthography, are not to be considered as loss of consonants, because in pronunciation they are not doubled in Russian. Those consonants undergo changes corresponding to the ones described above for the individual consonants. Cf. e.g. the following lexemes:

**ᠬᠤᠮᠣᠯᠠᠭᠠᠲᠤ** < *аккумулятор* (accumulator)

**apraad**[an] < *аппарат* (apparatus)

**toon** < *тонна* (ton)

**a'ntiin** / **a'nteen**[n] < *антенна* (aerial, antenna)

**a'distaat**[an] < *аттестат* (testimonial)

**ka'seet**[an] < *кассета* (cassette)

**maas** < *масса* (mass)

**gürüüp** < *группа* (group)

**vaan** / **baen**[an] < *ванна* (bathtub)

**doroodž**[in] < *дрожжи* (yeast)

## 3. Pronunciation transmitted through classical Mongolian script

Some foreign words were borrowed quite early and were transmitted through the transliteration of the Classical Mongolian script. That transliteration may have caused some of the specific forms of pronunciation. In some cases, however, there may be doublets, which were borrowed through different 'channels' (cf. the first example below).

10) This is a word, which was passed on by the Russian army instructors in Mongolia.

**ba'ŋkiŋ**[n] (**ba'ŋ'h'** / **ba'ŋk'**) prob. < Cl. Mo. |p''kky'| (bangkin<sup>11</sup>) – cf. Russian *банка* (bank)

**müzii** < Cl. Mo. |mwyčyy| (müzii) – cf. Russian *музей* (museum)

**giitlaar**<sup>12</sup> < Cl. Mo. |kyt'l'r|(gitlar) – cf. Russian *Гитлер* (Hitler)

**pianar** / **piinaar**<sup>13</sup> < Cl. Mo. |pywn'r|(pionar) < *пионер* (pioneer)

**dzavuud** / **dzovuud**<sup>14</sup> (in Mongolian only: dairy factory) < Cl. Mo. |y'pwd| (jabud) < *завод* (factory, works)

**Müsegvaa**<sup>15</sup> < Cl. Mo. |mwskʁ'|(muskva) < *Москва* (Moscow)

**Goodžin** / **gœdž'oiŋ**[g] < Cl. Mo. |kwčy'|(kojin) < *Козин*<sup>16</sup> (Kozin)

#### 4. Pronunciation originating from the manner of reading the Cyrillic script

The Russian high-rise vowel written by the Cyrillic letter *y* [u] is pronounced by Mongols as the respective Mongolian non-high-rise vowel written by the same Cyrillic letter *y* [u]:

**minuud** / **m'anuud**[an] < *минута* (minute)

**b'alruus** < *белорус* (Belorussian)

**Puuškiŋ**[n] < *Пушкин* (Pushkin)

- 11) This orthography may suggest that the word was originally taken over from the English form *banking*. The bracketed variants were probably borrowed from Russian through the ordinary colloquial language (cf. section 5 below).
- 12) Since in the medial position in classical Mongolian *a,e* are not distinguished graphically (they are written by one short stroke 'tooth' |' |), Mongols tend to read it as *a* due to its higher frequency. In Mongolian Cyrillic script the form is *гитлер*, the pronunciation of educated people would be *giitleer* / *giitler*.
- 13) Since the short stroke |' | was read as *a*, the syllable was identified with the plural suffix *nar* and the vowel *o* in the preceding syllable was progressively assimilated to it. In the pronunciation of educated people the Cyrillic form *пионер* appears as *pionir*.
- 14) The classical Mongolian orthography does not distinguish between *o,u* (written by the same circle). In other than first syllables after *a* in the first syllable it is read as *u*.
- 15) This pronunciation with the first two syllables in the 'female' vocalic set may have arisen due to the fact that in classical Mongolian orthography the transcription of *k* uses the 'female' form of *g* which is voiceless if it closes the syllable. In this case, however, it remains voiced possibly due to the fact that it is a foreign word.
- 16) Russian mongolist S. A.Kozin, who was sent to Mongolia for a year as an instructor in forestry. The word is used to designate any letter of authorisation to perform a mission etc.

Since there are no voiced sibilants [ʒ, z] in Mongolian, the Russian consonants ж, з are always pronounced as [dʒ, dz] (cf. above 1.3.2.). But the respective affricates дж, дз borrowed into Russian from other languages and written by consonant clusters are often pronounced by Mongols as [ddʒ, ddz], sometimes with a short vowel in between [dʷdʒ]:

**piddžaak[an]** < *пиджак* (jacket)

**dʷdžoon[n]** < *Джон* (John)

**dʷdžakaart** < *Джакарта* (Jakarta)

The palatal semivowel [j] in borrowings written by **й**, originally **y** in Latin script, is mostly pronounced as [i] by Mongols:

**Iemen[n]** < *Йемен* (Yemen)

**Iokogama** < *Йокогама* (Yokohama)

**iog** < *йога*<sup>17</sup> (yoga)

## 5. Pronunciation transmitted through ordinary colloquial language

There are many borrowings, which came into Mongolian through the prolonged contact of the people with the Russian speakers in various situations (cf. Lubsangdorji 2004, 92). This is obviously a broad field, which may require more systematic heuristic activity in order to make the picture of this subsystem of the language better understood. Below are a few examples of the borrowings of this type.

**ba'ŋh<sup>2i</sup>/ ba'ŋk<sup>i</sup>** < *банка* (bank)<sup>18</sup>

**tsölhööv[ön]** < *целковый*<sup>19</sup> (rouble)

**ma'niad[an]** (gold hardened by an admixture of a hardener) < *монета* (coin)

17) This Sanskrit word is pronounced as [yogo] by Lamas. The Sanskrit word *yogācāra* (citta-mātra School) is transcribed in Mongolian script as *yogačari*, while ordinary readers pronounced it as [yegudzer]. Besides that the colloquial language accepted it as *егзэр* [yögdzör] (experienced, careful).

18) Cf. *baŋkin[n]*, Cl. Mo. [pʷkkyʷ] (bangkin) in section 3 above.

19) Old colloquial name of the rouble.

ga<sup>1</sup>pīi[n]<sup>20</sup> < копейка (kopeck)  
 tseŋ[g] / tseŋ<sup>21</sup> < цена (price)  
 pūū<sup>22</sup>šig[en]<sup>22</sup> < пушка (cannon, gun)  
 itšmee[n]<sup>23</sup> < ячмень (barley)  
 nitšvaa<sup>24</sup> < ничего (nothing; coll. it does not matter)  
 nitšee[n]<sup>25</sup> < ничей (nobody's; in chess: a draw)  
 ḥæmuur[an] / ḥæmar[an] (tire tube) < камера (room, cell)  
 dereeven[g / n]<sup>26</sup> < деревня (village)  
 piišīŋ[g] < печь (oven, stove)  
 b'ataaŋ[n] < a) бидон (can, container); b) бетон (concrete)  
 ba'ṛmiidz[an] / bo'ṛmiidz[on] / bo'ṛniidz[on] < больница (hospital)  
 čoort, čoort ba'dz'mii < чёрт возьми (God damn you!)  
 yoftiimæd / yaftiimaad<sup>27</sup> < ёб твою мать (curse: fuck your mother)  
 p'adzdaa<sup>28</sup> < пизда (vulgar designation of vagina)  
 dooftor / dooh'tor < доктор (doctor)  
 erdzeen[n] < резина (rubber)  
 go'ṛšook[on] < горшок (pot)  
 ḥæ'liavar < калибр (calibre)  
 ḥæ'r'viihh'[an] < карабин (carbine)  
 hiisver<sup>29</sup> < кесарево (сечение) (Caesarean section)  
 hil / hel < кило (kilogramme)  
 hūürtšig[en] < куртка (jacket; windbreaker)

20) In idiomatic colloquial usage in the sense 'not even a penny': gaipii ulaan möngö (also: sorhor ulaan dzoos).

21) It is used in the pair word үнэ цэнэ 'price'.

22) This is the name used for a widely spread Russian cigarette Беломор. It is possible that in the beginning on the boxes there was a picture of a gun.

23) Ячмень is translated as arvai into Mongolian, but people would say ic'mee. Arvai would designate a Mongolian type of barley. Ic'mee is not to be found in dictionaries.

24) This word is used in ordinary colloquial speech.

25) Used only in connection with chess.

26) This word designates a few Russian villages, which were in the north of Mongolia (cf. Lubsangdorji 2004, 92, note 6).

27) Though the Mongols do not know the exact meaning of the two previous phrases, they are widely used.

28) In Mongolian this is a term of abuse designating a woman. It is used without the knowledge of the original meaning.

29) The Mongols interpret the word through the Mongolian word хийсвэр 'abstract'. In this case they would understand the meaning as 'something sophisticated'. In fact this is possibly also a case of folk-etymological interpretation (cf. below section 6). The phrase would be: хийсвэр хий- to make a Caesarean section; хийсвэр хийлгэ- to have a Caesarian section made.

**leeftšig**[en] < лифчик (bra)  
**maah'** / **maak**[an] < майка (undershirt)  
**podvool** < подвал (cellar)  
**podvool** / **podvoolk**[on] < футболка (T-shirt)  
**šaub** / **šüüb**[en] < шуба (fur coat)  
**sarfaan**[n] < сарафан (sleeveless summer dress)  
**tšipuuh**<sup>30</sup> < чепуха (nonsense)  
**yüüpeg**[en] < юбка (skirt)  
**dzoon**[n] < зона (area, zone)  
**ga'v'riišig**[an] < коврижка (gingerbread)  
**ga'v'riidas** / **a'v'riidz**[an] < обрезок (scraps)  
**biruušag** / **b'aruušig**[an] < пирожок (small meat pie, pasty)  
**biraanag** / **b'araanag**[an] < пряник (treacle-cake)  
**Masagvaa** / **Masakvaa**[g] < Москва (Moscow)

## 6. Folk-etymological interpretation of some borrowings

Reinterpretation of the etymologies of borrowed words as if they were derived from similar Mongolian words is an interesting phenomenon. Folk etymology appears to be an active attitude of the speakers of any language in contact and in the process of borrowing, and Mongolian is no exception. There are many cases of folk etymology to be observed in Mongolian borrowings from Russian. Some of them are surprisingly fitting and reflect an idea behind the concept or thing; some of them are more like a free association based on the assonance. These cases are interesting from the psychological point of view.

**birdžeeh'**[en] (*биржуйх* = to become coarse; *биржгэр* coarse, rough to touch) < брезент (coarse tarpaulin, canvas placed on top of the yurt or on cars etc.)  
**b'arvaadz**[an] (*бяр* = strength, power) < перевоз (ferry)  
**b'antaav**[an] (onom. word *бян, пян хуйх* = shooting sound, sharp sound) < винтовка (rifle)  
**b'ardaank**[an] (*бяртай* = strong, vigorous) < берданка (a one-shot rifle)  
**büleeteg**[en] (*бүлээтгэ-* = to cause to warm up) < плитка (cooking-range)

30) The word is used in the spoken language of some educated people.

- tümbüüšig**[en] (*түмбийсэн* = rounded, roundish) < *тумбочка* (bedside table)
- šimeeseg**[en] (*шим* = juice, *өвсний шим* = the juice of grass, understand: 'living on agriculture') < *семейский* (a Russian orthodox sect; cf. Lub-sangdorji 2004, 92, note 5)
- er poloon**[n] (*эр* = man; *эрэмгий полдгор* = something manly / brave and oval / oblong) < *аэроплан* (aeroplane)
- erdoroom**[on] (*эр газар* = male place, *дорoo зогсох* = to stand below) < *аэродром* (aerodrome)
- araadžav** / **araadžu** (onom. signifying speaking: *ap ap*) < *радио* (radio)
- a'rdžaatar** (*аржгар* = shaggy, rough, bristling) < *радиатор* (radiator)
- danḡraad** / **danḡraadas**[an] (*данхайх* = to raise s.th. quickly; *данхайтал өргөх* = to raise s.th. with a quick movement from the earth) < *домкрат* (jack, lifter)
- ḡu'm'liatar** (*хумих* = to fold, bundle together; to gather up; to close tightly, *хуримтлуулах* = to cause to accumulate) < *аккумулятор* (accumulator)
- order** (*ор* = bed; *дэр* = pillow; *орон сууцны ор дэр* = bed and pillow of the apartment) < *ордер* (letter of appointment, esp. for a flat)
- tooromsog**[on] (*торох* = to get stuck, to hold loosely, to stumble on one's words; *торомж* = a groove or notch on something designed to catch a loop) < *тормоз* (brake)
- šaans**[an] (*шаах* = to hit with the fist, to drive in, hammer in; *шаантаг орох зай* = gap into which a wedge enters) < *шанс* (chance)
- gondoон**[n] / **gondoom** (*гонзгор* = extremely oval or oblong) < *кондом* (condom)
- ba'dz'mii: čoort ba'dz'mii** (*базах* = to press, squeeze) < *чёрт возьми* (God damn you!)
- soosog**[on] (*соосгор* = something narrow pointing upwards, e.g. dog's tail, mop of hair if a little girl) < *соска* (dummy)
- garaaš**[in] (*гарах* = to go out of) < *гараж* (garage)
- hölööv** (*хөл* = foot, leg; a place with many feet, i.e. people) < *клуб* (club)
- eṅhbaatar** / **iṅhvaatar** (*энх баатар* = peace hero) < *инкубатор* (incubator)
- pontskoov**[on] (*бонцгор*, *бондгор* = round, chubby) < *фонендоскоп* (stethoscope)
- šiprees** / **šipriis**[en] (*шивэх* = to tattoo, perforate; *шивүүр* = awl, tattooing needle; assonance: *шин хийтэл хатгах* = to prick so that the word 'ship' is heard; like plunging s.th. into water) < *шприц* (syringe)
- ḡampaан**[n] (*хам* = together, united; *хамт байх* = to be together) < *компания* (business company)



**astaatšir / astaatašar** (*асаах* = to burn; to start a motor; to light) < *стартер* (starter)

**tšagnaal, tšagnaald-** (*чагнах* = to listen, to eavesdrop; *чагнал* = listening, audition; eavesdropping) < *сигнал* (signal)

**tsünh[en]** (*үүнхийх* = to become convex, bulging, potbellied; *үүнхээр* = bulging, potbellied) < *сумка* (bag)

**türüüseg[en]** (*түрий шиг* = bootleg like) < *трусски* (pants, slips)

**šarvaar / baar[an]** (*шаарвах* = to skid, slip; *шаарвуур* something slipping; *vaar helbertei* = having the form of a vase, pot) < *шаровары* (gym shorts, boxer shorts)

**dzovuud[an]**<sup>31</sup> (in Mongolian only: small dairy manufactures) (*зовох* = to suffer physically or mentally, be tormented; *зовлон* = torment, suffering, hardship) < *завод* (factory, works)

**tenŋen[ŋ / n]**<sup>32</sup> (*тэнсэх* = to test, to try to find out; *тэнсэн* tested, tried) < *пенсия* (old-age pension)

## Conclusion

It was my aim in this paper to show the most frequent changes occurring with words borrowed from Russian, which still are widely used in colloquial Mongolian. I provided a list of words which are either very frequently used or are of special interest. Questions concerning the use of the words borrowed from Russian, especially stylistics, figures of speech and metaphoric use, are strictly speaking beyond the sphere of phonetics, but pronunciation is closely linked with these questions. There are for example words, whose original meaning has shifted (broken metaphors), words for which only the pronunciation was preserved but their meaning has completely changed. Besides that there are words, which are no more in current use but we can encounter them in older texts and in recollections of people. For example:

- 31) During the communist period milk was forcibly taken away from the farmers to produce cream in small manufactures, which were called by this name. This used to be a source of suffering for them during three summer months. When these dairies were officially called *завод* in 1949, the folk-etymological interpretation as *zovlongiin gazar* (place of suffering) arose. In the 1960s the government changed the name to *сүүний ферм* (milk farms), but among the farmers the name *dzovuud* had been used until the 1990s.
- 32) In the 1960s the term *тэнсэн харгалзах* (to be under supervision) was coined for suspension of sentences. In colloquial language the term was shortened to *тэнсэн*. People felt that the Russian word *пенсия* is a shifted meaning of the word *тэнсэн*, identified the two words with each other and started using the latter in the sense of the former.

**Мооор** < МОПР (Монгольское Общество Помощи Революционером)  
(Mongolian Society for the Help to the Revolutionaries)

**һомоон**[n] < коммуна (commune)

**montsonkoov**<sup>33</sup> < МонЦенКоп (Монгольская Центральная Кооперация) (Mongolian Central Co-operative).

There are also words that exist only in colloquial language and that have never been accepted in the written language. Some are linked with the first Russian merchants, who used to come to Mongolia long ago. For example people are not aware of the foreign origin of the colloquial verb **баший**-[baʃii-]... to thank ( < спасибо [thank you]). Similarly, the words **дааг дааг** used in one proverb, are of Russian origin (*так так*): **Дааг дааг гэсээр далан мянган цаасны өрд унах** (Lit.: 'If you say daag daag, you fall into debts by seventy thousand tugriqs', i.e. if you agree thoughtlessly, you may fall into great debts).

Similarly the Russian word *гулять* (to walk) is the source of the phrase **гулиа хүн** (globetrotter, a man about town, a ladies' man). Besides a proverb *гулиа дарж голио хагалах* (embrace gaiety, distribute candies) there is a widely used expressive verb **гулиала**- [guʎial-] 'to enjoy, have a good time, get the best out of life'. In the slang of some professions we may also encounter many expressive Russian words, which take Mongolian suffixes. For example in the spoken language of drivers we can find:

*поршень гачаалда*- [gaʎʂ'aald-] the piston is turning ( < качаться [to rock, swing]);

*хэмжүүрийн зүү болтаала*- [baʎtaal-] the indicator does not work properly ( < болтаться [to rock, sway, totter])

In the slang of sports and music fans:

*хамтлагт болело*- [boʎeel-] to admire a group ( < болеть [to be ill; to ache; care about s.o.]);

**болелиггло**- [boʎeelʂgil-] to admire, be fan of ( < болельщик [fan, enthusiast]) etc. These and similar words are used only in phrases and do not occur in their original meaning in Mongolian. Most speakers

33) Though this word is no more used in the original meaning, there is an ironical phrase *montsonkooviin darga* (breadwinner in a family or the most important person responsible for the finances of a small company).

would think that these are newly coined words but they do not suspect their foreign origin.

At present we can observe an interesting trend in the speech of the youngest generation to use as expressive means the broken metaphors with Russian words, which they took over from the spoken language of the older generation of intelligentsia who knew Russian. In the speech of the young in Ulaanbaatar we can hear the word

**boos** chief, head (*tiim namiin boos* = chief of a party; *manai baariin boos* = the head of our bar; *ter kompaniin boos* = the director of that company) < босс (boss).

Its main meaning is 'director', 'head' etc. but it is a bit ironically used, perhaps with a slight contempt.

Similarly the word

**geṇseek** (*sotsdeekiin geṇseek* = general secretary of the social democrats; *tiim holboonii geṇseek* = general secretary of a union) < ген.сек. = генеральный секретарь (general secretary)

may mean the 'highest representative' of a body and still be used with a tinge of ridicule or sarcasm.

In the language of the young generation the word **pardaadžnī/ pardaadžnī** (< продажный [adj., selling, sale]) has also become a strongly expressive word:

*pardaadžnī hūüheṇ/avgai* (corrupt woman, woman for sale, a woman able to do anything)

*pardaadžnī aṁmitaṇ/yum* (beastly man, scoundrel, crook)

*pardaadžnī yum yari-* (to talk rubbish, talk embarrassingly).

Previously we could see how Mongolian people not knowing the original meaning of the foreign (Tibetan) words used by the Lamas understood the words in their own way and attributed them other meanings (Lubsangdorji 2002, p. 101–128), thus creating broken metaphors. Here we can see the historical experience being repeated, this time on the example of enriching the language by dozens of borrowings of expressive means from Russian.

The above paper (together with the first part, cf. Lubsangdorji 2004) provides a summary of the basic linguistic changes involved in the contact of Mongolian with Russian, including a list of the basic examples. However, this short summary discloses some interesting facts and it is clear that the topic

will deserve a more detailed analysis in future. Describing these processes in greater detail and summarising a more extensive material may contribute significantly to the understanding of the processes involved in language contact in general, and may help us to understand better the processes of communication involved in the language contact in Mongolia in the last century in particular.

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## Appendix:

To those who know actively modern spoken Mongolian the following anecdotes may illustrate the way the foreign elements are used in the language.

