

Mongolica Pragensia '07
SIVE
Folia Linguarum Orientis Selecta (FLOS)



MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '07
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Orientis selecta (FLOS)**



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Preface

This year *Mongolica Pragensia* starts to appear as a regular journal. We have been bringing out *Mongolica* regularly every year since 2002 with international participation, in particular with the participation of colleagues from Mongolia, and it appears to us that the time has come to make it a regular periodical publication.

So far the contributions have not only dealt with Mongolian linguistics in the narrower sense of the word, such as colloquial Mongolian in communication or other Mongolian dialects. They have also dealt with many other topics. The topics have ranged from Mongolian language planning and historical comparison between Mongolian (or rather Altaic) and Dravidian in India, to the languages of the broader Central Asiatic area, including Manchu-Tungus languages (in particular Sibe) and also Tibetan. We feel that it would be interesting and mutually inspiring if the more general aspects, i.e. ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics and culture, could also be discussed in the context of the material from languages of other regions of Asia (as the added subtitle suggests).

The papers included in this volume continue the discussion of topics already dealt with in the previous issues. Besides concrete new pieces of knowledge that the papers offer with regard to the respective topics, they also touch upon, directly or indirectly, the relevant conceptual and theoretical interpretations. We will therefore be pleased to offer space to colleagues interested in similar general problems as they are reflected in other Asian languages.

Editors-in-chief

The morphology of spatialials in Manchu and Sibe in comparison with Mongolian

Veronika Zikmundová

Summary: This text focuses on one subgroup inside the nominal expressions of Manchu and Mongolian which contains expressions used to describe space relationships. These expressions have been previously analyzed for Mongolian and found to be morphologically distinct from other nominal expressions. A comparison with Manchu and Sibe reveals strong resemblances in the spatial systems of the two languages, and, moreover, a significant number of etymological connections and material correspondences.

0. Introduction

In recent years various aspects of spatial orientation among the peoples of Inner Asia have been studied in greater detail.¹ The aim of this paper is to point out several common features in the system of spatialials in Manchu and Mongolian. The Manchu material analysed here consists of literary Manchu materials extracted from Manchu and Sibe written texts, while the oral form of the language is represented by spoken Sibe materials which I have collected during my previous fieldwork among the Sibe speakers in AP Xinjiang. For the present comparison the written and oral forms of the language are equally important – while literary Manchu allows a relatively deep diachronical analysis, some features in the spoken language bear testimony to contacts between Manchu and Mongolian speakers, which are not traceable in the literary language. The description of the Mongol system of spatialials is based on two works concerning this subject – the description of the spatial system of Chahar Mongol dialect by Sechenbaatar (2003) and the article about spatial orientation in Mongolian by Kapišovská (2003).

The term spatialials has been introduced by B. Sechenbaatar (2003, pp. 81–82) to designate a group of expressions in Mongolian which used to be, in the traditional grammars, classified most often as adverbs. This group of expres-

1) Cf. e.g. Kapišovská 2003 and *Études Mongoles et Sibériennes, Centralasiatiques et Tibétaines* 2005–2006. For the transcription of spoken Sibe I use the system which was specified in Mongolica Pragensia '02, p.129, Note 1.

sions possesses a special set of suffixes, which are by their character close to the nominal case suffixes, but materially distinct from them. Sechenbaatar's classification perfectly solves the question of how to classify this particular group. In Manchu, both written and spoken, there is a similar group of expressions with analogical behaviour and even some material correspondences.

In written Manchu and spoken Sibe, as in Mongolian, this nominal subclass is characterized by a limited number of roots and a special set of suffixes, which is used for the expression of space relationships. In both languages one part of the spatial is also used figuratively to express time relationships.

Spatials are morphologically nouns and they may be found in all syntactical positions that are occupied by nouns, including the position of adverbials. In fact, their most frequent functions are those of attributes and adverbials.

In all the analysed idioms, one part of the originally flective suffixes tends to behave as derivational suffixes, often forming stems to which common nominal case suffixes are added. These features, together with the defectivity of the paradigm, present a picture of an archaic, now only partly productive system.

To analyse the Manchu-Sibe spatial system we have to turn first to written Manchu:

1. The spatial system in written Manchu

The spatial roots in written Manchu

The main roots, to which this set of suffixes may be attached to form spatial expressions, are:

am(a) – *north, back*

ju- *south, front*

wa – *downwards, east*

we- *upwards,*

de – *above, west*

feji – *below, down*

do – *inside*

ča – *behind, further*

tu- *out(side)*

To these may be tentatively added the vicarious roots **e-** and **te-** with variants **u-/tu-**, whose careful examination may reveal some morphological features close to spatial. These roots might be old spatial roots which have lost their spatial functions together with their specific morphological behaviour, but occur in some petrified derivatives as **e-re** and **te-re**.

Some of these roots are found as roots of verbs with the meaning of 'movement in a particular direction'. The derivational verbal suffix is **-si/-ci**.

do-si- *enter*

tu-ci- *go out*

wa-si- *descend*

we-si- *ascend*

With regard to the general meaning, another word could probably be added to the above group, viz the verb **am-ca-** *to hunt, chase etc.*, whose meaning and verbalizing suffix are slightly different, but seem to be related.

The spatial suffixes in written Manchu

The main suffixes used with spatial are **-la³**, (**-ri**), **-rgi** and **-si**. The suffix **-r-gi** may be divided into **r+gi**, of which **-r** is possibly identical with the locative suffix **-ri** and related to the Mongolian ancient suffix **-r**, while **-gi** is related to the Mongolian (and generally Altaic) adjectivizer **-ki (h/h'** in modern Khalkha).

Below I list the combinations of roots and suffixes used in written Manchu:

Root	-la ³	-ri	-r-gi	-si
ama- <i>back, north</i>	ama-la <i>on the back(side), in the north, after</i>		ama-r-gi <i>northern</i>	ama-si <i>northwards</i>
ju- <i>front, south</i>		ju-le-ri <i>on the front side, south of...</i>	ju-le-r-gi <i>southern</i>	ju-le-si <i>southwards, to the front</i>
wa- <i>downwards, west</i>	wa-la <i>on the bottom, below</i>		wa-r-gi <i>western</i>	wa-si <i>westwards</i>
we- <i>upwards</i>				we-si <i>eastwards</i>

Root	-la ³	-ri	-r-gi	-si
<i>de-</i> above	de-le above	de-le-ri above	de-r-gi of top, upper	de-le-si, de-si upwards
<i>do-</i> inside	do-lo in	do-lo-ri inside	do-r-gi inner	do-si inwards
<i>tu-</i> outside	tu-le outside		tu-le-r-gi outer	
<i>oi-</i> outside	oi-lo outside	oi-lo-ri outside	oi-lo-r-gi outer	
<i>ca-</i> further	ca-la behind sth.		ca-r-gi laying behind sth.	ca-si further
<i>feji-</i> below	feji-le under, below		feje-r-gi lower, being under sth.	

Besides these forms, which are derived regularly from the roots through a set of special suffixes, we can find a number of expressions derived from secondary stems by regular case suffixes. The stems are petrified spatial forms and the suffixes attached to them are all the basic case suffixes (*-i*, *-be*, *-de*, *-ci* in written Manchu texts and *-deri* in the Sibe written texts). In most cases the stems behaving in this way formed by the suffix *-r-gi*.

Examples of expressions formed in this way, which I encountered both in Classical Manchu and Sibe written texts, are:

Genitive: amala-i (temp.) of the later (one)

Dative-locative: amargi-de in the north, on the northern side etc., jülargi-de in front, on the front/southern side etc., tülargi-de outside, dorgi-de inside
dele-de above

Ablative -ci (written Manchu): dergi-ci from above, dorgi-ci from inside

Ablative -deri (written Sibe): tülargi-deri from outside

Accusative: dorgi-be the inside (Acc)

1.3 MEANING AND USE OF THE MANCHU SPATIAL SUFFIXES:

The meaning of the spatial suffixes, though somewhat ill-defined, can be roughly characterized as locational (*-la³*, *-ri*), directional (*-si*) and attributive (*-r-gi*). In the Manchu sentence structure the spatial function mostly as determinants of verbs (*-la³*, *-ri*, *-si*) or as attributes of nouns (*-r-gi*).

A note should be made at this point about using the term 'postposition' for the Altaic languages. As the term itself suggests, it is regarded as a counterpart

to prepositions in Indo-European languages. But while in the latter the prepositions are morphologically distinct from adverbs, in the Altaic languages, namely in Mongolian and Manchu, the expressions regarded as postpositions are merely adverbials in a bound phrase, the whole phrase being used as an adverbial expression (e.g. **tule** *tucimbi go out*, **duka-i tule** *tucimbi go out of the gate*). Since these two cases cannot be differentiated either morphologically, or in their syntactical function (the second example being only an extended form of the first one), I prefer to avoid using the term postposition when talking about spatial in Manchu.

1.3.1 THE SUFFIX *-la*³

Forms with this suffix are used mainly as adverbials. This suffix designs static relative location (outside, inside, at the front side/back side etc.), but may be, according to the context, understood in the lative meaning as a goal of movement.

In the existing forms, the suffix *-ri* is added only to a stem extended by the suffix *-la*³

amala (**juleri amala** – *one after another*), **jule-** (petrified as a stem), **dolo in-side dele** *above*, **fejile under**, **tule outside**

(1)

age deo juwe niyalma **juleri amala** yabu-fi...
 Elder brother younger brother two person **in-front at-the-back** walk-CONV.PERF.
The two brothers were going one after another...

(2)

gaitai **alin-i fejile** emu moo saci-re jilgan-be donjimbi
 Suddenly **mountain-G. below** one wood chop-NOM.IMP. sound-ACC. hear-PRES. IMP.
Suddenly she could hear a sound of wood being cut from beneath the mountain.

(3)

yeye aifini **duka-i tule** aliya-me te-hebi
 Grandfather long-time **gate-G. outside** wait-CONV.IMP. sit-PERF.
Grandfather has already been sitting outside the gate and waiting.

(4)

baisai je-me **tule tuci-re-de** manggatar kū.
 Cabbage eat-CONV.IMP. **outside go-out-NOM.** have-difficulties-NOM.IMP-NEG.
 IMP.-DL.
Eating cabbage relieves one of problems with going out (defecating).



(5)

mini dolo gūnime wajiha.
 My *inside* think-CONV.IMP. finish-NOM.PERF.
 I (*inside*) have found it.

(6)

dele emu biraki moo sinda-habi.
 Above one rolling-pin wood put-PERF.
 Above there lies (is put) a rolling-pin.

1.3.2 THE SUFFIX -ri

The meaning and use of this suffix is virtually the same as that of the suffix *-la*³. In the attested forms it occurs only after stems extended by *la*³ (*juleri* on the front/southern side, *dolori* inside, *oilori* on the outer side).

(7)

duka i juleri emu da amba hailan bi-mbi
 Gate-G. in front one NUM. big tree be-PRES.IMP.
 In front of the gate there is a big tree.

(8)

siyan i hafan ilan chi golmin silenggi alda-bu-fi **dolori** guñi-me...
 Prefecture-G. chief three inch long slaver loose-CAUS.- *inside* think-CONV.IMP.
 CONV.PERF.
 The Prefecture governor lost a three-inch spittle and *thought for himself*...

(9)

aika hutu waka oci mini **juleri** tuci-me jio!
 If ghost not be-COND. my in front go out-CONV.IMP. come-IMPER.
 If you are not a ghost, appear here *in front of me*.

1.3.3 THE SUFFIX -r-gi

The complex suffix *-r-gi* is probably formed by the locative *-r* and the adjectivizing suffix *-gi*, which is known from other Altaic languages, a suffix, generally speaking, having a nominalizing function.

The suffix *-r-gi* expresses also a static location, but is used mostly to determine nominal expressions. Sometimes the form with *-rgi* is followed by



a genitive suffix and therefore seems to be used instead of the expression **-rgi ba** *the place in a certain location* (Ex. 11)

amargi *northern*, **julergi** *southern*, **dorgi** *internal*, **tulergi** *external*.

(10)

mini boo oci **amargi** siyan-i **julergi** duka-i giya-de te-he.
My house become-COND. northern prefecture-G. southern gate-G. street-DL. sit-PERF.
My home is in the street of the southern gate or the northern prefecture.

(11)

duka-i julergi-i amba hailan-de doo-ha.
Gate-G. in front of-G. big tree-DL. land-NOM.PERF.
He sat on the big tree in front of the gate.

Note: Here the use of a genitive suffix (**julergi-i**) implies that the word **julergi** is used instead of **julergi ba** – *the space in front*.

(12)

abka-i **fejergi** geren hacin ucun-be bahana-mbi.
Heaven-G. below all kind song-ACC. know-PRES.IMP.
He can sing all kinds of songs which exist in the world (lit. below the Heaven).

Note: Here the genitive suffix should probably be used too, but seems to be omitted, as often happens.

(13)

bi **julergi alin-de** toro gaji-me gene-ki
I southern mountain-DL. peach bring-CONV.IMP. go-VOL.
I will go to the Southern mountains to bring the peach.

1.3.4 THE SUFFIX -si

This is a lative suffix designating exclusively the direction of movement. Therefore it is always used as a determinant of a verb.

(14)

desi wasi tuwa-ci emu huwaita-ra jaka-be baha-r-kū
Westwards Eastwards look-COND. one tie- NOM.IMP. thing-ACC. find-NOM.IMP.-NEG.
She looked in all directions, but could not find anything to tie (them).

The language equipment for orientation in space in written Manchu is completed by several expressions which lack the morphological peculiarities of

spatials. Since they form a part of the orientation system of Manchu, I list them here. These expressions are mainly the words for lateral orientation **iči** *right* and **hashū** *left*, and expressions for location in relative proximity: **dal-bade** *beside, aside, next to a* **dade** *by, near, next to*.

2. The spatial system in spoken Sibe

2.1 SPATIAL ROOTS IN SPOKEN SIBE

In the spoken Sibe language most of the roots correspond to those of written Manchu with specific phonetic changes:

am-/äm- *back, north*

ju- *front, south*

viě- *east*

de-/di- *west*

feji- *beneath, under*

dō- *inside*

čě- *over, further*

nung – *above*

The main differences from written Manchu to note are as follows:

1) The semantic field of "*above*" is fully taken over by the root **nung** (written Manchu **ninggu**), which tends to behave like a spatial (I have encountered the forms **nungś** and **nungurh** in the spoken language). The root **de-** then remains only as a designation for "*west*".

2) The expressions for East and West are, for reasons that are not sufficiently clear, used inversely: While in written Manchu **dergi** means Eastern and **wargi** means Western, in spoken Sibe the **dirh** is used for Western and **vierh** for Eastern. In Sibe written texts, moreover, the use of the two terms varies according to the consciousness of the author.

As in written Manchu, the vicarious stems **e-** and **te-** probably have a certain connection to the spatial system.

2.2 SPATIAL SUFFIXES IN SPOKEN SIBE

The system of Sibe spatial suffixes presents a slightly different picture than that of written Manchu.

1. The suffix **-rh**, apparently the oral form of the complex suffix **-r-gi**, tends to behave as a regular nominal stem, which designates a point or direction in space, and to which regular case suffixes are added, forming a locational and directional determination. This suffix has an alternative form **-lh** which occurs only with the stems **ju-** > **juLh** (Lit. Ma. **julergi**) and **äl-** > **äl'h** (Lit. Ma. **oilorgi**), which can probably be explained as a result of elision.

2. The suffixes **-la³** and **-ri** do not occur in the spoken language and are replaced in their function by the above-mentioned forms **-rh+case suffixes**. (E.g. Lit. Ma. **dukai juleri** – Si. **duKa(i) juLGHud** *in front of the gate*).

3. Unlike **-rh**, the suffix **-s'**, an oral form of **-si**, retains its productivity in the spatial system and its original function as a determinant of verbs.

4. A case of a spatial suffix proper exclusively to the spoken language is presented by the suffix **-bi**, which has probably evolved from the auxiliary word **ba** *place*. Though not unknown to written Manchu forms (e.g. **ai-bi-de** as an alternative to **ai-ba-de** or **ya-ba-de** where), only in the spoken language is it used with spatials with a degree or regularity. This suffix forms a nominal expression very close in its meaning to the forms with **-rh/lh**. It is accordingly most often used with case suffixes.

2.3 THE USE OF SIBE SPATIALS

Concerning the semantic fields of spatials, in Sibe, as in Manchu, there are two basic and related spheres of use – **relative positions** in space and the **cardinal points**.

Expressions for cardinal points

The expressions for cardinal points require several comments. While in written Manchu they are basically a regular part of the spatials, in spoken Sibe it seems reasonable to regard them separately.

The roots of the Sibe cardinal points are as follows:

ju- *south, southern side*

ämi- *north, northern side*



viě- *west*

di- *east*

The expressions for **north** and **south** are identical with the expressions for **back** and **front** respectively, while the expressions for **east** and **west** are etymologically connected with the directions **up** and **down** – the western with the root **di-** *upwards, above* and the eastern with the root **viě-** *downwards, below*. While the roots for north and south are also used for back and front, the roots for east and west have lost their original meanings and are used only for the cardinal points. As mentioned above, the meaning of the expressions for East and West is reversed as against written Manchu.

Expressions for relative positions in space

feji- *feje-* *below, under*

nung- *above*

dö- *inside*

ä- *outside*

čč- *behind, further*

2.3.1 THE SUFFIX *-rh* (*lh*) (SPATIAL NOUNS)

Expressions formed by this suffix may be designated as **spatial nouns**. Their nominal character results from the essentially attributive use of the Manchu form **-r-gi**. To the basic form of spatial nouns case suffixes are added forming either attributive expressions (genitive) or adverbial determinations (dative-locative, ablative, lative, accusative).

2.3.1.1 SPATIAL NOUNS IN THE GENITIVE

Spatial nouns in the genitive are used to determine nouns. In the spoken language the genitive often has a zero suffix.

(15)

er name da **juLh** Karen-d aLven bi-ghi.

*This grandmother just **southern** fortress-DL. duty be-PERF.*

*This old woman used to work in the **southern** fortress.*



(16)

tes=ñi ome **dirh viërh bo** bi-ghi
They=NI become-CONV.IMP. west east house be-PERF.
They were neighbors (their houses were next to each other).

(17)

taiz nungu-i baite-v bi išKa-GHi
Stage above-G. matter-AK. I arrange-PERF.
I took care about the matters on the stage (about the performance).

(18)

er yilan samen=ñi da isanj mame-i **Gale fejerg-i** am samen=ñi.
This three shaman-ŃI just Isanju mama-G. hand-0G below-G. big shaman=POS.
These three shamans are the three high shamans who help Isanju mama...

(19)

ere-i diorg-i baite-v meji aLm-bu-ki.
This-G. inside-G. matter-ACC. little tell-CONV.IMP. give-VOL.
I will explain something related to this matter.

