

# MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '06



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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

**7–9**

Alena Oberfalzerová:  
Herder Aimgaa – a guide through popular wisdom

**11–43**

Ha Mingzong and Kevin Stuart:  
Everyday Hawan Mongghul

**45–70**

Vladimír Weigert:  
Some Mongolian proverbs currently used in the process  
of bringing up children

**71–88**

Veronika Kapišovská:  
Language Planning in Mongolia II

**89–114**

Veronika Zikmundová:  
Some common aspects of Khorchin Mongol and Sibe religious terminology

**115–140**

J. Lubsangdorji:  
The Secret History of the Mongols in the mirror of metaphors

**141–161**

Jaroslav Vacek:  
*Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 3.1. Etyma with  
initial labials (p-, b-, f-, v-, m-)

**163–190**

Daniel Berounský:  
Tibetan ritual texts concerning the local deities of the Buryat Aga  
Autonomous Region, Part I

**191–240**



## Preface

*Mongolica Pragensia* '06 is the fifth volume in the series and it continues in the tradition of papers on various subjects related to Mongolian ethnolinguistics and sociolinguistics and also comparative studies. The key topics concentrate on the problems of communication (forms of expression, metaphorical language) and the contact between languages. Like the previous volumes, some of the papers present the results of field work performed in Mongolia. Traditionally the volume also includes a paper on the Tibetan textual tradition and its reception in the Mongolian milieu (in this case that of the Buryats), and besides that also a paper on the Hawan Mongghul language (a dialect of Monguor) discussing the problems of communication in the conditions of language contact. The volume as a whole is a result of the work of our team in the year 2006.

The paper by A. Oberfalzerová presents the results of field work carried out in Mongolia in recent years. This time she discusses the subject of dreams with her informant and uses this opportunity to reveal some of the typical attitudes of the traditional Mongolian nomads, not only to dreams in the narrow sense of the word but also to other related subjects. The informant, a 58 year old herder Mr. M. Aimgaa, seems to have preserved a number of phrases and concepts documenting the subject and also the manner of communication. In her comments, the author points out not only the conceptual features of this discussion, but also some interesting linguistic features of the colloquial language (pieces of new knowledge both in terms of lexicon, especially more precise meanings and usages of some words, and in the sphere of syntactical patterns, metaphors and idioms).

Another communicative aspect in a different Mongolian language, viz Mongghul (i.e. Monguor), is taken up by Ha Mingzong and Kevin Stuart. Using the first-hand knowledge of the former author and extensive field work in the region of Gansu province, the authors discuss some features of everyday communication in the village of Hawan. They also take into account the age of the speakers and in two samples of conversations they demonstrate the communicative use of Mongghul by the older generation and by children. Besides providing basic information about the Mongghul language (including aspects

of contact with the neighbouring languages, mainly Chinese and partly also Tibetan, bilingualism etc.) and its people, the paper is conceived as an introduction to another paper on the communication between the villagers and their deity to be published later. The paper is especially interesting in that it reflects much of the personal experience of one of the authors.

The paper by V. Weigert concentrates on another aspect of communication in Mongolian as it is recorded in Mongolian proverbs. The subject reveals many interesting features of 'ethnopedagogy' and communication in the Mongolian family with regard to various topics, those of 'practical' relevance as well as those related to ideal ethical values. Mongolian proverbs have been studied before and they appear to have preserved orally transmitted rules and norms and other aspects of tradition in Mongolian society. The paper points out that it is particularly in upbringing that such proverbs provide something like a succinct coding of the ideas passed on to children in the process of family upbringing.

In her paper V. Kapišovská carries on the topic of language planning, the first part of which was published in the previous issue of *Mongolica Pragensia*. The paper brings to light some more materials from her field work and discusses aspects of the current demographic trends in Mongolia and also the current trends in language planning. This includes questions of competence in the mother tongue, language law and spelling reform. The paper finishes with a short discussion of the alphabets used in Mongolia and of their role.

V. Zikmundová discusses the relation of Sibe and Khorchin Mongols especially on the basis of religious vocabulary, though in the first part of the paper there are also examples of vocabulary related to pastoralism and generally to everyday-life topics. Religious vocabulary is rather important in these languages and it can serve as a source of information about the mutual contacts between these ethnic groups in the past. The vocabulary is of two types, the one related to shamanism and the other related to Buddhism.

The paper by J. Lubsangdorji discusses several select metaphors from the Secret History of the Mongols, which have obviously been misunderstood by some translators. Since many of the metaphors were rendered word-for-word, it is possible that occasionally the original meaning is appropriately reflected in a translation, but very often the ancient metaphors were misunderstood and consequently misinterpreted. Some of the metaphors, if properly interpreted, display the openness of expression of the ancient Mongols in many areas of life, including sex. In his (occasionally very detailed) analysis, the author shows how some of the misunderstandings arose and how the relevant metaphors should be understood and translated.

J. Vacek's paper carries on with the subject of *verba dicendi* in Dravidian and Altaic and this time it concerns the roots beginning in a labial and finishing in all consonants except the liquids (which are reserved for a separate paper). The lexical material collected here shows that on the one hand many *verba dicendi*, in the narrow sense of the word, can have parallels in all the languages concerned. On the other hand there are many verbs which, though they are pure onomatopoeic verbs, can also display a considerable similarity in the discussed languages.

The last paper by D. Berounský discusses the Tibetan Buddhist tradition as reflected in the Mongolian tradition and the relation of the Tibetan tradition to the local milieu. In his analysis of the Tibetan religious texts addressed to the local deities of the Aga Buryats, the author demonstrates the role of Tibetan in the region and the process of Tibetanisation of the region. The paper provides a background in the form of the cult of local deities as an introduction to a careful textual study, including edition and translation of the relevant texts.

In the end, the editors should like to express heart-felt thanks to the reviewers of this volume, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pavel Novák, CSc., from the Institute of General Linguistics and Finno-Ugric Studies, Charles University, and Prof. Dr. Ts. Shagdarsurung, 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. They have helped us a great deal by offering advice to the authors and suggesting improvements. We would also like to thank Dr. Mark Corner for patiently reading most of our texts and correcting our English (except the second and fourth papers). Our thanks are also due to the Triton Publishing House for the attention they paid to the volume and for the prompt processing of the text for publication.

*The Editors*



# Herder Aimgaa – a guide through popular wisdom

Alena Oberfalzerová

**Summary:** This paper continues the subject of my previous papers in *Mongolica Pragensia* (2002–5) and in the spirit of the ethnography of communication analyses the communicative behaviour of Mongolian herders. In the process of our field work we have collected valuable material in the form of interviews on the topic of dreams. Besides the significant lexicographical contribution which the present material brings, it also reveals the cultural and spiritual context of the community.

I present here the full wording of an interview with 58 year old herder Mr. Aimgaa, who, though almost illiterate, spoke in a rich and poetic language. The interview is translated and commented upon. The comments elucidate individual idiomatical expressions, metaphors, modal patterns and culturally specific terms.

## Introduction

The present paper continues along the lines of my and Prof. J. Lubsangdorji's previous work,<sup>1</sup> thus it deals especially with the manner of communication of present-day Mongolian nomads living in the traditional countryside environment and with the correct interpretation of their speech. It is based on our annual field work, in which we have collected valuable material – on the one hand it represents recordings of colloquial speech, on the other hand, in the sphere of the nomadic concept of the world, we have also been able to understand much of the present-day nomads' view of the world and of their own place in it.<sup>2</sup>

As for the method I have used some of the concepts of a relatively young sphere of linguistic anthropology – the ethnography of communication,<sup>3</sup> whose subject of interest is the manner and function of communicative

1) Various aspects of this topic were discussed in my papers in recent years (cf. Oberfalzerová 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005), and cf. also Oberfalzerová, Luvsandorj' 2001.

2) A complex presentation of the world-view of the Mongolian nomads may be found in my recent book (Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 29–39).

3) Its founder was the American linguist and cultural anthropologist D. H. Hymes in 1966; for more detail see Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 19–20.

behaviour in the context of a specific culture and specific ethnic community. Thus the focus is on the considerable cultural differences in how language is used (and 'treated') in ordinary communication. And concerning 'exotic' cultures (from our point of view) there are certainly many significant differences.

The topic of the interviews – dreams and attitudes to them, has proved to be very suitable as a general human phenomenon, which reflects immediately the basic view of the world and invites, sometimes unconsciously, emotional reactions and interpretations, which can be a good guideline for us, a way to grasp the value system of the whole community. Reproducing such interviews fully and offering their translation as exactly as possible is not a mere appendix, but rather the key purpose of the work. It is in the course of the uninterrupted interview that I am confronted with incomprehensible phrases and collocations, metaphors and idioms and modal patterns. These provoked my attention and encouraged an effort to understand them properly and to decipher and depict, step by step, their deeper cultural contexts. Only then is it possible to react adequately and communicate satisfactorily in Mongolian. In the present-day global perspective of the political situation of the world, the significance of this work hardly needs further justification. The interpretation of such interviews requires hard work and concentration and often cannot be based only on the data available in current dictionaries, but very often demands further work and consultations with mother-tongue speakers of Mongolian. Many times a single expression used by the interviewee called for a longer and broader discussion, which resulted in a much deeper and more subtle interpretation. Besides introducing the broader context of the cultural traditions of the Mongolian nomads in the commentaries, I often add further expressions, metaphors and idioms, which enlarge the cultural context and are equally important as the specific expressions used by the interviewee. And no less important and enlightening was the subsequent confrontation with the meanings recorded in the basic existing dictionaries.

### **Interview<sup>4</sup> with Mr. M. Aimgaa, 58 year old herder, Hotgoit**

#### **Location:**

Ho'vsgol aymag, Tosoncengel sum, summer camp on the lower reaches of the river Hu'iten; summer months of 2001, 2005, 2006.

4) In the Mongolian text we use a simple transcription of the Cyrillic alphabet into the Latin script, in which each letter has its equivalent, apart from soft and hard signs. Instead of



A.: – *Zu'ud gedeg yo'r ni yuu baina ve? Yamar uc'irtai baina ve?*

– *Zu'ud gedegt (1) boditoi yum hovor, boditoi yum baihu'i.*

– *Za yo'r ni bodos' baisan yumaa l zu'udleh yum: morio aldsan bol ternii-hee tuhai.*

– *Mergen zu'ud baidag. Bags'iin ih surguulid surdag neg ohinoo bi ih boddog (2). Manai no'hor (3) salgaltad yamar du'n avc' baigaa ni hu'rtel zu'udend ordog. Hezee ireh ni zu'udend ordog. Yag l u'nen bolson baidag.*

– *Manai ho'gs'in, Ih-Uul sumand surguulid baidag neg hu'uhdee 'hiceeldee oc'ihoo boliv' gez' zu'udleed, o'gloo ni bosood ih sanaad, ter hu'uhdee oc'iz' avc'rahiig hu'ssen. Getel ter hu'uhdiin nu'den deer ni hatig garaad idee bolson baisan. Tegehleer zu'ud bol yag l bodos' baisan yumni tuhai baina. Bi bol hu'uhdee l ih boddog. Hu'uhdiin tuhai yamar neg yum zu'udend ordog baina.*

– *Bi hu'uhdiin toloo ih sanaa zovdog l doo. Manai ho'gs'in, ter hu'uhdiig hieeldee orohoo baic'ihlaa gez' zu'udelsen. Hu'uhdiin to'loo ih sanaa zovdog uc'raas ter.*

– *Z'isee ni, 'mori mini ene z'il sain davhih baihu' gez' medeez' bodos' baina. Teged l ter bodsonooroo l zu'udelz' baigaa yum c'ini! Bodson ni l ter utgatai zu'ud l dee. Ternii hoorond yum orohgu'i bol sain baidag yum baina. Ternii hoorond yum orvol muu yum baina.*

– *Herev bodoliig togtooz' c'adahgu'i, bodol ba zu'udnii hoorond o'or yum orvol (4) bodol ni zu'udend mergeneer irehgui (5).*

A.: – *Zu'udeer mergeleh, manah sanaa baidag uu?*

– *O'o, tiim yum baihu'i. Bodos' hu'sez' baisan yum l ayandaa zu'udend orz' ter ni taarah ni baina.*

A.: – *Zu'dend orohgu'i yum gez' baina uu?*

– *O'o, ter esen busiin yum (6) zu'udleh gez' zambaraagu'i (7). 'Zu'udend ormoorgu'i yum' (8) gez' yaridag s'u'u dee. Tiim yum c' zu'udend orno! 'Untaz' baihad hu'n bariz' avah' (9) c' yum uu, 'medeh medehgui hu'ntei yarih', 'ali ert o'ngorson taliisan ah nar egc' nartai hamt suugaad nargiz' naadah' geh met ali olon yanziin yum zu'udlehiig ter gehev (10)!*

– *Yo'r ni (zu'udend) oilgogdohgu'i yum baidag. Terii ni zu'udellee geed muu yum bolohgu'i. Teriig zu'udelbel muu geh yum baihu'i. Z'isee ni: 'gertee suuz'*

these we use short vowels, which are pronounced in the living language. Apostrophes indicate semantically distinct, paired phonemes (graphemes) such as o/o' and z/z' (o' = ø; u' = y; o'o = øø; u'u = yy; c' = ч; c = ц; z' = ж; z = з; s' = ш; h = x; yo = ë; yu, yu' = ю, ya; y = я (only before -ы); i = й (according to Khalkha pronunciation ай, ой, эй, үй, ий = ai, oi, ei, ui, u'i, ii); ii = ы; i, e/o' = ь (before the suffix of the voluntative -e = -ye/-yo'); a/o = ь (before the suffix of the voluntative -я/-ë = -ya/-yo); (after sibilants before the suffix of the voluntative). The vowels follow the rules of vowel harmony.



*baihad ene no'hor ireed s'alaad suuc'ihdag' (11) c' yum uu, iimerhu'u zu'ud mas' ih.*

– U'il yavdliig dagnaad baigaa u'yed ter tuhai zu'ud baina. Z'isee ni: za, neg mori uyaad neg sar bolohod mori golduu zu'udleh c' yum uu; hu'uhed konkurst oood, surguulid oroh eseh tuhai bodood, bas neg hugacaand ter tuhai zu'udtei baih. Za, tegeed tiim u'il yavdal o'ngorood z'il bolohod tiim zu'ud baihgu'i baih.

Q.: – *What do you think a dream is? What do you usually dream about?*

– **What you call a dream** (1) is rarely a reality, it is not material.

– I especially dream about things I have been thinking about: if I lose a horse, my dream is about that.

– There are predictive dreams. I **keep thinking about my daughter** (2), who studies at the Pedagogical Faculty. I even dream about what mark my daughter (lit. '**our comrade**' (3), ironical) would get for her exam. I usually dream about when she will be coming home. Then it will happen exactly like that.

– My wife (lit. old woman), when one child was at school in Ih-Uul sum, she dreamed that (the child) stopped going to school. In the morning she was thinking about her very intensively and wished to go and bring her back (to visit and bring). But the child had developed an abscess on the eye, which was suppurating. Therefore dreams concern exactly what you have been thinking about (worried about). I keep thinking about my children very much. Something about them usually comes into (my) dreams.

– I keep worrying about my children (lit. a thought is troubled, figuratively meaning 'to worry about, have fear about, to worry'). My wife dreamed that the child stopped going to school. The reason is she worried about her too much.

– For example, suppose someone thinks that his horse may run well (in the competition) this year, which is quite common. Then he would dream about it according to his wish (lit. according to how he thinks). The contents of the dream reflect the wish. It is good if no other wish (lit. thing) appears in between. If another wish (lit. thing) appears in between, it is bad.<sup>5</sup>

– If you are not able to keep the wish (lit. thought). If **another wish** (lit. thing) **appears in between the wish and the dream** (4), what you long for will not appear **exactly like that** (5) (lit. 'as a prediction') in the dream (lit. enter the dream).

5) On repetition cf. Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 143ff.



Q.: – *Have you ever tried to find out about something in advance by way of dreams, have you watched (put questions to)<sup>6</sup> your dreams?*

– Weeeell, I have not. Those things, which I wished, which I was thinking about, would automatically appear in my dreams and then they would correspond to reality.

Q.: – *Is there something you never dream about?*

– Weeeell, I usually dream about **all sorts of things (6)**, there are **no rules (7)** to it.

Surely there is a saying ‘**There are things which do not appear even in a dream**’ (8). But even such things appear in dreams! For example about how **somebody wants to rape you (9)** (or hurt you physically) when you are sleeping, how you speak with people you know as well as those you do not know, or about how I would sit and talk to elder brothers and sisters who are long since dead (lit. passed away and remote), and similarly **so many other various things (10)** would appear in my dreams.

Actually there are sometimes things in dreams that are difficult to understand.

When you dream about them, nothing happens to you then. It is not true that if you dream about them it will be bad.

For example I very often dream that I am sitting in the yurt and see a man (lit. comrade – he points to our bagsh) would come and **interrogate me (11)**, I have many such dreams.

– When some activity occupies me fully, then I will also have dreams about it. For example when I hitch a horse (to a post), then I may dream about it for a whole month, or when the child was taking entrance examinations, I could think about nothing else but whether she would be able to enrol, then at that time I would dream about it. And when that activity is over, in a year I would have no such dream. (Mr. Aimгаа wishes for a good result and at that time he will think about nothing else, he will pray and desire victory.)

#### COMMENT:

1. *zu’ud gedegt* – if the word *gedegt* (lit. in calling) is used after a noun, it expresses a certain distance of the speaker from the subject of discussion, he does not understand it well, it is a bit vague for him. For example *gar utas*

6) For ‘putting questions to dreams’ cf. more details in Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 150, 165, 167.

*gedegt* – ‘what is called handy’ – implies that the speaker is not very knowledgeable about it. It may be substituted by the phrase *zu'ud gedeg neg yum*, lit. ‘one thing called the dream’, i.e. ‘something like a dream’.

2. *neg ohinoo bi ih boddog* – lit. ‘I keep thinking about one daughter’, figuratively it means ‘to miss a lot’, but also ‘to be afraid for her, to worry’. In a different context the verb *bodo-* also has a figurative meaning ‘to long for, desire’, ‘to pine for somebody’ also erotically.

This is a substitute expression, which makes use of the neutral verb *bodo-*, instead of the emotionally expressive verbs *sana-*, *hu'se-* and the like. Figuratively it is always used in connection with feeling, which it may not always be suitable to express directly.

3. *manai no'hor* – lit. ‘our comrade’ is a metaphor, which arose under the influence of Russian, in this case it means ‘my daughter’. Mr. Aimgaa used a metaphor implying quasi-alienation, which should mask how fond he is of her.<sup>7</sup> It is connected with the habit of not using emotionally strong words or expressing one's love for those close to one in front of another person. It is exactly about people who are close to one that a similar ironically shaded metaphor is used, it corresponds to the 1st person exclusive pronoun in *manai ehner*, *manai naiz* (lit. ‘our wife’, ‘our friend’, not including the listener). On the other hand it is not possible to say directly for example ‘my beloved wife’ in the phrase *ehner mini* (lit. ‘my wife’), where the meaning ‘beloved’ is expressed by the postponed pronoun *mini* (‘my’). Such an address is possible only in intimate situations or when alone in private. In public such an address would be understood as too sweet and truckling, implying that the man is too much in love, henpecked, which incurs displeasure among listeners. In common speech the phrase *minii ehner* is rarely used, it is an official style, during interrogation and the like.

4. *bodol ba zu'udnii hoorond o'or yum oro-* – lit. ‘something else enters in between the thought (wish) and the dream’. Here again the word ‘thought’ substitutes the word ‘wish’, something you have been longing for the whole day, something you wish for very much. Mr. Aimgaa has the experience that when he wishes nothing else, then what he is longing for appears in his dream. Mr. Aimgaa repeats this idea many times, by exaggerating he emphasises that on

7) Mr. Aimgaa often avoids the emotionally strong words *sana-*, *meregle-*, or words referring directly to close relatives – *ehner*, *ohin* and the like.

the same day he should not wish or long for anything else. The phrase ‘it is good’ means that you will dream the desired dream.

5. *zu’udend mergeneer ire-* – lit. ‘to come into the dream as a prediction’; in this context, however, this does not imply a predictive dream, here the word *mergen* does not mean ‘predictive’ but rather ‘hitting (the target)’<sup>8</sup> – it is in this sense that the word is used here and it means ‘exactly like that’. But I thought that Mr. Aimgaa was speaking about predictive dreams and my next question pointed in that direction to be followed by an immediate disapproving reaction, because I had unexpectedly changed the direction of his thought. And he at once returns to the topic.

6. *esen busiin yum* – lit. ‘existing and non-existing things’, figuratively ‘various things, all sorts of things’. This is a very archaic expression, which is preserved in Mr. Aimgaa’s speech, in spite of the fact that he has no education (or exactly because of that?).

7. *zambaraagu’i* – lit. ‘without order’, originally a Tibetan word (Tib. *btsang pa* ‘clean, pure’), today it is used in the sense of ‘disorder, a mess’, but also ‘without order, without any rules’ and the like (*zambaraagui hu’n* – ‘an untidy, messy person’, *zambaraagui gazar* – ‘an untidy place, a messy place’).

8. *zu’udend ormoorgu’i yum* – lit. ‘a thing not entering the dream’, an idiomatic expression in the sense of a ‘very rare, exceptional phenomenon’, corresponding to Czech ‘o tom se člověku ani ve snu nezdá’ (one would not even dream about it).

9. *hu’n bariz’ ava-* – lit. ‘to embrace and take’, ‘to seize’. Today this expression is connected mainly with sexual violence. There is a synonymic expression *hu’n darz’ ava-* lit. ‘man from above pressing takes’, i.e. ‘to rape, violate’. In the past this was a rather common thing in the countryside, a practice common even among close people. Mothers would warn their daughters saying: ‘*Hu’n bariaad avna, gancaaraa bitgii yav!* Do not go alone, someone will rape you!’ The expression is also used when the speaker wants to underline that someone was molesting and seducing somebody. Though there is an exact expression *hu’c’irhe-* or *hu’c’inde-*, it is not used in speech, because these are

8) Both meanings have also been preserved in the verb *mergele-* ‘to hit (the target), to predict’, however, the former meaning appears especially in fairy tales.



unpleasant words, which refer directly to violence and therefore they are replaced by a euphemism.

10. *ali ...-hiig (zu'udlehiig) ter gehev* – lit. 'what + verbal noun in accusative (dreaming) he said'; it is a pattern to express a great number of actions, occurring so many times so that they cannot even be counted, an incalculable number, here it means 'many other various things would appear in my dreams'. For example *ali huntei tanilcahiig ter gehev* 'he knows / I know thousands of people' or *ali olon ornoor yavahiig / yavsaniig ter gehev* 'it can hardly be counted, in how many countries he was / I was' and the like.

11. *s'ala-* – lit. 'to checkmate s.b.', figuratively 'to interrogate'. Similarly the word *madla-* 'to be in check', figuratively means 'to be unable to give an answer, to be driven into a corner'.

The phrase *no'hor ireed s'alaad suu-* lit. 'a comrade comes and interrogates', represents an ironical expression, it implies displeasure that somebody like us comes and asks questions.

– *Yoozgu'i zu'ud c' baidag.*

– *Bi ug ni s'az'in maz'ind su'z'igledegui. Hu'nd yo'r medegddegui. Tegsen mo'rtloo dotroo ih su'z'igledeg. Su'z'igtei l dee. Hangai uulandaa u'rgelz' zal-birc' baidag (12).*

A. : – *Golduu yuu zu'udeldeg?*

– *Hu'nees ceerlesen baidag yum uu, – haayaa – haayaa, nas barsan hu'n nad-tai uulzah geed c' baih s'ig. Zarimdaa neg tiim yum bodogddog yum: 'Bolohegu'i yum – muu yoriin yum' (13) gez' yaridag s'u'u dee! Ene havar bi neg u'heeriin yum (14) zu'udelsen. Minii neg nas barsan naiz nadtai untah gez' zu'tgeed baigaa yum (15)! Tegeed bi dotroo bodoz' baihgu'i yuu: 'Za ter yaahav, minii neg naiz lam baidag, tu'uniig zun uriz' avc'raad argaluulc'ihna daa' gez'.*

A.: – *Zu'udnii uc'ir yuu ve?*

– *Su'ns gedegtei l oirolcoo yum baigaa bolov uu (15). Tiim mayagaar yav-agdaz' baidag yum bis' baigaa daa (15) l gez' bodoz' baidag. Su'ns gedgiig l bi u'nen gez' boddog. Nas barsan hu'nii su'ns ergez' irz' to'rdgiig (16) bi u'nen l gez' bodood baidag yum, bi ug ni (17), nom medehgui (18) mo'rtloosoo.*

– *Bi bol o'oriigoo, aaviinhaa eez'iin su'ns gez' bodood baidag baihgu'i yuu! Manai aav, eez'iigee u'hehiin o'mno, do'ngo'z' haluun amisgaatai baihad (19)*



*ni o'vdognoos ni doos' geluu, deer geluu beh tu'rhsen gez' baigaa (20). Aav mini lam hu'n baisan. Tegeed minii ene guyan deer su'rhi ho'h minge bii l dee. 'Su'ns gedeg c'ini ergez' to'rdog yum aa hu'u mini!' gez' aav helz' baisan. Herev buruu hereg – nu'gel u'ildehgui baival su'ns ergez' to'rno. Nu'gel u'ildvel ger bu'ldee ergez' to'rohgui, o'or amitan, z'isee ni aduu c' bolz' to'rz' magadgu'i, ed c' bolz' magadgu'i. Setgel saitai yavaad baival ergeed neg hu'n boldog ni burhanii yos yum gez' manai aav, **saihan zantai baihdad** (21) helz' baisan. Tegeed bi su'nsiig u'nen l gez' boddog yum.*

A.: – Saihan zu'ud gedeg yuu baina ?

– Saihan zu'ud c' zaluu bagad bailgu'i yaahav. Ohiduudtai c'ini l niile'hsen, mori ene tertei l guyadaz' yavna s'u'u dee, zaluu bagad c'ini! Tegeed margaas' ni honind yavahad gancaaraa l yavz' baidag yum. Bagad tiim l baisan. Odoo bol hogs'irc', (tiim zu'ud) zu'udleh gez' c' baihgu'i l dee, zu'geer yaahav.

A.: – Baihgu'i gez' uu ?

– **Bailgu'i yaadag yum be!** (22)

– Muuhai zu'ud gedeg bol u'heer. U'hsen hu'n ni **amid u'ldsen busaddaa** (23) no'lootei gez' **zurhaid gardag** (24). Nas barsan hu'niig haana yaaz' to'roh tuhai urid ih asuuz' yaridag baisan (25).

– Odoo c' **tun alga bolc'ihloo** (26). Z'iseelehed, **tiim hu'nii su'ns tiim aild oc'no, tiim am bu'ltei, tiim nohoitoi... aild oc'no** (27) geed (zurhain nomd) yaric'ihsan baidag yum aa, ter c'ini.

– I may also have dreadful (disgusting) dreams.

– **I do not accept religion at all** (lit. I do not believe in religion<sup>9</sup> and similar things). I do not let strangers (lit. people) know anything about myself. **And in spite of that in my heart I am a great (deep) believer. I do have faith. I permanently pray to the Hangai Mountains** (12).<sup>10</sup>

Q.: – *What is it that you dream most often about?*

– Perhaps because I loathed (or was afraid of) a person,<sup>11</sup> I may then (sometimes) dream, that the deceased would like to meet me. Sometimes such a thing occurs to me (of its own accord): **'Some things are prohibited – (there**

9) Here the speaker means the Lamaist Church.

10) I.e. to the native land. The traditional Mongolian faith in Nature Almighty – symbolically expressed by the reference to the fertile forest country – *hangai*. This concerns especially the Lords of the Earth and Mountains, cf. Oberfalzerova 2006, pp. 29–31.

11) Mr. Aimgaa means that this is linked with somebody's death.

are) **things of bad omens**' (13), this is how it is sometimes said! This spring I dreamed about **one demon** (lit. **a thing of a dead body**) (14). One of my deceased friends was very **strongly insisting** (15) (lit. was pulling me with strength) that I should sleep with her. Then I was thinking in my mind's eye (lit. inside myself), is that not so, and would tell myself: 'Well, what can I do about it, I have one Lama friend, I will invite him here in summer and he will somehow put it right (lit. I will let him find a way).'

Q.: – *What is the nature of a dream?*

– I guess that **it may be** (15) a similar thing to the soul. I wonder **if it is not exactly** (15) the soul, which produces a dream. I think that it is true that the soul exists. It often occurs to me that it is true that **the soul of a deceased person is reborn** (16) (lit. having returned coming /home/ is born) (among its relatives), **that is me** (17), well, though **I am not educated** (18) (lit. I do not know the teaching).

– Concerning myself, I consider myself to be the soul of the mother of my father, is that not so! Our father used to say that before his mother died (lit. **when she still had hot breath** (19), i.e. when she was still alive; just before death, when the person suddenly distinguishes exactly the people around), it was somewhere from the knees upwards, or was it downwards, that **he applied dry ink** (20).<sup>12</sup> My father was a Lama. Well then and here on my thigh there is a special dark (lit. blue) mark. 'My dear son, our soul is reborn (lit. having turned is born)! my father would say. If (those who survive) do not do bad deeds and if they do not commit sins, the soul would be born again (among them). If they commit sins,<sup>13</sup> it would not be reborn among the members of his family (relatives), it may be born in another animal, for example as a horse, it may even become a thing.<sup>14</sup> If life is good (lit. if the mind goes with good), it returns and certainly becomes man, that is the divine law, (thus) our father would say, **when he was in a good mood** (21) (lit. with good behaviour, manner).

Q.: – *What is a good dream?*

– Of course the dreams from the time of youth. (I sometimes dream about), how I play with girls (lit. linked with girls I ride a horse and the like slapping

12) I.e. he made a mark by his finger, moistened by saliva and dripped into dry ink.

13) The implication is, within 49 days, when the soul is deciding where to be reborn.

14) Or rather some material.



it on the buttocks, whipping it), at the time of youth!<sup>15</sup> Then the next day (tomorrow) I would go again after the sheep alone. In the time of my youth this is exactly how it was. But now I have become old, so I would not dream (such a dream), well what can I do about it (lit. good, what to do).

*Q.: – You say that you do not have these dreams any more?*

A person sitting there and listening would remark in a sharp tone:

– **Of course he must have such dreams! (22)**

– A bad dream is about a dead body (a dream connected with dead bodies). I heard that **in the astrological Sutras it is written (24)** that a deceased person influences **those who survived (23)**. **Formerly people used to ask a lot and spoke about where and how the deceased would be reborn (25)**.

And nowadays this has **completely disappeared (26)**. To give you an example, it was written exactly (lit. discussed) (in astrological books) that **the soul of a certain person would be reborn in** (lit. would visit) **a certain family...**, **which has particular members, a particular dog (27)**... in that way.

#### COMMENT:

*12. Bi ug ni sa'z'in maz'ind su'z'igledeggui. Tegsen mo'rtloo dotroo ih su'z'igledeg. Su'z'igtei l dee. Hangai uulandaa u'rgelz' zalbirc' baidag.* 'I do not accept religion at all. And in spite of that in my heart I am a great (deep) believer. I do have faith. I permanently pray to the Hangai Mountains.'

The relations of the nomads to religion could be expressed exactly in these words, Mr. Aimgaa's words generally characterise the relation of nomads to religion and faith. On the one hand they are quite benevolent in the face of various religious systems, but on the other hand they preserve a strong faith in Nature. It is not important what the names of the gods of various ethnic groups are, what is important is that everything is functional. A lack of respect could cause unlucky consequences. In a somewhat simplified manner we could characterise the background of their historical religious tolerance to other faiths as a spirit of caution, which, however, is very deeply rooted. It is a tremendous fear of bad omens – what if the deities and their subservient negative forces should take vengeance, because there might be something

15) The speaker is laughing and so is the girl present in the yurt.



in it (*mongol hu'n sez'igleh zantai*,<sup>16</sup> the basis of the character of a Mongol is a fear of bad omens). This fear makes the herder invoke everything possible, rather than make an irrevocable mistake. Nowadays, for example, people very easily join and leave various religious organisations, and they are motivated by pragmatic reasons. On the other hand, for generations they have been irrefutably, almost 'genetically' equipped with a strong faith in Nature, its vitality and essentially transcendental quality. In spite of a great influence from Buddhism and the Lamaist Church, socialism as well as the ideas of the most recent times, with most Mongols something like an elementary firm layer of natural faith survives to this day. This faith may be mixed with other religious notions to a various degree, or it may be wrapped in new terminology and slightly transformed praying practices.

13. *Bolohgu'i yum – muu yoriin yum.* – lit. 'an impossible thing – a thing of a bad omen', figuratively something prohibited is a matter of a bad omen. The expression *bolohgu'i yum* (also 'it is not permitted') can be preceded by verbs, e.g. *hiiz' / helz' / bodoz' bolohgu'i yum* 'one must not do / speak / think (thus)'. This folk experience is expressed by this strong idiom, which may be freely rendered as: 'People say that there are things, which are prohibited'. For example *haraal* 'cursing' is a *bolohgu'i yum*, to which there corresponds a synonymous *muu yoriin yum*. In these words Mr. Aimgaa introduces another concrete story about what is prohibited. A typical manner of provoking the interest of his listeners right at the beginning of the narration. Everybody understands that he will start speaking about it now and that an example from his own life will follow.

14. *u'heeriin yum* – One of the expressions which immediately provokes fear, loathing and revulsion of the listeners. Lit. 'dead body's things', it includes all negative phenomena, bad omens linked with a dead body. Here belongs e.g. the demon, *c'odgor*, which may remain close to the dead body of a bad man, then there is the invisible *hii yum*, one of human souls, which can poison others, do harm to them, a bad dream about a dead body, furthermore there is the possibility of a *horgodson su'ns* (*su'ns horgodo-*) – a lingering soul not willing to leave, which does not want to move away from a place, one of the souls to be found close to the dead body. The soul, which dwells in the heart, should leave at once. But sometimes a soul is not aware of the fact that

16) Hangin s.v. *sez'igleh* to doubt, suspect; to distrust, to be squeamish; Lessing, s.v. *sez'igle-* to doubt, distrust, suspect.



the body is dead or it does not feel like leaving, keeps staying at home, in an auxiliary yurt or in the enclosure for cattle. Should this be the case, the soul is offered a bit of tea or people sprinkle (*caca-*) milk or vodka at it. The soul is usually hiding in a place, which is not used by people and where it can dwell without being disturbed. Such places are usually shallow pockets, which arise between the felt around the yurt and the felt forming the roof, the pockets are formed by the poles which make up the roof, they may be used as hiding places or as convenient quick depositories for newspapers, socks and the like. The soul hides in the pockets near the door of the yurt – *geriin u'udnii zavag*, which forms a part of a place called *hatavc'*. This is the space starting about 50 cm to one metre from the door of the yurt, which is used by man on the western, right side from the door to deposit the saddle, to hang ropes, the bridle and the like. The left or eastern side belongs to the woman. At shamanistic times people also deposited here the *ongons*, puppets made from felt, which represented the souls of the ancestors (*ecgiin ongon*, *ehiin ongon*) and were the family protectors. That is why it is exactly here, the *hatavc'nii zavag*, that the soul is confined, a female soul to the left, a male soul to the right. This soul is very much bound by love for the family members or for a favourite horse or cattle. Many fairy tales and stories are told about such souls, narrations about the passed away members of the family, how they continue in life, do the milking of cows, light the stove, boil water for tea, or wait for the husband to return home, etc. All Mongols believe in the lingering of souls: *Su'ns horgoddog yum gene lee*, they light a candle for it or burn juniper, or an older person or a lama performs a ceremony so that the soul may leave in peace. That is why a widowed person living alone is afraid immediately after death, sometimes he may bring a boy about ten years old from neighbouring families to help him, (sometimes it may be his mother or sister), because any strange noise may be due to the lingering soul. He would sleep holding the boy in his arms, this is a usual habit to stay with a widowed person for five six days. This is also the source of the expression *horgodoz' baigaa hu'uhed*, *eez'dee horgodson hu'uhed*, a child having a fixation on his mother. Nowadays the expression is also behind the designation of a refuge home, viz *horgodoh bair*, where people can find shelter.

As for things, *u'heeriin yum* includes the stone or wood from the place where the dead body was exposed, or the fabric in which it was wrapped. Man should neither touch any of these nor step in those places. All of them are polluted, it is no good to approach such places.

15. *zu'tgeed baigaa yum* – The phrase *-aad<sup>4</sup> baigaa yum* expresses the modality of amazement or panic.

*yum baigaa bolov uu* – A rhetorical question in the end expresses the modality of uncertainty, assumption, guesswork ...

*yum bis' baigaa daa* – A rhetorical question. The negative form of the question again expresses uncertainty, guessing.

16. *nas barsan hu'nii su'ns ergez' irz' to'rdog* – lit. 'the soul of the deceased person having returned coming is born' – the word *ire-* 'to come' automatically indicates the direction back into its own family, yurt.

17. *bi ug ni* – a modal phrase: to foreground oneself, to make oneself interesting, to draw attention to one's special feature in order to provoke the astonishment of those listening. It can sometimes also occur at the end of the sentence.

18. *nom medehgui* – lit. 'I do not know (religious) books'. It evokes the picture of mumbling the Sutras during ceremonies (Mr. Aimgaa means 'I do not read the *surgaals*'). The original meaning of the word *nom* was connected with Lamaism and it means the Buddha's teaching. 'I do not read the *surgaals*' must be understood metaphorically in the sense 'I am not educated, I have not had the present-day obligatory education'.

19. *haluun aimsgaatai bai-* – lit. 'to be with hot breath, to have hot breath'. This is a poetic expression about the time when the person is still alive. There is also an expression of the opposite – *hu'iten aimsgaa gar-* 'to give out one's cold breath', i.e. 'to die or be dead'. This is connected with the belief that man breathes in for the last time and then dies. Later, about three days later, the person who buries the dead body cannot be any person. It must be a person born in the year of the same sign, which probably guarantees protection against the final inhaled air, which comes out when the dead body is lifted. This cold breath is poisonous, women and children must not even be present in the yurt at that moment, the body is lifted exactly by a person born in the same year of the twelve-year period – *iveel z'iltei*, the others only help with the limbs.

20. *beh tu'rhsen gez' baigaa (= gez' helsen)* – lit. 'he says he applied ink'. Mr. Aimgaa used the present tense though it happened in the past. Such a substitution fulfils the function of confirming the fact that the person is sure

about what he or she says. He remembers well that his father spoke about how he made a mark with ink (scil. on the dying person). This is an old habit of recognising the reborn soul of a close relative in a newborn baby by way of a mark made on the body of the dying person.

21. *saihan / muuhai zantai baihdāa* – lit. ‘when being with a good / bad mood’ may be an important expression concerning parents. Education and discussions about important matters, narration of stories and fairy tales takes place only at a time when parents are in a good mood, we may perhaps better translate it that ‘they are well-disposed’. Children must not disturb parents on their own initiative, nor may they ask infinite numbers of questions. This is considered to be impolite.

22. *bailgu’i yaadag yum be* – lit. ‘how is it (permanently) that it is not’; the phrase implies that it is certainly so. In modern colloquial language there is a modal phrase, which expresses a clear irrevocable confirmation that something is like that, viz the pattern *V*<sup>17</sup> + *-hgu’i yaadag yum be*. E.g. *talh idehgui yaadgiim* (of course I eat bread) substitutes a longer phrase *talh idehgui bol yuu idedeg ve?* ‘If I do not eat bread, what else shall I eat?’ ‘What else do you think I should eat?’ This is what an older man said. He was present in the yurt for a part of the interview and sharply disagreed with Mr. Aimгаа.

23. *amid u’ltsen busaddāa* – lit. ‘to his others remaining alive’. The deceased person influences the others, not only his relatives, but also the whole local community, so it would be best translated ‘to his family and the people of the native region’ (*nutgiin hu’muus*). In the phrase this relation is expressed by the possessive suffix *-aa*<sup>4</sup>, without which the idea is not comprehensible. This is a typical consequence of a collective manner of thinking.

24. *zurhaid gardag* – lit. ‘it appears in astrological books’. Similarly *burhanii nomond gardag* – ‘it is written in the Buddha’s books’. The use of the word *gar-* ‘to come out, appear’ instead of *bai-* ‘to be’ implies the meaning: ‘as I have heard about it, I have not seen it, I did not read it with my own eyes’. Should he have said: *zurhaid baidag* – ‘it usually is in astrological books’, it would have meant that he has seen or read it himself, it would be a confirmation.

17) “V” is an abbreviation for a verb stem, which can be followed by various suffixes, in this case the suffix of the *nomen perfecti*.

25. *urid ih asuuz' yaridag baisan* – lit. 'formerly (people) used to ask a lot (about it) and discuss'. This concise phrase describes an important topic. The verb *asuuz'* – 'having asked', implies enquiries with older experienced people in the region, lamas or shamans (male or female). The verb phrase *yaridag baisan* – 'they used to discuss', implies that this topic was generally important and that people used to talk about it among themselves. That is why the whole phrase may best be rendered as follows: 'formerly it was very important for people (where our soul is born) and it was much discussed,' or 'formerly people used to ask a lot and spoke about where and how the deceased would be reborn.'

26. *tun alga bolc'ihloo* – lit. 'it became completely non-existent', 'it disappeared completely', 'it vanished'. This is a modal pattern expressing the implication that the speaker is sorry about it. This follows from the use of the word *tun / ton sain*, *muu baihgui + bolc'ihloo*; *tun / ton alga + bolc'ihloo*. If a synonymous *bu'r* is used, the pattern will express a neutral statement. Depending on the context, *tun* expresses regret or pride, a strong confirmation or refusal.

27. *tiim hu'nii su'ns tiim aild oc'no, tiim am bu'ltei, tiim nohoitai... aild oc'no...* – 'the soul of a certain person would be reborn in (lit. would visit) a certain family, which has particular members, a particular dog'... The soul visits the family, the word *oc'i-* 'to visit', is a metaphor for rebirth / a new birth of the soul. *Am bu'l* is an idiomatic expression about the members of a concrete family, it is composed of *am* – lit. 'mouth' (one mouth represents one person) and *bu'l* – lit. 'group' (cf. *bu'leg* 'group'), which can concretely be used in the sense of a family. The word *am* then forms a number of set expressions, e.g. *ulsiin / hotiin hu'n am*<sup>18</sup> 'the number of inhabitants of a state / town'. We know also a similarly formed phrase *ger bu'l* – lit. 'the yurt / home and group', which means 'the family', but it is an official style, written language.

*Tiim am bu'ltei* – lit. 'with such mouths of the family' implies exact data about the family – with an exact number of children or older people, how old or young the head of the family is and the like.

18) The *am* – 'mouth' is frequently used for a human unit, i.e. 'a boarder', 'a diner' also in many other Far Eastern cultures (Chinese, Korean and Japanese).

– *Terniig sonsohod l ter su'ns to'rno gesen ailiin zarim baidal, manaihtai taaraad baih z'is'eetei. Tegz' sanagdahlaar l sez'iglez' baigaa yum bolov uu daa. Ter sanaagaar l tegz' haayaa – haayaa yuu yaah s'ig boldog yum (28).*

– *Bi eez'ees hoyuulaa (29) bailaa. Namaig 30 garui nastai baihad ah nas barsan. 'C'inihi ahiin su'ns hoit talaas c'amd irz' magadgu'i' gez' neg lam hu'n helz' baisan. Tegehlee bi ceerlehgui yuu. Bi tegehede, ahiigaa o'ngorc'ihson hoino ih zu'udeldeg baisan. Bid eez'ees hoyuulhnaa baisan yum bolohoor ahiigaa ih boddog baisan baih. Tegeed setgeld neg togtc'ihlooroo, zu'ud gedeg c'ini setgel sanaa dagaz' irdeg yum bolov uu daa gez' bodogdood baidag yum.*

*A. : – Bi o'ngorson so'no, mo'ngon cagaan o'ngotei mongol gutal zu'udellee. Ter yamar uc'irtai ve? Ta tailbarlaz' o'oghui yuu?*

– *Aa ter c' sain yor bailgu'i yaahav. Beelii, gutal ene teriig heerees olohod ho'gs'c'uul ceerledeggui l dee. Gutal, beelii, hazaar (30) ene ter – sain yoriin zu'ud. C'o'dor (30) l avc' boldoggu'i yum genelee. Malgai bas tusgu'i. Doos'oo harsan amtai (30).*

– *Muu yort zu'ud zu'udelbel lamd oc'ih heregtei.*

– For example when I hear this, then some of the features of the family, into which the soul is to be reborn, exactly agree with my family. And I start thinking in this way, I am troubled by the thought (lit. I suspect) that this would be possible. And then under the influence of this thought it sometimes occurs to me **that it has already really happened (28).**

– Our mother had only **the two of us (29)** (lit. from our mother we were two). When I was about 30 years old, my elder brother died. Then one Lama said that his soul would come to me from the northern direction. I did not agree with that (it was unpleasant). At that time, after my brother had died (lit. passed), I was full of dread about him. Perhaps because there were only the two of us, I missed him a lot (lit. I would keep thinking about him). And so I think that dreams probably follow thoughts according to the importance of what a man is experiencing.

*Q.: Last night I had a dream about a shining white Mongolian boot. Is it a good or a bad omen?*

– Well of course, a good omen. Gloves, boots and the like, if you find them in the steppe, old people do not prohibit taking them. About **boots, gloves, a bridle (30)** and the like – that is a favourable dream (lit. dream of a good omen). But a **c'o'dor (30)** (hobbles for horses, to bind three of a horse's legs so that it cannot run away), I used to hear, must not be taken. A cap is not

favourable either. **Its opening goes downward (30)** (lit. its mouth looks downward).

– If you dream a dream of a bad omen, it is necessary to visit a Lama.

COMMENT:

**28. *yuu yaah s'ig boldog*** – lit. 'to do how, to do what how, how to become'. This phrase gives the very broad substitute expression *yuu yaah* <sup>19</sup> an even broader sphere of possible interpretation, which can be discovered only in the context of speech. Here the speaker carefully discloses the fact that the data about a soul being reborn in his family (expressed by *yuu yaah*), were sometimes true, that he already has experience with it. Mr. Aimgaa describes his hesitating reflection of these things and in the end clearly indicates that this is what happens, ultimately one cannot but believe. The modality of the phrase *s'ig boldog* corresponds to the English expression 'there must be something in it'.

**29. *bi eez'ees gancaaraa / hoyuulaa / do'rvuulee (baina)*** – lit. 'I from mother alone / being two /being four (are)'. In colloquial language this is a common pattern describing the number of brothers and sisters.

**30. *doos'oo / dees'ee harsan amtai yum*** – lit. 'downwards / upwards looking mouth (having) thing'. The first one implies all things or containers, whose opening is turned downwards (lit. 'whose mouth looks downwards'). From them everything falls down, it is an unfavourable direction linked with loss, they are therefore linked with death, illness, suffering (*malgai* 'hat, cap', *ayaga* 'cup' etc. turned by the bottom upwards). On the other hand everything turned upwards by its opening (*malgai* 'hat, cap', *ayaga* 'cup' etc. turned by the mouth upwards, *beelii* 'gloves', *gutal* 'shoes' and the like), in the good vertical direction, is open towards us, is considered to be favourable, because something can be put into it – a present, food, money and the like (see also Oberfalzerová, 2005, p. 44). During the celebration of the *Cagaan sar* young people greet ceremoniously the elderly people and they have to present them with something considered to be a good omen, something bringing prosperity. One definitely good present handed over is a pair of socks, because their opening is turned upwards. A good present for close relatives might also be

19) For more detail on substitute expressions see Oberfalzerová 2006, pp.133–135.



trousers and shoes, a bag, a bottle of vodka, a vase and the like. It is also very easy for a nomad to decipher his own omens in such dreams, where generally accepted symbols of good and bad omens appear, and he is able to do so without anybody else's help. For example, when the child goes to school for the first time and the parents dream about a bowl, they would explain very clearly and simply that the child would obtain knowledge up to the brim, and the like.

Mr. Aimgaa then specifies what is considered to be a good omen:

*hazaar* – 'a bridle'. It is necessary to lead a horse, to travel, one must be able to travel, be mobile, therefore able to reach the goal, to reach a place, to accomplish something. All the other equipment of the horse necessary for a ride is thus also considered to be a good omen – *emeel* 'the saddle', *tas'uur* 'the whip', *do'roo* 'the stirrup', *z'oloo* 'the rein', *culbuur* 'the thong for leading a horse' (it is not used in the west, the horse is led directly by the bridle). Consequently everything connected with a ride, movement forwards or nomadising, travelling, is logically considered to be a good omen – a vehicle, a bicycle, a car, a motorcycle and the like. All ropes (*oosor*) are also a good omen for a journey – a symbol of packing and attaching things to the horse.

*C'odor* (*tusaa* – hobbles for the front feet, and *o'rool* – hobbles for the legs of only one side of the horse, it is longer) are leather or felt straps for binding three legs of the horse (two front feet and one hind foot), so that it may graze, but cannot run away. This is a bad omen, it must not be lifted from the ground if you find it, neither is it good if it appears in a dream. It is a symbol of a hindrance, prohibition, impediment to movement, prevention of movement forwards, i.e. figuratively it implies suffering, loss of freedom, obstruction of an activity, failure. Analogically this also concerns human manacles (*gav*), chains and straps (*genz'i*), wooden instruments of torture (*do'ngo*), which made head and leg movement impossible. When the import of jewellery and chains started in the 1960s, the older generation took offence, because it was a bad omen, binding something round the neck symbolised death by hanging. Today this symbol has been forgotten, but older people would not allow taking a strap found in the steppe. Even young people would link it with a coincidental illness, rashes and the like. Such symbols belong to bad dreams.

Similarly a knife would not be raised from the ground, it is a symbol of killing, cutting. Further symbolism probably originates in specific religious traditions, which cannot be identified. What is certain is the preservation of the idea of human pollution and pollution of things, which was transformed and adapted by the popular tradition. There is an expression *busad hunii burtag* / *busdiin burtag s'ingesen ed* 'a thing soaked / permeated by other people's human dirt', understood as both mental and physical dirt. Even though



such a thing may be cleaned, the absorbed dirt cannot be removed, e.g. with worn out clothes, a comb or a thing used by somebody for a long time. This concerns especially things made from wood or textile, not the products from precious stones and metals, where dirt cannot permeate and which themselves have a purifying power. This includes bags, purses, sacks, knives, chopsticks, bowls, and the like.

Generally it can be said that good and bad omens are linked with the thinking of nomads, they are linked with movement and direction, which is of principal importance for them. It is important to be mobile. The direction upwards implies affluence, presents, livelihood. The direction downwards implies losses. Fire and matches are also a good omen, because the movement of the flame is directed upwards. Other habits connected with fire, the purifying power, the existence of a god of fire and destruction linked with him are probably influenced by old Iranian Zoroastrianism.

– *Hii yumnaas aih* (31) *gez' baidag yum. Yavuuliin ta nar baitugai, oron nutag-taa baigaa bid nar, hii yumnaas aic'ihdag yum s'u'u dee. Aisan tuhai yariz' bolno. Aihad hecuu baidag yum. Hu'niig aisan deer ni ailgaz' su'rz'ignez' (32) bolohgu'i s'u'u dee. Hu'n c'ini ulam aic'ihna s'u'u dee. Taivan, nam gu'm baih heregtei. Z'isee ni zarim hu'n muu zu'udnii tuhai: 'Tiim yum c'ini ergez' ireh gez' baigaa yum baina. Ter c'ini tegh gez' baigaa yum baina' geh met su'rz'ignedeg.*

A.: – *Lam l tegdeg biz dee?*

– *U'gui ee, hed gurban caas olc'ih sanaatai zarim hu'muus c' bas tegdeg. Lam-iin uhaan gedeg c' ondoo l doo.*

– *Hairtai mori, s'ariig orhiod yavc'ihad o'noohiigoo tergend oruulaad tereg duuren gis'uu ac'c'ihsan, nuruu u'urc'ihsen, ho'tlood yavz' baina gez' zu'udelz' l baisan.*

– *Avgai hu'uhdiig zu'udeldeg. (avgai no'hor hoyor) Caas' naas' yavah geed c' baih s'ig, neg ni uurlaad c' baih s'ig, neg ni ir! geed c' baih s'ig – tiim zu'udnuud bii l dee.*

– There is fear of the airy creature (lit. thing). Not only you who travel, but also we who are here at home, are very much afraid of invisible things. I can tell you about how I was afraid (later he tells us his bad dream and about his fear). When a person is afraid, it is very difficult. Surely human fear should



not be worsened by scaring and false exaggeration. Then the person is even more afraid. It is necessary to be quiet, at peace. For example some people exaggerate a bad dream and scare you by such sayings: 'Somebody (here an inimical deceased person or animal is meant) is about to return to you (for the purpose of doing harm or for the purpose of reprisal, debt). A certain person is about to do a certain thing to you.' 'The negative power of a certain person (or *cò'tgor*) infiltrated, settled in that thing of yours.' And so forth.

*Q.: This is sometimes done by present-day Lamas, is it not?*

– Not at all, this is done by some people, who want to obtain (lit. find) a little money (lit. a few papers). Surely the abilities of Lamas are completely different.

– When I was travelling I left my beloved horse and ox /mule/ at home. I used to have dreams about my hitching him to a wagon full of firewood and walking in front of him calmly and with pride, holding the rein in my hands behind my back.

– I often used to dream about my wife (lit. wife and children). I dreamed that we were driving somewhere and then returning, that one of us was furious and the other was calling him back and the like.

#### COMMENT:

31. *hii yumnaas ai*- 'to be afraid of an airy thing', this is an invisible entity (but also empty, emptiness, having nothing inside, void, non-body), which has an invisible body and strength, it is a monster, which can have various bodily forms, quickly moves from one place to another and does harm to people, sometime it can be a messenger of a certain *ezen* or *lus savdag*. This negative strength can stick to things, and the expression *s'ugle*-<sup>20</sup> – a Tibetan word meaning 'to be found inside' became a metaphor for such sticking. It is a much stronger expression than *s'inge*- 'to dissolve, to be absorbed into something' (see comment 30) and is used only in the negative sense of the word. E.g. if greed, avarice, miserliness (or *dev*; cf. Luvsandorji 2002, p. 115), also *gai zovlon* suffering, sorrow) is accumulated, the demon is attracted. E.g. *arhinii* / *mo'ngonii* / *hormoin don*<sup>21</sup> *s'uglesen hu'n* 'a man possessed by

20) See also Oberfalzerová, 2005, p. 35. The etymology of the word and its metaphorical meaning (a broken metaphor) is described in the article about the use of Tibetan words in present-day Mongolian by J. Luvsandorji (2002, p. 121).

21) The Tibetan word *don* means figuratively 'addiction to a negative thing, surrendering to something'. Cf. Luvsandorji 2002, p. 114.

the demon of vodka / money / promiscuity'; *ad zedger / hii yum / dev s'u'gleh* ('possession by the demon / airy thing / devil'), all these are living entities, which concentrate somewhere, for example in alcohol; *o'vc'in zovlon s'ingesen / s'uglesen ed* 'a thing permeated by ill-luck, a thing in which misery and suffering is accumulated'; *busad hu'nii buzar s'u'glesen huvcas* 'clothes in which a negative entity dwells based on the dirt of a strange person'. But it can also be used in the positive sense: *buyan s'ingesen ho'brog, erhi* 'snuff bottle, rosary permeated by merit'. Both the good and bad omen can stick. All these expressions are a result of mixing the influences of many religions, which is defined by the basic axis of a deeply rooted faith in god and bad omens, including also objects. The thing polluted in this way is called *ih gai duudaz' baigaa ed / sam* 'a thing / a comb, which attracts great worries' or *gai zovlon / o'vc'in / u'hel hagacal duudsan huuc'in huvcas* 'old clothes, which attracts suffering / illness / death'. It is because of this faith that shops with second-hand goods were formerly in no way popular. In the first place, everybody loathed these things, before the information spread that they had been thoroughly cleaned, that they had been exposed to careful chemical cleaning and that nothing sticks to them, and in the second place they were from the so-called 'West'.

32. *hu'niig aisan deer ni ailga* – lit. 'to scare a man on being afraid', implies making use of the fact that man is afraid and adding a bit fear on top of that. *V + -san deer ni + V* – is a pattern, which expresses exaggeration, intensification of the action. Another example: *uusan deer ni uulgasan* '(I) have made (him) drink on (top of) what he drank'; *sursan deer ni surga* – 'to make s.b. learn additionally to what he has (already) learnt' and the like.