1980 хэдэн онд Монголын зурагтаар Улаанбаатарын Төмөр бетон завод гарч байлаа. Хөдөө нутгаас манай гэрт зочлон ирсэн 83 настай эмгэн, зурагтыг үзэж байв. Би түүнээс *tömör b'ataaŋ dzovuud* (Төмөр бетон завод) – ыг та мэдэж байна уу? гэж асуув. Тэр хэлж байна: «Мэдэхгүй ядаг юм бэ! Манай хөдөө чинь *зовуудан дээр* дээр юу л байна, *төмөр бятаан* л байна шуу даа!» гэсэн билээ.

Жолооч нарын хошин ярианаас:

Хятадын эрлийз нэг жолооч талын зам дээр машиныхаа хамарыг ухаад зогсож байж. Замаар явж байсан нэг жолооч зогсоод «Ээ хампаан (хамрааŋ < компаньон), чи чинь яаж харлачихаав?» гэж асууж. Өнөөх жолооч: «Ай хампаан, ганжиншодой (gandžin šodoi < конденсатор) ажилгүй ээ, усны бомбуу (bombuu < помпа) seldiigüi (сэлдэггүй) ээ. Танай хүн тусалбаа!» гэсэн гэдэг.



# Some aspects of humour in spoken Sibe language

Veronika Zikmundová

**Summary:** Humour is an important part of communication in the Sibe society. This text presents some examples of expressions and narratives which are considered humorous by the speakers, and tries to put the examples into the context of the order of values of the Sibe society. Further I will point out several frequent sources of humorousness arising from the examination of the material, from which also transpires the linguistic characteristics of the use of humour.

## 0. Introduction

Laughter and humour are important aspects of communication and inter-personal relations in almost any language community.

“Humour” is one of the terms which is used to describe one part of an extremely complex, deep and difficult-to-grasp phenomenon, whose other related terms are smile, laughter, comicality, irony, sarcasm, absurdity etc<sup>1</sup>. Due to the versatility of this phenomenon several disciplines are involved in the investigation of its essence and nature – biology, psychology, aesthetics, linguistics, philosophy and theology.

As can be concluded from the overviews of the theories of humour (Keith-Spiegel, P., in: Goldstein, McGhee 1972, pp. 4-39; Borecký 2000; Ondok 2000), hardly any subject of scientific research has ever been approached from so many sides and studied with so many different, often contradictory results (Goldstein, McGhee, 1972, p. 258-259). One of the statements, which appear to me as particularly significant and pregnant, is the admission of the individual and the subjective character of humour (Keith-Spiegel in: Goldstein, McGhee 1972, pp. 24-25). One is even inclined to assume that the variety of theories is caused by the differences in the individual perception of humour by every of the theorists.

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- 1) “The following adjectives, gleaned from the theoretical papers, have been used to characterize humorous matters: *ludicrous, satiric, funny, absurd, mirthful, laughable, witty, silly, derisive, pleasurable, cheerful, amusing, comical, droll, fanciful, whimsical, jocose, facetious, waggish, nonsensical, ridiculous, merry, farcical, inane and corny.*” (Keith-Spiegel, P., in: Goldstein, McGhee 1972, p. 14).

A similar humility regarding the phenomenon of humour and its related phenomena is expressed by some of philosophers.<sup>2</sup>

The aim of a linguistic research of humour is more concrete – it examines formal means by which humour is created. The basic condition for a text to be regarded as humorous is defined as semantic incongruity between two meanings, which are put together. In jokes based on language this is often allowed by the ambiguity of the elements of the language structure (Ross 1998, p. 8). Furthermore, humour is often based on incongruent use of metaphors and similes (Ross 1998, p. 35).

Humour, and language humour in particular, can be divided into humour with – or without a target. “Humour per se” has often the function of a psychic release. The most frequent means of release is breaking the taboos of the respective society. A. Ross lists the taboos for the English society as sex and excreta, death and religion (Ross 1998, p. 63–72).

“Humour with an object” is explained by “theories of superiority” and its targets are mainly individuals representing certain characteristics, which are regarded as negative or certain groups in a society (Ross 1998, p. 56, Boston 1974, pp. 43–59 etc.).

The purpose of this text is by no means to search for the essence of Sibe humour. Keeping to the fact that humour or its various aspects constitute an important instrument of communication in Sibe, I would like to present some examples for expressions and narratives which are considered funny or humorous by Sibe speakers and furnish them with comments explaining why they are thus perceived.

The examples are chosen from a wider collection of jokes and witticisms as the most easily explicable and comprehensible in our categories. Most of the other examples are rather difficult to explain. Some of them are ingrained in such complex cultural specifics, that when all the reasons for their being funny are explained they are not funny any more. Some are based on mixing several languages, and their drollness depends on delicate nuances, which can hardly be rendered into Czech or English. The last reason for my choice

2) “Všetky pojmy z voľne súvisiacej pojmovej skupiny, v ktorej sú hra, smiech, kratochvíľa, žart, komično a bláznovstvo, sa zhodujú v tom, že sú neodvoditeľné, takisto ako pojem hry. Ich ratio, dôvod, väzí v mimoriadne hlbokvej vrstve nášho duchovného bytia.” (Huizinga 1990, p. 225). (The language of the original is Dutch, I used the Slovak translation. The approximate English meaning of the quotation is: All the concepts from the loosely interrelated group of concepts, in which there are play, laughter, amusement, joke, comicality and folly, agree in that they are underivable, as the concept of play is. Their ratio, reason, inheres in an exceptionally deep layer of our spiritual essence.)



was my personal understanding of the jokes – following the subjectivity of the topic of humour, I did not include those which even after explanation by the native speakers did not appear funny to me.

### 0.1 The concept of humour in the Sibe language

The concept of humour and wittiness plays an important role in Sibe culture. In language it is closely connected with the aesthetic request for conciseness and the precision of expression. The tendency to favour shortness can be seen also in the early Manchu documents, though in later Manchu literature it was replaced by copiousness and richness of expressions.

In everyday communication we often encounter a negative statement about a person or his speech expressed by the word “**piaLpiaL**”, the proper meaning of which is “*unsalted*” and the more frequently used figurative one is “*boring by too many words, long-winded and uninteresting*”. One of the positive statements about somebody’s way of talking is “**amting**”, meaning *sweet* or *tasty* and used figuratively for anything interesting and attractive. We often hear other appreciations of people’s talk, like “**er gizun=ñi lavd siēn ačēnGHi**” – “*this word/expression of his was very fitting*”. The criterion of evaluating speech is mainly the happiness, cogency and invention when using similes and idioms.

The word “**yono gizun**” – “*interesting, funny, playful word*” refers to the closest equivalent of our concept of “humorous”. All the examples have been qualified as “**yono**” by my Sibe informants, apparently for various reasons. Sibe people have a strong habit of repeating of successful jokes and bon-mots and handing them on, so that they soon become a part of the common amusement, are told at feasts etc.

## 1. Funny locutions and proverbs

In this part I included proverbs and adages which were qualified as funny by my informants. Their topics are diverse and wittiness is the only property which links them together.

Ex. 1.: **šive nan=ñi, laNGŭ tiēime=da laNGŭ banjim zem.**

*Lit. Sibe person=he, pumpkin planting=just pumpkin grows say.*

*Sibe say that when you plant a pumpkin, you will get a pumpkin.*

This is a proverb about the consequences of one's deeds; its slight comicality is connected with the commonness of the pumpkin as well as its shape which is considered clumsy and funny.

Ex. 2.: **nadin saGHanj em čiške betkev jem vajiKû.**

*Lit. Seven girls one bird leg eating finish-no.*

*Seven girls would not finish (eating) one sparrow leg.*

A saying which ridicules the squeamish nature of (Sibe) girls, who in public pretend modesty when eating. The traditional view of correct behaviour prefers rightness and simplicity for both men and women. However, squeamishness is a common affection of Sibe girls which is criticized by the elders.

Ex. 3.: **Hamei diorghud moKsan tandem.**

*Lit. Shit-of inside stick beats.*

*He is beating with a stick into the shit.*

A saying which figuratively describes something disorganized and messy, e.g. "**H...em durun banjim**" (*live like beating...*) was a description of a messy way of living of one family, particularly their financial situation (the explanation given by the speaker was "**em ñineng uva aKû, em ñineng beL aKû**" – "*one day they are out of flour, the other day they are out of rice*"). This type of comicality is common in Sibe, applying to the discrepancy between the vulgarity of the picture and the nature of the described situation.

Ex. 4.: **lalem bečemaK geL mai Hamtem.**

*Lit. Starving having died still thick-instr. defecates.*

*He is shitting thickly even after having died of hunger.*

A saying that is used to describe a „strong man“. The comicality lies chiefly in the absurdity of the picture (defecating after having died), and in the implicit funniness of the processes and the body parts connected with defecation, while the word **Hamtem** *to shit* is used commonly, without any restrictions.

Ex. 5.: **čiške fičtemš geL udund tuza.**

*Lit. A little bird/sparrow farts-if still wind-to help.*

*Even a sparrow's fart can help the wind.*

(An example given by the speaker: **mes ju nan er baitev emda čendemtakie, čiške fičtemš geL udund tuza**. *Let the two of us try it, even a sparrow's fart can help the wind.* = It is worth to use even one's limited power). The wittiness rises from the absurdity of "farting" connected with a small bird, as well as from the implicit funniness of flatulation.

Ex. 6.: **nan sademe san geL ujin.**

*Lit. A man tired-being ear even heavy.*

*When one is tired, even his ears are heavy for him.*

A locution describing the degree of one's fatigue. Its wittiness inheres in the absurdity of the thought with an additional cast of mild playfulness which is ascribed to human ears by the Sibe cultural stereotype. The pick of the word "**san**" ear is, however, supported by the possibility of alliteration with the word "**sadem**" to be tired.

Ex. 7.: **miGHan giamoči meLghejen ta, sarGHan giamoči eñiv=ñi ta.**

*Lit. Piglet taking-if sow look, wife taking-if mother(ak.)-his look.*

*If you are buying a piglet, look at the sow, if you are taking a wife, look at her mother.*

A common warning that the fiancée will become like her mother. The funny moment dwells in the comparison of women to pigs. Unlike in European cultures, the pig does not suffer spite. The wild boar even used to be an object of worship among the aborigines of Manchuria and the domesticated pig was the most important of the domestic animals. Therefore likening the fiancée to a piglet and the mother-in-law to a sow does not stand out as inadmissible as it appears to a European.

Ex. 8.: **laNGû jiaos san GoLmin.**

*Lit. Pumpkin dumpling ear long.*

*The pumpkin dumplings have long ears.*

A formula saying that the pumpkin dumplings, a Sibe speciality that originates from Manchuria, are especially loved by the Sibe people – when one family makes them, everybody who hears about it will come for a visit. The comicality of this saying is based on the elision of a part of the idea (the long ears should be ascribed rather to the people than to the dumplings) and thus creating the absurd picture of dumplings with ears.

Ex. 9.: **er saGHanj šu=da vaGHûn čifHan.**

*Lit. This girl absolutely stunk mud.*

*This girl is like stinky mud.*

**vaGHûn čifHan** stinky mud is a metaphor for a certain type of human characteristic, combining stubbornness, passivity and stupidity. Its humorousness is created by the roughness of the metaphor, especially when related to a young girl as here. This time it was used by a mother about her daughter.

Ex. 10.: **yoK-deri yakši.**

*Lit. No (Uighur)-from good (Uighur).*

*Better than nothing.*

An example of a pun based on the structural similarity of the Altaic languages. The only Sibe part of the phrase is the ablative suffix **deri**. It is possible to say the same phrase in Sibe (**aKû-deri šiěñ**), but using words of Uighur or another Altaic language (Kazakh, Mongol) instead of Sibe words is perceived as funny by the Sibe speakers.

## 2. Funny idioms and metaphors

Here I bring several examples of the idiomatic characteristics of people, their features and doings, which are considered to be witty or funny. Most of these metaphors are concerned with the opposition between the Sibe ideal of straightforwardness, simplicity and sometimes roughness, and the dislike for vanity, insincerity etc., or with the topic of speech and communication.

Ex. 11.: **šualem li baGHanam.**

*Lit. Brushing only knows.*

*He knows only brushing.*

A slightly disdainful characteristic of a man who cares too much about his appearance.

Ex. 12.: **ujud=ñi durvo KaLturum.**

*Lit. Head-on-his a fly slides.*

*Flies would slide on his head.*

A derision of a man with pomaded hair, expressing the traditional dislike for vanity. The laughable moment is the image of flies coming and sitting on the head of a man who cares so much about his hairstyle.

Ex. 13.: **yira foLH.**

*Millet bag.*

A metaphor for a person who talks too much. It evokes an image of a bag full of millet, with a small hole, through which the millet pours out. The fine but constant sound of the pouring millet is compared to the ceaseless speech of the person. This metaphor is used for people who are tiring due to the many their words they use.

Ex. 14.: **sanderi yaNK čiščiñi gizerem.***Lit. From ear ear-wax come out-until talks.**He talks until the ear-wax leaks out from one's ears.*

A description of an exceedingly talkative person. The funny moment is in the exaggeration of the pain of the listener, which causes the ear-wax to leak.

Ex. 15.: **mučim maLtem gizerem.***Lit. Creeping scraping speaks.**He talks as he was creeping and scraping.*

A characteristic of a person who has difficulties with expressing his ideas, who speaks slowly and incoherently. The funny point is in the direct modification of the main verb **gizerem** *speaks* by the two converbs **mučim** *creeping* and **maLtem** *scraping*. Such way of talking is regarded as displeasing, as opposed to the preferred pregnancy of expression.

Ex. 16.: **šu=da tiuri taKsemiě.***Lit. Absolutely pea fries.**He is just frying peas.*

A largely positive characteristic of a quick speech. Laughter is evoked by the image of the peas popping when being fried.

Ex. 17.: **yiKan yiKan yilan da śKa.***Lit. Chinese chinese three pieces of horse-hair.*

A lilt of the Sibe children which ridicules the Chinese shabbiness and economy, which stands in opposition to the Sibe demand for hospitality and generosity.

Ex. 18.: **urai amting, san mitemeś geL saKũ.***Lit. How much tasty, ear cutting-if too know-not.**It is so tasty that you would not feel if somebody cut off your ear.*

An example of exaggeration, which forms the sought-for tension that makes the audience laugh. The controversy between the ear, which is a symbol of subtlety and cuteness, and the cruelty of cutting it, strengthens the tension.

Ex. 19.: **veLgiěm em durun siěm.***Lit. Pig one form good.**Good as a pig.*

The base of this humorous appreciation of something is the discrepancy between the vulgarity of the pig (which has, however, an important status in the Sibe culture) and the, usually subtle, nature of the object of comparison.

Ex. 20.: **aNGev=ñi temen fuskulghena?***Lit. Mouth(ak.)=his camel kicked?**Did a camel kick your mouth?*

A humorous reproach for somebody who keeps silent while he should speak. The ludicrous point is the image of the big, flat and soft sole of a camel kicking one's mouth, and the consequences of such harm.

Ex. 21.: **uñu fiške uñu fašKa!***Oh Buddha oh buttock!*

An exclamation of surprise. The funny moment lies in the incongruity of the meanings of the two words which are put together because of their phonetic similarity – the word for *Buddha* – **fišk** and the word for *buttock* – **fašK**. The first part **uñu fiške** is commonly used as the English “Oh my God”, while the second part may be added for the purpose of comicality which applies to the Sibe favour for conciseness and straightforwardness.

Ex. 22.: **čira ñi šu=da nadin ñonGHûn jem vajiKû banški.***Lit. Face=his completely seven dogs eating finish-not grew.**Her face looks so that seven dogs would not finish eating it.*

An extremely sharp simile for a person, especially a girl, who makes an unpleasant face in public. The upbringing of the Sibe girls is very strict in the sense that they have to behave kindly and agreeably all the time. The wittiness of this metaphor is in the exaggeration, and it is supported by the elision of the word “**em durun**” as if in the simile, which makes the nominal phrase “**nadin ñonGHûn jem vajiKû**” *seven dogs would not finish* a direct modifier of the predicate **banški** *looks like*.

### 3. Funny expressions and sentences invented on the spot

Here I have collected some examples of utterances of my informants, which were appreciated as “**yono**” – *funny, interesting*. Some of them became spread quickly among my Sibe informants and were repeated at every possible occasion.

Ex. 23.: **erev geL jem vajiKû=da banjiKû=da oGHûiě.***Lit. This too eating finish-not-just live-not-just became possible.**If you cannot even finish (eating) this, there is no need for you to live.*

Exaggeration is a much-favoured instrument for creating humorousness in the Sibe communication. The discrepancy between the trivial fact of eating and the mention of death forms a tension which is appreciated by the audience.

Ex. 24.: **emfalen šiden ju erin gizermaK giam.**

*Lit. A while between two hour having talked takes.*

*In a while he will have talked for two hours.*

A characteristic of an extremely talkative (and fast talking) person. The wit-tiness lies in the absurdity of using the two different determinations of time for the same event, together with the modification of the main verb by the verb “**giam**” to take, which implies an action done for the benefit of the doer. The picture evoked by the phrase is a fervently talking person, which does not allow the audience to leave or to interrupt his talk for two hours, as it were a while.

Ex. 25.: **čavčaLd ter giad deyir čiške gum šive medan daGHavm.**

*Lit. Chabchal-in those street-on flying bird all Sibe tone follow-let (caus.).*

*In Chabchal even the sparrows in the streets have a Sibe accent.*

The funniness of this statement dwells, of course, in the absurd idea of a bird singing with an accent of a human language. This joke, after having been said once, has been often repeated because of its “nationalistic” appeal to Sibe people, who are aware of the fact that their language is dying out, and are proud of Chabchal as the only place where Sibe is still spoken widely.

Ex. 26.: **fighe=ñi GošK, šim unčamaK sendaš geL ši saKū.**

*Lit. Brains=her terrific, you(ak.) having sold put-if you know-not.*

*She is clever indeed, if she sells you, you would not even realize it.*

An appreciation of the cleverness of a girl, who is able by her speech to persuade anybody to do anything. The witty moment lies in the exaggeration.

Ex. 27.: **ere sakda banjihai bucerebe gemu onggohobi.**

*Lit. This old man having lived-by (nom.perf.+instr.) dying (nom.fut. + ak.) all forgot.*

*This grey-beard has been living so long that he has forgotten to die.*

An example from a book written in the 1930s. The author recalls what was said to him by a young man in the street. The point of the joke is in the absurdity of “forgetting to die”. In Sibe society, which is characterized by a strict

demand of respect and politeness to the old people, such a severe violation of the rules would be unimaginable were there not the unusual tolerance for jokes and humour.

#### 4. Anecdotes

Here I present several short anecdotes, which were told to me several times as successful jokes, and which can enrich the collection of the topics about which Sibe people laugh.

Ex 28.: **bi mo sačeme hen huzun baitelem bighe. min naHče mind fiñjim: an hentkendi fieremeiě, Hajie, momaK kimin bi=na?**

*I was cutting wood with a great vigour. My uncle asks me: Why are you cutting so fiercely, my son, are you taking revenge on the wood?*

The joke in this anecdote is based on the antropomorphisation of wood. It also applies to the general Sibe preference for frugality.

Ex. 29.: **em šive ašta urumčid banjimaK šive gizun ŋi čala, emda em kirangyěL mame=ŋi fiñjim – HaGHaje, šind ud ji biě? ter maf uduv=ŋi taKam, jiv=ŋi taKaKũ, čoKo zem Gũnim. mame, mind sunja ji biě, sunja ji=ŋi gum umGHan banjikũ, zeghi.**

*One Sibe young man grew up in Urumqi and his Sibe was not very good. Once an old lady of his relatives asks: My son, how many children do you have? The guy knows the word “how many” but does not know the word “child”, he thinks that she meant “hen”. Grandmother, I have five children, and none of the children lays eggs, he said.*

This anecdote is a typical example of the language based humour in Xinjiang. It ridicules the young man who does not know such a basic word as “child” (ji in Sibe) in his mother tongue and takes it for the homophonous Chinese word, which means “hen”.

Ex. 30.: **em nan tuolaji diělemaK užinderi medam genem. em nan duKa jaKed yilamaK fiñjim, yěd genhenge, zem Kaičim. tuolaji diěler nan san ŋi meji jiheng, sin tuolaji=ŋi fe jaKa, zem.**

*One man was going back from his field, driving a tractor. Another man was standing at his gate and shouted: Where have you been? The driver of the tractor was a little hard of hearing. He replied: Your tractor is an old crock!*



The question “where have you been” is the commonest greeting among the Sibe. This anecdote was particularly appreciated by my Sibe friends both for the insanity of the reply and for its moralistic appeal. One of the crucial social rules is the demand of modesty. The audience likes to laugh at the stupidity of the man, who, in the situation when he could have expected a greeting, mistook it for a disrespectful remark about his tractor and thus showed his pride of it.