(20)

mangin ze-gheng=da, ter **am endüri fejergi** endür=ñi.
Mangin say-NOM.PERF.II=just that big deity below-G. deity=POS.
Mangin is a deity who ranks under the high deity.

2.3.1.2 SPATIAL NOUNS WITH OTHER CASE SUFFIXES

The spatial nouns with the dative-locative, ablative, lative and accusative are used as determinations of verbs.

Spatial nouns in dative-locative

(21)

juLghu-d ämirgi-d gum bujan bi
front-DL. back-DL. all forest is.
There was a forest on all sides.

(22)

amś tave-vũ-Kũ, **ämirgi-d=ñi** hut yivaGHen bi.
Northwards look-CAUS.-NOM.IMP.-NEG. Northern-side-DL.-POS. devil ghost is.
It is not allowed to turn to the North, in the North there are evil beings.



(23)

šuda šiën fanyi geL meter hafse-i fejergi-d veile-m.
Absolutely good interpreter(Chin.) still the-same boss-PL.-G. below-DL. work-PRES.IMP.
*Even the best interpreter still only works **under the bosses**.*

Spatial nouns in the ablative

(24)

ämirgi-deri am udun da-m.
Western-side-ABL. big wind blow-PRES.IMP.
A strong wind started blowing from the West.

Spatial nouns in lative

(25)

fejergi-či ta!
Down-L. look-IMPER.
Look down!

(26)

diorgi-či te!
Inside-L. sit-IMPER.
*(Come and) sit **inside**.*

(27)

bo ämirg-i-d=ñi am bujan bi.
House north-G.DL.-POS. big forest is
*There is a large forest **north of their house**.*

(28)

mederi dörg-i-deri čiči-maK ji-ghi.
Sea inside-G.-ABL. go out-CONV.PERF come-PERF.
*She came **out of the sea**.*

(29)

erang Hūas-K nan ter kemen-d gene-me geL fejerg-i nane-v gida-m.
Thus grow-NOM. person that level-DL. go-CONV. too below-G. person-ACC. PRES.
PERF. IMP. IMP.
*Somebody who has grown in this way. When he gets to the same level, would also oppress his **subordinates**.*



2.4 THE SUFFIX -bi

(30)

erbi-d geL o-m, **terbi-d** geL o-m.
This-side-DL. still become-PRES.IMP. that-side-DL. still become-PRES.IMP.
It is possible either from this side or from that side.

(31)

juLbi-d te!
Front-side-DL. sit-IMPER.
Sit in front!

2.5 THE SUFFIX -ś

The forms derived by the suffix -ś (an oral form of -si) are adverbs by nature and are used for expressing direction of movement. In the contemporary spoken language this suffix is used only with some of the spatial roots, while others form equivalent expressions by adding the regular lative suffix -či to a spatial noun (e.g. **fejergi-či** *downwards*). The most often used forms with -ś are: **amś** *backwards/to the North*, **juś** *forwards/towards the South*, **viěś** *Westwards* **diś** *Eastwards*, **nungś** *up*, **čěś** *further*.

(32)

amś tave-vũ-Kũ.
Westwards look-CAUS.-NOM.IMP.-NEG.
It is forbidden to look to the North.

(33)

nungś ta!
Upwards look!
Look up!

(34)

śi-maK Hūaliasūn banji-mäiě, **e-deri** čěś avš banji-miě.
You-I. peace live-PRES.CONT. this-ABL. further how live-PRES.IMP.
I live in peace with you, how should I live further (=better?)

Other expressions for space relationships

Besides using the grammatically distinct expressions from the subclass of spatial, the language system of expressing space relationships is supplemented by several other nominal expressions, namely the stems **daLve-** *beside, aside, next to* and the stems for lateral orientation **iste** *right*; and **šoLGHo** *left*. The morphological properties of these stems are close to spatial.

Further we encounter more idiomatic expressions such as **da-d** (lit. *ma. dade*, lit. *In the root*) ‘*next to, beside*’ and **jaKe-d** (Lit. *Ma. jakade*, lit. *in a thing*) ‘*next to*’. The words **da** *root* and **jaK** *thing* are widely-used auxiliary expressions, and only in the form of the dative-locative do they acquire the meaning of spatial determination.

(35)

daLve-či yila!

Side-L. stand-IMPER.

Go to the side (and stand there)

(36)

daLve-či ta-mäiě.

Side-L. look-PRES.CONT.

He looks aside.

(37)

daLve-i bo=ñi yiKan bi-ghi.

Side-G. house=POS. Chinese be-PERF.

Their neighbours were Chinese.

(38)

eñi ame da-d bi=na?

Mother Father root-DL. is=QUEST.

Does she live with her parents?

(39)

duKa jaKe-d fod leike-m.

Gate thing-DL. fod hang-PRES.IMP.

Next to the gate they hang the „fod“.

Figurative description of location using the word **ba** – place

Another of the words with many auxilliary functions, and the only one whose basic meaning is connected with space, is the word **ba** *place*. Most often it expresses the meaning ‘*at sb.’s place*’ or ‘*with somebody*’.

(40)

er bitke **mim ba-d** bi.
This book my place-DL. is.
I have this book at home.

(41)

Zhonglo laohan ba-d gene-m=na?
Zhonglo old man place-DL. go-PRES.IMP.-QUEST.
Shall we go to visit Mr. Zhonglo?

2.6 TEMPORAL USE OF SPATIALS

As in many other languages, the spatial expressions are also used figuratively to describe relative positions in time. Contrary to expectations, however, we do not find the basic spatial opposition of the roots **ama-** *back, north* and **jule-** *front, south* functioning as the basic opposition in time relationships. While the root **ama-** *back, north* has shifted its meaning in a predictable way and its forms **amala** and **amasi** are used in the meaning of *after, later*, and *from then* respectively, its opposite meaning is expressed by another root, apparently a loan form Mongolic – the root **onggo-** *before, former*. Its relationship to the Mongolian root **öm-** is supported by several similar cases: Ma. **ang-ga** – Mo. **am** *mouth*, Ma. **enggemu** – Mo. **emeel** *saddle*.

In some particular expressions, however, the root **ju-** is also used with a temporal meaning, namely in the starting formula in written narratives about the past. The most frequent of these formulas are **julge-i fon-de** (Lit. *in-front-G. time-DL.*) and **julge-i erin-de** (Lit. *in-front-G. time-DL.*).

(42)

amele-i mudan ang li-m fienš-ke-de
Later-G. time mouth open-CONV.IMP. ask-NOM.PERF.-DL.
Next time, when I dared to ask...

(43)

er gum **amel** **bait**.*This all later-0G. matter.**This all happened later.*

3. The morphological structure of Mongolian spatial

The system of Mongolian spatial has been described elsewhere (Sechenbaatar, Kapišovská). I will therefore use the material found in the mentioned works and summarise the forms for comparison.

Spatial suffixes in Mongolian:

- na**⁴ (öm-nö, hoi-no, ö-r-nö, do-r-no, naa-na caa-na, ga-d-na, do-t-no, e-ne)
- š-/gš** (hoi-š, u-r-a-gš, a-r-a-gš, doo-š, dee-š, do-to-gš, ga-da-gš, naa-š, caa-š, ii-š, tii-š)
- r** (a-r, uma-r, doto-r, gada-r, doo-r, dee-r, naa-r, caa-r, te-r)
- uur** (dee-g-uur, doo-g-uur, naa-g-uur, caa-g-uur, do-t-uur, ga-d-uur öm-n-uur)

As in Manchu and Sibe, some of the suffixes (-**š**, -**uur**) may be regarded as productive within the spatial system, while the separation of the suffixes -**r** and -**na** is more or less a historical reconstruction.

Roots/stems:

- hoi-** north, back
- a-**, north, back
- u-** front, downstream
- öm-** front
- ö-** up, upstream
- do-** inside
- doo-** down, below
- dee** up, above
- ga-** outside
- naa-** here
- caa-** there, further
- e/ii** here
- te/tii** there

1.4 USE OF MONGOLIAN SPATIALS

A comparative table of spatial roots in Modern² Mongolian and Manchu (the corresponding roots are marked in bold)

	Modern Mongolian	Manchu
back, north	a- , uma- , hoi-	ama-
front, south (before)	öm- , u-	ju-, onggo-
above, upstream	dee- , ö-	de- , we- , ninggu
below, downstream	doo-, u-	fe(je)-, wa
inside	do-	do-
outside	ga-	tu-
further	caa-	ca-
here	e-/i-	e-/u- (i- inu)
there	te-	te-/tu-

5. Conclusion

5.1 MANCHU AND SIBE SPATIALS

The essential difference between written Manchu and spoken Sibe is in the shift in productivity of the spatial suffixes. While those suffixes are still partly productive in written Manchu, in the spoken language they tend to become simple derivational suffixes to which regular case suffixes are added.

The comparison of Manchu and Sibe spatials reveals a number of differences, which may as well be a result of internal developments, as residua of an earlier diversity among the Manchu dialects. In any case, the literate Sibe speakers separate unmistakably the written Manchu forms from the oral forms, using the proper literary forms such as **dele**, **dolori**, **juleri** etc. to write down the utterances **nunggud**, **dörgud**, **juLbid** respectively, while illiterate speakers are simply not aware of the existence of the literary forms.

2) Since the Manchu roots correspond phonetically more to the roots of Modern Mongolian, I do not mention Written Mongolian forms here.

5.2 MANCHU AND MONGOLIAN SPATIALS

An analogy to the Manchu verbal stems derived from spatial roots can probably be seen in the case of the Mongolian root **ga-** *outside* and the verb **gar-** *go out*.

As for the material correspondences between Mongolian and Manchu spatial suffixes, while the close relationship between the Mongolian **s'** and Manchu/Sibe **si/s'** is beyond any doubt, a brief look at the other suffixes leads to various, more cautious suggestions. As a result of the comparison between the use of the Manchu suffix **-la**³ and the Mongolian suffix **-na**⁴, it can be seen that their semantic fields are close to each other and, regarding the attested phonetical alternation **n/l**, even a material relationship is not excluded.

Comparison of the spatial roots points to numerous relationships too. Apart from the clear identity of the root **do-** for *inside* in both languages and the closeness of the Mongolian roots **uma-** and **a-** to the Manchu **ama-**, an etymological connection of the Manchu roots **wa-** below and **we-** above to the Mongolian **ö-** *upstream* and **u-** *downstream* has been correctly pointed out by Cincius (1975, p.246). While the root **de-** for above, which does not occur in spoken Sibe, is likely to be a more recent loan from Mongolic, the correspondences **we-/ö-** and **wa-/u-** point probably to some earlier and more archaic relationship.³

An interesting analysis may be attempted regarding the etymology of the Mongolian expressions for East and West, which would support Pelliot's etymology of the Mongolian pair **örnö-dorno** (Pelliot 1925, pp. 230–234):

Ma: **wa-** downwards – Mo. **u-** downstream – Mo./Ma. **de-** up, above

Ma: **we-** upwards – Mo. **ö-** upstream – Mo. **do-** down, below

Ma. **wa-** West (down), Si. **vič-** East (down) – Mo. **do-** East (down)

Ma. **de-** East (up), Si. **di-** West (up) – Mo. **ö-** West (upstream)

This comparison shows that the same logic can be found in the origin of the expressions for East and West (in both languages it would be the opposition of 'up' and 'down'), and, moreover, it would support the suggestions about the historical and cultural connection between the Sibes and the Mongols.

3) In her article on the Evenki orientation system, Alexandra Lavrillier (2006) points out the importance of the river flows. Regarding the presumably Manchurian origin of the Mongols it is possible that the orientation upon river flows played a more important role in the earlier Mongolic speaking communities than it does now (cf. Kapišovská 2003, pp. 112–116).

As is often the case, written Manchu, as a language that had been analyzed in depth and ‘unscrambled’ by the creators of the Manchu literary language in the 17th century, supplies a more transparent picture of the system than Mongolian, both literary and oral.

It is tempting to see in the system of spatial suffixes a residuum of an archaic system of cases, which was later replaced by the modern case suffixes, and survived only in this special group of expressions for orientation in space.

In any case the correspondences in spatial between Manchu and Mongolian belong to those common features in the two language groups, which are not apparent at first sight but dwell in the presumably more ancient layer of both of the language branches.

Recently published research works on the orientation systems in Inner Asia (cf. particularly *Études Mongoles et Sibériennes, Centralasiatiques et Tibétaines* 2005–6) supply rich material on the orientation phenomena within the particular ethnic groups. This material provides the necessary background and also inspiration for a broader comparative study of the linguistic and cultural aspects of the systems of orientation in the surrounding world.

Abbreviations

ABL.	ablative
ACC.	accusative
CAUS.	causative
Chin.	Chinese
COND.	converbum conditionale
CONV.IMP.	converbum imperfecti
CONV.PERF.	converbum perfecti
DL.	dative-locative
G.	genitive
I.	instrumental
IMPER.	imperative
Lit.Ma.	literary Manchu
L.	lative
Mo.	Mongolian
NEG.	negative particle
ŃI	nominal particle
NOM.IMP.	nomen imperfecti
NOM.PERF.	nomen perfecti
NUM.	numeral
PL.	plural marker
PERF.	perfective verbal form
POS.	enclitic possessive pronoun



PRES.CONT.	present continuous
PRES.IMP.	presens imperfecti
VOL.	voluntative
0G.	zero genitive

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Politeness in Hawan Mongghul

Ha Mingzong

Summary: This paper deals with politeness phenomena within the communication structure in present-day Hawan 哈湾 Mongghul. It does not attempt to encompass the whole system of politeness in Mongghul culture. Politeness in Hawan is discussed with regard to the various situations requiring special forms of politeness and the means of showing respect, while some typical examples are also provided to illustrate individual cases. It is thus not only an account of politeness phenomena as such, but also takes a look at how politeness is reflected in Mongghul language in everyday contact and conversations.

0. Introduction

Most languages possess certain ways to express respect to a collocutor. For this purpose, various means of expression are used by different languages.

In Hawan Mongghul, politeness is not reflected on the morphological level, as for example in some Indo-European languages such as Czech or French (using honorific 2nd person plural forms) or German (using honorific 3rd person plural forms), neither is there a complex structure of honorific synonyms as in e.g. Tibetan.

In this respect Hawan Mongghul also differs from Mongolian proper,¹ which uses both an honorific 2nd person plural and a system of honorific synonyms. Considering the historical relationship between Mongghul and Mongolian proper² and the lack of these honorific features in the Middle Mongol documents, they are probably a consequence of later developments

- 1) Speaking about Mongolian proper, I mean the Khalkha Mongolian dialect which I am studying currently.
- 2) According to prevailing opinion, contemporary Mongghul people are descendants of the 13th century Mongol invaders who came into the area of Amdo, though earlier Mongolic elements are not excluded. After having settled in Amdo, the contacts between the Mongghul people and the Mongols were probably only occasional, therefore differences between the two languages are usually ascribed to developments after the 13th century. Cf. also Ha Mingzong, Kevin Start (2006).

in Khalkha, namely the influence of Tibetan during the period of the introduction of Buddhism in the 17th century.

There is, however, still a complex system of politeness in Hawan Mongghul, which mainly depends on one's position in the family hierarchy. The linguistic means by which politeness is achieved are mostly lexical – using kinship terms, titles and fixed or idiomatic expressions.

In this paper I draw upon my experience as a native speaker of the language and I do so in the context of various concrete social events or everyday situations.³ I first briefly examine the grounds on which some people show respect to others in Mongghul society. Then I try to explain which linguistic forms of expression are used to show this respect. Further I analyze several examples representing different situations, which require the use of honorific terms. I also attach an index of Mongghul words appearing in this text, for which there are related words in Khalkha Mongolian.

In the course of the presentation, I make several comparisons with Tibetan and Chinese – the most influential neighbouring languages – and Mongolian, which is genetically connected with Mongghul.

1. Forms of politeness in Hawan Mongghul

1.1 GROUNDS FOR BEING TREATED RESPECTFULLY

1.1.1 GENERATION STATUS

The main reason for being treated with respect is connected with the concept of generation, which itself has roots in the ancient clan structure, to a high degree preserved among the Mongghul people. The whole clan is stratified into generations, which in theory are traceable to one ancestor. The division is patrilinear – the mother's generation is not significant. This tradition is supported by the existence of the family genealogical record book, which has been handed down for many generations and is currently complemented by the names of new born clan members.

3) This is the reason why I do not use any further references and for the most part, the paper is written in a descriptive style. I was inspired by the paper of Gu Yueguo (1990).

In the village of Hawan, there are altogether five generations in Ha Clan.⁴ We use 'generation names' in order to distinguish these generations, i.e. all the children of one generation are given the same generation name. We use Chinese names, except for our clan name, i.e. the surname Ha 哈, Man. *hā*, which is not a Chinese name, and it is also not found in the Chinese book of a Hundred Clan Names 百家姓 Man. *bǎi jiā xìng*. Ha clan people themselves retain neither a written record nor an oral tale of their family name. The names of the five Ha clan generations are:

占⁵ Man. *zhān*, to possess
 德 Man. *dé*, virtue or moral
 生 Man. *shēng*, living or life
 山 Man. *shān*, mountain
 明 Man. *míng*, brightness

The eldest of the five generations bears the common name *zhān* 占. There is currently only one person in the village who bears this generation name. And unlike the rest of the Ha Clan people in the village, he is from East Ha Clan. However, no matter whether you belong to East Ha Clan or West Ha Clan, there is originally only one name system in both Ha clans. The second eldest generation bears the name *dé* 德, which appears at the end, i.e. in third position, of one's three-word name. Generally, the word means virtue, or moral. And likewise, the third generation bears the name *shēng* 生, which appears in the middle of a full name, as in my grandfather's name Ha Shengzhang 哈生章. The fourth generation bears the name *shān* 山 or mountain, it appears at the end of a full name, as in my father's name Ha Yinshan 哈银山. And then finally comes my generation, the youngest of all in Hawan. We all have the generation name *míng* 明 or brightness, as in my name Ha Mingzong 哈明宗.

A special manner of speaking connected with the concept of generations is addressing a person from the same generation, as if he were from a higher one. Thus you would hear, especially in the presence of their children, people call their siblings 'uncles' or 'aunts' among Hawan Mongghul (generally all over the Mongghul areas as well). The same is often applied even to unfamiliar

4) The Hawan Mongghul people have moved to their present location from Huzhu in the 1930s. Hence the five generations.

5) This word in the modern Chinese language functions more frequently as a verb, it means 'to occupy, to possess'. In classical Chinese it also served as a noun and meant 'omen', or 'fortune'. People in my clan are actually not sure of the original meaning of the word, and do not tend to think about it, for it only serves as a generation name here.



people. This means that they 'put themselves in the shoes' of their children. For example, when my maternal uncle comes to my home, my mother goes out to welcome her brother and says, 'Au, *aajiu ire wuu*?'⁶ Uncle comes in and sits on the *Kang*, and mother says, 'Aajiu, *qaange uqi*!'⁷ And it is also applied by the children's grandfather's generation. They might follow their grandsons and granddaughters in calling somebody from their own generation great uncle or great aunt.