A.: – *Tanii hu'uhed, muu yoriin zu'ud zu'udelbel ta tedend yuu heleh ve?*  
– *Za yaahav, caana c'ini Bayangoliin hos'uund lam baiz' baigaa. Teruugeer oc'ood tarniduulc'ih gez' helne dee. Herev c'i itgehgui baigaa bol yaahav – yaa-hav geh biz.*

A.: – *Eldev sonin du'rs, u'zegdel, zu'ud ?*  
– *Manai Arbulag sumand 'Tavag' gedeg buuz' gene. Neg hu'uhen heer yavz' baigaad terniig avc' bucaaz' s'idez' gene. Tegeed ter hu'uhen sarhtai bolz' aim-giin to'vd irz' gene' gez' yaridag baisan. Bi ter u'yed terniig sonsood 'ter tavag minii deerees buugaad ireesei. Ter tavagnaas neg ulaan z'ims o'gc' baina gene. Terniig avaad amsc' dolooz' u'zeh yumsan' gez' hu'sez' baisan. Terniig bi ih bod-*

son baih. Tegtél, ter tavgiin tuhai medeenees ih hoino: 'ulaan s'argal o'ngotei yum tengereer nisc' ireed minii haz'uud buuz' baina' gez' zu'udend orson. Ter delbeger s'ar tavag s'ig yuman dotor neg gozgor **har hu'n** (33) nad ruu harz', namaig naasaa gez' duudaad yoslood baisan' – iim zu'ud baisan.

A.: – Ene zu'udnees yamar neg sain, muu yum boloogu'i yuu?

– Yuu c' boloogu'i. Zu'udleed l o'ngorson.

– Harin **sez'iglesnees bolson** (34) uu?, hoino neg minii sanaanaas gardaggu'i yum aa: **Manai end** (36) neg zun, ailiin **togoonii hu'n o'ngorson** (36) yum daa. Tu'nii **tavisan gazriin** (36) orc'im bi **honi hariulz'** (36) yavaad hevtéz' baigaad unt'ihaz'. Tegtél zu'udend no'goo ehner eruul saruul irz', **s'aazand** (36) nadad cai hiiz' o'good, bi uugaad baidag. Bi 'bolno' geed baihad no'gooh c'ini nadad caig dahin dahin hiiz' o'good, namaig 'uu uu c'il' geed baisan. Tegeed bus'uuhan gertee irzène zu'udiig yariad, bi sez'iglesen baih, margaas' ni biye o'vdoz', haniad hu'reed nam hevtéz' avsan. Hoyor c'odor mal ruugaa yavz' cadaagu'i. Gertee hevtéh dur hu'reed boldoggu'i. Ternees hois' l bi, nas barsan hu'nii tuhai bodoh ene ter bolohod amandaa yum uns'iz' baidag bolson.

– Haluun zun, ceceg navc' delgersen baihad **haniad hureh gez' yuu baih ve!** (37) – **sez'iglesnees l bolson** (34) gez' bi boddog yum. Ug ni terniig ors'uulsan gazriin yag derged c' bis', neeled hol hevtsen yum. Ter neg muuhai gunigt zu'ud l minii sanaanaas gardaggu'i yum daa.

– Tegeed l bi boddog yum: Yumiig **su'z'igleh, sez'igleh** (34, 35) hoyor c'ini uc'irtai l yum baina daa gez'. Minii ene yavdal ors'uulgiin gazraas **sez'iglesnees bolson baihgu'i yuu** (34)! **Sez'geer o'vdoz', suz'geer edgedeg** (34) gedeg tun mergen u'g baidag.

– Ter muuhai zu'ud zu'udleed serehed evgui baisan. S'uud l gertee hariya gez' bodoz' baisan. Burhan ruugaa harsaar **zoligu'i orz' irz'** (38) baiz' bilee bi! **Burhan maani l harah baigaa gez'** (39)! **Baidgaaraa** (40) ainsnii s'inz' biz dee.

A.: – Har darz' zu'udlehiig hariulah uu?

– Medehgui. Terniig yostoi medehgui. **Uns'laga urilgiig** (41) ni medehgui. Minii neg naiz lam: 'ho'losh, har darz' zu'udleh, aih ic'ih, uurlah zereg olon yum – bu'gd o'or o'oriin uns'lagatai baidag yum' gedeg yum baina lee, hen medeh ve!

A.: – Ho'loshiig zasah yum baina uu?

– Tiim yum baidag: Hu'uhed muuhed, nyalh hu'uhed ene ter c'ini gert ni neg hu'n irsnii daraa uilaad bolohoo baic'ihlaar 'ene zoligoos l bollool' geed, no'goo hu'nee nerleed, tegeed neg yaaz' uzeh yum c' bii l dee: To'mor halbagiig



*gald ulaitgaz' baigaad l deer ni tos hiiz', ter tos ruu heseg tugalga hiideg. Tugalga tend hailna. Ter halbaganaas tosiig avahad hailsan tugalga meltegnen u'ldene. Tu'uniig ayagatai huiten us ruu hiine. Tegehed no'goo tugalga hatu-uraad eldev yanziin durstei yum bolno. Ter du'rsiig hu'muus uzecgeez' 'sayahan tanaid (manaid) ireed yavsan ter zoligtoi to'stei baina. Hu'uhed uilah ni ternees bolloo' geed no'goo tugalgiig avc', ayagatai us ruu har nu'urs hiiz', usiig nar buruu gurav erguulz' no'goo yavsan hu'nii hoinoos cacdag. Ingez' ho'lsson hu'uhdiig argaldag yum.*

A.: – Herev ta har darz' zu'udelbel bas tegz' argaluulz' bolno biz ?

– U'gui tegeed heneeree hiilgeh bilee? Avgaigaaraa hiilgeh uu? O'roo hiih uu?! Ugaasaa c' **'emc' erdemtei baigaad o'oriigoo emc'ildeggiui, hutga irtei baigaad is'indee hereggiui'** gez' uridnii u'gtei s'u'u dee. 'Za, Burhan s'uteen mini harz' baigaa baih!' geed ene o'odoo neg harc'ihna daa. Bi busad hu'n amitniig zalz' avc'rah yum baihgu'i.

– Manai ehneriin eruul mend genet muudaad, unttaggu'i bolood, galzuu hu'ntei neg 2–3 z'il, yalanguyaa su'uliin neg z'il hagas zudersen dee. Ternees hois', s'utleg gedeg c'ini hu'nd heregtei yum uu daa gez' bodoh bolson.

A.: – Tanii ehneriin zu'ud, eruul hu'nii zu'udnees o'or baisan uu?

– Za yo'r ni zu'ud gehed c' hecuu. Demii l dongosood baidag yum: 'Za, yo'rtonc horvoo so'noh gez' baina, yaana daa!' c' geh s'ig.... Tegeed neg z'il garan hecuu baisan. Bid hoyor horin heden nasandaa ger bu'l bolz', negdliin mal harz' am-idarsan. Hoyor hu'uhed to'rson. Goridomhoi hu'n baisiim daa, ho'orhii. Ternii **goridoog gargah (42)** geel nagac egc' maani dombon saahar booz' irdeg baiz' bilee.

Q.: – *If your child had a dream with a bad omen, what would you tell him?*

– Well, I would say straightaway: That does not matter, not far away from you at the foot of the mountains near the Bayangol river lives a lama. Go to see him and ask him to read a mantra. If you do not believe in that, it does not matter, does it?

Q.: – *Do you sometimes dream about strange things or beings?*

– People used to say that in our Arbulag sum there landed a 'saucer'. And a girl who was just going in the steppe there is said to have picked it up and thrown it back. And people used to say that then the girl was wounded and came to the aymag centre (hospital). When I heard about this, I thought I would like the saucer to land near me (lit. 'from top of me'). They also said



that the saucer gave little red fruit (to people). I wished I could taste it. I may have desired it a lot (lit. 'I thought a lot'). Then quite some time after the news about the saucer I dreamed that a red-and-yellow thing was flying in the sky and landed next to me. Inside this calyx-shaped thing<sup>22</sup> (image: wide above, narrow below, dish-shaped) resembling a yellow plate a **ghastly spindly man** (33) was looking at me (image: slender, not clearly visible, dish-shaped) with strange eyes (image: to have deep-set, terrifying, strange eyes), who beckoned and called to me to come inside. That was what the dream was like.

*Q.: – And did the dream bring something good or bad?*

– Nothing happened. I just had such a dream and that was it.

– But then something happened to me I will never forget, it may have been **because I was quite afraid** (34)?

– Once in summer a woman from our **neighborhood** (36) **died** (36). Once when I was **grazing the sheep** (36) not far away from the place **where she was buried** (36), I took a rest and just for a short time fell asleep. Right at this moment I had a dream about this dead woman. She is totally healthy, shining in beauty, and she is pouring tea for me into the **Chinese bowl** (36) and serving it to me and I keep on drinking it. 'It's enough,' I am telling her. But she keeps on pouring the tea and orders me to drink it. When I woke up from this terrible and tragic dream, I felt troubled. I immediately wanted to go back. I desperately stared at the altar and hoped the Deity was with me. You can guess from that how terribly scared I was, can't you? The following day I got sick. My body hurt and I was just lying in bed and couldn't move. Probably for two days I wasn't able to look after the cattle. I only wanted to be in bed. Since then, when thinking about a dead person, I always say a prayer.

– Yet in a hot summer, when everything is green and blossoming, **you don't fall ill with the flu, do you!** (37) I think that it could be **from nothing else but fear of the bad omen** (34). Actually I did not lie down immediately near the place, where she was placed, it was quite a bit away from it. Thus I cannot forget about that bad and depressing dream. Then I kept thinking about the fact that it is important for a man **to believe something and to stand in terror of something** (34, 35). **And what happened to me was exactly because I was so terrified** (34) by that place, where she was buried, right? The words **'You will fall ill from horror, your faith will heal you'** (34) are very wise.

– When I woke up from the bad dream, I felt uneasy. I could not think about anything else but going home immediately. **Like a madman I entered**

22) For more detail on 'du'rsleh u'g' see Oberfalzerova 2006, pp. 48–50.



(38) the yurt and could not move my eyes away from the altar (lit. looking at the deity) (Mr. Aimgaa forced himself into an unnatural smile). **My (lit. our) deity may protect me (39)!** All of this is only the symptom of a **deadly (40)** fear, is it not?

Q.: – *When you suffer from a nightmare (lit. As the nightmare comes back), do you do anything against it?*

– I do not know, I do not know at all. I am not able to read the prayers to them (lit. **the reading and summoning (41)**). A lama friend of mine usually says that there are various readings, which are different for a child under a spell, (there is) another one for difficult dreams, another one against horror, another one against rage, and many others, they say that everything has its own prayer (lit. reading), who knows!

Q.: – *How is a child under spell cured?*

– There may be such a thing. When a child, a very little child, a baby, and so on starts to cry terribly and does not stop when the *ger* is visited by some person (or after his departure), then they say: ‘That comes from a demon!’ and that person is named and then this is done: an iron ladle is put into the fire until it heats up. Butter is then put into the ladle and a piece of lead into the butter. The lead melts there. And all that is left after the butter is removed, is the melted lead. This is put into a bowl with cold water. When this is done, the lead becomes solid again and creates various shapes. People look at these shapes and one of them says: ‘It is similar to the one who has recently visited you. It is because of him that the child is crying.’ The lead is taken out, ashes are put into the water in the bowl, the water is moved three times in circles against the movement of the sun and sprinkled in the direction where the person has left. This is how a bewitched (roughly meaning: poisoned by the foot of the stranger; see Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 85–86) child is saved.

Q.: – *If you dream a difficult dream, surely someone can do something about it?*

– Weeell, whom do you think I should ask to do it (lit. through whom to do it)? Perhaps my wife? Or myself? (he is ironical) After all there are the old wise words: ‘**Even though the doctor may be learned, he cannot heal himself; even though a knife is sharp, it cannot amend its handle!**’ is that not so? Thus I only think that my deity protects me and look in that direction (nodding his head towards the altar in the *hoimor*), and that’s all (he said with irony in his voice). I do not invite strangers here (for help).





– The health of my wife (lit. our wife) suddenly deteriorated and she could not sleep, thus I suffered two three years, especially the last year and a half, with a mad person. Then I started to think that faith is necessary for man.

Q.: – *And the dreams of your wife differed from the dreams of normal people?*

– It is difficult to call it dreams. She used to talk gibberish about all sorts of nonsense: ‘Our world stands before destruction! What will come now!’ and the like... Thus it was difficult for me for more than a year. We started to live together when we were just a little over twenty, we lived by taking care of the co-operative’s cattle. We had (lit. gave birth to) two children. Poor thing, she kept expecting something from people. And in order **to remedy (lit. to drive out) her disappointment (42)**, her aunt came to see us all of a sudden with a packed sugar loaf.

#### COMMENT:

33. *har hu’n* – an important phrase connected with nomadic culture. In the modern understanding this can be literally translated as ‘black man’, but nobody perceives it in this sense. Formerly the word *har* meant ‘clean, without any admixture’, i.e. figuratively a ‘clean’ man, but not perceived in terms of our metaphorical vision as ‘just, innocent’, but as a man without admixture in a completely different sense – i.e. not a shaman, not a Lama, not a ruler, but an ordinary man, a citizen. From that arose further metaphors: *har hu’n* is a man who is able to kill cattle (women hardly do it, perhaps only in Gobi they were forced to by the fact that there were few men); thus the sentence *har hu’niig duudye!* ‘let us call a black / different man!’ is uttered by a Lama or a nobleman, who does not have this skill. The other figurative meaning is ‘husband’, if it appears in a phrase like: *minii egc’iin har hu’n* – lit. ‘my elder sister’s black / ordinary man’, which figuratively refers to her husband. There is an expression *har yaria* – lit. ‘black (unmixed) speech’, which designates popular speech, colloquial Mongolian, not mixed with the written language. The expression *har yum* – lit. ‘unmixed / black thing’ can nowadays be a pejorative reference to the husband, e.g. it can be said in a contemptuous manner: *bi no’goo har yumnaasaa salz’ amarlaa* ‘I am relieved after having divorced that black thing (i.e. husband)’. Our field work reveals the use of these various metaphors in very clear semantic shades, the original meaning of the word *har* ‘unmixed, clean’ is preserved in phrases like *har arhi / us* ‘clean vodka / water’ or *har hu’u* ‘a young man who has not had a woman, a virgin’. If the word *har* occurs before the word *mod* ‘a tree’, it means ‘without limits, nothing

but trees', i.e. 'forest'.<sup>23</sup> Today it is also a popular designation of the larch, the most frequent vegetation in Mongolia, for which there is also another term used in the written language, viz *s'ines*. The third meaning of the phrase *har hu'n* is 'unknown, strange man' as in the above discussion.

34. *sez'iglesnees bolson* – lit. 'arising from being afraid, from the feeling of terror'. This is a typical pattern *V+ -snaas bolo-*, expressing the cause of some action, an explanation. E.g. *airag uusnaas bolood tolgoi o'vdloo* 'I have a headache, because I drank kumiss'; *ter hu'ntei uulzsnaas bolz' noir hu'rsengui* 'I could not fall asleep because of having met that person' and the like. It answers the question *yunaas bolson be?* 'What did it arise from? Because of what did it happen?' The pattern is very frequently used in colloquial Mongolian. Later Mr. Aimgaa also says: *Minii ene yavdal ors'uulgiin gazraas sez'iglesnees bolson baihu'i yuu!* 'And what happened to me was exactly because I was so terrified by that place, where she was buried, right?'

*Sez'igle-* is a word which is culturally strictly conditioned. It is linked with the system of good and bad omens, and therefore it is difficult to translate into other languages. It expresses the feeling of aversion, terror, that something is a bad omen for an individual, that in a specific thing, in a specific place or man there is a *hii yum* (see above). It is important to realise that if a man loathes something and is afraid of a negative energy, he anticipates it, and paradoxically, it can approach him, and this has always a concrete negative effect. The terror of a bad omen opens the door to it, opens the door to negative forces. E.g. there is a piece of advice: *Ayagnaas sez'iglevel uruul u'lhiirdeg* 'If you loathe the cup after somebody, the next day you will have herpes.' This is the pattern *tegvel tegdeg* 'if you do thus, this will happen (to you)'. The following set phrase, which has a strong educational impact and is of essential importance for an individual, is generally known: *Hu'nees bitgii sez'iglez' baigaarai!* 'Do not loathe / do not fear strangers!' This warning draws attention to the fact that if we expect pollution in another man, something will certainly happen to us! Such warnings are uttered by parents, teachers or elderly people and are accepted as a law. This is the source of the further derived meanings,<sup>24</sup> which are close to these – besides 'loathing and fearing' there is another close meaning 'to mistrust, doubt and suspect'. Mr. Aimgaa

23) According to J. Luvsandorji the word *Karakum* does not mean Black Sand, but sand unmixed with earth and plants, without limit, nothing but sand, and *Karateñiz*, which is incorrectly translated as 'Black Sea', again means 'endless sea, nothing but sea'.

24) Great dictionaries give only these meanings, e.g. F. D. Lessing, p. 692 (to doubt, to distrust, to suspect), Hangin s.v. (to doubt, suspect; to distrust, to be squeamish).

then utters a proverb, *zu'ir u'g*, which confirms the whole explanation: *Sez'geer o'vdoz', suz'geer edgedeg*. 'You will fall ill from horror, your faith will heal you.' We have one parallel in European languages for the second part, cf. Czech *víra tvá tě uzdraví* 'your faith will cure you', and the Biblical saying 'Your faith has cured you' (cf. Luke 18:42). But to my knowledge, the first part is hardly represented in European popular sayings, and not so clearly. Perhaps the Czech phrase *oněmět hrůzou* 'to be struck dumb by horror' reflects one aspect of it, but it does not imply falling ill. But Western psychotherapy works with the idea that fear can cause illness, which is close to the above popular wisdom of Mongolian nomads.

35. *su'z'igle-* – 'to have faith', in colloquial language it has a stronger meaning – 'to have a strong faith, to deify something, to believe that it is your personal protector' (in a deity *burhand*, in the teaching *nomond*, in a medication *emend*, and the like).

36. *manai end, togoonii hu'n, o'ngorson, tavisan gazar, honi hariula-* – The language Mr. Aimгаа uses is poetical and rich in metaphors. In one sentence he used five of them: *togoonii hu'n* lit. 'person of the kettle, of the pot', figuratively 'housewife, partner', sometimes 'wife'; *o'ngorson* lit. 'passed', figuratively 'passed away, dead'; *tavisan gazar* lit. 'place where put', figuratively 'burial place'; *honi hariulz'* lit. 'to return sheep', figuratively 'to graze sheep'; *šaazan* lit. 'china' (< Chin. *ch'a-chung* 'porcelain, china'), figuratively 'tea-cup, bowl'.<sup>25</sup>

37. *haniad hureh gez' yuu baih ve* – lit. 'what is it falling ill with 'flu'; you don't fall ill with flu, do you! The pattern expresses an unequivocal denial of the action, it is not possible that it happens, a modality of a sharp and complete denial.

38. *zoligu'i orz' ire-* – 'to come scared to death'. This word is difficult to decipher etymologically, it is an attribute of negativeness, it can be replaced by the synonym *gorigui*. In colloquial speech it is used in connection with words like *ai-* (to be terribly afraid), *uurla-* (to be terribly enraged), *bai-* (to be scared to death), *hara-* (to look askance), *suu-* (to sit restlessly), *zagna-* (to swear like a trooper), etc. It can also be used in a positive sense, then it means 'much, to a great extent': *zoligui inee-* 'to laugh terribly, strangely, aloud'; *zoligui calin* 'huge amount of money, great salary'. If it is used about a person, it is always

25) All the metaphors and many others are explained in detail in Oberfalzerová 2006.



negative: *zoligui hu'n* 'a very bad man, rascal'; in a very negative sense about a child: *gorigui huuhed* 'guttersnipe'.

39. *burhan maani hara-* – lit. 'our deity is looking (at us)' figuratively means that our god protects us (the neutral verb *hamgaala-* 'to protect' is not used with a deity). In ancient times the word 'to look' probably implied also protection, nowadays this meaning is preserved only in some phrases, e.g. *hu'uhed hara- / haragc'* – 'to look after a child' / child minder'; *harz' handa-* / *u'z-* lit. 'to have a look and turn towards / to have a look and see' – means 'to help, save, protect'.

40. *baidgaaraa* – lit. 'by one's habitual being, figuratively 'for all one is worth, very intensively'. A very interesting word, it is an abbreviation for *baidag hemžeegeeree*, *čadlaaraa*, *hucēeree* 'by the existing measure, ability, force'. It occurs before words expressing emotions: *uurla-* 'to rage', *inee-* 'to laugh', *ai-* 'to be afraid', *bayarla-* 'to rejoice', but also with movement or sounds caused by emotions: *devhece-* 'to jump about, prance', *u'rc'ii-* 'to frown', (*amaa*) *baidgaar ni zarvailga-* (a bit pejorative) 'to grimace, make faces', *has'gira-* 'to exclaim'. This word can be used with other similar words, but a foreigner should take care, because it cannot be analogically used e.g. with *uila-* 'to weep', but it can be used with *orilo-* / *barhira-* / *čarla-* 'to wail aloud, to weep / to moan aloud / to scream, moan in a high pitch'. It is not used with *s gomdo-* (to take offence), *huše-* (to wish, desire), *zovoo-* (to suffer), *gunigla-* (to be sad), *uitgarla-* (to be desperate). There is one more pattern where it is used, viz *baidgaaraa bai-* 'to be the same, without change'.

41. *uns'laga urilga* – lit. 'reading and invitation'; it is a set expression for ritual recitation. The negative force causing bad dreams must be invited and consoled by entertaining it (*Hangai delhiig bayasga-* / *bayarluula-*), making it happy by an offering, praise, scent of juniper twigs, sprinkling milk and the like. This force is sent by angry *luses*, *savdags*, *ezens*<sup>26</sup> as a punishment for incorrect behaviour. The original shamanistic faith was accepted by the very practical lamaism, which increased the number of the poems and *magtaals* for the individual rulers of various places.

42. *gorido-* – 'to wheedle tacitly, to make hungry looks, to expect', but only about eatables. Girls are often warned: *Hu'nees bitgii goridoz' baigaarai, hunees*

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



*goridvol meem havdadag*. ‘Do not expect anything from a specific individual. If you expect something or dream that that you get something from a specific individual (and then do not get it) your breast will be swollen.’ This concerns only women who have just given birth and who breast-feed. There is a common Mongolian habit of bringing something to taste, to offer something tasty to a fresh mother (*eez’ii ni gar deer tavih yum beltge-*). People used to prepare for it many months ahead, they would keep something tasty, chocolate, sweets and the like. It was especially old ladies who were able to keep such delicacies for a special occasion for a very long time. It was at this time, if the new mother desired something from a specific individual and did not get it, that her breasts became swollen. This disappointed desiring mind must then be purified, the respective person must be told about it or a word to that effect must be sent to him or her, the person has to come again with a useless thing packed (e.g. little coals from wood or droppings). When the new mother unpacks it, she is disappointed and exactly at this moment the person must present her with the really desired delicacy. The next day or within a few days the swelling will disappear. There is a phrase *goridoog garga-* ‘to expel a disappointed expectation’.

## Conclusion

The subject of this paper is an interview with 58 year old herder Mr. Aimгаа, a Hotgoit from Ho’vsgol aymag, who, though he has only three years of basic education, speaks in a very poetic and rich language. He was carefully reflecting on the topic and his manner of thinking, openness and admirable ability of expression resulted in a very good interview allowing close insight into a typical life experience of a nomad. By his hard work and wisdom Mr. Aimгаа reached a position of respect in his region, people perceive in him a strong and prominent personality and they come to discuss their problems with him. We have visited Mr. Aimгаа three times in two successive years. This was our first interview, which concentrated exclusively on the subject of dreams. In our second interview we let him speak about his own life and events which he remembered from the region. The later material, however, has not yet been processed.

As for the manner of presentation I considered it important to offer the interview as it was developing, so that the reader’s attention may be held as ours was or that he might experience the same feeling of uncertainty without, however, being exposed to the hardships of field work. The commentaries

provide the cultural context to select expressions and should help provide a better understanding of the communication behaviour and offer some concrete lexicographical information.<sup>27</sup>

Human experience, no matter how culturally different, should ultimately make us think about what we all have in common and that many misunderstandings follow from the differences in our manner of expression. Just as every family has its own specific language, which is a result of its common experience and development, so every 'ethnic family' has its own culture and rules of communication. In spite of that it is necessary to communicate with others. Every culture sets some boundary to what can be said openly and what not; occasionally our frankness may be interpreted by a Mongol as impertinence or disrespect. By its interdisciplinary character the ethnography of communication offers us as many methodological approaches as we need in a concrete cultural sphere. It may even be said that it constitutes a global therapy of intercultural relations.

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27) Many of the expressions and metaphors appeared also in some other interviews which I have already commented upon. In some more important cases I refer to the relevant comments elsewhere.

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# Everyday Hawan Mongghul

Ha Mingzong and Kevin Stuart<sup>1</sup>

**Summary:** A description is given of daily use of Mongghul by residents of Hawan 哈湾 Village, Gansu 甘肃 Province, PR China in terms of bilingualism in Chinese according to age group, recent language changes, reasons for the described linguistic developments and two examples of conversations with glossed translations, indicating the present state of communicative use of Mongghul by older generations and by children.

## 0. Introduction

### 1.1

The current use of the Mongghul language in Hawan Village (Ha Mingzong's home village), from the perspective of multilingualism and language contact is examined. General linguistic and historical information about the studied community is also presented. This article also provides an introduction to a future paper that will focus on the ritual communication between villagers and Niangniang 娘娘,<sup>2</sup> the most important deity of the Ha Clan, and include a description of a ritual witnessed by Ha Mingzong during which the goddess communicated with laymen through the mediation of a *fala* or trance medium.

In the introductory part of this paper, languages, location, life-style, religion and origin of the studied group of speakers are presented, as well as the position of the Monguor language and problems of ethnic classification related to the Monguor. In the first part, recent changes in Hawan Mongghul due to the influence of adjacent languages as well as internal developments

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  - 2) It is a general name for female deities.

are discussed. Part Two is a detailed description of the Mongghul language use in the village as determined by age, origin and other factors. Two extreme examples of language use are given – an interview with an older speaker using a less mixed (with Chinese) Mongghul and an exchange between a child and his grandmother in a mixture of Chinese and Mongghul.

## 0.2 Language

### 0.2.1 THE POSITION OF THE MONGGHUL LANGUAGE

The Mongghul language is one of the Mongolic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai complex<sup>3</sup> that consists of Monguor (Chinese, Tu 土), Baoan 保安 (Bonan), Dongxiang 东乡 and Shira Yugur. This division has received recent comment by Janhunen (2004) and Georg (2003).

The Monguor language consists of Minhe, Huzhu, Tongren (Rebgong), Shaowa Wo and Wutun dialects that, while sharing commonalities, are mutually unintelligible. Hawan Mongghul speakers are descended from Huzhu Mongghul who moved to their current home beginning in the 1920s and 1930s.

### 0.2.2 CLASSIFICATION OF MONGUOR (TU)

We employ the ethnonyms Monguor, Mangghuer, Mongghul and Tu that require further explanation.

**Monguor** is the most widely used term outside China interchangeably with the term “Tu”, which is the Chinese term for this officially recognized ethnic term. Schram used the term to refer to a group of people living in the frontier region of Xining 西宁 whom he encountered while living in the region as a missionary from 1911 to 1922 (Schram 2006, p. 23). The use of slightly different self-appellations has given rise to “Mongghul” and “Mangghuer” to distinguish language and cultural differences.

“**Mangghuer**” is a phonetic rendering of the self-appellation of the Tu people of Minhe Hui and Tu Autonomous County, Haidong 海东 Region, Qinghai Province. Correspondingly, “**Mongghul**” is a phonetic transcription of the

3) Janhunen (2004) suggests calling these languages Shirongolic. “Shirongol” was first applied by Potanin (Janhunen 2006, p. 27).

self-appellation of the Tu people of Huzhu Tu Autonomous County 互助土族自治县, Haidong Region.

Chen Zhaojun et. al. (2005, p. 1) provides one of the most detailed descriptions of any Monguor group in the context of definition, which we quote at length to better illustrate the conundrums that exist in applying titles to groups of Monguor:

Certain Minhe Mangghuer born before 1950 use the term “Mangghuer Kun” to refer to all Qinghai Monguor and Mongols from Inner Mongolia and Qinghai. People in this same age group employ “Chighang Mangghuer” (White Monguor) for Monguor in Qinghai and Gansu and Inner Mongolia Mongols, “Qidai Mangghuer” (Chinese Monguor) for Mongols in North-east China (Dongbei 东北), and “Khara Mangghuer” (Black Monguor) for Mongolia’s Mongols. “Mani Kun” (Our People; Our Nationality) is used to designate Qinghai-Gansu Monguor and Inner Mongolia Mongols and sometimes it is used to indicate Mangghuer living in the speaker’s local area.

Other Minhe Mangghuer use “Mangghuer” and “Mangghuer Kun” to denote all Monguor (Tu) and Mongols in China and Mongolia.

Some literate Mangghuer contend they are “Turen” 土人 (Monguor People/Nationality) and not “Mangghuer.” They believe that the latter appellation applies only to Mongols in China.

Many Mangghuer, regardless of age, call themselves “Jieni Kun” (Self People), “Dani Kun” (Our People; Our Nationality), and “Dasini Kun” (Our People; Our Nationality) to distinguish Monguor from Hui, Han, and Tibetan.

“Turen” and “Tumin” 土民 are terms used by Qinghai Han and Hui to refer to Monguor. “Lao” 老 is a pejorative widely used in China to refer to various non-Han people, including White non-Chinese citizens. “Laotumin,” “Laotu,” “Laoturen,” and “Laotuger” are used by local Han and Hui from Gushan Region and Chuankou in Minhe County and by Han and Hui living in Ledu 乐都和 Ping’an 平安 counties.

Many Chinese-educated Mangghuer use “Turen,” “Tumin,” and “Tuzu” 土族, all of which designate “Monguor People/Nationality,” to refer to themselves. When Mangghuer complete personal record documents, e.g. school enrollment forms, marriage licenses, and identity cards, they are required to write “Tu” 土. This is also the only comprehensible answer Mangghuer can give to non-Monguor when a Mangghuer travels to other regions of China and is asked, “What is your ethnicity?”

Among local Mangghuer, valley Mangghuer call mountain-dwelling Mangghuer “Wula Kun,” “Wulaqi,” and “Wulawer,” all of which translate “Mountain People.” These names convey a sense of being honest and backward. Mountain dwelling Mangghuer call valley-dwelling Mangghuer “Chuan// Kun” or “Valley People.” This term carries a connotation of being weak and cunning.

Many Qinghai Tibetans refer to Monguor as “Hor.”

We note that Monguor, Mangghuer and Mongghul are variants of the ethnonym “Mongol”.

Certain elderly Mongghul refer to themselves as Qighaan or White Mongghul and refer to Mongolians as Hara Mongghul (Black Mongols). Some Mongols living in Amdo also refer to the Monguor as Cagaan Mongol or White Mongols.



“Tu” is the most widely used term by Monguor and non-Monguor owing to “Tu” being the official term for the nationality – one of China’s 56 officially recognized ethnic groups.

Here we use the terms “Monguor” and “Tu Ren 土人” to refer to all those classified as “Tu”, which includes at least five groups.

1. **Mongghul (Huzhu Mongghul)** is the largest group classified as Tu. Comparatively, it has also preserved the largest portion of the original Mongolic vocabulary and grammar of the Monguor groups. They live northeast of Zongka.<sup>4</sup>

2. The **Mangghuer (Minhe Mangghuer)** are relatively sinicized in terms of lexicon and phonetic in comparison to other Monguor groups. They reside east of Zongka, on the north bank of the Yellow River. As are the Mongghul, their language is influenced by the local Chinese dialect, but at a much deeper level. A few of their Tibetan neighbours, in areas where they live near each other, also speak Mangghuer.<sup>5</sup>

3. **Tongren Monguor** is much influenced by Amdo Tibetan and has many Tibetan loanwords. However, the numbers from at least one to ten remain the same as that of Mongghul. Tibetans refer to them disparagingly as “Dordo”.<sup>6</sup> They live in Tongren County, southeast of Xining.<sup>7</sup>

4. **Shaowa Wo.** This group resides in Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in the south of Gansu Province. “Shaowa wo” or “Shaowa People” is the term they themselves employ. Currently they speak a dialect similar to that of a neighbouring township (Janhun, J., Lionel Ha Mingzong and Joseph Tshe.dpag.rnam.rgyal, 2007).

5. **Wutun 吾屯/Seng ge gshong People:** The people living in Wutun say that they are Tibetan, and culturally they are so, though the Chinese government classifies them as Tu. Their language is described by Ethnologue (2004) as “a variety of Chinese heavily influenced by Tibetan or perhaps a Tibetan lan-

4) Zongka is a historically important Tibetan place and the birthplace of the Gelug Sect founder, Zongka Wo (Tsonkhapa).

5) This dialect was described by Keith Slater in his PhD dissertation (Keith Slater 2003).

6) This term is used by Tongren Tibetans to refer to their neighbours, the Tongren Monguor, in the latter’s absence, to express dislike.

7) Tongren County is famous for tangka art.



guage undergoing relexification with Chinese forms” and “Chinese which converged to an agglutinative language, using only Chinese material, towards Tibetan-Mongolian”.

### 0.3 The Mongghul People

In 2001, the Monguor living in Qinghai and Gansu provinces were distributed as indicated in the table below:<sup>8</sup>

Location	Population
<b>Qinghai Province</b>	199,470
Xining City 西宁市	51,588
Haidong District	120,435
Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County 互助土族自治县	64,686
Minhe 民和 Hui and Mangghuer Autonomous County	43,182
Ledu County 乐都县	10,877
Other Counties	1,690
Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous County 黄南藏族自治县	8,713
Tongren County 同仁县	8,228
Haibei Tibetan Autonomous County 海北藏族自治县	8,155
Hainan Tibetan Autonomous County 海南藏族自治县	3,949
Guide County 贵德县	1,345
Gonghe County 共和县	1,284
Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture 海西蒙古族藏族自治州	6,166
<b>Gansu Province 甘肃省</b>	25,000

The majority of the Gansu Monguor live in Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County 天祝藏族自治县. Monguor also live in Jishishan Baoan Dongxiang Salar Autonomous County 积石山保安族东乡族撒拉族自治县, Zhuoni County 卓尼县 (Shaowa Monguor), Yongdeng County 永登县, Sunan Yugur Autonomous County 肃南裕固族自治县 and Gulang County 古浪县 (Li, Yan, Ha 2003).

Mongghul religion is a complex syncretism of ancestral beliefs, Tibetan Buddhism, Bon and indigenous homeland cults.<sup>9</sup> In 2006, in situations of natural disaster, sudden illness and other misfortunes, people frequently turned to *fala* or trance mediums. Buddhism spread into the Mongghul area in the late 14th century and gradually assumed an important role. Mongghul

8) Limusishiden and Stuart 2006, p. 61.

9) The most detailed work on Monguor religion is Schram 1957.

also worship deities of mountains and water, dragons, the earth god and family gods. Bon practices are common.

In terms of subsistence, except for Mongghul living in towns, almost all Mongghul are farmers cultivating wheat, potatoes, beans and rapeseed (for edible oil). Some people also have a few cows for milk and sheep. Most people keep mules or oxen to help them with their farm work.

#### 0.4 Monguor origins

The origins of Tu/Monguor remains unclear.<sup>10</sup> One theory argues that Monguor are descendants of Mongols who invaded Amdo in the 13th century. Certain clans orally trace their origins to certain places in today's Mongolia. According to a second argument, the "Tu ren" are descendants of the Tuyuhun (Toghon, Toyoghon, Axia<sup>11</sup>) who are said to have come from northeastern China in the 4th century, and had great political influence over the region until the period of the great Tibetan King, Songtsan Ghanbo. After the latter conquered the Tuyuhun, they were separated and moved to various places. However, Mongghul themselves preserve no stories about the Tuyuhun. Efforts have been made to connect "Tuyuhun" to the Chinese ethnonym "Tu".

Though there is no direct evidence about the origins of the Tu/Monguor, certain clans have preserved oral traditions about their origins, e.g., an account told to Ha Mingzong by his great-uncle Ha Shenglin 哈生林<sup>12</sup> concerning the origin of the Ha Clan. This account is of particular note because it traces the origins of Ha Clan Mongghul to the times of the "Tatars", which likely is a reference to the time of the Mongol Empire. Ha Shenglin said,

"All Ha Clan 哈家 members are surnamed Ha 哈. The large Ha Clan is divided into West Ha Clan 西哈家 and East Ha Clan 东哈家."

"At the time when the Mongols were invading Zhongyuan 中原,<sup>13</sup> two Tatar<sup>14</sup> brothers stayed and resided in today's Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous

10) For more on Monguor origins, see Stuart and Limushiden 1994, pp. 31–34; 39–40.

11) Certain Tibetan chronicles record that the Axia were of a Tibetan lineage who belonged to two of the four great Tibetan family lineages, *ldong* and *sga*. [Author: *rgyala mo 'brug pa*. Cit. *boda kyi lo rgyusa glenga b'i gtna*.]

12) Recorded January 18, 2005 at Ha Shenglin's home.

13) The territory inhabited mainly by Han Chinese.

14) "Tatar," used from at least the 5th century, achieved much wider notoriety during the time of the Great Mongol Empire as an alternate designation for the Mongols. It is possible that the oral tradition points to Tatar tribes from Eastern Mongolia or elsewhere.

County. Later, one married a Mongghul girl and the other married a Han Chinese girl. The descendents of the brother who married the Mongghul girl now comprise the East Ha Clan. They have followed Mongghul culture. The descendents of the brother who married the Han woman are now the West Ha Clan and they have followed certain Chinese cultural conventions. For example, in our clan in Hawan Village, when somebody dies, people always place the corpse in a coffin and bury it, though in other places, Mongghuls always cremate. You know that even from the other clans in our village, right? Aren't Ulaghul people and Qija<sup>15</sup> people always cremating?"

"West Ha Clan members first spoke Mongghul but the West Ha Clan members in Hawan are the only clan people still speaking Mongghul now."<sup>16</sup>

Most West Ha Clan members in Huzhu, who lived in West Ha Clan Village in Danma 丹麻<sup>17</sup> Township, had lost their language as of 2005.

### 0.5 Location of Hawan Village and its origins

The research site, Hawan (or "Ha Valley" Chinese) Village, is situated in Huari (Tib. "The place of heroes") in the northeastern part of Amdo. Hawan is a natural village in the larger Changan Administrative Village,<sup>18</sup> of Tiantang Township, Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County, Gansu Province and is north of Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County, Qinghai Province. It is 150 km from Xining City, the capital of Qinghai.

The Hawan Mongghul people, or at least the Ha Clan members, who are a majority of the villagers, moved to the present Hawan Village in fear of Ma Bufang's 马步芳<sup>19</sup> conscript policy in the 1920s and 1930s. Their original homeland is in the Huzhu area, which is 120 km from Hawan. Their language may be classified as a Huzhu Mongghul dialect, though it has, as will be described later, certain differences that have emerged during the last eighty years.

Hawan had a total population of 25 households (approximately 100 people) in 2006. All residents are Mongghul with the exception of several Chinese and Tibetan women who married men in the village. There are several clans

15) A reference to Qi Clan people mentioned earlier.

16) In 2005.

17) Danma Township, Huzhu County, is considered the home of the Ha Clan.

18) Chagan Administrative Village consists of four natural village. "Chagan" is the Mongol and Mongghul word for "white".

19) Ma Bufang (1902–1973) was once chairman of the Qinghai Provincial Government.

that are distinguished by their surnames. Twelve households are surnamed Ha哈,<sup>20</sup> seven are surnamed Tong童,<sup>21</sup> three are surnamed Mo墨<sup>22</sup> and three are surnamed Qi祁.<sup>23</sup> The village is named after the Ha Clan because people surnamed Ha are in the majority. These surnames indicate origins of the clans in the valley and also the formation of the Hawan Mongghul language. These clans are from Halqighul 哈拉直沟 (the Ha Clan), Sershdang 赛什当 (the Qi Clan) and Ulaghul (the Tong Clan) in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County. Each group speaks its own distinctive dialect and today's Hawan Mongghul language is a result of contacts between these people.

Hawan is the only village in the township in which almost all residents are Mongghul and in which people use Mongghul in everyday life. Villagers born in the 1980s and earlier are the last generation that speaks Mongghul fluently. Most children born later can only understand Mongghul, only because of the presence of the language between the older generations. Only a few children still speak Mongghul.

Residents live in one-storey rooms made of rammed earth and wood encircled in courtyards that are also made of packed earth. In every courtyard centre there is a small raised plot where flowers and vegetables are grown.<sup>24</sup> The villagers are all farmers cultivating wheat, potatoes, beans and rapeseed (for edible oil).

## 1. Recent developments in the Hawan Mongghul language

### 1.1 ETHNIC AND LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE AREA

Amdo is an area of complex and intense multi-ethnic/language contact and mixing. Nowadays however, Hawan is mostly surrounded by Chinese who speak Qinghai hua 青海话, the local Chinese dialect. Tibetans, except for a few old people who speak the local Tibetan dialect, also speak Qinghai hua. Hui (Chinese Moslems) also live in certain villages.

20) Ten families belong to the West Ha Clan and two families belong to the East Ha Clan.

21) Mongghul refer to the people surnamed Tong童 as "Ulaghul Kun" or "Mountain-Valley People."

22) "Mei" is the local pronunciation of "Mo".

23) Mongghul refer to people surnamed Qi祁 as "Sershdang赛什当" or people from Sershdang in Huzhu.

24) See photographs 1, 2 and 3.



## 1.2 INFLUENCES OF THE NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

### 1.2.1 CHINESE

Chinese and Mongghul communities where Mongghul is not spoken in daily life surround Hawan. Consequently, Qinghai hua is quickly penetrating the everyday speech of the Hawan Mongghul people and promises to soon replace Mongghul. This growing Chinese influence on Hawan language and culture is largely the result of villagers' contact with the outside world. In 2006, four male villagers had government jobs in Huazangsi<sup>25</sup> and one had a government job in Tiantang Township Town. There are also three villagers who have retired from government work, left Hawan and moved to the county town. Other male villagers leave the village to earn cash income from temporary, poorly paid work. For example, in 2006, five males aged 20–40 years of age left to mine coal.

In general, all men younger than sixty years of age leave the village for six to eight months a year to work. This experience outside the village and, for certain government workers, being members of the Communist Party, brings the men in close contact with the larger world and leads them to question, for example, traditional village religious beliefs, and the value of Mongghul language in their lives.

Moreover, after children begin attending school, they soon rarely speak Mongghul, even at home, due to interaction with other children, and their Chinese-speaking schoolteachers. For example, after Ha Mingzong began attending school, he soon began speaking Chinese and sometimes shouted at his family members to speak Chinese, on the grounds that he was studying Chinese at school.

Intermarriage with non-Mongghul women also speeds this process in Hawan. Two Tibetan women and six Han Chinese women have recently married into the village. They have very limited competency in the Mongghul language and generally speak Chinese in the village and to their children.

### 1.2.2 TIBETAN

Tibetan has influenced Huzhu Mongghul less than Tongren Monguor and Shaowa Wo. Nevertheless, Tibetan influence is evident in certain vocabulary (HUA KAN, 1994. pp. 238–244), e.g., religious terms. Furthermore, lyrics

25) The county town of Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County.

of certain traditional Mongghul songs are sung in Tibetan. In Hawan, however, the situation is different. Although Tibetans live in neighbouring communities, the Tibetan language has had less influence than Chinese on the language Hawan Mongghul speak. In fact, the Tibetans are a relatively small population that is quickly being assimilated. Most young Tianzhu Tibetans cannot speak their own language fluently, if at all.

### Tibetan religious terms in Hawan Mongghul

English	Tibetan	Mongghul
monastery	dgon pa	rgongba
scripture	chos	qii
monk	ban de	vandii
offering of incense	bsang	szang
conch shell	dung	dang
(monk's) dance	'cham	qam

### Other Tibetan loanwords in Hawan Mongghul

English	Tibetan	Mongghul
work	las ka	leska
hair (pigtail)	ral ba	raawa
sugar	ka ra	gaara
frog	sbal ba	shibaawa
lion	seng ge	sanggii
elephant	glang po che	longuuqi
summer	dbyar	yar
story (biography)	rnam thar	namtar
corpse	ro	rol, ro
illness	nad	nar
medicine	sman	smen
guest	mgron po	zhunbao
matchmaker	bar ba	warwa
history	lo rgyus	lorji
household	khyim tshang	qimsang

### 1.3 RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PHONETIC STRUCTURE AND VOCABULARY OF THE HAWAN MONGGHUL LANGUAGE

#### 1.3.1 CHANGES IN THE PHONETIC STRUCTURE

The Hawan Mongghul language has undergone changes in phonetic structure since its isolation from mainstream Mongghul in Huzhu. These changes affect mostly younger speakers. Generally, the most frequent changes are omitting sounds at the end and beginning of the words and changing of the uvular stop *gh* into the velar stop *g*.

#### Examples of dropping sounds at the beginning or end of words:

English	Huzhu Mongghul	Hawan Mongghul
two	ghoor	ghoo
mountain	ula	la
to me (we, I)	ndaa	daa
lie	ghudal	ghuda
hand	ghar	gha/gar
clothes	deel	dee
graveyard	foor	foo
Chinese	qidar	qida
Tibetan	tiwar	tiwa

#### Examples of the uvular stop *gh* transformation to the front velar stop *g*:

English	Huzhu Mongghul	Hawan Mongghul
Hat	malgha	malge
hand	ghar	gar/gha

### 1.3.2 CHANGES IN THE LEXICON

In the lexicon, many original Mongghul words are being replaced by Chinese words.

#### Examples of Mongghul and Tibetan words still used in Huzhu but replaced by Chinese loanwords in Hawan:

English	Huzhu Mongghul	Hawan Mongghul
village	ayil	zhuangzi 庄子 (QH)
teacher	baghxi	laosi 老师, sifu 师傅 (QH)
student	surqi	xuusang 学生
doctor	smanbaa (Tibetan, sman pa)	daifu 大夫
frog	shbalwa (Tibetan, sbal ba)	qingwa 青蛙
book	pujig	fu (the Mongghul pronunciation of "shu 书")

## 2. Language use in Hawan Village

### 2.1 BILINGUALISM AND MULTILINGUALISM

#### EXAMPLE 1<sup>26</sup>

The following example is drawn from a much larger work based on recorded interviews conducted by Ha Mingzong in January 2005 with his great-uncle. Besides illustrating the speech of an older Mongghul speaker, it provides a general example of village bilingualism. The interviewee was asked to speak Mongghul and to avoid speaking Chinese and thus this text does not reflect typical language used in everyday conversations (that would contain more Chinese), but it does serve as an example of Hawan Mongghul.

- (1)A:   Dii     qi     ne     Mongghul     puxi-sa,  
           Then   2s     this   Mongghul     other.than-ABL
- han     Qidar   da     kile     shda-na     bai?  
   still   Chinese also   speak   able-OBJ.NARR   PRT

Then besides this Mongghul, you are also still able to speak Chinese, right?

26) We thank Keith Slater for editing these sentences.

- (2)B: Ai, Qidar da kile shda-na.  
EXCL Chinese also speak able-OBJ.NARR

Yeah, I also can speak Chinese.

- (3)A: Ai, diinaa Qidar amagha suri-wa, qi?  
HES then Chinese how learn-PERF you

Uh, then, how did you learn Chinese?

- (4)B: Qidar-ri maa?  
Chinese-ACC QUEST

You mean Chinese?

- (5)A: Uh.  
AGREE

Yes.

- (6)B: Qidar-ri dii bu pujig muxi-wa bai.  
Chinese-ACC then is book study-PERF PRT

Then I went to school and studied Chinese.

- (7)A: Pujig muxi uu?  
book study QUEST

Studied?

- (8)B: Uh.  
AGREE

Yes.

- (9)A: Jinianji-nge muxi-wa?  
what.grade-a.little study-PERF

Only what grade did you study?

- (10)B: San nianji wa bai.  
three grade OBJ.COP PRT

Grade Three.

- (11)A: Au, au...  
AGREE AGREE

Oh, I see.

- (12)A: Naadii amagha jang san nianji-nge ghari-ja zhao, naadii?  
 then why only three grade-a.little go.out-OBJ.PERF PRT then

Then why did you only attend Grade Three, then?

- (13)B: Dii zheng muxi-gunii-aa kudi laodongkun gua.  
 then just.the.time study-SUBJ.FUT-PERF family laborer OBJ.NEG.COP

Then when it was just the right time for me to study, my family lacked labourers.

- (14)A: Au, leska<sup>27</sup> wari-jin kun gua?  
 EXCL work do-NOMLZR people OBJ.NEG.COP

Oh, there weren't enough people to do work?

- (15)B: Leska wari-jin kun gua.  
 work do-NOMLZR people OBJ.NEG.COP

Huni dilaa-gu, aasi dilaa-gu. Dii laohanja ghoor-la-ni  
 sheep herd-IMPERF yak herd-IMPERF actually old.people two-COLL-GEN

ghar doora kun gua bai.  
 hands beneath people OBJ.NEG.COP PRT

Ai, nengaan-ni dii fu muxi shda-ji gui,  
 EXCL because.of.this-PERF then book study able-IMPERF SUBJ.NEG.COP

dii zisi Shenghui-ni gongbang-le-ja bai,  
 then always Shenghui-ACC support-VBLZR-OBJ.PERF PRT

ndaa-ni duu-ni gongbang-le-ja bai.  
 me-GEN younger.brother-ACC support-VBLZR-OBJ.PERF PRT

There weren't people to do work (including) herding yaks, herding sheep. Actually my parents didn't have enough labourers on hand. Yeah, because of this, then, I wasn't able to study, and then they always supported Shenghui. They supported my younger brother.

- (16)A: Au, au...  
 AGREE AGREE

Oh, I see.

27) Derived from *las ka*.

- (17)B: Dii **yigua**-la muxi shda-ji, dii **laodongkun** gua bai.  
 then all-COLL study able-IMPERF because laborer OBJ.NEG.COP PRT
- Diijuu muxi-ji shda-ji gui-aa dii.  
 then study-IMPERF able-IMPERF SUBJ.NEG.COP-PERF PRT

Then how could all of us study because, there weren't enough labourers. Then I was not able to study.

- (18)A: Au, nimbaa, nimbaa.  
 EXCL Right right
- Naadii **tesihou**-di te-ni kudi hunimaa **liao**  
 then that.time-LOC you-GEN family sheep and
- aasi **liao** tigii-ni ulon niuu?  
 yak and like.this-GEN a.lot QUEST

Oh, right, right. Then at that time did your family have a lot (of livestock) like sheep and yaks?

- (19)B: Mori ghuraan yii-na, huni **yiaishi-gao** yii-na,  
 horse three SUBJ.COP-OBJ.NARR sheep ten.twenty-CL SUBJ.COP-OBJ.NARR
- aasi **qiba-gao** yii-na,  
 yak seven.eight-CL SUBJ.COP-OBJ.NARR
- rjige ghuraan yii-na.  
 donkey three SUBJ.COP-OBJ.NARR

We had three horses, ten to twenty sheep, seven or eight yaks, and three donkeys.

- (20)A: Au, ten ge-sa ulon-na.  
 EXCL that QUOTE-COND a.lot-OBJ.NARR

Oh, that sounds like a lot.

- (21)B: Uh, dii kaashda **maalong**-di hao dii,  
 AGREE then mule and.so.on-GEN PRT PRT
- dii nengaa dii muxi shda-ji gua ya dii.  
 then therefore then study able-IMPERF OBJ.NEG.COP PRT PRT

Yeah, then also because of mules and so on, then... then, therefore, I wasn't able to study.

- (22)A: Au, au...  
 AGREE AGREE

Oh, I see.

(23)B: Dii aadee wa **bai**, udurdundur **pai** **maa-ki-gu**,  
 then grandfather OBJ.COP PRT everyday card play-VBLZR-IMPERF

diraasi uqi-gu ten-gi-na **bai**.  
 alcohol drink-IMPERF that.way-do-OBJ.NARR PRT

Dii aama xighara wa **bai** dii.  
 then mother alone OBJ.COP PRT PRT

Then, Grandfather, everyday, he played cards and drank alcohol. Then Mother was left alone.

(24)A: Uh.  
 AGREE

Yes, I see.

(25)B: Ai, diijuu muxi shda-ji gui aa kao.  
 EXCL then study be.able-IMPERF SUBJ.NEG.COP PRT EMPH

Yeah, then, I wasn't able to study.

In this text, out of 180 words (including repeated words), the 45 words (including repeated words) marked in bold (25% of the text) are of Chinese origin. Though there are Mongghul equivalents for the words in bold, people are accustomed to speaking in both Mongghul and the local Chinese and thus mix the two languages unconsciously.

## 2.2 MONGGHUL AND CHINESE IN COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ADULTS

All Hawan residents, without exception, are bilingual in the local Chinese dialect,<sup>28</sup> but the degree of competency varies according to age and other factors. For example, Ms. Dang Zhuoka 东卓卡 was born in 1968 in Lamaguan Village 拉麻关村, Donggou Township 东沟, Huzhu County and married Tong Chenggang 童成刚 (b. 1966) in Hawan. At the time of her marriage, she knew no Chinese. In 2005, she understood but had limited ability to speak the local Chinese dialect. Similarly, Ms. Wang Mingxiu 王明秀 (b. 1979) from Donggou Administrative Village No. 1 东沟大庄一队, Donggou Township in Huzhu, married Qi Jinhu 祁金虎 (b. 1973) in Hawan. She originally spoke

28) In Hawan Mongghul, Qidar ughuo (Chinese language) is a general term used for the local Chinese dialect (Chinese, Qinghai hua).



Dongguo Mongghul, which is considered “standard” Mongghul. In 2006, she speaks Mongghul mixed with Chinese.

The situation of Ha Mingzong’s further illustrates use of the two languages by different speakers. Ha Mingzong’s mother Kong Fanju 孔繁菊 (b. 1963) was born in Chagangou 查干沟 (Mongghul: Qighaan ghul or White Valley) a fifteen-minute walk from Ha Mingzong’s home, and located in the same administrative village. Ms. Kong’s mother (Lan Qingyu 兰庆玉, b. 1941) is classified as Mongghul but neither speaks nor understands spoken Mongghul. Mr. Kong Qingfu 孔庆福 (1938–1985), Ms. Kong’s father, also neither spoke nor understood Mongghul and was classified as Han. Ms. Kong Fanju married Ha Yingshan 哈银山 (b. 1965) in 1984 and moved to his home. In 2005, she could understand nearly everything said in Mongghul and had reasonable competency in oral Mongghul but speaks Mongghul only on certain occasions. For example, if she wants to buy something from outsiders who come to Hawan, she will discuss a reasonable price with villagers in Mongghul first, so the sellers do not understand, and then negotiate a fair price.

Ha Mingzong (b. 1986), the son of Kong Fanju and Ha Yingshan, learned both the local Chinese dialect and Mongghul as his first languages. His mother always spoke to him in the local Chinese dialect, and his father and grandfather spoke to him in both Chinese and Mongghul. In Hawan, he speaks Mongghul when he talks to old people who have seldom left the village and have difficulty understanding Chinese and limited competency in speaking Chinese. When he talks to villagers who can speak both Chinese and Mongghul equally or nearly equally as well, he uses both languages, e.g., “*Langlela yuu!*” instead of “*Xirghila yuu!*” since the Chinese word *lang* 浪 more aptly expresses the meaning *to have a walk around* than *xirghi*, and also it is easier for Ha to pronounce *lang* than *xirghi*.

The example of Ms. Ye Gasijie 叶尕四姐 (b. ~ 1932), a Hawan resident, further illustrates the complexity of local language use. Her original home is Qiaji 卡吉, a half-hour walk from Hawan in Xuelong 雪龙 Administrative Village. Her parents and siblings speak Mongghul but she does not. However, she understands nearly everything spoken in Mongghul.<sup>29</sup> Additionally,

29) One of her sisters is married to Gengdengshijia 更登什加 (b. 1930), a well-known Mongghul Gesar teller who lived in Yangwa Village 阳洼 in 2006, a one hour walk from Hawan and located in Zhucha 朱岔 Administrative Village. From a young age, Gengdengshijia studied Gesar stories and folksongs from his parents and others. He tells and sings Gesar in a mixture of Mongghul and Tibetan. He is the only person who can sing long Gesar songs in Tianzhu and one of very few singer-tellers in all Mongghul areas in 2006. He has participated in Gesar preservation work under the supervision of the Gesar Research Office,

Ms. Sangs rgyas (b. 1978) from Tibet married Mr. Ha Fushan 哈福山 when the latter was working in Tibet. She speaks Tibetan and standard Chinese. After they moved to Hawan, Ha Fushan's home village, in 2000, she began learning Mongghul. In 2006, she could understand simple conversation and had limited competency in speaking Mongghul. Sangs rgyas (Lhasa Tibetan) and Ha Mingzong (Amdo Tibetan) are the only two Tibetan speakers in Hawan Village.