Ex. 31.: **dači šive nani em endüri šive naned ñimGHa betar GoH bughi. Tutbičñi šive nan er goGHmak bey beyi fašKev Kočirmaški. Tutofie endür ñi GoGHev=ñi biergem giaGHi. Vajime ilan miNGan šive šinjaNGči yavmûGHû, tukume Gor bači yavm, ter Gor bad=ñi banjin=ñi maNG zeme GoGHev=ñi medam bughi. Tukume šinjaNG šives=ñi bey beyi fašKev KûčirmaK tutki...**

*In the olden days one deity of the Sibe gave the Sibe people hooks for fishing. But the Sibe started to dig one another's arses with the hooks. So the deity took the hooks away from them. Later the three thousand Sibe were about to leave for Xinjiang, so (the deity thought) they are going to a far away place and living there will be difficult, and gave the hooks back to them. And so the Xinjiang Sibes are digging each other's arses...*

This pseudo-mythological parable ridicules one characteristic of the Sibe people, which has been commonly reflected by themselves – the love for slander and looking for other's faults. **nani fašKev Kûčirem** – *dig the others' arse* means to search for others mistakes and misfortunes. Another statement of this kind is **šive gurun nani bo li federem** – lit. *The Sibe folk man's house only ferret about* = *the Sibe people only ferret about others' households*.

## 6. A humorous song

The Sibe people are fond of songs and many of the songs are comical or humorous. A traditional topic of the songs is love and entanglements of men and women. There are many traditional folk songs, which sing about love in a humorous tone, but I chose rather a song whose text was written by a contemporary author and which is popular among the young generation, because it was explained to me thoroughly by my informants.

Ex. 32.:

**šoro Halin fejile,  
yiGHan HorGHoñi Hozede,**

Under the jojoba tree,  
in the corner of the cattle pound,

tiorGHûm tiorGHûm taš gele  
 jider arvenv saburKû.  
 jekce yěmj geL šiēn bighe,  
 Gûñin ñamen=ñi tont seghe  
 eneng geL yamken=ñi  
 tiorGHûvemaK daGHevghe?  
 erde užind genghenghe,  
 sarGHanjuzei meyin=ñiē  
 minči tam tam injime,  
 užin veilem yavemiē.  
 fanšKe Horond fiēnškeNGe,  
 minči kirame gizerghe,  
 mame ñungkung guidaGHe,  
 tamzelem bum genghenghe.  
 eneng ertken bederkiē,  
 fonKoNG saveñ Hûliaskiē  
 narGHûn yazeng gugu=ñi  
 eneng toHtof jim zere.  
 čoKo Hûlar Hanč oGHo,  
 baitai gien=ñi geL tut oGHo  
 arKan zem emkem baHeNGe,  
 šala hutud tuNGaLGHe

looking round and round,  
 I still cannot see her coming.  
 Yesterday evening she was still OK,  
 saying that she is sincere with me,  
 which one did her this morning  
 mash and take away?  
 In the morning I went to the field,  
 the group of girls  
 is giggling and peeping at me,  
 when they walk working.  
 I asked her in fury,  
 she looked at me covertly and said:  
 My grandmother has long been ill  
 I went there for cupping.  
 Today I will return home early  
 and change my torn shoes  
 The auntie with narrow eyes  
 Said that she will definitely come.  
 It became close to the rooster's crow,  
 this was what had to happen,  
 I have hardly succeeded in getting one  
 and I found a useless devil.

This song is an example of the sexually based humour, which is also very popular in the Sibe society. While the jokes mentioning death and excreta are usually very straightforward, the jokes with sexual topics rarely mention the subject openly, they rather use various metaphors and elisions.

There are many humorous points in this song. The whole context of the traditional rural life moves the audience and makes them laugh at every situation they know from their lives (the cattle pound, the picture of girls working on the field in a group, the presumable lie of the girl, the cupping, the young man's excited preparations for the evening, consisting at the same time of the mere changing of his torn shoes etc.). All these moments appeal to the audience as funny but positive.

There are, however, moments of particular wittiness – the humiliation of the young man being mocked by a group of girls, his furious reaction to it, his obvious helplessness towards the girl's answer.

The mentioning of the narrow eyes, which are considered rather unbeautiful, but typical for Sibe girls, also makes the Sibe people laugh.

The most “suspicious” moment of the song, which speaks covertly about sex, is the verse “**čoKo Hūlar Hanč oGHo**” – *it came close to the rooster’s crow*, placed immediately after the description of the preparations for the evening. This could be the culmination of the text, were there not the last verses, which change the tone of the song in a surprising but (for the Sibe listeners) familiar way – the complaint if the singer “**arKan zem amken ba-HeNGe śala hutud tuNGaLghe**” – *I have hardly found a girl and she turned out to be a useless devil*.

This passage sounds extremely funny for several reasons. First it finally reveals the young man’s eagerness in finding any girl friend, which comes from the rustic habit of early marriages, secondly the supposed reason for the complaint – the girl’s missing the date once, which seems inadequate but echoes with the Sibe favour for strictness, and lastly the sudden change of the tone concerning the girl and calling her “**hut**” *devil*, which applies to the rough and unsentimental attitude of the Sibe men to their wives. The audience then laughs on the contrast between the part “before winning the girl” and after it.

The mention of the jojoba tree is, on the other hand, an ironic allusion to a “serious” song composed by a contemporary author, which begins with the same words but uses the jojoba tree for evoking emotionally charged sentiments.

There are still more fine nuances in the text, which may be examined in course of further work.

## 5. Conclusion

Humour, irony and sarcasm play an important role in Sibe communication. The request for it is so strong, that some of the speakers talk constantly in a humorous or playful tone. There are several important sources of wittiness in Sibe society, some of which are connected with the multiethnic environment of Xinjiang and some stem in the Sibe culture itself.

Thus the main sources of drollness, which are typical of Xinjiang and common virtually to all the ethnic groups of Xinjiang, are 1. *The interethnic relations and tensions* and 2. *The mutual misunderstandings among the languages*.

1. The interethnic relations in Xinjiang are considerably complex due to the historical events which have formed the present ethnic situation (Hoppe 1995, pp. 145-148, 341, 394-396, 439-441). The Uighurs, who are the original inhabitants of Xinjiang, regard all other ethnic groups more or less as

intruders. The relationship between the sedentary Muslim ethnicities (Uzbek, Tajik, Tatar, Hui) and Uighurs is closer than with the nomadic Moslems (Kirghiz, Kazakh). The Buddhist Mongols are regarded as alien newcomers and the ethnic groups which settled in Xinjiang as a consequence of the Manchu conquest (Manchu, Sibe, Daghur) are regarded with hostility as occupants. The Sibe, on the other hand, have always seen themselves as imperial soldiers with the task of pacifying the local inhabitants and for most of the time have been loyal to the Manchu and Chinese government of Xinjiang. In the past fifty years, however, all the inhabitants of Xinjiang have developed a certain antagonism towards the incoming Chinese as the common enemy.

2. The misunderstandings are chiefly based on the local inhabitants' poor knowledge of Chinese, but in the case of the Sibe sometimes on the young speakers' insufficient knowledge of their mother tongue.
3. Another source, which applies to the multilingual environment but is, according to my experience, more typical for Sibe, is *mixing of foreign (chiefly Kazakh and Uighur) words into Sibe sentences*. The analogous sentence structure of the Altaic languages allows replacing Sibe words in the sentence freely with words from Uighur, Kazakh or Mongolian. For the Sibe people this is one of the most popular ways of playing on words.
4. The source of comicality, rooted deeply in the Sibe culture is *roughness and naturalness* as opposed to (phony) refinement and decadence. The Jungarian Sibe relate to the time before their arrival to Xinjiang as to a kind of mythological "Golden age" and the source of their traditions. The lifestyle of semi-nomadic hunters and fishermen seems to form the basic layer of their culture and the attributes of it – simplicity, straightforwardness and roughness, are the deeply rooted ideals which still rule their behaviour.
5. The pronounced *criticism of someone else's manner of using the language* is probably typical for the Sibe language community. A strong emphasis is put on pregnancy, conciseness and the right placing of the point, and various imperfections are criticised and derided.
6. A great deal of *personal and national pessimism and self-criticism* is also characteristic of the Sibe people, and it is often expressed in the jokes. The most frequently girded habit is that of envy and discord inside the Sibe society.
7. In the *sexually motivated jokes* and witticisms there, too, comicality based on the emphasis on the "backwardness" and *rustic habits* prevails, as opposed to the commonly perceived demand of modernisation. Mentioning modest habits usually evokes positive sentiments in the audience.

The most common means of creating humorousness is the *discrepancy between the vehicle and the tenor* of the metaphors and similes, where the tenor is usually excessively vulgar or straightforward, and *forceful exaggeration* which reaches into sensitive zones of life like death, physical harm etc.

As for the sources of the metaphors, most of them relate to the reality of the everyday life of the Sibe as farmers – peasants and herdsmen, and also the remnants of the life-style of fishermen and hunters.

Among the formal language means which strengthen the wittiness *elision* of some members of the sentence, notably the explicit likening (*like, as it were* etc.) is the most remarkable. It causes the desired shortening which invokes the moment of surprise.

The mentioned constants of the Sibe humour are only the most remarkable points which stand out among the other sources and topics of the humorousness or comicality in Sibe. There are many more or less subtle nuances, which remain to be revealed and examined.

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# The Thirteen Northern Lords of the Hori Buryats in the Tibetan Ritual Texts of the Aga Monastery

Daniel Berounský

**Summary:** The text touches upon the ritual to the Thirteen Northern Lords of the Hori Buryats and its transition from the ritual performed by a shaman into the Buddhisized form. The ritual is a very important means of communication among pre-modern societies and in case of the Buryats the Tibetan language plays a significant role in its process of change. The basic objective is to collect relevant notes on the cult of the Thirteen Northern Lords from the Buryat chronicles, testimonies collected by past ethnographers and narrations concerning the reshaping of the cult into its current Tibetanized form. The Tibetan ritual text dedicated to them is given both in the original and in translation. It attempts to map one particular case of Tibetanization of religious ideas among the Buryats.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The Tibetan language followed the spread of Buddhism among the Mongolian nations as a natural accessory of the religion. This concerns the Buryats in particular, and since the beginning of the 18th century (when the first Buddhist monasteries among the Buryats were founded) a considerable number of Buryat monks studied in large Tibetan monasteries, mostly in Labrang in Amdo and Depung near Lhasa. This fact facilitated the passage of the Tibetan language to the Buryats as a language of the religious establishment, resembling in many ways the role of Latin among Europeans in the Middle Ages. Although a large number of Tibetan religious texts was translated into Mongolian, highly developed Tibetan terminology seemed to be used among most of the Mongolian Buddhist elite, preferably in its Tibetan original. Tibetan religious terminology is difficult to adapt into a different language (which one might also observe among contemporary Western attempts to adaptation). Although much of the Tibetan religious terminology is

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1) In the following text Buryat and Mongolian are transcribed according to the rules explained by Oberfalzerová 2002, p. 13, n. 1. For Tibetan, the Wilie system of transliteration used is given in italics. Mantras are not transliterated from the Tibetan text, but I attempted to restore their Indian form in corrupt Sanskrit. I express my gratitude to J. Vacek for the help with it.

rooted in Indian one, during the long period of hundreds of years Tibetans adapted Indian concepts to the specifics of their own living conditions and culture, and these religious ideas successfully entered the real lives of Tibetans in a number of particular ways. Such cohabitation of religious ideas expressed in specific language with the actual lives of the Tibetans together with the long tradition of their adaptation resulted in reception of the overall system by the Mongolians even together with the parts developed by Tibetans in order to harmonize their own autochthonous traditions with the central Buddhist ideas. In the text translated below in this article this is distinguished by the terms *lha chos* ("religion of gods", i.e. "higher Buddhist tradition") and *mi chos* ("religion of people", i. e. folk tradition including the cult of the local deities).

This contribution touches upon one particular case of such a reception of the Tibetan ritual dealing with local gods among the Buryats of the Aga district. In this ritual to the old Buryat Thirteen Lords (Bur. *noyon*) ritual procedures stemming both from autochthonous Tibetan tradition and Tantric Buddhism were employed. The main task of the article is to present two Tibetan ritual texts as documents for the ways of absorbing the cult of tribal gods within Northern Buddhism together with the translation of one of them.

The present text is the result of field research in 2000 among the Aga Buryats. Researchers always depend on the hospitality and openness of the local people; this concerns also the subject of the present article. The majority of the information, including Tibetan ritual texts was provided by my dear and hospitable friend Munkozhargal Bazarov, the main astrologer of the Aga Monastery known there as Munko Lama, for whose help I am very grateful. It was his tireless efforts that led to obtaining the texts and the relevant information. I feel more like a translator and compiler of information, adding only few other sources. However, the responsibility for any possible mistakes is mine alone; I was the one who gave this article its final shape.

## 2. The historical background

The Buryats inhabiting the area of the Aga Autonomous District of the Russian Federation near the borders with China and Mongolia are the descendants of eleven clans of the Hori Buryats. Their origin is bound with Horidai Mergen, the grandfather of the Hori Buryats according to the chronicles, whose person leads us far into history. One of the chronicles of the Hori



Buryats dates him back to the 4th century without giving any reasons for this dating (Jumsunov 1995, p. 37). He is probably identical with one of the Mongolian ancestors mentioned under the name of Horilartai Mergen in the "Secret History of Mongols" (Cleaves 1982, p. 2). His eleven sons became the grandfathers of the eleven clans of the Hori Buryats.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the Buryat chronicles speak of the southern shore of Lake Baikal as the homeland of Horidai Mergen and his family (Jumsunov 1995, p. 37; Darbaev 1995 pp.174-5). He is reported to have moved to the south in the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Jumsunov 1995, p. 37), but there is of course a strong uncertainty concerning the dates in this legendary narration. His descendents are said to have returned to their homeland only at the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century, escaping repressions in Mongolia. After a series of migrations, some of them settled also in the east in the steppes surrounding the Aga river which they are still inhabiting.

Summing up, there are two possibilities. The first one is that in the distant past of the Hori Buryats were connected with the area near Lake Baikal. The second one is that the story was artificially created to strengthen the ties of the place with the Hori Buryats coming there only in 17<sup>th</sup> century. This question will be left open in this article.

The Buddhist religion reached the Buryats living in the area near the Aga river with some stronger impact relatively late at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is also the time when the first Buddhist monastery was built in the area. It is known as the Aga Monastery (with its Tibetan name *bkra shis lhun grub gling*); its construction was completed in 1816. From several testimonies collected at the beginning of the 20th century by the Russian ethnographer Nacov it appears first that the main building of the monastery was built by Russian workers as a Christian church, even with a Christian cross (Nacov 1998, pp. 68-9). The current appearance of this Amitābha temple is the result of its later reconstruction at the end of the 19th century. Secondly, the testimonies speak about the significant role of the Buryat nobility in the process of spreading the Buddhist religion and at the same time about the rather problematic acceptance of Buddhism by the wider strata of the Buryat community. Here is an example describing a festive banquet held after the construction of the Aga Monastery, called *dacan* among the Buryats (Nacov 1998, p. 55-58, my translation):<sup>3</sup>

2) Their names are: Galzut, Huancai, Hubdud, Gus'ad, S'araid, Hargana, Hudai, Bodongud, Hal'bin, Sagan, Batanai, see Tobyn 1995, pp. 5, 31.

3) It is also repeated in another similar testimony to be found in Tobyn 1995, p. 23.

...And soon the official declaration of consecration of the temple in summer of 1816 year followed. With the assistance of the local people the necessary things were made ready; they prepared 60 yurts, brought 300 rams for the banquet and prepared 10 casks of the "thanksgiving spirits" (*hariulgiin arhi*). They invited the main Hori *noyon* Dembel Dugarov and all the local wealthy persons and *noyons* gathered here. A great festive banquet with abundance of meat and *arhi* spirits was held. Those *noyons*, especially the Dambadugarov and captain Mohu got very drunk with the coming of the night. They forced their subjects to bring them the best horses-pacers and caused great upheaval. They saddled the horses and wildly running them they beat all who came about to them; men and women without any difference. All the people who took part in the feast before the *noyons* got drunk scattered. Many hid in the forest. The confusion lasted for several days. After the feast they were unable to find anybody to stay steadily beside the temple in order to guard it. Those called "lama" stayed in their houses with their families, wives; they engaged in their homesteads. And so it was difficult to find anybody who would guard the *dacan*. (...) The shamans told the people that by no means should they allow their children to become *lama*, since the Buddhist religion (*burhanii*) declares the teaching of emptiness (*hoosonii nomlöl*). Those who follow such teaching would be poor hungry beggars for their entire life. And who would wish to burden one's own children with such a lot? Hence the highest *noyons* forced the people using their power to give their sons to the *dacan* according to an official order, but regardless nobody agreed...

While at the beginning of the implementation of Buddhist ideas among the Buryats seem rather problematic from these paragraphs, it nevertheless soon widely spread among them. According to official data from the 1897 census, 98 % of the Buryats in the Chita region were Buddhists.<sup>4</sup> And even with some suspicion towards "being Buddhist" officially at that time, Buddhism cannot be viewed as unimportant and marginal. The Aga monastery was inhabited by some thousand monks at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries for some 10 000 Buryats, who constituted the parish (Rus. *prihod*) of the monastery.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. The Thirteen Northern Lords of the Hori Buryats

The Thirteen Northern Lords (Bur. *Ariin arvan gurvan noyod*) are closely connected with the Hori Buryats. The Hori Buryats have a narration about their origin from a swan; therefore a rock-carving of thirteen birds (probably swans) on a marble rock on Olhon Island in Lake Baikal might be connected with the Hori Buryats. A hill on Olhon Island is indeed mentioned in the Tibetan ritual text translated below as the dwelling of the leader of the

4) See Mihajlov 1987, p.198. His data are from: Pervaja vsjeobščaja perepis Rossijskoj imperii 1897 goda, Zabajkaľskaja oblast' - T 74, pp. 60-79.

5) See Baradijn 1992, p. 82. For more detailed history and description of Aga monastery see Bělka 2001, pp. 197-212.

Thirteen Lords, Lord Ulihan (i.e. Olhon). According to one hypotheses their grandfather Horidai Mergen originally had thirteen sons, but the destiny of two of his younger sons is forgotten and thus the Hori Buryats speak only about their eleven clans (Žimbiev 2001,p.7).

In the perplexed world of a number of different narrations one would hardly find any evidence. There is also a testimony of the origin of the Thirteen Lords connecting them with the unsurpassable hero of the Mongolian people, C'inggishaan. It says that C'inggishaan left images of himself and his twelve companions as 13 *tengri* at Olkhon Island and since then the Hori Buryats began to worship the Thirteen Lords (Žamcarano 2001, p.137). This narration might serve as a probable example for the merging of two cults, so easily done by the Buryats. Another source speaks about them as "sons of *tengri*" (Jumsunov 1995, p. 56).

The Thirteen Lords seem to be one of the most important subjects of cult among the Hori Buryats till the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the Chronicle of Vandan Jumseney written in 1875, the ritual to the Thirteen Lords is mentioned (Jumsunov 1995, p. 65, my translation):

They bring a shaman with whip and mirror in order to become plentiful, in order to multiply cattle, in order to live a long life without suffering and misfortune. Then they paint many figures of men and women on a piece of white cloth of a length of two fathoms (i. e. approx. 4m), assuming that they depicted Thirteen Northern Lords with their wives and children. They wave white rope and hang on it *zele*, to which they usually tie lambs, kids and similar animals. They sew a huge bag called *ordo* from felt for keeping it. Outside, in front of the yurt they place a clean white horse-blanket and in front of it they place *tarag*, *aaruul*, *órom* and butter depending on their wealth. Inside the yurt they place a sacrifice in a cup and some 20 lamps and without *havs'uulga* (?)<sup>6</sup> they slaughter yellowish cattle. They boil it all in many kettles and then place it in a number of troughs in front of *ongons*, they intensively pray, supplicate and shamanize asking for guarding and protection. They gather many people saying that they made offerings to the Noyons in the troughs called *s'arusa*. All the preparations result in a feast with alcoholic drinks and games. When leaving, they should accompany the shaman to his home with the number of gifts he is worth of and a ram as a reward (*dúurge*).