1.1.2 AGE

Unlike many other (especially western) societies age is an unspoken and important reason for receiving respect. Inside a generation it is age that determines the hierarchy. Therefore treating a person as older than oneself is considered polite, and addressing somebody by a kinship term belonging to higher age involves a polite tone. Therefore calling an unfamiliar person 'grandfather' or 'grandmother' is always respectful.

1.1.3 TEMPORARILY HIGH STATUS

At some occasions, like weddings, one person is given a special role to which a high and esteemed status is attached. Then all the other people, regardless of their age and generation, treat this person with a high degree of respect. This feature is not only typical of Mongghul people, but also exists in Tibetan culture, at least eastern Amdo Tibetan, and local Chinese culture.

At a wedding, the bride's maternal uncle holds the highest position and the respect of the friends and relatives of the groom from the very beginning of the event to the end, regardless of his age and social status. He is favourably addressed as *aajiu* or 'maternal uncle' by all the people from the groom's side. If all the maternal uncles of the bride have passed away, the eldest ranking son of the eldest maternal uncle will receive this privilege and receive the same treatment from the groom's side. At a time like this, when someone gets temporary high status, even the groom's eighty-year-old relatives, if there are any, have to call him *aajiu*. And so it is at funerals of deceased females, when their brother or nephew receives the highest degree of respect.⁸

6) 'Oh, uncle, you came?'

7) 'Uncle, (please) have some tea!'

8) At such funerals, normally we say "the maternal uncle" takes the lead or decides everything. By this we mean the maternal uncle of the children of the deceased female, i.e. the brother of the deceased female.



1.1.4 OTHER REASONS

Among other reasons for politeness we can name the status of a guest. Entering other people's homes as a guest automatically requires a certain mode of behaviour on the part of the host towards the guest, on the level of both verbal and nonverbal communication. As in many Asian languages, neither the host nor the guest is free in choosing their manner of behaviour. Although seen from outside the behavioural norms of the Mongghul people appear to be relatively simple, there are still some strict rules which are to be observed.

1.2 LINGUISTIC MEANS OF SHOWING RESPECT

1.2.1 USING KINSHIP TERMS

Unlike Tibetan, which has a rich and complex honorific system, or Czech, which has a compound inflection system, i.e. declination, conjugation, Mongghul has only one level grammatically when someone is addressed. Tibetan uses the honorific form of a verb when addressing or talking to someone with a higher status, or even when quoting some known people, usually lamas, teachers, leaders, elders and so on. But to achieve a polite approach, in Mongghul we broadly use kinship terms.

Before discussing some frequent Mongghul kinship terms, I would like to clarify a little the following translation. Some of the terms are also translated into Chinese, while others are not. Those with Chinese translations are either adopted from a Chinese corresponding kinship term or 'Mongghulized' Chinese terms. The ensuing Chinese translations are word-to-word and sound-to-sound transcriptions, i.e. transliterations, of the respective Mongghul equivalents, and from these Chinese terms a Chinese or at least a local Chinese can understand easily the meanings of the relevant Mongghul kinship terms. Some of the Chinese transliterations below do not precisely mean the same as they do in today's Mandarin. Those without a Chinese translation are 'real' Mongghul terms.

For example:

jutaiye 祖太爷 (Man. zǔ tài yé)

jutaitai 祖太太 (Man. zǔ tài tai)

taiye 太爷 (Man. tài yé or great-grandpa)

taitai 太太 (Man. tài tai or great-grandma)

aadee 阿爹⁹ (Man. *ā diē* or paternal grandpa)
aanee (paternal grandma)
aagunainai 阿姑奶奶 (Man. *ā gū nǎi nai* or paternal grand-aunt)
aama 阿妈 (Man. *ā mā* or mom)
aaba 阿爸 (Man. *ā bà* or dad)
aagu 阿姑 (Man. *ā gū* or paternal aunt)
aayee (paternal uncle's wife)
aaja (elder brother)
aajee 阿姐 (Man. *ā jiě* or elder sister)
xinaajee (elder sister-in-law, WT¹⁰: new sister)
shgaaba (father's elder brother, WT: big or older father)
shgaama (father's elder brother's wife, WT: big or older mother)
mulaaba (father's younger brother, WT: small or younger father)
mulaama (father's younger brother's wife, WT: small or younger mother)
*aaga*¹¹ (FT¹²: young uncle)
 and so on.

These terms are already a reflection of social hierarchy and order. When you address somebody by one of these terms, it means that you comply with the social order and hierarchy, and as a result you show respect to the interlocutor or interlocutrix. On the other hand, if you do not call somebody who is superior to you by the suitable kinship term to initiate a conversation, it is considered rude or impolite. For instance,

1) *Qi kile!* – you say!

2) *Aadee, qi nige kile baa?* – Grandfather, what if you (please) say a little?

There are three levels of sentences, in which the politeness extended increases in sentence 2). Sentence 1) is normal and neutral speech. This sentence is mostly used among friends. Using this sentence, one can also talk to someone who is either younger than the speaker, or to someone from a lower generation than the speaker. In this case, however, you can also use the person's name, and it sounds more natural in reality. Thus, I might tell my sister, *Taimie*: *Taimie, qi kile!* – Taimie, you say!

9) Some people also transcribe *aadee* as 阿迭 (Man. *ā dié*), because 爹 (Man. *diē*) in Chinese means 'father' and the term 阿爹 might cause confusion. But I use 阿爹 here, because I think that Mongghul has developed the kinship term *aadee* based on the borrowed word 爹 from Chinese.

10) Word-for-word translation.

11) A paternal uncle who is younger than his own father.

12) Free translation. I use it when there is no equivalent in English.

Sentence 2) is in a way more polite. When you utter the word *aadee*, addressing the person you are speaking to by the family hierarchical term, the sentence naturally becomes polite, because the position of a grandfather is high in the minds of Mongghul people. Besides that, the particle *baa* turns the sentence into a question, and it implies the meaning of entreating. And it is not hard to understand that to **ask** a person to comment on something is more polite than just to **tell** him to do so. We will come back to such instances with special expressions later in 2.3.

But when it comes to generation kinship, sometimes a person from one's father's or even grandfather's generation might be younger than oneself, and still he should be treated according to his generational status. It is very uncomfortable for a 20-year-old to call a 10-year-old boy uncle or great uncle, so in most informal situations such as during play or in private, you call him directly by his name.

However, on formal and serious occasions like during the New Year when you give your greeting to your 10-year-old uncle or great uncle, it is necessary and suitable to call them by the proper kinship titles. But nowadays, among Hawan Mongghul children, one rarely calls a younger but upper generation child by the kinship title, partly because of a change of consciousness among children, partly because they simply cannot bear the awkwardness of calling a younger child 'aunt' or 'great uncle'. There will be a specific example concerning this situation coming up later in section 2.4.

With the high-frequency usage of these kinship titles, we can infer that addressing certain people by using their names is less than respectful. Among Hawan Mongghul, to call some elders by their names is especially considered taboo. It is so strict and serious that even as a member of the village, I do not know some of the villagers by their names, especially women, for they seldom use their names in public affairs. For example, when a family shows agreement on a governmental decision and needs to sign on the relevant document, it is more often that the man signs rather than the wife. Youngsters thus rarely get chances to learn those women's names. People, however, are distinguished according to the relevant kinship titles. Sometimes this may lead to great confusion, for every man from one's father's generation is called either *aaga*, a younger uncle, or *shgaaba*, an older uncle,¹³ and every woman from one's father's generation is called an aunt. And there are usually a lot of

13) We refer to people from the mother's generation with other kinship terms. And here we will only take the father's side family generation as an example. But this case is also valid with the mother's side family.



them. So most people tend to call a person by his/her last name, which might be nicknames as well, together with the relevant kinship title. For example, my father's sister's name is Ha Xiulan 哈秀兰, and I call her Xiulan Aagu 秀兰阿姑 or Xiulan Aunt. This, however, is also considered not so proper, for sometimes one still calls a very old man by his name. For example, when I call one of my grandfathers by his name together with the kinship term 'grandfather', Mother would talk to me afterwards and would say, when you talk to someone older face to face, you call him by the kinship title only. The name of the older and the kinship term do not go together, because when you call someone by his name, it means he should either be younger than you or from a younger generation, but when you call someone by a kinship title, it means you show respect to an older, so a name and a kinship title go against each other when you use them together.

Under the influence of such cases, some children develop their own names towards elders. Sometimes this can be very funny, but they are not considered impolite. On the contrary, it shows affection. For example, Grandfather's younger brother was the first one in the village who had a motor-tricycle, and it seemed to me, there was just no better way of defining him. So I started calling him *Motu* (摩托, Man. mó tuō) *Aadee* or Motorcycle Grandfather. And similarly, I also developed a name for a neighbour grand-uncle who had a yak at home, *Maoniu* (牦牛, Man. máo niú) *Aadee* or Yak Grandfather.

1.2.2 OTHER LEXICAL MEANS

There are certain expressions which, when included in speech, make it more polite.

1. Such words used in polite requests are, for example,
nige – 'one'
jiangjiu – 'a little'
mafan – 'bother'
baa? – implying that the question was asked tentatively, and so on.
2. In polite answering or when ready to give help willingly, expressions with a generous and affirmative tone are used, for example,
tigiinge – 'just something like this'
xujuan gua – 'no problem'
yaan kilegiikisa – literally 'what has to be said?', a rhetorical question requiring a very positive answer, and so on



3. And words to express appreciation are, for example,
Luosualewa – literally it means ‘sorry that I bothered you’, but we take it as ‘thanks’.
Mafanlewa – literally it means ‘sorry that I bothered you’, but we take it as ‘thanks’.
Hghalu ughuwa – literally it means ‘Appreciation given’, (*ughu* ‘to give’).
 We will have a closer look into this in section 2. 3.

1.2.3 NONVERBAL MEANS

1.2.3.1 ‘FILLING THE BOWL.’

Generosity towards other people is another means of showing respect. For instance, in rural places people often cook soup noodles in a big pot. After the soup has been prepared, they ladle the soup into bowls using a scoop for everyone, and eat from their own bowls. When somebody finishes a bowl of soup noodles, he can refill his bowl from the big pot and have more. So, when there is a guest, the host urges the guest to have more and says, for example:

Aaga, rde juu, rde juu. Bii zuojiala juu. [uncle, eat PRTprecativ eat PRTprecativ PROHIB make.pretend (or fake)-VBLZR PRTprecativ – uncle, please have (some), please have (some), please do not pretend.]

The guest would reply appreciatively: *rdenii, rdenii. Nda do jingkigu mur-gu, bu zuojialan gui.* [eat-SUBJ.NARR eat-SUBJ.NARR 1s.DAT then offer-VBLZR-GEN no.need 1s make.pretend-EXP SUBJ.NEG.COP – I am eating, I am eating. You do not have to urge me. I do not pretend.]

And by the time he or she finishes the first bowl, the host is already standing up and waiting for the guest to hand over the bowl so he can fill another bowl of noodles for the guest. When a guest finishes his bowl of noodles and the host is nowhere to be seen to serve more, it is considered not proper, and discourteous.

At this time, the guest usually pretends and says: *Jang jiantaonge juu, dii ulonhao rdeji buragha adagina.* [only half-one PRTprecativ ABL much-COND eat-IMPERF finish-CAUSE not.able-OBJ.FUT – please only half a bowl, if more than that, I can’t finish it.]

The host takes the bowl saying: *ya, ya.* (okay, okay). But when he or she returns with the filled bowl for the guest, it is never half a bowl, but a very generously filled bowl.

Au, ulonda xija ai. Do rdeji buragha adanda. [EXCL.surprise much-VBLZR go-OBJ.PERF EXCL in.this.case eat-IMPERF finish-CAUSE not.able-PRT – Wow, that is too much. I am afraid that I can’t finish it.]



The guest extends further appreciation to the host for being so generous by adopting self-referring or self-associated indirect manner, in this case, instead of directly saying, ‘thanks for being so generous’, he says ‘it is so much that I am afraid that I cannot finish it’.

Ulon gua, ulon gua. Tighaa nigiidini rdeji buragha adasa, aaga do zuojialaniigu tewa. [much OBJ.NEG.COP much OBJ.NEG.COP like.this a.little-ACC eat-IMPERF finish-CAUSE not.able-COND uncle then make.pretend-VBLZR-SUBJ.NARR-GEN that-COP – Not much, not much. If you can’t even finish such a little bit, then, uncle, you are pretending.]

1.2.3.2 DOING ONESELF DOWN

Being humble in front of people is also a way of showing politeness, as in the case of people putting themselves in a lower generation when they address others, as we have just mentioned above. A typical example would be, when relatives come home, and mother serves food and says: *nushiza finirdi gua, do tesge nige jiangcou lai!* ‘meal tasty OBJ.NEG.COP now 2p one put.up.with please – the meal is not tasty, please try to put up with it!’ Here the host tries to be humble by saying that the meal she has made is not tasty even though she has done the best she could, suggesting that she is not a good cook and that she feels ashamed to serve her precious guests such an indecent meal.

Another way of acting a humble manner is to speak highly of the person one is talking to, while trying to be as self-deprecating as possible. For example,

Speaker A: *Auyao, qi ne shandanaa duokisanni sain ai.* [wow, you this quilt-cover¹⁴-REFL.POSS make-VERL-PERF.NOMLZR-GEN?? good EMPH -- Wow, the quilt-cover you have made is so good.]

Speaker B: *Aiyao, bu do jang surijinge yii. Aayee, qi duokisan teni ujesa, muni ne do nadijinge ai.*
[come.on 1s actually only learn-NOMLZR-one SUBJ.COP aunt 2s make-VERLZR-PERF.NOMLZR that-ACC look-COND 1s-GEN this actually play-NOMLZR-one EMPH – Come on, I am just learning. Aunt, compared to what you have made, mine is like just having fun.]

Speaker A: *Gua, qi kusa tigii saininge duokina dii. Bu do arong duokiji sihou daawa kiji, qini tigiinge shidan gua ya dii.*

14) A kind of embroidery work made to cover the quilt when it is folded in rural places in China.



[OBJ.NEG.COP 2s already like.this good-one make-VBLZR-OBJ.NARR EMPH 1s actually just.in.vain make-VBLZR-IMPERF time long-PERF QUOTE-IMPERF 2s-GEN like.this-one be.able.to-NARR OBJ.NEG.COP PRT EMPH – No, you can already make such good ones. It is said that I have been making them for a long time, but actually I really can't make one like you can.]

It might be true that speaker B is really good at embroidery work and has made the *shandan* really well, but she would not agree with speaker A's praise. She would try to be humble and say that speaker A is much better. Usually, this small self-deprecating battle between the two would go on for two sets of conversations with either of them agreeing with the other. In some western cultures, however, this would be different. For example, in English, when someone receives praise from another person, he simply ends the conversation by saying, 'Thanks.'

So, in general, the language referring to oneself exhibits self-deprecating humbleness, while the language referring to others shows approval and respect.

1.2.3.3 'OFFERING TEA'

In English and many other languages, it is polite to ask a guest: 'Would you like something to drink?' But in Mongghul culture, it is taboo to ask this. A typical Mongghul host would directly offer tea and bread to a guest.

1.2.3.4 RECEIVING

To accept something a host offers in Mongghul culture deserves special attention too, for there are certain things or presents you have to accept immediately and without hesitation when they are offered to you. On the other hand there are also other things, which should not be accepted immediately. For example, when you visit somebody, and tea, bread and such 'common' and taken-for-granted things are offered to you, you have to accept them from the host immediately. The wrong response to such an offer might be considered rude, for the host might mistake the reaction as having a despising attitude towards his 'common' things. On the other hand, when some precious and 'uncommon' things are offered, one should try to refuse, even though one is persistently encouraged by the donor to accept them. For example, during the New Year, children are given money as New Year gifts, and parents would usually tell their children not to take the money immediately, and that they



should learn how to refuse it. Because this is very much influenced by the widespread notion of 见钱眼开 *Man. jiàn qián yǎn kāi* or ‘open one’s eyes (wide) when they see money’, which is negative.

2. Examples of politeness in communication

2.1 MEETING AND PARTING

Influenced by the Chinese notion of politeness or some of the Chinese kinship terms, most terms of address in Mongghul, except *aama* and *aaba* in Mongghul also have an extended and generalized usage. This means that they do not only refer to the addresser’s relatives, but on some occasions these terms can also be used to address unfamiliar people. For example, when I first met my friend, I addressed him as ‘*aaga* (young uncle)’ because I could see that he was older than me and was about the age of my father.

- 1) **Li:** *Au, sainii sa?*
[EXCL good-SUBJ.NARR PRTquest] ‘Oh, how are you?’
- 2) **Me:** *Sainii, sainii. Aaga, qidai sainii sa?*
[good-SUBJ.NARR good-SUBJ.NARR uncle 2s-also good-SUBJ.NARR PRTquest] ‘Good, good. Are you also good (well)?’
- 3) **Li:** *Sainii, sainii.*
[good-SUBJ.NARR good-SUBJ.NARR] ‘Well, well.’
- 4) **Li:** *Qimu amakiji dauda gui?*
[2s-ACC how-VBLZR-IMPERF call PRTquest¹⁵] ‘What should I call (how should I address) you?’
- 5) **Me:** *Muni narani Ha Mingzong daudanii.*
[1s-GEN name-ACC Ha Mingzong call-SUBJ.NARR] ‘My name is (I am called) Ha Mingzong.’

This conversation took place when I was invited by my English teacher to his home to meet Li.

As a host, seeing that in this case my teacher had invited him before me to his home, he initiated the conversation. That is the politeness a host extends to a guest. Regardless of age, it is more suitable and thus polite if the host

15) *gui*, asking for a suggestion. It could be translated as ‘should’. It is polite in this sense in Mongghul.



initiates the conversation. And instinctively I chose the term and called him *aaga*, showing my respect and appreciation for being invited. As I uttered the term *aaga*, the social relationship between us was established. He was a superior and I was from a lower generation. Then it is more suitable for the younger to begin a conversation later on. For example, if I ran into my friend Li in the street, I would first ask: *Au, aaga, qi sainii sa?* [EXCL (surprise), *uncle 2s good-SUBJ.NARR PRTquest* – ‘Oh, uncle, how are you?’]

Likewise, we can use most of the terms of address in a similar way. But the reason for addressing someone by one of the terms ‘uncle’ or ‘great uncle’, can be varied. One of the most frequently applied methods is to use the help of a third ‘intermediary person’ whom, for example, both the addressor and the addressee may know. It is based on the intermediary person’s relationship with the addressor and the addressee. For instance, when a friend of my younger sister comes to visit us, he or she might also call me *aaja*, or older brother, as my sister, because he or she stands on the same level as my younger sister and takes my younger sister as a reference.