### 2.3 MONGGHUL AND CHINESE IN COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CHILDREN AND ADULTS

#### EXAMPLE NO. 2

The text below is an example of communication between a child who can understand Mongghul but speaks only Chinese and an elderly person who does not know Chinese well but replaces Mongghul words with Chinese so that the child will understand. During the 2005 summer holiday, Ha Mingzong visited his great-great-aunt, Lan Jirancao (b. 1927), who was born in Huzhu. When talking with her, her grandson (Ha Dongshan 哈东山, b. 1992), who does not speak Mongghul, ran to her and said,

- |      |              |                               |               |               |
|------|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (26) | "Aanii,      | <i>zhuwa-ha</i> <sup>30</sup> | wei-liao      | <i>bao</i> ?" |
|      | Grandmother, | pig-DAT                       | feed-OBJ.PERF | QUEST         |
|      | Aanii        | 猪娃- <i>ha</i>                 | 喂了            | <i>bao</i>    |

"Grandmother, did you feed the pig?"

In this sentence, his only use of Mongghul is the term for "Grandmother" or "Aanii" that all Hawan children used in 2005.

- |      |      |                     |
|------|------|---------------------|
| (27) | "Aa? | Ama-xjaya?"         |
|      | What | what-OBJ.PERF QUEST |

"What? What did you say?" his grandmother asked.

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Northwest Nationalities University since 1987. Wang Guoming 王国明, his son, and others compiled and translated certain of his recorded material (Ha and Li 1999, p. 286). Unfortunately, Wang and Wang's (1996) work features only a Chinese translation without the Mongghul-Tibetan original.

30) Words in italics indicate Gansu-Qinghai Chinese Dialect for which there is no ready Modern Standard Chinese equivalent.

Ms. Lan spoke only in Mongghul, which her grandson understood.

- (28) “Zhuwa-*ha*      wei-liao      *bao*      *aa?*”  
          pig-DAT      Feed-OBJ.PERF      QUEST      QUEST  
          猪娃-*ha*      喂了      *bao*      *aa*

“I asked if the pigs had been fed?” her impatient grandson yelled – all in the local Gansu-Qinghai dialect.

- (29) “Zhuwa-*ha*      *nao*      tidii-ji      *gui.*”  
          Pig-DAT      is      feed-IMPERF      SUBJ.NEG.COP  
          猪娃-*ha*      *nao*      tidiiji      *gui*

“I didn’t feed the pigs,” Great-great-aunt answered, after listening carefully to her grandson. “Zhuwa-*ha nao...*” is Chinese meaning “I ... pigs” and “tidiiji *gui*” is Mongghul denoting “didn’t feed.” If she had been speaking to a Mongghul speaker, she would probably have said:

- “Bu      hgai-ni      tidii-ji      *gui.*”  
   is      pig-ACC      feed-IMPERF      SUBJ.NEG.COP

She said “zhuwa-*ha nao...*” rather than “bu hgai-ni...” This exemplifies how a villager who does not know the local Chinese dialect well, may speak to someone who does not speak Mongghul well.

- (30) “Ne bulai dii, jighnaa yii      kile-sa      yaan      kile-nii-hao,  
          This boy then slowly NEG.COP speak-COND what say-SUBJ.NARR-PRT
- (31) bu      saine-nge      yii      yang-le-na.”  
       is      good-one      NEG.COP      understand-VBLZR-OBJ.NARR

“This boy, if he doesn’t speak slowly, I can’t understand him very well,” Ms. Lan said to me, and added that she could not speak Chinese very well.

#### 2.4 CHILDREN’S USE OF MONGGHUL BEFORE AND AFTER SCHOOLING

Hawan children with Mongghul parents speak Mongghul first, but after they attend school, they seldom speak Mongghul, even to their parents. In 2006 there were only twelve children in Hawan Village who could speak Mongghul. All village children could speak the local Chinese dialect, with varying degrees of competency. Several children who could speak Mongghul only

spoke Mongghul when they were asked to do so or when their conversation partner spoke Mongghul first. In daily village life most of these 12 children spoke Chinese among themselves.

Ha Wenhua 哈文花, (b. 1997) was born in Hawan. Before she began attending school, she spoke very good Mongghul due to her mother's native Sighuangghul<sup>31</sup> Mongghul dialect and her father's Hawan Mongghul dialect. Everybody called her 'Mulaa Mongghul Aagu' or 'Little Mongghul Cutey' when she spoke Mongghul. But after she went to school, she found everybody else spoke Chinese. Consequently, she began speaking Chinese. In 2006, she usually did not speak Mongghul unless she was encouraged to do so.

In contrast, children with Chinese or Tibetan mothers usually never speak Mongghul, even though they understand everything said in Mongghul.

Some younger children imitate older children who attend school and speak Chinese well. Tong Youdong 童有栋 (b. 2000), for example, spoke only Mongghul until his older brother Tong Youde 童有德 (b. 1997) and older sister Tong Youzhen 童有珍 (b. 1998), went to school where they studied Chinese and began speaking it. Tong Youdong subsequently began speaking Chinese, since the children often play together. Now the only language they use is Chinese, like most children in Hawan. In 2006, Tong Youdong rarely spoke Mongghul.

## 2.5 LANGUAGE USE IN RELIGIOUS RITUALS

During rituals, most Hawan villagers speak Mongghul mixed with Chinese, except for those who do not speak Mongghul. For example, at the Niangniang Shrine, when a Han Chinese *fala* is asked to help summon the deity Niangniang, certain people repeat after him in Chinese. However, if villagers ask a Mongghul *fala* to summon the Ha clan goddess, Niangniang, to the shrine, they always use Mongghul. However, people can ask for help from Niangniang in Chinese or Mongghul owing to the belief that Niangniang understands everything, no matter what language is used.

31) A village in Danma Township, Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County, Qinghai Province.

## 2.6 SPEAKING MONGGHUL, ETHNIC IDENTITY AND CONSCIOUSNESS

There is notable indifference towards national and ethnic issues among the Hawan villagers. They do not care whether they are spoken to in Mongghul or in Chinese. Ha Mingzong was never scolded by anyone in the village for speaking Mongghul or Chinese (or not speaking Mongghul or Chinese), since young villagers speak both Chinese and Mongghul.

When Ha Mingzong was a young child, he lacked a strong identity of being Mongghul and thought he was the same as the Chinese and Tibetan boys and girls that he studied with at school – they had the same experiences and spoke to each other in the same language – Chinese.

The example of Ha Mingzong's family illustrates the current situation: Ha Migzong's grandfather, Ha Shengzhang 哈生章, speaks perfect Mongghul and Chinese and frequently switches between the two when talking to younger villagers. At home however, he always speaks Chinese when Ha Mingzong's mother is present, and switches between Chinese and Mongghul when he speaks to Ha Mingzong's father, sister and Ha Mingzong. When asked why he switched back and forth, he explained that he was unaware of it most of the time and had the idea that since Ha Mingzong and his sister's Chinese comprehension was better than their Mongghul, he thought they would understand better if he spoke in Chinese.

## 3. Conclusion

The current use of the Mongghul language in communication in Ha Mingzong's home village has been described using examples elicited within varying age groups and between them. The village is small and Ha Mingzong's familiarity with it have made it an attractive choice. Originally a dialect of Huzhu Mongghul, Hawan Mongghul has been undergoing gradual changes in its vocabulary and phonetic structure since the time of its separation. Surrounded by different ethnic groups and through intense contact with these people, this isolated group of Mongghul speakers has developed extensive bilingualism in the local Chinese dialect. Borrowing of words from the local Chinese dialect and code switching in discourse are now frequent. In fact, the local Chinese dialect is employed by younger generations more often than Mongghul. Moreover, due to an imperfect learning of the language (e.g. dropping the final *r*, using *g* for *gh*) by the younger generations, the phonetic structure has been gradually changing.

An exceptional feature of the situation in Hawan is the lack of ethnic intolerance among local Mongghul, Chinese and Tibetan people. This places the Hawan Mongghul language in an even more dangerous position than certain other ethnic languages that are naturally sheltered by the emotions of the speakers.

While being unique in many aspects, the Hawan community serves as an example of processes at work in many smaller language communities in China. We see how the language first adopts a portion of a vocabulary of their more numerous (and often literate) neighbours – in our case Tibetan – and how this vocabulary has been replaced more recently by Chinese words, followed by gradual replacing of the entire indigenous lexicon by Chinese.

The described changes in phonetic structure typify an Altaic language experiencing the powerful influence of Chinese. A widespread technical reason for children using Chinese rather than their own language is the simplicity of Chinese pronunciation, especially as compared to Mongghul.

This text also documents a shift in community values that provide the fundamental reason for assimilation by Chinese: While in the past the national traditions, of which language forms an important part, were themselves an unquestioned moral value, in recent times, through frequent contacts with the outside world, these values are being relinquished in favour of economic prosperity, career aspirations and factors that are inevitably associated with a knowledge of the language and familiarity of the cultural accoutrements of the Han Chinese people.

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## Abbreviations and Symbols<sup>32</sup>

ACC	Accusative case
COLL	Collective (indicates two or more actors acting together)
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative case
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive
HES	Hesitation
IMPERF	Imperfective aspect
LOC	Locative
NARR	Narrative
NEG	Negative
NOMLZR	Nominalizer (turns a verb into a noun)
OBJ	Objective perspective (indicates that the speaker distances himself from the event)
REFL.POSS	Reflexive Possessive (indicates possession by the subject; equivalent to 'one's own')
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural number
POSS	Possessive (indicates possession by a third person)
PROHIB	Prohibitive (negative used with imperatives: 'do not')
PRT	Final Particle (these particles have broad interactional or affective meanings)
QUEST	Question
VBLZR	Verbalizer
VOL	Voluntative (first person imperative)
1p	First Person Plural
1s	First Person Singular
2p	Second Person Plural
2s	Second Person Singular
3p	Third Person Plural
3s	Third Person Singular
–	Morpheme boundary (used to indicate suffixes added to a root)

32) We employ Keith Slater's system.



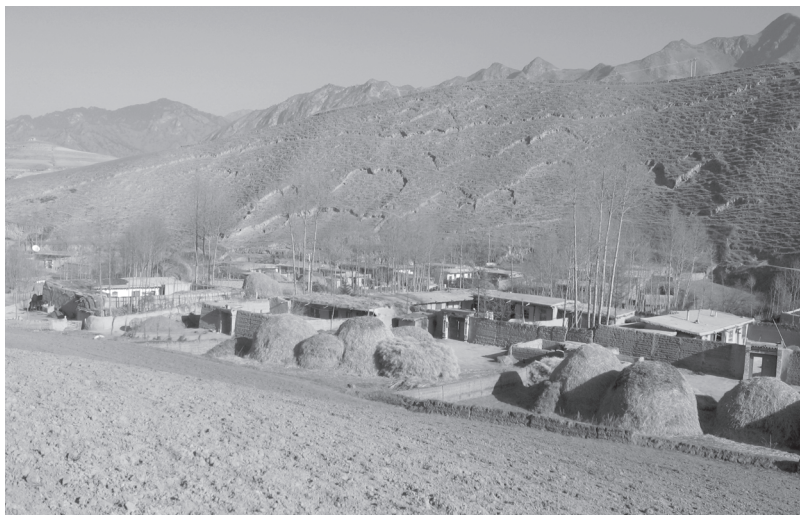
# Photographs (November 2005)



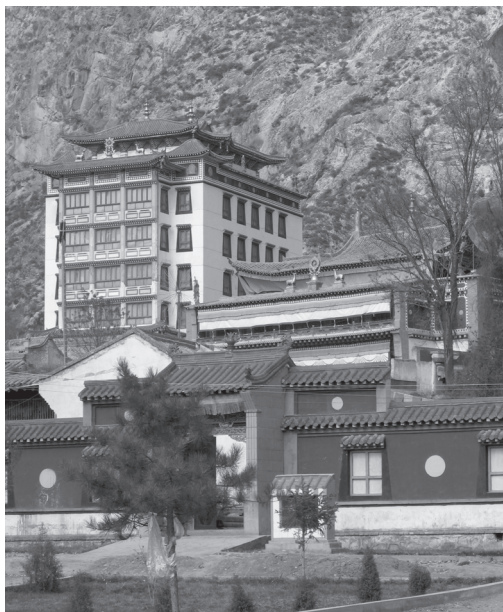
Most Hawan Village fields are on the south slope (left) and are not irrigated. The arrow points to Ha Mingzong's home where he lived with his parents and sister when not attending school.  
(Photograph by Han Dengchao 韩登朝.)



Hawan Village (November 2005). (Photograph by Han Dengchao.)



Hawan Village. (Photograph by Han Dengchao.)



Tiantang Monastery, Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County. Hawan Mongghul frequently visit the monastery, 5 km from Hawan Village. (Photograph by Ha Mingzong.)

# Some Mongolian proverbs currently used in the process of bringing up children

Vladimír Weigert

**Summary:** The paper presented here is the first part of a broad survey focused on the institution of the Mongolian family. The subjects of this paper are the proverbs, which I collected during my last piece of fieldwork, mostly in rural areas of Mongolia. The majority of the collected proverbs are still very much in use and they carry out the important function of preserving orally transmitted rules, norms and traditions in Mongolian society. The proverbs I have presented here are all related to the upbringing of children and to the process of their socialisation. Single proverbs are structured according to thematic categories and provided with a loose translation and occasionally with a literal translation. I have also added comments, which put the metaphorical expressions of the proverbs into their cultural and social context.

## 0. Introduction

The ways in which Mongolian nomads bring up their children are adapted to the nature of the nomadic way of life. This is an influential factor in the development of upbringing and it defines its features. One of the methods the Mongolians use for passing down norms of behaviour are *zuir u'g*<sup>1</sup> – **proverbs**, which are a kind of wise advice or sayings. Experience of the world is passed down by word of mouth in the form of *zuir u'g* that are accepted without reservation as law – *ceerleh yos* – a system of laws based on taboos (Oberflazerová 2006, p. 30).

Proverbs as an important part of folklore were a matter of great concern for many Mongolian scholars. Among the first large collections of folklore materials published in Mongolia was the work of B. Sodnom in 1935. In 1964, a two volume collection of 11.076 proverbs and sayings was published by J. Das'dorz' and G. Rinc'ensambuu. Another very important collection of Mongolian folklore was compiled by M. Gaadamba and D. Cerensodnom

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1) For transcription of the Cyrillic I use the transcription created by Assoc. Prof. Lub-sangdorji. The advantage of this transcription is, that it is very easy to apply in internet communication.

in 1967, which contains selected materials from all genres of Mongolian oral literature (see the references).

The Mongols themselves distinguish four different kinds of proverbial expressions:

*zuir u'g* – alliterating sayings, *mergen u'g* – apt sayings, *cecen u'g* – wise sayings and *surgaal u'g* – didactic sayings.

In Mongolian there are over ten thousands proverbs and wise sayings, which reflect the various spheres of human behaviour. What seems to me very interesting is the fact that many of the existing Mongolian proverbs are still very much in use in ordinary speech and that using such wise sayings is regarded as a demonstration of knowledge of cultured manners and right morality.

While in most of the Western cultures the use of proverbs in common speech is very rare and is considered a sign of an old-fashioned way of expressing shared wisdom, especially in rural Mongolia the situation is very different and proverbs are amply used in common speech.

Proverbs pose special problem for the translator. The listener is often expected to supply the missing words or phrases. This is especially true with regard to verbs. Another difficulty follows from the fact that their concise form does not provide us with the necessary context to clarify difficult passages. For these reasons, even native speakers can disagree on the precise interpretation of a given proverb.

The proverbs I have presented in this paper are part of material I have collected in different areas of Mongolia during my researches. All the presented proverbs appeared in recordings. I taped during interviews with my Mongolian informants. I have selected proverbs which are linked to the upbringing of children and I sorted them into categories according to their function and message. In this paper I do not deal with the internal or external structures of the individual Mongolian proverbs from a purely linguistic point of view, but I rather aim to explain their metaphorical contexts and clarify the symbolism of the expressions which appear in these proverbs. In the beginning of most of the sections, which are concerned with the single categories of collected proverbs, I have added brief descriptions of the cultural background, which help the reader to understand the function and content of the presented proverbs. All the proverbs are translated into English with occasional literal translation. I put the noun expressions, verbs, pronoun articles etc. within round brackets because without them the translation of the proverb would be incomprehensible and incomplete. In those cases where the metaphorical expressions used are rather unclear, I have added comments which should explain their exact meaning.

## 1. The world view of the Mongolian nomads

The way Mongolian nomads think and the way they perceive the world are influential factors, which have a direct impact on the way they use language. A very interesting picture of how the thinking of Mongolian nomads affects the way they speak and use the language is offered by A. Oberfalzerová in her new book *Metaphors and Nomads* (2006). She points out that to a certain extent the Mongols have preserved the archaic ontology of the world, characteristic of native thinking in general and that they share similar features, in their conception of the world, with some African tribes or Australian aborigines, in the way they follow oral tradition without written records.

One such feature is the belief of the Mongols in the magic power of the word, in the role of an individual's name, and also their approach to symbols. Their world-view is based on the animistic idea that everything has a soul and is alive and dynamic. Such a view is still very closely connected with the idea of a living animistic nature and its interpretation (Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 29). The Mongols feel the fear of nature and its forces and respect them. Everything surrounding humans is the basis for nomadic ethnopedagogy. A human being must live in awe and obey the fixed rules of life and be patient and humble in the face of the living and non-living – the earth, water, mountains, forests, animals and other creatures (Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 29–38).

As a reaction to that enormous fear of Nature and its powerful elements, people create an intricate network of injunctions and prohibitions. There exist approximately two thousand such prohibitions, which cover all major spheres of human activity. From the point of view of ethnopedagogy, which uses the fear of bad omens and the faith that a mere hint at something will become reality, these prohibitions have a strong influence on the child's mental development and motivate children to obey explicitly defined social norms (Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 38). Within this context Mongolian proverbs have played and still play a very important role in the process of raising children and are one of the typical examples which reflect many of the Mongolian traditional attitudes to the world.

## 2. Proverbs urging people to study and seek wisdom

Mongolian herders have always respected people with experience and knowledge. For nomadic Mongols, being an experienced person and knowing how to deal with various obstacles in everyday life, is a crucial condition for

prosperity and the preservation of the whole farming system based on cattle breeding. Although, in most of the demanding activities linked with breeding animals, Mongolian herders work together, the bulk of everyday work rests with individuals. In other words, if you, as an individual, are not experienced and knowledgeable enough, you and your immediate family will face troubles and you will not stay well.

It is for that reason that from a very early age the Mongols inculcate children with the idea that skills and knowledge are essential for life, and introduce them to miscellaneous working activities from the moment they are able to comprehend the given tasks. Another characteristic feature that is emerging in one of the proverbs is exhortation to courage and bravery (see example 5). Both of these virtues, connected with the desire to discover new horizons, form the necessary preconditions for a successful search for education and wisdom in the child's mind.

- Ex. 1    **Edeer biyee c'imeeher**  
           **Erdmeer biyee c'im**  
           *Instead of decorating yourself with riches*  
           *Decorate yourself with wisdom*
- Ex. 2    **Nasnii bagad**  
           **Erdmiig sur**  
           *At an early age*  
           *Learn wisdom*
- Ex. 3    **Dusliig huraaval dalai (bolno)**  
           **Duulsniig huraaval erdemtei (bolno)**  
           *If one gathers drops – (it will become) an ocean*  
           *If one gather information – (it will become) wisdom*
- Ex. 4    **Oroldlogo sait**  
           **Oroid garna**  
           *Those good at endeavour*  
           *Will reach the top*
- Ex. 5    **Ecgiin biid hu'ntei tanilc**  
           **Morinii biid gazar u'z**  
           *While your father is alive, get to know people*  
           *While you have a horse, go places*



**COMMENT:**

In this proverb the expression *Ecgiin biid hu'ntei tanilc* points to the fact that the father is traditionally the person who is supposed to introduce children to the other members of the community. This tradition is linked with the Mongolian conception of the spheres of the female and the male world. Such an imaginary boundary refers to the traditional gender division of labour in rural Mongolia. According to the traditional conception, the sphere of the man's activity includes predominantly the external world, the world outside of the *ger*,<sup>2</sup> while the woman's world is regarded as inside the *ger*.

One proverb which refers exactly to the traditional Mongolian conception of the gender spheres says:

**Gert orz'**

**Em bolz'**

**Gadaa garc'**

**Er boloh**

*When you enter the ger you become a woman*

*When you go out you become a man*

### 3. Proverbs dealing with morality, good reputation and human vices

The Mongols have been living for hundreds of years in small communities scattered over a vast territory. The smallest unit of the community is called *ail*. The *ail* is usually formed by old parents and by the families of their children. A group of *ails* forms a broader community, which occupies a certain area. The members of such communities, even if they are not blood-related, have a very close relationship. Therefore it is impossible to hide from others any events or accidents that happen.

If someone breaks the rules or violates the respected norms, very soon the whole community will find out what happened. To break the rules and norms is an act considered to be an indiscretion, which deserves condemnation. Thus if a person commits any forbidden or nasty act, his or her reputation will be automatically stained. It is necessary to say that despite the huge distances between human dwellings in rural Mongolia, information or any kind of gossip spreads very quickly. Therefore the news about someone's

2) Mo. *ger* – house, home, dwelling; the word *ger* denotes the Mongolian traditional tent, in which Mongolian herders live.

stained reputation very soon reaches the whole community and often also people from distant parts of the province. To spoil one's reputation means a long-lasting stigmatisation of an individual and it could also affect the reputation of his family and his relatives. That is why in many proverbs the Mongols strongly underline the necessity of protecting one's personal reputation and also the reputation of the whole family.

Ex. 1 **Hu'n neree**

**Togos o'doo**

*To man his name*

*To peacock its feather*

Ex. 2 **Ner hugarahaar**

**Yas hugar**

*Instead of breaking reputation*

*Is better to break (your) bone*

Ex. 3 **Muu hu'nii**

**Duu c'ang**

*Bad persons'*

*Voice is loud*

Ex. 4 **Daaganaas unaz' u'hdeggu'i**

**Darvagaraas bolz' u'hdeg**

*If you fall down from a colt you will not die*

*But you die because of verbosity*

#### COMMENT:

Mongols have a strong faith in the power of the word. Carelessly uttered words gain power and can cause too much evil. In particular words uttered as *haraal* – a curse, can cause something bad – illness, unhappiness, death, loss or a similar troublesome situation (for more details see Oberfalzerová 2003, p. 18). Even if someone does not utter curses and simply talks much, it is considered to be a sign of an empty head. Smart people weigh their words.

Ex. 5 **Ayaganii hariu o'dortoo**

**Agtnii hariu z'ildee**

*Response to a cup within a day*

*Response to a gelding within a year*



**COMMENT:**

This proverb speaks about how necessary it is to pay back in time the favours received from others. It is regarded as a demonstration of good manners to respond and pay back a favour, which was done to you by somebody else.

The proverb also indicates that there is a kind of unwritten rule, which defines the period within which the favour or debt must be paid back. The length of time before the maturity date depends on the size of the favour.

These relations are metaphorically expressed in these proverbs by using the examples of small or valuable items such a cup of tea or a strong horse.

#### **4. Proverbs advising people to make the right choice and establish real comradeship**

In the Mongolian wilderness, where the harsh climate during the long winter season makes the conditions for living and working very hard, the right choice and strong friendly bonds among the people are absolutely crucial for survival. This age-old Mongolian reality is mirrored in many Mongolian proverbs.

Another piece of wisdom, which is contained in some proverbs in this section, points out how unwise it is to judge people by their external appearance.

These proverbs also stress the fact that time is needed in order to be able to recognise the real quality of friendship.

Ex. 1 **Hu'nii ereen dotroo**  
**Mogoin ereen gadnaa**  
*Man's varicoloured inside*  
*Snake's varicoloured outside*

Ex. 2 **Hu'nii sainiig no'horlon baiz' meddeg**  
**Morinii sainiig unan baiz' tanidag**  
*You recognize the man's goodness while you are his friend*  
*You recognize the horse's goodness while you ride on him*

**COMMENT:**

The first of these two proverbs urges children not to assess people superficially by their external features and suggests that the genuine character of a man is hidden under the mask of his appearance.

The expression *mogoin* (genitive form of the Mongolian word *mogoi* – snake) is used as a metaphor for puzzling external appearance.

In the Mongolian animistic conception of the world, the snake is considered to be a mighty and very respectable animal. In this animistic cosmology the snake represents one of the possible shapes of the lord or the master of the earth and the mountains, Mo. *lus* (for more details see Oberfalzerová 2005 p. 26).

In this particular case, the snake represents the creature presenting a uniquely varicoloured image through its skin.

The second proverb emphasises the fact that it requires time if you want to get to know better another person. The expression *ride on the horse* is an activity familiar to all Mongols who live in the countryside and it is applied here as a metaphor.

- Ex. 3    **Muug** (muu hu'niig) dagaval  
           **Mogoin horlol**  
           **Sainiig** (sain hu'niig) dagaval  
           **Sarnii gerel**  
           *If you follow a bad person (people)*  
           *You will face a snake's villainy*  
           *If you follow goodness (the good one)*  
           *You will face the moonlight*

#### COMMENT:

In the third proverb presented in this section the expression *mogoin horlol* – snakes' venom, is used as a metaphor for the wrong end. In this case snake's venom represents the sinister power of the *Lus*, which can strike like a snake's bite everybody who follows evil people.

The second part predicts *sarnii gerel* – moon light for the people who follow goodness and that stands in contrast to the bad ends for those who follow evil, as it is defined in the first part of the proverb. The moonlight here symbolises the redeeming light in the dark of the night.

## 5. Proverbs urging people to respect elders and seniors

Respect for old age and senior people has been, and still is, a significant cultural feature of Mongolian society. Age hierarchy is firmly maintained and influences the behaviour of juniors towards their elders.

In the traditional Mongolian society esteem and respect for seniors were always strongly expressed. The Mongols appreciated the experience of the

older members of the community and regarded them as a source of wisdom, and old people served as an example for the young generation.

Also the ability to take care of weak seniors was a sign of cultured manners and good morals. From a very early age Mongols were urged to help old people, especially those whose health did not allow them to take care of themselves.

It was the duty of children to take care of their old parents at the time when they needed help.

It was the task for the family but also for the whole community to take care of their old members until the last moments of their lives.

Old age was always regarded as a beautiful period of life. It was the time after parents had brought up all of their children and finally could enjoy peace and relish their children.

The old people passed down their experience to the young. The presence of old people was important and it was perceived as positive and absolutely irreplaceable. Both in the family and in society their opinion was considered serious and worthy of reflection.

The words of the old people were regarded as an unwritten law (Weigert 2005, p. 43).

As an example I have added here two Mongolian proverbs from Sampildendev's work *Mongolian family customs* (1999), which perfectly reflect such a universally shared norm:

**Nastan/Nastai olontoï gazar narnii tuya tusna**

*Where there are many old people there is the sun shining*

**Ahmadiin surgaal alt, buurliin u'g buyan**

*The advice of old people is worth gold, the word of the silver-haired is worth a mantra* (Sampildendev 1999, p. 53)

Ex. 1 **Ah<sup>3</sup> ni surgaz'**  
**Du'u<sup>4</sup> ni sonsdog**  
*Older teach*  
*Younger listen*

3) Mongolian expression **ah** denotes the elder brother, uncle, every cousin or male individual older than the speaker. In contemporary Mongolian the expression **ah** is also used instead of the honorific title **guai** – which would be translated into English as *sir* or *mister*.

4) The Mongolian expression **du'u** denotes every sibling younger than the speaker regardless of gender. It also bears the denotation of 'cousin' or any individual younger than the speaker.

## COMMENT:

This proverb very simply defines the unwritten law that the young must listen to and respect their elders.

- Ex. 2    **Hu'n ahtai**  
           **Deel zahtai**  
           *Man has an elder*  
           *Robe has a collar*

## COMMENT:

This proverb speaks very simply about the respect which must be paid to elders. The metaphorical expression *deel zahtai* – ‘the robe has a collar’, in the second part of the proverb represents a realistic example, which points out the fact that having elders and respecting them and listening to them is an indubitable reality like the fact that every properly-made robe should have a collar.

- Ex: 3    **Aaviin u'g alt**  
           **Eez'iin u'g erdene**  
           *Father's word (is) gold*  
           *Mother's word (is) treasure*

## COMMENT:

To prefer one of the parents is forbidden. This proverb indicates very clearly that both parents' words have the same value. Both are worthy of respect, though each of them is different.

## 6. Proverbs stressing the importance of work and urging an active life

Because breeding and caring for animals is a physically very difficult and time-consuming work, every family member fit to work is required to participate in this process.

The right attitude to work is very important and Mongols encourage their children to be keen on work from an early age.

Parents start involving children in housework from about the age of four. Little children perform small tasks such as carrying containers of water, cleaning the dwelling and assisting adults with miscellaneous everyday work. A very important occupation of older siblings is looking after younger brothers and sisters at the time when parents, especially the mother, cannot

be present because of work. The oldest children normally carry out every necessary activity just as the adults do (Weigert 2005, p. 52).

- Ex. 1    **Yavsan nohoi**  
           **Yas zuuna**  
           *The dog which has gone*  
           *Will bring a bone*

**COMMENT:**

In the Mongolian countryside, dogs represent important animals which mainly help Mongolian herdsman to follow their herds and also alert them to the presence of wolves.

Some dogs are often kept tied in the vicinity of the dwellings during the day and are then released in the evening in order to alert people in case there is an approaching intruder. Most of the dogs in the Mongolian countryside are not regularly fed, they usually get the leftovers of people's food. This fact even enhances their naturally aggressive nature. Their only tendency is to tear off, run away and find some food. The dog is an excellent representative of predatory animals, whose speed can help him to satisfy his rumbling stomach.

- Ex. 2    **Tus hiivel duustal**  
           **Davs hiivel uustal**  
           *If you help, (help) till the end*  
           *If you put in salt, (you must stir) till it is dissolved*

**COMMENT:**

This proverb has also a variant which does not follow absolute alliteration:

- Az'il hiivel duustal**  
           **Davs hiivel uustal**  
           *If you work, (work) till it is finished*  
           *If you salt, (you must stir) till it is dissolved*

You cannot let salt stay on the open surface. Salt must be preserved in some container or can.

If the salt remains in a dry open place you can find yourself in trouble. Salt consists of a lot of crystals. Every little crystal which is left without use can bring you bad luck. You have to be sure that every bit of salt you wanted to use is properly dissolved. One must work carefully with salt.

Ex. 3 **Az'il hiivel**

**Am ho'dolno**

*If you work*

*(Your) mouth will move (i.e. you will eat)*

Ex. 4 **Noirnoos morio**

**C'o'mognoos hutgaa**

*(Your) sleep causes (that you lose) your horse*

*Digging out the marrow (will destroy) your knife*

*Lit. From sleep your horse*

*From marrow your knife*

#### COMMENT:

It is very interesting how Mongolians automatically understand this proverb even though its expression is very minimalist. But the explanation of this is quite clear.

It is routine work in the Mongolian countryside, especially for young boys, to ride on a horse and look after pasturing herds. This would be activity which could last the whole day, but if the herds strayed into the outlying pastures, such a chase could take couple of days.

So, if one falls a sleep during the day, or does not tie the horse properly before going to sleep at night and it runs away, then one is in trouble.

It happened probably once or twice to every herder and such a loss could cause him to lose some of his animals, and it is regarded as a big failure. A couple of older Mongolian herders told me during my interviews, that this kind of occurrence was the only reason for chastisement from their fathers or elder brothers.

Realistic example “*digging the marrow (out of the bone)*”, in the second part of this proverb, fills in whole composition of the proverb.

The mentioned *marrow* is, for the Mongolians, a favourite delicacy. However, it is not easy to break the bone and get the delicious stuff to your mouth. It needs some experience, some skills.

Ex: 5 **Zalhuu hu'n**

**Zavagtai mahandaa hu'rehgu'i**

*Lazy man*

*Cannot reach the meat (hidden) in the zavag*

**COMMENT:**

*Zavag* is the place between the lattice wall and the roof construction inside of the Mongolian *ger*, made by rolled and folded edge of the felt layer which covers the roof. Deep folds in the felt cover surrounding the *ger* from inside are an ideal place for hiding small items or treasures. In this case meat symbolises a delicious or valuable thing. The metaphorical expression “*cannot reach the meat (hidden) in the zavag*” can be interpreted as: to be too lazy to lift a finger to take the things hidden somewhere in the deep folds of the *zavag*.

- Ex. 6    **Uuz’ idehee hoino ni**  
           **Hiiz’ bu’teehee o’mno ni**  
           *Drinking and eating is after that*  
           *Doing and completing (finishing) is before that*

## 7. Proverbs emphasizing the necessity of unity, cohesion and solidarity

The traditional conception of the family in Mongolia is based on great cohesion and solidarity among its members. The family is understood to be a community of relatives and even distant relatives are considered to belong to the family.

By its character such a wide cognate Mongolian family network resembles a clan, where the kinship is derived from common ancestors. In most cases everyone knows his own degree of distance from closeness or remoteness with those related to him.

It is everyone’s duty to be loyal, to support and help those in need among his relatives.

This form of the Mongolian family has been shaped in the course of centuries by the nomadic way of life, in which the survival of all family members depended on cohesion and the ability to cooperate flexibly. The harsh climate conditions of the territory inhabited by the Mongols and their absolute dependence on breeding cattle and the limited natural resources made, and still make, the Mongolian family in the countryside the main axis of the nomadic farming system.

This conception of cohesion is reflected not only within the family framework but is strongly imprinted on the whole of Mongolian society as well. To offer help to those who are in difficulties and need support is regarded as an obligation.

It is beyond the power of a single individual to take care of the large herds of breeding animals. Thus it is not possible to secure enough foodstuff and

indispensable raw materials needed for the very survival. Isolation means quick death.

Ex. 1    **Evt s'aazgai**  
           **Buga barina**  
           *Magpies united*  
           *Will catch a stag*

**COMMENT:**

*S'aazgai* – the magpie is considered to be a guardian animal that is sent by *Lus* to guide an individual. To see a magpie is in general regarded as good sign (For more details see Oberfalzerová 2005, p. 19).

Another Mongolian proverb which comments on a different sort of experience and in which the magpie emerges says:

**Ovoo<sup>5</sup> bosgoogu'i bol**  
**S'aazgai suuhgu'i**  
*If (you) do not erect the Ovoo*  
*The magpie cannot sit (on it)*

## 8. Proverbs urging foresight and thoughtfulness

To be far-sighted and attentive is a feature of character which is very important for nomadic Mongols who live and work in the harsh and hostile Mongolian natural environment.

In the proverbs referring to this ability, the well-known fact is also stressed that if work is not done properly and precisely, the results are pitiful. This also implies that a person who causes difficulties and troubles by his or her deeds is obliged to handle the consequences by himself or herself.

Ex. 1    **Doloo hemz'iz'**  
           **Neg ogtol**  
           *Measure seven times*  
           *Cut once*

5) Mo. *ovoo* – sacred pile of stones which is usually erected on elevated place. *Ovoo* is the place where people offering sacrifice to Lords of the places, trees, mountains, mountain passes, etc.



- Ex. 2 **Yaarval daarna**  
*If you hurry you will get cold*
- Ex. 3 **Sain neriig hu'sevc' oldohgu'i**  
**Muu neriig husavc' arilahgu'i**  
*It is difficult to achieve a good reputation*  
*It is impossible to efface a bad reputation*
- Ex. 4 **Bus'uu tuulai**  
**Borvindoo baastai**  
*Hasty hare has*  
*Shitty heels*
- Ex. 5 **O'oroo unasan hu'uhed uildaggui**  
*A child who fell down all by itself never cries*
- Ex. 6 **O'od ni haysan c'uluu**  
**O'oriin tolgoi deer unana**  
*A stone thrown upwards*  
*Falls on (one's) own head*
- Ex. 7 **Hu'n boloh багаасaa**  
**Hu'leg boloh unaganaasaa**  
*Becoming a man (starts) from an early age*  
*Becoming a (good) horse (starts) from a foal*

## 9. Proverbs urging realistic thinking and sober-minded evaluation

Realistic estimation of one's own abilities and right evaluation in cases of danger was a basic condition for thriving cattle breeding and for survival in the harsh climate of the Mongolian territory. Thus many of proverbs that are still used convey such an emphasis.

- Ex. 1 **Ho'nz'iliinhoo hereer**  
**Ho'loo z'ii**  
*Within the size of your blanket*  
*Stretch your legs*

- Ex. 2    **Gadnaa gylancag**  
           **Dotroo palancag**  
           *Outside sparkle*  
           *Inside filthy*

## 10. Proverbs advocating self-control and self-discipline

- Ex.     **Neg garaa**  
           **No'googooroo barih**  
           *Hold your one hand by the other hand*

### COMMENT:

It is regarded as a symptom of weakness if a person expresses openly his or her emotions.

The Mongols advise their children from childhood on to be self-controlled and not to demonstrate their inner feelings.

This proverb underlines self-control, which is expressed here on the basis of a dynamic action. The proverb literally says: If one of your hands is ready to hit because of anger, be wise and self-controlled and stop the hand ready to attack by the other peaceful hand and prevent any outbreak of anger, hysteria or violence.

## Conclusion

*Zuir u'g* – proverbs, play an important role in the Mongolian language culture. Proverbs are still very often used in common speech, especially among Mongols in the rural areas. Mongolian proverbs preserve the rich experiences of the nomadic life of the Mongols and reflect their understanding of the world and also their concept of morality. Proverbs substantially function not only in the process of raising children but serve as moral principles for adult people as well.

The proof of this statement is their frequent usage among all Mongols regardless of their social status or age, and the fact that almost every single Mongol knows dozens of such wise sayings by heart.

In Mongolian society the knowledge of proverbs and how to use them is considered to be a sign of good manners and it suggests that the person who

knows them and can use them in the proper context is wise and deserves respect.

Proverbs also represent rich folklore material, which reflects the unique Mongolian oral tradition and displays the picture of the world in which nomadic Mongols live.

The study of proverbs can reveal valuable information about the Mongolian concept of the world-view and can also point at some specific features of the culturally conditioned behaviour of the Mongols.

There are some more aspects of Mongolian proverbs which were not discussed here (e.g. their stylistic, grammatical and phonetic features etc.). Proverbs as an original form of the Mongolian oral tradition will therefore be an interesting subject for a further study.

### Abbreviations:

Ex. = example  
Lit. = literally  
Mo. = Mongolian

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

Veronika Kapišovská

**Summary:** The paper Language Planning in Mongolia I., on the development of language planning during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, published in *Mongolica Pragensia* '05, is continued by characterizing the demographic and linguistic situation at the turn of the centuries which is influenced by the previous periods, and describing the current trends in language planning that directly originate from this language situation. This paper is based on the material collected in the course of the several field researches, including official documents and articles in specialized publications and press, as well as recordings and notes made during the interviews with common people as well as linguists participating in the language planning processes.

## Introduction

The early 1990s put an end to the Soviet control of Mongolian language planning. It seemed then that Mongols finally had a chance to decide on their language according to their own wishes. However, quite soon it became clear that the ideas of which way to follow regarding Mongolian language may differ substantially.

As described in the previous part, despite all efforts the intention of re-establishing the traditional Mongolian script failed. In this part I am focusing on several issues that most often draw the attention of the linguists, as well as of the public – the question of competence in one's native language, language law, the spelling reform of Cyrillic Mongolian, the use of the Latin alphabet and finally the current attitude to foreign languages. At the end, the paper contains some words on government involvement in language planning. The ideas in the paper are substantiated with statistical data from the last census,

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1) In the following, speaking about Mongolia will refer to Outer Mongolia, the Mongolian People's Republic or today's Mongolia, if not otherwise stated.

I would like to thank the Mongolian linguists and all the other informants named individually at the end of this paper for sharing their time with me, providing me with valuable information and answering my endless questions patiently. Special thanks to Prof. Dr. Ts. Shagdarsuren for his comments on this paper and to Josefine Heinrichs, M.A. for correcting my English.

the standardized Latin alphabet for transcribing Cyrillic Mongolian as well as some photographs illustrating the situation in outside inscriptions in Ulan Bator.

As to the sources, this paper is based on the material collected in the course of the several field researches. That includes official documents and articles in specialized publications and the press, as well as recordings and notes made during the interviews with common people and with the linguists participating in the language planning processes.

## 1. Current Demographic and Linguistic Situation in Mongolia

Since 1918 censuses were more or less regularly conducted in Mongolia. According to the information acquired from the last census in 2000, the population was 2,373,493,<sup>2</sup> and up to 32% of the population (760,077) lived in the capital (ibid. pp. 31, 32). During the last two or three decades increasing migration from the countryside to the cities and settled centres was observed: up to 57% (1,345,000) of the total population of Mongolia declared they lived in cities, aimag and sum centres or in villages (ibid. pp. 31, 32).

99% (2 365 269) of the total population are Mongolian citizens, the rest are foreigners from more than 30 countries (8,128) and the people without citizenship (96) (ibid. p. 48). The most numerous ethnic group are Khalkhas (1,934,674), Kazakhs (102,983), Durbets (66,706), Buryats (40,620), followed by smaller ones.<sup>3</sup>

The language situation, as observed during the last ten or fifteen years, was shaped during the 20<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of several simultaneous factors. First of all, the process of domination of the Khalkha dialect must be mentioned. As early as 1929 Vladimircov wrote, that "... the Khalkha dialect tends to become the common language of the Northern Mongols, the Khalkha variety of Urga being the dialect of such a place as Urga or Ulan Bator will dominate."<sup>4</sup>

2) 2000 оны хүн ам, орон сууцны тооллого: Үндсэн үр дүн. УБ 2001, p. 28. In 1989 the population reached 2,044 000 (ibid.)

3) For detailed information see the list in the Appendix, p. 108.

4) Vladimircov 1929, p. 50 (460). The prestige of Khalkha Mongolian is described in Vladimircov, p. 49 (459) and mentioned also in Kapišovská 2005, Mongolian Language Planning I., p. 56.

As mentioned in the previous part (Kapišovská 2005, pp. 66–67), by implementation of the Cyrillic alphabet and new spelling rules based on the Central Khalkha dialect this initially natural process acquired a new dimension – it was intentionally misused by Mongolia's communist leaders for the ideological purpose of eliminating the differences between the dialects, thus creating a socialist national identity with one unifying language. Nation-wide press, radio, television, controlled migration of the people either due to the party's appointment or because of the placement according to specialization, but especially schooling had a harmful effect on dialects. Today, the level of "Khal-khisisation", that is the level of being influenced by standard Mongolian, varies from region to region. For example, Enkhtaivan, a Buryat from Khentii aim-ag, estimates, that while older people in his native region automatically use about 20% of Khalkha words when speaking, this ratio becomes inverted in the speech of the young generation, i.e. they use up to 80% of Khalkha words (Enkhtaivan, IN 2005). As far as I know, there has been no socio-linguistic research on Mongolian dialects so far, but we can assume that the extent of their "Khal-khisisation" may depend on the remoteness of the place, the number of people in the ethnic group, the intensity of their contact with the standard language and/or with urban society, as well as the ethnic self esteem.<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, the whole set of factors that played a significant role in shaping the current language situation in Mongolia is resulting from several decades of very close Soviet-Mongolian relationship, whose beginning goes back to well before 1920s. Apart from ethnic Chinese, a numerous community of Russians lived in Mongolia before 1921; they were mainly people from Siberia, tradesmen and employees of trade companies. Later, experts from various fields – including even musicologists or (Soviet) Party specialists<sup>6</sup> – were coming to Mongolia to act as advisors. Furthermore, due to labour shortage,

5) Prof. Tserensodnom considers some small dialects to be seriously endangered, if not already extinct. Members of other ethnic groups succumb to assimilation in predominantly or purely Khalkha milieu very fast in order to avoid being mocked for incorrect speaking. Cf. Tserensodnom, IN 2005; Сапуул-Эрэдэнэ 2004, p. 6.

6) For example Boris Fiodorovich Smirnov, a musicologist, spent several years in Mongolia introducing European music and notation. He is also said to have redesigned some of the Mongolian national instruments and imposed new playing styles in order to facilitate the musicians' adaptation to the new tuning (Pegg 2001, p. 256–257). According to their headlines, many of the Party's resolutions deal with foreigners (not only with Russians) staying and working in Mongolia: for example, there is a decision about reducing the number of Russian instructors serving at Mongolian ministries and state offices in a resolution of the Party's Central Comitee (18. 12. 1921), or another one about giving a prize to a Russian lithographic printer (28. 4. 1923) etc. (Catalogue of Central National Archive).

Chinese and Soviet workers initially constituted a large proportion of the industrial and construction force – in 1927 only about 26% of industrial workers were Mongols and in 1934 still about 50% were foreigners.<sup>7</sup> Soviet citizens played a major role in the Mongolian economy as advisors and employees of joint Mongolian-Soviet enterprises, particularly after 1960. Smaller numbers of East European experts also came to Mongolia after its 1962 accession to Comecon (ibid.).

Since the 1970s, the relationship between Mongolia and the Soviet Union became even closer, and in 1980s the political, economical and cultural life in the country was in fact under the control of the Soviet Union. Internationally Mongolia was quite often perceived as a satellite of the Soviet Union. Historians indicate that by the end of the 1980s 25% out of all the citizens of the Soviet Union working abroad were in Mongolia (Монгол Улсын түүх 2004, vol. V., p. 403). According to the statistical data, 54 500 citizens of the Soviet Union were living in Mongolia in 1989 in addition to about 100 000 members of the Soviet military forces (Цэцэгмаа 2005, p. 5). It is therefore obvious that accordingly, the position of Russian language grew stronger. In the 1920s Mongols, with only some exceptions, hardly knew any Russian; later, as Russian grew in importance, it almost completely replaced Tibetan and Chinese, which after all had become ideologically unacceptable, to become almost the only actively used foreign language.

By means of Russian, contact with Russian culture, but also with world culture took place. Fiction as well as the specialized literature was translated from Russian, modern Mongolian terminology in most fields is based on the Russian terminology, either as loan translations or loanwords, or a combination of both. Since most Mongolian authorities and various institutions, including schools, were fashioned according to the Soviet type, their names, the blanks and forms they use, their documents and the style of the official correspondence follow their Russian originals.<sup>8</sup>

Russian was compulsorily taught from the 4<sup>th</sup> grade of the general educational schools, in many schools, even in the rural areas, Russians were work-

7) Mongolia – Labor force. Source: *U.S. Library of Congress On*: <http://countrystudies.us/mongolia/>.

8) For example: *иргэний гэр бүлийн байдлын бүртгэл* (Мо) > запись актов гражданского состояния (Ru) “Registry Office”; *эрүүгийн хариуцлагад татах* (Мо) > *привлекать к уголовной ответственности* (Ru) “to be liable to criminal prosecution”.



ing as teachers.<sup>9</sup> A large number of Russian schools were established in Ulan Bator and some other cities, especially in those with a high concentration of Soviet experts; the schools were also attended by children of eminent Mongols. The knowledge of Russian differs from one social stratum to another and it can be assumed that the level of the competence in Russian depended on individual needs, background and on the ambitions of the individual or his or her family for the future. Knowledge of Russian was required if someone wanted to study at a university, for the text-books used in most of the specialized fields, e.g. medicine and veterinary, were mainly in Russian.<sup>10</sup> Good command of Russian was also the key to studying abroad, either in the Soviet Union or some other socialist country, if one later wanted to be appointed to a good position.<sup>11</sup> It is true that “Russian language played a significant role in training the university educated experts” (Бэрз 2005, p. 26) and in doing so it imperceptibly penetrated Mongolian language in the form of various loanwords; it significantly affected the language of the urban population and, regardless of the level of education acquired, gave rise to linguistically very interesting and specific professional jargons (for example, that of doctors, railwaymen, workers in cement mills or long-distance drivers).<sup>12</sup>

The urban development along with the strong influence of a non-Mongolian culture and a foreign language (Russian, in this case), most concentrated particularly in the cities, resulted in an estrangement of the urban population from their ancestral nomadic culture. This applies as much to their relationship to and feeling for nature (Бүм-Ялагч 2005, p. 12–13), as to the language. This feature of contemporary urban Mongolian has already been described in the professional literature (Oberfalzerová, Luvsandorj’ 2001, pp. 39–40; Lubsangdorji 2003, pp. 44–45). Prof. Lubsangdorji, for example, distinguishes two subgroups in the language of the urban population – the language of

9) Мөнхзул. The first text-books of Russian language for Mongols were published in 1940s of 20th century, approximately at the same time the decision of Russian to be the only foreign language for Mongols to learn in schools was made. Cf. Бэрз 2005, p. 26.

10) According to some sources the language of instruction at the three departments of the Mongolian State University (education, medicine and veterinary medicine) in the first period after it was founded in 1942 was Russian, too. Cf. Mongolia – Education. Source: *U.S. Library of Congress On*: <http://countrystudies.us/mongolia/>.

11) In 1983 more than 10,000 Mongols were studying in the Soviet Union, each year 1,500 Mongols were sent to Soviet vocational schools. Party members attended higher party schools in the Soviet Union, too. Mongolia – Education. Source: *U.S. Library of Congress On*: <http://countrystudies.us/mongolia/>. Cf. Цэцэгмаа 2005, p. 5.

12) Field research and translating experience; J. Lubsangdorji; unknown informant from Erdenet (2002).

the graduates of Mongolian schools and the language of the graduates of non-Mongolian schools. The latter are people (usually celebrities) who attended Russian kindergartens and/or schools during the communist era and usually completed their studies at the universities abroad. People of this generation speak an urban “domestic” language they learned from their parents in their childhood (Lubsangdorji 2003, pp. 44–45).

In the whirl of the political, economical and social changes of the 1990s Mongols turned away from the Russian language; the fact that the major part of the Russian experts and military forces had left Mongolia added to the trend. Furthermore, compared to the previous regime, a significant decline of Soviet-Mongolian contacts in all fields and levels occurred, which also meant less need for communication in Russian. To compare, according to the census information only 8,128 foreigners from about 30 countries lived in Mongolia in 2000, only 3,400 of whom were citizens of the Russian Federation.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, a certain Russophobia that involved Mongolia for the period of time also came into play. There was a boom for learning other languages, particularly English, as well as other Asian languages, such as Japanese, Chinese and Korean. Even though few Russian schools left, Russian classes in Mongolian schools were abolished and with the beginning of the school year 1992/93 Russian language was replaced by English.<sup>14</sup>

It must be mentioned that the gulf between rural and urban language is still deepening and that this trend will probably continue in the future despite the fact that today many families who live far away from “civilization” have at least limited access to electricity through solar batteries, are able to receive Mongolian TV via satellite; there is access to the internet (although sometimes limited) in most aimag centres, and the signal of mobile phone operators covers even many sum centres as well as remarkable places and sites attractive to tourists, such as Kharkhorin.

13) 2000 оны хүн ам, орон сууцны тооллого: Үндсэн үр дүн. УБ 2001, p. 49. By the end of 1980s Kazakhs working in Mongolia were included in the total number of Soviet citizens. Since Kazakhstan became an independent state in 1991, Kazakhs have been recorded separately; now, according to the data collected during the census there are 600 Kazakh citizens living in Mongolia in 2000 (ibid.).

14) В школах Монголии вновь вводится обязательное изучение русского языка. Он: <http://www.newsru.com/world/21sep2006/mongolrus.html>. Cf. Бэрз 2005, p. 27.

## 2. Current Trends in Language Planning

The current language situation, as described above, comprises layers inherited from the communist era and some problems for which, according to some linguists, a better solution should be found, as well as those that are a result of the later internal processes and foreign influences that are also being discussed among linguists and common people. Although these issues blend together in such a way that they can hardly be separated from each other we can distinguish several main topics. Whenever these discussions arise, they are accompanied by the question of government involvement and the form that a language policy should have.

### LANGUAGE COMPETENCE IN THE NATIVE LANGUAGE

The diminishing linguistic competence of Mongols has been a frequent subject over the last years. While public criticizes mostly the errors found on street signs, notice boards or in advertising and, in the eye of many, incomprehensible tendency of owners of shops, restaurants, schools and other publicly presented business and services publicly advertised to use English names (possibly also in Chinese or Korean), often without any deeper sense or a parallel name in Mongolian,<sup>15</sup> specialists also notice errors, typos or incorrect style and incomprehensible expressions in the public press, instructions, advertising materials, and in the media in general. In this context, particularly the media are being accused of having a considerably negative impact on the Mongolian language, since they influence all strata of society, but especially young people, who are most susceptible to influence of that kind (Түдэв 2005, p. 33; Лочин 2005, p. 107). This fact is being largely explained by an enormous

15) This was a theme of a seminar in 2002 "Inscriptions and advertising is an important part of culture of the capital" (*"Хаяг реклам нь нийслэл хотын соёлын чухал хэсэг мөн"*). During an interview a journalist of the central Mongolian TV, Mrs. Altantsetseg had her say on this topic, literally: "... Why it is not possible to write *"сүргүүл"*, is it really necessary to write "school"? When people from the countryside are coming /to the city/, they are surprised, saying what does that mean? Where are we? *"Супер-маркет"* – why *"супер-маркет"*? Everything has become a supermarket. ... somebody builds a small building and it becomes a *"супер-маркет"* right away. As if he does not know what it means. ... And if you go and watch on the street everything is like this ... And if it is written in Mongolian, then it is full of mistakes. The one who knows feels embarrassed ... (Altantsetseg, IN 2005).

shortage of professional journalists with adequate education<sup>16</sup> and a lack of language editors (Altantsetseg, IN 2005). However, many linguists believe that it is the ill-prepared curricula of the native language at schools where teaching is too “academic”. Instead of learning to express their thoughts correctly and logically in their mother tongue, pupils study their native language in a manner that is closer to studying philology at university. Textbooks of Mongolian are too academic and compel students to cramming, which on the one hand decreases the pupils’ interest in the curriculum and on the other hand commits their knowledge to short-term memory only (Сампилдэндэв 2005, pp. 13–14). Another problem, according to specialists, is a lack of modern spelling handbooks and explanatory monolingual and academic dictionaries. Specialists are not quite satisfied with the spelling based on the Cyrillic alphabet since its introduction alone and its unification has actually never been completed. The “Dictionary of the Mongolian Spelling Rules” (*Монгол үсгийн дүрмийн толь*) by Ts. Damdinsuren and B. Osor published in 1983 has served as a guideline. Today these spelling rules are often ignored and people just write down “what enters their minds” (Баттортох in Буянтгортох 2004, p. 72), often of course because they do not have the possibility to verify the spelling, as there is a lack of dictionaries and handbooks, no language help centre in Mongolia, and no language corner in the media or other advisory institution, nor is there an institution to supervise observation of the rules of Mongolian spelling and speech standard (Баттортох in Буянтгортох 2004, p. 72; Алтанцэцэг, IN 2005).

Until 2004, when a rather small handbook by the Mongolian and Manchurian linguist G. Buyantogtokh from the Mongolian State University – “Handbook of Mongolian Spelling Rules to be mastered by everybody” (*Нийтээр эзэмших Монгол хэлний дүрмийн лавлах*) was published – no newer dictionaries or handbooks had been published in Mongolia that would, among other things, reflect the changes in spelling that had occurred since the above mentioned dictionary by Damdinsuren and Osor was published. It is noteworthy that Buyantogtokh’s handbook contains a special section devoted to polite expressions as well as transcription rules from the Mongolian into the Latin alphabet and rules of adapting loanwords to Mongolian spelling rules.<sup>17</sup>

16) Лочин 2005, p. 108. It is necessary to add that unlike in the communist era there are over 800 titles of newspapers and magazines registered in Mongolia today, while roughly half of them are periodicals (Лочин 2005, p. 107), even though in different intervals. Then there are more than 10 radios, including internet radio, and over 10 TV companies (www.ubs.mn).

17) It is the last mentioned that often causes problems to Mongols. Contemporary loanwords, if overtaken from Russian, retain Russian spelling, others, the major part of which are words

The worsening linguistic competence particularly of the young generation has been the result of a low interest in reading which has been replaced by television, DVD and computers. This trend first appeared in Mongolia in the 1990s and has continued since. Little interest in reading among people was also caused by the collapse of the book market which occurred in the first days of the economic transformation. It has not been fully recovered since.<sup>18</sup>

## LANGUAGE LAW

All the above developments are the reason why many called for a language law that, according to their expectations, would deal with these and other problems related to language. Some of them are going to be discussed below. It took a relatively long time to push the bill through,<sup>19</sup> The State Official Language Law (*Төрийн албан ёсны хэлний тухай хууль*) was finally passed on 15 May 2003.<sup>20</sup> The law introduces a term of the official national language, which some scholars do not agree with (Түдэв 2005, p. 33; Lubsangdorji) and which is specified as “contemporary literary and colloquial Mongolian language” (4. 1. 1.). The law specifies the scope of the Mongolian language use and its superiority in cases when a foreign word is also an option (e.g. name of streets and squares, notice boards of state institutions and offices should be in Mongolian, nevertheless, also an English version is permitted (5. 7.); in contact with foreign subjects of all levels Mongolian language should be used; in case there is a written document in a foreign language, it should be translated (5. 2. –5. 4. , 5. 8. –5. 12.), etc.). The law then regulates the use of language in the school system and in relation to national minorities (5. 13. –5. 15.), it

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of English origin, are written down phonetically, that in sometimes results in having more variants. Due to the fact that these loanwords do not follow the vocal harmony, common Mongols are often not sure about what suffix to attach. For example, a word “компьютер” could be found in three variants: *компьютероор*, *компьютераар* and *компьютерээр*.