Such is the brief description of the ritual to the Thirteen Northern Lords as it was performed in the times of Vandan Jumsunov. During the ritual the Thirteen Northern Lords are depicted on the piece of cloth in an anthropomorphic way (not as swans) and are called *ongon*, as is the case of other subjects of cult representing deities among the Mongolian nations. The ritual is accompanied by animal sacrifice (yellowish cattle – the color of earth?) and festive banquets with games strengthening ties both among people and deities and the group of people.

6) According to J. Luvsandorji the word means „to pronounce pleasing words to the animal“.

The lists giving the names of the Thirteen Northern Lords available in several sources are not identical. While Tibetan ritual texts tend to treat them simply as “deities of places” similar to the Tibetan tradition, from the list given in the Chronicle of Vandan Jumsunov it is apparent that they are closely connected with specific non-Buddhist beliefs of the Buryats, which is eliminated in Tibetan texts (Jumsunov 1995, p. 56, my translation):

Concerning the Thirteen Northern Lords, they are regarded to be sons of *tengri* dwelling in the mountains of Olhon Island in Lake Baikal and on the banks of the rivers and springs of the northern and southern shores of this sea. We call them: (1) Firstly; concerning their leader, this is the son of Han Hurmast Tengri – Han Ghoto Noyon, (2) secondly, this is the wife of this Ghoto Noyon – Han Zulmata Noyon who is the protector of women, (3) thirdly the guard of their settlement (Bur. hoton); Lord Has’a – Han Bo Noyon (Mong. Han Bo’o), (4) the fourth is Han Bo Noyon teaching people shamanic arts and possessing a strong yellow bow, (5) the fifth is Han S’uvu Noyon moving in the appearance of an eagle, (6) the sixth is Az’irai Noyon, who dwells in the liver-like black cliffs in the north of Olhon Island, guarding the dreads of death, the bull-headed son of a fox, (7) the seventh is Hua Solbon Noyon, who brandishes the fire-red sword, a guard who does not allow a meeting of the subjects of the hans of this world and subjects of Erlig Nomiin Han, (8) the eighth is Haz’ir Sagaan Noyon dwelling on the Barhan Under (Mong. O’ndor) mountain, the lord of Barguzin, (9) the ninth is Agui Bumal Noyon, lord of shaman’s armor (Bur. amitai), (10) the tenth is Ama Sagaan Noyon (Mong. Am Cagaan), the lord of the lower Angara river, (11) the eleventh is Han Zargac’i Noyon, the lord of the Irkut river, (12) the twelfth is Erdemte Sagaan Noyon (Mong. Erdemt Cagaan), the lord of the Narrow Lena river, (13) the thirteenth is Buha Noyon dwelling on the Mundarga Under mountain, at the sources of the Baikal. It is said that they have many wives and companions.

Another list appears in the Tibetan text used for the ritual of the “golden drink” composed by the Mongolian reincarnated master Ignyen Chomphel, whose personage will be mentioned below. His short Tibetan ritual text is only repeating the phrase of “offering the golden drink” while mentioning all the names of the Thirteen Northern Lords. I am not translating the text (reproduced at the conclusion of the article) for this reason and instead of it only the list of the lords together with an explanation given by Munko Lama will be given here.

1. Buha Noyon (Tib. *bho kha no yon*) with his wife Budan Hatan (Tib. *bho ston kha thon*) – the lord of the Sayana mountains.
2. Oihon uul, olon to’riin noyonhai (Tib. *os mkhan o’u la/ o lon mthu re’i no yang mkhas*) – “The mountain of Olhon Island, protector of many generations”, i.e. the lord of Olhon Island.
3. Tunhun uul turii noyon Hotoohai (Tib. *mtshun ’khun o’u la/ mthu re’i no yon ho mtho mkhas*) – Hotoohai, the lord of Tunka mountains.
4. Zolmedhai (Tib. *stsol med mkhas*) – the lord of male humans.
5. Barhan, Udeg Najz’i (Tib. *bar khan/ dbu deg gnas kji*, Mong. O’toḡ?) –

Barhan is mountain in Barguzin area, Udeg Najz'i is the lord of ancestors, the lord of Barguzin.

6. Selenge, Buhu Baator (Tib. *sel leng ge/ bu khu bā thor*) – river Selenga and its lord Buhu Baatar.
7. Darhan Baabai (Tib. *dar han pā pas*) – the lord of blacksmiths.
8. Erhuu, Ama Sagaan (Tib. *er khu'u/ a ma za gā'ang*) – river Irkut, a tributary of Angara river, its lord Ama Sagaan.
9. Dalsar Hara Noyon (Tib. *dal zar ha ra no yon mkhas*) – “The lord with the black face”, the lord of large lakes (seas).
10. Bahar Hara Noyon (Tib. *bha har ha ra no yon*) – the lord of lake Baikal.
11. Bayan Baatar (Tib. *pa yan pā thor*) – the wealthy lord.
12. Mundarga, Munhe Cohar (Tib. *mentra ga / mong ho tshō har*, Mong. Mun'he Cohor) – Mundarga is a mountain in the Sayana range and Munhe Cohar is its lord.
13. Helmen Hos'uun, S'uuman Noyon (Tib. *khel mang kho shōng / shō'u mang no yon*) – Helmen Hos'uun is the “Sacred Nose” cape (Rus. Svjatoj nos, in Buryat “saber”) and S'uuman Noyon its lord.

It is apparent that although both lists give also the same deities, there is also great deal of inconsistency in them. The third list (again inconsistent with these two) is given in the Tibetan ritual text translated below.

The local narratives concerning the origin of the Tibetan ritual texts dedicated to the Thirteen Northern Lords were reproduced by Munko Lama in the following way. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Aga Buryats noticed number of inauspicious signs. Their cattle did not multiply; the best of the people (lords, the abbots of the monasteries) were dying young. They delegated three men (a monk, an official and a wealthy man) to the Ignyen Chomphel (Tib. *dbzig gnyen chos 'phel*), a celebrated Buddhist monk coming from the Barga Mongolians (in Inner Mongolia), who were considered to be relatives of the Buryats. Ignyen Chomphel was known as incarnation of a Demchog (Tib. *bde mchog*) deity to the Buryats. He had studied in the Depung monastery near Lhasa and at that time was residing in Ganz'ur-sume to the south of Lake Dalainuur. Answering their question about the source of the inauspicious state he said that they had omitted something from their past. The three delegated men came to the conclusion that it concerned the Thirteen Northern Lords, and Ignyen Chomphel agreed with them. He then composed a ritual text of offering and supplications (Tib. *gsol mchod*) to the Thirteen Northern Lords together with the text for the ritual of oblation by “golden drink” (Tib. *gser bskyems*).

Ignyen Chomphel also decided the dates of the rituals. The fumigation ritual at the cairns of the local deities (Bur. *ovoo*) of the Aga Buryats is performed on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the second summer month (i. e. fifth month of the lunar calendar) and the ritual of offering to the Thirteen Northern Lords on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the last summer month (i. e. the sixth).

These days the ritual is performed near the mountain behind the Aga Monastery, which is believed to be the residence of the main local deity (Tib. *gzhi bdag*) Phuntshog Tobden (Tib. *phun tshogs stobs ldan*), with the Tibetan sound to the last part of his name resembling his older designation as Tabtanai.<sup>7</sup> The hill has two peaks, a southern and northern one. The cairn of Phuntshog is on the southern one, and after performing the annual fumigation ritual to the deity (it is the only exception in the area, the fumigation ritual is performed on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the fourth month), several old men usually move to the northern top called Barhan (following the name of the famous mountain far in the Barguzin area near Baikal and mentioned in both of the lists above) and perform the ritual of offering to the Thirteen Northern Lords there. This place is believed to be one of few places in the area where one might come in contact with the Thirteen Northern Lords.<sup>8</sup> It is forbidden to women.

The 16<sup>th</sup> day of the sixth month was already mentioned as the date of the monastery ritual to the Thirteen Northern Lords. Only a “custodian” (Tib. *sgo gnyer*) of the monastery performs the ritual without the presence of any other monks. He proceeds to the place behind the Phuntshog mountain, from which the monastery is not seen. This ritual is viewed as rather problematic from the side of monks, hence the careful precautions. The larger ritual text for offering composed by Ignien Chomphel is lost these days and the “custodian” chants a different text composed by Horc'id Gegeen in 1841. His name reveals that he comes from the Horc'id Mongolians and his Tibetan name is Galsan Sodba (Tib. *bskal bzang bzod pa*). This larger text is translated below and appended by a painting of the Thirteen Northern Lords from the Aga monastery, which made following the description of this text. Only

7) It was Munko Lama who revived the cult of the Phuntshog Tobden. At the beginning of 1990's a man from Mongolia traveled here and asked to provide a ritual to the Phuntshog deity. His parents were born in the area and later escaped to Mongolia during the turmoils at the beginning of the 20th century. They provided their son with a ritual text, which was already lost in the Aga monastery. Munko reproduced the text and revived the annual offering to the deity.

8) Another one is *ovoo* Zun Under (also known as Agadalik) in C'indalai and the thirteen tops of the “holy place” of the Alhanai mountains.

the brief text for the ritual of oblation of the “golden drink” (Tib. *gser bskyems*) by Ignjen Chomphel is included into this larger ritual text these days and both texts are reproduced in appendixes.

#### 4. The Tibetan ritual text of Horc'id Gegeen

The Tibetan text is designed as a rather common “propitiation text” (Tib. *bskangs*) to the protectors of the Buddhist Teaching. The Thirteen Northern Lords are now understood to be “great messengers” (Tib. *ging chen*), who in the past accepted the mission of protecting this remote northern land. This is by no means a “Tibet-centered” point of view, which sees it as a remote periphery of the area dominated by Buddhist Teaching. For better understanding, the ritual text was divided into the following 19 sections, which in the translated text are given in parentheses to introduce the specific steps of the ritual:

1. **Offering (mchod pa).** This part is an abbreviated introductory offering of the Tantric rituals. Although unspecified in the text, these are “outer, inner and secret” offerings originated in the sphere of emptiness, being offered together with the corresponding mantras and gestures.
2. **Generation of the deities (lha bskyed pa).** This again follows the Tantric ritual procedures of “sādhana” (“means of accomplishment”). Individual deities are generated through visualization in front of the person performing the ritual, and the text describes them for such purpose. The painting of the Thirteen Northern Lords appended to the article follows this description even with words taken from this part of the text.
3. **Invitation of the guests (mgron spyan 'dren pa).** Guests are understood to be various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with their manifestations in peaceful and wrathful appearances, accompanied by lower divinities “under oath”. These are invited.
4. **Invitation of the local deities (yul lha spyan 'dren pa).** By means of Tantric visualization, the Thirteen Lords (not those already generated, who serve as a kind of “form”, but those actual ones in their respective places of dwelling) are hit with the red beams of light emanated from the hearts of the “guests” and the performer of the ritual. They are stiffened by the light and asked to proceed to the given place.
5. **Merging of the deities (lha bsres pa).** The text does not explain this crucial step common in Tantric rituals. By means of the mantra “jaḥ hūṃ

vaṃ hoḥ” two aspects of the deities merge (*bsres*) inseparably. The first ones are those generated at the beginning of the second part of the ritual and the second one are those “invited” from their places of dwelling.

6. **Prayer for their staying (bzhuḡs su ḡsol ba).** It consists of the prayer accompanied by offering their thrones – “supports” and offering together with mantras and ritual gestures.
7. **Offering of the “golden drink” (ḡser skyems ‘bul ba).** To this part the text of Ignyen Chomphel is added. During the verses for offering the “golden drink”, vodka with the addition of saffron powder is poured into the sacrificial bowl and poured out onto the soil after concluding this part.
8. **Praise (bstod pa).**
9. **Repetition of the hundred syllable mantra (yig brḡya’i sḡngags bzlas pa).** Visualization of the seed syllable “hūṃ” at the heart of the performer of the ritual surrounded by syllables of the Vajrasattva’s hundred syllable mantra serves to purify the Lords by beams of light emanating from them. It is followed by a repetition of the Vajrasattva’s mantra twenty one times.
10. **Confession of misdeeds (sdig pa bshags pa).** Transgressions towards the local deities are mentioned here. The local deities are represented here by “nyen” (*gnyan*), a rather enigmatic expression used commonly for beings of the intermediate sphere (*bar snang*) between earth and sky, which is also the living space of people. The confession of misdeeds known from Buddhist texts of Indian origin are combined here with the remnants of Tibetan views on their living space. Transgressions consist of irritating *gnyan* of soil, cutting *gnyan* of wood, whirling *gnyan* of water and crumbling *gnyan* of stone.
11. **Fumigation (bsang).** Probably the autochthonous Tibetan ritual of purification through fumigation is the subject of the verses of this section. It is again blended with Buddhist notions such as “emptiness” etc.
12. **Propitiation (bskangs ba).** The Thirteen Lords are propitiated mainly by the symbolic offering of cattle and other domestic animals, mountains, forests, springs and rivers, beasts of burden, precious stones, weapons etc.
13. **Offering of the sacrificial cakes (ḡtor ma ‘bul ba).** Dough effigies of sacrificial cakes (*ḡtor ma*) are offered, and the deities are visualized swallowing their nourishing juice. It is followed by the mantra of offering the sacrificial cakes and other offering mantras.
14. **Praise (bstod pa).**

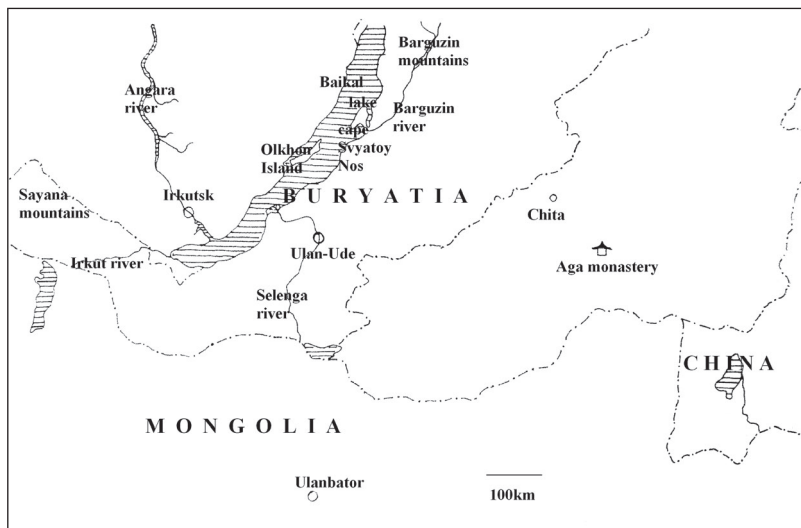


15. **Entrusting with virtuous deeds ('phrin las stsol ba).** This part of the ritual instructs the deities after all the offering and propitiation. It is concerned mostly with earthly needs as eliminating diseases, multiplying wealth and protection.
16. **Prayer for forbearance (bzod par gsol ba).** The deities are asked to be benevolent towards all possible future transgressions towards them, similar as in the part dedicated to the confession of misdeeds.
17. **Prayer for their departure (gshegs su gsol ba).** The Thirteen Lords are asked to depart back to their respective places and protect from there. By the mantra "om muḥ" they return. In the comments introducing this part, the text speaks about the possibility of their staying in "supports". This comes in the shape of consecration (*rab gnas*) of various images etc. ("supports"). In this case another prayer for staying forever is used.
18. **Pronouncing auspice (bkra shis brjod pa).** Concluding parts for which some of the text expressing the wish of happiness and flourishing of the Buddhist Teaching is used.

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Picture 1: Map of Buryatia and surrounding countries



Picture 2: Painted scroll from Aga Monastery depicting Thirteen Northern Lords



## Appendix I

### Translation of the Tibetan text<sup>9</sup> of Horc'id Gegeen

#### Supplication and Offering to the Thirteen Great Gods;

#### Lords Possessing Power and Strength;

#### Called

#### Origin of All Necessary and Desirable

(1b) *If somebody wishes to perform an offering to the thirteen messengers and the great gods of places dwelling in Ulihan (i. e. Olhon Island in Lake Baikal) and others, three white and three sweet ones,<sup>10</sup> coated white offerings lha bshos adorned by four white wings should be placed on the clean board<sup>11</sup> with small offering balls surrounding them. When ready, to another vessel offering cakes to the lord-demons (rgyal), cliff-demons (btsan), serpent-spirits (klu) [and other single beings from the] eight classes of gods and demons will be arranged in accordance with the particular ritual practice. And prepare also all the following: two kinds of waters<sup>12</sup> [and other five] offerings of enjoinderment,<sup>13</sup> auspicious signs,<sup>14</sup> five objects of senses,<sup>15</sup> seven signs of the power of a king.<sup>16</sup> And further prepare various food, fruits, tea and the "golden drink" of spirits made from whey of milk. When ready, hoist the army banner (ru mtshon), strips of silk, parasols, standards and banners. It is excellent to prepare also all the cattle for the ritual of "freeing of life" (tshe thar)<sup>17</sup> and various substances for the ritual*

9) In the following text the notes not to be pronounced during the ritual are written in italics. Most of the mantras are written in a corrupted way and I try to restore their most usual sounding through comparison with a number of texts, both written by Western scholars and in Tibetan manuscripts. Square brackets mark what was added to the original text for better understanding and italics in brackets give the transliteration of the Tibetan expression. The numbers in brackets mark pagination of the original text, which is reproduced in appendix.

- 10) Three white are curd, milk and butter. Three sweet are molasses, honey and sugar.
- 11) I read *stegs* instead of the *stags* of the text. Offerings *lha bshos* (literally "food of gods") are small dough offerings in a shape of fingers.
- 12) Two kinds of waters are: "water for the face" and "water for the feet". These are prepared in small offering bowls.
- 13) Five offerings of enjoyment (*nyer spyod*) are again prepared in offering bowls: flowers, incense, lamps, perfume, food.
- 14) Auspicious signs (*bkra shis rtags rdzas*) are knot, golden wheel, lotus flower, victory banner, umbrella, vase, white conch shell, golden fish.
- 15) Five objects of senses (*'dod yon lnga*) are offerings gratifying five senses: mirror, conch shell filled with water, lute, fruits, silk robe.
- 16) Seven signs of the power of the king (*rgyal srid sna bdun*) are: the precious wheel, elephant, horse, gem, queen, minister and general.
- 17) The ritual of "freeing of life" concerns the domestic animals, who are let free.

of propitiation (bskang /gso/), from real ones to paintings and statues. To the cakes and other offerings six [kinds of] good [medicines]<sup>18</sup> should be thrown and all these should be also censed in a smoke of a pleasant scent (2a) and thus made clean. Prepare also various musical instruments with the exception of the trumpet from thigh-bone. Generate your personal deity as you only can and with the “divine pride” sacrificial cakes, offerings and substances for calling and satiating are then blessed in a following way.

### li. Offering]

By [the mantra] amṛta [and so forth]<sup>19</sup> it is cleansed. By [mantra] svabhāva [and so forth]<sup>20</sup> it is purified [into emptiness]. From the state of emptiness slightly sacrificial cakes, offerings and substances for calling and satiating [appear], adorned by a spot of the syllable om and the first syllable of your own name. They melt and from them unpolluted desirable substances arise according to one's wish. Their nature is great bliss and they have the ability to generate unpolluted exceptional bliss as the objects of the six senses of individually called guests. In front of the eyes of all masters, personal deities, local deities and lords of the base [of earth] together with their retinue, exceptional earth, space in between and sky (2b) arise. Let it spread!