Besides, let’s go back to sentence 4) in the previous example. Instead of saying:

qi kannii? [2s who-SUBJ.COP] – who are you?,

or

qini nara yaannii? [2s-GEN name what-SUBJ.COP] – what is your name?,

or even

qini narani yaan daudanii? [2s-GEN name-ACC what call-SUBJ.NARR] – what is your name (called)?,

Li asked me: *Qimu amakiji dauda gui?* [2s-ACC how-VBLZR-IMPERF call PRTquest] – How should I call (address) you?

First of all, I would like to discuss the grammatical structure of this sentence. As I glossed above, the suffixes *-mu*, and *-ki-ji* are understandable. The suffix *-mu* is an accusative marker. The word *amakiji* can be translated into Mongolian as *яаж* or ‘how’ into English. And then we have the particle *gui*. I glossed it here as a subjective query particle, which indicates that the speaker closely associates himself with the event, in this case it suggests a meaning of ‘what should I call you?’ So, this sentence is thus tentative and makes the address more polite if compared with the other rather poignant sentences.

As was also shown above in the example, in sentence 2) and 3), instead of just saying only once *sainii*, viz good or well, we both repeated the same word twice to give an emphasized response. And this draws in another point of be-



ing polite. To a native speaker, with an emphasized response, it shows one's enthusiasm or a kind of attitudinal warmth as used by others.

2.2 INVITATION

Inviting

When you invite a guest home, Gu Yueguo's 顾曰国 general pattern of a Chinese invitation, i.e. 'inviting-refusing-inviting-refusing-inviting-accepting' (Gu Yueguo 顾曰国, p. 253), is also valid in Hawan Mongghul. This is not difficult to understand since we have such frequent contact with the Chinese people.

The following is a case in point. Such invitations usually take place in the early part of the twelfth month of the Chinese lunar calendar, when people kill their pigs as a preparation for the coming *Xini Sara* or Spring Festival. People usually feed such pigs for a whole year just for this occasion. After some family kills their pig, they go to invite people from every household in their village. But this practice has been changing lately in other villages, due to an increase in the population, and instead people tend to invite only older and more venerable people. However people from our village usually still invite one member from every household, because the village is relatively small, consisting of 25 households, and most of the families are from Ha Clan. The following example shows how a child invites his great aunt to come to his home and try some pork, after his family have killed their pig for the Spring Festival.

A:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--------|----------------|---------------|-----------|
| (1) | Aataitai, ¹⁵ | ndasgi | niudur jang | hghainaa | alawa, |
| | Great-great.aunt (great-grandma) 1p | today | just | pig-REFL.POSS | kill-PERF |
| | yuü, Aataitai, | ndani | hghai | mahani | nige |
| | go great-grandma | 1p-GEN | pig | meat-ACC | one |
| | | | try-VBLZR-PURP | go | yuü! |

Great-grandma, we killed our pig just today, go, great-grandma, go to have a taste of the meat.

16) *Aataitai*, is the vocative of *taitai*, which means great great-aunt or great-grandma.



B:

(2) Ai, do bii xiya, do bii xiya,
 EXCL now PROHIB go-VOL now PROHIB go-VOL
 tesgidi pofan ireghaji.
 2p-DAT trouble come-CAUSE-IMPERF

Oh, do not have me go, do not have me go, this would bother you.

A:

(3) Gua, gua. Tigiinge yaan pofan
 OBJ.NEG.COP OBJ.NEG.COP like.this-one what trouble
 yiigiikisa, mahani kusa qana ughuwa.
 SUBJ.COP-PRTquest-VBLZR-PRT meat-ACC already cook.in.water give-PERF

No, no. Something like this wouldn't cause any trouble. We have already cooked the meat (in the water).

B:

(4) Ai do bii, do bii.
 EXCL now PROHIB now PROHIB
 Ne kiduudur do yiila hghainaa alaji,
 this several.days now everyone pig-REFL.POSS kill-IMPERF
 do bu kusa ulon rdewa, do bii xiya, juu.
 now is already a.lot eat-PERF now PROHIB go-VOL PRT

Oh, better not to, better not to. People have been killing their pigs and I have already eaten a lot. Better do not have me go, okay?

A:

(5) Ai Aataitai, hghainaa jang alagiwa,
 EXCL great-grandma meat-REFL.POSS just kill-give-PERF
 qimu nige yii daudaji xisa lukunanuu?
 2s-ACC one NEG.COP invite-IMPERF go-COND okay-OBJ.NARR-QUEST

Come on, Great-grandma, we have just killed our pig, how could it be okay, if I can't invite you over?



B:

- (6) Do bii xiyakisa,
 now PROHIB go-VOL-VBLZR-COND
- dii shihua tesgidi pofan ireghaji.
 then really 2p-DAT trouble come-CAUSE-IMPERF

Actually it would really be good if I did not go. This is really a bother for you.

A:

- (7) Aataitai, qi iresa pofan zangda yii iren!
 Great-grandma 2s come-COND trouble never-even NEG.COP come-NARR

Great-grandma, your coming will never be trouble.

B:

- (8) Naado amahgii qi nenkiji daudana... Naadii yuu!
 and.then what.to.do 2s like.this call-OBJ.NARR then go

Then what can I do? You invite me like this, okay, then (let's) go!

In the case of such an invitation, it is not normal that the invitee would accept the inviter's proposal immediately. Equally it is not suitable for the inviter to give up after receiving the invitee's first refusal. So, in Mongghul culture when someone is invited, there is often a small 'battle' between the inviter and the invitee. An invitation usually does not end in only one conversation exchange, as in English or many other languages, 'Would you like to come over for dinner?' – 'Oh, sure, I'd love to.' In Mongghul, it often takes several conversation exchanges between the two. In such a case, it is necessary for the inviter to be a little patient and to have some language skills to always prove that he or she has a better reason.

This is not forcing the invitee to accept the invitation. It is, however, a reflection of the inviter's hospitality, sincerity. He thinks highly of the invitee, and that the invitee is important to him, as in sentence 5), *qimu nige yii daudaji xisa lukunanuu?* (How could it be okay, if I can't even invite you over?)



2.3 REQUESTING AND RESPONDING

When requesting, we often use words or some euphemistic expressions such as *nige*, *jangjiu*, *yaanbiisa*, or *nigiidi*, diminutive suffixes such as *-nge*. They often express indirect, tentative speech, offering a chance to refuse, and minimizing the level of imposition on the person from whom the request is made, and they make an otherwise very straightforward speech mild.

Here I may divide this into two parts, 1. requesting being rather ‘ungenerous’ and 2. approving being ‘generous’.

A:

- (9) Aadee, bu ndasgini pirghani kilejin
 Great.uncle is 1p-GEN deity-ACC say(concern)-NOMLZR
- tigii pujingine juurinii. Qimula sghajinge yii,
 like.this article-one write-SUBJ.NARR 2s-ACC-ABL ask-NOMLZR-one SUBJ.COP
- nige** sghasa, qimu silaa **gui** **baa?**
 One ask-COND 2s-ACC free.time SUBJ.NEG.COP PRT

Great uncle, I am writing an article, which concerns our deity. I have something to ask you, but probably you don't have time, if I do a little asking, do you?

B:

- (10) Silaa yii, silaa yijijida,
 Free.time SUBJ.COP free.time SUBJ.COP-but
- njiinaa mudemu yii muden **hao**¹⁶ aa?
 self know-or SUBJ.NEG.COP know-NARR PRT PRTquest
- Mudesa **tigiingeni** dii **yaan** **kilegiikisa.**
 know-COND like.this-one-ACC then what say-SUBJ.FUT-VBLZR-PRT

I have time, I have time, but I am afraid about whether I know it myself or do not know. If I know, then of course,¹⁸ (I can help you with) some little thing like this.

17) *hao* here suggests a meaning of being unsure and worrying.

18) *yaan kliegi?* can be translated as, of course. Literally, it means, ‘why (what) mention?’ It is a rhetorical expression. It carries a positive meaning, and one does not expect a reply.



A:

- (11) Shgenge mudegu xijakijingeda gua.
big-one know-GEN need-VBLZR-IMPERF-one-though OBJ.NEG.COP

Do yaanbiisa, nigidi tangxaleji ughusa lukuna.
Now what-COP-PRT a.little talk-VBLZR-IMPERF give-COND okay-OBJ.NARR

It is not that (you) need to know a lot though. Actually it would be okay, if you could tell¹⁹ me something a little, whatever.

B:

- (12) Xjuan guisa, naadii bu sidangleya.
problem SUBJ.NEG.COP-COND then is try-VBLZR-VOL

If it is not a problem, then let me try.

However, when responding to a request, one can employ various methods. For example, being humble or generous.

To be humble, we often use indirect speech, i.e. trying to say that we might not do a good job, and being unsure of our own ability or potential to satisfy the person who is requesting. In such a case, we might use words like *xjuan guisa*, or 'if no problem', *sidang* or 'to try', *adan baa?* or 'not able to, what do you think?', *mudemu yii meden hao* or 'who knows if I know or do not know', and so on.

To be generous, we tend to use a form of speech which is quite the opposite of a requesting speech, i.e. offering generous help, being sure of oneself, and trying to express that the request wouldn't cause us any problem. To achieve such an effect in speech, we use words or expressions such as *yaan kilegii!* or 'what should have to be said', *tigiinge* or 'only such a (thing)', *xjuan gua!* or 'does not matter', and so on.

A:

- (13) Aaga, qi aanji xiginii?
uncle 2s where-IMPERF go-SUBJ.FUT

Uncle, where are you going?

¹⁹ *tangxaaleji ughu* can be translated as 'tell'.



B:

- (14) Au, bu daixuurange xiyaginii.
EXCL 1s shop-LOC-one Go-VOL-VBLZR-SUBJ.NARR

Oh, I want to go to a shop.

A:

- (15) Au tengesa, qi awujin dangxi ulonnii baa?
EXCL that-VBLZR-COND 2s buy-NOMLZR thing a.lot-SUBJ.COP PRTquest

Nda jang nige longhua diraasinge dailesa?
1s.DAT only one bottle alcohol-one buy.by.the.way-VBLZR-COND

Okay, in that case, you are buying a lot of things, aren't you, may I ask you to buy me a bottle of liquor by the way?

B:

- (16) Ulon gui, ulon gui.
a.lot SUBJ.NEG.COP a.lot SUBJ.NEG.COP

Shidan, shidan, jang nige langhua diraasingeni.
able-NARR able-NARR only one bottle alcohol-one-ACC

Dii yaanda yii hgilia muu?
then what(any)-more NEG.COP want PRTquest

It is not a lot, not a lot. I can, I can (bring) only one bottle of liquor. Unless you want anything more?

A:

- (17) Dii yaanda yii hgilia, qimu pofanjeji.
then what(any)-more NEG.COP want 2s-ACC trouble-VBLZR-IMPERF

Then I do not want anything, (since) it will (further) bother you.

B:

- (18) Tiggiinge xjuan gua, xjuan gua.
Like.this-one problem OBJ.NEG.COP problem OBJ.NEG.COP

Something like this is not a problem, not a problem.



A:

(19) Nadii Aagani luosuolewa juu.
 then uncle-ACC bother-VBLZR-PERF PRT

Then, uncle, thank you.

Or, 'Then, uncle, please accept that I bothered you!'

In sentence 15, by saying, 'you are buying a lot of things, aren't you?' a tentative approach is suggested. The speaker tends to take some pressure off himself, and indirectly informs the hearer that he needs help. In Mongghul culture, it is considered polite to use an unobjectionable or euphemistic approach to get help from someone.

In sentence 19, the word *juu* is a precative particle. It extends the meaning of 'please accept' or 'please go along with'. In this case, 'please accept (the fact) that I bothered you', or 'please accept my appreciation'. *Luosuolewa* 啰嗦了, or bothered, is a borrowed Chinese expression.

2.4 THE NEW YEAR'S RITUALS

During the Spring Festival, we would visit relatives with gifts to send New Year's greetings to our elders. For example, years ago, I visited a great great-aunt's home on the first day of the Spring Festival and my father went with me, since he thought it would be proper to send his own greetings to my old and venerable great great-aunt. We walked into their courtyard while great uncle and great aunt came out from the North Room²⁰ to welcome us.

(20) 'Aadee, Aanee, xinimaa sainii sa?
 great uncle great aunt new.year-PRT good-SUBJ.NARR Quest

Great uncle, Great aunt, is your New Year going well?

20) The North Room or Great Room is, in the local areas, considered the most important room of a house. The elders of a family usually stay in this room. The locals usually receive their guests in this room.



Father and I greeted them with the New Year's formal greeting. We were introduced into the North Room, and we greeted Great great aunt,

- (21) 'Taitai, Xinimaa sainii sa?'
great.great-aunt new.year-PRT good-SUBJ.NARR Quest

Great great-aunt, is your New Year going well?

I put all the gifts on the main cabinet in the northern room, which Mongghul people consider the Great Room, stepped back with my father, and we kowtowed while saying,

- (22) 'Taitai liao aadee, aaneesgidi xinilanii'
'Great great-aunt and great uncle great aunt-PL-DAT new-VBLZR-SUBJ.NARR

We are greeting Great great-aunt, great uncle, great aunt and you all.²¹

We knelt and slightly knocked our heads three times on the floor, stood up, said again,

- (23) 'Fangfangdinge xinilaya'
'pair.pair-DAT.LOC-one new-VBLZR-VOL

Let's make our greetings in pairs!

We knelt down again and were about to kowtow again when Great aunt and Great uncle pulled us up, saying,

- (24) 'Do nimbaa, do nimbaa'
'now okay, now okay

It is enough now, it is enough now!

Father said,

- (25) 'Ai, niuudur ndaghoorla taitai liao aadee,
'EXCL today we.two-COLL great.great-aunt and great uncle
aaneesgidi fangfangnge xinilagu xija.'
Great aunt-PL-DAT pair.pair-one new-VBLZR-GEN need

21) The reason my father said this was that he spoke as if he was speaking from the standpoint of my generation. Father put himself in my shoes so as to express politeness towards his great aunt, uncle and aunt. We will look at this case later on in this paper.

But, today we two need to greet Great great-aunt, great uncle, great aunt and all in pairs.

And we insisted on going on, but again we were pulled up and Great uncle said,

- (26) 'Do nimbaa, do nimbaa. Do kurixija giya!
'now okay now okay now enough-OBJ.PERF QOUTE-VOL

It is okay already. It is okay already. Let's consider that it is enough now.

We then stood up on our feet, but Father turned to me and said with a smile,

- (27) 'Ai Zongwa, qi hai qini Dongsan aagadai
'VOL NAME 2s still 2s-GEN NAME uncle-and
Linlin aaga ghuladi xinilaji gua bai.
NAME uncle two-COLL-DAT.LOC new-VBLZR-IMPERF OBJ.NEG.COP PRT
Niuudur do zugudayan aaga daudaji xinilagu xja.'
today now kneel-??-PERF uncle call-IMPERF new-VBLZR-GEN need

Zongwa, you still haven't greeted your Dongsan 东山 and Linlin 林山 uncles. Today (you) need to kneel, call them uncles, and greet them.

Great great-aunt was smiling, sitting on the Kang, and so were Great aunt and Great uncle, and their 12-year-old son and 11-year-old son were trying to hide away behind their parents' back looking shy. It was so difficult, I didn't know what to do and just stood there smiling. Luckily, Great uncle and Great aunt held my arms and said,

- (28) 'Oyao, do ne bulai ghuladi dii yaan xinilagii,
'EXCL now these boy two-COLL-DAT.LOC then what new-VBLZR-QUEST
do nimbaa, do nimbaa... Zongwa, yiu ningaa duwaji yiu,
now okay now okay NAME go this-INSTR come.over-IMPERF go
paira sao.'
Kang-LOC sit

Come on, for what (reason) then should (you) greet these two kids? It's already enough. It is enough already... Zongwa, come, this way come over and (please) sit on the Kang.

3. Conclusion

Since it is in an absolutely isolated geographical position, Hawan Mongghul has absorbed to a noticeable degree some values and norms of the neighbouring peoples, in this case mainly Chinese and Tibetan. And this, together with traditional Mongghul conventional practices, contributes to the making of the complex politeness system of today's Mongghul people. It is worth noticing that Mongghul people living in cities apply a rather different style to those living in rural communities in presenting politeness. This is because in the cities the conventions are very much under the influence of the Chinese, who constitute the majority there. The politeness phenomena described in this paper reflect the style of communication in remote Mongghul villages, and our Hawan village as a typical example.

Politeness might be a universal phenomenon, and many reasons for which certain people are treated respectfully are similar in different cultures. Here I have shown some essential features in Mongghul, like generation and age, which determine the behaviour of a person in specific situations. In that connection I have discussed some of the linguistic means applied in showing respect, mainly through kinship terms, other lexical means and some special examples of nonverbal means. I have also referred to some typical village rituals and ceremonies that provide a typical context in which the practice of politeness in communication can be explained and understood more clearly.

The subject of politeness, which is an especially important part of life in many Asian language communities, requires further investigation and comparative study.

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Gloss Abbreviations and Symbols²²

ACC	Accusative case
COLL	Collective (indicates two or more actors acting together)
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative case
FT	Free translation
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)
WT	Word-for-word translation
Man.	Mandarin
1p	First Person Plural
1s	First Person Singular
2p	Second Person Plural
2s	Second Person Singular
3p	Third Person Plural
3s	Third Person Singular
. (used in glossing)	Multiple semantic or grammatical meanings included in a single form
-	Morpheme boundary (used to indicate suffixes added to a root)

²²) I employ Keith Slater's system (Slater 2003).