- 18) During my visit to Sainshand, Dornogobi aimag, in 2002 I was told by the local assistant in the bookshop that it was in 1992 when they last received books in Ulan Bator. Newer publications available in the shop are either from the authors themselves or they are from the locals for sale.
- 19) Dulam, IN 2002. At that time Prof. Dulam has kindly given to me the copy of the mother tongue draft law, which according to Prof. Tumurtogoo was later suddenly approved as the State Official Language Law. The draft law differs slightly from the approved one.
- 20) Full text of this law is available in the section *Хуулийн сан* of the website of the Mongolian Parliament [www.parl.gov.mn](http://www.parl.gov.mn).

determines that media are to respect the standards and terminology of the recent literary language (5.16) and does not allow using foreign words and terms where Mongolian synonyms are available. To supervise the observance of the law, the Council for the Official National Language (*Төрийн хэлний зөвлөл*) was established. It is directly responsible to the government (6. 1. – 6. 7.). In the sanction part the law stipulates types of financial fines, unless a court determines that a crime was committed (8. 1.).

The members of the Council for the Official National Language (Түдэв 2005, p. 33; Lubsangdorji) are representatives of central organs of the national administration for education, culture, science, justice, foreign affairs, industry and trade, representatives of the municipal authority of the capital and representatives of professional (i.e. linguistic) institutions. The activities of the Council are focused on monitoring the observation of the law pertaining to the national language mentioned above, on promotion and control over observation of the existing standards, terminology and rules of contemporary Mongolian language, and even creating new ones etc. A lot of attention is paid particularly to the terminology, where, according to the opinion of linguists, a number of terms created during the socialist period require revision or, if possible, a replacement of the foreign term by a Mongolian one (e.g. concerning the term *витамин* “vitamin” a new term has been created at the initiative of Prof. Shagdarsuren with help of a loan translation: *амин дэм* “vitamin”, *lit.* vital + support, help), and at the same time there is a permanent need for creating new terms. One of the revised terms is the even nowadays frequently used term for “handicapped people” – *хөгжилийн бэрхшээлтэй иргэд* (*lit.* the people with trouble or obstacle to develop), which replaced the original *тахир дутуу иргэд* (disabled people).

In spite of all expectations, the language law has neither brought about improvements of the so much criticized situation (Altantsetseg, IN 2005; Сампилдэндэв 2005, p. 19; Namjil, IN 2005), and furthermore it is said that the linguistic disorder of the capital and the mistakes in the inscriptions have now even reached the aimag and sum centers (Tserensodnom, IN 2005).

#### SPELLING REFORM

Since the implementation of the “new” (Cyrillic) alphabet a spelling reform is something that several generations of Mongolian linguists believed had to be done. After the political change it might have finally been implemented. In 2003, upon decision of the government a team of linguists and other experts

from the Academy of Science, the Ministry of Education and the Pedagogical University was established to work out the new, improved spelling rules. As Prof. Tumurtogoo, the head of the working team puts it, their main objective was conforming spelling rules to the linguistic laws of the Mongolian language, which, on the other hand, would also simplify them.<sup>21</sup> At the same time he points out that drafting them does not mean creating completely new spelling rules – the existing rules are just modified on the basis of the ideas and suggestions expressed by Mongolian and foreign linguists since 1950. These were analysed, unified and used for spelling rules to be improved; besides, some rules of the traditional script reflected in the new spelling rules, too.<sup>22</sup> To begin with, the letters initially taken from the Russian alphabet without no special need for in Mongolian (“ь”, “ъ”, “ы”, “щ” and the signs for yotated vowels) are supposed to be abolished, the use of the letters for some other phonemes is also reassessed (for example, *дурсгал* → *дурасхал* “remembrance, monument”, *тусгай* → *тусхай* “special”) (Төмөртөгөө 2005, pp. 21, 22). In the suggested spelling rules the basic types of syllables and therefore also the roots, stems, postpositions and affixes are supposed to be preserved without change. As a result, vowel elision, vowel shift and other unnatural rules will lose their effect (for example, *кирил үсгийн* [үсэг + Acc. = үсгийн] *зөв бичих дүрмийг* [дүрэм + Acc. = дүрмийг] → *кирил үсэгийн* [үсэг + Acc. = үсэгийн] *зөв бичих дүрэмийг* [дүрэм + Acc. = дүрэмийг] “spelling rules of the Cyrillic alphabet” /Acc./) (Төмөртөгөө 2005, p. 21). Compared to 133 points of the existing rules, only about 40 will remain in the suggested rules, about half of which are related to punctuation (ibid.).

The project of the reformed spelling rules was introduced to the government.<sup>23</sup> One possible reason why they have not been approved yet is a strong protest of non-professionals in Mongolian linguistics (Lubsangdorji 2004, p. 92). Nonetheless some scholars use them in their books, articles and speeches and they are published without being corrected to conform to the officially recognized spelling rules.

Linguists also believe that if the structure of the Mongolian language is precisely and correctly reflected in the Cyrillic spelling rules and the new spelling rules are approved, conversion between the three alphabets would become possible.

21) Цагаан толгой 27 үсэгтэй болох уу? In: *Өдрийн сонин*, 17. 12. 2004.; Төмөртөгөө 2005, p. 22.

22) Цагаан толгой 27 үсэгтэй болох уу? In: *Өдрийн сонин*, 17. 12. 2004.

23) Tumurtogoo, IN 2005; *Төрийн хэлний зөвлөлийн тогтоол*.

## ALPHABET(S)

The traditional Mongolian script has already been discussed in the first part of this paper (Kapišovská 2005, p. 69–70). By now, nothing has changed its merely symbolic value. Prof. Shagdarsuren warns that if the government does not take any action to encourage its use, it will be lost.

Meanwhile, the arrival of the Internet (1995), the development of computer literacy and telecommunication services (the first Mongolian mobile provider started to operate in March 1996) increased the need to use the Latin alphabet, whose use had been by then limited to several specialized scientific and technical disciplines, and the majority of the population encountered it only when there was a need to write a telegram. Nowadays, it is safe to say that all internet and mobile phone users, including the population outside cities, have a basic knowledge of Latin alphabet regardless of their knowledge of foreign languages. There are private internet users; but internet cafes are now open in all towns and in the majority of the aimag centres, there are internet points at post offices at all aimag centres; all the important tourist localities such as Kharkhorin, have mobile phone coverage. With reference to the increased use of the Latin alphabet, a revised standard alphabet for the transcription of Mongolian into the Latin alphabet came into effect as of January 2003 (see Appendix, p. 110) elaborated by the Office for Standardization and Metrology. However, an overwhelming majority of people are still using their own set of characters, where both the knowledge of foreign languages, usually English, and mainly autonomous innovations, e.g. certain characters from the Latin alphabet are based on a visual analogy with the characters of Mongolian Cyrillic. Moreover, the language of e-mails and text messages is characterized by an excessive use of abbreviations (Ex. 4, 5, 6 and 11), phonetic transcript of some foreign words (Ex. 1) and by writing the names of foreign countries in original (Ex. 1). Below are several examples from an internet forum (Ex. 1) and private messages (SMS), where the most frequent use of the Latin alphabet for these purposes could be observed.

If we are to limit our concern here to the description of the way transcription is used, we can see that the characters of Mongolian Cyrillic which are not represented in the Latin alphabet are replaced by the Mongols this way:

“B” = “v” (ex. 3, 5, 6); “w” (ex. 11)

“Ж” = “j” (ex. 1), “z” (ex. 2)

“3” = “z” (ex. 3)

“H” = “i” (ex. 1); “u” (ex. 2)



“нб” = “nl” (ex. 1); “н” (ex. 10)  
 “ө” = “o” (ex. 1), “ø” (ex. 2), “u”  
 “ү” = “y” (ex. 2), “u” (ex. 5, 6)  
 “Ү” = “v” (ex. 1, 4), “u” (ex. 6)  
 “х” = “h” (ex. 1), “x” (ex. 3, 4); “kh” (ex. 6)  
 “ц” = “ts” (ex.  
 “ч” = “ch” (ex. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9); “c” (ex. 10)  
 “ш” = “sh” (ex. 2, 3  
 “ю” = “yu” (ex. 1)  
 “я” = “ya” (ex. 1)

Ex. 1

iraq

*yag odoo iragt laliin armadan sar vrgeljilj bna ene ved ted odor hool idehgyi zovhon shono idej ih duu chimee gargadag. Ih ayultai sar yum ene ved er ni laliin orond ailchilj hereggvi.*

Currently there is the Muslim month of Ramadan in Iraq. During this period they do not eat during the day, they eat only during the night and are very noisy. This is a very dangerous month. There is nothing good in travelling to the Muslim countries at this time. (TV5, “Монголчуудын нүдээр”, 25. 10. 2005)

Ex. 2

*Hi ta 3 sauxan amarz bn y bu ajula xuuj bga ene munu ytasnu dugar 5.30as xoush ytasdbal bu zölöteu*

Hi, did the three of you spend your holiday well? I am doing my work. This is my phone number. If you call after 5.30 [p.m.], I am free ...

Ex. 3

*... Margaash lxagva garigt bi zavtai. ...*

... Tomorrow, on Wednesday, I am free ...

Ex. 4

*Bna. Ta irex vv?*

I am. Will you come?

Ex. 5

*Ta yg odoo haana ba bi juulchind oirhon yvaad dongoj say l orj irlee. ...*

Where are you right now? I was not far [from here] with the tourists and have just come in ...

Ex. 6

*Tram 40 min orchim yavakh baikh. Chi khuleevel bi odoo garlaa.*

It will take about 40 minutes to go by tram. If you can wait I am leaving now.

Ex. 7

*Hi bi øchigdør tantai uulzsan gazrä irlè.*

Hi, I have arrived at the place we met yesterday.

Ex. 8

*Ta nadad haugä øgøøch.*

Give me your address, please.

Ex. 9

*Urchixlee.*

I have come.

Ex. 10

*Vvdend cin irchixlee xalga cin xaalttai bna*

I have come to your door. [Your door] is closed.

Ex. 11

*Hi zawtai shd. ...xaanaas awax we?*

Hi, I have time. ... where should I take [her] from?

In 2003 the activities of those who prefer the Latin alphabet lead into the adoption of the National Programme for the Latin Alphabet (*Латин үсгийн үндэсний хөтөлбөр*) by the parliament. The objectives of the programme, as it is explicitly stated in the preamble, is to use both, the Cyrillic as well as the Latin alphabet, and to set up the conditions for ensuring their mutual convertibility.<sup>24</sup> This programme lists the activities preceeding and to a certain degree determining that these objectives were reached. These are, first of all, working out spelling rules and, in a second stage, printing and publish-

24) Латин үсгийн үндэсний хөтөлбөр. Зууны мэдээ 24. 7. 2003 №178 (1376). According to the information available, in 2005 a team of experts from Mongolian State University started to work on a project of „The Latin Alphabet“, which apart from creating the spelling rules is aimed at working out the comparative dictionary of current spelling rules, revised spelling rules of the Cyrillic Mongolian, spelling rules of the Latin Mongolian and spelling rules of the traditional Mongolian script. Cf. Төмөртөг 2005, p. 24.

ing dictionaries, text-books and hand-books, establishing the instructional standards and promoting the use of the Latin alphabet, for example by supporting the publishing of advertising, columns and front pages in the Latin alphabet and the intensified publishing of books, text-books and handbooks in Latin alphabet (ibid.).

Obviously, some people may come to the conclusion that the shift from Cyrillic to Latin is being prepared. For the time being, this is officially denied by the linguists.<sup>25</sup> As it was said during the conference about the “Questions related to the Government’s language policy” held in Ulan Bator in 2005, the best choice is to continue with the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in its more developed form. At the same time, Mongols have to do their best to study the traditional script so that the national culture, traditions and customs can be preserved and further developed, but it is not going to be the official script, while the Latin alphabet will serve for technical purposes, including the use of computers, internet and cellular phones (Сампилдэндэв 2005, p. 16–17). At this point, some linguists, as well as common people, express the opinion that before any alphabet change occurs the everyday life of the people should be improved and there is still much left to do (Tserensodnom, IN 2005, Enkhtaivan, IN 2005).

#### FOREIGN LANGUAGES

When speaking of current processes in the Mongolian language situation, the relationship of Mongols to the foreign languages must also be considered.

At the beginning of 1990s a growing interest in foreign languages gave rise to many language courses (*дамжаа*) and schools of various levels. Foreign language training was incorporated into school programs. Many Russian language teachers were involved in one year re-training courses that would enable them to teach English at schools (Бэрз 2005, p. 27); private courses and schools competed in inviting foreigners to teach, whatever their nationality and even level of English was. Later, those who could afford it preferred to get language training for themselves or their children abroad. In Ulan Bator,

25) Among Mongolian linguists there are three groups with different visions on what alphabet is the best solution for Mongolian. Apart from supporters of the Mongolian script there are linguists convinced that the time has come to consider whether the Latin alphabet should be implemented. Some scholars, especially the followers of Ts. Damdinsuren and graduates from Russian schools, insist the Cyrillic alphabet has to remain. (Shagdarsuren).

where some Russian schools still exist, several schools were established to offer a full program of general education in foreign languages (Turkish, English, etc.); others provided extended program of language training.<sup>26</sup> It must be also noted that after a break of several years Russian returned to secondary schools. Its significance in Mongolia is now realistically accepted. However, it is not taught earlier than from the 7<sup>th</sup> grade.

Some people, for now only among the urban elite population tend to over-estimate foreign languages, while competence in Mongolian is considered to be something natural which therefore needs not be furthered nor improved in any way. While during the communist regime, a working knowledge of Russian was often a vital necessity, today overusing foreign languages is a choice (Altantsetseg, IN 2005).<sup>27</sup>

On a government level, English is given priority over other foreign languages. "Due to the growing relationship of Mongolia with other countries, increasing possibilities and necessity in contact and cooperation with foreigners and foreign organizations, as well as in information change..." the National Program for English language (*Англи хэлний үндэсний хөтөлбөр*) whose text is "The National Program for Improving the English Teaching Quality" (*Англи хэлний сургалтын чанарыг сайжруулах үндэсний хөтөлбөр*) was approved in December 2001. This program covers many different details. Its objectives are to solve the problem of lack of teachers and text-books, to improve the English teaching standards and to ensure a nation-wide knowledge of English. To encourage teachers in the rural areas, extra financial support is offered, partly from the local administrations and partly from the state budget.<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, this and previous governments did not hide their pro-English attitude and from time to time a discussion about English as the second official language arises in the press. At the beginning of March there was a note that this is going to be officially declared soon.<sup>29</sup>

26) For example, speaking only of primary and secondary education, there are more than 20 schools with Chinese language instruction today. Cf. Улаанбаатарт Кунзийн сургууль нээнэ. News. 16. 5. 2006. www.ubs.mn.

27) "Now it is trendy among the businessmen and elite to send their children to study abroad, to Switzerland or Germany. And even during their holiday these children refuse to speak Mongolian, they speak to each other the language of the country where they stay. Parents do not insist on speaking Mongolian either, because they are afraid that the children might forget the foreign language during that time. It is difficult to blame such parents, as it is to justify them ... What will this bring about in the future? Who knows ... (Altantsetseg, IN 2005).

28) Англи хэлний үндэсний хөтөлбөр.

29) Англи хэл албан ёсны хоёр дахь хэл болно. www.mongolia-gateway.mn.

### 3. Conclusion

This paper has examined several main issues of the Mongolian language planning, which are crucial in my opinion. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that in order to analyse these issues thoroughly far more space is required, as they are concern not only the language itself, traditional culture and the way of thinking, but also the social, political and economical situation in the country.

Despite the diversity of opinions all the efforts of the Mongolian linguists are focused on the benefit of the Mongolian language, but there is a certain disappointment about the government's language policy. Above all, it is criticised for taking long in decision making, being inconsistent in enforcing laws once adopted, declaring somehow inconsistent programs, and being inattentive to the Mongolian language as a whole. The minor issues, such as mistakes, inaccuracy and carelessness, which are so often pointed out, might be explained as one type of linguistic behaviour, which therefore fall within the scope of psycholinguistics.

This all considered, all the issues analysed in this paper are ongoing processes with a direct impact on the language; their future development should therefore be the matter of further observation.

### Interviews

ALTANTSETSEG, O. – Editor in Mongolian Television.

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

MUNKHZUL, M. – originally from Khovd aimag, now lives abroad.

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

TSERENSODNOM, D., Dr., Prof. – Scientific worker, Academician at the Institute of Language and Literature, Academy of Sciences of Mongolia.

SHAGDARSUREN, Ts. Dr., Prof. – School for Mongolian Language and Culture, Mongolian State University.

ENKHTAIVAN, M. – Buryat from Khentii aimag.

### Abbreviations

IN – interview

УБ– Улаанбаатар



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## Appendix

### NUMBER OF POPULATION OF MONGOLIA BY ETHNICITY, CITIZENSHIP AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE<sup>30</sup>

Ethnic group	Total number of population	In the cities	In the rural areas
Total	2,373,493	1,344,516	1,028,977
Mongolian citizens – total	2,365,269	1,336,680	1,028,589
Khalkhas	1,934,674	1,155,867	778,807
Kazaks	102,983	36,294	66,689
Durbets	66,706	35,244	31,462
Buryats	40,620	20,374	20,246
Bayads	50,824	25,170	25,654
Darigangs	31,909	14,198	17,711
Uriankhais	25,183	10,078	15,105
Zakhchin	29,766	10,959	18,807
Darkhads	19,019	3,653	15,366
Torguuts	12,628	5,327	7,301
Ölöts (Uluts)	14,634	7,378	7,256
Khotons	9,014	3,191	5,823
Myangats	6,082	2,955	3,127
Bargas	2,506	946	1,560
Uzemchins	2,386	667	1,719
Kharchins	266	177	89
Tsakhars	123	85	38
Khotogoits	7,237	1,644	5,593
Eljigens	151	55	96
Tsaatans	303	8	295
Khamnigans	565	51	514
Khoshuuds	183	14	169
Sartuuls	1,540	362	1,178
Tuvinians	4,778	1,320	3,458
Khorchins	150	101	49
Uzbeks (Chantuu)	380	126	254
Kalmyks	5	5	–

30) Compiled according to 2000 оны хүн ам, орон сууцны тооллого: Үндсэн үр дүн. УБ 2001, Tables № 4, pp. 130–132.



Ethnic group	Total number of population	In the cities	In the rural areas
Russians	158	149	9
Chinese	173	152	21
Others	323	130	193
Foreign citizens – total	8,128	7,748	380
People without citizenship	96	88	8

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## Монгол хэлний кирил цагаан толгойн үндсэн үсгийг романчилах

1-р хүснэгт

№	Кирил	Латин	Тайлбар жишээ
1.	А а	A a	Vaar, avarga, aav
2.	Б б	B b	Baga, sambar
3.	В в	V v	Avarga, vagon, sav
4.	Г г	G g	Gazar, gereе, xereg
5.	Д д	D d	Dadlaga, axmad
6.	Е е	Ye ye	Yeeven (eзвэн)
7.	Ё ё	Yo yo	yorool (epool)
8.	Ж ж	J j	Juulchin, ajil, Jon
9.	З з	Z z	Zam, azarga, baaz
10.	К к	K k	Kino, kilometer
11.	И и	I i	Ishig, bichig
12.	Й й	I i	Iim, eejiin
13.	Л л	L l	Lam, alag, mal
14.	М м	M m	Mal, xamar, nam
15.	Н н	N n	Nar, хана, u'nen
16.	О о	O o	Oron, bolovсроl, loono
17.	Ө ө	O' (o)	O'dor, o'noodor, sho'no
18.	П п	P p	Puujin, aparat
19.	Р р	R r	rashaan, radio, sar
20.	С с	S s	Sar, asar, eces
21.	Т т	T t	Tamga, tattlaga
22.	У у	U u	Uran, nuruu
23.	Ү ү	U' (u)	U'nen, tu'rgen, terguun
24.	Ф ф	F f	Foto, fond
25.	Х х	X x (Kh kh)	xavar, no'xor, ex
26.	Ц ц	C c	Cacag, ceceг
27.	Ч ч	Ch ch	Chimeг, chadal
28.	Ш ш	SH sh	Shashin, aash
29.	Щ щ	Sch sch	Schedrin
30.	Ъ ъ		tomyoо(томъоо)
31.	Ы ы	Y y	хаалу(хааны), хаалуг (хааныг), ахул (ахын)
32.	Ь ь	i	хари (харь), bari (барь)
33.	Э э	E e	Ezen, ene, emeel
34.	Ю ю	Yu	Yim (юм) yu'uden (юүдэн)
35.	Я я	Ya ya	yamar (ямар), yadiu (ядуу)

ТӨГСӨВ.

Picture 1. Standardized alphabet for the transcription of Mongolian into the Latin alphabet approved by the Office for Standardization and Metrology came into effect as of January 2003.

Various inscriptions as examples of those that are criticised  
(photographs taken from 2002 to 2005).



Picture 2. Examples of misspelling of inscriptions in the streets of Ulaanbaatar: *тавлаг* should be written as *тавилга* “furniture”, *мебель* “furniture” as a loanword from Russian used in colloquial Mongolian should not be used in this kind of text at all.



Picture 3. Examples of misspelling of inscriptions in the streets of Ulaanbaatar: suffix *-ний* is separated from the word *мөнгө* “silver” without even a distribution slip, probably because shortage of space.



Picture 4. Mongolian words transcribed in Latin alphabet. Baruun-Urt, centre of Sukhebaatar aimag, ca. 560 km from Ulaanbaatar.



Picture 5. English words transcribed in Mongolian Cyrillic. Ulaanbaatar.





Picture 6. Mongolian with English translation. Ulaanbaatar.



Picture 7. Billboard in Mongolian, English, Korean and Chinese. Ulaanbaatar.



Picture 8. Mongolian inscription with English words incorporated into the text. Ulaanbaatar.

# Some common aspects of Khorchin Mongol and Sibe religious terminology

Veronika Zikmundová

**Summary:** The paper discusses the relations between the Khorchin Mongols and the Sibe tribe from examples of religious vocabulary. The religions examined here are shamanism, which has an unusually strong influence in the Manchurian area, and Buddhism, which has influenced the cultures of all Inner Asian peoples. The examination of these two phenomena provides a picture of otherwise undocumented contacts between the Khorchins and the Sibe, as well as of broader contacts between the Mongol and Jurchen tribes. It may further serve as one of the models for contacts between the Tungusic and Mongolic language branches.

## 0. Introduction

The present paper focuses on several recent mutual lexical borrowings between the Khorchin dialect of Mongolian on the one hand and Manchu or Sibe on the other. The subject of the lexical stock related to religion was taken up mainly because the sphere of shamanism appears to be a pervasive cultural phenomenon shared by most peoples of Manchuria and therefore in the past it provided a medium for the wandering of cultural and linguistic features. Buddhism, in its turn, proved to be a vehicle for spreading Mongolian religious terms throughout the whole Manchurian territory. In the case of the Sibe language the field of religion seems to be relatively least affected by attempts to purify the language of foreign loanwords.

The relatively recent and well documented language contacts among the Khorchin Mongols, the Manchus and the Sibe can also serve as a model for thinking about the more ancient contacts between the Mongolic and Jurchenic language worlds.

## 1. Mongolic-Jurchenic contacts prior to the Manchu period

The subject of language contacts and mutual impact between the ancestors of modern Manchu and Mongolian appears to be inexhaustible. When we obviate the discussion between the Altaists and anti-Altaists concerning the

common origin of the three language branches<sup>1</sup> we are left with an immense amount of presumed loanwords on both sides.

The available material concerning Mongolic-Jurchenic parallels presents, above all, a picture of manifold and unceasing contacts between the two language milieus. These contacts were apparently present on different social levels, as can be seen from the language material, supported by the historical evidence.

From the documents about political history we can define two major moments of language influence between the Mongolic and Jurchenic ethnics: The time of the Khitan and Jurchen empires (presumably Khitan influence on Jurchen),<sup>2</sup> and the time of the Chinggisid Mongol empire (both directions of borrowing, in the beginning from Jurchen into Mongolian<sup>3</sup> and later vice-versa).

Sometimes oral history can supply interesting hints about possible events in history. Let us cite two oral traditions of the Sibes, pointing to different times and rendering different kinds of evidence.

There is evidence about the contacts between the Khitans and the Shiwei in *Liao shi*, the official chronicle of the Liao dynasty. According to this chronicle, Abaoji (the Chinese transcription of the name of the founder of the Khitan Liao dynasty) led many (apparently not victorious) campaigns against a tribe called Heichezi Shiwei – the Black cart Shiwei. At the same time, some people of the Shiwei tribe were in his service and helped to fight the Chinese army (Tailioo ulus-un teüke 1987, pp. 5–22).

At the same time we have interesting evidence in the Sibe oral tradition, which has been used to link the historical Shiwei tribe with the modern Sibes: When the Sibe mothers were frightening their naughty children, they used

- 1) J. Janhunen, following the obviously more ancient character of a part of the common vocabulary in the Mongolic and Tungusic languages, suggests a concept of the “Khinganic” language family, based on the Neolithic culture of Hongshan, which would comprise Mongolic and Tungusic languages. Cf. Janhunen 1992, p. 251–253.
- 2) Though the deciphering of the Khitan small script by prof. Chinggeltei and his pupils is making moderate but stable progress, the available material still does not allow us to draw a final conclusion about the ethnicity of the Khitans. Thus the source of the pre-Yuan Mongolic words in Jurchen remains still an open question.
- 3) The Southern Song envoy Zhao Hong, who had visited the Mongolian empire at the time of Genghis Khan's life, writes in his account about the importance of Jurchen officials serving at the Mongolian court and “teaching the Mongols intrigues” (Munkuev 1975, pp. 78–79).

Zhao Hong also relates that for a certain time, because of a prophecy that the Jurchen state would perish at the hands of the Mongols, many Mongol male children were seized from their families and brought up in Jurchen families, one of them being Temujin (Munkuev 1975, p. 49).



to say to them: “Abuji will come!” According to the Sibes, this was a reminiscence of Abaoji, who had fought with Sibe so hard that in folk memory he became a ghost frightening children.

The second tradition explains an obvious fact that the inhabitants of the Fourth Banner in Chabchal speak in a slightly different dialect of Sibe than all the rest of the Sibe people in Chabchal. According to this tradition the inhabitants of the Fourth Banner were people of a different tribe speaking a different language and had to be taught Sibe through the written language, which caused the difference in pronunciation. The original language of these people is said to be the “jivś”, “jivśin” or sometimes “čibčĭn” language. Asking what the language was like, I got two answers: That it was a Mongolian language and that some old people say that it was the actual original language of the Sibe people. The Fourth Banner people are said to have been bilingual in this language and Sibe for a certain time, and that the last people who knew the “jivś” language died out at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This oral tradition suggests two interesting ideas: The first one says that probably still at the time when the Sibe were living in their old homeland around Hailar, a group of Mongols, possibly the Chipchin Barga, were incorporated into the tribe and were, as was apparently often the case, bilingual in Mongolian and Manchu until an end was put to the bilingualism when they were taught Written Manchu by the Sibe or Manchu authorities.

The second, more tempting and more questionable idea is that a historical memory of the Sibe having spoken a different, possibly a Mongolic language has been preserved among the “old people”.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. Some aspects of the common Mongolic – Jurchenic vocabulary

#### 3.1 EXAMPLES OF MULTIPLE BORROWING OF DERIVATIVES OF ONE ROOT

The long lasting contacts between the two languages are often reflected in numerous borrowings, in one or both directions, when derivatives of one root are borrowed at different times and under different conditions.<sup>5</sup> A few

4) The danger of this assumption lies in the fact that no “old people” of today are old enough to avoid the influence of the politically motivated theory of the different origins of Manchus and Sibe.

5) Rich material on this topic is found in Vacek 2001, 2002a, 2002b.

examples can be cited with my personal and largely unverified suggestions attached:

### Ex.1

Mo. **örgö-** *to lift, raise, offer up, make offering*

Ma. **urgun** *joy, felicity, happiness; auspicious sign, congratulations* **urgule-rejoice** (the meaning of joy is often derived from the meaning of “elevating”; cf. Mo. **höör** *joy* < **höö-** *rise, heave*; **höör-** *rise, ascend, rejoice*)

Ma. **urge** *a paper figure used by shamans for healing* (MTD II,284); **urgetu** (MTD II,284) – *a funeral wooden statue* (derived from the meaning of „offering“)<sup>6</sup>

Si. **sarin urge-** (Saman jarin, p. 11) a recent borrowing from Khorchin: used in shaman songs as a parallel expression to **sarin tukiye-** *to raise/offer a ritual feast* (Saman jarin, p. 11)

Mo. **urge-** *twitch, start up when frightened* (about an animal)

Ma. **ferguwe-** *praise*

This is probably a case of a single direction of borrowing. The Mongolian verb **örgö-** ‘to raise’ is derived from a widely used root **ö-** with the meaning ‘upwards’ (**ööd** *upwards*, **ösö-** *to grow*, **ör-** *to file things in a line, in an upright position* etc.<sup>7</sup>), while there are no immediately related words in Manchu.

The Manchu word **urgun** and its derivatives seem, due to their wider range of meanings as well as their phonetical shape, to be a more archaic borrowing than **urge** and **urgetu**, which bear single and specialized meanings. The Sibe expression **sarin urge-** appears to be a recent borrowing from Khorchin. If **ferguwe-** is related to Mo. **örgö-**, then its phonetical shape might suggest an earlier date of borrowing.

### Ex.2

Mo. **hair** < **hayira** *love, mercy, compassion, pity*; **hairla-** *to have pity, mercy, to grant, bestow, to take care of*

Ma. **hayira-** *to love, to pity*; **hayiracuka** *regretful, worthy of pity*; **hayirakan** *pitiable*

Mo. **hairan** *pitiable, precious, dear*; **hairan yum** *it is a pity*

Ma. **hairan** *pitiable, dear*; Si. **Hairin jaK** *it is a pity*

Mo. **hairhan** *merciful, gracious, sacred (mountain etc.), deity*

6) This assumption is based on the fact that in many languages offerings are “raised” and the figures of people used in shamanic rituals are most often substitutions for human offerings.

7) Personal communication of Prof. J. Lubsangdorji.

Si. **Harkan mafa** *a deity protecting livestock*

Ma. **haji** *beloved, close feeling, affection*

Ma. **hanci** *near, in the vicinity, close to*

Mo. **hani** *friend, partner, companion, husband/wife*

Ma. **hami-** *to approach, to be close to, to suffice, to bear, to tolerate*

Mo. **hamji-** *to make together, to help*

Mo. **hamaa-** *relation, kinship; hamaatan relative*

Mo. **hamt** *together*

Ma. **hala** *clan*

In both languages there are words derived from the root **ha-** with the meaning of proximity (Mo. **hamaa**, **hamt**; Ma. **hami-**, **hanci**), and words with the derived meaning of kinship (Mo. **han**, **hamaatan**; Ma. **hala**) or emotional closeness, affection, love etc. (Mo. **hamji-**, **hair**, **hairan**; Ma. **haji**, **haira-**, **hairan** etc.). The relatively most distant meaning is that of Mongolian **hairhan** 'deity' and, possibly, the Si. **Harkan mafa**.

According to experience with the Mongol-Manchu lexical parallels, it would seem that words derived from the simple root **ha-** may either be related to a common base, and retain more ancient semantic features in Manchu than in Mongolian, or may be an ancient borrowing (Ev. **hā** *blood relation*; Even. **han** *to be born with the soul of a deceased relative; hani relative*; Ud. **ha** < **hal** *relative* (MTD II,306); Tur. **qa qadaš** *blood relatives*) (Drevnetjurkskij slovar' p. 399). The stem **hayira-** is most probably a Mongolian loanword in Manchu, judging by the multitude of derived words, of an earlier date.

By contrast, if the Sibe name of the deity **Harkan mafa** relates to the Mongolian **hairhan**, it has to be a recent borrowing from Khorchin.

Plenty of other interesting relations may be cited:

Ex.3

Ma. **indahūn** *dog*, Ev. **ɲina** *dog* (MTD I,661); Si. **ñonGHūn** *dog*

Mo. **nohoi** *dog*

Ma. **nuhere** *a puppy from seven months to one year old* (MTD I,606)

Ma. **niohe** *wolf*

The Tungusic (**indahūn-ɲina** etc., **ñonGHūn**) and Mongolian (**nohoi**) words bear enough phonetic similarity to be considered distantly related. Ma. **nuhere** *puppy* may be related to Mo. **nohoi**, while Ma. **niohe** *wolf* seems to

be a Mongolic loanword to Jurchen.<sup>8</sup> The palatal form of the root could possibly provide a link between Mo. **nohoi** and Si. **ñonGHün**.

#### Ex.4

The root **ara-** (Ma. **ara-** *to do, make, to write*; **arga way of doing, solution** etc.), which probably was borrowed by Mongolian, became widely used in colloquial speech (Mo. **arga** *way to do, solution*; **argala-** *to find a solution, to use a ruse, to cure a patient, to feign, etc.*). It is, however, difficult to guess the exact connection of the adverbial expressions Ma. **arkan seme** *barely, with difficulty*; Si. **araraNG** *barely, with difficulty*; Mo. **arai** *a little more*; **arai gej/ arai hiij** *barely, with difficulty*.

#### Ex.5

Ma. **jaka** *crack, fissure, interval, fault*; **jaka-** *to crack, to make a fissure*

Mo. **zai** < **jai** *interval*; **zaila-** < **jaila-** *to avoid, to obviate*

Ma. **jaila-**; Si. **jiele-** *to avoid, to obviate*

Mo. **zav** < **jab** *free time, leisure, occasion*; **zavsar** < **jabsar** *gap, fissure, hiatus, space*

Mo. **zavda** < **jabdu** *to be on time, to catch the moment*

Ma. **jabdu** *to be on time*

Mo. **zavši-** < **jabsi-** *to use favourable conditions*; **zavšaan** < **jabsiyan** *opportunity*

Ma. **jabšan** *opportunity*

Here the Manchu words **jabdu-** and **jabšan** are clearly of Mongolian origin, but with the root **ja-** the situation is more complicated, it could well be part of an ancient common vocabulary.

### 3.2 EXAMPLES OF SOME MORPHOLOGICAL PARALLELS BETWEEN MONGOLIC AND JURCHENIC

Apart from the well-known similarities in case suffixes (the virtual identity of Dative-Locative and Genitive, closeness of Manchu Accusative-Instrumental **-be** and Mongolian Instr. **-ber** etc.) we can bring still more examples

8) We can even try to imagine the circumstances of the shift of meaning using a contemporary analogy. In Mongolian the word **čono** for a wolf is partly a taboo and the steppe nomads use other words, including **nohoi** *dog*, when talking about the wolves.

of presumed relations between grammatical formants. The Written Manchu Ablative **-ci** has been compared to the Written Mongolian Abl. **-ača/-eče** (Mijiddorj 1976, pp. 73–74). There is, however, another obvious relationship in the Prolative case suffix **-či** in Sibe and an older, partly petrified suffix of direction **-ši** used in modern Mongolian.

From the Chinese transcription of the Jurchen verbs we can see that the most general verbal form, corresponding to **-mbi** in Written Manchu, had usually the form **-mai** or **-mei/-bai/-bei**, which is close to contemporary Sibe pronunciation. It is therefore possible to assume that the spoken Jurchen form, which continued to be used throughout the Manchu period, was phonetically close to the Mongolian suffix **-mui**, though it was, for some reason, fixed as **-mbi** in Written Manchu.

#### 4. The Khorchin Mongols

The Khorchin tribe is a major Mongolian tribe of Eastern Mongolia. The Khorchin Mongols claim to be descendants of the appanage of Khasar, the younger brother of Chinggis khagan. They believe that their homeland was the lands around the river Ergune, from which they started moving southwards in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries. During the following centuries the Khorchins spread into the Nonni basin and gradually penetrated into many places in the Mongolian region of Manchuria. They are one of the most “vital” Mongolian tribes and the Khorchin dialect serves as a “standard” dialect for the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. Three minor Mongol groups in Manchuria – the Jalait, Dörvöd and Gorlos – are regarded as subdialects of Khorchin.

The Khorchins are dialectally and culturally distinct from most of the other Mongolian tribes. Their proximity to Jurchen territory brought them culturally close to the Jurchens, and most likely intermarriages were common long before the Manchu expansion. This was probably the ground on which the coalition between the Manchus and Khorchin became possible, a fact which alienated the Khorchins from the other Mongol tribes. They were among the first to feel the results of the Chinese colonization of the Mongolian lands, which had begun in the 17th century but was completed only in the 20th century.<sup>9</sup> During the last three centuries one group of Khorchins has changed its way of life from pastoral to sedentary. This, according the Khorchin scholars,

9) The process of Chinese colonization of the Manchurian Mongol lands was described by Lattimore (Lattimore 1934).

was accompanied by major changes in culture, which resulted in the present distinctive picture.<sup>10</sup>

One of the most outstanding features of Khorchin culture is the role of shamanism. Unlike many other Mongolian tribes, Khorchin shamanism has survived all persecutions and according to recent research (Qorčīn böge mörgül-ün sudulul 1998) many of the famous shamans lived till the 90s of the 20th century and brought up pupils who continue the traditions. In contrast to the Sibe shamans, the Khorchins have retained most features of the “shaman culture” – myths, legends, songs, music, clothing etc.

#### 4.1. THE KHORCHIN DIALECT

The Khorchins are often blamed by other Mongols for being the most sinicized of all the Mongolian tribes. However, a careful examination of the features which distinguish their language and culture from other Mongolian tribes, leads to the conclusion that one group among them are of Manchu rather than of Chinese origin.

The phonetic structure of the Khorchin dialect is markedly different from all other Mongolian dialects (except for some resemblances with the geographically close dialects, like Kharachin and Baarin, and for a few features common with the Barga and Buriat, namely the changes *č* > *š* and *s* > *d*). This difference leads to the assumption that after their arrival in the 13th century the Khorchins got into a distinct phonetic milieu which strongly influenced the sounds of their language. The explanations for some of the changes can be found in the Manchu and Sibe phonetic structure, but some others are hard to explain even so. Since at the time of the Khorchin expansion into the area, the Khitan language was probably still spoken, it is tempting to ascribe some of the Khorchin phonetic peculiarities to the influence of this dead language.

One example can be provided by the Khorchin interrogative particle -ii, which is used in the colloquial language without a distinction, as in most other Mongolian dialects, between the two types of questions.

10) Khorchin scholars mention two features as most typical for the Khorchins: The “andai”, as described below, and the “huuriin ülger”, stories sung to the accompaniment of a typical musical instrument, which completely replaced the former Mongolian heroic epic forms. The motifs of “huuriin ülger” are drawn from everyday life and the singers are skilled in sharp humour, which makes this literary form closer to both Chinese and Manchu folk literature.

**gərtəən bien=ii?**<sup>11</sup>

home=*d.-l.=ref.poss.* is=*quest*

are you at home?

**yav=ii?**

go=*quest*

shall we go?

**sön vol hədii unt=ii?**

night is-if how much sleep=*quest*

How much do you sleep at night?

#### 4.2 THE INFLUENCE OF MANCHU ON KHORCHIN

Generally speaking, simple listening to Khorchin speakers reveals a striking similarity with the spoken Sibe language. Below I list several obvious points, which I noticed during my first short contact with the Khorchin dialect in summer 2006:

##### 1. The Mongolian vowel “ö” is pronounced either as “o” or as “u”

Khalkha Mongolian	Khorchin Mongolian	translation
böö	buu/boo	shaman
böölnö	buuna/boona	performs the shaman ritual
öngörčee	ungurče	passed away
döröv	duruv	four
höörhii	huurhai	pitiable, lovely, cute
örh	urh	family

Neither Manchu nor Sibe have the sound “ö”, and it is apparent from the recent borrowings from Mongolian that the Mongolian ö usually turns into “u”

Khalkha Mongolian	Manchu/Sibe	translation
böh	buku/buk	wrestler
höh	kuku/kuk	blue

11) In this paper, in view of the small number of the occurring Khorchin words, I did not use a phonetic transcription but a modification of the Khalkha orthography transliterated into Latin, which allows only an approximate transmission of the Khorchin sounds.

2. The sound *e* has the same quality as in Sibe and Manchu (“*ə*”)<sup>12</sup>

Khalkha Mongolian	Khorchin Mongolian	translation
eej	əej	mother

3. The tense voiceless fricative *h* of standard Mongolian in inlaut positions is mostly weakened into a loose fricative “*h*” with a further tendency to disappear (Halhiin > hal<sup>h</sup>iin).

Khalkha Mongolian	Khorchin Mongolian	translation
halhiin	hal <sup>(h)</sup> iin	Khalkha (adj.)
nohoi	no <sup>(h)</sup> oi	dog
burhan	bor <sup>(h)</sup> an	Buddha

The velar stop “*g*” turns into the loose fricative “*h*” in a similar way and the resulting sound merges with the above-mentioned phoneme “*h*” into a single sound.

Khalkha Mongolian	Khorchin Mongolian	translation
uughuul	uu <sup>(h)</sup> uul	original

An analogical process in Sibe has resulted in changing the tense tensed voiceless fricatives *H/h* and the voiced stop *G/g* in most inlaut positions into the voiced loose fricatives *GH/gh*.

Literary Manchu	Spoken Sibe	translation
ibagan	yivaGHen	ghost
urgun	urghun	joy
niyehe	yighe	goose
nimaha	ñimGHa	fish
gūlmahūn	GūlLmaGHen	rabbit

It can even be assumed that the process, which was going on in both of the languages in the milieu of Manchuria, was stopped or slowed down after the change of language environment by today’s Jungarian Sibe.

12) This “back” pronunciation of the phoneme “*e*”, which reminds us of the Chinese pronunciation of this phoneme, is a widespread feature which distinguishes most of the Inner Mongolian dialects from Khalkha and Oirat. In Khorchin, however, this way of pronouncing is most remarkable and consistent.



4. Diphthongs: In Khorchin the closing diphthongs (ai, oi, ui) of Standard Mongolian tend to change into opening diphthongs (ia, io, iu) or long vowels.

Khalkha Mongolian	Khorchin Mongolian	translation
baen < baina	biena	verb of existence
laičin	liešn	a kind of lower shaman
aimaar	iemr	terrible
hoit	heet/hiet	northern
orgil	iergl	peak
solio	selee	madness
züil	jiil	kind, type
caidam	šeedm	a salty plain
tavi/täiv'	tieb	fifty
hairca-	hierča-	to be in contact
naim	niem	eight

In Sibe we can see a similar change of diphthongs:

Literary Manchu	Spoken Sibe	Translation
gaimbi	giäm	to take
baimbi	biäm	to ask, to look for
sain	šien	good

5. In both Khorchin Mongolian and Sibe we can see the alternation of the sounds “u” and “e”:

Khalkha Mongolian	Khorchin Mongolian	Translation
tümed	təmd	Tumet
hurim	ərəm	feast

Standard Manchu	Spoken Sibe	Translation
muke	muku	water
edun	udun	wind
karun	Karen	stronghold, patrol

In addition, I would like to cite two examples of other features adopted from Manchu into the Khorchin dialect,<sup>13</sup> which I encountered during my short visit.

1. Ma. **gūlmahūn** *rabbit* is used in Khorchin along with Mo. **tuulai** (e. g. “**irgen tuulai gulmaahun**” for abusing the Chinese people (in the Khorchin dialect “**irgen**” citizen is used as a designation of Chinese people because of the Mongolian appellation for the Chinese Republic – **Irgen ulus**).

2. The Manchu verb **maksi-** *to dance* is used along with the native term **bujigle-**.

## 5. The common features of Khorchin and Manchu/Sibe in the sphere of religion

### 5.1 THE EARLIER COMMON RELIGIOUS TERMS IN MONGOLIAN AND JURCHEN

There are some shared words connected with religion, which, mostly due to a certain shift in meaning, seem to have been used in both of the languages prior to the Manchu period. This is not surprising, since the rich terminology of the ancient religions of the peoples in Inner Asia seems to have been generally merging and overlapping in many places. Let us draw the most obvious examples of such Mongol-Manchu parallels:

#### Ex.1

Ma. **hutu** *a soul of a deceased person, a ghost; huturi good luck, good fortune*  
Mo. **hutag** *sanctity, dignity, holy rank, happiness, bliss, benediction; hutagt*  
*holy, saintly*

(Tur. **qut** *happiness, good fortune etc.*; Tuv. **kut** *soul*) (Tuvinsko-ruskij slovar', s.v.)

The root **qut**, probably of Turkic origin, is known from the titles of the Türk and Uighur rulers. Though usually translated as *happiness*, the proper meaning, which can be seen through the connection with the older meaning of the *soul* – might be defined as “possessing a divine power, blessed” etc. This meaning has been largely retained in Mongolian. The two Manchu words **hutu** and

13) The Manchu loanwords in the Jalait subdialect of Khorchin have recently been described by Gui Fang in her M.A. thesis on the Jalait dialect of Mongol (submitted to the Inner Mongolian National University in Tongliao in 2006).

**huturi** appear to be related to the two Turkic meanings respectively – the meaning of **hutu** having shifted to an *evil spirit, ghost* and **huturi** having retained the positive meaning of *fortune*.

#### Ex.2

Mo. **sür** *soul, majesty, grandeur, impressiveness, military might*; **sürhii** *terrible, frightening*; **süre-** *to awe, to inspire fear*; **sürtei** *majestic*

Ma. **suru** *a soul of a deceased person which possesses living people*; **sure** *wise, intelligent, wisdom*

The word **sür** in Mongolian could probably be related to other terms like **süns** *soul, spirit*; **süld** *ancestral spirit, soul, protector deity, might, good fortune, flag, standard, spirit of the army etc.*; **süseḡ** *belief, reverence*; **süjig** *superstition*, while in Manchu we find only the two mentioned words with a specific meaning, therefore we probably have to do with a Mongolian loanword.

#### Ex.3

Mo. **ongon** – *spirit of a deceased person, guardian spirit, shamanist ancestral idol; tomb of saint or eminent person, family tomb; pure, sacred, consecrated, virgin etc.*

Ma. **unggan** – *elders, parents, the older generation*

This pair of words, as suggested by their important cultural meaning on both sides, may point to a very ancient connection between the Mongolic and Tungusic world.

#### Ex.4

Mo. **hišig** < **kesig** *grace, favor, blessing, good luck or good fortune*,

Ma. **kesi** *kind act, favor, grace*

#### Ex.5

Ma. **jari** *a shaman's helper*; **jari-** *to chant a prayer*; **jarin** *a shaman's prayer*

Mo. **zairan** *an honorific address to a shaman* (Boľšoj akademičeskij mongol'skij slovar' II, p. 201)

Here we are probably dealing with an early Jurchen loanword in Mongolian, or with words descended from an ancient common root.

## Ex.6

Ma. *enduri* *deity, divine*Mo. *öndör* *high*

This parallel, though it might seem a bit hasty to say so, is based on the concept of height associated with anything divine in the religions of Inner Asia.<sup>14</sup>

## 5.2 THE SIBE-KHORCHIN COMMON TERMINOLOGY CONCERNING SHAMANISM

## 5.2.1 SIBE-KHORCHIN RELATIONS

From time immemorial until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Sibes were living together with the Khorchin Mongols, first probably in the Hailar region and then in the Nonni basin. At the beginning of the Manchu expansion they, together with one group of the Khorchins who had opposed the Manchu expansion, fought against the Manchus and after a defeat became part of the Khorchin banners. Only in the 17<sup>th</sup> century were the Sibes handed over by the Khorchins to the Manchus.

There was extensive discussion concerning the original ethnic identity and the original language of the Sibes (Wu, An, Zhao 1985, pp. 2–13). Since the Jungarian Sibe are profoundly “Manchu” in terms of their language and culture, the reason for this discussion must be a memory of an earlier similarity to the Mongols. In Manchuria the Sibes are often called “Śivee Mongol”. From these and other facts it is obvious that in earlier times, the Sibe in Manchuria must have been subject to strong influence from the Khorchins.

Any investigation into the influences of other languages on Sibe is complicated by the, traditionally high, level of literacy in the Manchu script among the Sibe people, which became still higher during the period of reforms at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The introduction of compulsory school attendance for both boys and girls together with the use of new teaching methods and modern textbooks translated from Chinese into Manchu, caused a whole generation to be able to read and write in Manchu. At the same time there was a tendency to “purify” the language by inventing new Manchu terms<sup>15</sup>

14) Prof. J. Lubsangdorji's opinion (personal communication).

15) The famous words “sukdujen” (sukdun *air* + sejen *cart*) for a car and “deyetun” (deye- *fly* and -tun *nominal suffix*) for an aircraft, which have been in use in the official written Sibe language, come from this time. Many other words were invented but never really used.

which were supposed to replace Chinese and partly also Mongolian borrowings. The knowledge of Written Manchu helped, no doubt, to eliminate the divergence and clear the language of older borrowings.

Although most of the Mongolian loanwords were apparently removed, in the field of shamanism (which never became a part of the official literary tradition) some Mongolian terms survived.

### 5.2.2 THE SHAMAN TERMINOLOGY

Unlike Khorchin shamanism, Sibe shamanism has been seriously affected by the persecutions during the Cultural Revolution. Although in the last two decades new shamans have emerged among the people, the culture which accompanies shamanism has been lost beyond recovery.

At present the main available sources of our knowledge of shaman culture are two publications of shaman texts, which came to light in Urumqi at the end of the 20th century. These texts contain many unsolved problems, some of which can, however, be solved with the help of Khorchin shamanism.

#### 5.2.2.1 APPELLATIONS FOR SHAMANS

Both in Sibe and in Khorchin Mongolian, different appellations are used for different kinds of “media”. Besides the shamans “proper” (Ma. **saman**, Si. **samen**, Mo. **böö** Khor. **buu** *male shaman* and **udgan** *female shaman*), there are more kinds of lower “media” (Si. **elči**, **deoči**, **siangtung**; Khor. **laičing**, **huntan**, **elee** etc.).

In the Khorchin shaman invocations the Manchu word **saman** is used as an alternative to Mongolian expressions, e.g.

siquaqu qoyar *je* nidü-yi činü *je*  
 širu subud-iyar *je* jokiyaysan *je*  
**saman** bagsi nar *je* bosqaysan *je*<sup>16</sup>  
 (Qorčin böge mörgül-ün sudulul, p. 324)

The Sibe term **deoci** comes from the Khorchin Mongolian “**duuč**” *singer* (an alternative name for “**elee**”). The Sibe word “**elci**” is derived from the Mongolian word “**elč**” *messenger*, widely used in Mongolian in a religious context.<sup>17</sup>

16) Your two penetrating eyes / were made of corals and pearls / the shaman teachers erected you.

17) E.g. in Khorchin **tengeriin elč** *the messenger of Heaven*, a self-appellation of the **huntans**; **andain gurban ohin elč** *the three maiden messengers of the andai* – a name of guardian spirits; Mo. **erlig haany elč** *the messenger of Erlik khaan* – name of a spirit.



### 5.2.2.2 TOPONYMA

The mythical landscape of Sibe shamanism consists in the eighteen Karun (watchposts). Some of the names of the Karuns do not show any obvious connections, some of them point to concrete places in Manchuria (e.g. the river Nonni), and two of them are clearly of Mongolian origin – the **Ijili bira**, which is the Mongolian appellation for the *Volga*, and the **Sumber olo** – **Sumber uul** in Mongolian – the Mount *Meru* of Indian mythology.

#### Ex.1

hala musei jashûri da mafa daimulin  
biren tashûr manggin si **ijili biraci ebuki**  
hala musei jashûr erin mafa nasungge  
jabja mergen manggin si **sumber olo ci ebuki**<sup>18</sup>  
(Saman jarin, p. 12–13)

Needless to say, **Sumber uul** occurs often in the Mongolian shaman texts:

#### Ex.2

**sumber ayula-yin dörben tala-du je**  
si da tiyan vang yeke tngri je...<sup>19</sup>  
(Qorčin böge mörgül ü sudulul, p. 363)

In the Mongolian shaman invocations, there also occur Manchurian toponyma.

#### Ex.3

**ayan yool-un köbügen-eče alqugad iregsen sitügen**  
**angq-a ür-e nada-ban angqarču yabudag sitügen**  
**non dang-un köbügen-eče nisüged iregsen sitügen**  
lakčig üile üri-yi arilyaju ögdög sitügen<sup>20</sup>  
(Qorčin böge mörgül, p. 368)

18) The ultimate forefather of our Jashûr clan, Daimulin /you, manggin the Tigress, descend from the Ijili river / the time forefather of our Jashûr clan, Nasungge, /you, the wise manggin the Anaconda, descend from the Sumber olo.

19) On the four slopes of Mount Meru, the deity Xi da tian wang (Chin. the Great Western Heavenly Lord).

20) The deity, who has come walking from the river Ayan / the deity who pays attention to me, his first offspring / The deity, who has come flying from the basin of the rivers Nonni (and dang?) / the deity, who purifies the consequences of bad deeds...



## Ex.4

non tal-a-dayan nutug-tai je  
 nuγusun galayun kölüg-tai je  
 qalisun usun-du umda-tai je  
 bügüde tngri-yi jalayad iren-e je<sup>21</sup>  
 (Qorčin böge mörgül-ün sudulul, pp. 367–8)

Both examples are texts for summoning the deities to the ritual feast. In the Sibe text the shaman (after having called Buddha, Isanju mama and all the highest deities) is calling his own ancestors together with the eighteen *manggins*.<sup>22</sup>

## 5.2.2.3 OTHER TERMS CONNECTED WITH THE SHAMAN RITUAL

- o. The Sibe word *soorin* *throne*, used only in the shamanic context as the thrones of the deities, is a Mongolian loanword (Mo. *suurin* *base*).
1. There is a striking parallel between Khorchin and Sibe in the term for trance: While other Mongolian dialects use the word *ongon/ongod* (*on-god or- the protector deity comes in*), the Khorchin shamans use the expression “*šitger/sitgen orsi-*”. The word *šitger*, which surprises the listener by its similarity to the Mongolian *čötgör* – an evil spirit, was explained to me as actually deriving from the verb *šitu-* (Khalkha Mo. *šute-* *to worship*). This explanation is probably a “folk ethymology”. This expression is formed analogically to the Sibe expression *veceku dosi-* (*vece-* *to worship*).
2. In the Sibe shaman songs there is a word “*urhu*” (mostly in the expression *ilan šayan urhu* – *three white urhu*)

(Saman jarin, p. 41):

Saman nimeku de *ilan šayan urhu* weilefi fudere jarin<sup>23</sup>

daktaha tere *Hūwan dari* nimeku be *inekun dari*  
 weilehe tere *Hūwan dari* tamsu de tebufi *inekun dari*  
*ilan šayan Hūwan dari urhu ejen bargiafi inekun dari*  
 tandame bošome *Hūwan dari* beneki sembi *inekun dari*.<sup>24</sup>  
 (Saman jarin, p. 49)

21) Those who dwell on the Nonni plain / those who ride on wild ducks and geese / those who eat simple food and drink water / I summon all of these deities to come.

22) Lower deities associated with eighteen *Karūn* – watchposts.

23) The prayer used when the shaman sees off an illness by making **Three White Urhu**.

24) Approximate translation: Having put the stubborn illness into the vessel I have made, let the **Lord of the Three White Urhu** take it and send it off chasing and beating.

This word has also occurred in the speech of a contemporary Sibe shamaness, when she was talking about the rituals she performs and about the requisites she uses (**urh aram** – **making urh**). The only possible explanation for this word, otherwise unknown in Manchu, is offered by the Mongolian word **örgöö palace** (pronounced **urgu** in Khorchin). A ritual utility called **örgöö cagaan ger** *the white palace yurt* is used by the Khorchin shamans, especially in the **andai**,<sup>25</sup> for healing illnesses. It takes the form of a yurt or house made of white paper and seems to be used for summoning the deities and spirits.