These are blessed by the mantra “Treasury of the sky” together with six mantras and six gestures (mudrā).<sup>21</sup> Pronounce “Power of truth”.<sup>22</sup> Now to the generation of the local deity:

- 18) The six excellent medicines are: Myristica fragrans (*dzā ti*), which is good for the heart, Kaulin (*cu gang*) is good for the lungs, Crocus sativa (*gur gum*) is good for the livers, Eugenia aromatica (*li shi*) is good for the “vein of life” (*srog rtsa*), Elletaria cardamomum (*sug smel*) is good for the kidneys, Amomum subulatum (*ko ko la*) is good for the entrails (Pasang Yonten 1998, p. 226).
- 19) The mantra sounds: Om amṛtakunḍali hana hana hūm phaṭ (om Amṛtakunḍali kill kill hūm phaṭ). It is a fierce mantra invoking the deity “Whirling nectar” (Tib. *bdud rtsis'khyil ba*, Skrt. Amṛtakunḍali) and cleansing the obstacles, for details of the deity see De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993, p. 321.
- 20) The whole mantra sounds: Om svabhāva-śuddhāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ svabhāva-śuddho 'haṃ. It might be half-translated as “Om – all dharmas are of pure nature, of pure nature am I”, cf. also Bentor 1996, p. 105, n. 55.
- 21) The mantra of “Treasury of the sky” (*nam mkha' mdzod*) follows after the svabhāva mantra and sounds Namaḥ sarva-tathāgātebhyo viśva-mukhebhyaḥ sarvathā-khaṃ udgate spharaṇa imaṃ gagana-khaṃ svāhā (for sarvathā-khaṃ appears also sarva-tadkham, for imaṃ stands sometimes himaṃ, cf. Bentor 1996, p. 157), by which the offerings are blessed and spread into the all space or “sky”. Then follows Amṛta mantra by which five “poisons” (pride, lust, anger, jealousy and ignorance) are changed into the nectar. Another mantra called “Blazing surface” (*kha'bar ba*) follows: Namaḥ sarva-tathāgata avalokite. Om sam-

**[iii. Generation of the deities]**

By the [mantra] amṛta it is cleansed. By svabhāva [and so forth] it is purified [into emptiness]. They change into emptiness itself. From the state of emptiness the precious base of the earth leading from grassland to the trees arises in front of you. Various sprouts and flowers are scattered there. With lakes, pools, ponds and springs, slowly floating rivers, uninterrupted melodious sounds are resounding here. In the midst of such adorned and perfect place is a grove. The roots [of the trees] support it very firmly and their tops reach the midst of sky, such is the forest devoid of all imperfect qualities and able to satiate the minds of the gods, nāgas and people. In the midst of such beauty is the great divine tent made from precious stones, adorned (3a) with ornaments inconceivable by mind, with food and the wealth of countless enjoyment. Inside this deposit full to the brim dwells on the precious throne with soft silks the great local deity, the owner of Ulihan, the supreme of the mountains on the shores of Lake Baikal. Ruling over all, kind as father and loving as mother, the body of Hanbogd (*hang bog to*) endowed with magical power is in the color of whitish gold. He blazes in light with a smile of delight, with one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds the victorious banner and in his left the opened petals of the lotus flower marked by the book of dharma on the top. His body is adorned with various precious stones and he is dressed in a robe from god's silk. On his feet are leather boots and he is seated in the playful manner of a king.

(3b) In front of the leader is the fierce (*gnyan po*) local god endowed with magical power, the messenger (*ging chen*) – attendant (*'dab chags*) [with the body of] dark red [color], with one face and two hands. In his right hand he

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bhara sambhara hūṃ ("homage, seen by all tathāgatas, gathering, gathering hūṃ"). By this mantra the offerings in front of the guests become sharp. Then comes: Oṃ jñāna avalokite. Namaḥ samantaspharaṇa rasmibhava samaya mahāmaṇi duru duru ḥṛdaya jvalani hūṃ (Beyer gives a variant rasmibhava instead of rasmibhava and translates: "Oṃ looking with knowledge. Homage, great gem, accumulation of splendor spreading everywhere. Burn, burn, blazing heart hūṃ", cf. Beyer 1988, p. 349). By this mantra the body of the performer of the ritual changes into the numerous small particles that are offered. Then follows: Namaḥ samanta-buddhānām graheśvari prabhañjate mahā-samaya svāhā. By this mantra the "guests" become friendly. The mantras and their explanations are given according to Nor brang o rgyan 1997, pp. 534-5 (*sngags drug phyag drug*), for the individual mantras in sometimes different sounding see also Beyer 1988, pp. 221, 263, 339, 349, 350 and Bendor 1996, p. 157.

22) The "Power of truth" are verses devoted to the blessing of offering by the "power of true" of Buddhas and sphere of Dharma, for common simple verses see note 52.

holds the golden victorious banner and in his left hand he holds the lasso binding nāgas and the lords of the soil powerlessly. He wears solid armor on his body, made from precious stones.

On the right side [of the leader] is the great god endowed with magical power, Jagapo mountain (*ja ga po ri*), his body is of white color, with one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds ears of corn and in his left hand the golden lotus. His body is adorned with precious stones and he is dressed in a silk robe.

At the back [of the leader] is the fierce local god endowed with magical power, the messenger – attendant, his body is of red color. He has one face and two hands, in the right one he holds a sandalwood club and in his left a mirror of whitish silver. He is dressed in a robe of god's (4a) white silk.

On the left side [of the leader] is the great local god, the messenger "Iron-Blacksmith" (*lcags kyi mgar ba*),<sup>23</sup> his body is of whitish blue color, with one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds the vajra-hammer and in his left an iron bow and arrow. His body is dressed in a long linen cloak.

These are surrounded [by others] arranged from the front to the right one after the other. So, in the east is the great local god, the messenger Ama Sagan (*a mo tsha gan*) with a body of white color. He has one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds a club studded with precious stones, in his left an agate katora bowl (*ka tu ra*) filled with yogurt. His body is dressed in a silk robe.

In the south is the fierce great local god endowed with magical power, the messenger, the Lord of Erhuu (*er khu'i bdag po*). He has one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds (4b) the precious mighty king of jewels and in his left hand a golden bowl filled with various precious stones. His body is dressed in a silk robe.

In the west is the fierce great local god endowed with magical power, the messenger with "Buffalo" in his name.<sup>24</sup> The color of his body is blue, he is of one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds an iron club and in his left a jewel blazing in light. His body is dressed in a robe of blue silk.

In the north is the great local god endowed with magical power, messenger Han Zargac'i (*hang dzar go che*) and his body is of greenish yellow color. He has one face and two hands, in his right hand he holds prediction cubes (*phyva mo*) and in his left hand golden mirror. His body is dressed in a green silk robe.

23) I. e. Darhan Baabai, I read *mgar ba* – "blacksmith" instead of the *gar ba* of the text.

24) Buffalo (*ma he*) stands incorrectly for the bull (*glang*). This is probably Buha Noyon, the Bull-Lord believed to be protector of the Sayana mountains to the west of Lake Baikal.



In the south-east is great local god endowed with magical power, the messenger Zulmata (*jam ma thu*) with his body of white color and a reddish complexion. He has one face (5a) and two hands. In his right hand he holds wood<sup>25</sup> adorned with five strips of silk and in his left hand the swastika sign. His body is dressed in a brown silk robe.

In the south-west is the fierce great local god endowed with magical power, the messenger Bahar (*pa har*), his body is of black color. He has one face and two hands, in his right hand he holds a red army banner, in his left hand a good vase filled with nectar. His body is dressed in robe of black silk.

In the north-west is the fierce great local god endowed with magical power, the messenger, Powerful Erhe (*er khe dbang po*), his body is of white color. He has one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds a stick with jewels and in his left a large drum. His body is dressed in robe of white silk.

In the north-east is the great local god endowed with magical power, the messenger "White-Faced Hero" (*dpa' po zhal dkar*), his body is of white color. He has one face (5b) and two hands. In his right hand he holds an arrow with silk strips and in his left a wish-granting jewel. His body is dressed in fine silk.

All of them are adorned with ornaments from precious stones, have leather boots and are seated in a joyous manner. Around them is a countless entourage of wives, children, ministers and servants. And then they become surrounded by the countless crowd of the Lord of soil Puntshog Tobden (*phun tshogs stobs ldan*), Tobden Pawo (*stobs ldan dpa' po*) and other [beings] from the eight classes of gods, nāgas, lords of soil, demons bhūta and others dwelling in rocks, mountains, lakes, rivers, springs and elixir-woods. All the leaders and the entourage become marked by the syllable *om* on the crowns of their heads, by the syllable *āḥ* on their throats, by syllable *hūṃ* in their hearts.

*Think in such a way till this part. The invitation of guests is accompanied by music and musical instruments. (6a)*

### **[iii. Invitation of guests]**

*Om.*

Face of Lozang Dagpa (i.e. Tsongkhapa) in which all Lords are assembled, by lineage inseparable from the knowledge-holder Padmasambhava,

25) I read *ljon shing* instead of the *ljongs shing* of the text.

the personal deity Vajrapāṇi with a crowd of deities,  
come here and stay firmly here, both threatening and gladsome ones.<sup>26</sup>

Fully enjoy inner, outer and secret<sup>27</sup> offerings,  
which originate from the enjoyment of primordial wisdom of emptiness  
and bliss,  
with faith, reverence and esteem I rapidly bow,  
to those innumerable, who are assembled in an essence of the Triple Refuge.

You, who belong to the classes of gods and demons, who proclaimed their  
oath,  
all the gods, nāgas and lords of the base [of earth] dwelling in these places,  
be blessed you, who received the vajra-oath,  
to watch us and protect without draining away.

*Now to the invitation<sup>28</sup> of the local deities. When arranging, smoke from burning the “White incense”<sup>29</sup> and tsampa mixed with butter should be produced, melodious music (6b) together with a white strip of silk to be swung.<sup>30</sup>*

***[iv. Invitation of the local deities]***

From the seed [syllable *hūṃ*] which appeared in my own heart and the seed in the hearts of the masters, personal deities, knowledge-holders, heroes, dākinis and protectors of Doctrine dwelling in the space in front spreads an immeasurable ray of red light similar to the iron hook. It hits the hearts of the thirteen great local gods endowed with magical power – messengers, the great god Lord of the Ulihan Mountain and those Burhans dwelling near the Lake Baikal and the Ganden [monastery]<sup>31</sup> together with the ocean – assembly of an entourage of wives, children and ministers. As it hits them, they all become powerless and overwhelmed with a blissful mind of kindness. They are invited and they proceed in a stiffened way enjoying all of us very much.

26) I read *dgyes* instead of *dgyis*.

27) I read *gsang* instead of *bsang* and again *dgyes* instead of *dgyis*.

28) *Spyan drangs* instead of the *sbyang drangs* of the text.

29) *Shorea robusta* according to the Das.

30) The expression for swinging (*g.yab*) describes the gesture used in the ritual of “summoning well-being” (*g.yang ’gugs*) or *dalga* in Mongolian.

31) I only assume that the name Ganden might be name of monastery (perhaps on Okhon Island, whose Tibetan name I was unable to find in the literature).

*Till now think in this way.*

*Om.*

In the past life powerful gods protecting the world of destruction,  
(7a) each of the lords accepted the charge of his mission,<sup>32</sup>  
in order to protect the remote land in the north,  
they reached it stiffened<sup>33</sup> in a tamed and peaceful manner.

Local gods with your retinue dwelling here,  
who proclaimed the oath and were included in the eight classes [of gods  
and demons],  
by Padmakara, the tamer of the triple world of existence,  
arrive at this place and accept our offerings.

Now yogins, teachers and pupils, those venerated and donors,  
have arranged sacrificial cakes and offering with a mind of hope,<sup>34</sup>  
to the wistful singing and swinging gestures,  
swiftly arrive, pleased and with a loving heart.

Especially you, great thirteen messengers,  
who searched for and settled in the mighty mountains and lakes, your great  
homes,  
proceed here with minds filled with kindness and love,  
(7b) together with the ocean of your attending wives, children, ministers  
and serfs.

In short, I invite to this place,<sup>35</sup>  
you, the assembly of birth-gods, local gods, warrior gods,  
who dwell in this large place,  
arrive here with love and without hatred.

32) I read *bkas mdags* as *bka' mngags* and *gzhes* as *bzhes*.

33) *Rengs* instead of *rings*.

34) *Re ba* instead of *ri pa*.

35) *Gnas* instead of *gcas*.

**[v. Merging of the deities]**

*Oṃ mahā-śreṣṭha-deva nāga bhūmipati saparivāra ehy ehi samaya-jaḥ. Jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ.*<sup>36</sup>

They become inseparable.  
Now to the prayer for staying.

**[vi. Prayer for staying]**

*Āḥ.*

In front is miraculous manifestation of meditative absorption, mantras and gestures,  
the great divine tent, uncreated and filled with all desirable,  
precious throne covered by fine strips of silk and others,  
firmly stay here, you honorable ones.

*Padmakamalāyastvaṃ.*<sup>37</sup>

This was the offering of their support. The donors should bow and now to the offering.

These fine divine substances, the offering gifts,  
(8a) sightly and unpolluted,  
I offer to the local deities with their retinue,  
accept them I beg you; let wishes be fulfilled.

*Oṃ mahā-śreṣṭha-deva nāga bhūmipati saparivāra arghaṃ praticcha hūṃ svāhā.*<sup>38</sup>

36) The mantra might be half-translated as: Oṃ – come here great highest gods, nāgas, lords of soil with retinue – samaya-jaḥ. During the pronouncing of the last four syllables jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoḥ deities generated in front and invited deities merge inseparably.

37) It is a mantra of offering the lotus throne to the deities, cf. Beyer 1988, p.185.

38) This mantra might be translated as: Oṃ – great highest gods, nāgas, lords of soil with retinue, accept the water for the face hūṃ svāhā. This mantra is then repeated for each of the rest of the eight offerings: pādyaṃ – water for feet, puṣpe – flowers, dhūpe – incense, āloke – lamps, gandhe – perfume, naividyā – food, śapta – music.

*From this up to the śapta it is offering. During this, eight auspicious signs, seven signs of royal power and five precious substances are offered. Now to the offering of the “golden drink”.*

**[vii. Offering of the “golden drink”]**

*Oṃ āḥ hūṃ.*

In the spacious vessels blazing with light from precious stones,  
is a good drink of tea and spirits made from whey of milk,  
it is offered with prayer to the whole assembly of the thirteen local gods and  
messengers,  
let it lead to complete pleasure and enjoyment.

In the spacious vessels blazing with light from precious stones,  
is a good drink from barley for wives, children, ministers, serfs; the whole  
assembly of attendants,  
it is offered with prayer; let it lead to complete pleasure and (8b) enjoyment.

In the spacious vessels blazing with light from precious stones,  
is a good barley-drink for the powerful gods and nāgas dwelling in this country,  
it is offered with prayer to all of them; let it lead to complete pleasure and  
enjoyment.

Saffron of perfect radiance and smell,  
liquid of a hundred tastes, the juice of Chinese tea,  
by experience of pleasure and ease the *chang* intoxicates hearts,  
and spreads brightness by strength of experience,  
the wish-granting milk of cows and others,  
heals the strength of body and makes juicy,  
these drinks of many perfect qualities,  
with gold, silver, crystal,  
filled to the brim in good clean bowls of wood and others,  
in front of your eyes you local gods,  
with respect we offer them while kneeling down (9a) and clasping our hands,  
if you accept them with good and great pleasure,  
we pray: protect us with a loving heart as a mother protects her son.

*This was the offering of the “golden drink”.*

**[viii. Praise]**

Kye, kye!

We praise the ocean of thirteen messengers with their attendants,  
great local gods who guard the ease of the world of destruction,  
who gained miraculous power and strength,  
by the force of their accumulated merits from the past.

*This was the praise. Follows:*

**[ix. Repetition of hundred syllable mantra]**

From the syllable *hūṃ* in your own heart emanate beams of light and invite all countless Buddhas and Vajrasattvas at the ten directions. They settle at the space above yourself, all sentient beings and especially all guests. They all have the disc of the moon in their hearts (9b) and the white syllable *hūṃ* upon it. It is surrounded by a chain of a hundred-syllable mantra.<sup>39</sup> From it appear inconceivable beams of white light and a stream of nectar and the place itself at the crowns of the head of you and other sentient beings. It purifies all the wicked defilement of the body into cleanness. It especially places itself on the crowns of the heads of all local gods, lords of the base, lords of soil, *nāgas* and *gnyan*. It fills all their bodies without exclusion of any part. Wicked defilement accumulated since time immemorial like hatred and malice towards people and cattle of this land and other unhappy things are emanating through the holes of hair as black sweat<sup>40</sup> and whenever [nectar and light] comes, it purifies it into purity without any part left.

(10a) *Think in this way and after chanting the hundred syllable mantra twenty one times confession of misdeeds follows.*

39) The hundred-syllable mantra is dedicated to the Vajrasattva and sounds: *Oṃ vajrasattva samayaṃ anupālaya vajrasattvatvenopatiṣṭha* ( < vajrasattvatvena-upatiṣṭha) *ḍṛḍho me bhava supoṣyo me bhava sutoṣyo me bhava anurakto me bhava sarva-siddhiṃ me prayaccha sarva-karmasu ca me cittam śreyaḥ kuru hūṃ ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavan sarva-tathāgata-vajra mā me muñca vajribhava mahā-samaya-sattva āḥ*. For the mantra Beyer gives the following translation (Beyer 1988, p.144): “*Oṃ Vajrasattva, guard my vows! Vajrasattva, let them be firm! Be steadfast for me, be satisfied, be favorable, be nourished for me! Grant me all the magical attainments! Indicator of all karma: make glorious my mind hūṃ ha ha ha hoḥ! Blessed One, diamond of all Tathāgatas: do not forsake me, make me diamond! Great being of the vow āḥ*”.

40) *Nag rngul* instead of *nag ngur* of the text.

**[x. Confession of misdeeds]**

*Hūṃ.*

On the eyes of the splendid and non-deceiving triple refuge,  
I confess with regret in mind from all my heart,  
whatever crime and fall I committed,  
let it be purified by the ability and strength of love and knowledge!

I confess under the eyes of omniscient and loving ones,  
prudent behavior of wicked deeds,  
violation of instructions of the master and Buddha and others,  
all the crimes of bad and unwholesome deeds.

Listen to our speech, you protectors of this land,  
thirteen great gods and attending wives, children, ministers and serfs,  
with a loving mind like mother,  
listens to her dear little son.

We, tormented people of this land (10b),  
confess unwholesome behavior by us,  
irritating *gnyan* of soil,  
cutting *gnyan* of woods and whirling *gnyan* of water,  
crumbling *gnyan* of stone; caused by ignorant behavior.

Especially those people overwhelmed by torment,  
however they opposed the mind of the local gods and they retinue,  
from the depth of our hearts we confess our crimes without remainder,  
be benevolent and protect us as your sons.

*This was the confession. If you further wish to offer “god’s fumigation”, various six good [medicines] of good scent, [three] white and [three] sweet ones, various incenses, various food, various silks, various grains and medicines, various woods with the exception of those of the poisonous kind, all these are slowly burnt in fire and moistened by liquids. Perform either short or larger blessing by six mantras etc. From the smoke of fumigation miraculously the goddess appears with a vase filled with water in her hand. It spreads immeasurably (11a) and from the highest land of purity (bsangs yul) the water washes into purity all defilement, impurity, afflictions and the misery of the unwholesome deeds of*

*the lower bodies. Together with it imagine in visualization, that in the streams of minds of the guests an unpolluted ease is born.*

**[xi. Fumigation]**

*Hūṃ.*

From the pure nature of the mind of beings,  
emanate miraculous manifestations of virtue of relative [truth],  
from the miraculous power and strength of the blessing of the Three high-  
est ones,  
experience of the previous ones ripens to the good fruits.

Therefore from the vast space above all appearance,  
spreads the wavering canopy of a juicy cloud,  
from its womb are milked  
inexhaustible offering casks of gentle rain.<sup>41</sup>

By these pure sacrificial cakes for fumigation with the power of gods,  
(11b) and perfect washing the circle of the face of the Jewels Keeper,<sup>42</sup>  
let various kinds of medicines curing all diseases,  
and the beauty of ripened blossoms, leaves and fruits be summoned.<sup>43</sup>

From the effects of such circumstances,  
are produced vessels and their contents unlike any others,  
hence as a support from which the capability of odor and taste originate,  
with lotus-fumigation we fumigate the masters and personal deities.

We fumigate the highest of Shākyas,  
who brings the splendor of people to excellence,  
together with other Buddhas of the ten directions and their sons.

We fumigate the ocean of heroes, dākinis and the protectors of Teaching,  
we fumigate the eight classes of gods, nāgas and protectors of cardinal  
points,  
especially we fumigate the thirteen great local gods and messengers,

41) *Sbrang char* instead of *sprang chang* of the text.

42) *Dbyig 'dzin* – Jewell Keeper, probably local gods as representing the soil keeping precious stones.

43) *Sgeg cing skong* instead of *skeg cing rkong* of the text.



we fumigate all their retinue of wives, children, ministers and serfs,  
 (12a) we fumigate the great gods of localities together with the assembly of  
 their retinue,  
 we fumigate all those, who became Lords of soil and demons bhūta (*'byung po*),  
 and who dwell in the soil, rivers and rocks of this locality,  
 especially we fumigate all those of the vessel of this locality,  
 mountains, plains, soil, elixir-woods, harvest and others.