Appendix: A Mongghul-Mongolian Index

Mongghul	Khalkha (Classical Mongolian)	
aaba	аав	(abu)
aaja	ах	(aq-a)
aajee	эгч	(egeči)
ada-	яда-	(yada-)
ala-	ала-	(ala-)
ama-	яа-	(yaɣa-)
bii	бүү	(büü)
bu	би	(bi)
bura-	бар-	(bara-)
daa-	уда-	(uda-)
dauda-	дууда-	(dayuda-)
do	одоо	(edüge)
finirdi-	үнэртэ-	(ünürtü-)
gua	үгүй	(ügei)
gui	үгүй	(ügei)
hghai	гахай	(ɣaqai)
ire-	ир-	(ire-)
juuri-	зура-	(jiru-)
kan	хэн	(ken)
kiduudur	хэдэн өдөр	(kedün ödür)
kiji	гэж	(gejü)
kile-	хэлэ-	(kele-)
maha	мах	(miq-a)
mude-	мэд-	(mede-)
muni	миний	(minu/minü)
murgu-	мөргө-	(mörgü-)
nadi-	наада-	(nayad-)
nara	нэр	(ner-e)
nda	над	(nada)
(ndani	манай)	
(ndasgi	бид)	
(ndasgini	бидний)	
ne	энэ	(ene)
nenkiji	ингэж	(inggejü)
nige	нэг	(nige)
niudur	өнөөдөр	(önüdür)
pirgha	бурхан	(burqan)
pujig	бичиг	(bičig)
qaa	цай	(čai)
qana-	чана-	(čina-)
qi	чи	(či)
qimu	чамайг	(čimayi)
qimula	чамтай	(čima-luɣa)
qini	чиний	(činu/činü)
rde-	ид-	(ide-)
		father
		elder brother
		elder sister
		not able
		to kill
		how
		don't (prohibitive)
		I
		to finish
		to last
		to call
		now
		to smell
		no
		no
		pig
		come
		to write, draw
		who
		several days
		to say
		meat
		to know
		my
		to kowtow
		to play
		name
		(to) me
		our
		we
		our
		this
		in this way
		one
		today
		deity
		letter
		tea
		boil
		you (2s.)
		you (ACC.)
		with you
		your (2s.)
		to eat

sain	сайн	(sayin)	good
sgha-	асуу-	(asayu-)	to ask
shgenge	ихэнх	(yekengki)	mostly
silaa	сүл	(sula)	free time
suri-	сур-	(sur-)	to study
te	тэр	(tere)	that
tighaa	тийм	(teyimü)	only this (much)
tigii	тийм	(teyimü)	like this
ughu-	өгө-	(ög-)	to give
uje-	үзэ-	(üje-)	to look
ulon	олон	(olan)	a lot
uqi-	уу-	(uuyu-)	to drink
ya	за	(ja)	okay
yaan	юу	(yayu[n])	what
yuu-	яв-	(yabu-)	to go

The Secret History of the Mongols in the mirror of metaphors (2)¹

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Summary: The Secret History of the Mongols was translated many times into a number of languages (in some languages there are up to 2–4 translations). In the course of time the lexical meaning and the figurative meaning of some of the expressions in this literary monument were either forgotten or were understood differently. Since this process of semantic shifts started as early as the 13th century, it is already reflected in the first Chinese rendering of that period. In other words in the Chinese interlinear translation, there are a number of doubtful or erroneous renderings, and about 40 words were not translated at all. It is no secret that later translators used the Chinese rendering as the basis of their own translations. Then the question arises of what happens to a metaphor if it is translated literally. When translating the text into Russian, S.A. Kozin translated the verses and the expressive phrases freely, while at the same time providing a parallel literal translation of the Chinese rendering in brackets. Though this is a very suitable manner of translation, even Kozin's translations are erroneous in a not infrequent number of cases.

0. Introduction

This paper carries on the analysis of select metaphors to be found in the SHM, which was started in my paper from the previous issue of *Mongolica Pragensia* (cf. Lubsangdorji 2006). The numbering of the paragraphs continues from that paper. The paper (like the previous paper Lubsangdorji 2006) reflects the effort to study this text and its meaning from the point of view of cultural anthropology (the metaphorisation of the language and thinking, history of cultural relations and ethnography of communication).

1) The texts in the section called the *Corpus* (Chinese transliteration and Mongolian transcription) are taken from Sumyabaatar's book (Сумъяабаатар 1990). The book includes the text of the original Chinese translation – *Yeh Te-hui* – and the Latin transliteration of the Mongolian text by Shiratori Kurakichi.

7. Metaphors based on legal terminology: *oryol(i)-jar qayas aldaltan*, *qabar qayas aldaltan* (§ 280. L. 24–26)

7. 1. CORPUS

Chinese transliteration:

yen-liè-k' (è)-siên kè-miè-chè uò-ḥuō-ér pù-kí tūo-t'ǎ-wù-luō-ā-sù
uò-ér huō-lǐ iá-ér ḥǎ-ḥǎ-sī ā-l(è)-tā-l(è)-t'án péi-l(è)-t'ū-ḥái ḥǎ-l(è)-
 pù-ḥǎ kè-kè-sūn tūo-t'ǎ-wù-luō-ā-sù
ḥǎ-pǎ-ér ḥǎ-ḥǎ-sī ā-l(è)-tā-l(è)-t'án péi-l(è)-t'ū-ḥái (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 884,
 §280. L. 24–26)

Mongolian transcription.

Kemnegsen kem-eče

Oqor bugi dutayulbasu

Orgil-iyar qayas aldaltan boltuyai

Qalbay-a kigesün dutayulbasu

Qabar qayas aldaltan boltuyai

(Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 884, §280, L. 23–26)

Modern Mongolian rendering:

...тотоосон хэмжээгээр бэлтгэж, охор шидэмс дутуулбал өрөөлөөр хагас алдалтан болтугай. Халбага хигээс дутуулбал хамар хагас алдалтан болтугай. (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 253)

7. 2. MEANING

a) ***oqor bugi***, basic meaning: 'short cord' (Chinese literal translation);² figurative meaning: 'anything equivalent to a small cord, a trifle'.

b) ***oryol(i)*** / Kh. ***өр гол*** (synonymous pair word), basic meaning: 'centre, middle', ***өр голоор*** (= ***өрөөл***) ***хагас*** 'as if divided exactly in the middle'. Figurative meaning: 'equal half'.

c) ***aldaltan*** < ***alda-*** 'to loose', 'to make a mistake'; ***aldal*** 'a loss', 'a mistake', 'an error, transgression, loss, blunder'; ***aldaltan*** – basic meaning: 'having a loss or making a mistake'; figurative meaning: 'transgressor, criminal elements, the accused'. Thus the phrase ***oryol(i)-iyar qayas aldaltan*** is an early Mon-

2) Another Mongolian rendering by Cend Gün is *oqur бүц* (cf. Хандсүрэн 1997, 642).

golian judicial technical term for a transgressor who obtains an exact half (of the punishment)'.³⁾

d) *qalbay-a kigesün* (synonymous pair word), basic meaning: *qalbay-a* lit. 'spoon', the knob on a flag staff; figurative meaning 'spoke'; *kigesün*³⁾ 'spoke of a wheel'; figurative meaning of the pair word: 'something very small, as small as a spoke of a wheel'.

e) *qabar qayas* / Kh. *хамар хагас*, basic meaning: 'one half like that of the nose divided by the nasal septum'; figurative meaning: 'an exact half'.

The present author's modern Mongolian rendering:

Хэмлэн тогтоосон хэмжээнээс

From the exactly determined amount (when taking stock)

Охор бүчийн төдий юм дутагдуулбал

If anything even of the size of a cord is missing

Өрөөл хагас алдалтан (*ялтан*) *болтугай*.

Let the (two) responsible (transgressors) be (punished by) exact halves.

Ганц хигээсийн төдий юм дутагдуулбал

If anything even of the size of a spoke is missing

Хамар хагас алдалтан (*ялтан*) *болтугай*.

Let the (two) responsible (transgressors) be (punished by) exact halves.

General meaning

If from the determined amount even a small thing should be missing the two noblemen will equally partake of the punishment.

7. 3. CONTEXT OF THE SITUATION AND COMMENT:

The King Ögödei ordered the establishment of roads with great post stations and nominated two noblemen, Arasen and Toquçar, as supervisors. He determined the exact number of items to be used by those working at the stations, viz horses, wagons, milking mares, sheep for food etc. While doing so he also specified the conditions for taking stock. Should even a small amount or a small thing be missing, the two noblemen were responsible in exactly equal measure ('by exactly equal halves').

If we see these figurative expressions from the point of view of ethnography of communication, we can realize in what manner the early Mongolian

3) The word is spelled *kegesü(n)* by Lessing (s.v.).



manner of thought and its formal expression in speech affected the formation of the legal terminology of that time.

For example the Khalkha technical term *өрөөл хагас* < *өр голоор хагас* = *хамар хагас* may be a reflection of the manner of dividing the bag (the kill) by prehistoric hunters. The hunters must have divided the eviscerated game into two exact halves. The basis for the division was obviously the backbone up to the nose, which was cut by an axe into two equal halves.

We may inspect some examples from modern Mongolian usage.

The meaning of the synonyms *өр* / *гол* 'center' was changed into 'aorta': *өрийг* / *голыг тасла*- 'to tear the aorta (by using fingers)' (traditional Mongolian manner of killing a sheep).⁴ In a process of assimilation the pair word *өр гол* resulted in a new word *өрөөл* 'half': *өрөөл мах* 'half of the animal's flesh', *өрөөл даавуу* 'exact half of a square piece of fabric', *өрөөлийн өрөөл* 'half of s.th. lengthwise' etc.

The word *qabar* / *хамар* 'nose' has two identical sides and its meaning changed into 'exact half' of anything: *хамар цаас* 'an exact half of a square piece of paper', *хамар хашиа* 'adjacent fenced yard symmetrically placed (with our yard)'.

In this manner the expression *өр гол* / *өрөөл хагас* is used to designate a division of anything into two exact halves as if seen from within. The phrase *хамар хагас* implies the division of something as if seen from outside.

In the MNT the word *aldaltan* appears repeatedly in the phrase *aldaltan boltuyai!* (lit., let be transgressor, i.e. you are /considered/ a transgressor: § 224, 227, 233, 280). Though the translators mostly translate the figurative meaning correctly, e.g. *нести ответственность, подвергаться законным*

4) The traditional Mongolian manner of killing a sheep is an important cultural anthropological subject and therefore we may briefly explain it: a specialist among the ordinary men (*хамар хун*) cut open a 10 cm hole in the skin and flesh on the breast of the sheep just below the joint of the ribs (in the triangular space where the ribs meet and there are no more bones) with a sharp knife, put his hand inside along the backbone, tore the diaphragm with his finger and tore the aorta by hand. After all the blood had been collected within the breast of the sheep the breast was opened and the blood decanted by a special ladle or cup into a separate container. This was accompanied by an important superstition: the killing takes place without spilling the blood. The sheep has never looked up at the Upper Tenger (Upper Sky, i.e. the Deity) before. And the animal dies grateful to the man for making it look at the Upper Tenger.

Note that in Chingis Kagan's law the *Great Yasa* there is a paragraph: 'should (a Mongol) kill a sheep in the Muslim manner by opening its throat and spilling blood, may he be killed in the same manner!' (A few more examples of early Mongolian legal rules may be seen in: Dž. Luvsandordž, Jaroslav Vacek, *Učebnice mongolštiny. Moderní spisovný jazyk* [Textbook of Mongolian. Modern Written Language], Praha 1985, pp. 46–47: *Монголын хууль цааз*).



взысканиям (Козин), *nechť jsou potrestáni!* (Poucha), [it] be subject to punishment (Cleaves)”, in § 280 the literal translation of the basic meaning (something missing, lost etc.) appears to be a mistake (see the section: ‘Examples of translations into foreign languages’).

The stem of the word *aldaltan* is *aldal* with a figurative meaning ‘transgressoin, guilt, fault, crime, punishment, penalty’, which became an important early Mongolian legal term. The concrete form of punishment was determined by the decision-making nobleman or *zaryuči* (Lessing: judge, lawyer), for example a payment or replacement of the lost thing (horse, wagon, etc.), beating, confiscation of property or banishment.

According to the requirements of the idiomatic form of expression of early Mongolian nomads,⁵ Ögödei Qahan repeated twice the same idea of how the two noblemen Arasen and Toqučar would be punished. He did so in the form of a verse of four lines as a potential order (instruction), in which he repeated the idea through synonyms or synonymous phrases. If said in such an artful manner, the listener would easily and permanently remember what was said. And the MNT is a document of how this poetic manner of expression was used, including also rhythm and alliteration. The material collected by A. Oberfalzerová (2006, pp. 124ff.) shows that similar features may be observed even in the speech of the Mongolian nomads of the present day.

7. 4. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES

- Russian: И если впредь у кого окажется в недочете хоть коротенькая веревочка против установленного комплекта, тот заплатится одной губой, а у кого неостанет хоть спицы колесной, тот заплатится половиною носа” (Козин 1941, p. 198)
- German: Wenn ... auch nur ein kurzer Strick fehlt, dann sollen sie mit einer Vermögensstrafe wie für Durchhauen des Nackens! Wenn ihnen ein Löffel oder Radspeiche fehlt, sollen sie mit einer Vermögensstrafe belegt werden, wie für Abschlagen der Nase! (Haenisch 1948, p. 147)

5) Козин 1941 (pp. 50) speaks about a ‘colloquial-literary super-dialect’ (устно-литературный сверхдиалект), a generally understood literary language, *койнѣ*, which was used for the transmission of literary treasures learnt by heart, and less often in written form. And the ‘first literary document of the Mongolian literature’ must also have arisen from such oral tradition (ibid. p. 51).



Czech: Kdyby ... chyběl do počtu Námi stanoveného i jen jeden krátký provaz, pak jest uložiti pokutu na majetku, jako když se přeseke šije! Bude-li jim chybět lžice nebo paprsek kola, nechť se jim uloží pokuta na majetku jako za useknutí nosu!

(Poucha 1955, p. 226)

English: ...from the limit limited from Us from hence,
If they make a short cord to be wanting,
Let them be condemned to [what is called] 'cleavage [following a straight line passing] along the (?) hinder part of the neck.'

If they make a spoke of a wheel in the form of a spoon to be wanting,

Let them be condemned to [what is called] 'cleavage [following a straight line passing along] the nose.' (Cleaves 1982, pp. 226–227)

French: Si, ... au regard des quantités fixées par nous, quelqu'un est cause que,

Vienne à manquer un bout de corde,

Qu'on confisque la moitié de ses biens,

Vienne à manquer un rayon de rouse,

Qu'on confisque la moitié de ses biens! (Even, Pop 1994, p. 247)

8. Metaphors based on local names: Talqun aral (§ 115), Köde'e aral (§ 280)

8.1. CORPUS

Chinese transliteration:

uò-ér-hàn siē-liáng-ké huō-iá-rún t'ǎ-l(è)-hún ā-rā-lā-ch'á (Сумъяабаатар, 1990, p. 180, § 115, L. 3)

kè-luō-riè-nè k'uò-tiè-è ā-rā-rún (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 890, § 282, L. 2)

Mongolian transcription:

Orqan, Selenge qojar-un Talqun-Aral-ača ičurun (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 180, § 115, L. 3)

Kelüren-ü Ködege-Aral-un Doluyan boldaq-a (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 890, § 282, L. 2)



Modern Mongolian rendering:

Орхон Сэлэнгэ хоёрын

Ой талаас буцав.⁶ **Талхун аралаас** хөдөлж (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 70)

Хэрлэний **Хөдөө арлын** Долоон болдог... (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 254)

8.2. MEANING

Aral, Khalkha **арал**; a) island, b) peninsula, c) oasis (Lessing 1960, p. 48). The above two MNT occurrences (§ 115, § 282) have the meaning ‘peninsula’. **Talqun-Aral** is an ancient name used to this day for a place at the confluence of the rivers Orkhon and Selenge. The meaning of the word **Talqun** is not clear. It may have originated from the Even word *talgin* (талгин) ‘bay, gulf’ (MTD II,157). In fact Manchu-Tungus speaking tribes had lived in the area before the Mongols. The word **арал** is even nowadays used with the meaning *peninsula* in Khalkha Mongolian. For example the place of confluence of Ider and Chuluut, two tributaries of Selenge, some 400 km up the river, is called by the local people *Бэлчирийн арал*, lit., ‘Peninsula at the confluence of rivers’, or *Идэрийн арал* ‘Peninsula of the Ider river’.

Köde’e, Khalkha **хөдөө**; the basic meaning of this word is ‘an uninhabited place remote from the inhabited river valley’ (Цэвэл 1966, p. 706). **Kelüren-ü Ködege-Aral**, Khalkha **Хэрлэний хөдөө арал**; lit. ‘isolated peninsula of the Kerülen river’. The source of the Kerülen river is in the Khentei Mounains and then it flows southwards, then turns in a north-easterly direction, forms a large curve and then proceeds to the east. Since the place within this curve (broad steppe, high mountains) is surrounded by the river on three sides, it appears to be a peninsula. The name **Kelüren-ü Ködege-Aral** is mentioned in the MNT in connection with the arrival of the Emperor’s camp at a place in between Dola’an Bolday and Šilginčeg.

The present author’s modern Mongolian rendering:

[Тэмүжин, Тоорил Хан, Жамуха гурав] Орхон Сэлэнгэ хоёрын бэлчирийн “Талхун” хэмээх хагас аралаас буцаруун...

Lit., [Temujin, Tooril Qan and Jamuqa...] were returning from the Talqun Peninsula, which is at the confluence of the rivers Orkhon and Selenge.

Хэрлэний “Хөдөө Арал” (хэмээх их тохойн) Долоон Болдог...

6) The phrase *ой талаас* appears to be an additional explanation of the meaning of the above text, not exactly a translation.

Lit., at Doloan Boldog (Seven Hills) of the “Isolated Peninsula” – (in the sharp bend) of the river Kerülen...

8.3. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES

- Russian:
- и тронулись с острова Талхун-арала, что у слияния рек Орхона и Селенги (Козин 1941, p. 105)
 - в урочище Долоанболдах Келуренского Кодее-арал’а (Козин 1941, p. 199)
- German:
- zogen sie wieder zurück von der Insel Talchun zwischen den den beiden Flüssen Orchon und Selenge (Haenisch 1948, p. 29)
 - Dolo’an Boldach, Sieben Kuppen, und Schilgintschek bei dem Werder Kode’e im Keluren (Haenisch 1948, p. 148)
- Czech:
- táhli zase zpět od ostrova Talchunu mezi řekami Orchonem a Selengou (Poucha 1955, p. 54)
 - mezi místy Doloan-Boldachem a Šilginčekem u Ködeeského ostrova v Kelürenu (Poucha 1955, p. 227)
- English:
- withdrew from Talqun Isle of both the Orqan and the Selenge (Cleaves 1982, p. 48)
 - at Dolo’an Bolday of Köde’e Aral⁷ of the Kelüren (Cleaves 1982, p. 228)
- French:
- En retournant du bec de Talqun, au confluent de l’Orqon et de la Selenga (Even, Pop 1994, p. 82)
 - aux Sept-Collines du bec de la Tourterelle, sur la Kerülen (Even, Pop 1994, p. 248)

7) In Index Nominum: *Kelüren-ü Köde’e Aral* Köde’e Isle of the Kelüren (Cleaves, 1982, p. 246.)

9. Metaphors based on terms reflecting (erotic) intimacy: *ülige čegeži, üžeskülen tala, ebür-tür köl-dür oru-, jerge-dür jergelen bayu-* (§ 208. 32–34)

9.1. CORPUS

Chinese transliteration:

wù-lǐ-ké chě-é-chī ch'ì-nè wù-ké-wéi

wù-chě-sī-kǔ-liáng t'ǎ-lā mǎu-uēi

é-siē k'hè-é-p'ì chě pì

é-pù-ér t'ú-ér k'uò-l(è) t'ú-ér uò-rá-h(ei)-sān

chě-ér-ké t'ú-ér chě-ér-ké-lién pǎo-wù-h(ei)-sān ch'ì-mǎ-yí

(Сумъябаатар 1990, p. 582, § 208, L. 32–35)

Mongolian transcription:

Ülige čegeži činü ügegüi, 32

Üžesküleng tal-a mayui

ese kemebe j-e bi 33

ebür-tür köl-dür oruysan 34

jerge-dür jergelen bayuysan čimayi 35

(Сумъябаатар 1990, p. 582, § 208, L. 32–35)

Excerpt from *Altan tobči* (Lubsangdanjin):

Čimayi-yi aburi üile čekeči. Činü ösküi-tür üžesküleng tei mayui ese kemebe bi. Köl-i čin-ü siberi tei. Kölüsün čin-ü ünür tei ese kemebei j-e bi. Ebür-tür köl-dür oruysan. Jerge-dür jergelen sayuysan čimayi-yi Jorčidai-a soyurqar-un...