#### 5.2.2.4 THE ANALOGIES IN THE KHORCHIN “ANDAI” AND THE SIBE DEOCI RITUALS

Another example of direct Mongolian influence on Sibe shamanic culture is the “**deoci**”, one of the categories of the lower shamans among Sibe. The word “**deoci**” itself comes from the Khorchin Mongolian expression “**duuč**”, which is alternatively used for “**elee**”, a kind of a lower shaman among the Khorchins.

There are some resemblances in the profession of **elee** and **deoci**. Both are specialized in healing mental diseases by way of expelling the evil spirits that possess the patients. The calling of an **elee** is mostly connected with the **andai** – healing mental diseases of young women. One of the suggested etymologies of **andai** is a derivation from a name of an evil spirit. The mental disease to be healed by **andai** is called **andai övčin**, *the andai disease*, and the manner of healing is called **andai duula-** – to sing the **andai**.

The Sibe **deoci** also works with the evil spirits (**ibagan**) and his manner of healing bears the name **ibagan deole-** (the verb **deole-** being originally the Mongolian word **duula-** *to sing*, which is used in Sibe only in this single specialized sense of exorcism).

25) “**Andai**” is a traditional manner of healing mainly mental diseases of young women among the Khorchin Mongols. The ultimate origin of the “**andai**” ritual is unclear, but it became widespread among the Eastern Mongols during the Manchu period. The Khorchin scholars connect the spread of “**andai**” with the change of the Khorchin lifestyle from nomadic to sedentary and with the subsequent change of the position of women. According to this theory the loss of freedom, which had been enjoyed by the nomadic women, tended to cause characteristic types of mental diseases among young women. “**Andai**” is a way of healing by special exorcist rituals combined with a public dance, during which young men try to distract the mind of the diseased girl and make her happy and relaxed.

The word “**andai**”, is said to have originally meant an evil spirit, which causes mental diseases, and later the disease itself. This meaning is said to have shifted to the meaning of the healing ritual.



One of the songs of the Sibe **deoci** is called **Altan kuri**, an expression which does not have any meaning in Sibe.

**Ex.1**

ere hūwarani *tebute* dorgide *tebute*  
 muse juwe niyalma *tebute* maksimbi *tebute*  
**altan kuri** *tebute* aldarhan *tebute*  
 mergen gege *tebute* si donji *tebute*  
 mentuhun ibagan de *tebute* tunggalahai *tebute*  
**altan kuri** *tebute* aldarhan *tebute*.<sup>26</sup>  
 (Sibe uksurai an tacin, p. 164)

The words **altan kuri** come from the Mongolian expresion **altan hūree** *a golden circle / enclosure*. The context of this expression is unclear, but one of the types of Khorchin **andai** *healing* is called **altan hūree andai** – the *andai of the golden circle* (Načinšongqor 2001, p. 96).

The lyrics of the Sibe song **altan kuri** remind us of the lyrics of the Khorchin **andai** songs.

In the Khorchin **andai**, a whip and cymbals or bells have a special significance during the rituals, e.g. in the **altan hūree andai**, the diseased person is surrounded by dancing people and encouraged to seize the whip and cymbals from them (Načinšongqor 2001, p. 97). The Sibe **deoci**, in his turn, is said to use a whip and cymbals during his rituals to expel the evil spirit by playing the cymbals loudly and whipping the diseased person (Sibe uksurai an tacin, p. 164).

## 6. Buddhism

There have been various opinions on the role of Buddhism in the life of the Sibes. Generally it seems that Buddhism was much more influential among the Sibes in Manchuria than among those who moved to Xinjiang. There are two important historical records from the early Manchu period concerning Buddhism among Sibes. The first is a statement encountered in more accounts on the spread of Buddhism among the Khorchins, saying that when Buddhism

26) Approximate translation of one passage of the song:

Inside this circle/enclosure / the two us are dancing / **altan kuri aldarhan** / you clever young lady listen / have you encountered a stupid evil spirit? / **altan kuri aldarhan**.

was spread among the Khorchin Mongols, it also reached other tribes, which were subjects of the Khorchins, among them the Sibe tribe.

The second important testimony of the presence of Buddhism among the Sibes in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century is a Sibe Buddhist temple in Mukden. It was built after the Sibe tribe was “presented” by their former overlords the Khorchin to the Manchu Emperor and consequently moved from the mountain range of Golmin šayan alin (Long White Mountains, Chin. Changbaishan in Middle Manchuria) to Mukden and Girin. The temple (officially known as **Taifin necin juktehen** – the Temple of Peace, but known among the Sibe as **Šive booi miao**, *the Sibe Home Temple*) was built at the request of the Sibe banner-men, apparently because they were used to visiting a Buddhist temple.

The struggle between shamanism and Buddhism in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which has left a deep trace in all spheres of Khorchin culture, seems also to have been of major importance for the Sibe people. While in the case of the Khorchins this struggle is documented by both historical documents and folklore, with the Sibe, except for the general knowledge that Buddhism was spread by force and through fierce fighting with the shamans, I have encountered only a few testimonies, like the story of Isanju mama, the main deity of the Sibe shamans, or a saying that the Sibes killed two hundred lamas by throwing them into a river.

Several shrines were built after the Sibe had moved to Xinjiang, the biggest of them being a Buddhist monastery, which was built with Imperial support. The monastery continued to exist till the 1930s. According to my Sibe informants, the special task which was entrusted to the lamas was guiding the soul of deceased people to the **ñilmaGHũn** – the world of the souls. Generally it seems that, in the folk religion of the Jungarian Sibe, Buddha was worshipped together with the Taoist deities, the fox deity, the manggins and others. It seems that the Sibe did recognize Buddha as the highest deity, but since unlike the other deities he had no concrete tasks in their lives, the other deities were more revered.

The stone inscription in the Temple of Peace in Mukden is one of the sources of the official Sibe Buddhist terminology. Like the Buddhist terminology of Literary Manchu the terms of the inscription is a mixture of loanwords, which came either from Chinese or from Mongolian, and of Tibetan or Sanskrit terms, which were transmitted through Mongolian.

Manchu	Translation
šakjamuni fucihi	the Buddha Śākyamuni (Ma. <b>fucihi</b> < Chin. <b>fo</b> <i>Buddha</i> , <i>Buddhist deity</i> ; Ma. <b>šakjamuni</b> < Mo. <b>šagyamuni</b> < Skt. <b>Śākyamuni</b> )
šajin	religion (Ma. <b>šajin</b> < Lit. Mo. <b>šasin</b> , <b>šajin</b> < Skt. <b>śāsana</b> <i>religion, teaching, faith, doctrine</i> )
ganjur jing emu tanggū jakūn bodi	The one hundred eight tomes of the Kangjur ( <b>ganjur</b> < Lit. Mo. <b>ganjur</b> < Tib. <b>bka'</b> 'gyur; <b>jing</b> < Chin. <b>jing</b> <i>scripture</i> ; Ma. <b>emu tanggū jakūn</b> <i>one hundred eight, bodi</i> < Mo. <b>boti</b> < Tib. <b>pod</b> , <b>po ti</b> < Skt. <b>pustaka</b> <i>book</i> )
buyan obuha	caused a virtuous deed ( <b>buyan</b> < Mo. <b>buyan</b> <i>virtuous deed</i> ; Ma. <b>obu-</b> <i>to cause</i> )
jongkaba fucihi	The deity Tsonkhapa Ma. <b>jongkaba</b> < Lit. Mo. <b>jongkaba</b> < Tib. <b>tsong kha pa</b> ; Ma. <b>fucihi</b> <i>Buddha/Buddhist deity</i> < Chin. <b>fo</b> <i>Buddha</i> )
sunja doksit	The five wrathful deities (Ma. <b>sunja</b> – <i>five</i> , Ma. <b>doksit</b> < Lit. Mo. <b>dogsins</b> <i>wild, ferocious, ruthless</i> , <b>dogsid</b> <i>the wrathful deities</i> )
ari bolo	The epithet of Avalokiteśvara (Ma. <b>ari bolo</b> < Mo. <b>aryabalu</b> < Skt. <b>ārya-bala</b> <i>possessing the (ten) noble powers</i> )

Examples of some Buddhist terms which occur in Manchu and Sibe lay literature:

bandi	student, novice (Ma. <b>bandi</b> < Mo. <b>bandi</b> <i>novice</i> < Skt. <b>vandya</b> “one to be saluted”)
arašan	sacred spring (Ma. <b>arašan</b> < Lit. Mo. <b>rasiyan</b> , <b>arasiyan</b> < Skt. <b>rasāyana</b> <i>mineral spring, holy water</i> )
adisla-	to give a blessing (Ma. <b>adisla-</b> < Lit. Mo. <b>adisla-</b> <i>to pronounce a blessing</i> < Mo. <b>adis</b> <i>blessing</i> < Skt. <b>adhiṣṭhāna</b> <i>standing by, benediction</i> )
tarni gisun	the tantra/sacred formula (Ma. <b>tarni</b> < Lit. Mo. <b>tarni</b> < Skt. <b>dhāraṇī</b> <i>a mystical verse or charm used as a kind of prayer; “power of retention”</i> ; Ma. <b>gisun</b> <i>word</i> )
nirwan	Nirvana (Ma. <b>nirwan</b> < Lit. Mo. <b>nirvan</b> < Skt. <b>nirvāṇa</b> <i>Nirvana</i> )
subargan	stupa (Ma. <b>subargan</b> < Lit. Mo. <b>suburyan</b> <i>stupa, sepulchre</i> < Uig. <b>suburyan</b> < Sogd. <b>swpwrǵ'n</b> (Räsänen 1969, I, p. 431a))

jalbari-                    *to pray*  
 (Ma. jalbari- Lit. Mo. jalbari- < Syr.<sup>28</sup>)

In many cases we encounter two or three synonymous terms, which come from Mongolian, Chinese and literary Manchu respectively.

Indigenous Manchu words	Words of Mongolian origin	Words of Chinese origin	translation
juktehen	sumu	miao	temple, shrine
tacihyan/ <i>taškien</i>	šajin	jiao	religion
fucihi/ <i>fišk</i>	burkan, šakjamuni		the Buddha
ganjur bithe / <i>ganjur bitke</i>	ganjur nomon / <i>ganjur nomun</i>	ganjur jing	the scripture of Kangjur
nomon hūlambi / <i>nomun hūlam</i>	nomon omšombi / <i>nomun omšom</i>		to recite scriptures

It is a well known fact that the Manchu Buddhist terminology was formed partly by borrowing Mongolian terms and partly by creating Manchu terms, which was done in order to oppose the spontaneous tendency of the language to adopt Chinese terms. The Chinese terms, in their turn, always tended to prevail, not only in the spoken language but also in texts.

In the spoken Sibe language this general tendency was and remains the same, with the interesting exception of Buddhist terminology. In 1996 I had a chance to meet the last living lama of the Buddhist monastery, which had existed in Chabchal prior to the Cultural Revolution. He related to me that the liturgical language of the monastery was written Mongolian, which not all of the lamas understood, but all were able to read and recite the texts. The pronunciation they used was that of the Eastern Mongolian dialects, namely the Khorchin. Almost all the Buddhist terms the lama used were Mongolian (or Sanskrit rendered through Mongolian). Tibetan terms were rare.

This leads to the conclusion that the Sibe must have either adopted and preserved Mongolian Buddhism at the early stage of its expansion, before Tibetan became the ritual language, or they must have been in contact with one of the few monasteries in Inner Mongolia, which kept the Mongolian liturgy longer.

Nowadays, except for a few words, which had become part of the Sibe vocabulary, such as **lam**, **nomun** etc., most of the Mongolian terms are used by older speakers in alternation with the Manchu or Chinese terms.

27) Personal opinion of Prof. J. Lubsangdorji.

## 7. Conclusion

The present paper shows the exceptional position and role of the Khorchin Mongolian tribe in the contacts between the Mongolian world and the modern heirs of Jurchen language and culture. On the one hand we can see numerous traces of the Manchu language impact on the Khorchin dialect, which have been commonly considered to be a result of Chinese influence, but are in fact either Chinese features transmitted through the Manchus, or features of pure Manchu / Jurchen origin.

On the other hand we can assume that a part of the enormous amount of Mongolian linguistic and cultural features found in the Manchu and Sibe cultural milieu have been passed on through the Khorchin tribe which, due to geographical proximity and common intermarriages, in some respects became closer to the Manchus and other Manchurian peoples than to the other, more conservative Mongols.

This paper focuses on religion as one of the most apparent examples of the contacts of the two cultures. The two religions examined here are Buddhism and shamanism.

Shamanism has an unusually strong foothold among the Khorchin Mongols. This is probably due to the unique setting of Manchuria, which seems to be one of the sources of shaman culture in Inner Asia, and many aspects of the religion are shared by more nationalities.

The Sibes, who have lived together with the Khorchin Mongols for probably several centuries, have retained some features which show connections with Khorchin shamanism. Contrary to expectations, they are mostly borrowed from the Khorchin Mongols by the, presumably Jurchenic, tribe of the Sibe. Khorchin shamanism influenced the Sibe pantheon and most probably helped to establish the hierarchy of deities with Buddha Śākyamuni as the highest deity. Some of the abovementioned borrowings suggest very intimate contacts between the two tribes.

The examination of Sibe Buddhist terminology shows that the liturgical language of Sibe Buddhism was Khorchin Mongolian, even after Tibetan became predominant in Mongolian Buddhism. Most probably in the 16th–17th centuries the Sibe lamas were living in Khorchin monasteries.

The material of lexical correspondences in Manchu and Mongolian offers an immense field for investigation. I have tried to suggest some possible connections which need to be further verified or rejected.

The language material, written and oral history allow us to form an understanding of the character of contacts on the border between the Mongolic

and Jurchenic worlds,<sup>28</sup> which probably included common intermarriages, movements of masses of people from one language milieu to the other, bilingualism and abandoning one language in favor of another. In this picture the idea of Sibe people having first spoken a Mongolic language and later being “manchuicised”, which is commonly rejected by all western scholars, seems not completely impossible.

Further research should be conducted in the direction of detailed analysis of the recent Mongolian loanwords in Manchu.<sup>29</sup> Another work which waits to be done is the analysis of the Mongolic and Tungusic lexical parallels with regard to the specific phonetic correspondences.

Another feature, which captures attention and requires further investigation, is the relationship of the Khorchin, the Baarin and the Kharachin Mongols to the heritage of the Khitan culture. These three tribes live, each of them partly, on the ancestral territory of the historical Khitans. According to Inner Mongolian scholars there are traces of the local, pre-Mongolian culture to be found among the modern Mongolian tribes of this area. A certain part of Khorchin vocabulary<sup>30</sup> is distinct from most other Mongolian tribes and no systematic research has been conducted so far to examine the possible connections with Khitan vocabulary.

### Abbreviations:

Chin. – Chinese  
 Ev. – Evenki  
 Even – Even  
 Khor. – Khorchin  
 Ma. – Manchu  
 Mo. – Mongolian  
 quest. – question marker  
 Si. – Sibe  
 Skt. – Sanskrit

28) The immense complexity of the ethnic situation in the area was documented by Owen Lattimore (1934) and analysed in depth by J. Janhunen (1996).

29) The obvious fact, that a large part of the lexicon of Literary Manchu is formed by Mongolian loanwords which are the result of the close political ties between the Manchus and the Mongols during the Qing period, has been regarded by linguists more as an obstacle to the comparative work than as a topic for study.

30) No systematic description of the Khorchin dialect is available by now. The forthcoming descriptive work of Wang Dingzhu – Tulguur may provide interesting material for further investigations.

Sogd. – Sogdian

Syr. – Syriac

Tib. – Tibetan

Uyg. – Uyghur

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# The Secret History of the Mongols in the mirror of metaphors

J. Lubsangdorji

**Summary:** It is interesting to see how many metaphors, metonyms, synecdoches and other forms of metaphorisation can be found in the *Secret History of the Mongols*. But in translations and commentaries they are mostly rendered word-for-word and attention is paid to their basic meaning, to the etymology of the words and to their morphological structure. The reason for that may be the fact that there is a literal Chinese translation, which fixed each and every word and was taken as a basis for further interpretation. When translating a metaphor literally, it is occasionally possible to 'hit the bull's eye'. Sometimes the general idea may transpire somehow, but very often the translation is 'wide of the mark'. In the translations and commentaries of the Secret History we may encounter all three possibilities. It is not that the translators and commentators do not know the metaphors. But since the metaphors are not seen from the point of view of ethnolinguistics or the ethnography of communication, their real meaning can be missed, and this is something that occasionally happens. The author applies the approach developed in the Seminar of Mongolian studies at Charles University Prague, which can help to open the secret locks of the Secret History by the key of metaphors. He offers new interpretations of select metaphors, which are rather confusing and are incorrectly translated. Among them e.g. are the following metaphors linked with the parts of the body: *bögöre-yin bögse*, *čegere-yin čegeje* (§ 96, §104), *alcuy-a kürtügei*, *qoγolaj-a kürtügei* (§ 118, l. 8–9), *sain bögsen* (§ 155, l. 7), *nidün-ü ečin-e ge-* (§156, l. 19).

## 0. Introduction

Mongolian has a concept of *зүйр*, *зүйрлэл*,<sup>1</sup> which is used to translate the word 'metaphor'. There is a hyperbole in the Mongolian saying 'Зүйргүй үг байдаггүй, зүйдэлгүй дээл байдаггүй' (free rendering: there is no word without a second meaning, there is no coat without a seam). This saying can also be applied to the *Secret History of the Mongols* (SHM). Since in this text there are many metaphors consisting of single words, which until now have preserved the figurative meaning, they are not difficult for understanding and translation. And since in many languages there are similar metaphorical expressions, some metaphors may be translated directly (e.g. § 62:

1) See Ц. Сүхбаатар, *Монгол хэлний найруулгазүйн нэр томъёоны тайлбар толь*. Улаанбаатар 2003, p. 61, s.v.

*nidün-dür-iyen ɣaltu, niyur-tur-iyen geretü* 'with fire in his eyes, with light in his face'; cf. Cleaves 1982, p. 15). In order to preserve the expressivity of this text, some translators occasionally translated even the ordinary words using artful metaphors.<sup>2</sup> We could even say that with time the translation of some passages of the SHM is improving.

Besides 'easy' metaphors based on single words there are also many 'difficult' metaphors or idioms and 'dead' metaphors consisting of longer phrases. Some of these metaphors have become so obscure that they are no more understood even by Mongolian specialists in literature.

From the many problematic and difficult words and phrases discussed by specialists studying the SHM, I have selected a few metaphors and I try to explain the metaphorical thinking of nomads and the metaphorisation process in language from the point of view of ethnography of communication. In my opinion, applying this approach to the research of SHM and of early literature in general is of great importance. This approach has been used by one of my colleagues working at Charles University, A. Oberfalzerová, in her research into the manner of speech and metaphorical thinking of Mongolian nomads.<sup>3</sup>

The text of SHM (Latin transliteration of the original Chinese transcription, Shiratori's transcription and Sumiyaabaatar's reconstruction of the text in Mongolian classical script) used in this paper under the heading 'Corpus', is taken from the book of Sumiyaabaatar (1990).<sup>4</sup>

## 1. Book title: *Mongyol-un niyuča tobčiyan*

### 1. 1. MEANING

#### *mongyol:*

Basic meaning: a Mongol, a Mongolian man or woman, Mongols; the Mongolian country

Figurative meaning: the Mongolian state (this is therefore a secret history of the Mongolian state, not of the people – the Mongols)

2) E.g. in § 64, the phrase *qar-a buur-a* 'black camel' is rendered as 'верблюды вороной' into Russian; cf. Козин 1941, p. 86.

3) Cf. the papers of A. Oberfalzerová 2002–2005, and particularly her book on the topic (Oberfalzerová 2006).

4) For the specification of the sources cf. Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 915.

***tobčīyan*:**

**Basic meaning:** sketch, essence or gist of a matter; ~ *toočaan*<sup>5</sup> (account or enumeration of facts). Etymology: *tob* (clear[ly], distinct[ly], definite[ly]), *tobči-* (to speak fluently but concisely);<sup>6</sup> ~ *tooči-*<sup>7</sup> (to enumerate, count; in modern Khalkha *моочу-* means 'to enumerate, count; to tell tales').

**Figurative meaning:** detailed history, history related in detail (*мовтой мүүх, товчиж тоочсон мүүх*). In ancient times people of each tribe (*aimak*) had a genealogical tree and history of their own. These were memorized events, which were passed down orally. Such a 'chronicle' was called *мовчоо*. The language of such a *мовчоо*, narration, was rhythmical and poetic. Therefore it was easy to learn by heart and was passed on from generation to generation without any significant modifications. After the death of Chinggis Khan, who founded the 1st Mongol state, his history was put down in such a manner that all the *товчоос* of the individual *aimaks* were put together. And this is how a single great *товчоо* – *Mongyol-un niyuča tobčīyan* (*The Secret History of the Mongolian State*) – originated.

Besides the designation *tobčīyan*, historical chronicles are also called *tobči / tobčis*.<sup>8</sup> There is another designation, viz *erike*,<sup>9</sup> which is used practically as a synonym.

Their **basic meaning:** button (round, decorative button on the *deel*) and bead(s) respectively. **Figurative meaning:** necklace, garland, string of pearls. According to the Mongolian linguistic feeling, *мовчу* is the symbol for protective covering – of either the physical body, e.g. by the *deel*, or a mental protection, e.g. keeping a secret. Besides a purely decorative function the necklace, if put on, also had important ritual implications. This is why this term was used to designate ancient collections of a number of individual oral histories, which were symbolically strung together like buttons or beads on a single

5) Ibid. s.vv. *tobčīyan*, *toyaci-y-a*. In the middle period of the development of Mongolian, the pronunciation of the word was *toočaan*, which proves the Chinese transcription of the original – *t'uō-ch'ūān* (Сумъябаатар 1990, p. 7). In modern language *моочоо* means 'account or enumeration of facts, relation'; also 'story'.

6) See Lessing 1960, p. 810, s.v. For modern Khalkha, Hangin gives the meaning 'to speak fluently, speak explicitly'.

7) See Lessing 1960, p. 813, s.v. *toyaci-*.

8) Lessing (s.v. *товчи*) gives the following meanings: a) 'button; nipple, teat; bullet; b) 'abbreviation, abridgment, outline; summary, resume; essence or point of a matter'.

9) Lessing (s.v.) gives the following meanings: 'garland, beads, string of pearls, chaplet, rosary'.



thread – to produce a single chronicle. This is what the following well-known chronicles of the 18th century were called:

- *Altan tobči*, lit., ‘Golden button’, figuratively ‘Golden necklace’
- *Erdeni-yin tobči*, lit., ‘Jewel button’, figuratively ‘Jewel necklace’
- *Bolur erike*, lit., ‘Crystal button’, figuratively ‘Crystal chaplet’, ‘Crystal Rosary’
- *Erdeni-yin erike*, lit., ‘Jewel button’, figuratively ‘Jewel chaplet’, ‘Precious Rosary’

Later the figurative meaning of the words *tobčiya*n and *tobči* faded into one another and resulted in a broken metaphor implying something brief, concise or short.

## 1.2. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS OF THE TITLE OF SHM:

- Mongolian: Монголын нууц *товчоо* (Дамдинсүрэн 1990)
- Russian: Сокровенное *сказание* Монголов (Козин 1941)
- German: Die Geheime *Geschichte* der Mongolen (Haenisch 1948)
- Czech: Tajná *kronika* Mongolů [Secret *Chronicle* of the Mongols] (Poucha 1955)
- English: The Secret *History* of the Mongols (Cleaves 1982)
- French: *Histoire secrète* des Mongols (Even, Pop 1994)

## 2. Metaphors of the initial three lines of the SHM

### 2.1. CORPUS

Činggis qaγan-u huṣaγur degere tengeri-eče žajaγatu töregsen börte čino ažuγu. Gergei inü γoγai maral ažiγai. (Сумъяабаатар 1990, 7, §1, l. 1–3)

### 2.2. MEANING

*huṣaγur*, Kh. узуур, озоор, ёзоор, язгуур:

Basic meaning: ‘foundation, basis, root’.

Figurative meaning: ‘origin, genesis, genealogy’.



*degere tengeri*, Kh. *дээр тэнгэр*:

Basic meaning: 'the upper sky, the sky above'.

Figurative meaning: 'heaven, god, supreme god'.

*börte činu-a*, Kh. *бөрт чоно*:

Basic meaning: bluish, speckled wolf (though generally the colour of the body of the animal is grey, it has blue spots or blue tips of long hair) 'bluish, azure, indigo wolf'.

Figurative meaning: Blue Wolf, which was the name of the legendary ancestor venerated by Mongols, and therefore I propose to call him 'Lord Blue Wolf'.

Besides the meaning of the colour, in present-day Mongolian the word *бөрт* can be encountered as a root of many iconopoeia (cf. Oberfalzerová 2005b): *бөртгэр* – an indistinct image of something small and dark in the distance – a child or clouds; *бөртөн* – patchy, rugged; *бөртуй-* / *бүртуй-* – to be rugged, patchy, seen from far away, undulate (about mountain ranges); *бөртөлзө-* / *бүртэлзэ-*, *бөртөгнө-* – a repeated movement of something small and far away.<sup>10</sup>

*γoγai maral*, Kh. *ухаа марал*:

Basic meaning: reddish female deer, reddish doe (having red tips of the hair on the neck or reddish spots on the body of the animal).

Figurative meaning: Charming Hind, which was the name of the legendary female ancestor highly venerated by Mongols. Analogically with 'Lord Blue Wolf', she may therefore properly be called 'Lady Maral Beauty'. Besides designating the reddish colour in present-day Mongolian, *ухаа* (*qou-a* / *qov-a*) is used in popular terminology for a place with a looming reddish hillock or elevation in a plain with no trees and scanty vegetation. The figurative meaning of the word *γoo* (*qou-a* / *γou-a*) – 'beautiful, charming' is also frequently used with the names of respected women as an *epitheton constans* (*Монголжин γoo* [§3], *Борогчин γoo* [§3], *Алун γoo* [§7]), *Баргужин γoo* [§7]). I should like to mention the contribution of the literal translation and interpretation of toponyms and especially proper names in the most recent French translation of the Secret History of the Mongols

10) Of these words Hangin (1986 s.vv.) has only: *бөртгэр* indistinct outline; *бөртөгнөх* for an indistinct object to move repeatedly; and *бөртөлзөх* to be seen or loom up in the dark or at a distance.

(Even, Pop 1994), which from the point of view of the ethnography of communication points to a metaphorical thinking and manner of expression on the part of ancient Mongols.

### 2.3. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO VARIOUS LANGUAGES:

- Mongolian: Чингис хааны язгуур, дээр тэнгэрээс заяат төрсөн Бөртчино, гэргий Гуа-Маралын хамт тэнгис далайт гэтэлж ирээд ... (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, 25)
- Russian: Предком Чингис-хана был Борте-Чино, родившийся по изволению Высшего Неба. Супругой его была Гоа-Марал. Явились они, переплыв Тенгис (внутреннее море). (Козин 1941, 79)
- German: Der Urahn Tschingis Chans war ein vom hohen Himmel erzeugter, schicksalserkorener grauer Wolf. Seine Gattin war eine weiße Hirschkuh. Sie kamen über den Tenggis=See, ... (Haenisch 1948, 1)
- Czech: Prapředkem Činggis-čahanovým byl osudem vyvolený šedý Vlk, zplozený Vysokým Nebem. Jeho ženou byla Bílá Laň. Přišli přes Tenggis. (Poucha 1955, 11)
- English: The origin of Činggis Qahan.  
There was a bluish wolf which was born having [his]  
Destiny from Heaven above. His spouse was a fallow doe.  
They came, passing over the Tenggis. (Cleaves 1982, p. 1)
- French: L'origine de l'Empereur Cinggis. Il y eut Loup-Bleu, qui naquit prédestiné par le Ciel d'en haut. Son épouse fut Biche-Fauve. Franchissant une vaste étendue d'eau (Even, Pop 1994, 41)

### 3. *bögöre-jin bögse, čegere-jin čegeži* (§ 96, l. 15, §104, l. 11–12)

#### 3.1. CORPUS

##### Chinese transliteration:

péi-kě-riè-yin péi-k'(è)-siē-t'ú-ér chě-kě-riè-yin chě-é-chī-t'ú-èr ā-tūo-hái  
(Сумъяабаатар 1990, 129, §96, l.15)

##### Mongolian transcription:

*Bögere-yin bögse-dür čer-ün čegeji-dür atuyai* (Сумъяабаатар 1990, 129, §96, l.15)

The present author's translation:

*Бөөсгийн (бөөрийн) бөгс доороо,      Let the buttocks with testicles be down,  
Цээрийн цээж дээрээ байтугай      Let the chest with phlegm be up.*

## 3.2. MEANING

*böger-e / бөөр:*

Basic meaning: *kidney*.

Figurative meaning: *testicle[s]* (Lessing, s.v., p. 124), which originally may have been a euphemism for the male generative organ.

*čer/čegere / цэр/цээр:*

Basic meaning: *phlegm*

Figurative meaning: *taboo, prohibition, abstinence, quarantine, moderation, restraint.*<sup>11</sup>

## 3.3. ETYMOLOGY

a) Words derived from or related to (possibly only phonetically, or through assonance) the word *böger-e / бөөр:*

*bögem/bögen / бөөн/бөөм* lump, clot, cluster, ball, bunch, crowd, heap;

*bögerengkei / бөөрөнхий* round, spherical, rounded, globular;

*bögesü / бөөс* louse;

*bögesüg / бөөсүй* testicle[s];<sup>12</sup>

*bögse / бөгс* (backside, posterior part, rear, rump, buttock).

In present-day Khalkha Mongolian the word *böger-e / бөөр* has preserved the original meaning *kidney[s]* and the figurative meaning *testicle[s]* has been mostly forgotten. But still the colloquial language has preserved this figurative meaning in the lexical pair *бөөр бөгсний...* – lit., related to kidneys and rump, with the figurative meaning ‘sexual, erotic’ (*бөөр бөгсний яриа* – erotic talk, *бөөр бөгсний ажил* – sexual intercourse). But in the language of Inner

11) Cf. умеренность, воздержание (Я. Шмидт, *Монгольско-немецко-российский словарь*, Санктпетербург 1835, p. 41, s.v.).

12) The word is missing in Hangin 1986, and so are the other two words used for testicles in modern Mongolian, viz *засаа*, *төмсөг* (cf. H.-P. Vietze, *Wörterbuch Deutsch Mongolisch*. Leipzig 1987, s.v. Hoden).

Mongolia both meanings have been preserved.<sup>13</sup> Though in the language of the Khalkhas the figurative meaning has been forgotten, it is preserved in a special phrase (idiomatic expression) – a threat with which small boys tease each other: *Бөөрий нь гаргана / авна* – ‘I’ll take away your testicles! / I’ll castrate you!’ This phrase still preserves the otherwise lost figurative meaning of the word *бөөр*.

b) The original meaning of the word *čeger-e / цээр* is (felt to be) related to the designation of a colour – *čeker / цэхэр* ‘having a film on the white of the eye’, i.e. ‘dim, greyish, whitish, dull’. This is the colour of the secretion from the lungs and throat. That is why the original figurative meaning referred to the ‘phlegm, sputum, mucus’. This overlaps or intermingles with the word with the short vowel *čer / цэр* in the present-day language. Since the word *цэр* (the old form was ‘*цэхэр*’) is psychologically strongly perceived as something to be loathed, a disgusting phenomenon, in the further process of metaphorisation the word *čeger-e / цээр* acquired an even more expressive meaning related to a taboo, a strict prohibition (loathing something like a phlegm – a taboo, a strict prohibition), *čeger-ele- / цээрлэ-* ‘to taboo, to prohibit, to quarantine, to abstain’ (< *цэрлэ-* to loathe like a phlegm). This meaning is then also a basis of many words, phrases and terms, which express this characteristic psychological phenomenon – a system of prohibitions. In the original Chinese transliteration the word *čeger-e / цээр* was written as follows: *chě-kě-riè* (*čeker / цэхэр*), as against the word *čegeji / цээж*: *chě-é-chī* (*čegeži / цээж*). This is how they seem to have specifically distinguished the words with long and short vowels, a point which deserves further attention.

c) *bögere-yin bögse* (бөөрийн бөгс), *čegere-yin čegeji* (цээрийн цээж):

Basic meaning: *бөөр / бөөсгий бүхий бөгс, цээр бүхий цээж* – *buttocks having testicles, chest having phlegm*.

Figurative meaning: The meaning of the metaphor became more profound and at the same time broader, it is a fixed metaphor:

*bögere-yin bögse* (i.e. бөөрийн бөгс болсон хүмүүс, бөгсний хүмүүс = people who became their own organs) low people, utilitarian people, betrayers of traditional rules, people not respecting laws, ignoramuses.

*čegere-yin čegeji* (i.e. цээрийн цээж болсон хүмүүс, цээжний хүмүүс = people who became their own laws) noble people, people respecting laws, people respecting the tradition.

13) See Conclusion, Sonom et alia, 1991, p. 74.



In this text the genitive suffix *-yin* has an important function of substantivisation, since it turns a casual phrase into a fixed phrase. This genitive suffix is omitted in modern Mongolian translations (*бөөр нь бөгсөнд, цэр нь цээжинд*), while foreign translators translate it literally (see further below).

d) Since the dative-locative suffix *-dür* repeatedly appears after idiomatic expressions, it specifies the place where the subject belongs, where it should be located. In my opinion the preceding sentences should be interpreted and translated as follows: *Let those who are low be placed at their (i.e. low) position, and let those who are noble be placed at their (i.e. high) position.*

### 3.4. CONTEXT OF THE SITUATION

When Temüjin's father Yesukei died, his subject Taichuud princes migrated from their native region to a new place in order to become independent, and left there only a widowed queen with her children. Having lost his subjects in this manner, young Temüjin applied for help to Ong Qan of the Kereyid, an old friend of his father. Ong Qan responded positively and promised to reunite his disintegrated state with the following words: 'Low people must be at the buttocks and the noble (first) people must be at the chest (must lead).'

Then it happened that the Merkit princes kidnapped Temüjin's very young bride and he turned again to Ong Qan for help. Ong Qan repeated his words and immediately dispatched 40,000 soldiers on horses.

These low Taichuud princes, who had left their ruler sent by Tenger, and these wicked people, who had kidnapped Temüjin's wife, also sent by Tenger, were figuratively called *бөөсгийн бөгснүүд*, lit., 'testicled buttocks', by Ong Qan, which was a very degrading expression. And the 'golden family' (*алтан ураг*) headed by Temüjin was designated by a very flattering metaphor, *цээрийн цээжис*, lit., 'chest of laws' (following the taboo or law). In fact this term is the expression of the thought of ancient Mongols, reflecting legislature based on taboo. These words of Ong Qan can be taken as an example of a reference to an orally preserved law respected by all.

The original narrow meaning of this figurative expression, reflecting the rules of sexual behaviour of people (possibly people who think about nothing but sex), was later extended to a more general metaphor, referring to the rules concerning the hierarchy of social relations. Though most translators did not know this figurative expression, some of them understood the meaning from the context. C. Damdinsuren's translation: 'Let there be elders!' (*Ах захтай*

болог.), S. A. Kozin's translation: 'Let all be in their places, here – the honourable, domestics – there. (*Пусть все станет по местам, здесь – почетный, челядь – там*)' In the original free Chinese rendering Ong Qan was made the subject of the sentence: 'never within myself shall I forget this (these words)' – *үүнийг би үүрд дотроо үл мартсугай* (Хандсүрэн 1997, 157). With the exception of Kozin, all other translators repeat this principal mistake.

### 3.5. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES:

- Russian: Пусть все станет по местам:  
Здесь – почетный; челядь –там. [‘Пусть лопатка пойдет к передней части (почетной), а почки – к задней части.’] (Козин 1941, p. 96.)
- Mongolian: Бөөр нь бөгсөнд байг  
Цэр нь цээжинд байг  
(Ах захтай болог) (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 55)
- German: Ich will dir anhängen, wie der Hintere an den Lenden und die Brust am Halse! (Haenisch 1948, p. 21)
- Czech: Bedra u boků,  
hrud' u hrdla má být! (Poucha 1955, p. 38)
- English: Let [my promise] be  
In the back  
Of [my] kidneys,  
In the diaphragm  
Of [my] breast. (Cleaves 1982, p. 38)
- French: Que [ces paroles] demeurent à jamais  
Au fond de mes reins,  
Au creux de ma poitrine ! (Even, Pop 1994, p. 68)

## 4. *alčuy-a kürtügei, qoγolaj-a kürtügei* (§ 118.8–9)

### 4.1. CORPUS

#### Chinese transliteration:

ā-wù-lā shǐ-hān pǎo-wù-íá ā-tūo-wù-chén pì-tā-nè  
 ā-lā-chū-hǎ kǔ-úér-t'ū-kāi huō-l(è)-t'ū-ér shǐ-hān pǎo-wù-íá huō-nín ch'ì-  
 t'(i) hū-rǐ-hǎ-ch'ì-t'(i) pì-tā-nè huō-uò-lā-íá kǔ-úér-t'ū-kāi (Сумъяабаатар  
 1991, 187, §118, l. 8–9)

Mongolian transcription:

Аγyла siqan bayuy-a, adayučin bidan-u  
**alčūq-a kürtügei**, γoul-dur siqan bayuy-a  
 qoničid quryacid bidan-u **qoyolai-a kürtügei** (Сумъяабаатар 1991, 187, §118,  
 l. 8–9)

The present author's translation:

Уул шаан бууя  
 Адуучидын маань  
**Алцаа хөртүгэй!**  
 Голд шаан бууя  
 Хоньчид хургачидын маань  
**Хоолой хөртүгэй!**

## 4.2. MEANING

***alčūq-a:***

Basic meaning: *alčay-a* / *алцаа* (crotch between the legs), *körtügei/körütügei*  
 / *хөртүгэй* < *kör-/körü-* ‘to cool off, become cool, to freeze, congeal’

***alčūq-a körütügei:***

Figurative meaning: ‘let his crotch become cool’, ‘let his lower part of the  
 body relax’

***qoyolai:***

Basic meaning: *qoyulai* / *хоолой* (throat)

***qoyolai körütügei:***

Figurative meaning: ‘let his throat become cool’, ‘let his chest relax’

In the original text the verb could be read in two different ways – *kör-* (to cool off) and *kür-* (to reach, arrive at). Because the Chinese rendering relied on the form *kür-*, many translators took this as a basis and this is how incorrect translations and lexical interpretations arose.

In classical Mongolian the verb *kör-* is written as *körü-*. Originally there was no final *-ü* in the verb. It was written by later orthographers to distinguish it graphically from the verb *kür-*.

One more note: in the text we can read the phrase *siqan bayuy-a* which is rendered as ‘*шахан бууя*’ (lit., ‘lets descend [with the yurt] having pressed’). That may be so. But the word *siqan* / *siyan* corresponds to modern *шаан* / *шааж* < *шаа-*’ (to hammer in [a peg, a nail]). To this day herdsmen would say *ууланд шааж буу-* (lit., let’s drive in a peg and dismount on the mountain),

голд шааж буу- (lit., let's drive in a peg and dismount at the river), i.e. let us stop and make a camp. The phrase *шаан буу-* means literally 'to drive a peg and descend / dismount (make a stop)'. Figurative meaning: *тулж буу-* lit., 'to lean on / touch and descend / dismount', which would have been a more suitable poetical rendering.

#### 4.3. CONTEXT OF THE SITUATION

After Temüjin and Jamukha had spent a year and a half in friendship, they were moving to another pastureland on the sixteenth of the first summer month. When they were on the way, Jamukha said these words (cf. 4.1 above) to Temüjin. Since Temüjin did not understand what Jamukha meant, he did not answer and slowed down in order to ask his mother. Before his mother could give the answer, Börte (Temüjin's wife) said: 'They say that Jamukha is bored by friends easily. He now certainly is bored of us. Don't let's stop.'

This happened when the hot period of summer began. There was a problem of where to descend. Since herdsmen ride permanently sitting on horseback, during this time their crotch gets hot and perspires. If herdsmen stop in the mountains, the herd of horses withdraws into the forest to be protected against the heat of the day, and when the cooler evening comes, they move to the river to drink. They graze in the cool evening and night. The herdsman can have a rest.

For the shepherd this is a hot period of tedious work, he has to draw water from the well (watering a herd of sheep by hand from a well is really a difficult and tiresome work), when the body sweats heavily. If shepherds stop at a river, it is easier for them. It was then that Jamukha uttered that poetic metaphor. But it is also possible that the phrase indirectly referred to the possibility that Jamukha would split from Temüjin.

Though C. Damdinsuren in his modern Mongolian translation did not grasp the figurative meaning in this expression, in terms of the general context and its logic he did provide a suitable explanation. In brackets he provides an explanation that it probably meant that 'one part should stop in the mountains with horses, and one part should stop at a river with sheep'.<sup>14</sup> It is obvious that Jamukha's words were meant to make the work of people easier, but did not respect the pastures of the herd.

14) *Хагас нь адууны бэлчээрийг татаж ууланд бууя, хагас нь хонины бэлчээрийг татаж голд бууя гэсэн үг бололтой* (Дамдинсүрэн 1960, p. 71).

## 4.4. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES:

- Russian: Или в горы покочуем? Там  
Будет нашим конюхам  
Даровой приют!  
Или станем у реки?  
Тут овечьи пастухи  
Вдоволь корм найдут! ['Покочуем-ка возле гор – для табунщиков  
наших шалаш готов. Покочуем-ка возле реки – для овчаров наших  
в глотку (еда) готова!'] (Козин 1941, p. 107)
- Mongolian: Ууланд шахан бууя.  
Адуучинд гэр болтугай!  
Голд шахан бууя.  
Хоньчин хургачин нарт  
Хоол болтугай! (Дамдинсүрэн 1960, p. 71)
- German: Laß uns dicht am Berge lagern. Unsere Pferdehirten  
sollen zu den zelten kommen können. Laß uns dicht am  
Bergbach lagern. Unsere Schafhirten sollen zu ihrer  
Kehle kommen können. (Haenisch 1948, p. 30)
- Czech: Rozložme se u kopce!  
Naši koňští pastevci  
stany mají připraveny!  
Rozložme se u řeky!  
Naši ovčáci a jehňat pastevci  
jídlo mají připraveno! (Poucha 1955, p. 55)
- English: Let us pitch next [unto] the mountain.  
Let our herdsmen  
Attain unto a tent.  
Let us pitch next unto the stream.  
Let our shepherds and keepers of lambs  
Attain unto [food for] the gullet. (Cleaves 1982, p. 50–51)
- French: Faisons halte près de la montagne,  
Que nos gardiens de chevaux aient assez pour leurs abris.  
Faisons halte près de la rivière,  
Que nos bergers et agneliers aient assez pour leur gosier.  
(Even, Rodica 1994, p. 84)

## 5. *sain bögsen* (§ 155, l. 7)

### 5.1. CORPUS

#### Chinese transliteration:

é-ké-ch'ì ch'ì-nè ch'ì-mă-tă-ch'á sâ-yîn pŭ- k'(è)- siên péi-é-sù é-rí- wù-luō-yē (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 325, § 155, l. 7–8)

#### Mongolian transcription:

*egeči činü čimadača sayin bögsen bögesü erigülüy-e* (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 325, § 155, l. 7–8)

#### The present author's translation:

*Эгч чинь чамаас сайн хайр* (бөгс) юм бол (бөгөөс) эрүүлвэ.

### 5.2. MEANING

*sayin bögsen*, lit. good backside, buttock, posterior, rump, rear:

Figurative meaning: sexual ability or skill

### 5.3. CONTEXT OF THE SITUATION AND COMMENT

Chingis Khan occupied the region of the Tatars and took Yesügen Qatun, the daughter of their king Yeke Čeren, as his wife. Chingis Khan uttered the above words after Yesügen persuaded him to take her elder sister Yesüi, saying that she was better than her. It is possible that Yesügen, while trying to persuade him, had used the phrase *sayin bögsen* in her speech, which attracted the attention of Chingis Khan. The modal meaning of the phrase *sayin bögsen bögesü* is 'if that is so'. Though in the parallel translation following the Chinese transliteration the word *bögsen* was translated by the word 'was', according to Гадамба (1990, p. 333, note 488) this does not fit semantically with the other words and many translators left this word without any translation.

In my opinion this is an old Mongolian metaphor linked with sex. Thus the SHM provides an example of how much more openly the topics linked with sex were discussed by ancient Mongolian nomads prior to the introduction of Lamaism. There are also other examples to be found in the SHM: The wellknown name of the legendary ancestress was *Alan quo* / *Алан гоо* (§7) – i. e. *Алан ухаа*<sup>15</sup> lit. 'crotch red', its figurative meaning being 'beautiful vulva /

perfect mother'. This appears to be a relic demonstrating the habit of venerating the female genitals at the time of the early matriarchate.

Another example from § 197: When the Merkid king Dayir Usun was bringing his daughter Qulan to introduce her to Chingis Khan (as a potential wife), Chingis Khan's army commander Naya'a kept her for three days in his home to protect her. When Chingis Khan heard about this, he became very angry. When he was inquiring to Naya'a about this offence, Qulan said: '*ene Nayay-a-dur učaraqui manu sayin bolba. Edüge Nayay-a-dača asaytal-a qayan soyurqabasu tngri-yin jayay-a-bar ečige eke törügüligsen mariyan-ača asayubasu kemen öčigüljüküi*'<sup>16</sup> (Сумъябаатар 1991, §197, l. 27–31) – 'Per-

15) Mo. *ala(n)* joint of the thighs, groin, crotch; pubic region; genitals (Lessing s.v.), Kh. *ал 3.* (id., Hangin s.v.). In Khalkha this word is nowadays vulgar, the normal designation being *алцаа* crotch, fork, bifurcation (of legs, scissors etc.; Hangin s.v.). The semantics of the above phrase (*Алан ухаа*) may require a little comment. The old Mongolian word *quo* was also spelled *xuva* or *xu-a*, and it originally referred to colour (cf. Lessing s.v. *xuba(n)* 2. amber; pale yellow). Later its meaning became 'nice, beautiful'. The word has several variants in modern speech, e.g. *зоо* (actually Western Mongolian pronunciation), Khalkha *зоё* (Hangin s.v. *зоё* beautiful; fine, smart, elegant), and also *зүа* (Hangin s.v. *зүа* 2. beauty; beautiful) in the phrase *зүа сайхан, зоо сайхан* 'beautiful' (the former pair used in some phrases was replaced by the latter after 1960 due to the criticism that *зүа* was a wrong pronunciation of the old form *qu(v)a*; the criticism came mainly from B. Rinchen and his pupil J. Badraa). The last variant is *ухаа*, which refers mainly to the colour of a place (Hangin s.v. *ухаа* 1. reddish; fawn colored), cf. also e.g. the pair word *ухаа ягаан* (reddish-violet) etc. In the above phrase *Алан ухаа* the reference to the colour (reddish etc.) implied the quality and ability of the bodily organ rather than its beauty.

For comparison see also the meanings as they are offered in Luvsandendev's Dictionary (2001; the dictionary has classical Mongolian forms in the Mongolian script and they are given in Latin transcription in brackets):

- *зоо* (*yoia/yova*) 1. пригожий, стройный, красивый, статный, прекрасный; 2. красивый, красивая, красавица; *зоо сайхан* красивый, эстетический, прекрасный, чудесный (Том 1, стр. 434).
  - *зүа* (*yoia/yova*) 1. прекрасный, красный, красивый, хорошенький, миленький, милостивый, интересный, пригожий; 2. красиво, живописно, великолепно; *зүа сайхан* а) красивый, прелестьный; б) эстетика; в) косметика (Том 1, стр. 448).
  - *гоё* (*youi*) красивый, прекрасный, красный, живописный, чудесный, экстраерный, нарядный, элегантный, картинный (Том 1, стр. 413).
  - *гоёж гоодох* наряжаться, франтить, рядиться (Том 1, стр. 435).
  - *ухаа* (*quva*) 1. каурый, рыжеватый (о масти), кирпично-красный (о цвете); 2. длинный и плогий холм, возвышенность, увал (Том 3, стр. 373).
  - *улбар ягаан* (*ухаа ягаан*) красновато-фиолетивый (Том 4, стр. 455) (*ягаан* = розовый, светлофиолетивый).
- 16) Kozin translates 'Если бы теперь, государь, пока опрашивает Наяя-нойона, соизволил вопросить ту часть тела, которая по небесному изволению от родителей прирождена?... (Coeli voluntate a parentibus nata epiderma tota conservata est. Interroga pusito epidermam! (П. Кафаров, Предисловие к 'Старинному Монгольскому сказанию о Чингис-Хане',

adventure our encountering this Naya'a was good. Now, instead of asking of Naya'a, if the Qahan favour [me], if he ask of the flesh which, by the destiny of Heaven, [my] father and mother did beget, [he will find that it is perfect and entire].<sup>17</sup> Chingis Khan took Qulan's word and tested her: *mön edür-iyer*<sup>18</sup> *böged bolyan*<sup>19</sup> *soribasū Qulan qatun-u öčil adali boltaju Činggis qayan Qulan qatun-i soyurqaju tayalaba* (Сумъяабаатар 1991, §197, l. 37–39) – 'when, on the same day, then, examining [her], he tried [her], finding [it] to be like [unto] the report of Qulan Qatun, Čingis Qahan was pleased to love Qulan Qatun (Cleaves 1982, p. 131).<sup>20</sup> The idea of this metaphor is that Qulan remained a virgin and Chingis Khan proved it.

#### 5.4. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES

- Russian: Если уж твоя сестра еще краше, чем ты, то я велю ее сыскать. (Козин 1941, p. 124.)
- Mongolian: Эгч чинь үнэхээр чамаас гоо бол түүнийг эрүүлє. (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 115)  
Эгч чинь чамаас илүү сайн бөгөөс эрүүлє. (Монголын нууц товчоо, сонгомол эх, 2005, p. 62)
- German: Wenn deine Schwester schöner als du, will ich sie suchen lassen. (Haenisch 1948, p. 53)
- Czech: Je-li tvoje sestra krásnější, dám ji hledat. (Poucha 1955, p. 87)
- English: If thine elder sister have been better than thou, I shall make [one] to seek [her]. (Cleaves 1982, p. 83)

C.–Петербург, 1866, p. 218). See Козин 1941, p. 150. For a more specific bibliographical information on Кафаров cf. Cleaves, SHM, p. XVII: 'In 1866, when the Archibandrite Paladii published in the Труды членовъ Россійской духовной Миссiй въ Пекине [Works of the Members of the Russian Religious Mission in Pekin] (Томъ IV, С.–Петербургъ 1866, pp. 1–258) a translation of the Yuan-chao pi-shih, under the title of Старинное Монгольское сказанiе о Чингисхане [Old Mongolian Story about Cingis khan]...'

- 17) Cleaves 1982, p. 130. As for *mariyan-ača*, it means literally 'of the flesh', figuratively 'of the genitals'. Cleaves translates the word correctly as 'of the flesh' and explains as 'the *pudenda muliebria*' (ibid., note 71).
- 18) The phrase underlines the fact he did it immediately in the light of the day and did not wait for the night.
- 19) The word *bolgan* (Kh. болгоон) is a euphemism for *üiled-* to do, in this case implying 'to cohabit'.
- 20) 'Чингис-Хану понравились слова Хулан-хатуны. Ее освидетельствовали тотчас же, и все оказалось, как она говорила намекам. Очень пожаловал Чингис-хан Хулан-хатуну и полюбил ее' (Козин 1941, p. 151).



- French: – Si ta sœur aînée est plus belle que toi, dit à ces mots l'Empereur Cinggis, je la ferai chercher. (Even, Pop 1994, p. 115)

6. *nidün-ü ečin-e ge-* > *gedkün* (§ 156, l. 19), *gegejü* (§188, l. 3), *gegebe* (§ 188, l. 28)

### 6.1. CORPUS

Chinese transliteration: nǐ-dū-nè é-ch'ì- niē ké-t'(i)-k'un

Mongolian transcription: *nidün-ü ečin-e gedkün* (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 330, §156, l. 19)

The present author's translation: Нүднээс далд оруултугай (болготугай!)

### 6.2. MEANING

#### a) Single word:

Basic meaning: throw away (§ 188, l. 23: *Sanggüm-i teyin cöl-dür gegejü irebe bi* – я вернулся, бросив Сангума в пустыне; Козин 1941, p. 141).

Figurative meaning: to kill (§ 188, l. 28: *Kököcü-yi ... cabciju gegebe* – самого Кокочу приказал зарубить и выбросить; Козин 1941, p. 141).

#### b) Phrase (idiom): *nidün-ü ečin-e gedkün*.

Basic meaning: literally 'to remove from (the sight of) eyes'.

Figurative meaning (in this case a euphemism): kill (him) immediately! The king's harsh word 'kill' is replaced by a milder expression.

### 6.3. CONTEXT OF THE SITUATION AND COMMENT

In the SHM the verb *ала-* 'to kill' is mostly used about animals or hated enemies, while concerning one's own people or close people, in the king's order to execute a man this word is replaced by: *mökürigül-* 'to extinguish',<sup>21</sup>

21) *mökürigül-* is derived from *mökü-* 'to become extinct, die out; to collapse'. However this word translated by Lessing mistakenly as 'to make round or ball-shaped' (s.v. *mökürigül-*). Obviously Lessing should have used a medial -g- instead of -k-, cf. e.g. *möger* 'circumference of a wheel, wheel', etc. (Lessing s.v.). In the SHM the word *mökürigül-* occurs also elsewhere, e.g. § 149, l. 60; 227, l. 28–29.

*moqudqa-* 'to make blunt, tired, weak',<sup>22</sup> *nögčige-* / *nögčiye-* 'to pass the time; to free, deliver from' (which figuratively means 'to put to death') in the form of a converb in the phrase *-ju/ču ge-* 'to throw out in this way....' The fact that Chingis Khan used a circumlocution in an order to kill his enemy is probably a result of an early Mongolian taboo. In modern Mongolian there are many substitutes for the verb *ала-* 'to kill'.

The substituting function of the phrase *-ju/-ču ge-* may have been forgotten in the 17th century. This may be seen in the replacement of this phrase by the phrase *-ju/ču ki-* 'to kill in this manner...', lit. 'to do in this manner...' used instead of the above phrase by Luvsandanzan in his text of the Altan tobči.<sup>23</sup> Some researchers reconstructing the SHM did so according to the Altan tobči of Luvsandanzan and in doing so they actually missed the figurative manner of expression of the SHM. But the examples below show that the translators of the SHM were able to perceive the replacement meaning and translate it accordingly.

#### 6.4. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES

- Russian: Уберите его с глаз долой! (Козин 1941, p. 125)
- Mongolian: Нүднээс далд болго. (Дамдинсүрэн 1960, p. 116)
- German: Werfet ihn hinter meine Augen. (Haenisch 1948, p. 54)
- Czech: Hodte jej za mé oči! (Poucha 1955, p. 88)
- English: Cast [ye him] away from the sight of [mine] eyes. (Cleaves 1982, p. 85)
- French: Ôtez-le de ma vue! (Even, Pop 1994, p. 116)

#### 7. Conclusion

In Mongolian there is an idiom 'easy to say, difficult to do'. Finding the meaning of a metaphor, especially a dead metaphor, is a difficult job. By way of conclusion I should like to explain how I arrived at the figurative meaning of the word *бөөр*:

22) Derived from *moxu-* 'to be blunt or dull; to get tired, weaken, exhaust one's strength' (cf. Lessing s.v. *moxu-*). *moqudqa-* occurs in several places in the SHM, e.g. § 158, l. 10; 236, l. 3; 237, l. 2; 244, l. 40; 268, l. 8.

23) *Altan tobči*. The Golden summary..., Ulayanbayatur, 1990, p. 39, 156.

There is an interesting habit in Mongolian ethnopedagogy of frightening children. If the guest coming to the yurt does not like the behaviour of a boy, he would tell the boy 'Бөөрий нь гаргана / авна!' (3. 3. a.) and would reach for the knife which he carries hanging on his belt. As a boy at the age of five to six years, I used to hear these frightening words many times. Because I had often seen the cutting open of a sheep's belly and the removal of kidneys (boiled kidneys were given to children), I thought that this meant cutting my belly and removing my kidneys. Until about sixty years of age I was not aware that *бөөр* meant testicles (nowadays *засаа*). The reason why the figurative meaning occurred neither to the famous translator of SHM C. Damdinsüren nor to Š. Gaadamba, who provided an explanation of 691 words and phrases, both great specialists in classical Mongolian, is the fact that this metaphor is simply extinct in Khalkha Mongolian. If we have a look at the parallel transliteration of the word for kidney in the Chinese original, viz *Péi-kě-riè* (*bögere*), the first translator into Chinese was not aware of the figurative meaning either. But it is important to note that the translator did not consider it to be a 'male' word *bokir* (dirt),<sup>24</sup> but took it to be a 'female' word which he read as *bögere* / *бөөр*. And all the translators follow the parallel Chinese translation.