Let by rain of purifying nectar,  
 which appeared from the support of mantras, substances and meditative  
 absorption,  
 all impurity (*mnol*) and filths causing wounds to our guests,  
 be washed like polished mirror,  
 be carried away as if by whirls of river,  
 be extinguished as if blown out flame,  
 be scattered like sand in the wind,  
 vanish like fog into the sky,  
 let the nature of mind similarly to the sky,  
 (12b) from the thick clouds of afflictive filths of deeds,  
 similar to thick darkness of filthy dirt,  
 suddenly purify into the space of emptiness devoid of imagination.

*This was the fumigation and now followed by the blessing of substances for the ritual of propitiation.*

**[xii. Propitiation]**

*Hūṃ.*

Fully accomplished melody of the Doctrine, the grace of great ease,  
 at the miraculous piece of (13a) peripheral land,  
 let by the all pervading cloud of the ocean of offerings,  
 arise the joy of the local gods with their retinue.

Substances for propitiation,  
 which originate from the unpolluted dance of the great ease,  
 fill sky, earth and space in-between,  
 let by offering them to the local gods,  
 with the joy and dance all wishes come to their fulfillment.

Gathered offerings fill sky and earth,  
 water for bathing the feet, flowers and incense,  
 clear perfume, food and musical instruments,  
 five desirable things, lucky signs and seven signs of power of the king,  
 satiate the hearts of the thirteen great gods with the power of magic,  
 satiate their retinue of wives, children, ministers and serfs.

Let your stricken hearts<sup>44</sup> be remedied by propitiation,  
 (13b) disagreeable circumstances<sup>45</sup> are cleansed and harmonious established,  
 let all wishes be fulfilled by four kinds of virtuous activities,<sup>46</sup>  
 protect the ease of this part of land.

Herd of horses trotting and swiftly racing ones,  
 flock of strong camels carrying huge wagons,  
 milky cows, radiant male yak and female ones,  
 goats, sheeps; numerous cattle of various kinds,  
 satiate the hearts of the thirteen great gods with the power of magic,  
 satiate their retinue of wives, children, ministers and serfs.  
 let your stricken hearts be remedied by propitiation,  
 disagreeable circumstances are cleansed and harmonious established,  
 let all wishes be fulfilled by four kinds of virtuous activities,  
 protect the ease of this part of land.

These clusters of woods marking the place of offering,<sup>47</sup> the god's cairn (*lha tho*),  
 wandering couple of deer and hind,  
 high mountains holding the soil with shady and sunny sides,  
 forest resounding with the melodious voice of the cuckoo,  
 satiate the hearts of the thirteen great gods with the power of magic,  
 satiate their retinue of wives, children, ministers and serfs.  
 let your stricken hearts be remedied by propitiation,  
 disagreeable circumstances are cleansed and harmonious established,  
 let all wishes be fulfilled by four kinds of virtuous activities,  
 protect the ease of this part of land.

44) *Phog thugs* instead of *phog thug*.

45) *Rkyen* instead of *rgyen*.

46) Activities of peace (*zhi*), progressing (*rgyas*), power (*dbang*) and violence (*drag*), i.e. four kinds of Tantric rituals.

47) *Mchod pa'i gnas* instead of *mtshod pa'i gnas*.

This lovely swan, black at the top and reddish at the rest of parts,<sup>48</sup>  
 clear (14a) pure lakes, rivers and springs,  
 uncountable precious stones, gold and silver,  
 produced steadily in these places; mountains and plains,  
 satiate the hearts of the thirteen great gods with the power of magic,  
 satiate their retinue of wives, children, ministers and serfs.  
 let your stricken hearts be remedied by propitiation,  
 disagreeable circumstances are cleansed and harmonious established,  
 let all wishes be fulfilled by four kinds of virtuous activities,  
 protect the ease of this part of land.

These tigers, lions, bears and leopards with roaring voices,  
 flock of eagles, furious dogs,  
 fearful beasts of prey and weapons of victory in battle,  
 armor, army banner and various flags,  
 satiate the hearts of the thirteen great gods with the power of magic,  
 satiate their retinue of wives, children, ministers and serfs.  
 let your stricken hearts be remedied by propitiation,  
 disagreeable circumstances are cleansed and harmonious established,  
 let all wishes be fulfilled by four kinds of virtuous activities,  
 protect the ease of this part of land.

This treasury of ocean of arranged vessels,  
 filled with immeasurable desirable substances of gods and people,  
 “golden drink” of tasty spirits, sacrificial cakes,  
 sun, moon, Mt. Meru, four continents and islands,  
 satiate the hearts of the thirteen great gods with the power of magic,  
 satiate their retinue of wives, children, ministers and serfs.  
 let your stricken hearts be remedied by propitiation,  
 disagreeable circumstances are cleansed and harmonious established,  
 let all wishes be fulfilled by four kinds of virtuous activities,  
 protect the ease of this part of land.

These precious ornaments and silk robes,  
 all desirable-yielding golden trough,<sup>49</sup>

48) *Dab tse nag* (?) I read as *dab chags rtse nag*. I am not sure whether *ngur* is applied to the color (*dang ngur*- “purely reddish”) or to the duck (*ngur bya*), it perhaps speaks about ducks and swans.

49) *Gzhong pa* instead of *zhong pa*.

(14b) various ears of good grains,  
 these items spreading ease and happiness of the land,  
 satiate the hearts of the thirteen great gods with the power of magic,  
 satiate their retinue of wives, children, ministers and serfs.  
 let your stricken hearts be remedied by propitiation,  
 disagreeable circumstances are cleansed and harmonious established,  
 let all wishes be fulfilled by four kinds of virtuous activities,  
 protect the ease of this part of land.

This staircase<sup>50</sup> of pure religion of the people (*mi chos*),  
 provides the entrance to the clean good house of the religion of the gods  
 (*lha chos*),  
 reverence towards the listening, thinking [about Teaching] and meditating,  
 and firm faith to the ways of meditating local gods,  
 satiate the hearts of the thirteen great gods with the power of magic,  
 satiate their retinue of wives, children, ministers and serfs.  
 let your stricken hearts be remedied by propitiation,  
 disagreeable circumstances are cleansed and harmonious established,  
 let all wishes be fulfilled by four kinds of virtuous activities,  
 protect the ease of this part of land.

*Now to the blessing of the sacrificial cakes according to the performance tantra  
 (i. e. kriyā tantra).*

**[xiii. Offering of the sacrificial cakes]**

Great local gods together with their retinue have swallowed the clear juice  
 of sacrificial cakes and are pleased and satiated.

*Think in this way.*

Oṃ mahā-śreṣṭha-deva nāga bhūmipati (15a) saparivāri a-kāro mukhaṃ<sup>51</sup>  
*since this part until gr̥ha vīlāṃtaye svāhā offer [the mantra and cakes] three  
 or seven times. Oṃ arghaṃ and so forth is offering.*

50) *Them skas* instead of *thim skas*.

51) I was unable to find the whole mantra. But it is the enlarged version of mantra used for  
 offering of sacrificial cakes (cf. Beyer 1988, p. 146), so the first part of it probably sounds  
 oṃ mahā-śreṣṭha-deva nāga bhūmipati saparivāri a-kāro mukhaṃ sarva-dharmānām ādy-

*Ho.*

We offer this sacrificial cake with an ocean of elixir and five objects satiating the senses to the thirteen great lords and protectors of the land together with their attending wives, children, ministers and serfs, Puntshog Tobden, Tobden Pawo and in general other lords of the base of this earth and water, either small or large ones, in particular to you, guests of fierce local gods called to be leaders. Swallowing them with pleasure and happily satiated we pray: do not generate dissatisfaction, hatred and jealousy towards our doings and behavior, take care of the people, wealth and cattle in accordance with our wish. (15b) Let the strength of my mind... and so forth<sup>52</sup> *is to be pronounced. Following the praise, ritual of entrusting virtuous deeds is performed.*

**[xiv. Praise]**

*Kye, kye.*

I praise local the gods with their retinue,  
who posses the power to fulfill wishes of mine and others,  
by various joy of relative (*kun rdzob*),  
yet without whirling the nature of pure sphere.

I praise the joy of the wealth of all desires,  
inside the precious god's tent possessing one's senses,  
in the midst of the lord of mountains with hundreds of excellent qualities,  
in the pleasant grove as if removed from the heavenly paradise<sup>53</sup> to earth.

I praise the thirteen messengers; warrior-gods of this land,  
who drive off adversaries by their miraculous power,  
who hold a large and strong meritorious army,  
protect the ease of the country with love and compassion.

---

anuppannatvāt, which might be translated as: “om great supreme god, nāga, lord of soil with retinue, the syllable A is first, because of the primordial non-arising of all dharmas.”

52) This is usual praise to be found besides others in a text entitled *bsang nam dag ma*, (Ritual of pure fumigation) with the following words: bdag gi bsam pa'i stobs dang ni// de bzhin gshegs pa'i sbyin mthu dang// chos kyi dbyings kyi stobs rnam kyis// de dag thams cad ci rigs par// thogs pa med par 'byung gyur cig (Let strength of my mind, miraculous power of blessing by Tathāgatas, strength of sphere of dharma, let all these of whatever kind, are produced without obstacles, see *Bsang mchod bkra shis dkhyil ba*, p. 37)

53) *Sum rtsen*, i. e. Place of the three top ones, where Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva reside.

(16a) I praise all those forming their retinue of wives, children, ministers  
and serfs,  
who tirelessly protect their own country,  
who are swift in their virtuous deeds of harming and striking,<sup>54</sup>  
radiant by splendor of numerous achievements.

I praise with melodious voice resounding in ten directions,  
the great local god of my native land,  
Phuntshog Tobden, Tobden Pawo and others,  
let long life, health, ease and happiness spread to the extant of ocean.

I praise you to accomplish peaceful virtuous deeds,  
of spreading the rain of elixir of juicy plants and sprouts,  
pacifying illness and epidemic diseases of people and cattle,  
in those several times when you wear the robes of gods.

I praise you to seize all desirable and lovely (16b),  
by the golden lotus-lasso you hold,  
and golden victory-banner of winning the battles,  
in those several times, when you are adorned by various ornaments of pre-  
cious stones.

I praise you to spread ease and happiness of this country,  
by the precious through yielding-all-desirable you hold,  
great flag of wind-horse, ears of grains,  
in those several times when your peaceful smile is obstructed.

I praise you to restore the broken "soul", spread "merits" and "life-span",<sup>55</sup>  
with the divining mirror where the knowledge of all appears,  
swastika and arrow with silk strips supporting life-span and vitality,  
in those several times when your angry smile is obstructed.

I praise you, warrior gods, to crash malevolent ones,  
by vajra-hammer winning over adversaries,  
arrow, bow, army banner, stick and large drum, which you hold in your hands

54) *Phog* instead of *phag*.

55) These categories (*blo/bsod nams/tshe*) are together with "wind-horse" (*rlung rta*) subjects of astrological calculations.

(17a) at those several times when your angry smile is furiously frightening

I praise you, local gods, with reverence,  
 who rule over your attendants and your country,  
 who subdued numerous non-humans and bhūta spirits,  
 who became powerful (*stobs ldan*, Tobden) by accumulating merits from  
 past lives.

*Now to the entrusting with virtuous deeds.*

**[xv. Entrusting with virtuous deeds]**

You revered and attended<sup>56</sup> local gods,  
 to us, attendants of this place with hope and gifts,  
 be like a loving mother, be like an assisting father,  
 and listen to us as to your child raised with love.<sup>57</sup>

We entrust you virtuous deeds of driving off,  
 all the diseases, famine, disputes, frost, hail, draught,  
 irregular snow and rain and disorder of the four elements,  
 injury of enemies, robbers, thieves<sup>58</sup> and beasts of burden.

Accomplish the virtuous deeds of increasing without fading out,  
 (17b) of good harvest and healthy cattle, steadily increasing the riches of  
 people,  
 mediate gladness to each other and spread virtuous manners of dharma,  
 all the perfect long lives, health and wealth.

Spread further and further the goodness of mine and others,  
 by the teaching of Buddhas, which is the source of ease and help for all beings,  
 and only with difficulties its words can be heard in a thousand of eons,  
 by reverence, esteem and respect for those following it.

*This was entrusting with virtuous deeds. Common thanksgiving with offering  
 and praise [might be added]. Now to the praying for forbearance.*

56) *Bsten cing* instead of *bsten cin*.

57) *Sring* instead of *srid* and *bdag* instead of *dag*.

58) *Rkun* instead of *rkyan*.

**[xvi. Prayer for forbearance]**

We beg you for attention to us, gathering of great local deities, lords of soil, nāgas, *gnyan*, rulers with the retinue of their ministers and serfs. We, people of this country, are dominated by torment (18a) caused by ignorance of proper behavior, by irritating *gnyan* of soil, whirling *gnyan* of water, cutting *gnyan* of woods, crumbling *gnyan* of stones, by improper behavior towards the soil of *gnyan* as polluting it by bloody victuals, disputes and quarrels, the embarrassing pollution of an illegitimate child (*mnol*) and other unwholesome, non-harmonious deeds. And further by frightening wild animals,<sup>59</sup> killing foxes, wolves and so on, impoverishing all the others, causing dissatisfaction on the basis of the previous wicked deeds, hatred, jealousy leading to malice. We beg you for forbearance towards these crimes. Accepting benevolence, we beg you for virtuous deeds of not being overcome by bad thoughts and deeds since that time.

(18b) *This is to be pronounced and follows other words of praying for benevolence: Whatever my mind and so forth. The conclusion is a longer or shorter prayer for what is needed. If you have support [of the deities] the ritual of praying for staying forever follows. If not, then follows:*

**[xvii. Prayer for departure]**

*Om.*

Lords of the base of earth with your retinue,  
kindly accept my offering,  
and after departing to your own places,  
watch, guard and protect us tirelessly.

*Om muh.*

All guests departed to their own places.

*This is the praying for departure.*

59) *Ri dvags* instead of *ri drags*.



**[xviii. Pronouncing auspice]**

*Om.*

*Perfect...and so on is pronouncing of auspice of the Triple Gem and rain of flowers. Let it brings great luck!*

**[Colophon]**

*This text on supplication and offering of ordinary donors under such title...was composed (19a) after repeated requests of many people by the protector of luck, geshe and good reincarnated master (a lags) Horc'id (hor bshad). Let it leads to luck! Virtue and luck!*



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# ***Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 2.2. Roots with initial velars and final liquids and retroflex stops<sup>1</sup>**

Jaroslav Vacek

**Summary:** The present paper is a continuation of the analysis of the broadly defined group of *verba dicendi* (including also various noises). The first two papers appeared in *Mongolica Pragensia* '03 and '04. Here the author continues the analysis of the group of lexemes started in *Mongolica Pragensia* '04 (initial velars) and adds lexemes with final liquids and retroflex stops in the CVC root structure. Like in the previous papers, some of the etyma clearly display onomatopoeic characteristics. The summary of the etymological material within the defined formal and semantic models is a preliminary study for a systematic treatment of the whole group of related lexemes.

## **0.**

This paper continues the presentation of etymological parallels of the specified phonetic form as it was defined in 2004 (Vacek 2004b). The findings presented there concerning the forms and meanings apply also in this case. The division of the structure of the CVC roots as presented there (Vacek 2004b, p. 196) was as follows:

- 1** *k* – *p/b/m/mb*
- 2** *k* – *k/g/ŋ/ng*
- 3** *k* – *c/j/ñ/ñc*
- 4** *k* – *y/i*
- 5** *k* – *t/d/n/nt*
- 6** *k* – *l, ʎ / ɭ*

The last group No. 6 was not included in the 2004 paper due to lack of space and is presented below.

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1) Only five groups of these stems were discussed in the previous paper (Vacek 2004b). The stems ending in a liquid or cerebral stop were left for a later analysis (see No. 6 in the general survey of the types of stems).

The previous paper (Vacek 2004b, including the reference to my earlier publications on the subject, particularly 2002a) discusses questions concerning particularly the definition of the *model-like* arrangement of the material from both the formal and semantic point of view on the basis of the idea of a *continuum of forms and meanings*. The findings presented there apply also to the last etymological group presented below.

The relationship of *liquids* and *retroflex stops* is a special question of formal correspondences within the continuum of phonetic forms, discussed in my earlier work (Vacek 2002a, 282ff.). It is closely linked with a more complex relationship of liquids and sibilants (cf. Vacek 2002a, 277; and also Vacek 2004b, p. 217, Note 32) on the one hand and liquids and dental stops on the other. The conditions for this relationship are as yet not very clear, we are obviously still in the heuristic phase and the matter will have to be solved on the basis of more extensive material. However, it is also possible that there is no systematic solution at all. The fluidity of this relationship may be a result of the complicated development of languages in contact within various linguistic areas in the past (on that idea cf. further e.g. Zvelebil 1991 and Vacek 2002a, 25ff., 155ff.).

The *onomatopoetic character* of some of the lexemes is a matter for further consideration of the role of onomatopoetic lexemes in comparative linguistics, which will also have to take into account a certain amount of arbitrariness of the onomatopoetic function linked with certain forms (cf. also my 2004b paper and particularly the monograph on 'water – viscosity – cold', Vacek 2002a). However, it should be pointed out that not all of the lexemes listed below have onomatopoetic character.

## 6. k – l, l/t

### (A) Front vowels e, i

Ta. *kīla* to express clearly, make special mention of, state specifically

*kīlattu* to express clearly

*kīlappu* speech, utterance

*kīlavu* word, speech, language

Ka. *kīlir*, *kīlir* to sound, neigh

*keḷar* to cry out, roar (or with 1831 Ta. kuḷaṛu)

Go. *kel-*, *kell-* to tell

Konḍa *kēṛ-* (cock) to crow



Pe. *kṛe-* id.

Kui *klāpa* to crow, coo, lament; n. call of a male bird, lament (or with 1574 Ta. *cilai*)

*kelpa* to invoke, petition a deity, repeat incantations; n. incantation, invocation

*klēga, kleha, kēpa* to bewitch, enchant, exert magical powers; n. sorcery, witchcraft

Kuwi *kṛe-/kṛen-, krēcali* (*r = ɾ*) to crow (DEDR 2017b)<sup>2</sup>

Ka. *kiḷiṛ, kiḷir* to sound, neigh

*keḷar* to cry out, roar (s.v. Ta. *kuḷaru* to stammer; DEDR 1831)

Ta. *cilai* to sound, resound, roar, twang; [!rage, be angry]; n. sound, roar, bellow, twang

*cil* sound, noise

*cil-eṇal* onom. expr. of shrill sound

*cilampu* to sound, make a tinkling noise, echo; sound, noise, resonance; tinkling anklets

*cilampal* sound of a lute; a chatterer

*cilucilu* to sound (as in frying), talk without restraint, make a hissing noise

*cilumpu* to sound

*celaṇke* a tiny bell

Ma. *cila, cilappu, cileppu* ringing sound

*cilekka* to rattle, tinkle, chatter, chirp, bark

*cilampu* foot-trinket filled with pebbles for tinkling, worn by dancers

*cilampuka* to tinkle, be out of tune

*kāl-cilaṅku* anklet

Ko. *kilc-* to utter shrill cry of joy

*gel iḍ-* (bullock) makes noise when it sees another bullock and prepares to fight

*jelk* anklet with bells (or with 2572)

2) Ta. *kiḷa-*, Mo. *kele-*, Ga. *keral* was listed in Vacek 1994 (pp. 3–5), at that time without MT. and OT.; it is a very clear case (not suspect of being onomatopoeitic), which was also mentioned in some earlier summaries (Vacek 1983, p. 8, No. 52; without Ga. *keral*); further Vacek 2002a, p. 22 (including the MT. and OT. parallels); Vacek 2003, p. 175, Note 1; 2004c, No. 4, p. 389–90.