(Лу. Алтан товч, 1990, p. 65; cf. also Чоймаа 2002, p. 127–8)

Modern Mongolian rendering:

Авир зангий чинь голсон биш.

Ариун үзэсгэлэнг чинь чамласан биш.

Өврөө дулаацуулж хөлөө хучуулсан

Өөрийн хатан чамайг...Жорчидайд соёрхох болов.

(Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 183)

9.2. MEANING

a) In his translation S. A. Kozin left out the Chinese translation of the words *ülige čegeji* as ‘character’ and translated only the word *čegeji* (bosom) by its metaphorical meaning ‘reason’. Later translators followed Kozin in this translation. Š. Gaadamba (1990, p. 143) replaced the word *ülige* by *elige* (liver). Cleaves keeps the word *ülige* without translating it. According to Čoyiji (1984, pp. 283–284), in the dialect of Baarin the phrase *ülige čegeji* means ‘very perceptive, very good at learning by heart’. However, this meaning does not suit this context.

It is possible that in the original of the Secret History available to the author of Lubsangdanjin, the phrase was written as *aburi üile čekeči*⁸ (character and deeds /being/ frank, straightforward). That wording agrees with the Chinese original of the SH! And the second word in the phrase *ülige čekeči* (great frankness) may have been transliterated in the Chinese version as *chě-é-chī*, as if the medial *-k-* was a voiced variant signalling a long vowel to be pronounced as long *é*. Thus later researchers read this word as *čegeži*, Kh. цэж, ‘bosom, memory’, and figuratively ‘reason’.

Therefore we can conclude that in the SH phrase *ülige čegeži*, the latter word was not *čegeji*, and the phrase should be read as *ülige čekeči* (Kh. үлэг цэхч /үлэг чигч). Literally ‘grandiose, honest’, with a figurative meaning ‘straightforward, frank, honest, just’. This phrase was an expression of a high appreciation of a person’s character.

b) The basic meaning of the word *ügeküi* (Kh. үгээгүү) is ‘impoverished, poor’, the figurative meaning is ‘weak, unimportant’ (expression of discontent, dissatisfaction).

c) The basic meaning of the word *tal-a* (Kh. тал) is ‘side, part’; though its old figurative meaning (face, physiognomy) has been forgotten, it has been preserved in modern colloquial phrases like *нүүр тал хара-* ‘to be partial’ (synonymous pair word, lit. ‘to see face-face/physiognomy’), *тал өг-* (= *нүүр/царай өг-*) ‘to do a favour or courtesy’ (idiom).

d) *ebür-tür köl-dür oruysan* (*čimayi*): Though this phrase is easy to understand for a Mongolian speaker, it may not be so easy for a foreigner. If the figurative expression is translated literally, its real meaning need not immediately be clear. But D. Cerensodnom (Цэрэнсодном 2005, p. 104) converted the phrase into modern Khalkha as *өөр түрийд орсон*, lit., ‘to crawl into the

8) Lubsangdanjin understood the phrase correctly. The same reading is proposed by Чоймаа 2002, pp. 128, note 253.

bosom and boot tops; and got very close to the meaning of the original. The literal meaning of the phrase *ebür-tür oru-* is 'to enter, crawl into the bosom' and its figurative meaning is 'to go to bed with s.o. and lie on the side of his/her bosom'. Similarly, the literal meaning of the phrase *köl-dür oru-* is to 'crawl into, enter into the legs' and its figurative meaning is roughly 'to go to bed with s.o. and to lie on the side of his/her legs'. If used separately, these two phrases can also be used as an invitation for a child to go to father's or mother's bed and warm up at night without any further connotations. But if used together and about grown-ups, the above two phrases mean something like 'living in a close intimacy, loving relation in wedlock' with a strong erotic connotation. In modern Mongolian this idea is commonly expressed by pairing similar phrases, viz *хошуу холбож хөл хэрэ-*, lit., 'to unite by mouth (lit. muzzle) and intertwine by legs', or by another phrase *тоонотой гэрт толгой холбож тостой тогоонд хүзүү холбо-* 'to be united by heads in a yurt with a smoke hole and to get united by necks in a greased kettle'.

e) *jerge-dür jergelen bayuysan* (*čimayi*): The phrase as a whole refers to the queen. The literal meaning of *bayu-* is 'to come or go down, to settle down'; figurative meaning: to stop, stay at a place, to stand (referring to a yurt), e.g. cf. *ger bayuysan* 'the yurt was erected (scil. is no more placed on a wagon), it (already) stands; *ayil bayuysan*, 'the yurt was erected in the neighbourhood'. The first part of the phrase can be explained as follows: There is a phrase *миний зэрэгт зэрэгцэн боссон*, it means 'he/she rose to my level'; a similar phrase *надтай эн зэрэгцэн хатан* has an analogical meaning, viz '(my) queen (wife) who rose to the same level as me'. It was in the context of these phrases that C. Damdinsuren skilfully translated the above phrase into Khalkha: *өөрийн хатан чамайг* 'you (accusative case) my queen'.

f) *čimayi*: In the MNT Čingis Qahan repeats this word twice, at the beginning and the end of his speech. In the *Altan Tobči* it occurs only once and is followed by a double accusative suffix *čimayi-yi* (emphasis, underlining). I compared these two forms and their distribution in both texts and came to the conclusion that the proper translation into Khalkha should use the possessive suffix *-aa*⁴, which expresses the intimate relation – 'you of mine', i.e. *чамайгаа*.

The present author's modern Mongolian rendering:

Ааш зангийн чинь шулуун шударгыг 32

Царай зүсний чинь өнгө үзэсгэлэнг

Голж чамласангүй би. 33

Нэг хөнжилд хамт хөлбөрч 34

Надтай эн зэрэгцэн өндөрлөсөн чамайгаа 35
 Жүрчэдэйд соёрхходоо. 36

Literal translation of the author's modern Mongolian rendering:

I disapproved (33)
 neither of the great fairness of your character (32)
 nor of the beauty of your appearance (33)
 when giving to Jurchedei (36)
 you (35)
 who stayed together (with me) under one blanket (34)
 and rose to the same position with me. (35)

9.3. GENERAL CONTEXT AND COMMENT

In the organisation of the Grand Mongol State one of those who acquired merit was the commander Jürčedei. To appreciate his service, Čingis Qahan granted him his young queen Ibaqa Beki. It was then that he uttered the above words speaking to Ibaqa Beki. Čingis Qahan means to tell her that he said this not because he dislikes her, his most beautiful queen, but as an expression of the great principle of recompense for the good deeds of the hero. Čingis Qahan's words of parting from his 'beloved' queen reflect a recollection of their intimate life. The author of the MNT put this into verses expressing this intimacy. The lines of *Altan Tobči* are more expressive and speak about bodily experience even more openly.

It is interesting to see how two translations of MNT, Heissig's German translation and Poucha's Czech translation, mediate the above idea of the two figurative phrases to their readers.

First let us take the phrase *ebür-tür köl-dür oruysan*. Answering my question concerning how she understands the phrase *an Brust und Beine herankommen*, Helga Reis (professional translator of technical literature in Jena), said that it can be understood in terms of the fact that in German *Brust* (breast) is a synonym of 'heart' and 'love' and thus it implies that the two were in love.

The German translation of *jerge-dür jergelen bayuysan* is *in die Rangordnung eingereiht hinabgestiegen* was commented upon by Stefan Reis (40 year old physicist). For him the word *hinabsteigen* implies the meaning of 'going down', 'lowering', and thus he understood that Čingis Qahan stopped loving her and degraded her in this way.

According to V. Zikmundová, Czech Mongolist, the above text's Czech translation „*Tebe, která na nohou a prsou jsi sem přišla a zařazena podle pořadí jsi sestoupila*“ implies that the girl came crawling on her breasts and descended.

The verb *bayu-/byy-* has two basic meanings. Corresponding to the two meanings there are also two different figurative meanings:

1) 'moving downwards' (basic meaning): e.g. *шувуу бууж байна* 'a bird is descending (from the skies)'; figurative meaning: e.g. *сайд буу бууж байна* 'the Minister has been released (from his post), lit. 'the Minister is descending'.

2) final result of the movement – stopping, reposing (basic meaning): e.g. *хаа буусан бэ?* 'where have you built / erected your yurt?' (lit. Where have you stopped?'); figurative meaning: e.g. *манайх энд буусан* 'we have stopped here' (i.e. the yurt is already erected). The meaning of the above MNT phrase is this latter figurative meaning, i.e. they have erected a yurt and lived (there after changing their place of living). Obviously, it is important to see figurative expressions in the context of ethnography of communication and respect the process of metaphorisation taking place in the language.

9.4. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES

- Russian: Я не пренебрегал ни разумом твоим, ни красотой. И если я от сонма находящихся у лона моего и подножия ног моих отдаю тебя,... Чжурчедаю, ... (Козин 1941, p. 162)
- German: Ich habe von dir nicht gesagt, daß du kein gutes Wesen hättest oder daß deine Erscheinung und dein Gesicht übel wäre. *Dich, die du an Brust und Beine herangekommen und in die Rangordnung eingereiht hinabgestiegen warst, schenke ich dem Dschurtschedai...* (Haenisch 1948, p. 96)
- Czech: Neřekl jsem o tobě:
Má nedobrou povahu,
má zjev a obličej špatný.
Tebe, která na nohou a prsou jsi sem přišla a zařazena podle pořadí jsi sestoupila, daruji Džurčedejovi. (Poucha 1955, p. 152)
- English: I have not said [unto myself] that thou [art] without thine *ülige* and bosom and that [thou art] bad [as to thy] beauty and appearance. When I present unto Jürčedei thee who art 'entered into [my] breast and into [my] legs' and who art 'descended,' taking place in the row,... (Cleaves 1982, p. 149)



French: Je n'ai point dit
Que tu étais dépourvue de sensibilité,
Ni que tu étais de médiocre beauté.
Toi qui as entrée dans mon sein et mes jambes,
Toi qui as campé dans le rang [des épouses impériales],
En t'accordant au Djourtchète, ... (Even, Pop 1994, p. 176)

10. Metaphor expressing displeasure: Mergid-ün čoryan ger (§115)

10.1. CORPUS

Chinese transliteration:

Miè-ér-k'ī-tūn ch'ò-ér-hān ké-ér (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p.179, § 115, L. 2)

Mongolian transcription:

Merkid-ün čoryan ger soyoliγulzu (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p.179, § 115, L. 2)

Modern Mongolian rendering:

Олон мэргидийн

Оцгор гэрийг эвдэж (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 70)⁹

Note:

This word, transcribed variously as *čoryan* / *čorqan* = *čōryan* / *čurqan*, has not been translated in the Chinese parallel translation and therefore translators interpret it in various ways. Some connect it with modern Mongolian *цорго* (tube, pipe, spout) and interpret it as 'a yurt with a sharp top', some connect it with *цуурга* (lock) and interpret it as 'a yurt with a lock', some connect it with *цуурхай* (hole, rent, rip, torn, ripped) and interpret it as 'a conical yurt with an open door', some others connect it with Manchu *zurγan* (ministry) and interpret it as the seat of an official.

In my opinion, the word *čoryan* / *čurqan* occurs in the name of a dwelling and therefore it may be appropriate to link its origin with the basic material used to build a dwelling, viz *шургааг(ан)* / *чургааг(ан)* 'a pole' and to interpret it on that basis.

⁹ This phrase is explained as *цуурхай амтай овоохой ээр* 'a conical yurt with a tattered felt entrance' by Гадамба (1990, p. 304, note 400).



10.2. MEANING

Khalkha *шургааг(ан) / сургааг(ан)*, classical Mongolian *šuryay / siruy* ‘pole, long mast, stake’ (Lessing 1960, pp. 718, 758), OT. *siruy* ‘pole, mast’ (OTD, p. 550), MT. *сѣранг / шѣранг* ‘mast’ (MTD II, 75). Since in early Mongolian there was not a separate consonant *š*, in borrowings *š* was replaced by *č*.¹⁰ Thus the word *čoryan / čurqan* in the MNT could have originated as a popular pronunciation of the word recorded as *šuryay / siruy* in classical Mongolian.

The word *шургаа* is the designation of a pole from a young larch with bark which was used by nomads to build a fence for cattle.

Шургааган гэр: Basic meaning: ‘a cottage made from larch poles’. Figurative meaning (expressing displeasure): ‘hovel; shed’.

The present author’s modern Mongolian rendering:

Mergid-ün siruyun (>*šuryay-un*) ger-i *čoyu čoyulju*,¹¹

Khalkha: *Мэргидийн шургааган гэрийг цоо цоолж (цөм цохиж) ...*

We have completely smashed through the wooden yurt of the Merkits ...

10.3. CONTEXT OF THE SITUATION AND COMMENT

This expression is used in the context of the unexpected entry of 30 thousand Mongol and Kereyid soldiers into the territory of the Merkits in order to free a captive girl. This has been described by Gumilev (Гумилев 1989, pp. 424–427 in the sub-chapter about the “Trojan war on the River Selenge”). The two lines are highly expressive winged words reflecting their emotional state when they were returning from this victorious campaign (destroying many ugly Merkit houses and taking captive their beautiful girls).

The Merkits¹² lived in the area south of the Baikal See and some of them may have used felt yurts like the Mongols, while some others may have used

10) For example, early Mo. *čazan* (Classical Mongolian *čayajan*), Khalkha *цааз(ан)*, Buryad *цааз(ан)* ‘prohibition, law, punishment’ < Skt. *śāsana*. Early Mo. *čibayanča / sibayansa*, Khalkha *чавгани*, Buryad *шавганса* ‘nun’ < Sogd. *šmn’nch*.

11) This word *soyoliḡul-* in the MNT is difficult. It seems that its meaning is to be found in Lessing’s phrase *čoyu čoyul-* ‘to pierce through’. Its phonetic shape is also very close. Cf. Lessing 1960, p. 195, s.v. *COḠU / ЦОО*.

12) The Merkit were obviously neither Mongols nor Turks. In that case there is only the possibility that they belonged to the Samoyedic group (Гумилев 1989, p. 426: ‘Видимо, меркиты были не монголы или тюрки, а тогда остается только самодийская группа, к коей их и следует причислить’).



wooden cottages like the forest dwellers. Their dwellings were mostly primitive cottages made from wooden poles. Such dwellings were not acceptable for people living in felt yurts and that may have been the reason why they gave expression to their displeasure by the derogative term *шургааган гэр*.

The dwelling of the Merkits must have been a cottage with two doors, as may be understood from the following passage in the MNT (§112): It being showed [by somebody], saying, “The mother of Belgütei (Chingis Khan’s half-brother) is in that *ayil*,” Belgütei going for to take his mother, with Belgütei’s entering into her tent by the right door, his mother – [clothed] with a raiment of tattered sheepskins – being gone out by the left door, ... (Cleaves 1982, p. 47).

I do not mean to say that in relation to the yurt it is not possible to use the phrases ‘right door’ (the gap or opening at the right – or western side of the felt hanging in the door) or ‘left door’ (the gap or opening at the left – or eastern side of the felt hanging in the door). But it is not conceivable that two adults should enter and leave simultaneously through these two gaps. Therefore the dwelling into which Belgütei entered through the ‘right’ door and which his mother left through the ‘left’ door, must have been a cottage with two doors. And besides that, when entering or leaving the yurt, only the ‘left’ or eastern gap or side of the door was used. The ‘right’ or western gap was used only to carry out a dead person.

10.4. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES

<u>Russian:</u>	Меркитов Крутоверхие юрты разбили, Знатных красавиц пленили [Клином сшибли замки у юрт, красавиц для себя забрали знаменитых... (Иначе: снесли их крутоверхие юрты).] (Козин 1941, p. 105)
<u>German:</u>	Tataren=Jurten der Merkit umgestürzt und die vornehmen Frauen geraubt (Haenisch 1948, p. 29)
<u>Czech:</u>	Merkitů špičaté jurty rozbili, vznešené ženy uloupili, (Poucha 1955, p. 54)
<u>English:</u>	of the Merkid, Overthrowing the <i>čorqan</i> ¹³ tents,

13) Cleaves (1982, p. 48, note 38) makes the following comment on this word: This word, not glossed, is not elsewhere attested. In § 124 below, however, there is found the expression



Ravishing the glorious women, (Cleaves 1982, p. 48)

French: ... jetèrent à bas les grossières demeures des Bons-Viseurs et capturèrent leurs femmes splendides (Even, Pop 1994, p. 82)

11. Idiom of expressiveness: oro-ban hoytoryu bolyagda-, ebür-jen hemtülde- (§105)

11.1. CORPUS

Chinese transliteration:

uò-rá-pān huō-h(ei)-t'wō-ér- hū péi-l(é)- hǎ-h(ei)-ta-ā pì (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 150, § 105, L. 4)

é-pù-rǐ-ién hám-t'ún-l(è)-tié pì (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 150, § 105, L. 6)

Mongolian transcription:

Oru-ban oytorqu bolyayday-a bi (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 150, § 105, L. 4)

ebür-i-iyen emtültege bi (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 150, § 105, L. 6)

Modern Mongolian rendering:

Өрий минь өвтгөв

Өврий минь хоослов (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 62)

– Oroon хоосон bolguulav bi...

O'vroon o'mtluulev, bi (Чоймаа 2006, p. 56)

11.2. MEANING

Ebür / Khalkha өвөр; basic meaning: 'bosom'; figurative meaning: “нөмөрсөн хувцас хунарын дотоод нь” (i.e. the interior of the *deel* or under the *deel* by which someone covers himself in bed) (Цэвэл 1966, p. 429) or a poetical metaphor: person covered by the same blanket, i.e. wife [нэгэн хөнжил хамт нөмрөгч (эхнэр)].

čöoryatai tergen-I (acc.) “the cart having a lock.” It may, therefore, be that *čöryan* = *čöryan* < *čöoryan* „lock.” If so, the expression *čorqan ger* in this passage may mean “lock-tents,” i.e., “tents with locks.”



Basic meaning: **Oru-ban oytorqu bolyayday-a bi** – I whose (own) bed was left empty. **Ebüür-i-iyen emtültege bi** – I whose (own) blanket was torn away.