Then how did I find out about the figurative meaning of this word? It was in 2001 when A. Oberfalzerová, teacher of Mongolian at Charles University in Prague defended her PhD. degree. When I saw her thesis (for the English publication cf. Oberfalzerová 2006), it was obvious that she had collected a number of interesting metaphors used in the present-day speech of Mongolian nomads, which she analysed from the point of view of ethnography of communication and ethnopsychology. Then I realised that the SHM, the Geser epic and other ancient texts must have many interesting metaphors and in that connection I remembered the expression *böger-e* / *бөөр* and found out that Lessing translates it as *kidney; testicle*. It is quite strange. Translators should have been able to consult this dictionary after 1960. And it is not that they would not know the concept of metaphor. I myself was also only aware of the fact that a metaphor is an important trope in literary creation. And after this I started to read about metaphors in languages, metaphorisation and metaphorical thinking, and got acquainted with this important line of research.

The figurative meaning of the word *бөөр* (kidney) is not found in the Khalkha Mongolian monolingual dictionary, but it is available in the Mongolian dictionary prepared by F. D. Lessing in co-operation with South Mongolian

24) This in fact was the reading offered by Gadamba 1990, p. 38, line 631, note 0325, and again p. 284.

specialists, and thus this meaning must be available in South Mongolian texts. Then I stumbled over the book '*Mongyol-un čeger-ün yosun*' and it happens to record several phrases, which document this usage:

*Агталсан үрээний бөөрийг энд тэнд зүгээр хаяхыг цээрлэнэ. Галд шараад идэж болно. Идэхгүй бол галд түлчихдэг.* It is prohibited to throw about the testicles (*бөөр*) of gelded three-year old horses. They may be fried in fire and eaten. If they are not eaten they are normally burned in fire.

*Агталсан тэмээний бөөрийг энд тэнд хаяж нохой шувуунд идүүлэхийг цээрлэнэ. Шатаавал нэгий нь шатааж, нэгий нь тэр агталсан тайлагийн шилэнд нь уячихдаг.* It is prohibited to throw about the testicles (*бөөр*) of castrated camels. If they are burned, one is burned and one is fastened at the back part of the neck of the five-year old camel (Sonom et alia, 1991, p. 74).

In modern Khalka the word *бөөр* has been replaced by *засаа*. And since in the linguistic imagination of the Mongols *бөөр* (kidney) is not located in the buttocks (*бөгс*), but is in the loin (*бэлхүүс*), the phrase *бөөрний бөгс* (kidneys' buttocks) is not correct. But the same phrase *бөөрний бөгс* (testicles' buttocks) in the SHM appears to fit in terms of its logic and meaning.

The fact that the word *čeger-e* / *цээр* originates from the word *čeker* / *цэхэр* became clear in the process of analyzing the metaphor based on this word (see 3. 3. b). In my opinion the phrase *цээрийн цээж* is important to understand and translate properly and not only in the 96 paragraphs of the SHM. The phrase is also important as a means of understanding correctly the thinking of the nomadic culture and the basis of its law.

The original of the SHM was written in early Mongolian and in the Uigur-Mongolian script. When later it was written in the Chinese transcription, in the pronunciation close to the colloquial speech roughly of the 14th century, a great number of words appeared which were read incorrectly and translated incorrectly. I have demonstrated one example of incorrect reading in the 3rd part of my paper.

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# Verba dicendi and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 3.1. Etyma with initial labials (p-, b-, f-, v-, m-)

Jaroslav Vacek

**Summary:** The paper lists the etyma found in the above defined formal group in Dravidian and Altaic (initial labials and all medial consonants except the liquids). It is a part of a systematic description of *verba dicendi* in the broad sense of the word showing how many parallels there are between those languages (and occasionally also Uralian). The formal aspect is dealt with analogically with the previous papers (*Mongolica Pragensia* '03, '04, '05). The onomatopoeic features are conspicuous with many of the etyma, though there are parallels even in pure onomatopoeia.

## 0.

The *verba dicendi* appear to represent a rather broad group of verbs belonging to the 'basic vocabulary'. Since 2003, this is the fourth paper in a series presenting a systematic analysis of the various verbs designating "speaking" etc. These verbs were occasionally discussed already in my earlier papers. Some of the etyma appearing here were mentioned in the 1994 paper.<sup>1</sup>

Formally the indicated types of verbs are divided into the following six groups according to the type of root medial consonant:

- 1 *p/b/f/v/m – k/g/ŋ/ŋg* (p. 164)
- 2 *p/b/f/v/m – c/s/š/z/ž/ñc* (p. 172)
- 3 *p/b/f/v/m – i/y* (p. 176)
- 4 *p/b/f/v/m – t/d/n/nt* (p. 177)

1) Ta. *pukal-* to say, etc. (DEDR 4233), Ka. *uggu* repeatedly to utter unmeaning sounds (DEDR 571) were compared with Mo. *üge(n)* word, utterance; *ügüle-* to speak (Vacek 1994, No. 8, p. 12). Ta. *pukal-* and Mo. *ügüle-* to speak, were already put together in my even earlier paper (1983, No. 120, p. 14) – further cf. below in the relevant section.

Ta. *vataru-* to chatter, prate (DEDR 5244) was compared with Mo. *badana-* to babble (ibid. No. 9, p. 13). In 1994, however, there was a reference to forms with medial cerebrals (Ka. *baḍabaḍa*, *vaṭavaṭa* sound to imitate that of gabbling, DEDR 5230; Ta. *vaḷavaḷa* to be talkative, DEDR 5310). Though spontaneous cerebralisation does appear, the cerebral stops are often more closely related to the liquids, both dental and cerebral, and therefore will be discussed together in another paper.

5 *p/b/f/v/m – p/b/v/m/mb* (p. 185)  
 [6 *p/b/f/v/m – l / ʎ / tʃ*]<sup>2</sup>

Besides pure *verba dicendi*, there are also pure onomatopoeic words (with occasional reduplication), which have parallels in the various languages of both Dravidian and Altaic. But besides that, there are also some words, which are either homophonic, or formally very close to the relevant words designating sounds, and which in several of the languages also mean 'a sudden action', 'rash movement' and the like (typical may be Ta. *pakk-eṇal* below). These words were finally also included in the lists below because of this formal closeness and because of the possibility that they may in fact represent a 'semantic extension' of the purely onomatopoeic words. Regardless of the ultimate interpretation as either belonging together with the words designating sounds, or representing independent, though close etyma, the fact that there are such parallels also within the range of Dravidian and Altaic languages is rather 'telling'.

# 1. *p/b/f/v/m – k/g/ng*

## (A) Front vowels *i, e*

Go. *vēñ-* (bell) to sound (DEDR 5337, s.v. Ta. *vāñku*)

Some 'motivated' designations of animals are clearly based on onomatopoeic words reflecting the form of the 'vocal' presentation of these animals. Among them may be, e.g.

Ka. *mēke* she-goat

*mē* the bleating of sheep or goats

Te. *mēka, mēka* goat

Kol. *me·ke* id.

Nk. *mēke* id.

Ga. *mēge, mēge* goat

Go. *mekā, mēka* id.

2) This group of etyma will be the subject of a later paper. Some of the etyma listed below were already mentioned in my 1994 paper, though they were arranged slightly differently.



? Kur. *mēxnā* (*mīxyas*) to call, call after loudly, hail  
 Malt. *mēqe* to bleat (DEDR 5087)<sup>3</sup>

Kur. *phekrārñā* to yell (of jackals) (Bleses 1956, s.v. yell, p. 178)

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Mo. *mögere-*, *mögeri-* to moo, low, bellow (of cows)

Kh. *möörö-* for cows to low (Hangin s.v. *møøpøx*)  
 ?*pīn 2: pīn hūi-* to make a reverberating sound by falling or striking  
 (Hangin s.v. *пун 2*)

\*\*\*

MT. *MIGDI-* to make noise (MTD I,535)  
 Evenk. *migdi* noisy, loud; noise, thunder  
*migdi-*, *migdikēn-* to make noise, to thunder

Sol. *vikrā-* to shout (s.v. *VĀDE-*; MTD I,130)

*PĪXOR-R* creak (MTD II,37–38)  
 Neg. *pīxor-r* onom. creak creak<sup>4</sup>

*PĪKORĪ-* to creak, grate (MTD II,38)  
 Olcha *pīkori-* to creak; grate one's teeth  
 Orok. *peḵudan-* to creak (a tree)  
 Nan. *pīkori-* to creak; grate one's teeth; *pīkoriso/ü* scraping, screeching

Ma. *mekeni*, *meken'en* a woodwind organ (s.v. *MUXENE*; MTD I,554)

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Chuv. *MĚKĚR* to bellow, moo (Egorov, 133)

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- 3) The DEDR refers to Skt. (lex.) *meka-* goat, which may be a borrowing (cf. also Mayrhofer KEWA II,679 s.v. for further references; Mayrhofer also underlines the onomatopoeic origin of this word). As for the question-mark with the Kurukh word, it would appear to be unnecessary in the light of this broader comparative context.
- 4) The etymon further contains a series of words with medial liquids, e.g. Orok. *pēr-pēr* onom. noise of a creaking tree; *pēri-* to breathe with difficulty (sticking out the tongue, about animals); Nan. *pīar-r* onom. noise of s. th. drawn on the ground or floor. They will be included in the section dealing with medial liquids (in preparation).

**(B) Back vowels *u, o***

Ta. *pukal-* to say, state, sound; n. word, mode of singing

Ma. *pukaluka* to speak

Ka. *pugal, pugil* the cuckoo's note

Pa. *pokk-* to speak, tell

Ga. *pok-* to say; *pokk-* to say, tell

Kuwi *pokh-* to cry (of sambar) (DEDR 4233)<sup>5</sup>

Ka. *bogaļu, bogulu*, [*baguļ(u), багаļu*] to bark, cry out

*boguļu, [bolļu, багаļu]* barking, crying out (s.v. Ta. *vakuļi*, DEDR 5204)

Kui *bogari* a noise, sound (Winfield, p. 16, s.v.)

The following DEDR 4896a etymon may have to be split into two, one designating a pressure, strain, etc. (DEDR 4896a-a), the other one referring to the 'sound' accompanying the strain (DEDR 4896a-b). In some languages both meanings are represented, in some only one of the meanings is preserved. That this etymon is formally close to the present set of etyma is obvious.

Ma. *mukkuka* to [strain,] grunt

To. *muk-* to grunt while defecating when constipated; hesitate

Tu. *mukkuruni* to snort, grunt, growl

*mukkuru* snorting, grunting, growling

Te. *mukku* to [strain, exert with a strain or strenuously,] moan, groan, grumble

? Br. *mukking* to stammer (s.v. Ta. *mukku* to strain as a woman in travail, make great efforts; DEDR 4896a-b)<sup>6</sup>

Pa. *mokk-* to bark

Kuwi *mōkhali, mukh'nai, muk-*, [*musk-*] to bark (s.v. DEDR 5013b)<sup>7</sup>

5) The DEDR also has To. *po-θ-* (barking deer) barks (with a question-mark), which purely formally would probably have to be linked with the forms having medial dental (cf. below). The DEDR further refers to DEDR 4235 (Ta. *pukal-* to praise etc.) and to Pkt. *pokkai* calls (Turner, CDIAL, no. 8246).

6) Cf. also the possible MT. parallel to the first meaning: MT. *MOKOLO-* I to press close, embrace (Evenk.) (MTD I,543); *MUK MAK SEME* with effort, perseverance (Ma.) (MTD I,552).

7) The DEDR has various forms, which are split here into 5013a (liquids): Ta. *muṛumuṛu, moṛumoṛu* murmur, grumble; 5013b (velars) and 5013c (sibilants – cf. below). However, it

Pe. *mukay ki-* to bark (cf. *mukhi ki-*)  
*mukhi ki-* to bark (cf. *mukay ki-*) (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1970, p. 223)

Kur. *bhuknā* to bark (Bleses 1956, s.v. to bark, p. 18)

Te. *mūga* small bell or tinkling ornament  
*mūga* bells fastened on leather strap round bullock's neck  
 Kol. *mu-ŋge* anklet bell  
 Nk. *munge* id. (DEDR 5025a)<sup>8</sup>

Besides the above 'motivated' designation of the 'goat', there may be further 'motivated' designations, e.g. that of the 'dog' related to the above etyma:

Ka. *boggā* male dog; *boggi* bitch  
 Tu. *bogre, boggé* dog; *boggi* bitch (DEDR 4466)

The designations of the 'frog' and 'owl' in the following Dravidian etyma may represent further 'motivated' designations, which may be linked with this group of verbs designating sounds:

Kur. *mūxā* frog  
 Malt. *múqe* id. (DEDR 5023)<sup>9</sup>

Ta. *mūñkā* owl  
 Ma. *mūññā, mukan* id., *Bubo orientalis* (DEDR 5027)

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should be noted that the aspirated velars (and possibly also the Pa. *-kk-*) may well be the result of assimilation of the sibilant of the root and the velar of the stem extension. But note the single velar (Kuwi *-k-*) and the geminated velars in DEDR 4896a. The same applies to the following Pengo lexemes.

- 8) The etymon has a series of medial consonants, which are listed in the relevant sections and the DEDR is subdivided accordingly: medial velar *-g-*, *-ŋg-* (DEDR 5025a), medial labial *-v-* (DEDR 5025b), medial glide *-y-* (DEDR 5025c). That particularly the medial velar and labial are related has been shown also elsewhere (Vacek 2002a, 66, 169, 252f.; Vacek 2004b, 426ff.).
- 9) The DEDR further refers to Skt. *mūkaka-* id., which Mayrhofer (EWA III,413, s.v.) considers to be onomatopoeic and also refers to the similarity with Dravidian (referring further to KEWA II,622 for further references).

Mo.

?Kh. *muguida-* to slander, calumniate, malign, accuse falsely  
(Hangin s.v. *мызүдax*)

The earlier proposal (cf. note 1 above) was to include the Mongolian lexeme with an initial vowel under the Dravidian parallels with initial labial,<sup>10</sup> viz

Mo. *üge(n)* word, utterance; phrase; language, speech  
*ügüle-, ögüle-* to speak, say (lit. style); etc.  
*ügele-* to nag, grumble

However, the word is not found in the lists of lost initial labial (Pelliot 1925; Cincius 1984). That is why this word will be better discussed in the context of the other lexemes with initial vowels at a later time.

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MT. *BOḶ- BOḶ* onom. imit. bubbling (water, boiling or otherwise)  
(MTD I,90)

Olcha, Orok., Nan.

Nan. *bugbukule-* to drink water from the river, bowing down and producing a bubbling noise)

P'OKPORI bubbling (about boiling water) (MTD II,40)  
Ud. *pòkpor(i)* id.

Evenk. *bogor-* to weep, sob

Orok. *boḵḵombĩ-* to weep (ruefully) (s.v. *BOBO-* to weep; MTD I,86)

PUK SEME knock! knock! (MTD II,43)

Ma. *puk seme, puḵ seme* knock! knock! (about an impact into s. th.)

MUXENE a woodwind organ (MTD I,554)  
(Neg., Orok., Nan., Ma. has a variant with -e-)

10) The parallel between Ta. *pukal-* and Mo. *ügüle-* is possible with a reference to the fact that the initial \*p- was lost in many Mongolian etyma. That it may have existed also in this etymon can also be deduced from the possible Uralian parallel: cf. Finnish *puhe* speech; *puhu* to speak (already mentioned by F. O. Schrader, Dravidisch und Uralisch. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 3, 1925, p. 98). For the loss of initial labial in Kannada (we could eventually include here also Ka. *uggu* repeatedly to utter unmeaning sounds, stammer, DEDR 571), cf. e.g. P. S. Subrahmanyam 1983, p. 371f.; Zvelebil 1970, p. 85f.).

?MŪ-MŪ cry of the bittern (Neg.) (MTD I,556)

Ma. *muŋ maŋ* onom. lowing, mooing (cow, deer)  
(s.v. *MAŋI*- to low; MTD I,530)

Nan. *boŋe*- to howl (a dog, wolf); to moo (a cow, roebuck)  
(s.v. *BUNĪ*- to howl; MTD I,110)

Sudden action:

*BŌIŠŌ*- to give a start (Evenk.) (MTD I,87)

*BŌKĪV*- to jump up (Evenk.) (MTD I,90)

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OT. \**muğuz*- to buzz (Cl. 766)  
*müŋre*:- to bellow, low, bleat (Cl. 770)

*boŋ* prob. a mere onomatopoeic; the sound of a heavy object falling  
on the ground (*boŋ etti*:-) (Cl. 347)<sup>11</sup>

### (C) The vowel *a*

Ta. *pakar* to tell, utter, declare, say, announce, pronounce, publish  
*pakarcci* speech, utterance, word

Te. *pağaṭu* to announce (DEDR 3804)<sup>12</sup>

11) The word is also used to describe 'a thickset, big man', for which there is an interesting 'typological' parallel in Czech *hromotluk* a hulk, a hefty fellow, lit. 'thunder-beater'; or *hrom do police* id., a noisy and hefty person, lit. 'thunder into the rack'.

12) There are some IA lexemes, which may be linked with this and the following etymon:  
Skt. *bekurā* f. sound, voice; *bekuri* f. (prob.) playing a musical instrument (said of Apsarasas); variants of the first syllable: *vek*- *bhek*-, *bhāk*-;

*bākura*- m. a kind of bag-pipe (RV. 9,1,8); *bākura*- m. a horn, trumpet (RV. 1,117,21).

Further cf. Mayrhofer EWA II,233, s.v. *bekurā*-. Mayrhofer designates the group of these words hesitatingly as onomatopoeic. The phonological variation is typical both of onomatopoeic words and of borrowed words. The overall context not only of Dravidian etyma, but also of the relevant Altaic etyma, may rather support the latter possibility of borrowing. Cf. also *bheka*- m. frog, which Mayrhofer (ibid., p. 273 s.v.) considers to be onomatopoeic and which may be reconsidered in the context of the comparative material introduced here. This, however, would not deny the onomatopoeic character of this and similar lexemes, only it would imply sharing of the same form and principle within a linguistic area.



Ta. *vakūḷi*, *vakūṇi* sound

Ka. *baḡuḷ(u)*, *baḡaḷu*, [*bogaḷu*, *bogulū*] to bark, cry out

*baḡaḷu*, [*bogulū*, *bolḷu*] barking, crying out

*baggu*, [*bargu*,] *baggaṇe* the crying, cooing, chirping, chattering, or singing of birds

*bagḡisu* to cry, coo, chirp, chatter, sing, cry out, vociferate

Tu. *baḡaḷuni*, *baḡuluni*, *baḡuluni* to bark, clamour, vociferate, rave, talk irrationally

*baḡaḷu* raving, wandering in mind, talking irrationally

*baḡuḷāṭa* barking, clamouring (cf. 5337, Ta. *vāṅku*) (DEDR 5204)<sup>13</sup>

Ta. *vāṅku* to call; abuse, reproach; n. abuse, rebuke

*vāṅkā piṭi* to scream (Ramnad dial.)

Ka. *bāṅku* cry of a dog

Te. *vāḡu* to sound, ring; chatter, babble

[Go. *vēṇ-* (bell) to sound

*vēnc-* to ring (bell)] (Cf. 5204 Ta. *vakūḷi*) (DEDR 5337)<sup>14</sup>

To. *pa:k-*, *pa:ky-* to abuse (Sakthivel 1976, p. 324)

Go. *wankānā*, *vank-* to speak, talk (DEDR 5310, s.v. Ta. *vaḷavaḷa*)

Including sudden action:<sup>15</sup>

Ta. *pakk-eṇal* onom. expr. of (a) being sudden, (b) bursting as with sudden laughter

Ka. *paka* imitation of the sound of laughter

*paka paka(ne) nagu* to laugh very loudly, giggle

*pakkane* suddenly

*pakkane nagu* to burst out laughing

Tu. *pakapaka* quickly

*pakka*, *pakkanē* suddenly, unexpectedly

13) I accept the alternative proposed in this DEDR etymon, viz that To. *parḡ ary-* 'to know how to talk' may go with DEDR 4031 Ta. *paṛai* (to be dealt with in another paper later). The same, however, can be said about Ka. *bargu*.

14) Cf. Skt. *maṅkha-* m. = *magadha*, a royal bard or panegyrist (lexicographers, according to MW., not found in Mayrhofer).

15) Cf. above e.g. MT. *BOṬṢŌ-* to give a start (Evenk.), etc.; below MT. *BAḲŽA* suddenly (Ma.), etc.; and possibly also implying 'strenuousness', cf. above Ma. *mukkuka* to [strain,] grunt, etc.



Te. *pakapaka, pakāpaka* a loud burst of laughter, the noise of laughter  
*pakkuna* suddenly (applied to laughter)  
 Ga. *pakāl* the sound of sudden laughter (DEDR 3813)

\*\*\*

Mo.

?Kh. *bahira-* to shout, yell, roar (see *barhira-*; Hangin s.v. *бapxupax*)

\*\*\*

MT. *VĀḌE-* to shout (MTD I,130)

Evenk. *vāḡe-* to shout, call; to attract the roebuck by a trumpet

Sol. *vikrā-* to shout

Neg. *vāḡga-* to cry (about animals, birds)

*MAḌI-* to low (MTD I,530)

Evenk. *maḡi-* to low, moo<sup>16</sup>

Ma. *m'āḡ mīḡ seme, m'āḡ seme* onom. imit. of lamb bleating, of weeping  
 of babies; screams of quarrelling women  
 (s.v. *MĒRĀ-* to bleat [sheep]; MTD I,534)

*VAKVANA-* to croak, quack (MTD I,129)

Evenk. *vakvana-* to croak, quack (frog)

Nan. *vaksā, vaxesā* frog; cancer

Ma. *vaḡsan, vaḡšan* frog

Even. *vak-vak* onom. imitation of cawing (s.v. *VEN-* to caw (MTD I,132)

*PAḶ- PAḶ* the noise of flight (MTD II,32)

Orok. *paḶ-paḶ* onom. the noise of fast flight of a small bird

Ma. *paḶ* onom. the noise of explosion of small rockets; the noise of a small hard thing  
 falling on the floor

*paḶ piḶ seme* onom. the noise of explosion of small rockets

*FAḶ SEME* bump! bang! (MTD II,298)

Ma. [*faḶsa, faḶša* onom. suddenly; furiously]

*faḶ seme* bump! bang! (about fruits falling from a tree, about man falling from  
 exhaustion)

*faḶ seme te-* to bang, slam

16) The etymon contains also Ma. *muḡ maḡ* onom. lowing, which belongs to a different formal group.



Sudden action:

*BAḲḲA* suddenly (Ma.) (MTD I,67)

*VAKTṬI* suddenly (Ud.) (MTD I,129)

Ma. *faḵsa, faḵša* onom. suddenly; furiously (s.v. *FAḲ SEME* suddenly; MTD II,298)

\*\*\*

OT. *ba:kir* to shout, bellow, and the like (Cl. 318)

*baṅla-* to shout, call to prayer; to crow (Cl. 770)

*maṅra:-* to shout; (of a cow, sheep, and the like) to low, bleat (Cl. 770)

*maṅla-* (of a cock) to crow (Cl. 770)

Kaz. *bakyr* laut schreien, rufen (< *bā* + onom. Suff. *-kyr*) (Räs. 58b)

Uig. *maṅra* blöcken; mtü. *maṅra* schreien (Räs. 327a)

Chuv. *MAKĀR* to weep aloud, sob; to bleat, moo; to caw; to miaou  
(Egorov 128, with further examples)

Yak. *maḡirā-, maṅirā-* to low, moo (about cattle)  
(s.v. *MAḌI-* to low; MTD I,530)

## 2. *p/b/f/v/m – c/s/š/z/ž/ñc*

### (A) Front vowels *i, e*

Ta. *pēcu* to talk, speak, converse, make noise, roar; tell, say, recite, praise  
*pēcal, pēccal* talking

*pēccu* speaking, speech, language, praise, talk, report, rumour, word

Ma. *pēcuka* to speak, chatter (as birds)

*pēccu* speech, language

Ko. *pe·c-* to talk to oneself

? To. *ōšt-* to say, tell (story, lament) (or with 4003 Ta. *paḷiccu*)

Kur. *pēsṇā* to command

*pēškā* command, order, precept (DEDR 4430a)<sup>17</sup>

17) I have separated the two parts of the etymon into *a* (sibilants and affricates) and *b* (liquids). Note that there may be a Skt. borrowing in *bhāṣ-* to speak, talk, say, tell etc.; *bhāṣā* f. speech, language (esp. common or vernacular speech, as opposed to Vedic or in later times to Sanskrit). Mayrhofer (KEWA II,497, s.v.) explains the etymology of this word from the root *\*bhā-* meaning both 'sprechen' and 'leuchten', which according to him were 'wohl ur-





Go. *věnc-* to ring (bell) (DEDR 5337, s.v. Ta. *vāṅku*)

\*\*\*

Mo.

Kh. *pižigne-* onom. to crackle, clatter

*pižignan pižigne-* to make a crackling noise or clattering  
(Hangin s.v. *пижигнэх*)

*pis : pis hii-* onom. descriptive of a popping sound: to pop  
(Hangin s.v. *nuc*)

*bišgüür* a woodwind instrument (Hangin s.v. *буузыр*)

\*\*\*

MT. *PIČĀ-* to whistle (MTD II,39–40)

Evenk. *pičā-* to whistle (using a birch whistle)

Ma. *fiča-* to blow a reed-pipe, to whistle; *fičaku* reed-pipe, flute<sup>18</sup>

*PISKĀNA-* to whistle (MTD II,39)

Evenk. *piskāna-* to whistle, to squeak, squeal (animals)

Even. *pisøk-* to whistle (marmot)

Orok. *piski* grasshopper; *pis-pis* onom. stridulation (of a grasshopper)

*PIČIḲ PAČAḲ SEME* to splash (splashing dirt, mud)(Ma.) (MTD II,40)

---

sprungsleich', and the cerebral liquid could have been a result of the effort to distinguish two original homophones. This sounds like a typical folk etymology, which often operates in the process of reception of foreign words on the part of the speakers (cf. Vacek 1995, p. 17, note 2). In EWA (II,261–2 s.v.). Mayrhofer did not repeat this possibility and calls the etymology 'umstritten'. He also mentions the root Skt. *bhaṣ-* to bark, growl, which may not be out of place in the above range of meanings found with this group of verbs.

- 18) This etymon contains forms, which belong to different groups according to their phonetic structure, e.g. Neg. *pipixān*, *pīpīxat-/č-*, *popūxat-/č-*; Olcha *pūpala/-*, etc.; and Orok. *pūpala-*, which are listed in the section with medial labial. Further there is Ud. *pelukalan-da-* to give a whistle; *pelukasi-* to whistle. These latter forms will be included into the paper discussing medial liquids.

**(B) Back vowels *u, o***

Ka. *bus, busu, bussu, bos* a sound to imitate the puffing or hissing of a serpent, of a pair of bellows, of the snorting of cattle, etc.

Koḍ. *bus ku-ṭ-* to hiss

Tu. *busu, busubusu, bussu* gasping, panting, hissing

Te. *busa* hiss of a serpent, hissing, snorting, snoring, a deep breath, a sigh

*busabusa* noise of the boiling of water

*busabusal-āḍu* to hiss

*bussu* hiss of a snake

Kol. *puskarileng* to hiss (DEDR 4246)

Malt. *busg, e* to sob (s.v. Ta. *vikku* to hiccup; DEDR 5383)

Go. *mohcānā, muhcīnā, muhcānā, muhc-, buhs-, bu?c-* to bark

Kui *muska* id.; n. barking

Kuwi [*mōkhali, mukh'nai, muk-*] *musk-* to bark (DEDR 5013c)

Sudden action:

Ka. *pucakkane* suddenly and with a small noise, as when spittle is ejected with force, a mouse quickly enters its hole, a lancet is quickly inserted into a boil, a stick is moved up and down in mud, etc.

Tu. *pucukku* the force, as of spitting (DEDR 4245)

\*\*\*

Mo. No match found.

\*\*\*

MT. *BUČU-* to echo, reverberate (Orok.) (MTD I,117)

*POČOK SEME* plop! splosh! (MTD II,42)

Ma. *počoḱ seme, počoṅ seme* plop! splosh! (when s. th. falls into water)

*FOS-S TA-* to hiss (about a snake) (Nan.) (MTD II,301)

*FUČU FAČA* whispering (Ma.) (MTD II,304)

*MUŽI-* to sob (MTD I,551)

Ma. *muži-* to sob; to moan; to cry (an animal)



\*\*\*

OT. *bozla*:- (of a camel) to bellow (Cl. 392)

### (C) The vowel *a*

Ka. *paca, paca paca* sound proceeding from treading or walking in mud  
*pacakkane* with the sound of pacak in treading

Tu. *pacakke* splash, splash

*pacapaca* licking, a clacking noise (in eating).

?Ta. *paca-pac-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying (a) itching sensation,  
 (b) chattering, (c) drizzling, (d) staring blankly  
 (DEDR 3822)

\*\*\*

Mo. *bacigina*- to crack loudly; to wrangle, quarrel loudly

*pacigina*- to make repeated cracking sounds (of horse hoofs,  
 firecrackers, etc.)

Kh. *pas* cf. *pad* 2. onom. descriptive of rattling or crackling (Hangin s.v. *nac*)  
*pyas* : *pyas hii*- to crack, pop (Hangin s.v. *няс*)

\*\*\*

MT. *VĀČĪ*- to bark (MTD I,130)

Olcha *vācī*- to bark

Nan. id.; *vācīlo*-, *vācīpīn*- to give a bark

BASAG'A- mumble, mutter (while sleeping) (MTD I,76)

Ma. *basag'a*-, *basang'a*-, *basug'a*-, *basung'a*- id.

F'ĀČŪ- to moan (MTD II,299)

Ma. *f'āču*- to moan, shout (from great pain)

FASAḲ SEME jump, rustle (MTD II,299)

Ma. *fasaḳ seme* jump (out of a bush); rustle (made by an animal or bird suddenly  
 jumping out)

FASAR SEME crunching (MTD II,299)

Ma. *fasar seme* onom. in a crunching way (on teeth, about food not fully boiled)

*PASṬḶ-* to clap one's hands, applaud (Even.) (MTD II,34)

\*\*\*

OT.

Yak. *pas* onom. imitating the noise of a gun shot  
(s.v. *PASṬḶ-* to clap one's hands, applaud; MTD II,34)

### 3. *p/b/f/v/m – i/y*

In this section some parts are not always attested in the whole range of languages.

#### (A) Front vowels *i, e*

Pa. [*mēva*,] *mēya* she-goat (s.v. Ka. *mēke*; DEDR 5087)

#### (B) Back vowels *u, o*

Go. *muya* wooden cowbell, dancing-bell; dancing-bell;

*mooya* a small metal bell

Kuwi *silik muya* dancing-bell

*mūya* small bell

*mūyā* small bell used in anklets and bracelets (DEDR 5025c; s.v. Te. *mūga*,  
*mūva*, *muvva* small bell or tinkling ornament)

\*\*\*

Mo.

Kh. *buila-* 1. for camels to bellow (Hangin s.v. *буйлах*)

#### (C) The vowel *a*

Ta. *payil* to speak, utter, tell, talk, utter indistinct sound (as bird), call; n.  
word, secret language, cant

*payirru* to speak, utter, tell

*payir* to cry as beasts or birds, summon, call, sound as instruments; n.  
cry of animals, etc., sound, musical instrument, cant

Ma. *payiluka* to speak (DEDR 3943)

Ta. *vai* to abuse, revile, curse

*vaivu* abuse, curse

[*vacavu* foul, abusive language

*vacai* to censure, blame, calumniate; n. reproach, censure, blame]<sup>19</sup>

Ko. *vayl* abuse<sup>20</sup>

Ka. *bay(i)*, *bayyu*, *boyi* to abuse, revile, use bad language

*bay(i)guḷ*, *bay(i)gaḷ* reviling, abuse, bad language, cursing

Koḍ. *bayy-* to abuse

*baygaḷa* abuse

Tu. *bayyāṭa* id. (DEDR 5550)

\*\*\*

Mo. *maila-* to bleat

Kh. *maila-* to bleat (Hangin s.v. *майлах*)

\*\*\*

OT. *muya:w-* to mew (Cl. 772)

#### 4. *p/b/f/v/m – t/d/n/nt*

In this section Dravidian also has a strong representation of the medial nasal, which alternates with a cerebral nasal and also with a liquid. As for the cerebral nasal, in some cases, particularly those where it alternates with the dental nasal or with a liquid (cf. section C below), it may be considered a case of spontaneous cerebralisation (cf. Mayrhofer 1968 and Burrow 1971). It is also possible that the cerebral nasal in Dravidian has a special onomatopoeic flavour comparable to that of the velar nasal in some etyma (cf. e.g. Vacek 2004c, p. 207, note 20). However, the nasal is only rarely found in the Altaic etyma below. The forms with a liquid are only noted here but left for later analysis.

19) Medial *-c-* and *-y-* alternate in some Dravidian etyma.

20) The DEDR also has Ko. *ve-k me-k in-* to make sport of someone (with a question-mark). This word does not seem to belong to this etymon.

**(A) Front vowels *i, e***

In the following etymon (DEDR 4856), the forms with medial *-u-* are kept here but they should be referred to the B section below.

Ta. *miṇumiṇu* to mumble, speak with a low reiterated sound, murmur as a secret, utter incantations

*muṇamuṇa, muṇumuṇu* to mutter, murmur

*muṇaṇku* to speak in a suppressed tone, mutter in a low tone, murmur

*muṇaṇku, muṇaku* to mutter, murmur, grumble, moan

*muṇakkam* muttering, murmuring, grumbling, moan<sup>21</sup>

Ma. *miṇumiṇukka* to mumble, mutter

*miṇṭuka* to utter, speak low, attempt to speak

*miṇṭāṭṭam* opening the mouth to speak

*miṇṭāte* without utterance

*muṇemuṇēna* mumbling sound

Ka. *minuku* to speak in an indistinct, faint or low tone, murmur

Tu. *muṇumuṇu* muttering, mumbling

*muṇkuni* to say hūṃ expressive of disapproval or unwillingness, cry as a ghost

*muṇkele* grumbler

Te. *minnaka* (neg. gerund), (inscr.) *miṇṇaka* silently, quietly, coolly

*minuku* to murmur within oneself (K.)

*mun(u)ku* to mutter, grumble (K.)

(Cf. Skt. *miṇmiṇa-*, *minmina-* speaking indistinctly through the nose,

Mar. *miṇmiṇā* speaking low, faintly, indistinctly, H. *minminā* id.; Pkt.

*muṇamuṇai* mutters, mumbles. MBE 1969, p. 295, no. 36, for areal etymology (no entry in Turner, *CDIAL*) (DEDR 4856)

\*\*\*

21) There is also a variant with a liquid in Tamil, which is mentioned in the DEDR, However, that form will be a subject of later analysis. Cf.:

Ta. *miḷarṛu* to prattle as a child, speak softly

*miḷalai* prattle, lisp

*maḷarṛu* to be indistinct as speech

*maḷalai* prattling, babbling (included as the last examples in Tamil, s.v. DEDR 4856)

Further cf. also Ta. *vaḷavaḷa* to be talkative, wordy, babble; etc. (DEDR 5310).

Mo.

Kh. *pid* onom. descriptive of the sound of s. th. hard being struck: thud, clap (Hangin s.v. *nuð*)

*pin* 2. *pin hii-* to make a reverberating sound by falling or striking  
(Hangin s.v. *nun*)

\*\*\*

MT. *BEDUNE-* to communicate, inform (Evenk.) (MTD I,120)

Evenk. *bedi-* to weep; squeak (like a hare) (s.v. *BOBO-* to weep; MTD I,86)

*FITXE-* to crackle, rattle (MTD II,300)

Ma. *fitxe-* to crackle, rattle

*fitxeže-* to crackle, to make noise

*VEN-* to caw (MTD I,132)

Evenk. *ven-* to caw, croak<sup>22</sup>

?*MĬNA-* to beat the drum (MTD I,537)

Neg. id.

Oroch. *minde-* to beat with a stick

Orok. *minda-* to beat the drum

## (B) Back vowels *u*, *o*

Kui *pūta* to blow with the mouth; to hiss; blowing, hissing (Winfield, p. 98)

To. *po-θ-* (barking deer) barks (s.v. Ta. *pukal* to say, sound etc.; DEDR 4233)

Kuvi *bōṇo bōṇo* buzzing sound of bees (Israel, p. 395)

Further cf. the forms with *-u-* recorded in DEDR 4856 immediately above section A.

\*\*\*

22) The etymon also has Even. *vak-vak* onom. imitation of cawing, which belongs to a different formal section. However, the final dental nasal may also have developed from a velar nasal, which is not attested in the material.

Mo.

Kh. *bünši-* to wail; to howl (Hangin, s.v. бүнших)

*pūd* onom. descriptive of breaking, tearing, cracking, or snapping

*pūd hii-* to break, tear, crack, or snap (Hangin, s.v. нүд)

\*\*\*

MT. *BUTIRVA-* to abuse, scold (MTD I,115–116)Evenk. *butirva-*, *bitirva-*, *beteret-/č-* to abuse, scold*BUNĪ-* to howl (MTD I,110)<sup>23</sup>Evenk. *būnī-* to howl; *būnīl-* to give a howl (a wolf)Sol. *būnī-* to howlEven. *būnī*, *būnin*, *būninmej(i)* a howl (a dog, wolf)*būnī*, *bōnī-* to howl; *būnīl-* to give a howlNeg. *būnī-* to howl (a dog)Ud. *buni-* to neigh (a roebuck, elk)*bunine<sup>h</sup>i-* to howl (a dog, wolf); to moo, low (a cow)Orok. *būnī-* to howlNan. *buniku* a trumpet, a horn*būnikule-* to play a horn, to sound a trumpet<sup>24</sup>*PUTU PATA* knock! knock! (MTD II,45)<sup>25</sup>Ma. *putu pata*, *putu pita* onom. pitapat (noise of small things falling)*putur* onom. noise of a bird flying away*POTOR-PATAR SEME* with a noise (MTD II,42)Ma. *potor patar seme* with a noise (about a bird flock taking flight)*FUTULU* to knock (MTD II,304)Nan. *futulu-* to knock (by spoons)

23) This etymon may also have a relation to the palatal series due to the Olcha forms:

*bun'iku* a trumpet (from birch bark); *būči* howling (a dog); *būči-*, *būču-* to howl (a dog, wolf) and Nan. forms: *būči-* to howl (a dog, wolf); to moo (a cow, roebuck); *būčilu-* to give a howl (a dog, wolf); to give a moo.

24) The etymon also has Nan. *būči-*, *boŋe-* to howl (a dog, wolf); to moo (a cow, roebuck). Formally these words belong to different sections.

25) Further below cf. *PATŪLĪLĪ* bang!



**(C) The vowel *a***

Ta. *vataru-* to chatter, prate, be talkative, lisp, abuse

Ka. *odarū* to sound, cry aloud, shout, shriek, howl

Tu. *badaritana* defamation

Te. *vadaru, vaduru* to prattle, prate, babble, chatter, jabber

*vadarūbōtu* prattler, babbler

*odaru* to prattle, prate, abuse (DEDR 5244)

Ka. *padaru* [to be overhasty], to speak unadvisedly, talk nonsense

Malt. *padrare, padkare* to prattle (DEDR 3910)<sup>26</sup>

The following etymon (DEDR 3887) is another example of a phonetically mixed etymon, where on the one hand there are liquids in the root-final position (properly belonging to a separate section to be discussed in a separate paper later) and at the same time dental and cerebral nasals. It is not possible to say which of them represents the 'original' form in this case. The cerebral nasals here may be a result of spontaneous cerebralisation. In order to preserve the picture of the etymon, I keep all the forms with the liquid and put them into square brackets. The meaning 'to send' of some of the lexemes can be explained as a semantic extension of the meaning 'to say' > 'to command' > 'to send', or there may also be an interference with other lexemes which I am not able to identify at the moment. A similar variation of dental and cerebral nasals may be seen in the further etymon of DEDR 4671, while DEDR 4775 has only the non-cerebral nasal (dental, or in Tamil alveolar).

Ta. *paṇi* to speak, say, declare (used of a superior), order, command; n. saying, word, command

*paṇippu* command, order

[*palukku* to be pronounced clearly, boast, speak (< Te.)]

*paṇṇu* to speak, say, talk, sing

*paṇuval* word, discourse

26) These two words are found s.v. Ta. *pataṛu* to be flurried, confused, be impatient, overhasty, hurry. They may be considered a case of 'overlapping' of formally close etyma and may be included in the margin into the present etymological group. Historically, Ta. *paṛai* to speak, say (DEDR 4031) may also be related to the group of etyma with medial dental, since the alveolar liquid *r* is supposed to have originally been an occlusive (Zvelebil 1970, p. 94–5, reconstructs as \**t*; similarly Subrahmanyam 1983, pp. 343ff.). However, DEDR 4031 will be listed later when dealing with etyma with medial liquids.

- Ma. *paṇikka* to speak  
 To. *poṇθ-* to talk in assembly  
     *poṇt* speech, words (in songs)  
 Ka. *panavu* place appointed for meeting  
     [(Hal.) *həluṇu* to speak like a madman while asleep  
        *haləbu* to talk foolishly  
        *haləvəru* to speak while asleep]  
 Tu. *paṇṇini* to say, tell, inform, narrate, teach  
     *haṇi* to say (Bel.)  
 Te. *pan(u)cu* to send, command, commission  
     *paṇcu* to send, commission  
     *pani* commission, mission, errand  
     *panupu* order, command, errand  
     *pampu* to send, dispatch, dismiss; n. sending, order, mission, errand<sup>27</sup>  
     [*paluku* to sound, answer, utter, say; n. speaking, word, sound, voice  
     *palikincu* to cause to speak, utter, sound, or ring  
     *palukarincu* to accost, speak to  
     ? *palavu*, *palavincu*, *palavarincu*, *paluvarincu* to talk in sleep  
     *palavaramu*, *palavarinta*, *palavarimpu* talking in sleep  
     ? *palumu* to prattle; n. prattle (or with 4304 Ta. *pulampu*)]  
 Kol. *pank-* to send  
     *pa-na* language  
 Nk. *pank-* to send  
 [Konḍa *palkis-* to cause to sound, play on (a musical instrument)]  
 Kui *paṇḍa* to send, commission; n. act of sending  
     [*plāpa* to inquire, question, ask, address, say; n. inquiry, remark]  
 Kuwi *pandali*, *pantinaṇi*, *paṇḍ-* to send  
 Br. *pāning* (*pā-*, *pār-*) to say, speak, tell, speak of, call a thing something, say  
     to oneself (Cf. Pkt. *peṇḍavaṇi* sends) (DEDR 3887)
- Ir. *maṇi* to talk, speak  
 Ko. *mayṇ-* to talk, scold, abuse  
 Tu. *maṇipuni*, *manipuni* to speak, utter (used chiefly in negative) (DEDR 4671)
- Ta. *maṇu* petition, request, prayer, word, submission  
 Ka. *manave*, *manuve* petition, request, solicitation

27) Cf. DEDR 3932 below, where the same form, viz *pampu*, has the meaning 'to sound' in Tamil.

Te. *manavi* a humble or respectful representation, request, solicitation, prayer, petition (DEDR 4775)

Ta. *maṇi* bell, gong, sound of bell, hour

Ma. *maṇi* little bells (worn as jewels), gong, hour by the bell

*maṇikka* to strike a bell, sing child asleep

Ko. *mayṇ* bell, sound of bell, time of day

To. *moṇy* sacred bell kept in dairy

Tu. *maṇi* small bell (? < Skt. *maṇi*- jewel) (DEDR 4672)

In the context of the above Dravidian lexemes, I cannot help referring to the Finno-Ugrian form:

FU *mõn3-* sagen (Rédei I,290)

plus Yukagir *mon-* sagen<sup>28</sup>

Cf. also:

Elamite *man-qa* Endpartikel der wörtlichen Rede der 1. Pers. sg.: “I utter”  
(Hinz, Koch, vol. II, p. 871)<sup>29</sup>

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Mo. *badana-* to babble, grumble

Kh. *badna-* to babble; to grumble (Hangin s.v. *баднах*)

*badčaa* talkative, garrulous; one who speaks uninhibitedly (Hangin s.v. *бадчаа*)

*badči-* to speak uninhibitedly; to chatter, gabble (Hangin s.v. *бадчих*)

*batna-* to blab (Hangin s.v. *батнах*)

*pad* 2. onom. descriptive of rattling or crackling

*pad pad algada-* to clap the hands

*pad pad hii-* to crackle, rattle (Hangin, s.v. *над*)

*padhii-* to rattle, crackle (Hangin, s.v. *надхуйх*)

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28) Krejnovič gives this Yukagir word several related meanings, cf. *monul* to say; to ask; to answer (Krejnovič 1958, p. 275, s.v.).

29) This is not found among the Dravidian and Elamite lexemes compared by McAlpin (1981). Further cf. Elamite *man-zí-um* Anforderung, Bestellung, Auftrag (?) (Hinz, Koch, vol. II, p. 875). The semantics of the last word reminds us of DEDR 4775 above.

MT. *BADARA* II grumpy (MTD I,63)Evenk. *badara* grumpy; grumblerMa. *badar seme*, *batar seme*, *b'adar seme*, *b'atar seme* prattling, nonsense<sup>30</sup>*P'ATAŃ SEME* talkatively (MTD II,35)Ma. *p'ataŃ seme*, *p'atar seme* talkatively, talking nonsense*f'ata-*, *f'atar seme fe-* to gossip, talk nonsense*PATŮLĪLĪ* bang! (MTD II,35)Neg. *patŭlĭlĭ* bang! (the noise of a falling tree)Ma. *pata piti*, [*putu pata*] onom. bang! (the noise of falling fruits, small things)<sup>31</sup>*pataḵ seme*, *fataḵ seme* onom. bang! (the noise of a falling small thing)

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OT. *badar* (*padar?*) onom. for the sound of footsteps and the like (Cl. 307)5. *p/b/f/v/m – p/b/v/m/mb*(A) Front vowels *i*, *e*Pa. *mēva*, [*mēya*] she-goat (s.v. Ka. *mēke*; DEDR 5087)

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Mo. *böbügene-* to mumble, mutter*bebügle-* to sing or rock to sleep, soothe with a lullabyKh. *bövnö-* to mumble, mutter (Hangin s.v. *бөөнөх*) (cf. the forms with medial -*ü*- below)

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MT. *BEMBERE-* to drivel (MTD I,125)Ma. *bembere-* to drivel, repeat the same thing again and again (forgetfulness, old age)*PEPU-* mumble, mutter (while sleeping) (MTD II,47)Neg. *pepu-* mumble, mutter (while sleeping)Nan. *pēbu-*, *febu-* id.; *pebusu* grumpyMa. *febg'e-*, *febeg'e-* to talk nonsense30) The MTD refers to Mo. *badana-*.31) Cf. *PUTU PATA* above.

*BEBE-* to bleat (Evenk.) (MTD I,78)

Evenk. *bebe-*, to weep; squeak (like a hare) (s.v. *BOBO-* to weep; MTD I,86)

Neg. *bepkut-/č-* to yelp, whine (s.v. *BUBGI-* to growl; MTD I,99–100)

Neg. *pīpīxān* fife, reed-pipe

*pīpīxat-/č-*, *popūxat-/č-* to whistle, to hoot (steamboat, steam engine)

(s.v. *PIČĀ-* to whistle; MTD II,39–40)

## (B) Back vowels *u*, *o*

Ka. *bobbe* outcry, shout, yell, loud sound, battle-cry

*bobbiri* to bawl, etc.

Tu. *bobbè* crying, weeping

Te. *bobba*, *bobbarinta* loud cry, shout, scream, roar, bellow

*bobbarincu* to shout, etc.

Nk. *bobalip-* to shout, make a noise, (hen) to cackle (DEDR 4526)

Te. [*mūga*], *mūva*, *muvva* small bell or tinkling ornament

[*mūga*], *mūva*, *muvva*, *movva* bells fastened on leather strap round bullock's neck

Pa. *mūva* id. (DEDR 5025b)

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Mo. *bübüine-* to mumble, mutter

*bübei* lullaby, rockaby

*bübeile-* to rock a child to sleep; soothe with a lullaby

Kh. *buva-* to talk without restraint (Hangin s.v. *бувах*)

*buvtna-* see *bavna-* to bleat (of a rutting billy-goat); to babble, talk nonsense (Hangin s.v. *бавнах*)

*büvne-* to mumble, mutter; to speak indistinctly (Hangin s.v. *бүвнэх*)

*büüvey* a word used in lulling an infant to sleep

*büüveyṇ duu* lullaby (Hangin s.v. *бүүвэй*)

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MT. *BOBIRĀ-* II to grumble (MTD I,86)Evenk. *bobirā-* to grumble (man)Even. *bobarčī-* to grumble (man)Ma. *bubu baba* onom. (to speak) incomprehensibly*BOBO-* to weep (MTD I,86)<sup>32</sup>Evenk. *bobo-*, *bobi-*, *bobikil-* to weep; squeak (like a hare)*BUBGI-* to growl (MTD I,99–100)Evenk. *bubgi-*, *gubgi-* to growl (dog)<sup>33</sup>Even. *bubgi-*, *bubgö-*, *buggö-* to bark (intermittently); to growl (dog); to mumble<sup>34</sup>Neg. *bubgit-/č-* to growl (dog)<sup>35</sup>Ma. *bubu baba*, *bufujen* (to speak) unintelligiblyOlcha *pu-pu* onom. whistling; *pūpa(n-)*, *pufa* a whistle*pūpala/ī-* to whistle; *pūpačī-* to whistleOrok. *pūpala-* to whistle, hoot; *pūpotčī-* to whistle (on a whistle)(s.v. *PIČĀ-* to whistle; MTD II,39–40)**(C) The vowel *a***Ta. *pampu*, *pammu* to sound*pampal* sound*pampai* a kind of drum or taborTe. *pamba* a kind of drum (DEDR 3932)Ko. *vav* noise of dog or jackal barking (one explosive bark)*vav vav* repeated barkingKa. *vav* a sound in imitation of barking*vavvau* repeated barkingTu. *bavu* barking

32) This etymon was of mixed forms with medial velar, dental and liquid, and various vowels. The forms are listed in the relevant sections.

33) The Evenk. form *gubgi-* is probably just a phonetic variant due to the onom. character. There is, however, another Evenk. lexeme in this etymon, which definitely belongs to the forms with initial velars: *gubgu-* to utter a mating call (wood grouse).

34) Even. *buggö-* is obviously just a result of assimilation and need not be moved to a different section.

35) Neg. *bepkut-/č-* 'to yelp, whine' found in this etymon belongs to the previous section.

Te. *baw baw* imit. of barking (DEDR 5290)

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Mo. *babana-* to bleat like a male goat; to babble, gossip; to grumble, rumble

Kh. *bavnaa* talkative, garrulous (Hangin s.v. *бавна*)

*bavna-* to bleat (of a rutting billy-goat); to babble, talk nonsense  
(Hangin s.v. *бавнах*)

*bavtna-* id.

*bavči-* to talk too much (Hangin s.v. *бавчих*)

*bavčaa* see *bavnaa*

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MT. *PAPATČĪ-* to laugh, be merry (Orok.) (MTD II,34)

## Conclusion

The present paper provides a set of lexemes of the indicated forms and meanings, which are found in several of the language groups. The range of forms and meanings is analogical with the forms discussed in the previous papers (Vacek 2003, 2004c, 2005b). There are some purely onomatopoetic etyma (often including reduplication), but some of the verbs do not seem to be principally onomatopoetic in character. An interesting extension of meaning with the same form is observed with some words designating 'sudden movement' etc., which appear in the whole range of compared languages.<sup>36</sup>

36) There are several formally 'close' Dravidian lexemes also reflecting bodily motion with a noise, e.g. 'to hiccup, to vomit', and the like, which appear to have Mongolian parallels and which may already be outside the range of the etymological groups discussed here, though some meanings (to sob, to cough) are close to the above *verba dicendi* in the broad sense of the word. Cf. e.g.

Ta. *vikku* to hiccup, be superabundant, chokeful

Ma. *vikku* to stammer, rise in the throat

To. *pik-* (*piky-*) to cough

Ka. *bikku* to pant, sob, hiccup, stammer

*bikkuḷi* throwing up or vomiting

Te. *vekkū*, *vegacu* to hiccough, sob

Kol. *veksi* hiccup

Kui *veka* to cough; n. coughing, cough

Kur. *bekkhñā* to have the windpipe stopped, be choked, (animals) to cough

Malt. *beqe* to be choked (DEDR 5383)

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To. *piky-* to cough (Sakthivel 1976, p. 330)

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Mo. *bögsi-*, *bügsi-* 1. to choke with coughing or laughter

*bögelzi-* to vomit

*bügsi-*, *bögši-* a. to suffocate or choke from laughter or coughing (Hangin s.vv. *бүгзүүх*, *бөгзүүх*)

Cf. also

Kol. *magud-*, *maguř-*, *maguř-*, *magul-*, *magd-* to vomit

Nk. *maguř* vomit (cf. Pkt. *maili-* nausea, retching; Guj. *mōl* id.) (s.v. Ta. *makiṭi* to be overturned; DEDR 4617).



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# Tibetan ritual texts concerning the local deities of the Buryat Aga Autonomous Region, Part I

Daniel Berounský

**Summary:** The paper introduces Tibetan ritual texts dedicated to the local deities of Aga Buryats. These are viewed as documents illustrating the role of Tibetan language in this particular area, which allows us to see more properly the process of Tibetanization of the religion. The texts to the two deities of “monastery *oboo*” (Phuntshog, U’lirte) and the text to the couple of hills near Chilutai village are presented in translation and in the original. These Tibetan texts clearly follow the Tibetan patterns of the cult. This was often the only form of survival after the years of communist repression (from the 1930’s until 1990), when only a few older people kept the cult alive in the form of chanting the Tibetan text. But from several rare testimonies it appears that, besides the Tibetan text, a very vivid ritual took place on the mountains in the past (Zu’un U’nder hill). This ritual was not observed in Tibet and contained a number of traditional Buryat (or Mongol) elements. Such ritual carried by oral tradition proved to be more fragile and did not survive the communist repressions. In the introductory notes the cultic place *oboo* is discussed. In the case of the Buryats the *oboo* is probably a Buddhicised cultic place of local deities.

## Introduction

The main task of this paper is to present those Tibetan ritual texts, devoted to the local deities in Buryat Aga Autonomous Region, which have survived to this day and to make them available both in their original form and in translation into English. Some 14 texts will be introduced and due to the demands of space, they will be divided into two parts for convenience; the rest of the texts will be published in the following edition of *Mongolica Pragensia*. At the same time the paper is connected with a previous article dealing with the ritual text dedicated to the Thirteen Northern Lords of the Hori Buryats. They are both the result of field work conducted in the Aga region in 2000. And also in this case the collection of the ritual texts and useful comments were carried out by my dear and hospitable friend Munko Zhargalov, the main astrologer of the Aga monastery.

These texts represent survival through a long period of time during which such cults were banned by communist officials (1930’s – 1990, i.e. some 60 years, more then one generation). Although the main monastery of the Aga region, the so called Aga monastery (Tib. *Bde chen lhun grub gling*), was



officially reopened as early as 1946, *de facto* it started to work as a Buddhist monastery only in the 1960's (with only some seven Buddhist monks) and still with strong restrictions on the part of the regime (see Bělka 2001, p. 201). The cult of the local deities near the center of the Aga Autonomous Region, the town Aginskoe, became, due to the presence of heavy restrictions imposed by communist officials, only a relic of the past. In some regions located far from its administrative center, the cult was maintained only by older people and with difficulty. They performed a simple ritual there based mostly on the chanting of the Tibetan text by those few able to read Tibetan.

These ritual texts are viewed as valuable documents of the transition, on the part of the cult of places in the landscape, into the frame of Tibetan Buddhism. But this is done without any attempts to judge them in terms of "progress", "goals of historical process" or attributing marks for "morality" etc.<sup>1</sup> The basic aim is simply to come closer to what was once happening in the region.