- To. *kiṣ-* to crow  
*īr fō:r kiṣ-* to call out buffalo names to amuse oneself  
*kilk-* to neigh  
*ki:l ik-* (elephant) to trumpet (the verb is said to be < Badaga)
- Ka. *kele* to cry or shout with energy or joy, vociferate (abusively)  
*keleta* abusive vociferation  
*cili* an imit. sound  
*cele* sound, noise, echo
- Tu. *kilevuni, kilēvuni* to whistle, resound  
*kelepuni, kilepuni* to crow
- Kor. *kelappu* to cry
- Te. *celāāgu* to sound  
 [!kelayu to rage]  
*kilārincu, kilārucu* to make a noise, shout
- Go. *kiliyānā* to shout  
*kilitānā* to weep loudly, to cry out, scream  
*killitānā* to chirp, cry out  
*kilitānā* to roar (as a tiger)  
*kil-/kill-* to weep, (owl) to hoot, (animals) to cry  
*kih-/kilih-* causative form  
*kil(i)-* to scream, (child) to cry  
*kilānā* to weep
- Kui *klāpa* to crow, coo, lament; call of a male bird, lament; call of a male bird, lament (or with 2017b)  
*klīri inba* to shriek  
*klīri klīri rīva* to shriek with fear  
*klisi klisi rīva* to shout with vehemence
- Kuwi *kileri-kīali* to shout, yell  
*kileḍi kīnai* to shout  
*klīrinai, klīri innai* to yell (DEDR 1574a)<sup>3</sup>

3) DEDR 2017b (Ta. *kiḷa-*) was compared with Mo. *kele-* even earlier (cf. Vacek 1994, p. 4). K. H. Menges (*Etymologica, Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki XXVII,8, p. 4–6) mentioned this etymological relation and referring to P. O. Schrader (*Dravidisch und Uralisch*, ZII 3, 1925, pp. 88–89), he included some further Dravidian and also Turkic and Manchu-Tungus examples. Schrader connected Ta. *kiḷa* with Finn. *kieli* ‘tongue, speech’ (p. 88). Menges added the following Dravidian etyma:  
 Ta. *kalakala* (DEDR 1302) to reiterate in sound, rustle, tinkle, chink, clink, rattle;  
 Ta. *kil-kill-eṇal* (DEDR 1575) onom. signifying clinking sound etc.;  
 Ta. *kiḷi, kiḷlai* (DEDR 1584) parrot;

- Ta. *kil-kill-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying clinking sound  
*kilukku* to ring, rattle, clink; rattling, tinkling; rattling sticks of school-boys, children's rattle-box  
*kilukili, kilukilupp, kilukiluppai* children's rattle-box  
*kilukilu* to rattle, tinkle, resound with noise  
*kilukil-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying rattling, tinkling, jingling sound  
*kiluṇku* to tinkle, ring, rattle, jingle  
 Ma. *kilukilu* tinkling, rattling, loud laughter, monkey's babble  
*kilukulukka* to rattle, ring  
*kilukku* a rattle  
*kilukkuka* to wear foot-trinkets  
*kiluṇṇuka* a ringing of bells  
 Ko. *gil(n), gilgil(n)* (to laugh) triumphantly

Ta. *kēl-* (DEDR 2017a) to listen, to hear, learn, ask, inquire, question, investigate, require, request, be informed of, obey, be heard (as a call).

There is a question of semantic coherence of 'hearing' and 'requesting' with 'speaking'. The proposed relation of DEDR 1584 ('parrot') to these etyma may be a case of folk etymology (cf. also Vacek 1994, p. 4).

In 1994, Note 3, I proposed to split the etymon into a: 'to sound' and b: 'to be angry'; The words meaning 'rage, be angry' (Ta. *cilai* to rage, be angry; Te. *kelayu* to rage) may be linked with DEDR 1597 (Ta. *ciṟukku* to be angry; Ka. *kīru* to rage, burn with rage or great desire; etc.), possibly also DEDR 1961 (Ta. *ceru* battle, fight, love-quarrel; Ka. *keṛaḷ* to become angry). It is of course also possible that we have here a typical case of 'overlapping' of close forms and their meanings, which are considered to be shifted meanings (to shout > to be angry).

- Cf. Mo. *kiling* 1. temper, wrath, rage, anger  
*kereldü-* to quarrel, wrangle, dispute, have a fight  
*keregül, keregür* quarrel, dispute, altercation  
*kereldü-* to quarrel, wrangle, dispute; to squabble; to (have a) fight  
*cirbe-* to attack an enemy bravely, make a heroic attack  
 Middle Mo. *kere-* to fight, sulk (Poppe 1960, p. 79)

MT. *KIRU-KIRU BI* angry (Olcha, Oroch, Nan.) (MTD I,399)

*KERČEME* angry (Evenk.) (MTD I,454)

Note also the forms beginning with *c-* in several of the southern languages in this etymon (similarly in DEDR 1590 and DEDR 1960). That form is a regular southern development of *k-* before *-i-*, *-e-*. There is, however, a form with initial *c-* and medial retroflex liquid in the two attested languages (Ta., Ma. in DEDR 2588), e.g. Ta. *ciḷ-eṇal* onom. expr. of being noisy, boisterous; etc.. This etymon was included in Vacek 2003b, p. 190. However, it may be a typical 'southern' form and it could have had counterparts with initial *k-* in non-southern languages, which are not attested.

- Ka. *kilakila-guṭṭu*, *kilikili-guṭṭu* to laugh heartily, titter  
*kilakila-nagu*, *kilikili-nagu* to titter or laugh from pleasure  
*kilibili* to chatter of certain birds, children, etc.  
*gil*, *gila*, *gili*, *gilu* sound in imit. of tinkling, jingling, rattling  
*gilaku*, *giluku* sound emitted by a child's rattle-box  
*gilake*, *gilike*, *gilke* a child's rattle-box
- Tu. *kilakila*, *kilikili* chirping, screeching; (laughing) heartily
- Te. *kilakila* sound of laughter, chirping of birds, din, clamour  
*kilakilal-āḍu* to chirp, make noise  
*gilaka*, *gilka* a child's rattle  
*giluku*, *gilku* jingling sound of bracelets or bells on the anklets
- Kui *kila bila* noise of chattering or of confused conversation (Emeneau 1969, p. 290, no. 8, for areal etymology; CDIAL 3180, *kilakilāyati*; CDIAL 3185; *kilakilā-*) (DEDR 1575)
- Ta. *kēru* to cackle (as a hen), speak in a low and tremulous voice, breathe with effort (as with phlegm in the throat)
- Te. *kēru* to chuckle with joy, warble, cluck (as a laying hen), make a low inarticulate sobbing sound of joy or grief
- Kol. *ke:ri* noise, shout  
*ke:ri kak-* to shout (cf. Ta. *ciraṟṟu* DEDR 1960; Ga. *keral* DEDR 2006; ?Kur. *xēr* fowl, DEDR 2013) (DEDR 2009)
- Te. *kēru* to deride, ridicule  
*kēraḍamu* ridicule, derision  
*krēḍincu* to slight  
*krēṇincu* to jeer, ridicule
- Go. *kīrī* derision
- Kui *grēspa* to mock, mimic, ridicule, deride; mockery, derision, ridicule
- Kuwi *grespali* to imitate  
*greh-* to mock (cf. Kol. *kayng-*, DEDR 1256) (DEDR 2010)
- Ga. *keral* story, tale
- Pe. *kēr-* to sing
- Manḍ. *kēr-* to sing
- Kui *kēronḍi* story, tale, fable
- Kuwi *kēr*, *kēr'h'nai*, *krē-* to sing
- Kur. *khīrī* tale, fable, legend, riddle
- Malt. *qéri* tale (with further reference to 1960: Ta. *ciraṟṟu*- and 2009: Ta. *kēru*-) (DEDR 2006)

4) There is an interesting parallel between the Tamil word above and Mo. *cirala-* to squeak, scream, cry; to grunt; to roar (cf. Vacek 2003, par. 3.1., p. 191), though in this case the Tamil initial palatals go back to initial velars (see also Note 3 above). Parallels of this type will have to be investigated in greater detail later (I was inspired to add this note by Prof. Dr. Ts. Shagdarsurung's mail from 12 November 2005).

Kui *gīra* the voice

Kuwi *gīya*, *gīta*, *gīga* word, syllable

*giyā* voice (DEDR 1615)<sup>5</sup>

Ta. *ciri* to laugh, neigh (as a horse), blossom, ridicule; laughter, smile

*cirippu* laughter, ridicule, jest, neigh

Ma. *ciri* laughter

*cirikka* to laugh

*kirikkuka* to show the teeth, grin

To. *siry* joy

Ka. *kiri* to grin, show the teeth

*kiriku* displaying or showing the teeth

*kirisu* to cause to display or show the teeth

*ciricu* to titter, laugh

*siri* to smile

Kuwi *khṛikhali* (*r* = *r*) to neigh (DEDR 1562)<sup>6</sup>

Ta. *kiriccu* creaking sound

*kiriccān* watchman's rattle

Ma. *kirayuka* to creak (as a door)

*kiri kirukka* creaking, noise of writing on olas

*kirukira* rustling, rattling noise

*kirukirukka* to rustle, rattle

Ko. *girk* clapper for scaring birds

Ka. *kirā*, *kiraku*, *kiruki*, *kiru*, *giraku*, *giriiki*, *giruku*, *giru*, *gir creaking*

Tu. *kirikiri*, *girigiri* creaking (as shoes, etc.)

*kirkh* a creaking noise

Te. *kirakira* creaking, rattling

*kirru* creaking creak (DEDR 1593)

Ta. *kiṭukiṭu* to sound (as the rolling of a carriage), rumble (as a thunder-cloud); n. a small drum

*kiṭukiṭ-enal* onom. expr. signifying rumbling sound

5) This etymon as well as some forms in the above etyma appear to be formally close to Skt. *gīr*-, *gīḥ* voice (Mayrhofer, KEWA s.v. refers this word to further IE lexemes through Skt. *gr̥nāti* calls, invokes, praises). This and similar forms may represent a case of 'approximation' within the Indian linguistic area as a reflection of the complex processes involved in the contact of languages in the past.

6) Cf. FU *śerā* lachen (Rédei II,773).

- kiṭukkatti* sound of something shaking in a hollow vessel; small drum as an accompaniment  
*kiṭukku* small drum as an accompaniment  
*kiṭukku-kiṭukk-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying hollow sound  
 Ma. *kiṭukkuka, kiṭuñṇuka* to sound (as vessels knocking against each other)  
*kiṭukkam* rattling sound  
*kiṭukki, kiṭukku* sounding devices (DEDR 1530)

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- Mo. *kele-* to utter words; to speak, say, tell, narrate.  
*kercigine-* to crunch  
*kerzigine-* for the stomach to growl  
*körzei-* a. to crack

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- MT. *KILAN-* to shout (Evenk. < Yak.; Even. *kihija* sonorous [voice]) (MTD I,392)

Ma. *xelen* tongue; voice; spy (s.v. *KĒLĒ-* to beg MTD I,447)<sup>7</sup>

*GELTE-* to sound (Evenk.) (MTD I,179)

*KELDER-* to groan (Evenk.) (MTD I,446)

*XĒLENŽI* accompaniment, refrain (in one fairy tale) (Oroch.) (MTD I, 481)

- Even. *gööldɔ-, göölde-* (*gulde-*) to negotiate an agreement  
 (s.v. *GÜN-* to say, MTD I,171)

*GIRGIVČA-* to ring, sound, tinkle (metallic suspensions)  
 (Evenk.) (MTD I, 155)

*GER* onom. to growl (dog) (MTD I, 180)  
 Ma. id.; *ger ġar seme* shouting (in sport, quarrel)  
*ger seme* chat, gossip, talk

*KERGI-* II to snore; crepitation, rattle (Evenk., Nan.) (MTD I, 452–3)

7) This word is overlapping with the meaning to 'beg, require' etc. with a similar phonetic shape in several of the languages. For more details cf. Vacek 2002a, 31.

*KERUNŽE-* to crack, crackle, crunch (MTD I, 453)  
 Evenk. id.; Oroch. *ker-ker* (to gnaw a bone) crunching  
 Orok. *keri-* to creak, grate

?*KEREMĪ-* to slander, libel (Evenk.) (MTD I, 454)

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OT. *KELÄČÜ* word  
*kele;čü:* talk, conversation (Cl. 716)<sup>8</sup>

*QĪRGA-* to abuse, scold, swear

Yak. *kylan-* to shout sharply, to howl, lament (MTD I, 392)

Chuv. *kərle-* lärmén, sausen, brausen (Paas. 65)

\*\*\*

Cf.

Alt. *\*k'jāla* tongue (including additionally MT. *INNI* tongue, var. Orok. *sinu*; Ma. *ileŋgu*, MTD I, 316-7) (Starostin et alia, 2003, 796)

*\*k'ēro* to shout, speak (including PTung. *\*xērī* to shout, call; Mong. *\*xara/iya-* tu curse; PTurk. *\*Karga-* to swear, curse) (Starostin et alia, 2003, 780)

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FU *kele* Zunge; Sprache (Rédei I, 144)

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Cf. also

8) This word was mentioned in this connection in Vacek 2002a, p. 22. However, Clauson (p. 716 s.v.) considers the word to be of foreign origin, but denies the possibility of linking it with Mongolian. He says: 'prob. one of the corrupt foreign words in Oğuz but definitely not connected with Mong. *kele-* to speak, since *-čü* is neither a Turkish nor a Mong. Dev. Suff. and the word antedates the first Oğuz contacts with Mongols. Not current in literary Osm. after XVII but survives in XX Anat. as *geleci* ...; the *g-* is further evidence against a Mong. origin.' Starostin et alia (2003, 796) also refuse the suggestion that the Turkic word is of foreign origin (with further references; cf. also Vacek 2004c, Note 9, p. 390). Starostin et alia (2003, 796) reconstruct Turkic *\*kele-* to speak etc. Further cf. Note 16 below.



Nivh (Ghiliak) *hilh* tongue  
*klai-* to talk with s.o.<sup>9</sup>

**(B) Back vowels o, u**

Ta. *kuṛukuru*, *kuṛukuruppai* snoring, strenuous breathing

*kuṛuṭṭai* snoring, snorting

*koṛukkai* snoring

Ma. *kuṛukurukka* to breathe with difficulty, the sound in the throat of a dying person

*kuṛukkuka*, *kuṛuṇṇuka* to purr, coo as a dove

*kuṛuṭṭuka* to grunt

*kuṛuṭṭuka* to purr, coo, rattle in the throat

*kuṛummuka* to coo

*kurkku* a snore

Ka. *guru*, *guru guru* a sound in imitation of snoring or purring

*guruḡuṭṭu* to snore, purr

*guraḡe*, *guruku*, *kuṛuke*, *goraku*, *goṛike*, *goṛuku*, *gorke* snoring

*gura gura* sound emitted by an angry bandicoot

*guru* an imitative sound

*guruḡuṭṭu* to growl, snarl (as dogs, bears, tigers)

*guruḡu guruḡu* sound of growling, snarling, etc.

*guru* to snore

Tu. *guranè* the snarling of a dog

*guraguṭṭuni*, *gurkuṭṭuni* to grunt

*gurukuṭṭuni* to snore, purr, coo, phlegm to rattle in the throat, to roar

*guruḡuṭṭu* snoring

*guruguru* id., rattling of phlegm in the throat

*gurrukorepuni* to bark, growl, snore

*gurkāyisuni*, *gurkāysuni* to grunt, growl, snore

*gurku*, *gurkugurku* roar of a tiger, grunting of a pig

9) It was already Pavel Poucha (Das Mongolische im Zusammenhang mit einigen anderen Sprachen. ZDMG, Suppl. I, 2, 1969, p. 731) who related Mo. *kele*- 'to say' also to Nivh (Ghiliak) *hilh* 'tongue'. In a joint paper (J. Lubsangdorji, J. Vacek 1992, p. 415; No.35) we proposed to compare Mo. *kele*- with Nivh *klai*- 'to talk with s.o.' (cf. also the Kui and Kuwi forms mentioned above in several of the DEDR etyma) and further to compare Mo. *kele(n)* 'tongue' with Nivh *hilx* (our transcription) 'tongue' (ibid. p.422; No. 117). For more details see also Vacek 1994, p. 4–5.

- Kor. *gūru* to cry (owl)  
 Te. *guṛaka* snoring  
     *guṛru* snoring, growling, snarling, gruff speaking, anger  
     *guṛrumamu* to snore, growl, snarl  
     *kuṛru* to cry, yell, groan  
 Kol. *gurgadil* (dog) growls, (pig) grunts  
 Pa. *gurr-* to hiss, hoot  
     *gurj-* (mice) to squeak  
 Go. *gurrānā* to snore, sleep  
     *guṛ-* (dove) to coo  
 Konḍa *gōr-* to snore  
     *gōrun* snoring  
 Kui *ḍrōka* snore, snoring  
     *ḍrōka pihpa* to snore  
 Kuwi *ḍreki-kīyali* id.  
     *ḍrukinai* to snore, snort  
     *gurrinai* to wheeze  
     *gūṛali* to coo  
 Kur. *gurrārṇā* to roar (as a tiger), snarl or growl fiercely, utter angry words  
     or shouts of anger  
 Br. *ghurring* to growl  
     ?*gūrring* to gurgle (of camels), groan loudly (cf. Ma. *kora*, DEDR 2122; MGE  
     Emeneau 1969, p. 291, no. 12, for areal etymology; CDIAL 4207 \**guragura-*,  
     4486 *ghuraghurāyate*, and 4489 *ghurghurā-*) (DEDR 1852)
- Ta. *kurai-* to bark, jubilate, shout; noise, roar, shout  
     *kuraippu* noise  
     [*kukkal*, *kukkap* dog]  
 Ma. *kura* disagreeable sound, cough, barking  
     *kurekka* to cough, bark, hem  
     *kūrkkā*, *kūrkkam*, *kūrkku* snoring, war-cry, roar  
 Ko. *kurv-* to snore  
     [*kerv-* to bark]  
 To. *kwarf-* to snore, bark  
 Ka. *kure* an imitative sound  
     *kure kure* a sound used in calling a dog  
 Koḍ. *kora-* to bark  
     [*ku:ke* a snore  
     *ku:ke* bali to snore]

Tu. *korapuni, korepini, korepuni* to bark, roar

*korejuni* to make a noise

[Te. *kukka* dog]

Pa. *kūr-* to groan

*kuri-* (owl) hoots

Go. *kuhascānā* to bark, growl, groan (as in lifting a heavy weight)

Malt. *kūr-kūr* call to a dog

Br. *xurrukāv* a snore (cf. Ta. *kūraṇ* DEDR 1901, Ma. *kora* DEDR 2122; cf. Skt. *kurkura-*, *kukkura-*, *kukura-* dog; CDIAL 3329) (DEDR 1796)

?Ta. *kūraṇ* dog

Tu. *kūra* id.; *kūri* bitch (DEDR 1901)

Ta. *kulai* to bark (as a dog), talk incoherently

*kulaippu* barking, snarling

*kulaivu* chorus of shrill sounds

Ma. *kulākulā* imit. of barking (DEDR 1811)

Ta. *kulukulu-* onom. 1. to creep or crawl noisily, as vermin in the basket  
2. to make a buzzing sound, as anything in the ear (TL s.v.)

Ka. *gullu* loud noise, hubbub

Tu. *gullu* a great noise, shout, uproar

Te. *gollu* noise, hubbub, uproar

*kolakola* noise, tumult

*golagola* a confused noise

*gōlu* loud noise or outcry

*gulgu* to grumble (cf. Ko. *go:l* DEDR 2252) (DEDR 1813)

Ta. *kural* voice, word, [throat, windpipe]

*kuravai* chorus of shrill sound made by women on festive occasions

Ma. *kural, kural* sound, voice, [throat of a palm tree]

*kurava* shouting (esp. of women)

Ka. *koral, koraḷ, korlu, koḷ, koḷlu* sound, voice, [throat, neck]

*koralcu* to call or cry out

*kural* to cry, shout

[Koḍ. *kora* gullet, windpipe]

Tu. [*kurelu* nape of the neck]

*kuralu, koralu* humming a tune, responding to a call

Te. *kröl(u)cu* to sing, chirp, read out, recite (DEDR 1774a)<sup>10</sup>

Ta. *kūru* to speak, assert, cry out the price, cry aloud, proclaim

*kūrram* word

*kūrru* utterance, proclamation, word

Ma. *kūruka* to speak, proclaim

*kūrru* call, cry of men, noise

*kūrram* cry (as for help)

Ka. *gūrnisu, gūrmisu* to murmur or roar (as water of a river or the sea),  
sound (as a trumpet), roar or bellow, cry aloud

Tu. *gūruni* to hoot

Te. *ghūrñilu* to sound, resound (DEDR 1921)

Ka. *korcu, (koccu)* to speak much or braggingly, utter in ostentatious language

Kur. *kurca'anā* to stammer, speak like a child (DEDR 2043b)<sup>11</sup>

Ma. *kora* asthma

Ko. *kor kor in-* to make the sound of a death-rattle

Ka. *kora, gora* sound produced in the throat by hoarseness, the purr of a cat

*kora kora ennu* that sound to be produced in the throat

*kore* to snore

Tu. *koraple, korapele* one who snores

*korapelū* snoring (DEDR 2122)

Ta. *korī*<sup>1</sup> 3. to make a ticking or clucking sound; to chirp, as a lizard; 4. to chatter (TL s.v.)