Figurative meaning: I whose beloved was removed (from his bed) and whose beloved was torn away from his front (breast) under his blanket; modality: hatred; manner of achieving expressiveness: rhythmical idiomatic expressions.

The present author's modern Mongolian rendering:

Оры минь хоослов

Өвөрхий минь (хайры минь) булаав.

Lit. They have made my bed empty.

They tore away what was under my blanket.

11.3. CONTEXT OF THE SITUATION

Soon after young Temüjin (future Činggis Qahan) was married, Merkits attacked him and kidnapped his wife (§102). Temüjin sent a messenger to his friend Jamuᠢya and asked him for military help. The above words are a quotation of Temüjin's words (poetic verses), which the messenger told to Jamuᠢya. The impression and result of these words was commented upon above (10.3).

11.4. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES

- Russian: Ложе мое – воздух пустой,
В сердце зияет глубокая рана
[Ложе мое обращено в пустой воздух, Лоно (грудь) мое
ущерблено]. (Козин 1941, p. 99)
- German: Von meiner Brust ist mir die Hälfte fortgerissen worden,..
mein Bett ist mir geräumt worden (Haenisch 1948, p. 25)
- Czech: ... postel mi vyprázdnili.
...
Mé hrudi půle mi byla urvána. (Poucha 1955, p. 46)
- English: As to my bed,
I was made to be empty.¹⁴
...

14) There may be a misprint. The text should probably have been 'It was made to be empty.'



As to my breast,
I have been rent in twain. (Cleaves 1982, p. 39)
French: Et m'ont laissé avec mon lit vide;
...
Ils ont brisé ma poitrine; (Even, Pop 1994, p. 76)

12. Metaphorical expression with a shade of humiliation: *kürdün-ü tuyul-un belčigel-dür ese kürügsen* (§ 194)

12.1 CORPUS

Chinese transliteration:

kū-ér-tūo-né t'ū-hū-lún pié-l(è)-chi-é-l(è)- t'ū-ér-é-siē kū-ruō-k'(è)- siēn
é-miè t'ă-yáng (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 483, § 194, L. 19–20)

Mongolian transcription:

kürdün-ü tuyul-un belčigel-dür ese kürügsen em-e tayang (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 483, § 194, L. 19–20)

Modern Mongolian rendering together with the broader context:

Жирэмсэн эмийн шээх газраас хол яваагүй,
Жижиг тугалын бэлчих газраас гарч үзээгүй
Эм Таян зүрх алдаж
Энэ үгийг хэлжээ. (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 156)

12.2. MEANING

Etymology: **küriyen**, Khalkha **хүрээ(н)** “fence, enclosure, yard”, **kürdün**, Khalkha **хүрд(эн)** ‘circle’; shifted meaning ‘wheel’. In my opinion the word *kürdün* could have been the name of a small yard for calves. In order to obtain the milk of the cows it was necessary to keep the calves separately in a small enclosure. These early enclosures were only temporary and they must have been made from similar materials as nowadays, e.g. ropes from the long hair of animals, leather straps, willow rods.

Kürdün-ü tuyul Basic meaning: “the calf of the hedge /fence/ enclosure/ pen”. Figurative meaning: a weaned calf, i.e. a calf in the period when the cow is milked.



Kürdün-ü tuyul-un belčigel “pasture for weaned calves”; this is a space not exceeding a few hundred metres around the yurt.

In order to obtain milk from the cows, nomads used to keep the calves in a special enclosure (*kürdün*) at night and in the morning they would milk the cows. After the cows were taken to their pasture, calves could leave their enclosure and could graze around the yurt. Thus the phrase *kürdün-ü tuyul-un belčigel-dür ese kürügsen em-e tayang* literally means ‘a woman Tayang which has not reached the enclosure of a (weaned) calf’; humiliating or degrading meaning: effeminate man.

The present author’s modern Mongolian rendering:

Хашааны тугалын бэлчээрт эс хүрсэн эм Таян.

Lit. ‘Woman Tayang who has not even been in the pasture of (weaned) calves kept in an enclosure.’

The implication being ‘(you are) a palace woman Tayan not thinking about anything else but enjoyment’.

12.3. CONTEXT OF THE SITUATION

Chingis Qahan invaded the region of the Naimans with his army. The ruler of the Naimans, Tayang Qan, was afraid and proposed to withdraw his army some thousand kilometres back and start the fight later after the Mongolian soldiers and horses had grow tired. The commander of the Naiman army, Prince Güčülüg Qan, got very angry and uttered these humiliating words about his father, comparing him with an inexperienced woman. Movement in space occupies an important place in the thinking of nomadic people. When praising a person whose opinion they appreciate, they would use the phrase ‘a man who has travelled far, who has visited many countries’ and the like. On the other hand a stupid person would be referred to as ‘a man who has not travelled far, who has not seen many countries’ etc. An informed, experienced and clever person may be referred to as *юм үзэж нүд тайлсан хүн*, ‘a man who saw things and opened his eyes’. The opposite would be *юм үзэж нүд тайлаагүй хүн* ‘a man who saw nothing and thus did not open his eyes’. In a slightly exaggerated poetic manner such man would be referred to by the phrase *эмэлээсээ өндөр даваа даваагүй, эхнэрээсээ өөр хүнийг танихгүй хүн* ‘a man who has not crossed a hillock higher than his saddle, who does not know any other person but his own wife’ or *жирэмсэн эмийн шээх газраас хэтрээгүй,*



зэлний¹⁵ тугалын бэлчих газарт хүрээгүй хүн ‘a man who has not gone beyond the distance where a pregnant woman passes water, who has not reached the pasture of a tied-up calf’.

12.4. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES

- Russian: Так разглагольствует **баба Таян**,
Та, что **подальше еще не ходила**,
Нежели до-ветру баба брюхатая.
Дальше еще и не хаживал он,
Нежели в поле теленок кружонный” (Козин 1941, p. 146)¹⁶
- German: Hat uns diese Worte nicht das Weib Tayang sagen lassen,
wo es Angst bekommen hat? Tayang, der noch nicht so
weit hinaus gegangen ist, wie an dem Platz, wo eine
schwangere Frau urinert, der **noch nie zum Weideplatz
der radhohen Kälber gekommen ist**. (Haenisch 1948, p.80)
- Czech: Nevzákal nám tato slova
baba Tajang-chan, když dostal strach?
Nedošel ani tak daleko,
kde těhotná žena močí,
nedošel ani tak daleko,
kde telata jak kolo vysoká se pasou. (Poucha 1955, p.126)
- English: When the heart of. **the woman Tayang**
Which is not yet gone out to the place where a woman heavy
[with child] pisseth;
Which is not yet arrived at the pasture of the calf of the wheel
failed [him], came he not speaking these words? (Cleaves 1982, p. 123)¹⁷

15) Note that the word зэл ‘rope’ in this phrase is used instead of *хүрд* in the MNT, and it also has the same grammatical form.

16) Kozin (ibid.) probably understood the word *kürdün* as a verb meaning ‘to circle’, or as *kürüd* ‘moth’. Besides the translation, he offers an extra explanation of the text: Не из трусости ли прислал ты такое предложение, баба Таян, который не выходил из дому даже на расстояние отхожего места для беременной бабы; не доходил даже на расстояние бега кружонного теленка. In a footnote he explains the last phrase as Телечья “кружонная болезнь” или “вертечка”.

17) Cleaves adds Note 41: I.e., “who has not gone so far from the tent as the calf which, during the day, is tied to the wheel of a cart in the vicinity of the tent in order to prevent it from following its mother and sucking her milk, because a cow which has a calf is milked every day.” His wording “the calf which, during the day, is tied to the wheel” is incorrect.



French: Cette **femmelette de Tayang**,
 Qui n'est jamais sorti si loin qu'urine une femme enceinte,
Qui n'est jamais allé si loin que pâture un veau qui tête encore,
 N'est-ce pas par manque de courage qu'il m'a envoyé ce message? (Even, Pop 1994, p. 153)¹⁸

13. Early cultural words: *qara'utai* (§ 100) / *qala'utai* (§ 6); and *ölžige* (§ 6)

13.1. CORPUS

Chinese transliteration:

hǎ-lā-wù-t'ái t'īē-ér-ká-nè uán-l(è) chī-ké-tié ní-kǎn uò-k'ín sā-yīn pèi-yóu
 (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 11, § 6, L. 2)
 péi-kǎn **hǎ-rā-wù-t'ái t'īē-ér-kiēn**-t'ú-ér wù-nè-uēn-l(è)-choū (Сумъяабаатар
 1990, p. 134, § 100, L. 3.)

Mongolian transcription:

nigen **qarayutai tergen-ü ölžige-de** nigen ökin sain bijü (Сумъяабаатар 1990,
 p. 11, § 6, L. 2)
 бүken **qarayutai tergen-dür** unuyulju (Сумъяабаатар 1990, p. 134, § 100, L. 3)

Modern Mongolian rendering:

тэрэгний мухлагийн өмнө нэг сайхан охин сууж явна. (Дамдинсүрэн, 1990,
 p. 26)
 Хуагчин эмгэн, Бөртэ үжинийг **бүхээгтэй тэргэнд** оруулж бөөр алаг
 үхэр хөллөж (Дамдинсүрэн, 1990, p. 55)

Note:

In the Mongolian-Chinese script¹⁹ this word is transliterated as **hǎ-lā-wù-t'ái** and **hǎ-rā-wù-t'ái**. It was translated by the Chinese translator as 'black' and this is what most translators repeat. They explain the phrase *qarayutai tergen* by referring to Marco Polo's phrase describing a 'chariot covered by black felt

18) The French translation is very much to the point and exact.

19) The Chinese transcription of the SHM was called *mongyol kelen-ü kitad üsüg* ('Chinese script of the Mongolian language') by the translator Čende Güng, and S.A. Kozin used the phrase "китайско-монгольское письмо как национальное письмо монголов" (Козин 1941, p. 8).



into which the rain does not penetrate'. His expression 'covered by black felt' is not to be linked with the phrase *öljigetei qara'utai tergen* (king's marriage equipage), but with the phrase *büken qarayutai tergen* (Khalkha *бүхээм / бүхээм хачаг тэрэг*) a two-wheeled cart with a canopy.

13.2. ETYMOLOGY AND MEANING

A) *qara'u* / *qala'u*

I believe that the word **qara'u** < **carr**, **qara'utai** must have been an early cultural word for 'chariot'. In Slavonic and other IE languages there are many formally related words, like *кара, капета, колесо, kolo, kelan, hvel, car/carr, čakra*.²⁰ There are several Mongolian words related to this etymological nest: *qar-a terge* (wagon with a palanquin), *xapzyū* (road, usually refers to a broad and clear natural path formed on the steppe), *гарху*, Coll. *горху / голху* (ring, annular), *xacag* (hoop, rim of a wheel, cart), *уазаруз* (circle, hoop), etc.

The word **qala'utai** / **qara'utai** appearing in the MNT is a term designating a light wagon brought to Central Asia by people coming from the West (the Scythians) in the 8th cent. B.C. Its basic meaning is 'a wheel', its figurative meaning is 'a light wagon'.

It appears in four different forms, **qala'u**, **qara'u**, **kilgün/ kilyun** (§ 214, L. 52), **qasay** (§ 64, L. 3). These forms clearly display the various relations between Turkic and Mongolian dialects as they are variously called lambdaism (*qala'u*, *kilyun*), zetacizm (*qasay*) or rhotacizm (*qara'u*).

The wheel which appeared in Central Asia in early times rolled on an axle and had many spokes. Therefore it was light. The earlier wheel was moving together with the axle and had no radial spokes. It consisted of one heavy bar with two smaller bars on each side whose ends were rounded into a wheel through added pieces of wood. Consequently it was rather heavy (even nowadays such a home-made wheel may be used by Mongolian nomads). It was only natural that the light wagon with a 'revolutionary' wheel should be called *carr*, *капета* (Mo. *qara*, *qara'utai*). It is not just by chance that the word *qara'utai* appears to be phonetically close to *капета/ chariot / la carroza / le char* etc.

In the Inner Mongolian monolingual dictionary, a light wagon is called *qar-a terge(n)* = *seüke tergei*, i.e. 'light wagon' (Norjin 1999, p. 1246), *qasay*

20) Cf. Václav Machek, *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*. Praha 1997, p. 241: *kára*, p. 242: *kareta*, p. 269–270: *kolo*.



terge(n) = тэнхлэгээр эргэдэг богино хүрдтэй модон тэрэг (i.e. wooden wagon with a short [sectioned] wheel turning on an axle (Norjin 1999, p. 1209). It should be noted that in Khalkha Mongolian the terms are *хасаг тэрэг*, i.e. 'wheeled wagon', and *ямаан тэрэг*, i.e. 'light wagon' (see below).

The original meaning of *qara*, *qara'u*, viz 'a wheel', 'a light wagon', was forgotten and later the same happened with *qara'utai*, 'a wagon'. Roughly by the time of the 13th-14th centuries it was folk-etymologically reinterpreted through its nearly homonymous word *qara* 'black', which is reflected in the Chinese translation of the MNT.

B) *ölžige*

This is an early word whose meaning is not very clear. Translators following the Chinese translation interpret it as the 'front seat'. E.g. Cleaves translates 'At the forefront' and comments as follows: It seems from this passage as well as those in §§55 and 64 below, that the place occupied by the women was the front, inside the cart (Cleaves 1982, p. 2, note 3). This is not very persuasive.

I agree with the suggestion of Even and Pop (1994, p. 49 and note 116, pp. 261-2) who refer to Chinese dictionaries and translate the word *ölžige(n)* as 'rideau', i.e. 'curtain'. However, I propose a further interpretation of the meaning of the word. Though originally it may have referred only to a felt curtain which could be raised or lowered as a protection against sun or rain, its shifted meaning referred to a canopy with a window or a curtain and comfortable seats, which could be fixed on a wagon (cf. the attached petroglyph picture). This early word fell out of use and nowadays Khalkha has *сэхээвч* < *seküübči* a smaller airy construction: arbour; palanquin (probably < *sekü-* / *sökü-* to raise, lift up, open).

There are some other Mongolian roots which may be related to *ölžige(n)*: *elgü-* (Khalkha *өлгө-*) 'to hang, hang up, suspend'; *ölügei* (Khalkha *өлгий*) 'baby's cradle, swaddling clothes'; *öljei* 'good luck, happiness'.

If my proposal is correct the phrase *qara'utai tergen-ü ölžige* would mean 'a canopy of a light wagon'.



The present author's modern Mongolian rendering:

Нэгэн хасаг (хөнгөн / ямаан) тэргэний сэхээвчинд (сүйхэнд) нэгэн язгуур сайт охин²¹ сууж явна (§ 6).

Lit., In a canopy of a light wagon, a girl of noble birth is sitting.

[Qo'ayč'in эмгэн Bōrte Üjin-ийг] бүхээгтэй хасаг тэргэнд суулгаж, бөөр алаг үхэр хөллөж (§ 100).

Lit., [the old woman Qo'ayč'in] put [Bōrte Üjin] on a covered two-wheeled cart, and harnessed a white-waist bullock.

This can also be compared with another passage in the MNT:

Öljige tutum

Ökid,

Qarayu tutum

Qatud bui (§55)

I would translate it as follows:

At every canopy

(there are) maidens.

At every chariot

(there are) ladies.

Cf. Cleaves' rendering (1982, p. 12):

Maidens

At every forefront;

Women

At every black cart.

13.3. CONTEXT OF THE SITUATION

There are many petroglyphs in the Mongolian Altai Mountains depicting many light carts with frames. These are exactly the pictures of the **qara'utai tergen** discussed here. These carts appeared in Central Asia at the turn of the Karasuk and Scythian periods about the 8th cent. B.C. (Новгородова 1974, p. 224–225). Early Chinese documents refer to North-Western neighbours of

21) In the original: *nigen ökin sain bijü*. The basic meaning of the word *sain* was 'good', the figurative meaning was 'aristocracy, aristocratic'. The modern Mongolian word *caūd* 'minister' is the plural form with this figurative meaning.

the Mongols, people with blue eyes (called Dinlins) and high wagons. There are also references to Turkic and some North-Eastern Mongolian tribes who were described as 'people with high wagons'. According to what MNT says, the Mongols used 'high wagons' (*qara'utai tergen*) with a canopy (*öljige*) pulled by camels to take the bride in the marriage procession to her new home. This wagon was called *Qayan boluysan tan-u Qasay tergen* 'Chariot cart of you who are a Qahan' (§ 64) and it had a strong symbolical implication, which can be seen in how Chingis Qahan's mother made it a means of transport in an emergency. The *qara'utai tergen-ü ölžige* was a means of transport of a lady of noble birth, a symbol of the emperor's wedding, the place of birth of descendants, a place of good luck and happiness. Thus it is possible to link the word *öljige* with other words important for the figurative thinking of the Mongols, viz *öliügei* / *өлгий* 'baby's cradle, swaddling clothes', *öljei* / *өлзий* 'auspice, favourable omen, happiness, good luck'. These words appear to be a reminiscence of a matriarchate.

Note:

The phrase *qasay tergen* (Khalkha *хасаг тэрэг*) is sometimes understood as a wagon coming from the Kazakh or Kirgiz people. In Russian this is literally translated a Kazakh wagon ('буквально казахская телега', БАМРС 2001, T.IV, p. 65) and so does Cleaves in explaining *Qasay* as "Kirgiz" (Cleaves 1982, p. 16, note 46). This, however, is doubtful (also because of the lambdacism mentioned above) and may be considered a 'folk etymology'. This is because in Mongolian, the word *qasay* (*хасаг*) means six various things, all of which are connected with something round or a wheel or a cart (cf. БАМРС 2001, T.IV, p. 65, s.v. *хасаг тэрэг*):

- 1) The metal rings of a Mongol kettle stand
- 2) Castle (in chess)
- 3) Wheel of a cart
- 4) Two-wheeled cart
- 5) A wagon with a canopy or a cover on a vehicle, shack, hut
- 6) Cart

13.4. EXAMPLES OF TRANSLATIONS INTO FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Russian: – Хороша молодница в кибитке **крытой повозки**, (Козин 1941, p. 79)

- German:
- Хоахчин-эмген усадила ее в **крытый возок**, запрягла рябую в почках корову. (Козин 1941, p. 96)
 - befindet sich auf dem Vordersitz eines **schwarzen Karrens** ein schönes Mädchen (Haenisch 1948, p.1)
 - Die alte Frau Cho'agtschin aber setzte die Borte'udschin, um sie zu verbergen, auf **einen schwarzen Deichselkarren**, spannte ein an den Flanken geschecktes Rind davor (Haenisch 1948, p. 22)
- Czech:
- sedí na předním sedadle **vozu** krásná dívka. (Poucha 1955, p. 12)
 - Stará Choachčín posadila však Börte-üdžin, ..., na **černou káru**, zapřáhla do ní dobytče se strakatými boky... (Poucha 1955, p. 39)
- English:
- At the **forefront** of one **black cart**, one maiden is good. (Cleaves 1982, p. 2)
 - [Old Woman Qo'ayčín] Making her ride in a **böken, black cart**, Harnessed [to it] an ox speckled of loins. (Cleaves 1982, p. 34)
- French:
- ..., il y a une fille, assise **à l'avant** d'un **chariot noir**, qui est bien jolie! (Even, Pop 1994, p. 41)
 - Grand-mère Fauvine, voulant chacher Dame Bleutée, la fit grimper dans un **chariot noir** et y attela un bœuf à la croupe pie. (Even, Pop 1994, p. 69)

14. Conclusion

Before concluding this paper I should like to make a brief remark about the contextual properties of the metaphors in the MNT.