### Notes on the background of the cult of local deities among Buryats

The cult of the local deities is at the present time centered on the cultic place called *oboo* (*ovoo*). Its meaning in Mongolian languages is "heap" and its most common shape is a simple pile of stones with branches of trees attached to it, adorned by strips of textiles or Buddhist prayer-flags. These are considered to be suggestive of similar Tibetan places called *labtse* (Tib. *la btsas/ la rtse/ lha rdzas* etc.). Such a common type of *oboo* is sometimes replaced or supplemented by a small wooden chapel called *bumhan* following the Tibetan expression *bumkhang* (Tib. *'bum khang*, i.e. "house [with] hundred thousand [images of deities]"). There are also more variants of *oboo*, such as a stake for binding horses, a tent-shaped cluster of trunks of trees and sometimes Buddhist stūpa is associated with the *oboo*.<sup>2</sup>

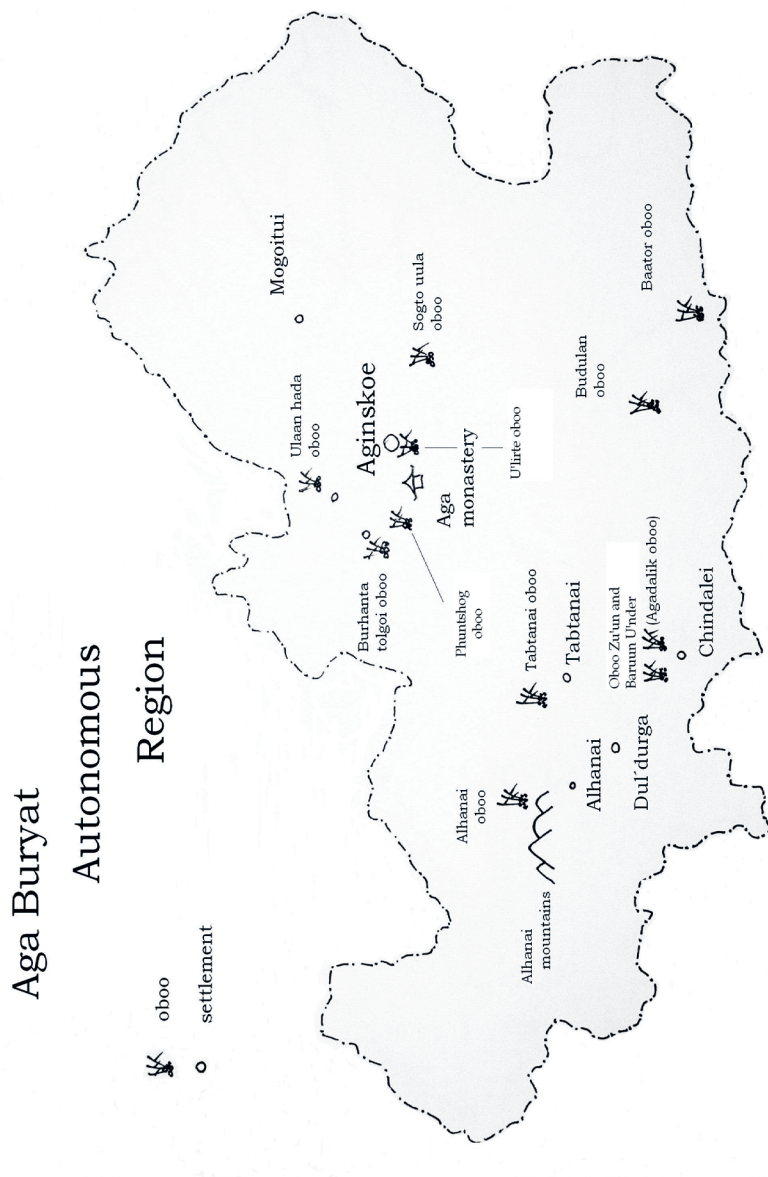
- 1) Such ideological presumptions are stains on many texts of Buryat and Russian authors touching on the topic, who at the same time often carry out pieces of valuable research. It is valid also for Abaeva, who authored the text on the Buryat cult of mountains, based mostly on data collected in field research among Selenga Buryats (Abaeva 1992) and perhaps the study closest to the topic of the present paper. It is not clear whether the author simply gave an unavoidable degree of support to the regime of the given time or seriously believed in it. Such belief is clearly associated with several works of Gerasimova, who often considers the cults to be "primitive" within the ideological frame of the Marxist struggle of classes, which is so blindly simplifying.
- 2) For the description of various types of *oboo* in Mongolia and references to previous research see Birtalan 1998.



Most of the authors somehow as a matter of course consider the *oboo* to be an ancient cultic place and its cult to stem from the ancient religion of Mongolians.<sup>3</sup> To this I would raise an objection. Where the name *oboo* is concerned, it is not certain whether it is the older Mongolian designation of such a cultic place (*oboo* means “pile, heap”) or is borrowed from Tibetan (from the Tibetan *rdo 'bum*, “hundred thousand stones”). The second possibility is mentioned by P. Poucha (1957, p. 92) and in the case of Buryatia it might be supported by testimony from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century about establishing new *oboo*. The laymen say in it that a Tibetan lama piled up a hundred thousand stones by which he created new *oboo*.<sup>4</sup>

As concerns Buryatia, from the recorded oral material and first-hand observations it appears that the *oboo* is primarily a cultic place connected with Buddhism. Only with the implementation of Buddhism under the *oboo* were various older cultic places unified and a simple pile of stones often replaced the “stone sacrificial altar” (Bur. *šeree*), burial places of shamans, heroes and noble persons.<sup>5</sup> The festival of *tailagan* was changed into the Tibetan patterned

- 3) It is strange how many authors connect the *oboo* with the ancient religion of Mongolia. I do not exclude the possibility of knowing *oboo* in ancient Mongolia, but I never saw any proof allowing me to treat the *oboo* as if there was a similar cult with a similar name. The cult of places of landscape and the *oboo* cult are not necessarily the same thing. Although it is apparent that several older cults were bound to the localities of landscape (the *tailagan* festivals), they of course used stone and wood for constructing their cultic places. From the sources at hand it seems to be more probable that the designation *oboo* appeared only in the context of Buddhist influence. There were more authors who somehow supposed that, for example Manžigeev (1978) writes about *oboo* as transformation from the shamanist sacrificial place called *šeree*, I would not agree that it was only this cultic place, but agree that it is perhaps an important one. To give an example of neglecting the proper meaning of *oboo*, Abaeva, in her otherwise very valuable work on the mountain cult of Buryats, says to begin with that the more shamanist Buryats from west of lake Baikal do not know their cultic places of landscape as *oboo*. On the other hand she continues by stating that it was the ancient cult of the Mongolians without offering any proof of the occurrence of the expression or testimony of a similar cult before Buddhism spread there (Abaeva 1992, pp. 66–68).
- 4) The testimony concerns the cultic place of “Blue cliff” in Zaigraevo, see Nacov, 1995, p. 67. The *rdo 'bum* is nowadays considered to be different from *la btsas* by Tibetans in Amdo. This represents, however, a quite usual shift of meaning in Tibetan expressions among Buryats. Similarly “faculty” (Tib. *grwa tshang*) appears in Buryat as *datsan* and designates now a whole monastery, to mention the well known example. *Rdo 'bum* is in Amdo a simple pile of stones to which pilgrims are adding new ones and it is treated separately from the main cairn and residence of the local deity.
- 5) For example the testimony about the creation of a new *oboo* in Sagaan Gube in 1939, which was established there by an old Buddhist believer, whose brothers were Buddhist monks being repressed at that time. This was the new *oboo* on the hill, at the foot of which were cemeteries in the past. See Nacov 1995, pp. 118–9.



1. Map of oboos in the Buryat Aga Autonomous Region.

fumigation ritual with some festive elements continuing from its original Buryat in a Mongolian version. At the same time it seems that the tops of hills started to be preferred to a larger extent following the Tibetan cult of local deities, notwithstanding the *oboos* called shamanic. This is suggested by the fact that in the first hand observations of the cult of non-Buddhist places the *oboo* is not often mentioned at all (Xenofontov 2001, pp. 85–92) and the expression “shamanist *oboo*” appears in context somehow blended with Buddhism. I agree with Nacov’s note on *oboos*, saying that “formerly these were Lamaist [cult places] and now it is hard to decide if they are Lamaist or shamanist” (Nacov 1995, p. 114).

The pre-Buddhist cult of places was not systemized and from its fragments recorded by ethnographers it appears that its structure is very chaotic and very rapidly incorporated new elements, mostly from Buddhist and Christian religions. These cults were connected with bravery, good fortune, wealth, reproducing etc., these concepts being viewed in a very religious sense and with a wider field of meanings than in English. Such an older religion was very pragmatically oriented and unlike Buddhism it did not know the abstract concepts of morality, faith, etc. Something resembling morality or faith was only a pragmatic attitude to offset or deal with possible disasters or tools for gaining the desired strength necessary for survival.

The variability and elastic character was caused primarily by two facts: (1) Religion was carried by oral tradition. (2) “Subjects of religion”, who in the case of Buryats are of various kinds (hero, nobleman, shaman, madman, people dying under strange circumstances) were disorganized and created competitive space for both deities, spirits, etc. and persons connected with them (their power, effectiveness etc.).

The combination of oral tradition and competitive character led to a lively mass of religious ideas changing their character fast, moving from place to place and silently disappearing. This is indeed very hard to grasp in tables, outlines, surveys and the term “galactic”, introduced by G. Samuel for the structure of Tibetan society (Samuel 1993, pp. 29, 33, 61–63, 144, 362), might well be applied to its structure.

With the introduction of Buddhism, in the case of the Aga region in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, comes a very deep change in both these features. Firstly, in Buryatia Buddhism was largely bound to the literal tradition, most of which was made up of Tibetan texts. Secondly, the Buddhist monks brought to Buryats highly organized and numerous religious specialists claiming exclusivity in dealing with things religious. These are important conditions upon which the cult of the local places changed its features dramatically and led to various



types of *oboos*. These were all influenced by Buddhism, only the degree of such influence varied. It ranged from *oboos* with a “Buddhist deity” (for example Mañjuśrī in the case of the Tabtanai *oboo*), to the older deities being replaced by Tibetanized names (*oboo* Agadalik). And it seems that some elements of the *oboo* entered the older cultic places (tombs of shamans, ancestors etc.) and started to be referred to in a similar way.<sup>6</sup>

Coming closer to the texts and places which are the subject of this paper, it appears that *oboos* were first established by some Buddhist master (or rarely by a lay Buddhist devotee), who shaped the Buddhist cult. Such masters range from rather simple local Buddhist monks, Tibetan monks living in the area, to a reincarnated Mongolian master (often Horc'id Gegen from Mongolia). The cult then might be changed, forgotten or reshaped. But the *oboos* were very influential tools, by which dealing with the most essential religious needs of Buryats was conferred on Buddhist monks. This came either by creating a new *oboo* or by reshaping the older cult of some place into the Buddhist one. A good example would be *oboo* Agadalik.

As already mentioned, Horc'id Gegen was passing by the hill of Agadalik with the “shamanist” cultic place of an ancient army leader. He decided to stay there for some time and then he informed the villagers that the older deity is pleased by the Buddhist religion and wants to follow it. If the local people would not do so as well, the deity might leave the place. After consulting the deity he established a new *oboo* there together with its cult. The cult of the *oboo* was a strikingly vivid one, using symbols close to the Buryats and as such not to be witnessed in Tibet. Thirteen pieces of dead sheep were sacrificed (Bur. *toòlei*, i.e. highly valued heads), the man-sized imitation of the deity was used with all his armor and weapons, the ritual was full of symbolism based on the number thirteen, during it thirteen youths in white dress rode their white horses around the hill (see introduction to the texts No. 3). Although it might be well interpreted even in Buddhist terminology, the ritual itself clearly used symbols close to Buryats.<sup>7</sup> This cannot be said about the Tibetan texts being chanted there, these evidently followed the general Tibetan pattern of the given genre. It is not surprising that such vivid ritual has been lost these days. It was based on oral tradition only, which proved to

6) For example Abaeva (1992, pp. 88, 91) calls (probably following her informants) the tomb of the shaman “*oboo*”.

7) For a description of similar rituals of Selenga Buryats see Abaeva 1992, pp. 94–103. The number of youths on horses is mostly given as nine instead of thirteen and is likewise connected with *dalga* ritual and usage of arrow. The deity was praised in its *dgra lha* (“enemy-deity”, deity protecting from enemies) aspect.



be more fragile during the times of repression. The texts survived more easily. The cult these days is primarily based on chanting the Tibetan texts and lay people seem often not to know what to do during it.

It is observed that by the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries the cult of *oboos* was revitalized. This period of time brought several disasters and probably the slowly approaching war was felt in the air. The majority of the texts introduced in this paper are witness to this process. By this time the new Tibetan ritual texts were composed by the Buddhist master of “greater root” (Tib. *rtsa che ba*) and replaced the older texts. This is the case with the text composed by Agvan Doržiev (text No. 2). The author of most of the text presented here (8 out of 14) is an influential hierarch of the Labrang monastery in Amdo, the fourth Jamyang Zhepa (*Skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug*, 1856–1916). He never visited Buryatia, but his status as a highly celebrated reincarnated master secured the view of him as a personality successfully dealing with local deities both in Amdo and in Buryatia. In the eyes of lay people it is not hard to understand that the reincarnated master was the person who underwent transfer into a new body after death. And as such he is the appropriate person to deal with the local deities, who were often the spirits of dead people of the past.

## Ritual texts to the local deities

### 1. PHUNTSHOG DEITY: INTRODUCTION

The deity called Phuntshog (tib. *phun tshogs*, “The Perfect One”) is, together with the deity of U’lirte hill, considered to dwell in the “monastery *oboo*” according to the local people. His residence is situated behind the monastery itself, on the hill called these days simply after the deity as Phuntshog. The more distant past of the *oboo* is not very clear. Its older name was Tabtany, following the name of the local river Tabtana and entering the Tibetan ritual texts as an epithet of the deity “Powerful” (Tib. *stobs ldan*, resembling the older Buryat name). A brief notice of the ethnographer Nacov from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century might point to the ways of the cult (Nacov 1995, p. 75): “In the *oboo* of Tabtany, decayed due to time, was an ancient saddle... It has been given to me now together with armor. There must also be an iron head-crown.”

The two Tibetan ritual texts are presented below. The first of them was composed by the still unidentified monk Lozang Tenpa Gyatsho; most probably

a local monk of Aga monastery. This text was later replaced by the more recent text (the second text) composed by the highest hierarch of the large Gelug monastery Labrang in Amdo, Kelzang Thubten Wangchug known as 4<sup>th</sup> Jamyang Zhepa (1856–1916). He himself never visited Buryatia nor the Aga region, but many Buryats were studying in Labrang monastery (and most of the rituals of the Aga monastery then follow the tradition of Labrang). According to the testimony of B. Baradin, Buryat students in Labrang monastery were indebted to him for allowing them to establish their own “regional association” (Tib. *dbus shog*) within the structure of the Labrang monastery and thus stop the bribing and pressure from the Mongolians there (Baradin 1999, pp. 37–8). This fact might be viewed as one among many other reasons for gaining an exclusive position in the eyes of the Aga Buryats. On the other hand it is observed that the 4<sup>th</sup> Jamyang Zhepa was very sensitive towards the cult of local deities. This is confirmed by his authorship of 8 texts to the local deities of Aga Buryats and by the attention he paid to the local deities in the area surrounding Labrang monastery in Amdo, as is made clear in his autobiography.<sup>8</sup>

During communist times the *oboo* ceased to exist and the text written by Jamyang Zhepa was lost. At the beginning of the 1990's, i.e. after the fall of the communist regime, a man from Mongolia with the ritual text to the Phuntshog deity appeared in the monastery asking the monks to perform the ritual to the deity. It turned out that his parents escaped to Mongolia from the Aga region before the time of repressions at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and were now asking their son to propitiate the deity, whom they still worshipped as a “native deity” (Tib. *skyes lha*). The monastery xerox machine assisted the revival of the cult by providing a copy of the text easily and by the efforts of Munko Bazarov, the main astrologer of the monastery, the depiction of the deity cut into the stone was moved from its place near the Amitābha temple of the monastery to its proper place on the Phuntshog hill. Since that time the annual ritual has taken place here on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the fourth month according to the lunar calendar. This date was fixed by Ignyen Chomphel, an influential monk from Barga Mongols, in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the place on the Phuntshog hill a small chapel (Tib. *'bum khang*) was built to shelter the stone-relief depicting the deity. The place is open both to men and women, but following the ritual, only older men, without any assistance on the part of the monks, usually proceed to the northern lower top

8) Bskal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug, *Zhwa ser ring lugs bskal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug gi rtogs pa brjod pa rin chen phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Labrang xylograph, 330ff.

of the hill called Barhan and continue with the ritual to the Thirteen Northern Lords of Buryats there. This place is forbidden to women. These days inhabitants of four villages participate in the ritual: Hoito-Aga, Sahiurta, Urdo-Aga, Argalei.

### 1.1. TRANSLATION<sup>9</sup>

#### **LOZANG TENPA GYATSHO: FUMIGATION OFFERING CALLED “THE FALLING RAIN OF MIRACULOUS POWER”**

*Om!* Let it come to bliss!

(1b) Let my glorious master protects me,  
while I am following him inseparably,  
he, in whose single general form gather Lords of the three times,  
the pleasure of the dance of those with three parts of yellowish [robe].

*Here, for those who wish to perform a fumigation offering to the master, tutelary deity, dākinī, protectors of Doctrine, eight classes of furious [deities and spirits] and so on, generally the “going for refuge”, “generation of the mind of awakening”, “four immeasurable” and so forth should be done first.<sup>10</sup> Then comes the generation of the tutelary deity as far as one can. Following the blessing of the offerings in accordance with the main scriptures, comes:*

*Hūṃ!* I invite the family of the root master and accompanying deities,  
from their palace in Blissful [paradise]<sup>11</sup> of full accomplishment,

(2a) tutelary deities, heroes and *dākinīs*, guardians,

9) In the following translations italics is used for Sanskrit and for comments on the texts, which are not chanted as a part of the ritual. The transliteration of the Tibetan expressions also appears in italics in the translation. Both in the translation and in the transliteration of the texts the original pagination is added in parentheses for convenience.

10) These are meditations connected with verses of “taking refuge” in triple gem (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha together with master, who represents them), “generation of mind of awakening” with Bodhisattva vow of struggle towards the liberation of all sentient beings until all of them will be liberated from *saṃsāra*. “For immeasurable” are love and compassion towards sentient beings, joy in their merits and equanimity in attitude towards them, again expressed in verses. See for example Berounský 2001.

11) I. e. Sukhāvati.



deities, *nāgas*, “lords of the base”<sup>12</sup> and others protecting the white direction with their retinue,  
and especially the lord of the soil in this region called the Great Phuntshog, who spreads lucky signs from his dwelling to the place on this side, blazing by strength and power and known as “Strong” (Thobden, *stobs ldan*), you fierce (*gnyan po*) “lord of the base”, come to this place with your retinue!

Inside the palace of curdled rainbow light in front of myself,  
each of them dwells on his own joyful throne,  
together with their all-penetrating miraculous manifestations,  
an ocean of displayed multiplicity of delightful offering is presented to them.

(2b) From the very state of nature of great bliss,  
come favorable outer, inner and secret sacrificial cakes and offerings,  
fine-looking and devoid of any imperfection,  
cleansed and blessed by ambrosia,  
thousands of fumigation offerings are burnt in fire,  
the scent of fumigation spreads through all the vast space (*bar snang*),  
I present this mass of offerings to the root master, Lord [Buddha] and his  
noble sons [Bodhisattvas],  
bestow every part of the highest and worldly miraculous power (*siddhi*) upon  
me!

I present it to the protecting crowd of tutelary deities, “heroes”, *dākinīs*,  
bestow all the miraculous power of four kinds of activity on me!  
I present it to all the gods and *nāgas* protecting the white side,  
to the entire retinue of protecting and guarding guests,  
(3a) and beg you to accomplish all the deeds I entrusted you.  
I present it to the old mothers – all sentient beings of six spheres,  
to the guests serving their revengefulness and causes of previous deeds,  
let them soon cleanse their stains and revengefulness,  
and become perfect Buddhas!

By this scent of fumigation slowly floating to the three thousand worlds,  
I fumigate the root master comprising the three highest [jewels],  
I fumigate the gathering of tutelary deities bestowing the highest miraculous power,

12) Tib. *gzhi bdag*. A local deity with significance for a wider area than the common village deities (Tib. *yul lha*). The “base” means “the base of the earth” (Tib. *sa gzhi*).



I fumigate the “heroes”, *dākinīs*, protectors of Doctrine and guardians,  
the gods, *nāgas*, and the “lords of base” in general,  
and particularly I fumigate the “lord of base” Powerful with his retinue,  
who dwells in the mountain of this area called Phuntshog,  
I fumigate entire lords of soil, *nāgas* and *gnyan*,  
dwelling in springs, rocks, mountains, slate and grassed hills,  
(3b) accepting this ocean of fumigation offering,  
quell the famine in the land, diseases, epidemics and others,  
all dislike, serfdom and harm,  
multiply the lifespan, merit, strength, wealth and progeny,  
establish favorable circumstances and without obstacles fulfill our tasks.

Place on the good path of the excellent Teaching and ten virtues,  
people of the vast countries in general,  
and particularly people of this land,  
and make them stay there forever multiplying bliss.

For the blossoming of the water-lily, the benefit and ease of the [vessel of]  
world,  
fill it with an articulate crowd of those possessing the honey-juice of many  
hearing [the Doctrine],  
those hoisting the yellowish banner of triple instructions.<sup>13</sup>

I praise you the warrior-god with retinue,  
vanquish all the black direction,  
(4a) by a series of hundreds of blazing lightning flashes of power and strength,  
and surely multiply the white one.

*Hriḥ*

We yogis; teachers and disciples with entourage,  
under the protection of the master containing all places of refuge,  
with miraculous deeds of tutelary deities, and crowd of protectors,  
we highly praise you, venerable and fierce warrior deities.

We praise you, the powerful warrior deities,  
befriend us as the shadow befriends the body,

13) Triple instruction (*bslab pa gsum*) are instructions concerning morality (*tshul khrims*), meditative concentration (*ting nge 'dzin*) and knowledge (*shes rab*); cf. Zhang Yisun at al., p. 3056.



be our watchman during the day, be our guard during the night,  
 quell all dislike, serfdom and harm.  
 Assist us with swift miraculous deeds,  
 (4b) with all the deeds of pacifying an increasing,<sup>14</sup>  
 spread harmonious circumstances,  
 as well as lifespan, merit and progeny,  
 as sprinkling summer waters.

I with ignorant mind possessed by laziness,  
 confess before the eyes of the guests each of the mistakes I have ever done,  
 with perfect triple miraculous offering substances,  
 accepting them I ask you to be benevolent.

You, guests proficiently being called on,  
 as water bursts into a bubble,  
 from the realms of Blissful [heaven] itself, the Dharma sphere,  
 each of you, proceed to your respective places.

(5a) This accumulated exhibition which changes into virtues,  
 is gathered together,  
 I dedicate them for the benefit of entire beings,  
 to gain the highest and perfect buddhahood,  
 let beings soon become Buddhas.

Good fortune to the crowd of root masters,  
 the treasures of blessing, who grant miraculous power,  
 good fortune to the tutelary deities, “heroes” and *dākinīs*,  
 who accomplish activities of peace and others,  
 good fortune to the guardians and protectors of Doctrine,  
 who bind and turn to ash enemies of the Teaching,  
 good fortune to the local deities and “lords of the base”,  
 who pacify the famine, diseases and epidemics of this land,  
 good fortune to the gods and *nāgas* protecting the white direction,  
 (5b) who make the rain fall on time and multiply the grains.

*...and so on. By the dedication and praise adorn the conclusion.*

14) These are two of fourfold general activities within the Tantric teachings and at the same time “ritual activities”.



[colophon]

Concerning this, upon the request of the pious and diligent noble rich man with a widely developed power of investigating, the gelong Choden and other donors from the village of Argali, who accompanied it with auspicious offerings taken from the public, [this text] was composed by merely image of the monk, Lozang Tenpa Gyatsho.  
Let good virtue increase!

## 1.2. TRANSLATION

### IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: FUMIGATION AND OFFERING TO THE PHUNTSHOG THOBDEN

(1b) *Those who wish to perform the fumigation and offering to the great lord of the sacred place, the Phuntshog Thobden, should do “going for refuge” and “generation of the mind of awakening” in advance.<sup>15</sup> Now to the blessing of the substances used for the fumigation ritual:*

*Kye!*<sup>16</sup>

On the vast base bearing abundance and good fortune,  
in the perfectly charming mountain reaching the center of the sky,  
is the powerful leader of those of the white side of this sacred place,  
deity-*gnyan* Phuntshog Thobden, come [to this place]!

Father, mother, princes, princesses and noble ladies,  
ministers and servants, warrior deities waiting upon orders, officials and  
others,

(2a) as rainy clouds carried by strong scattering wind,  
I beg you, by the power of oath proceed here!

Miraculous manifestation of the minds of all Buddhas, the Padmakara,  
omniscient Lozang,<sup>17</sup> the second Buddha, and others,  
as you have taken an oath before the eyes of the masters of the true lineage,  
be seated firmly and with pleasure on your respective thrones!

15) See note 10.

16) Tibetan exclamation with possible meanings “hail, alas” etc. Perhaps an older Tibetan war cry in battles.

17) I.e. Tsongkhapa.



From the joy of the miraculous power of the *dhāraṇī* and god's mantras,  
arise five offerings of enjoyment [of senses]<sup>18</sup> and seven precious substances,<sup>19</sup>  
eight auspicious signs,<sup>20</sup> fine silk and grains,  
(2b) these fine-looking substances devoid of imperfection are presented.

By various foods and drinks, kinds of medicines,  
leaves of *Rhododendron primulaeflorum*,<sup>21</sup> juniper and artemisia,  
by this cloud of smoke from burning hundreds of substances for fumigation,  
we fumigate the great deity-*gnyan* with his retinue.

We praise that one who like the glacier of an ice-mountain rides on an excellent horse,  
with strength of clouds and surpassing the brightness of aquamarine,  
his body is of a perfect white color, in his right hand he raises a spear with strips of silk,  
in his left he holds a good vase of all desires.

We praise the ocean of his retinue,  
those of varying appearance, of various colors and with various tools and ornaments,  
(3a) those who by various means of limitless miracles,  
fulfill our every wish.

You, deities mastering pride,  
by the miraculous power of our respectful offerings and reverence,  
make the Teaching of the Mighty One in general and that of great Gelug doctrine,  
prosper and spread until the end of the world of creation.

Make us, pious people and cattle with entourage,  
enjoy fabulous happiness and bliss,  
(3b) by the power of increasing like the waxing moon,  
as if by a gem that grants all wishes without the need of struggle.

18) Tib. *nyer spyod*: flowers, incense, lamps, perfumes, food.

19) Tib. *rin chen sna bdun*, i. e., seven emblems of the king: precious wheel, elephant, horse, gem, queen, minister and general.

20) Tib. *bkra shis rdzas bgyad*: knot, golden wheel, lotus flower, victory banner, umbrella, vase, white conch shell, golden fish.

21) In the text appear two synonymous names of the plant: *ba lu* and *sur dkar* (erroneously written as *su dkar*).





Escort us on the way off and welcome on the way back,  
make our family lineages uninterrupted and noble by limitless wealth,  
our life-spans immeasurable and fame matchless,  
and fulfill all our wishes without obstacles.

[colophon]

What concerns this “Fumigation and offering to the Phuntshog Thobden”,  
gelong Choden with perfect (4a) and vast knowledge of analyzing, pious ge-  
long Tengye and the other mass of donors from four directions expressed  
the need [of such text] and upon their request it was compiled by Jamyang  
Zhepa Kelzang Thubten Wangchug and written down by the scribe gelong  
Kelzang Legshe. *Jayantu!*

## 2. “ONE WITH WHITE HORSE”, THE DEITY OF U’LIRTE HILL: INTRODUCTION

The deity of the U’lirte hill, called only allusively “One with white horse” (Tib. *rta dkar can*), is considered together with the previous deity Phuntshog to be the most important on the part of the monks. It has similarly close ties to the monastery and his dwelling is classified as “monastery *oboo*”. The U’lirte hill is situated to the east from the monastery and its name is derived from an expression for the Siberian wild apple-tree (Bur. *u’lir*), which grows on the eastern slopes of the hill. The place of worship is plain now, the small wooden chapel dedicated to the deity (Bur. *bumhan*, Tib. *’bum khang*) was destroyed during the 1930s. The ritual accompanied by chanting the text translated below takes place here on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

The author of the text introduces himself as “ignorant with Wagintra (Tib. *Ngag dbang*) in his name”. This note reveals that the author was one of the most famous Buryat monks, Agvan Doržiev (Tib. *Ngag dbang rdo rje*, 1854–1938).<sup>22</sup> He is mostly known as a learned Buddhist monk, who studied in Depung monastery near Lhasa and later served as adviser in dealings with Russians and Mongolians to the former XIII. Dalailama. The British, having their own interest in Tibet, were so afraid of him during the time of colonialism that they issued a warrant for his arrest. They considered him to be a Russian spy.

22) For example in his autobiography he gives his name in the same way and such identification was also confirmed by the monks of the Aga monastery. For the translation of his own biography into Russian see Doržiev 1994.

Agvan Doržiev traveled to India, France and spent considerable time in Russian cities. This is probably one of the reasons why he stresses “clean-ness” almost in the sense of hygiene, the European conception of it. Even his stress on relying exclusively upon the Buddhist Triple Gem (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha) might stem from European views on the Buddhism of that time.

## 2.1. TRANSLATION

**AGVAN DORŽIEV: SUPPLICATION AND OFFERING TO THE LORD OF THE HOLY PLACE OF THE HIGH HILL U'LIRTE CALLED 'ONE WITH WHITE HORSE' IN THE PROXIMITY OF THE GREAT MONASTERY OF AGA; DECHEN LHUNDUBLING**

(1b) *Oṃ svasti!*

Truly all-pervading holder of *vajra* – the highest master,  
the crowd of tutelary deities, Lords and their noble sons,  
those who protect and guard the precious Teaching,  
remember and protect donors of the holy place of the monastery forever.

*The Lord himself, gentle protector Tsongkhapa, said that it is possible to entrust with virtuous deeds the local deities for the sake of temporary friendship. But if these outer, so-called local deities and deities of birth, are kept as places of refuge, this is contradictory to the oath of taking refuge in the three highest (i.e. Buddha, Dharma, Sangha), which all keep their place in the master, and it is a very (2a) big mistake. Not only must one surely be careful in regard to such a [place of refuge]. From the discussions of the holy ones it appears, that from within the beings wandering in saṃsāra they belong to the pretas (i.e. “hungry ghosts”). Temporary benefit might come fast from them, but when they are only a little dissatisfied, they indeed cause harm. In the Land of Snow the noble persons who are real Buddhas restrict the powerful “lords of base” of the Buddhist teaching, at the same time accept their “heart of life” [and make them] work for the benefit of the Teaching and people, not harming them while agitated. Although it is problematic to have confidence in such local deities, who are not of this kind, in the event that [the local deity] is instructed and bound under oath by a virtuous person, I think (2b) that it is possible to rely on him to some extend temporarily.*

*If somebody wishes to perform the offering and praise to the great lord of the holy place of the high hill U'lirte situated in the proximity of the Dechen Lhundubling monastery and known as “One with white horse”, he will [proceed] either to the place beside the hill itself, where the offering has been performed for*

a long time, or to some clean and beautiful place. The offerings and sacrificial cakes should not be blackened by those not of a clean kind [of offerings] nor by the smell of meat, barley wine, garlic, onion etc. The offerings should be three white ones, three sweet ones<sup>23</sup> and the kinds of wood which please the great deity with his retinue. At the time of the shaping of the sacrificial cakes from flour mixed with butter and other things, it should never happen that some unclean substances causing anger, such as boiled meat etc. will enter it. The assistant performing the offering should wash (3a) his hands well up to the oval ends of his nails. Not even this, in general, when whatever uncleanness appears, families of gods and nāgas with their cleanness are not pleased and they even change into an angry state and present a great danger. This is referred to in the discussions of noble ones and hence cleanliness is very important.

The smoke from the scanty leaves, twigs and other fumigation substances fill the whole sky. And even when it disappears into space, still the miraculous power of the scent might remain. At the time of the ritual of “summoning well-being (g.yang)”, the substances and offering for the ritual are placed on a good support and offerings look clean and beautiful. Arrange well all you can get from (3b) flags, victorious banners, canopies, offerings of the enjoyment of the senses, musical instruments and other things, which please masters, tutelary deities, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, protectors of Doctrine, local deities and “lords of the base”. The people performing the ritual are seated on cushions. But all the donors should not greet only the “lord of base”, they should understand, that they invite masters, tutelary deities, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, protectors of Doctrine and guardians as the main subjects of offering and veneration. It is good to explain well, that it is the case, when they do not break the vow of taking refuge [in the Buddhist Triple Gem], which might happen when greeting solely the “lord of base”.

After obligatory performance of the “taking refuge”, “generation of mind of awaking”, “four immeasurable”<sup>24</sup> in advance, through placing oneself into the yoga of tutelary deity by [chanting verses] “oneself is Śrī Vajrabhairava...” done either by immediate generation of the deity, or by ritual of triple generation,<sup>25</sup>

23) Three white ones are curd, milk and butter. Three sweet ones molasses, honey, sugar.

24) See note 10.

25) Through the immediate generation of the deity the practitioner in a moment changes into the Tantric deity. During the triple generation (*cho ga gsum bskyed*) one generates first the seed-syllable of the deity *Śrī Vajrabhairava* in one's heart, then the emblem of the deity (*phyag mtshan*) with the previous syllable and with the last step comes complete change into the deity. See for example Bentor 1996, p. 99.



one does purification by the action mantra “amṛta”<sup>26</sup> of whatever kind and cleansing [into emptiness] by mantra “svabhāva”.<sup>27</sup>

(4a) From the sphere of emptiness [appears syllable] BHRŪM and from it large and spacious precious vessels, adorned inside by the syllable OM and first syllable of one's own name. These melt and from them appear godly substances of offerings with perfect qualities of form, sound, smell, taste and touch. These fill all the earth and the space in between [of earth and sky] and change into the ocean of offering clouds pleasing each of the guests.

*Oṃ āḥ hūṃ.*

*Pronounce this three times. Do the gesture of “treasury of sky” and if it is pleasing, do blessing by the “six mantras and six gestures”.<sup>28</sup> The following is accompanied by music:*

*Kye kye!* Kind root-master and tutelary deity,  
Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten directions and those waiting upon  
orders,

behold us patrons and priests with love,

(4b) sit firmly in the space of godly paths and be blessed.

Come here powerful deities, *gnyan* and *nāgas*,  
who gained power over this vast space of Jambudvīpa,  
in particular the lord of the holy place of U'lrte,  
come here great god on the white horse with your retinue.

26) The “amṛta mantra” sounds: *oṃ amṛtakunḍali hana hana hūṃ phaṭ* (*oṃ Amṛtakunḍali* kill *kill hūṃ phaṭ*). It is a fierce mantra invoking the deity “Whirling nectar” (Tib. *bdud rtsis 'khyil ba*, Skt. *Amṛtakunḍali*) and cleansing (removing) the obstacles, for the details of the deity see De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993, p. 321.

27) The whole mantra sounds *oṃ svabhāva-suddhāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ svabhāva-suddho 'haṃ* and might be half-translated as “*oṃ* – pure nature – all dharmas are of pure nature, of pure nature am I – ‘*haṃ*’”, cf. also Bentor 1996, p. 105, n. 55; Berounský 2005, p. 138, n. 20.

28) The mantra of “Treasury of the sky” sounds: *Namaḥ sarva-tathāgatebhyo viśva-mukhebhyaḥ sarvathā-khaṃ udgate spharaṇa imaṃ gagana-khaṃ svāhā* (“homage to all Tathāgatas, the offerings appear throughout space, dwelling, filling the sky, *svāhā*”). The six mantras sound: *Namaḥ sarva-tathāgata avalokite. Oṃ sambhara sambhara hūṃ* (“homage, seen by all tathāgatas, gathering, gathering *hūṃ*”, mantra called “Blazing surface”). *Oṃ jñāna avalokite. Namaḥ samantaspharaṇa rasmibhava samaya. Mahāmaṇi duru duru hṛdaya jvalani hūṃ* (“*Oṃ* looking with knowledge. Homage, great gem, accumulation of splendor spreading everywhere. Burn, burn, blazing heart *hūṃ*”). *Namaḥ samanta-buddhānāṃ graheśvari prabhañjate mahā-samaya svāhā*. For detailed information see Berounský 2005, n. 21, cf. Beyer 1988, pp. 221, 263, 339, 349, 350 and Bentor 1996, p. 157.



Sit on the perfect thrones pleasing each of you,  
well arranged and bringing joy,  
masters and tutelary deities – the falling rain of miraculous powers,  
mass of Buddhas, Bodhisttvas and protectors of Doctrine,  
we present the unpolluted ocean of the clouds – offerings of primordial  
wisdom,  
accept it with joy and send a rain of miraculous powers,  
we present the cloud offerings pleasing the hearts  
(5a) of the guardians of Teaching and great gods,  
who cleanse the extensive land of the cool country (Tibet),  
protect the good fortune of clergy and laity at the place of the monastery.

*Kye kye!*

Noble men holding the *vajra*,  
ordered the one with a tantric crown on his head to come,  
for the need of acts of inseparable friendship,  
with those of the land of Aga and in particular,  
with the community of the monastery Dechen Lhundubling (Aga monastery),  
You, god yourself, as a whirling ocean,  
riding the all-knowing horse, beautifully dressed in fine silk,  
in appearance friendly to all with smiling face,  
(5b) holding uncertainly tools,  
required for the peaceful acts of joyful feeling,  
when suddenly your heart intends, you ride the eagle,  
and show in various unsteady appearances,  
the pile of offerings,  
blessed by miraculous power of meditative concentration and mantras,  
we with concentrated veneration,  
offer and pray to accept them with pleasure,  
to you, great god acting without weakening,  
your handsome secret wife and children,  
and ministers waiting upon your orders together with the ocean of your  
retinue.

*Om.*

In the precious blazing vessel,  
is a pure godly offering of cleansing – water for feet,  
(6a) various beautiful godly flowers,  
scanty perfumes spreading as if condensed clouds,



godly food with a hundred splendid tastes,  
 ten millions musical instruments of melodious tone and others,  
 dough from various grains, three white and three sweet,  
 this mass of sacrificial cakes heaped up like a mountain,  
 unpolluted bliss is in the blessing of the nectar,  
 we make this offering for satiation of the great god with his retinue,  
 accepting them with satisfaction and pleasure, enjoy the unpolluted bliss.

Sandal and aloe wood with nice scent,  
 collection of all the various good medicines, grains and food,  
 (6b) the great smoke of burning fumigation,  
 which fills the space of earth and the world in between,  
 the best ornaments and good thrones,  
 the seven precious ones and auspicious signs,<sup>29</sup>  
 good riding animals and cows keeping the milk streaming,  
 livestock providing a treasury of wool; sheep, goats and others,  
 firm armors, sharp lances and swords,  
 wild animals roaming on the earth and eagles soaring in the sky,  
 things desired by a heart devoid of imperfection,  
 these we offer with minds filled with veneration and hope,  
 and pray to fulfill our desired wishes.

*Now to the confession (of misdeeds):*

*Kye kye!*

We confess all deeds unfavorable to your hearts,  
 digging the soil, crumbling stones, burning in the hearth and other places,  
 cutting the *gnyan* of woods, stirring the *gnyan* of waters,  
 (7a) hunting the wild animals patronized by you; great god and your retinue.

We pray to you; great god with your retinue,  
 forgive us at the moment of each of those deeds of ours which oppose your  
 heart,

and do not weaken your concern,  
 we beg you: keep your pure attitude towards us.

*Now to the praise:*

We praise the god blazing with power and strength,  
 whose light competes with sun and moon,

<sup>29)</sup> See notes 19 and 20.



who was set forth to protect this great monastery with its donors,  
by the prayer arisen in a powerful mind in the past.

We praise the great god and his retinue from the depth of our hearts,  
whose ruling power competes with the Lord of triple heavens,<sup>30</sup>  
(7b) the jewel fulfilling all wishes,  
who accomplishes entrusted deeds as fast as flashes of lightning.

We praise you great powerful god with retinue,  
who is firm and steady as Mt. Kailāsa,  
who disperses darkness of unfavorable decline as sun and moon,  
darkness of us, the people of the four monasteries of Aga.

*Now to the “entrusting with virtuous deeds”:*

Make prosper the incomparable Teaching of the Mighty (Buddha) without  
decline,  
and its heart; the doctrines of the Gentle Lord (Tsongkhapa),  
make the lives of the noble persons keeping the Teaching firm,  
the monks of this settlement accepting pure morality,  
(8a) make prosper explaining and practice [of the Doctrine] in favorable  
circumstances,  
end any unfavorable decline, the diseases, epidemics and famine,  
establish favorable conditions competing with the waxing moon.

*Now to the request:*

*Kye kye!*

We ask you great god with retinue, listen to us,  
quell all outer and inner harm not leaving even its name,  
all the harming, thieves, robbers and all the mutual animosity,  
among us, all the clerics and laity of Aga,  
the arguing, fighting and loss of cattle,  
infections, destroying, obstacles to the fulfillment of our wishes,  
hail, frost, drought and accumulated pain,  
clear up immediately various fines and declines approaching us.

*Now to the “summoning well-being”:*

*Kye kye!*

30) Tib. *sum rtsen*, i.e. heavenly paradise of the three gods: Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva.



(8b) Let come flourishing good fortune and well-being (*phywa g.yang*) of the noble congregation,  
 never passing away and adorned by pure rules,  
 of those associated with miracles of the incomparable Teacher,  
 let the wealth of the mantras be always heard.

Be summoned the good fortune and well-being of the faithful ones,  
 who entered the path of the ten virtues,  
 who are wealthy and of straight and honest mind,  
 and well know both the religious and secular ways.

Be summoned and spread good fortune and well-being,  
 competing with treasure of various jewels of the triple time,  
 of golden sand, precious stones and others,  
 of the cow that is milked to supply the needs of all people.

Let flourishing good fortune be summoned and well-being of the four-legged cattle,  
 of all-knowing, fast, excellent horses,  
 (9a) all herds of excellent cows, those for milking and others,  
 strong camels carrying vehicles and white auspicious sheep.

Let good fortune be summoned and well-being of perfection,  
 of the perfect wealth of upper gods,  
 of the treasures of the lower kings of *nāgas*,  
 of the ruling power of those transmigrating in-between.

*Now to the prayer for benevolence:*

I pray before the eyes of all the guests for benevolence,  
 towards all who came from the weakness of veneration,  
 excess and neglect in ritual caused by ignorance,  
 the unclean offerings and their imperfection.

*To the prayer for departure:*

All you, guests, both those who passed the world of destruction and those who did not pass it,  
 (9b) especially you, who was bound to be our assistant and friend,  
 great god and your retinue; depart to your respective places,  
 and when coming back again do so without any obstructions.





Now to the “pronouncing of good luck”:

Let good luck spread all over the ten directions,  
created by the power of the master and tutelary deity; the treasures of miraculous power,  
mass of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas together with protectors of the Teaching,  
powerful lord with ruling power, the great god with his retinue.

[colophon]

What concerns this larger “Supplication and offering to the Lord of the holy place of the high hill U’lirte called ‘One with white horse’ in the proximity of the great monastery of Aga; Dechen Lhundubling”, Dawa Wozer asked for it in order to bring an end to the illness of the spiritual friend, holder of the classes of *sūtras*, and *kabcupa*.<sup>31</sup> It was written by one without the knowledge of fundamental works in (10a) general and in particular of the practice of the rituals, the ignorant one with Wagintra in his name, pretending to have nothing in common with the older and newer texts on supplication and offering composed by the noble ones. Let good virtue flourish!

### 3. DEITIES “JOYFUL GROVE” AND “HIGH AUSPICIOUS ONE” NEAR CHILUTAI VILLAGE: INTRODUCTION

There is a pair of two hills known either as Zu’un U’nder and Baruun U’nder (Eastern and Western High [Hills]) or commonly as Agadalik, following the name of the river running in between of them near the village of Chilutai. In between them is a small hill called “Zu’rhen” (“heart”). About the cult of this mountain two rare testimonies recorded by Nacov in 1934 have been preserved (Nacov 1995, pp. 76–78, 93–95). From them it appears that the Buddhist cult of these hills had been established by Horc’id Gegen by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Horc’id Gegen was a Buddhist master from Barga Mongolians, who strongly influenced the Buddhist cult of the local deities of Aga Buryats during its first period of transformation.<sup>32</sup> At that time the eastern hill was the subject of a strong cult connected with a famous army leader of the past. The name of the cult place of the western hill was probably already

31) Tib. *bka’ bcu pa*, the title of those who passed the preliminary examination, “one who follows ten commandments”.

32) See Berounský 2005, for detailed information on Horc’id Gegen (with Tibetan name *Bskal bzang bzod pa*) see Nacov 1998, pp. 56–57, 125–6.

forgotten at that time. When Horc'id Gegen was passing the hills, he stopped for a while and then said that this place had a strong Lord. Later they came to the place of the cult, where tree trunks with skins from sacrificed horses and sheep were stuck into a pile of stones. He dispatched people of his entourage to the village for offerings and when they were approaching the hill, together with the local leader Todi Zaisan, they saw two persons there. When coming closer, only Horc'id Gegen was there. The Horc'id Gegen said that the Lord of the hill was pleased by the Buddha's Doctrine being spread around and in the event that the local people did not follow it, he would leave his place. Later the local leader together with the elders met with Horc'id Gegen in the Aga monastery and learned from him that the lord of the hill accepted the vows of a Buddhist layman and received the new Tibetan name *Lha rta dkar po* ("The deity with a white horse"). In the future the cult and sacrifices ought to be performed through Buddhist masters.

Inside the *oboo* there was a stone-relief depicting the deity, supplemented with Tibetan inscriptions. Four stakes were arranged to the south at a distance of thirteen steps from *oboo*. During the ritual a yellow strip of textile was tied to them and banners, standards and smaller banners, each in number thirteen, were hung there. A white horse with a long mane was tied to the south-western stake. An image with a mask of the deity, dressed in armor and an iron helmet, holding his weapons, was present there. Some 10–20 monks from Aga monastery with one leader sat on the carpet to the south-east. People sacrificed thirteen heads of already slaughtered sheep (Bur. *toolei*) to the *oboo* and some three pieces to the stakes. They also prepared arrows at the stakes for the ritual of "summoning the well-being" (Bur. *dalalgyn h'uma*, Tib. *g.yang gugs*). This ritual was probably the climax of the whole festival, during which the main Buddhist master used the arrow kept otherwise by the leader Todi Zaisan for summoning the well-being. During this part of the ceremony thirteen youth dressed in white were riding white horses clockwise around the mountain with bows and arrows, shouting loudly.

Today's cult lost its lively performance and two texts from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are used for the pair of hills. Both are authored by IV. Jamyang Zhepa (*Skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug*) and the "Deity with white horse"; the lord of the eastern hill is called "Deity Joyful Grove" now. The text to this deity was written in 1895 at the hermitage to the north-west of Labrang monastery in Amdo. The lord of the western hill is called "High Auspicious One" and the main text is supplemented with a brief but poetic prayer for rain taken from a text composed by Dharmavajra, i.e. III. Thukwan (*Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma*, 1737–1802), reincarnated master from Kumbum monastery in Amdo.

## 3.1. TRANSLATION

## IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: PROPITIATION AND CONFESSION TO THE GREAT DEITY JOYFUL GROVE

(1b) *Namo guru Bhairavaya* (Homage to the master Bhairava)

*If somebody wishes to perform propitiation and confession to the “lord of the base” of this locality, The Great Deity Joyful Grove, one must gather all the necessities devoid of imperfection including fumigation substances, offerings and sacrificial cakes, “golden drink”, drums and other musical instruments. The meditation of going for refuge, generation of the mind of awakening and four immeasurables<sup>33</sup> should be performed in advance:*

*Oṃ amṛtakunḍali hana hana hūṃ phaṭ.*<sup>34</sup>

(2a) It cleanses into emptiness.

From the state of emptiness come substances for fumigation which are adorned by the spot of the first syllable of one's own name. They melt and from them appear the master, tutelary deity and guardians of Doctrine in general and in particular the Great Deity Joyful Grove with his retinue. They are pleased by inconceivable fine-looking offerings. These appear before the eyes of the master, tutelary deity and guardians of Doctrine in general and in particular the Great Deity Joyful Grove. Then the offerings increase.

(2b) *oṃ sarvavid spuru spuru ...and so forth are six mantras and six gestures.*<sup>35</sup> *These are pronounced together with widely known verses of “power of truth”.<sup>36</sup>*

In front of myself is a large and vast base of soil indeed beautified by various plains, forests and flowers. It is even like the palm of a hand, adorned by many lakes, pools, meadows. In its centre is something like a high hill, splendid, from the outside it looks as if it is for keeping soil and from the inside it is a beautiful palace made from various precious stones, pleasing; a fabulous treasure keeping the immeasurable wealth of gods and people. In its centre is the great “lord of the base”, the (3a) Great Deity Joyful Grove in the color

33) See note 10.

34) See note 26.

35) I was unable to find the mantra. For the more usual “six-fold mantra” see note 28.

36) This is the usual form of praise with the following words in its shorter version: Let strength of my mind, miraculous power of blessing by Tathāgatas, strength of sphere of dharma, let all these of whatever kind, be produced without obstacles (*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*; see Sangs rgyas 1994, p. 37).

of a heap of moon-crystal. As if embraced by a thousand lights of the day-creator (sun); very handsome and in the dancing manner. He has one face and two hands. In his right hand he raises a long spear with a flag and rides an excellent horse with the strength of a hurricane adorned with a jewelled saddle and bridle. In his retinue are the lords of the (3b) soil, deities, *nāgas*, *gnyan* and demons *btsan* dwelling in the mountains, valleys and plains of this land; the High Auspicious One, Zu'rhe and others. He becomes surrounded by these messengers and they all fill the vast earth, heaven and the space between. From the seed at the heart of yourself in the appearance of the deity there emanates a beam of light like an iron hook and it [invites] the "lord of base" the Great Deity Joyful Grove with his retinue from the miraculous palace: *vajra-aṅkuśa jah*.<sup>37</sup> They become inseparable.

(4a) *HŪM*.

Keep in your mind oaths and orders,  
of those greats who were accompanied by the great yogis of the Jambudvīpa,  
*Vajra* born from lake (Padmasambhava), Lord Tsongkhapa,  
the yellowish joy<sup>38</sup> with Kelzang in his name,<sup>39</sup>  
you, who dwell in the lovely earth-keeping mound,  
I beg you, the "lord of base", the Great Deity Joyful Grove,  
proceed swiftly here by a miraculous walk,  
from your fabulous vast palace.

(4b) You, who dwell in this country, please the senses and create auspicious  
abundance,  
in the mountains, valleys, plains, meadows and shady sides of hills,  
in the rocks, lakes and pools,  
I beg you, come to this place with your retinue.

Miraculous appearances of serving messengers with other miraculous appearances of them,  
arrive as guests to the offering and fumigation,  
and are seated with pleasure and firmly on the precious thrones,  
for the sake of the accomplishment of the yogic actions.

37) This mantra caused a merging of two deities, although these are not explicitly mentioned in the text. First of them generated in front of the practitioner and the second one is invited from its actual place of dwelling. The "*vajra-aṅkuśa*" means "diamond iron-hook" by which the deity is brought to the place.

38) Its meaning is "embodied joy in the yellowish monk's robe".

39) I.e. IV. Jamyang Zhepa Kelzang Thubten Wangchug, the compiler of the text.

(5b) Displayed offerings coming from the miraculous appearances of mind,  
the space filled with good wealth,  
we present it to the Great Deity Joyful Grove and his retinue,  
accepting them we ask you to fulfill our desired wishes.  
*Oṃ bhūmipati sapārīvāra arghaṃ prātīccha hūṃ svāhā*  
...and similarly until the śapta it is for offering.<sup>40</sup>

We praise the lord elevated like the moon,  
the guardian deities of our accomplished yogic actions,  
the woods – assembling those nourished by roots,  
(6a) and those who are as Indra twice born amidst stars.

*By this the offering-praise is done. Now the confession is:*

From the seed [syllable *hūṃ*] in my own heart emanates a beam of light. It invites the crowd of deities of triple *vajra*<sup>41</sup> and reaches the crowns of heads of the guests. From the strings of the mantra of the (6b) heart<sup>42</sup> flows light and ambrosia. It cleanses without remainder all accumulated stains, misdeeds and failings in general, and in particular the extensive harming of beings, per-verse attacking and harming, wicked thoughts and deeds.

*While thinking this pronounce the hundred-syllable mantra seven or twenty one times.*<sup>43</sup>

40) The mantra might be half-translated as: “*Oṃ* – lord of the earth with retinue, accept the water for the face – *hūṃ svāhā*.” It is then repeated for each of the rest of the eight offerings: *pādyam* – water for feet, *puṣpe* – flowers, *dhūpe* – incense, *āloke* – lamps, *gandhe* – perfume, *naivedye* – food, *śapta* – music.

41) Triple *vajra* stands for the three *vajra*-like convictions: to reject objections from the side of parents and relatives (*thebs med rdo rje*), to face embarrassment (*khrel med rdo rje*), to abide by practices one has promised to follow (*ye shes rdo rje dang 'grogs pa*). See Rigzin 1993, pp. 147.

42) The mantras are those of one's own tutelary deity.

43) The hundred-syllable mantra is dedicated to the Vajrasattva and reads as follows: *Oṃ vajrasattva samayam anupālaya vajrasattva tvenopatiṣṭha dṛḍho me bhava supoṣyo me bhava sutoṣyo me bhava anurakto me bhava sarvasiddhiṃ me prayaccha sarvakarmasu ca me cittam śreyaḥ kuru hūṃ ha ha ha hoḥ bhagavan sarva tathāgata vajra mā me muñca vajribhāva mahā samayasattva 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*”.



*Hūṃ*. Listen to me my permanent sole refuge; the undeceiving master,  
inseparable from the crowd of tutelary deities together with protectors of  
Doctrine,  
(7a) and great warrior deity with your retinue,  
who protects and guards us yogis.

I confess from the depth of my heart all the deeds opposing your hearts,  
that I turned *gnyan* of soil upside down, cut the *gnyan* of wood,  
stirred the *gnyan* of water and other unclean scattering and cracking,  
of these dwelling together with fierce gods, *nāgas* and demons *btsan*.

You great warrior god with your retinue,  
we confess the obstacles to our properly accomplished deeds,  
the misdeeds of three gates [of body, speech and mind] dominated by lack  
of restraint,  
all these things we confess with tamed minds.

*Now to the substances for propitiation:*

(7b) *Hūṃ*. Enjoy you yogi, warrior deity with retinue,  
these various offerings of a hundred thousands joys and waves of smiles,  
which originated from the ocean of vidyā-mantras and meditative concen-  
trations,  
enjoy them in unpolluted noble bliss.

We propitiate the heart of the Great Deity Joyful Grove,  
by these offerings of ambrosia, water for feet and garlands of flowers,  
perfume, incense and illuminating butter lamps,  
by this music of gods and people making ears bright,

We propitiate the many who form the ocean of his retinue,  
(8a) being satisfied in the sphere of the softened heart,  
let us accomplish the fourfold deeds without obstructions.

By five objects of senses and signs of eight auspicious things,  
and in particular limitless inner and outer offerings,  
by these vast offerings increasing the knowledge and understanding,  
are entirely filled both the world of creation and the extinguished world (i.e.  
that of Buddhas),  
we propitiate the heart of the Great Deity Joyful Grove.



By camphor, eaglewood, white and red sandalwood,  
(8b) various medicines, food and kinds of drinks,  
this fumigation offering burnt in godly juniper by tongues of fire,  
we propitiate the heart of the Great Deity Joyful Grove.

Solid and hard *vajra*-armor, spear, arrow and bow,  
lacquered helmet, leather boots, precious bowl of jewels,  
jeweled harness and impressive all-knowing horse,  
by these tools of heroes devoid of imperfection,  
we propitiate the heart of the Great Deity Joyful Grove.

Wild animals of bright senses and bodies led by those of sound wings,  
(9a) ox, wild yak, yak, goat and sheep, guardian of cattle (i.e. dog) and others,  
beasts of prey, deer, cattle and birds in flocks,  
by their faces spread over the base of earth,  
we propitiate the heart of the Great Deity Joyful Grove.

By jewels, pearls, lapis lazuli, crystal and *spug*,<sup>44</sup>  
diamond, coral, gold, silver, bronze and iron,  
plenty of excellently decorative fine silk, various grains,  
competing with the number of grains of sand in the Ganges,  
we propitiate the heart of the Great Deity Joyful Grove.

By mountains, rocks, forests, meadows, lakes and pools,  
precious good houses, walls and their surrounding,  
(9b) by the numerous and especially splendid wealth of gods and people,  
highly heaped limitless “cloud of offerings”,  
we propitiate the heart of the Great Deity Joyful Grove,  
we propitiate the hearts of ocean of numerous retinue,  
being satisfied in the sphere of a softened heart,  
make the fourfold activities<sup>45</sup> be accomplished without obstacles.

44) This is a multicolored stone which under the ice changed into a precious stone; see Pasang Yonten Arya 1998, p. 133.