*korukoru-v-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying (a) roaring, as the sea; rattling, as the throat; [(b) anger] (TL s.v.)

*kora-kor-eṇal* onom. expr. of rattling in the throat (TL s.v.)

Go. *kōr-kūsānā, korr-kussānā* cock to crow (s.v. Ta. *kū*; DEDR 1868d)<sup>12</sup>

10) Items denoting 'throat' etc. are in square brackets and could be separated under the heading 1774b.

11) For 2043a cf. Vacek 2004b, No. 3B, p. 219 and note 35.

12) For the other subdivisions of DEDR 1868 with different medial consonants cf. Vacek 2004b, pp. 201 (medial labials), 209 (medial velars), 218 (medial sibilants). That there may be a closer relationship between medial sibilants and liquids is possible (cf. Vacek 2002a, e.g. pp. 31, 196).

- Ta. *kuḷaru* to stammer (through fear, anger, confusion), howl, yell  
*kuḷiṟu* to sound, rattle; n. sound, rattling noise  
*kuḷiṟ* kettle drum; contrivance to scare away parrots  
*kuḷaku* to prattle, wheedle  
*kuḷaru* to babble (as an infant), talk indistinctly, crow  
*kuḷarṟu* to make incoherent or indistinct sound as when affected by strong emotions
- Ma. *kuḷaruka* to stammer
- ?To. *ku:r* the cries or twittering of birds, buzzing of bees, tinkling of silver chain
- [Ka. *kīlir*, *kīlir* to sound, neigh  
*keḷar* to cry out, roar] (or with 2017b) (DEDR 1831)
- Ta. *koḷi-* it. 1. to sound, resound; tr. 7. to proclaim, publish (TL s.v.)
- OTa. *koḷuttu*<sup>-1</sup> tr. 7. to reprove sharply; it. 1. to slander, calumniate (TL s.v.)
- Ta. *koḷai* melody, song
- Ko. *koḷ* tune, song
- ?To. *koṇ* words of songs, words used in dance-song (DEDR 2155)
- Ta. *kuṭu kuṭu* to rumble, rattle  
*kuṭukuṭā* hookah (as producing a gurgle)  
*kuṭukuṭuppai* anything making a rattling sound, small tambourine, wooden clapper  
*kuṭukuṭukkai* ripe coconut in which the kernel rattles  
*kuṭukuṭ-eṇal* expr. signifying gurgling, rattling sound
- Ma. *kuṭukuṭa* onomatop. descriptive of guggling, rumbling noise
- Ko. *gurg-* to thunder; *gurgl* thunder  
*guṟ guṟ in-* (water) runs with a gurgle  
*goṟ goṟ in-* to make noise (stone rattled in pot, bee buzzing about in pot, any swift movement, as of flying, of movement in a narrow place, of train in tunnel)
- To. *kuḍx-* (stomach, thunder) rumbles, (buffalo, man) makes stamping noise in running, (flies) buzz, (fire) crackles  
*kuḍs* noise of walking  
*kuḍiṟ...* noise of god Ko:ntōw opening and shutting his dwelling

- Ka. *guḍu, guḍi, gulu* a sound used in imitating rumbling, growling, grumbling, thundering, or roaring  
*guḍugu* to thunder; run when playing at tipcat or ball, bawling and keeping one's breath at the same time  
*guḍugu, guḍigu* thunder, roar, etc.  
*guḍuguḍu* gurgling sound of running water  
*guḍuguḍisu* to grumble, roar, etc.  
*guḍuguḍi* a hubble-bubble
- Tu. *guḍuguḍu* a rumbling noise (as of thunder); a noise made in smoking tobacco in a hubble-bubble, a noise made in shaking a coconut whose kernel is dried within  
*guḍuguḍi, guḍiguḍi* a hubble-bubble  
*guḍumbu* the noise of anything falling into a well, etc.
- Kol. *guḍm-* to make a noise  
*gurmcaḍ* it thunders
- Pa. *guḍi- guḍr-* to thunder
- Go. *gurnj-* to thunder
- Kui *ḍṛū* loud report, noise of explosion, thunder
- Kuwi *ḡṇu-* to thunder  
*ḡṛṛlū aiyali* id.  
*glūnai* to thunder; *glūpu* thunder
- Kur. *guṛḡuṛambaḷanā, guṛḡuṛnā* to make a succession of abrupt noises rapidly repeated (e.g. thunder, hand-mill, hookah, a shot re-echoing among hills)  
*guṛḡuṛi, guṛḡuṛyā* hubble-bubble made of brass (DEDR 1659)

To. *kuṭur siṭi...* cooing of pigeons

Ka. *kuṭru, guṭru* id.

Tu. *kuṭru* id.

Kuwi *guḍru* to coo (DEDR 1667)

*koṭṭu*<sup>-1</sup> it. 2. to chirp, as a lizard (TL s.v.)

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Mo. *yur* onom. describing various 'guttural' sounds

*yor* onom. descriptive of a murmuring or gurgling sound

*yor ki-* to murmur, gurgle (of water)

*xur* 1. onom. expressing the sound of snorting, rumbling intestines, sipping liquids audibly

*xur xur* snorting of horses; sipping audibly, gargling

*xur xar* onom. describing a rattle in the throat caused by retention of moisture or compressing the throat; rumbling in the intestines

*xur ki-* to snore

*xurkira-, xorkira-* to groan (of beasts); to snore

*xurkiral, xorkiral* snoring

*xor* 2. onom. describing the clattering sound produced by small hard objects in a container when shaken (such as a partly filled bottle of pills)

*xoruya-* 2. to bark (of dogs)

*xorcigina-* to rumble, rattle, grumble

*xorzigina-* to chirp, chirrup

*kürki-* to talk nonsense, chatter indiscreetly

*kürkire-* onom. to growl, grunt, snarl; to roar (as a waterfall)

*kürzigne-* to make noise; to roar; to crash, rumble, din; to purr

*küür* conversation, discourse; word

Kh. *küržgene- (us)* to make noise (water)

*xuržigna- (gedes)* to make noise (belly)

*xurčigna-* to grumble, rumble

*xoržigno-* to bump, crash against; to rattle, clatter, rub, grate; to gurgle<sup>13</sup>

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MT.

Evenk. *gūldī-* to negotiate, agree

Even. *gulde- (göölḍ-, göölde-)* to negotiate an agreement

Neg. *gūl̄en* master talker (s.v. *GÜN-* to say, MTD I, 171)

13) This word was mentioned by Prof. Dr. Ts. Shagdarsurung in his mail from 12 November 2005. Obviously, there are more words of this type to be found in the dictionaries of both Khalkha and other Mongolian languages. These words have a clearly onomatopoetic character.

ĠULI ĠALI onom. chirping (Ma.) (MTD I, 170)

ĠUR ĠAR onom. with shouting (flock of flying birds) (Ma.) (MTD I, 173)

KUR SEME roaring (Ma.) (MTD I, 438)

KURI- to make a noise (MTD I, 437)  
 Evenk. *id.*; to ring (the ears)  
 Nan. *xur-xur* noise (wings, falling rain)  
*xurgi-* to make noise (airplane, car)  
*xurginži* noisily

ᠬᠦᠷᠢᠬ- to quack; to grunt (Even.) (MTD I, 437)

KORGI- to snore, drone, make noise etc.  
 (Evenk., Olcha, Nan. Ma.) (MTD I, 414)

XOLOR SEME tinkling (Ma.) (MTD I, 470)

XUR growling (dog) (MTD I, 478)  
 Oroch. *id.*; Nan. *kur-kur* grunting (pig)  
 Ma. *ᠬur ᠬar* talking in a hoarse voice

ᠬᠣᠷᠣᠨᠬᠢᠭ- to rebuke, scold (Nan.) (MTD I, 472)

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OT. KÜRLAN- to thunder, roar (OTD s.v.)  
*kürle(n)*- to splutter, to babble, shout at  
*gürle-* to chatter; to roar (lions, etc.) (Cl. 745)

*kül-* to laugh, to laugh at (s.o.) (Cl. 715)



**(C) The vowel a**

Ta. *karai*<sup>5</sup> 8. word (TL s.v.)

Ta. *karai-* to sound, roar, weep, lament, call, invite; to call summon

Ma. *karayuka* to cry, lament, neigh, caw, caterwaul

*karaccil* weeping, crying, lamentation; cry of certain animals or birds

*karaḷuka* to mumble

*karaḷca* mumbling

Ko. *karv-* to bellow, caw

[*gagc-* to make first tentative unmusical notes on clarinet when starting to play]

To. *kar-* to bellow; *kark* bellowing

Ka. *kare, kari* to emit a sound, sound, call, invite

*karasu, karisu, karesu, kareyisu* to cause to call, have called, cause to sound, shout together

*karaha, kareyuvike* calling, etc.

Tu. *kareyuni, karevuni* to crow

*karmbuni* to mutter

[*gaggelyuni* to roar, cry]

Te. *kraṅgu* the sound of a bell

*krandu* to sound, ring, lament; sound, noise

Nk. *karug-/karuk-* to call, crow, invite, summon

*karup-* to cause to summon (a physician)

Pa. *kerip-* to cackle<sup>14</sup>

Go. *karṅ-* to call

*karingi* calling

Kui *krāva* the tongue of the bell

Kur. *xarxnā* to ring, jingle, clink, give out a sound

*xarxa'ānā* to make ring, perform music

Malt. *qarḡre* to cry out (DEDR 1291)

Ta. *karakara* to crackle in the mouth (as a crisp cake; utter a rattling sound

*karakarappu* crispness, rattling

*kaṛaṅku* to sound; a sound

14) Strictly formally, the Parji form could be placed sub medial *-i/e-*, but it is the variant development of Dravidian *-a-* in Parji (cf. e.g. Zvelebil 1970, p. 41–42, e.g. examples No. 6 and 7. Subrahmanyam 1983, p. 60.

- karakara* to be crisp in the mouth (as a fried cake)  
*karakar-eṇal* being crisp in the mouth  
 Ma. *karakarē* imit. of gnashing and biting noises  
 Ka. *garā* sound in imitation of that which is produced when very crisp substances are eaten  
*garagu, garugu* state of being scorched by heat, fragile, brittle, dry and crumbling as flowers, leaves, grass, etc.  
*karakara* sound made in gnashing the teeth, in chewing certain substances (as raw cucumbers), in scratching the body, in writing wit a pen or an iron style  
 Tu. *karakara* noise made in chewing, sawing, or writing  
*karukuru* noise made in chewing any brittle substance  
 Te. *garagara* crispness, dryness, and brittleness  
*karakara* a harsh grating sound  
*karakara* noise made in writing or chewing  
 Kur. *kharkharanā* to use in speaking a sharp tone which grates upon the ear (DEDR 1386)
- Ka. *garra* sound in imitation of loud belching  
 Te. *garru* sound produced in belching (DEDR 1401)
- ?Ta. *kalai\** 10. language (TL s.v.)
- Ta. *kalakala* to reiterate in sound, rustle, tinkle, chink, clink, rattle  
*kalakalappu* rustling  
*kalakalam* chirping of birds, confused noise of a crowd  
*kalakal-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying tinkling, chinking  
*kali* to sound, clamour, roar; sound  
*kalippu* sounding, murmuring  
*kallu* to cause to sound, as a drum  
*kallal* disturbance, confusion, tumult, noise due to many people speaking at the same time  
*kall-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying excitement  
*kaḷakaḷa* to rattle, chatter, gurgle  
*kaḷakaḷappu, kaḷakaḷam* loud and confused noise (as the din of the bazaar or the roar of waters)  
*kaḷakaḷ-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying tinkling, flowing with a gentle sound, chattering  
*kaḷaṇ* sound, noise

- Ma. *kaḷakaḷa* confused noise, buzz, din  
 ?Ko. *gal gal in-* (tree) shakes  
 Ka. *kalakala* confused noise, the murmuring or buzz of a crowd  
     *kalakalalisi nagu* to laugh aloud  
     *galagala, gaḷagaḷa* clanking, clinking, tinkling, rattling  
     *kaḷakaḷa* noise, clamour, tumult, chattering of birds; the noise of rice  
     when nearly boiled; imit. sound accompanying weeping  
 Tu. *kalakala* a confused noise, hum  
     *galagala* a noise caused by bracelets  
     *gaḷuḡaḷu* a rumbling in the stomach  
     *kalkuni, kaḷku, kālku* a cry as a demon or one possessed by an evil spirit  
     *kaḷakaḷa, kaḷapaḷa* a confused sort of noise (as when wading through  
     water or shaking a whole coco-nut)  
     *gaḷagaḷa* a noise (as in drinking fast or by shaking a coco-nut)  
 Te. *kalakala* imit. word representing laughter  
     *kalakalamu* indistinct or confused noise, the hum or buzz of a crowd  
     *galagala* tinkling of coins, etc.  
     *gallu* a tinkling or clinking sound, jingle  
     *kaḷapeḷa* sound of boiling  
 Nk. *kalla* noise  
 Go. *kalla* uproar, commotion  
 Kuwi *kālori ā-* to shout  
     *kālovi* sound, noise  
 Malt. *qal-qaltre* to shake water or cowries (cf. Skt. *kala-* indistinct or inarticulate; low, soft [as a tone], melodious; for areal etymology cf. Emeneau MBE 1969, p. 289-90, No. 4; 296, No. 42; CDIAL 2914, *kalakala-*; 3836 *khalakhalāyate*) (DEDR 1302)
- Ko. *kayr-* to laugh  
 To. *kary-* id.  
     [*kerk*] laughter  
 Go. *karsānā, kars-, garsānā* to play  
 Konḍa *karzi-* to play, sport, dance  
 Pe. *kraz-, krez-* to play  
 Mand. *key-* id.  
 Kui *kaha* id.  
 Kuwi *kah-, kāhali, kahinai, kay-* id.  
     *kāhi kiali* to amuse  
     *kahū* a game (DEDR 1392)

Pe. *gray-* to laugh (cf. Te. *kēru*, DEDR 2010) (s.v. Kol. *kayng-*, DEDR 1256)

Ta. *kaḷaṛu* to thunder

Kol. *karadil-* lightning strikes

Nk. *ij kaṛalil-* id. (*ij* lightning < IA) (DEDR 1354)

OTa. *kaṭiṣ* 12. sounding, sonorousness (TL s.v.)

*kaṭai*<sup>2</sup> 2. to rattle and wheeze, as the throat from accumulation of phlegm (TL s.v.)

Ta. *kaṭakaṭav-eṇal*, *kaṭakaṭ-eṇal* onom. clattering, rattling, rumbling;  
sounding rapidly

*kaṭakaṭa-* to rattle (as a pin in a jewel)

*kaṭakaṭappu* clatter, rattling, rumbling

Ko. *gaṛum goṛum in-* to thunder; imit. of noise of rock rolling down hillside

*gaṛrn* particle expr. noise of thunder, of door-hinges

Ka. *kaṭakuṭa* noise in the stomach arising from drinking much water

*gaḍagaḍa ennu* to rumble or rattle (as thunder, carts, etc.)

*gaḍāvaṇe* loud sound, noise

Tu. *kaṭukuṭu* uneasiness in the bowels

*gaḍagaḍa* a chattering noise

Te. *kaṭakaṭa* a rattling sound

*gaḍagaḍa* trembling, quaking, or quivering

Kur. *xaṛaṛ-xaṛaṛ* the sound of articles loosely packed and playing against  
one another (the creaking of a cart, etc.)

*xaṛaṛ-xaṛarnā* to rattle loosely together

*xaṛbaṛarnā* to rattle

Malt. *qarqarē* to purl, murmur (Emeneau 1969, 188, No. 1 for areal etymology)  
(DEDR 1110a)

Ka. *kaṭakaṭa kaḍi*, *kaṭṭane kaḍi* to grind one's teeth

*kaṭakaṭennu* to crackle

*kaṭakane* with the sound of *kata*, produced when one bites a hard or  
crisp substance

*kaṭaku*, *kaṭuku*, *kaṭikaṭi* crispness (of bread and other eatables)

Tu. *kaṭukuṭu* noise produced in biting or chewing any hard substance

Te. *kaṭukku* sound produced in biting or in cutting with nippers

*kaṭakaṭa* a crackling noise as in chewing etc. (Emeneau 1969, 188, No. 2 for  
areal etymology) (DEDR 1110b)

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Mo. *xar* 1.*xar kir* onom. expressive of friction, crushing, or crunching*xar sir* onom. expressive of shuffling feet*xard* onom. expressive of grinding the teeth, cracking, or the snapping of a dog*xarzigina-*, *xarcigina-* to make a crackling, chattering, or grinding noise*xarkira-* to make a crackling<sup>15</sup>? *xarangy-a* 2. gong

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MT. *ĠAR SEME* to cry, shout (from pain, of a child) (Ma.) (MTD I, 141)*\$KARŽA-* to chap, crack (Ma.) (MTD I, 381)*KARUMI-* to rustle (Evenk.) (MTD I, 382)*KARAKĀ* laughter (Evenk.) (MTD I, 380)*KALAŠA-* to amuse, smile (Ma.) (MTD I, 460)Orok. *\$kar-\$kar* shouting of crows (s.v. *\$K'Ā\$K-* to shout; MTD I, 363)

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OT. *kar* 2 onom.: *kar kor* rumbling (stomach) (Cl. 641)*karç* onom.: *karç kurç* crunching (some food) (Cl. 647)Chuv. *KALA* to speak, tell (Egorov 85; Paasonen 56)<sup>16</sup>

play an instrument (Paasonen 56)

*kalaçu* conversation (Egorov 85)? *xallap* Märchen, Fabel (Paasonen 33)

15) This word was mentioned by by Prof. Dr. Ts. Shagdarsurung in his mail from 12 November 2005.

16) Both Egorov and Paasonen compare this Chuvash word with Mo. *kele-*. That some other Turkic languages have the form of this word with an *-ä-* is mentioned by Egorov and also

## Conclusion

The paper sums up another formal and semantic model covering the broadly conceived semantic field of *verba dicendi*. It should be underlined that besides the correspondence of the model as a whole, individual lexical correspondences can also be identified within the individual subgroups.

One more observation should be made in this context. In spite of the great variability, the relatively great formal and semantic closeness of the Dravidian and Altaic lexicon is an interesting feature, which inspired me (apart from the evidence of the contact of Dravidian and IA as reflected in OIA texts) to formulate a hypothesis of a much later arrival of the 'Dravidian' languages in India (Vacek 2004c, 449–450).

A much earlier arrival of Dravidian speakers in India was proposed e.g. by Andronov (1964, then reproduced in 1978, 10 and 1994, 13) on the basis of the lexical correspondences with Uralic and as a result of a lexicostatistic analysis of Dravidian, while also taking into account the general assumption that Dravidians had participated in the Indus Valley culture (cf. also Zvelebil 1970, 18; 1990, 49). As it follows from Andronov's chart, he first presumed that the early Dravidian languages crossed the boarder of the Indian subcontinent at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. (Andronov 1978, 10), while later he moved the term back in time to the beginning 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. (Andronov 1994, 13). Zvelebil (1990, 48) quotes his own earlier statement that round 4000 B.C. the Dravidians were still in the mountainous areas in the northeast of Iran and began to move into the Indian sub-continent about 3500 B.C. However, the recent concrete analysis of the Dravidian element in the vocabulary of OIA (particularly the very low percentage of Dravidian words in early OIA, Kuiper 1991, Witzel 1999) does not support such an early arrival of Dravidians into the Indus Valley area and would rather favour a later arrival (perhaps as late as the time of the Brāhmaṇas, possibly around the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.). This is still a hypothesis to be further verified on both linguistic and especially archaeological data. However, it would account for some of the facts mentioned above (for more details cf. Vacek 2004c, 449–450 with further references).

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Räsänen (p. 248b, s.v. *kele-či* Bote, Brautwerber). The etymon (Mo. *kele-* or the Chuvash form) could not be found in Poppe 1960. There is obviously a complex dialectal relationship between the forms in medial *-a-* and medial *-e-* both in Altaic and Dravidian. Note that some of the forms in medial *-a-* in Dravidian are strongly onomatopoeic (cf. above Ta. *kalakala* in DEDR 1302). Cf. above Note 8.

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