45) Tantric activities or rituals (*phrin las*): peaceful, fierce, taming and multiplying.



*In between this and the following a dedication of the sacrificial cake to the “lord of base” is added. Now to the praise:*

*Hūṃ.* In the lap of the sky-blue Dharma sphere devoid of signs,  
(10a) is fully completed *maṇḍala* endowed with strength and power,  
creating a net of thousands of white lights of deeds (*phrin las*),  
I praise you, Great Deity, as a night-jewel.

At the tops of buns of hair of gods and *gnyan*,  
are garlands of lotuses grown after touching by sole of foot,  
they are steadily nourishing hair without doubt,  
I praise you, Great Deity, the Lord of the higher spheres.

In the lake of light, deep and clear heart; fulfilling all wishes,  
(10b) are a whirling series of waves; various miraculous manifestations,  
these are granting the best of jewels to the yogi,  
I praise you, Great Deity Joyful Grove.

In the tall pile of beautiful precious stones,  
have arisen thousands treasures of play, joy and laughter,  
lovely brightness, whitish grove with the appearance of an autumn moon,  
I praise the body of the Great Deity.

On the gentle side of roar of speech,  
(11a) is laughter of the senses of hundreds of thousands of five-faced ones,  
when such clear and spontaneous melody resounds,  
it smashes all the hearts of evil demons into pieces,  
Great Deity, I praise your speech!

In the vast boisterous stream of love and compassion,  
uninterrupted rain of ambrosia of the fourfold activities,  
(11b) I praise the Great Deity Taming Enemies,  
who makes to fall the stream of beings of the happy aeon on the stage.





*This and others are for the offering of praise. Now to the confession:*

From the seed [syllable *hūṃ*] in my own heart emanates a beam of light. It invites the crowd of deities of triple *vajra*<sup>46</sup> and reaches the crowns of the heads of the guests. From the strings of the mantra of the heart flows light and ambrosia and things that it cleanses without remainder, perpetually (12a) accumulated stains, misdeeds and failings in general, and in particular the extensive harming of beings, perverse attacking and harming.

Let the virtuous and good name spread through the earth,  
of the Lord who naturally made himself leader, the sole refuge,  
the name equal to the solid surface of the *vajra*-sphere of the former minister,  
the endless Dharma-sphere of virtuous deeds of secrets of body, speech and  
mind.

And particularly the Island of Perfect Bliss (Aga monastery),  
fill by ten million powers of clear minds and concentration,  
let the activity of explaining and practicing the Teaching not decline,  
(12b) let the preaching and hearing increase as a spring lake.

And let this part of the land be spared diseases and famine,  
disputes, frost, hail, mildew, drought, enemies, robbers and thieves,  
and let the miraculous wealth of four kinds increase,  
gathered in the world and heavens.

Crush the innocent looking enemies,  
all the harming troops of demons *gdon* and *bgegs*,  
we pass them to you, Great Deity, as nourishment,  
(13a) crush them all to the small particles of dust.

Briefly, protect us virtuously and without weakening  
us, patrons and priests with retinue,  
assist us so that entire wishes, both the worldly and dharmic,  
will be fulfilled without reminder and obstruction.

46) Triple *vajra* stands for the three *vajra*-like convictions: to reject objections on the part of parents and relatives (*thebs med rdo rje*), to face embarrassment (*khrel med rdo rje*), to abide by practices one has promised to follow (*ye shes rdo rje dang 'grogs pa*). See Rigzin 1993, p. 147.

*Hūṃ. Entire ordinary miraculous powers ...from this time until the...praise to grant it to me...etc. are verses of prayer for the desired. The conclusion is adorned by a prayer of dedicating the merits.*

[colophon]

What concerns this, upon the request of the bhikshu Khedub, householder Tsheten and Tashi (13b) Tshering [dispatched] from the public, it was composed by the Lord preaching the Dharma, Kelzang Thubten Wangchug at the abandoned place of hermitage Tashi Gephel,<sup>47</sup> the scribe was getshul Samten Gyatsho. Let good virtue spread! Good fortune (*maṅgalam*)!

[supplement]

By the fourth body of Jamyang Zhepa, in the fifteenth rabjung [and day] called the Lord, in the male wood-horse year, tenth month on the thirteenth day according to [the calendar of the monastery Labrang] Tashikhyil, in the Russian year 1894.

### 3.2. TRANSLATION

#### IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: PROPITIATION AND CONFESSION TO THE DEITY HIGH AUSPICIOUS ONE

(1b) *Those, who wish to perform the propitiation and confession to the deity-gnyan High Auspicious One (Tashi Under), in advance they should do “going for refuge”, “generation of the mind of awakening” together with “four immeasurables”.*<sup>48</sup> *The propitiation, confession, blessing etc., through placing oneself into the pride of the [tutelary] deity is done in the following way:*

*Kye, kye!*

You, who dwell in the base keeping the jewels and possessing signs of ten virtues,  
in the beautiful soil, brightening and lovely,  
together with the powerful ones protecting the white side,  
High Auspicious One with your retinue, come to this place!

(2a) In the center of the rainbow and golden tent covered by a canopy,

<sup>47</sup>) A hermitage located to the north-west from the Labrang monastery in Amdo.

<sup>48</sup>) See note 10.

in the palace of wealth and precious stones,  
on the seat of the jeweled throne fabulously blazing in light,  
firmly seated illuminated in bright appearance and joy.

*This was the invitation and now to the propitiation and confession:*

I confess and beg to cleanse,  
all unrestrained deeds opposing your heart,  
which I committed by three gates (of body, speech and mind) serving ignorance,  
whatever is to be found I regret with strong repentance.

By displaying a mass of fabulous and visible offerings, sacrificial cakes,  
(2b) which originated from the power of concentration on emptiness and bliss,  
by this enjoyment of gods and people devoid of imperfection,  
I propitiate the heart of the great deity-*gnyan* with his retinue.

Inside the thousands of precious vessels [so beautiful, that they] steal senses,  
are offerings of kinds of drinks: rice-wine, grape-wine, tea,  
by this clear “golden drink” competing with the ocean,  
I propitiate the heart of the great deity-*gnyan* with his retinue.

(3a) By the food, grains, medicines, cloth, silk, gold, silver and others,  
by the fumigation offerings piled up as a hill,  
all-knowing [horse], harness; all the tools of heroes,  
I propitiate the heart of the great deity-*gnyan* with his retinue.

*Now to the “averting”, “praise” and “entrusting with deeds”:*

Avert from us great deity with retinue,  
diseases, epidemics, incitement, demons *gdon*, *bgegs*, *’dre* and cast magical spells,  
avert all kinds of misfortune-stars, magical power, evil spells, catastrophes,  
in brief; avert all bad disharmonious circumstances.

(3b) I praise the bright fresh body of youth,  
on the excellent leaping horse with its white mane; the white cloud,  
with the clear white color of body, blazing jewel in his right hand,

and pulling the ornamented rosary of pearls with his left hand.

I praise the speech of bursting into thousand rumbling rolls of thunder,  
violent speech, the eightfold ambrosia of roaring,  
the melodious and sweet speech giving breath to those under oath,  
from the smiling peaceful face.

I praise the mind of the noble High Auspicious One,  
(4a) the playful lightning of miraculous manifestations and miraculous mani-  
festations of them,  
which causes the honey-rain of desirable miraculous power,  
to fall from the friendly ocean of compassion and love.

Keep in mind your fierce oath,  
you have taken on the eyes of the lord of secret Padmasambhava of the past,  
and second Buddha Lozang (Tsongkhapa),  
and spread the mighty Teaching in the ten directions.

Spread in all corners of the land,  
the tenets of Virtuous school (Gelugpa), the shore of the wish-fulfilling lake,  
by the drum's voice of explaining and practice,  
(4b) by the great lotus-grove of benefit and ease for Teaching and beings.

Annihilate harmful enemies and obstructions,  
from us patron and priests, people together with cattle,  
establish circumstances of long life and lack of sickness,  
and finally fulfill our entire hopes in accordance with dharma.

*Then the conclusion adorn with prayer for the departure of all the guests to their  
respective places, dedication of merits and expressing [the wish of] good fortune.*

[colophon]

What concerns this, [the text] was compiled by the lord preaching the dharma  
Kelzang Thubten Wangchug upon the request demanding such [text of the]  
ritual for offering sacrificial cakes to the (5a) deity-*gnyan* High Auspicious  
One from the kabcu Chodrag seated on the throne of the medical faculty of  
the Dechenling monastery in the direction of the Bora, Pontā Tshering Tashi,  
pious Gompo Namgyel Badzra, who accompanied [the request] with auspi-  
cious god silks and twenty five silver *srang*. Good fortune!

[Supplement]

Homage to the jewel-master!

*If somebody has a special reason and wishes to enlarge the [offering of] sacrificial cakes, "golden drink" or fumigation of both the higher and the lower guests for the sake of oneself or others; then follows:*

By the extraordinary power coming from the occasion of presenting the offering, the blessing of the Triple Gem and master,  
(5b) virtuous activities of the protectors of Doctrine, guardians and *dākinī*, power and strength of the gods, *nāgas* and "lords of base"...

*This is added to the beginning of all and now to presenting the sight of the falling rain:*

Let the showers of rain nurturing the harvest with their nourishing juice,  
fall down and overcome all obstacles,  
of *gdon*, *bgegs* and *'byung po*,  
let the adverse strong wind not come up,  
and not disperse the mass of clouds,  
(6a) let the felicitous wind from the eight main directions and directions in between,  
gather the rain-clouds rolling and condensing,  
strong thunder slowly follows lightning,  
all hills are beautifully dressed in fog,  
and the good rain slowly falls down equally,  
the mountains, valleys and cultivated fields are moistened,  
and medicinal juice makes the harvest of fruits grow,  
let it turn to a playful dance of lucky and easy growing!

[colophon]

This was freely composed by Dharmavajra as a part of the necessary [text].  
Good fortune!

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## Appendix

### ORIGINAL TIBETAN TEXTS IN TRANSLITERATION<sup>49</sup>

#### 1.1. LOZANG TENPA GYATSHO: FUMIGATION OFFERING CALLED “THE FALLING RAIN OF MIRACULOUS POWER”

bsang mchod dngos grub char bebs zhugs so//  
 (1b) om bde legs su gyur cig/ dus gsum rgyal pa'i spyi gzugs gcig bsdu pa/  
 /gsum ldan ngur smrig gar gis rnam rol pa/ /mtshung med bla ma mchog  
 nges dus kun tu/ /'bral med rjes su bzung nas bdag skyong shig/ de la 'dir bla  
 ma yi dam mkha' 'gro chos skyong dreg pa sde brgyad sogs la bsang mchod  
 gtong par 'dod pas skyabs sems tshad med bzhi sogs spyi 'gro ltar sngon tu  
 btang la/ /rdo rje 'jigs byed sogs yi dam gang yang rung pa bskyed la/ /de  
 nas bsang rdzas byin rlabs gzhung bzhin byas rjes ('di ltar/ hūm bde chen  
 lhun grub zhal yas pho brang nas/ rtsa brgyad (brgyud) bla ma rgyal ba sras  
 dang bcas/ (2a) /yi dam dpa' po mkha' 'gro bsrung ma dang/ dkar phyogs  
 skyong pa'i lha klu gzhi bdag sogs/ /'khor bcas spyen drangs khyad par yul  
 ljongs 'dis/ /phun tshogs zhes bya'i sa 'dzin chen pa la/ gnas nas phyogs 'di'i  
 dge mtshan spel byed pa'i/ /mthu stobs dpal 'bar lha chen stobs ldan zhes/  
 /gzhi bdag gnyen po 'khor bcas gnas 'dir gshegs/ /rang mdun 'ja' 'od 'khrigs

49) For the transliteration the Wylie system is used and in cases of Indian letters rewritten as Tibetan reversed letters (mostly in mantras), the standard way of transliteration of Sanskrit is used (with letters *i, ū, ṃ, ā, ḥ, ṭ, ṇ, ḍ, ṛ*). Many scribal errors appear in the original text and the suggested correct reading follows then in the parentheses after the syllable.

pa'i gzhal yas nang/ /rang rang so so dgyes pa'i gdan khri la/ /thogs med rdzu  
 'phrul dang bcas legs bzhugs nas/ /dngos bshams yid sprul mchod tshogs rgya  
 mtsho 'bul/ /rang bzhin bde ba chen po'i ngang (2b) nyid las/ /mthun pa'i  
 dam rdzas phyi nang gsang ba yi/ /mchod gtor spyen gzigs ma tshang med pa  
 dang/ /a mṛ ta yis bsang zhing byin rlabs pa'i/ /'bar ba'i me nang bsang rdzas  
 stong 'phrag rnams/ /bsreg pa'i dri bsang sa dang bar snang kun/ /yongs su  
 khyab pa'i mchod tshogs rgya mtsho 'di/ /rtsa brgyad (brgyud) bla ma rgyal  
 ba sras bcas la/ /'bul lo mchog mthun dngos grub ma lus stsol/ /yi dam dpa'  
 po mkha' 'gro bsrung tshogs la/ /'bul lo las bzhi'i dngos grub ma lus stsol/ /  
 dkar phyogs skyor (skor) pa'i lha klu ma lus dang/ /bsrungs dang skyobs pa'i  
 mgron rnams thams cad la/ /'bul lo ci btsol las kun (3a) bsgrubs tu gsol/ /  
 lan chag sha mkhon gnyer pa'i mgron rnams dang/ /ma rgan rigs drug sems  
 can thams cad la/ /'bul lo sha mkhon sdig sgrib myur dag nas/ /rdzogs pa'i  
 sangs rgyas myur tu thob par shog/ /stong gsum dri ngan (ngad) ldang ba'i  
 bsangs mchog 'dis/ /rtsa brgyud bla ma mchog gsum kun 'dus bsangs/ /dn-  
 gos grub mchog stsol yi dam lha tshogs bsangs/ /chu mig brag ri g.ya spangs  
 la sogs la/ /gnas pa'i sa bdag klu gnyan ma lus bsangs/ (3b) /bsang ngo bsang  
 mchod rgya mtsho 'di bzhes la/ /ljongs 'dir mu ge nad yams la sogs pa'i/ /mi  
 'dod gnyer 'tshe mtha' dag rab zhi de/ /tshe bsod stobs 'byor rigs brgyud 'phel  
 zhing rgyas/ /mthun rkyen bsam don bgegs med 'grub par mdzod// //yangs  
 pa'i rgyal kham (khams) spyi dang bye brag tu/ /yul ljongs 'di yis skye po'i  
 tshogs rnams kyang/ /bstan la rab dang dge bcu'i lam bzang la/ /rtag tu gnas  
 zhing bde skyed (skyid) rgyas par mdzod/ /'jig rten phan bde'i ku mud rgy-  
 ad mdzad pa/ /mang thos sprang rtsi'i bcud dang rab ldan pa (pa')/ /bslab  
 gsum ngur smrig rgyal mtshan 'dzin pa yi/ /smra pa'i dbang po'i tshogs kyi  
 gad par mdzod/ (4a) /mthu stobs klog 'phreng 'bar pa'i 'od brgya yis/ /nag  
 po'i phyogs rnams ma lus rab 'joms zhing/ /dkar phyogs mngon par rab tu  
 rgyas byed pa'i/ /dgra lha chen po 'khor dang bcas rnams bstod/ /hrīh skyabs  
 gnas kun 'dus bla ma'i skyabs 'og na/ /yi dam lha tshogs bsrung ma'i 'phrin  
 las kyis/ /rnal 'byor bdag cag dpon slob 'khor bcas kyi/ /dgra lha gnyan po  
 ngo so yar la bstod/ /bstad do dgra lha thu (mthu) ldan khyed rnams kyis/  
 /lus dang grib ma gzhan (bzhin) du nyan (nyer) grogs nas/ /nyin gyis bya ra  
 mtshan gyis mel tshe dang/ /mi 'dod gnyer 'tshe mtha' dag zhi bar mdzod/  
 /mthun pa'i rkyen rnams (4b) dbyar gyis chu gtor bzhin/ /'phel zhin (bzhin)  
 rbyas (rgyas) de tshe bsod rigs brgyud sogs/ /zhi dang rgyas pa'i las rnams ma  
 lus pa/ /myur du 'grub pa'i 'phrin las sdod grogs mdzod// //bdag blo rmongs  
 zhing le los dbang bsgyur pa'i/ /mchod rdzas ma tshad sno (ma tshang med)  
 gsum 'khrul pa yis/ /nod (gnod) pa ci mchis mgron rnams spyen snga ru/ /so  
 sor bshams cing bzod par bzhes su gsol/ /rig pa'i rtsal gyis (')bos pa'i mgron



rnams kyang// //chu las chu bur rdol la ji bzhin du/ /chos dbyings bde chen po'i ngang nyed las/ /rnams pa rang rang so sor gnas su bshegs/ /'di mtshon bsags dang bsags 'gyur dge ba yang/ (5a) /gcig tu bsdus zhing 'gro rnams ma lus pa/ /bla med rdzogs pa'i byang chub thob phyir du/ /bsngo 'o 'gro rnams sangs rgyas myur thob shog /dngos grub stsal mdzad byin rlabs gter gyur pa'i// //rtsa rgyud bla ma tshogs kyi bkra shis shog /zhi sogs las rnams thogs med bsgrub mdzad pa'i/ /yi dam dpa' po mkha' 'gro'i bkra shis shog /bstan dgra dam nyams thal par rlag byed pa'i/ /chos skyong bsrung ma'i tshogs kyis bkra shis shog /yul 'de'i mu ge nad rims zhi (zha) mdzad pa'i/ /yul lha gzhi bdag rnams kyi bkra shis shog /char chu dus 'bebs 'bru rnams (5b) spel mdzad pa'i/ /lha klu dkar phyogs skyong pa'i bkra shis shog /srid zhi dpal 'byor sogs bsngo smon gyis mtha' rgyan par bya'o/

ces pa 'di ni dad btson sogs 'phags pa'i phyug pa rnam dpyod mchog tu yangs pa dge slong chos ldan sogs a ra ga li'i spyin bdag mthun mong nas bkra shis pa'i lha rdzas zur du rangs pa bcas bskul pa la bsten nas btsun pa'i gzugs brnyan tsam blo bzang bstan pa rgya mtsho'i sbyar pa'o/ /dge legs su 'phel//

#### 1.2. IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: FUMIGATION AND OFFERING TO THE PHUNTSHOG THOB DEN

phun tshogs stobs ldan gyi bsang mchod zhugs so//

(1b) gnas bdag chen po phun tshogs stobs ldan la bsangs mchod gtong bar 'dod pas/ skyabs sems sngon du btang/ bsangs rdzas byin gyis brlabs la/ kye kye/ bkra shis g.yang chags nor 'dzin yangs pa'i gzhir/ /lhun sdug ri bo dgung du bsnyegs pa la/ /gnas bcas dkar phyogs sde dpom (dpon) mthu bo che/ /lha gnyan chen po phun tshogs stobs ldan gshegs/ /yab yum sras dang sras mo btsun mo dang/ /blon 'bangs lha dmag mngag gzhuks las byed sogs/ /'thor rlung (2a) drag pos bskyod pa'i chu 'dzin bzhin/ /dam tshig dbang gis gnas 'dir gshegs su gsol/ /rgyal thugs sprul padma ka ra dang/ /kun mkhyen blo bzang rgyal ba gnyis pa sogs/ /dngos brgyud bla ma'i sbyan (spyen) sngar dam bcas bzhin/ /rang rang dgyes pa'i gdan khrir brtan par bzhugs/ /gzungs mthu lha sngags rol ba las byung ba'i/ /nyer spyod 'dod yon lnga dang rin chen bdun/ /bkra shis rdzas rtags brgyad dang dar zab 'bru/ /sbyan (spyen) gzigs dam (2b) rdzas ma tshang med pas mchod/ /sna tshogs zas dang bza' bca' sman gyi rigs/ /ba lu su dkar (sur dkar) shug pa mkhan pa sogs/ /brgya phrag bsangs rdzas bsregs pa'i dud sbrin (sprin) 'dis/ /lha gnyan chen po 'khor dang bcas pa bsangs/ /sbrin (sprin) gyi shugs 'chang bai dūr mdangs 'phrod pa'i/ /rta mchog steng na gangs kyi shun po ltar/ /sku mdogs rab dkar g.yas pas dar mdung dang/ /g.yon pas 'dod dgu'i bum bzang bsname la bstod/ /sku



mdog phyag mtshan rgyan dang cha lugs rnams/ (3a) /sna tshogs tshul gyis cho 'phrul mtha' yas pas/ /bdag cag bsam don yid bzhin sgrub mdzad pa'i/ /'khor tshogs rgya mtsho'i tshogs la bdag bstod do/ /de ltar dregs rtsal can gyi lha khyod la/ /gus pas mchod dang bsnyen bkur bgyis pa'i mthus/ /thub bstan spyi dang dge ldan ring lugs che/ /srid mtha'i bar du dar zhing rgyas gyur cig/ /bdag cag dang ldan mi nor 'khor bcas rnams/ /yid bzhin nor ltar 'bad rtsol mi dgos par/ /yar zla (3b) bzhin du rnam kun 'phel pa'i mthus/ /ngo mtshar bde skyid dpal la rol par mdzod/ /phar 'gro'i skyel ma tshur 'ong bsu ma dang/ /tshad med rigs brgyud 'mdzad med 'byor ba'i dpal/ /dpag med tshe dang nyams med snyan grags sogs/ bsam don mtha' dag gegs med 'grub par mdzod//

//ces phun tshogs stobs ldan gyi bsang mchod 'di lta bu zhiḡ dgos zhes/ rnam dbyod (dpyod) yangs pa dge slong chos ldan/ dad ldan dge slong bstan rgyas sogs phyogs bzhi'i sbyin bdag thun mongs (4a) bskul ngor 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug gis sbyar ba yi ge pa ni dge slong dkal bzang legs bshad gyis bris pa/ dza yantu// //

**2.1. AGVAN DORŽIEV: SUPPLICATION AND OFFERING TO THE LORD OF THE HOLY PLACE OF THE HIGH HILL U'LIRTE CALLED 'ONE WITH WHITE HORSE' IN THE PROXIMITY OF THE GREAT MONASTERY OF AGA; DECHEN LHUNDUBLING**

a go'i dgon sde chen po sde chen lhun grub gling gi nye 'dabs sa 'dzin mthon po u lhun thu'i gnas bdag chen po lha chen rta dkar gyi gsol mchod bzhugs so//

(1b) om swa sti/ khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang dngos bla ma mchog /yi dam lha tshogs rgyal ba sras bcas dang// bstan pa rin chen bsrung zhiḡ skyong mdzad rnams// dgon gnas sbyin bdag rtag tu shes pas skyongs/ de yang rje bdag nyid chen po 'jam mgon tsong kha chen po'i zhal nas/ gnas skabs kyi stongs 'grog bgyi ba'i ched du yul lha rnams la/ 'phrin las btsol du rung rung bar gsung mod/ 'on kyang sa gnas la lar yul lha skyes lha yin zhes 'di phyi kun gyi skyabs gnas su 'dzin pa dag kyang snang bas/ de dag ni skyabs 'gro'i brlab bya dang 'gal zhiḡ mchog gsum bla mar 'dzin pa'i skyabs 'gro gtong nyen shin tu (2a) che bas gzab pa'i gnas su nges par ma zad/ 'khor bar 'khyams pa'i nang nas yi dwags kyi rigs su yod ces dam pa rnams kyi gsung rgyun las byung ba/ gnas skabs su phan 'dogs myur 'dra yang cung zad mi dga' na gnod pa skyel bar yang mngon la/ gangs ljongs pa'i bstan pa'i gzhi bdag rnams mthu tsal che la sangs rgyas dngos kyi skyes bu dam pa rnams kyis dam grags srog snying bzhes pa bcas kyis bstan dang skye bo rnams la phan nges las gnod tsha

bas med pa dang/ de min gyi yul bdag rnam la de 'dra'i yid ches par dga' mod/ 'on kyang tshad ldan skyes bu dam pas bka' bskos dam bzhag cig yin tshe (2b) gnas skabs kyi 'grog don du blo khel rung tsam snyam mo/ 'dir dgon sde chen po bde chen lhun grub gling gi nye 'dabs sa 'dzin mthon po u lhun thu zhes pa'i gnas bdag chen po lha chen rta dkar can du grags pa de'i gsol mchod bgyi bar 'dod na/ ri de nyid kyi nye 'dabs rgyun tu mchod pa'i gnas yod na der ram/ sa gnas gtsang ma yid du 'ong ba zhig du mchod gtor yang sha chang sgog btsong sogs dang dri ngan mi gtsang ba'i rigs kyis ma gos pa dkar gsum mngar gsum dang shing thog gi rigs sogs lha chen 'khor bcas kyi dgyes pa'i yod byad dang/ gtor ma yang phyed mar rdos tshe sha bt-sos pa sogs mi gtsang ba'i khror rdos pa gtan nas mi yong ba dang/ mchod g. yogas pas lag pa dang sen bar kyi drill legs par khrus pa (3a) ma gtogs gang spyir gtsang spra med phyin yul lha dang klu rigs shin du gtsang spra che bas mi dgyes par ma zad/ khros pa'i rkyen du 'gyur nyen che ba dam pa rnam kyi bka' las byung bas mchod pa gang la 'ang gtsang spra gal che ba dang/ bsangs kyang dri zhim po'i lo ma sogs shing gi yal 'dab sogs dud pa nam mkha'i khyon gang pa lta bu rgya gang che 'gyur tsam las med pa ni dri nges 'dzin mthu yod tshe yong shas tshe/ g.yang 'gugs bgyi ba'i tshe g.yang rdzas mchod pa rnam stegs bzang po'i steng ngam mchod stan gtsang ma'i yid du 'ong bar/ bla ma yi dam sangs rgyas byang sems chos bsrung yul lha gzhi bdag rnam kyi dgyes pa'i ba dan rgyal mtshan bla bre nyer spyod rol mo la sogs ci 'byor pa legs (3b) par bshams la/ sgrub pa po rnam gdan la bzhugs/ sbyin bdag rnam la yang gzhi bdag kho nar phyag mchod ma zin par bla ma yi dam sangs rgyas byang sems chos skyong srung ma rnam gtso bor mchod yul du spyan 'dren tshul gor bcug/ gzhi bdag kho nar phyag mchod kyi skyabs 'gro'i brlab bya dang mi 'gal ba'i rgyu rkyen legs par bshad na legs shing/ skyabs 'gro sems bskyed tshad med bzhi gsal btab nges sngon du btang nas/ rang nyid dpal rdo rje 'jig byed sogs yi dam gang rigs kyi skad cig dkrod bskyed dam cho ga gsum bskyed sogs kyi rnal 'byor la gnas pa'i sgo nas/ las sngags a mṛ ta gang rigs kyi bsangs/ swa bhā was sbyangs/ stong pa'i ngang las bhrūm las rin po che'i snod (4a) yangs shing rgya che ba rnam kyi nang du om dang rang rang gi ming yig dang po thig les brgyan pa rnam zhu ba las byung ba'i lha rdzas kyi mchod pa gzugs sgra dri ro reg bya phun sum tshogs pa sa dang bar snang yongs su gang pa mgron so sor dgyes pa skyed byed kyi mchod sprin rgya mtsho chen por gyur/ om ā hūm/ lan gsum/ nam mkha' mdzod kyi phyag rgya dang/ spro na sngags drug phyag rgyas drug gi byin brlabs/ rol mo sbyangs dang bcas/ kye kye drin can rtsa rgyud bla ma yi dam dang/ phyogs bcu'i rgyal ba sras bcas bka' sdod rnam// bdag cag mchod yon rnam la brtser dgongs nas// (4b) lha lam khon gang brtan bzhugs



byin gyis rlob// 'dzam gling yangs pa'i khyon 'dir mnga' bsgyur ba'i// mthu  
ldan lha gnyan klu dang gzhi bdag dang// khyad par u lhur thu yi gnas kyi  
bdag// lha chen rta dkar can mchog 'khor bcas gshegs// rang rang dgyes pa'i  
gdan khri phun sum tshog// legs bshams so sor mnyes pa'i nyams kyi bzhugs//  
dngos grub char 'bebs bla ma yi dam dang// rgyal ba sras bcas bstan srung  
chen po'i tshogs// zag med ye shes mchod sprin rgya mtsho che// mchod do  
dgyes bzhes dngos grub char chen phobs// bsil ldan ljongs sogs chen dag byed  
pa'i// bstan (5a) skyong che sogs lha chen rnam la yang// thugs mnyes sna  
tshogs mchod sprin rgya mtsho 'bul// dgon gnas ser skya kun kyang shis pas  
skyongs// kye kye rdo rje 'chang dngos dam pa'i skyes bu yis// a ko'i yul dang  
khyad par dgon sde che// bde chen lhun grub gling gi 'dus spyi rnam// 'bral  
med sdongs grogs 'phrin las mdzad dgos su// phebs pa'i bka' yi cod pañ spyi  
por bcings// lha chen khyod nyid chu 'dzin rab g.yo 'dra// cang shes la chibs  
dar zab gos kyis mdzes// kun la bshes pa'i rnam 'gyur 'dzum zhal ldan// dgyes  
pa'i nyams ldan rnam bzhi'i 'phrin las la// nyer (5b) mkho'i phyag mtshan ma  
nges pa yang bsnams// thugs la bzhed 'phral mkha' lding la yang chibs// ma  
nges sna tshogs rnam 'gyur ston mdzad pa// g.yel med 'phrin las 'grub pa'i  
lha chen dang// rab mdzes gsang ba'i btsun mo sras dang bcas// bka' nyan  
blon po 'khor tshogs rgya mtsho la// gting nge 'dzin dang sngags kyi mthu  
dpal las// byin gyis brlabs pa'i mchod tshogs sprin ltar spungs// bdag cag kun  
nas mos 'dun rtse cgig gis// 'bul lo zhus pa'i ngo bo dgyes bzhes gsol// om rab  
'bar rin chen las 'grub snod yangs su// rab gtsang lha yi dag byed mchod zhabs  
bsil// rab mdzas (6a) lha yi me tog sna tshogs dang// rab tu dri zhim 'thul ba  
sprin ltar dkrigs// rab gsal 'od 'bar snang gsal chen po dang// rab bsil bde ster  
ga bur tsan dan dri// rab zhim ro brgya ltan pa'i lha yi zas// rab snyan gdangs  
ldan rol mo bye brag sogs// dkar gsum mngar gsum 'bru sna'i phye zan dang//  
ri ltar rab spungs gtor ma'i tshogs chen 'di// zag med bde ster bdud rtsir byin  
brlabs te// lha chen 'khor bcas mnyes phyir 'bul lags na// dgyes bzhes tshim  
mdzad zag med bde bar rol// bzang po'i dri ltan tsan dan a ka ru// sman sna  
'bru sna bzang dgu tshogs// rab tu bsres (6b) pa'i bsangs kyi dud pa che// sa  
dang bar snang khyon yangs rab gang dang// mdzes pa'i rgyan mchog gdan  
khri bzang po dang// rin chen bdun dang bkra shis rtags rdzas bcas// zhon  
pa'i chibs bzang 'o ma'i rgyun 'dzin glang// bal gyi mdzod phyug ra dang lug  
la sogs// sra ba'i go khrab rno dngar mdung dang gri// sa la rgyu ba'i ri dwags  
mkha' lding bya// thugs la mkho dgu'i yo byad ma tshang med// bdag cag ri  
'dun sems kyis 'bul lags na// yid la bsam pa'i don kun grub tu gsol// bshags  
pa ni/ kye kye sa rkos rdo rlog thab gzhobs la sogs dang// shing gnyan bcad  
dang chu gnyan krugs pa dang// lha chen (7a) 'khor bcas bdag byed yi dwags  
bshor// thugs dang mi mthun bya ba mthol lo bshags// lha chen 'khor bcas



thugs dang mi bstun ba// las dang bya ba gang byed mchis pa'i tshe// di dag  
 kun la bzod bzhes mi ltod cing// dgongs bzhed dwangs pa cis kyang mdzad  
 du gsol// bstod pa ni/ kye kye sngon nas mthu ldan thugs bskeyed smon lam  
 gyis// 'dir gnas dgon chen sbyin pa'i bdag po bcas// skyong par chas pa mthu  
 stobs 'bar ba'i lha// nyi zlar 'gran pa'i gzi brjid ldan la bstod// sum rtsen bdag  
 por 'gran pa'i mnga' thang rgyas// (7b) bsam pa'i don rnams 'grub la yid bzhin  
 nor// bcol ba'i las 'grub glog phreng 'phyug (khyug) ltar myur// lha chen 'khor  
 dang bcas pa snying nas bstod// ri dbang lhun po lta bur rab brtan ngos//  
 rang cag a ko'i skye bo gling bzhi yi// mi mthun rgud pa'i mun sel nyi zla ltar//  
 mthu tsal rab rgyas lha chen 'khor bcas bstod// 'phrin bcol ni/ mnyam med  
 thub pa'i bstan dang de'i snying 'jam mgon ring lugs mi nyams dar rgyas  
 dang// bstan 'dzin skyes bu dam pa bzhabz brtan cing// dge 'dun sde 'di thugs  
 mthun khrims gtsang zhing// bshad sgrub dar rgyas mthun rkyen (8a) lhun  
 gyis sgrubs// rang cag a ko'i skye bo thams cad la// nad rims mu ge mi mt-  
 hun rgud pa zhi// mthun rkyen legs tshogs yar ngo'i zlar 'gran mdzod// bskul  
 ba ni/ kye kye lha chen 'khor bcas zhu 'bul snyan gtod mdzod// rang cag a ko'i  
 dgon sde ser skya kun// gnod byed rgun 'jag phan tshun dgra 'phen bcug//  
 'thab rtsod 'khrugs slong phyugs kyi god kha dang// rims nad gtod dang bsam  
 don 'grub la gnod// sad ser than pa a tsha tshags pa dang// sna tshogs chad  
 gtong blo bur rgud skyil dag phyi nang gnod med ming med zhi bar mdzod//  
 / g.yang 'gugs ni/ kye kye mnyam med (8b) ston pa'i ngo mtshar bcas pa la//  
 nam yang mi 'da' rnam dag khrims kyis mdzes// nam yang thos pa'i ma ni ka  
 yis phyug// 'phags tshogs dge 'dun rgyas pa'i phywa g.yang byon// dge ba bcu  
 yi lam la rab gnas shing// drang zhing gzu bo'i blo yis rab phyug pa// chos  
 srid bya ba kun la rab mkhas pa'i// dad ldan skye bo'i phywa g.yang rab tu  
 khug// skye bo kun la mkho dgu'i 'dod 'jo ba// sa le spram dang rin chen  
 gnyis pa sogs// skabs gsum sna tshogs nor bu'i bang mdzod la// 'gran pa'i  
 phywa dang g.yang du dar khug cig// myur dang mgyogs pa'i cang shes rta  
 mchog dang// 'dod 'jo'i ba dang khyug mchog la sogs pa'i// (9a) theg pa'i  
 shugs ldan rnga mong g.yang dkar lug// rkang bzhi nor phyugs g.yang du dar  
 khug cig// steng gi lha yi dpal 'byor phun tshogs dang// 'og gi klu rgyal nor  
 bu'i bang mdzod dang// bar gyi 'khor bsgyur sogs kyi mnga' thang bcas//  
 phun sum tshogs pa'i phywa g.yang khug par mdzod// bzod gsol ni// mi shes  
 dbang gis cho ga chad lhag pa'i// mchod pa'i rdzas rnams mi gtsang ma tshang  
 ba// mos stobs zhan pa'i dbang ri byung ba'i rigs// mgron rnams kun gyi spy-  
 an sngar bzod par gsol// bshegs gsol ni/ 'jig rten 'das dang ma 'das mgron  
 rnams dang// khyad par rang cag dpung gnyen (9b) dam par bstur (? bstar)//  
 lha chen 'khor bcas rang rang gnas su gshegs// slar yang sbyon tshe thogs  
 med byon par mdzod// shis brjod ni/ dngos grub gter gyur bla ma yi dam



dang// rgyal ba sras bcas bstan bsrung chen po'i tshogs// mthu stobs mnga'  
bdag lha chen 'khor bcas la// mthu las bkra shis phyogs kun khyab gyur cig//  
ces pa 'di yang yul ljongs a ko'i dgon sde chen po bde chen lhun grub gling  
gi sa gnas kyi bdag po lha chen chibs dkar can du grags pa'i gsol mchod rg-  
yas pa zhig bgyi zhes sde snod 'dzin pa'i bshes gnyen chen po bka' ba bcu ba'i  
nad don mthar son pa zla ba 'od zer nas bskul ma mdzad par// gzhung lugs  
spyi dang khyad par cho ga phyag (10a) len la rgyus med rmongs rgan wa  
gintra'i ming can gyis dam pa rnams kyi mdzad pa'i gsol mchod rnams nas  
snga phyis 'brel med du bris khul byas so// //dge legs 'phel// //

**3.1. IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: PROPITIATION AND  
CONFESSION TO THE GREAT DEITY JOYFUL GROVE**

lha chen dga' tshal gyi bskang bshags bzhugs so//  
(1b) na mo gu ru bhai ra wa ya/ de la 'dir yul gyi gzhi bdag chen po lha chen  
dga' tshal gyi bskang bshags nyams su len par 'dod pas/ bsang rdyas mchod  
gtor/ gser skyems rnga rol sogs gang dgos kyi yo byad mtha' dag ma tshang  
ba med pa tshags su tshud pa byas pa/ skyabs 'gro sems bskyed tshad med  
bzhi bsgoms pa rnams sngon du btang/ rang yi dam gang yang rung pa'i nga  
rgyal la gnas pa'i sgo nas/ om badzra a mri ta kun ta li ha na ha na hūm phat/  
(2a) stong par sbyangs/ stong pa'i ngang las bsang rdzas rnams kyi rang rang  
gi ming yig dang po thig les brgyan pa zhu ba las byung pa'i bla ma yi dam  
chos srung spyi dang khyad par du gzhi bdag chen po lha chen dga' tshal  
'khor dang bcas pa rnams mnyes par byed pa'i dam rdzas spyang gziags mchod  
pa'i bye brag bsam gyis mi khyab pa zhig/ bla ma yi dam chos skyong spyi  
dang khyed par du gzhi bdag chen po lha chen dga' tshal 'khor dang bcas pa  
rnams kyi spyang lam du 'byung zhing rgyas par gyur/ om sarba bid spu ru  
spu ru sogs sngags drug (2b) phyag rgya drug bden stobs dang bcas yongs  
grags ltar brjod/ rang gi mdun du spangs ljongs nags tshal dang me tog sna  
tshogs kyi mngon par mdzes pa'i sa gzhi yangs shing rgya che ba// lag mthil  
ltar khod mnyam zhing// mtsho dar rdzings pu ne'u seng du mas brgyan pa'i  
dbus su lhun po lta bur mtho zhing brjid chags pa phyi sa 'dzin dbang po'i  
rnam pa can gyi nang du rin po che sna tshogs las grub pa'i gzhai med khang  
ba mdzes shing yid du 'ong pa lha mi'i dpal 'byor dpag du med pa'i mdzod  
kyis legs par gtam pa'i dbus su gzhi bdag (3a) chen po lha chen dga' tshal sku  
mdog zla shel gyi lhun po la/ nyin byed stong gi 'od kyi 'khyur pa ltar mchog  
tu mdzes shing gar gyi nyams dang ldan pa/ zhal gcig phyag gnyis pa/ phy-  
ag g.yas dar mdung ring po brnams shing/ nor bu'i sga sraab kyi spras pa rta  
mchog ngang ser rlung gi shugs can gyi steng na 'gying pa/ de'i 'khor du bkra



shis 'ung dar dang 'dzur khe sogs yul phyogs 'di'i ri lung thang (3b) gsum la gnas pa'i sa bdag lha klu gnyan btsan sogs pho nya las byed kyi 'khor tshogs gnam sa bar snang gi khyon thams cad yongs su gang pa'i tshogs kyis bskor par gyur/ rang lhar gsal ba'i thugs ka'i sa bon las 'od zer lcags kyu lta bur 'phros pas ngo mtshar sprul ba'i pho brang nas gzhi bdag chen po lha chen dga' tshal 'khor dang bcas pa badzra am ku sha dzaḥ / gnyis su med par gyur/ (4a) hūm 'dzam gling grub dbang yongs kyi 'khor bsgyur che// mtsho skyes rdo rje rgyal ba tsong kha pa// ngur smrig rnam rol bskal bzang mtshan can rje'i// bka' dang dam tshig gnyan po nyer dgongs la// rab mdzes lhun sdug sa 'dzin la gnas pa'i// ngo mtshar sprul ba'i pho brang yangs pa nas// gzhi bdag chen po lha chen dga' ba'i tshal// myur mgyogs rdzu 'phrul 'gros kyis gshegs su gsol// bkra shis (4b) g.yang chags yul ljongs nyams dga' ba'i// ri lung thang gsum spangs ljongs nyin srib dang// brag mtsho rdzings bu sogs la rab gnas pa'i// 'khor dang bcas pa gnas 'dir bshegs su gsol// pho nya las byed sprul pa yang sprul bcas// bsang dang mchod pa'i mgron du byon nas kyang// rang rang dgyes pa'i rin chen gdan khri la// rnal 'byor 'phrin las sgrub phyir brtan par bzhugs// (5b) dngos bshams yid kyi sprul ba las byung ba'i// bkor legs mchod yon nam mkha' khyon gengs pa// lha chen dga' tshal 'khor dang bcas la 'bul// bzhes nas 'doddon grub pa'i 'phrin las mdzod// om bhu mi pa ti sa pā ri wā ra argham pra ti swā hā/ de bzhin du shapta'i bar gyis mchod la/ rkang thung khrod du yongs 'dus ljon pa dang// rgyu skar dbus su gnyis (6a) skyes dbang po ltar// bdag cag 'phrin las grub pa'i lha srung nas// zla ltar 'phags pa'i mgon por bdag stod do// zhes sogs kyis mchod bstod bya/ bshags pa bya ba ni/ rang gi thugs ka'i sa bon las 'od zer 'phros pas// rdo rje gsum gyi lha tshogs spyang drangs pa mgron rnams kyi spyi bor byon pa'i thugs ka'i sngags phreng las 'od dang bdud rtsi'i rgyn babs pas mgron rnams kyi thogs med (6b) nas bsags pa'i sdig sgrib nyes ltung spyi dang khyad par du 'gro ba yongs la gnod cing 'tshe bar byed pa'i gnod 'gal log sgrub kyi bsam sbyor ngan pa rnams lhag med du dag par gyur bar bsam la yig brgya bdun nam nyer gcig sogs brjod/ hūm bslu med gtan gyi skyabs gcig bla ma dang// dbyer med yi dam lha tshogs chos srung bcas// rnal 'byor bdag cag bsrung zhing skyong mdzad pa'i// (7a) dgra lha chen po 'khor bcas dgongs su gsol// dreg pa'i lha klu btsan gyis gnas bcas pa'i// sa gnyan slog cing shing gnyan gcod pa dang// chu gnyan dkrugs shing mi gtsang gzhom 'thul sogs// sgo gsum bag med dbang gyur nyes pa'i tshogs// mtha' dag bsam pa thag pas mthol shing bshags// bskang rdzas ni/ hūm rigs sngags ting 'dzin rgya mtsho (7b) las byung ba'i// sna tshogs mchod pa'i 'dzym rlabs 'bum spro bas// rnal 'byor dgra lha chen po 'khor dang bcas// zag med bde ba'i dpal la spyod gyur cig// bdud rtsi'i mchod yon zhabs bsil me tog phreng// dri zhim bdug spos snang gsal mar



me dri// lha mi'i zhal zas snyan brjid rol mo 'dis// lha chen dga' tshal chen po'i thugs dam bskang// rnam mang 'khor tshogs rgya mtsho'i thugs dam bskang// thugs dam (8a) gnyom po dbyings su skangs gyur nas// las bzhi'i 'phrin las gegs med 'grub par mdzod// 'dod yon rnam lnga bkra shis rdzas rtags brgyad// phyi nang mchod pa'i khyad par 'byam klas pa// sbyangs rtogs sbar byas mchod tshogs rgya che pas// srid zhi'i khyon kun yongs su kang ba 'dis// lha chen dga' tshal xxx/ ga bur a kar tsan dan dkar dmar sogs// sna tshogs sman dang bza' bca' (8b) btung ba'i rigs// lha shug me lcer bsregs pa'i bsang mchod kyi// dud sprin baidürya yi mdangs chags pas// lha chen dga' tshal xxx/ sra mkhregs rdo rje'i go khrab mda' mdung gzhu// bse rmog sag lham rin chen nor zhong dang// nor bu'i sga srab yid 'phrog cang shes rta// dpa' bo'i chas kun ma tshang med pa 'dis// lha chen dga' tshal xxx/ ri dwags dbang po lus bkra 'dab bzang gtso// gnyis 'thung 'brong (9a) g.yag ra lug nor skyong sogs// gcan gzan ri dwags gnag phyug 'dab chags khyus// 'dzin ma'i bzhin ras kun nas bsgrigs pa 'dis// lha chen dga' tshal xxx/nor bu mu tig mu men arga spugs// rdo rje byu ru gser dngul zangs lcags dar// rab mdzes dar zab 'bru sna rnam mang po// gangga'i rdul gyi grangs la co 'dri pas// lha chen dga' tshal xxx/ ri brag nags tshal spangs ljongs mtsho mtshe'u// rin chen khang bzang ra ba 'khor yug bcas// lha mi'i dpal 'byor khyad (9b) 'phags du ma yis// byur pur gtams pa'i char sprin mtha' yas pa// lha chen dga' tshal chen po'i thugs dam bskang// rnam mang 'khor tshogs rgya mtsho'i thugs dam bskang// thugs dam gnyam (mnyen) po dbyings su bskangs gyur nas// las bzhi'i 'phrin las gegs med 'grub par mdzod/ mtshams 'dir gzhi bdag gtor ma bsngo/ bstod pa bya ba ni/ hūm spros bral chos dbyings sngo bsangs phang ba ru// mthu stobs nus pa'i dkyil 'khor (10a) yongs su rdzogs// 'phrin las 'od dkar dra ba stong bgyid pa// lha chen mtshan mo'i nor bur bdag bstod do// lha gnyan du ma'i ral pa'i do ker rtser// gang gi zhabs skyes punda ri ka'i phreng// dogs pa med par rtag tu ngal bso pa// lha chen mtho risngon po khyod la bstod// sna tshogs sprul pa'i rlabs (10b) phreng rab g.yo bas// sgrub pa po la nor gyi mchog ster ba// lha chen dga' tshal chen por bdag bstod do// mdzes sdug rin chen brtsegs pa'i lhun po'i spor// snang gter stong gi rtse dga' rgod pa lta'i// brjid chags dga' tshal ston zla'i mdangs 'dzin pa// lha chen chos kyi sku la bdag bstod do// gsung gi nga ro cha shas phra mo ris// 'bum phrag gdong lnga'i (11a) dbang po'i gad rgyangs gis// sgrub tu med pa'i tshangs dbyangs bsgrag tsam gyis// ma rung bdud snying tshal pa rgyar 'gas pa'i// lha chen khod kyi gsung la bdag bstod do// byams brtse'i chu 'dzin 'khrigs pa'i klong yangs por// chad med 'phrin las bzhi yi bdud rtsi'i char// skal bzang 'gro rgyud do rar 'bebs mdzad pa// lha chen dgra 'dul dbang (11b) por bdag bstod do// zhes sogs kyis mchod bstod bya/ bshags pa bya ba ni/ rang gi thugs



ka'i sa bon las 'od zer 'phros pas// rdo rje gsum gyi lha tshogs spyan drangs  
 ba mgron rnams kyi bor byon pa'i thugs ka'i sngags phreng las 'od dang bdud  
 brtsi'i rgyun babs pas mgron rnams kyi thogs med nas bsags pa'i sdig sgrib  
 nyes ltang spyi dang khyad par du 'gro ba yongs la gnod cing tshe bar byed  
 pa'i gnod 'gal log sgrub kyi bsam (12a) par mdzod// rang chags 'dren pa sky-  
 abs gcig mtshugs med rje'i// zhabs zur rdo rje'i khams ltar brtan pa'i ngos//  
 gsang gsum mdzad 'phrin mtha' bral chos dbyings dang// mnyam pa'i dge  
 mtshan bzang pos sa khyab mdzod// khyad par bde chen lhun grub gling  
 chen por// blo gsal dran dbang bye pas yongs bkang ste// bshad sgrub bstan  
 pa'i bya ba mi nyams shing// 'chad nyan dbyar mtsho (12b) bzhin du rgyas  
 par mdzod// yul ljongs 'dir yang nad mug 'khrug slong dang// sad ser btsa'  
 than dgra jag chom rkun bral// ngo mtshar snod bcud mtho ris la 'khu ba'i//  
 sde bzhi'i dpal 'byor ches cher rgyas par mdzod// nyes pa med par snang pa'i  
 dgrar rlom zhing// gnod cing 'tshe pa'i gdon bgegs dbung tshogs kun// lha  
 chen chos kyi zas su gtang lags pas// (13a) mtha' dag rdul phran bzhin du br-  
 lag par mdzod// mdor na bdag cag yon mchod 'khor bcas rnams// dus kun  
 dge ba'i bsrung skyob ma g.yel par// chos dang srid gyi 'dod don ma lus pa//  
 gegs med lhun gyi grub pa'i sdongs grogs mdzod// hūm mthun pa'i dngos  
 grub ma lus pa/ nas/ bdag la rtal du gsol// sogs kyi 'dod gsol dang/ sngo ba  
 smon lam gyis mtha' brgyan par bya'o/ zhes pa 'di ni dad ldan dge slong  
 mkhas grub dang/ khyim bdag tshe brtan/ bkra shis tshe ring (13b) gsum gyis  
 thun mong nas bskul ngor/ chos smra pa'i btsun pa/ bskal bzang thub bstan  
 dbang phyg gis dben gnas bkra shis dge 'phel ri khrod du sbyar pa'i yi ge pa  
 ni dge tshul bsam gtan rgya mtsho// dge legs 'phel// bco lnga'i rgyal ba zhes  
 pho shing rta lo'i zla ba bcu'i tshes bcu gsum nyin bkra shis 'khyil rgyis/ o ru  
 sa'i gcig stong brgya brgyad dgu bcu bzhi lo'o//

### 3.2. IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: PROPITIATION AND CONFESSION TO THE DEITY HIGH AUSPICIOUS ONE

bkra shis ong dar gyi bskang bshags bzhugs so//  
 (1b) lha gnyan chen po bkra shis ong dar gyi bskang bshags nyams su len par  
 'dod pas/ skyabs sems tshad med bcas sngon du btang nas/ rang lha'i nga rgyal  
 la gnas pa'i sgo nas bskang bshags byin rlabs sogs spyi 'gro ltar byas la 'di ltar/  
 kye kye dge mtshan bcu dang ldan pa'i nor 'dzin gzhir// lhun sdug brjid chags  
 yid ,ong sa ,dzin la// gnas bcas dkar phyogs skyong pa'i mthu bo che// bkra  
 shis ong dar 'khor bcas da tshur byon// (2a) mdun 'ja' ser gur khyim phibs  
 pa'i dbus// bkor legs rin chen dam pa'i gzhal yas su// mtshar sdug 'od 'bar nor  
 bu'i khri 'phang rtser// dgyes pa'i gzi mdangs lham mer brtan par bzhugs//

zhes pas spyan drangs la bskang bshags ni/ rmongs ba'i bran du gyur bas sgro  
 gsum gyi// bag med bya spyod thugs dang 'gal bgyi pa// ji snyed mchis kun  
 nongs 'gyod drag po yis// bshags par bgyid do byang bar mdzad du gsol// bde  
 stong (2b) ting 'dzin stobs las byung pa yis// dngos bshams yid sprul mchod  
 gtor spyan gzigs tshogs// lha mi'i longs spyod ma tshan ba med pa 'dis// lha  
 gnyan chen po 'khor bcas thugs dam bskang// yid 'phrog rin chen yol gor  
 stong phrag nang// 'bras chang rgun chang ja phud btung ba'i rigs// chu gter  
 la 'gran gtsang ma'i gser skyems 'dis// lha gnyan chen po 'khor bcas thugs dam  
 bskang// bza' bca' 'bru sman (3a) gos dar gser dngul sogs// ri ltar spungs pa'i  
 rgya chen bsang mchod dang// cang shes sga srag dpa' po'i chas kun gyis//  
 lha gnyan chen po 'khor bcas thugs dam bskang// bzlogs pa dang bstod pa  
 'phrin bcol ba ni/ lha chen 'khor dang bcas pas bdag cag la// nad rims gdon  
 bgegs rbad 'dre rbod gtor bzlog// sgegs rigs mthu byad ngan sngags chag  
 sgo bzlog// mdor na mi mthun rkyen ngan thams cad bzlog/ (3b) sprin dkar  
 mdog dkar gsal phyag g.yas nor bu 'bar// g.yon pas mu tig phreng ba rgyan  
 ldan 'dren// sgeg ldn lang tsho 'bar ba'i sku la bstod// zhi 'dzum nyams ldan  
 yid 'ong zhal gyi skor// snyan 'jebs sbyangs kyis dam ldan dbugs 'byin zhing//  
 drag ngag nga ros bdud snying tshal ba brgyad// 'gas byed 'brug stong sdar  
 ba'i gsung la bstod// sprul ba yang sprul glog gi rol rtse dang// 'grogs (4a)  
 ba'i byams brtse'i chu 'dzin phung po las// mkho dgu'i dngos grub sprang  
 char 'bebs mdzad pa'i// dpal ldan bkra shis ong dar thugs la bstod// sngon  
 tshe gsang bdag padma sam bha wa// blo bzang rgyal ba gnyis pa'i spyan  
 snga ru// khas blangs dam bca' gnyan po nyer dgongs la// thub bstan phyogs  
 bcur dar zhing rgyas par mdzod// dge ldan ring lugs yid bzhin rgya mtsho'i  
 dogs// bshad sgrub mgrin pa'i rdza rnga 'khol ba yis// bstan dang (4b) 'gro  
 ba'i phan bde'i pad tshal ches// yangs pa'i yul gru kun tu khyab par mdzod//  
 bdag cag yon mchod mi nor bcas pa la// nye par 'tshe ba'i dgra bgegs tshar  
 tshar la// tshe ring nad med gnas skabs mthar thug gi// re 'bras ma lus chos  
 bzhin 'grub par mdzod// de nas mgron rnams rang gnas su bshegs par mos  
 la bsngo smon dang shis brjod kyis mtha' brgyan par bya'o// zhes lha gnyan  
 chen po bkra shis ong dar gyi gtor chog 'di lta bu dgos zhes bo rar phyogs  
 kyi dgon pa bde chen lhun grub gling gi sman pa (5a) grwa tshang gi khri  
 las thog pa bka' bcu chos grags dang/ dpon ta tshe ring bkra shis/ dad ldan  
 mgon po rnam rgyal badzra rnams kyis dngul srang nyer lnga bkra shis pa'i  
 lha dar bcas bskul ngor chos smra ba'i btsun pa skal bzang thub bstan dbang  
 phyug gi sbyar ba'o// manga lam

na mo gu ru ratna ya// 'dir rang gzhan gyi don du mchog dman gyi mgron  
 la gtor ma dang gser skyems dang/ bsangs sogs gtong skabs 'dod don dmigs

gsal can sbyar bar 'dod na// bla ma yi dam dkon mchog gsum gyi byin rlabs  
dang// mkha' 'gro (5b) chos skyong srung ma'i 'phrin las dang// lha klu gzhi  
bdag rnam ki mthu stobs dang// 'di ltar mchod spyin bgyis pa'i rten 'brel  
mthus// zhes pa 'di thams cad ki thog mar sbyar nas/ char 'bebs lta bu la//  
rtsi bcud lo tog gsos gyur char ki rgyun// 'babs la gdon bgegs 'byung po'i  
bar gcod sogs// nye bar zhi zhing sprin phun 'thor byed pa'i// mi mthun drag  
po'i rlung rnam mi ldang bar// mthun pa'i rlung gi phyogs (6a) bzhi tshams  
brgyad nas// char byi sprin rnam bsdus te lang long 'khrigs// 'brug sgra  
dal bur rgod cing glog rnam rtse// ri bo thams cad na bun gos kyis klubs//  
char rgyun bzang po dal gyis snyoms par babs// ri klung rmos zhing thams  
cad brlan cing gsher// lo tog 'bras bu rtsi sman thams cad rgyas// skye rgu  
bde skyid glu gar rtsen gyur cig// zhes sbyar/ 'di yang nyer mkho'i yan lag tu  
dharma badzra gyis shar mar sbel ba// manga lam//



2. Phuntshog deity with depiction of IV. Jamyang Zhepa above him. Aga monastery, 2000.