It is not always necessary that metaphorical expressions should appear only in verses. Let me show two examples of how metaphorisation can also take place with common words which at first sight appear to be easily understood.

öki (§54):

Basic meaning: spirit, top, essence, substance, source; *olqunud ayimay-ača öki ab-* (§54) to take the spirit from the Olqunud peoples. Figurative meaning: bride, wife; to take a bride from the Olqunud peoples.

Text: *Merkit-ün Yeke-Čiledü Olqunuyud irgen-eče öki abču egüsüejü ayis-uqu-yi jolyaju...*

Examples of translations into foreign languages:

- Russian: который ехал со свадьбы, взяв себе девушку из Олхонутского племени. (Козин 1941, p. 84)
- English: having taken a maiden from the Olqunu'ud people and having made [her] to arise, was drawing nigh. (Cleaves, 1982, p. 12)
- French: qui avait pris une épouse chez les Olqunu'ud et la ramenait chez lui. (Even, Pop 1994, p. 48)
- Czech: který si vezl dívku od lidu ochunuutského a tudy jel (Poucha 1955, p. 19)

asaraýul- (§111):

Basic meaning: to be protected, in guardianship; figurative meaning (euphemism): to hand over as a concubine

Text: *Börte Üjin-i Čilger Bökü-de asaraýuluysan ajuýu*, 'Börte Üjin (wife of Temüjin) was handed over (by them) to Čilger Bökö as a concubine.

Examples of translations into foreign languages:

- Russian: Ее они передали на волю Чильгер-Бoko. (Козин 1941, p. 103)
- English: made her to be cared for by Čilger Bökö. (Cleaves 1982, p. 45)
- French: ... et en avaient confié le soin à Gaillard-le-Lutteur (Čilger Bökö), (Even, Pop 1994, p. 80)
- Czech: ...a dali ji pod ochranu Čilger-bököovi. (Poucha 1955, p. 51)

kebtëgöl- (§ 227, L. 30)

Absolute homonyms:

- a) to cause someone or something to lie down (caus. of *kebte-* 'to lie down')
- b) to cause someone to observe a customary rule (caus. of *kebte-* 'to observe rule; *kebte-* < *keb* 'customary rule')

Text: *Nisiydaqun yosutan bögesü kebtëgöljü nisisi-že* 'if it is necessary to be beaten, the rule will be observed and we will beat'.

Examples of translations into foreign languages:

- Russian: ...разложить и наказывать палками тех, кто заслуживал палок. (Козин 1941, p. 170)
- English: If there be those for whom holdeth the rule that they are fit to be beaten, making [them] to lie down, [we] shall beat [them] (Cleaves 1982, p. 165–166)
- French: ...; s'il y a raison de leur donner la bastonnade, nous lew ferons allonger et nous les battons. (Even, Pop 1994, p. 193)

Czech: Jestliže si zasloužili potrestání bitím, dáme je položít a bít.
(Poucha 1955, p. 169)

Since the MNT is an old historical document it contains many old words, but it is also a literary document and contains also a number of poetic words. The basis for understanding the poetic words is often the metaphor. It is a manner of grasping the principles of thinking of an ethnic group. This of course is not so easy. The native speaker may not always be able to understand a metaphor and a researcher need not necessarily have the linguistic intuition to decipher it either.

The reason why I select some words and phrases, which are disputed among translators of the MNT and difficult to interpret and understand, is that I would like to draw attention to the prospect of studying the metaphors in this text. In my previous paper I mentioned the fact that it was rather coincidental that I discovered this interesting subject which has not received much attention so far (Lubsangdorji 2006, p. 159–160).

Though it is obvious that the translation of the MNT is becoming gradually more and more precise, most of the metaphorical expressions are still being translated literally. Paying attention to this problem may further help to improve the understanding of the text and make its rendering into other languages more precise. There may be some more interesting aspects of the metaphors in the MNT to be discussed later, but the subject as a whole deserves further and systematic attention.

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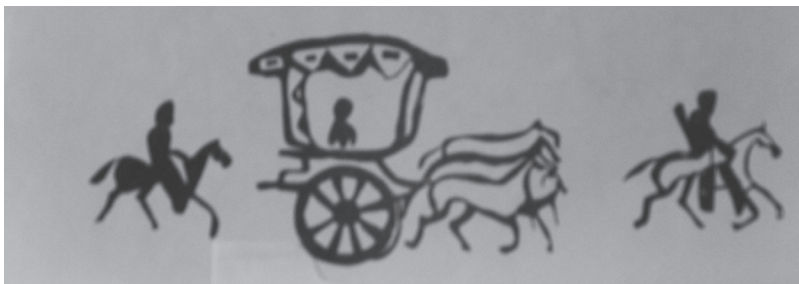
Abbreviations

ОТД	<i>Древнетюркский словарь</i> . АН СССР, Институт языкознания, Ленинград 1969.
МТД	<i>Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков</i> , Том 1–2, АН СССР, Институт языкознания, Ленинград 1975.
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Supplement

BRINGING HOME A BRIDE

In this paper we reproduce a picture from the petroglyphs of the Hunnu period (1st cent. B.C. – 1st / 2nd cent. A.D.) which are valued by archaeologists (Дорж, Новгородова 1975, p. 44; Цултэм 1986, p. 4.). In this picture (Дорж, Новгородова 1975, p. 75) we can see very clearly the *ölžige* (palanquin) of the wagon and a silhouette of a female sitting inside. The wagon is drawn by three horses and accompanied by two riders, one in front (with a bow and arrows) and one behind the wagon (probably the father of the bride²²). In the SHM this is expressed by a phrase *öki abču egüskejü ayisuqu* (Khalkha *охъ авч үүсгэж айсах*, lit., to come after having taken the best and after having started [a family]). The translation of Cleaves appears to interpret the figurative meaning: 'having taken a maiden ... and having made [her] to arise, was drawing nigh' (§54; Cleaves 1982, p. 12). The picture can be linked with the words of the SHM. There are verses in the SHM (§ 64), which demonstrate this ancient habit of selecting a bride from a noble family (Olqunu'ud and Unggirad peoples) and the above discussed words *öljige*, *qara'u*, *qasay tergen*, *öljigetei tergen* are used there describing the marriage procession and equipage in 24 beautiful poetic lines, which in fact is an artistic description of the habit expressed by the succinct phrase *охъ авч үүсгэж айсах*.



Bride in a wagon with palanquin (petroglyph on a rock in the place called Yamaan Us; in Üyenč Sum, Khobd Aimag; Дорж, Новгородова 1975, p. 75)

- 22) Mongolian Khan Ambayai (second generation ancestor of Chingis Khagan) while accompanying his daughter who was to become a wife, was caught in enemy territory and before being killed said the following words: Beware, [instructed] by [what hath befallen] me, of yourself accompanying your daughter, when ye will be *qahan* of all and Lord of the Nation (§53, Cleaves, 1982, p. 11). Therefore when Temüjin brought home his bride, she was accompanied by her mother, not her father (§94).

***Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic**

3.2. Etyma with initial labials (*p*-, *b*-, *f*-, *v*-, *m*-) and root-final liquids and retroflex stops¹

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Summary: The paper carries on the systematic survey of *verba dicendi* as it was presented in the previous volumes of *Mongolica Pragensia* ('03, '04, '05, '06). The subject is the etyma with the above defined structure, viz initial labials (*p*-, *b*-, *f*-, *v*-, *m*-) and root-final liquids and retroflex stops. The arrangement of the etyma follows the same formal criteria as in the previous papers. It includes *verba dicendi* in the narrow sense of the word and also semantic extensions and onomatopoeic expressions. Besides the Dravidian and Altaic parallels, one reference is also made to Uralian.

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This paper offers a survey of the *verba dicendi* with the above specified formal structure, viz initial labials and root-final or (if followed by further stem forming suffixes) medial liquids or retroflex stops. As in the previous papers on the subject the material is arranged according to the medial vowels (front, back and *-a-*). Semantically, the range of meanings is similarly broad from *verba dicendi* in the narrow sense of the word to further extensions of the meaning to various aspects (positive or negative) of 'speaking' and to sounds produced by animals and some more general meanings (producing noises of various types). It is interesting to observe that there are also many close analogies in the distribution of the various meanings with respect to the various forms in the individual branches of Dravidian and Altaic. It may be possible to establish direct *individual lexical correspondences* for the respective forms and meanings (cf. also my earlier general paper on the subject, Vacek 2004, repr. 2006a, especially note 39).

1) Only five groups of these stems were discussed in the previous paper (Vacek 2004b). The stems ending in a liquid or cerebral stop were left for a later analysis (see No. 6 in the general survey of the types of stems, Vacek 2004b, pp. 163–4), The numbering of the items here continues the numbering of the previous paper.

Some of the etyma to be found below were already mentioned in my 1994 paper.² At that time I was still thinking in terms of individual lexical correspondences with possible direct formal links (e.g. Vacek 1981, etc.). In the meantime, however, roughly starting after 2000, I realised that at this stage in the “state of the ‘craft’”, the strictly ‘Young grammarian’ approach was not applicable and that we have to think in terms of *models* rather than *individual pairs* of correspondences (or series of individual correspondences – for more language branches).³ In that respect the following paper continues analysing the broader model relating to the above defined form and meaning. For a summary of some views on Dravidian and its relation to other language families cf. Zvelebil 1990 (pp. 99ff.) and especially 1991.

It is further to be noted that there is a relation between the medial liquids and medial sibilants, as reflected in the basic correspondence between the Mongolian and Turkic languages (e.g. Poppe 1960, pp. 77–78). A similar variation, though the conditions could not yet be exactly defined, was also found in the Dravidian lexical stock (cf. Vacek 2004b, p. 391 with further references). Therefore the lexical parallels with medial liquids (both dental and retroflex) collected below should be seen in the context of the relevant section of the previous paper (Vacek 2006d, section 2, pp. 172ff.).

6. *p/b/f/v/m – L*

(A) Front vowels *i, e*

Ta. *viḷ* to say, tell, reveal, make known

viḷampu to speak, say, proclaim openly, make public, reveal; n. word, speech

viḷamparam advertisement, proclamation, notice, publication

viḷappu saying

viḷari the sixth note of the gamut

viḷi to say, speak; summon, sing, roar, shout; n. sound, song, word, speech, shout of excitement, frenzy, or joy, call

2) No. 7: Ta. *parai-* to speak, say, Ka. *pare* abuse, censure, DEDR 4031; Mo. *barkira-* to shout, cry, yell; *bargi-* to produce a hoarse sound, speak with a hoarse voice (Vacek 1994, p. 11);

No. 10: Ta. *viḷ* to say, tell, DEDR 5433; Ko. *perc-* to give irrelevant answers, talk nonsense, etc., DEDR 4430b; Pe. *bēron* speech, conversation, discussion, language, DEDR 4439; Mo. *bilbigürde-* to talk at random, talk nonsense (Vacek 1994, p. 14–5).

3) On that question cf. especially Vacek 2002a, Introduction, pp. 17ff., Conclusion, pp. 151ff.; and Vacek 2004b (or 2006a) Section 1.

- viḷippu* sound, calling, shouting
viḷivu warriors' shout, war-cry
viḷar to call
 Ma. *viḷampuka* to divulge
 viḷamparam proclamation, publication
 viḷi call, cry, summons
 viḷikka to call, invite
 Kurub. *belki* speech
 To. *piḷy-* to utter long, high shout of joy or triumph; n. expression of joy
 [Tu. *bulḷpuni*, *bul(i)puni* to cry aloud, shout, exclaim
 buḷu, *bulpu* cry, lamentation, noise of any animal or bird, clamour
 bulkaḍuni to cry as from fear or being possessed of a demon
 bulkāḍu crying passionately, bawling
 Kor. *burpi* to cry]
 Te. *viḷambaramu* notification, publication (cf. 4195 Ta. *piḷiru*) (DEDR 5433)⁴
- Ta. *piḷiru* to trumpet, roar (as an elephant); n. (also *piḷiṛal*) great noise
 piḷiṛru to make a roaring noise
 Te. *piḷucu* to call, invite, (K. also) name, shout
 piḷipincu to send for, invite, call
 piḷupu, *piḷupuḍu* calling, a call, invitation
 Ga. *piḷup-* (P.) to thunder (subject *mogul* cloud)
 Kui *pṛi* cry of agony, scream
 pṛi inba, *pṛi pṛi inba* to cry aloud in agony, scream in terror or pain
 ?Malt. *pinḍe* to sound (as an instrument, cries of animals or birds)
 (cf. 5433 Ta. *viḷ*) (DEDR 4195)
- Ta. *piḷḷāṇ-kuḷal*, [*pullāṇ-kuḷal*] flute⁵
 Ka. *piḷḷa* sound in imitation of that of a pipe or flute
 piḷḷāṇ-gōvi pipe or flute
 Te. *piḷḷāṅgōvi*, *piḷḷā-grōvi*, *piḷḷā-grōlu*, *piḷḷana-grōlu*, *piḷḷana-grōvi*
 flute, flageolet (cf. 4178 Konḍa *piruṛi*) (DEDR 4197)
- Konḍa *piruṛi* flute
 Kui *pirōṛi* id.

4) The Tu. and Kor. forms are listed further below, Section B.

5) The form with medial *-u-* is obviously a dialectal form, but in agreement with the formal arrangement of the etyma, it is listed below in Section B.

Kuwi *pīrūri* (F.), *pīruḍi* (S.), *pīruri* (Isr.) id.

Kur. *pēōē* (Hahn) id., pipe, whistle

(cf. 4197 Ta. *piḷlān-kural* and Pkt. *pirilli*- a kind of musical instrument (DEDR 4178))

Ko. *perc-* to give irrelevant answers, talk nonsense, talk with impropriety
in presence of a holy man

Ka. *pēl* to utter, say, speak, narrate, tell, command

pēlike saying, telling, rumour; a saying, enigma

pēlige saying, etc.; notoriety, fame

pēluvike saying, telling

Tu. *pērmē* fame, glory

Te. *p(r)ēlu* to prattle, chatter, talk nonsense

prēlari a prattler

Kuwi *pēl-* to talk sweetly

pēlki ā- to discuss with another

Kur. *perperernā* to prate, prattle,, talk with a high-pitched voice; (vessel in
which something is cooking) to hum, buzz, sing

perxperxnā to babble, prattle

[*parparernā* to prate, prattle]

Malt. *perqe* to talk, speak; simmer, hiss (DEDR 443ob)⁶

Pe. *bēroṇ* speech, conversation, discussion, language

Mand. *bēroṇ* language; story

Kui *bēroṇi* conversation (DEDR 4439)

Ta. *mīlaru* to prattle as a child, speak softly

mīlalai prattle, lisp

[*maḷaru* to be indistinct as speech

maḷalai prattling, babbling] (s.v. Ta. *miṇumiṇu* to mumble, DEDR 4856)⁷

Ma. *mīlaku*, *mīlāvu* drum

To. *mīl* good points in argument (in assembly), directions given in building

6) In agreement with the formal arrangement, Kur. *parparernā* is mentioned below in Section C. As for the other forms with medial liquid in this and the following etymon, it is interesting to note the possible relationship with the medial sibilant in DEDR 4430a (Ta. *pēcu*; cf. Vacek 2006d, p. 172, Section 2.A, plus note 17). For the questions relating to the correspondence between liquids and sibilants, cf. Vacek 2004b, p. 391; Section 2, pp. 426ff. (re-print 2006a). Further cf. Vacek 2002a, esp. Appendix VII, pp. 277ff.

7) These forms were mentioned in Vacek 2006d note 21, with a further reference to Ta. *vaḷavaḷa* to be talkative, wordy, babble; etc. (DEDR 5310). For the forms with medial -a-, cf. below section C.



Koṇḍa *miṛi-* to speak, utter (cf. 4973 Ta. *mural*) (s.v. Ta. *muḷaṇku* to roar, thunder, make loud noise, etc., *moḷi* to say, speak DEDR 4989)

Ta. *vīr-vīr-eṇal* onom. expr. of screaming, shrieking

vīr-eṇal onom. expr. of a sharp, shrill cry

vīr-iṭu to cry out suddenly, scream

Ma. *vīr* the roar of elephants, the grunt of pigs

vīr-iṭuka to squeak, bellow

Kui *vere vere* the squeal of a pig (DEDR 5458)

Ta. *vīlai* whistling shrill sound, noise

vīl-eṇal onom. expr. of a shrill, sudden noise or cry

Ko. *vīlv-* (*vīlt-*) to whistle

vīlk act of whistling (DEDR 5461)

Mo. *bilbigürde-* to talk at random, talk nonsense

Kh. *belen* 2. involuntary act or utterance (a neurological condition)

(Hangin s.v. бэлэн)

belende- to utter obscene expressions involuntarily (Hangin s.v. бэлэндэх)

belenč one who utters obscenities involuntarily (Hangin s.v. бэлэнч)

pir : *pir pir hii-* onom. descriptive of cracking or thumping sounds: to crackle or thump (Hangin s.v. нур)

pižigne- see *pižigne-* onom. to crackle, clatter (Hangin s.v. пижигнэх)

MT. *BĒRUV-* to libel, slander (MTD I,127)

Even. *bēruv-* id.; to rebuke, scold

MIRA- to groan (MTD I,537)

Evenk. *mira-* id.; to exert oneself

MĒRĀ- to bleat (referring to sheep) (MTD I,534)

Sol. *mērā-* to bleat (referring to sheep); to miaou

Ma. *māri-* to bleat (referring to sheep)

mār (*m'iar*) *seme*, *mār m'ir seme* onom. imit. of lamb bleating, of weeping of babies; screams of quarrelling women

MIL- to echo, reverberate (Evenk.) (MTD I,536)





Ud. *pelukalanda-* to give a whistle (steamboat, steam engine)
pelukasi- to whistle (s.v. *PIČĀ-* to whistle; MTD II,39–40)⁸

PEREGDU- to cry, weep (MTD I,48)
 Orok. *peregdu-* id.

Neg. *pr̥r-pr̥r* onom. noise of snow falling from mountains
 Orok. *p̥r-p̥r* onom. noise of a creaking tree
p̥ri- to breath with difficulty (sticking out the tongue, referring to animals)
 Nan. *p̥iar-r* onom. noise of s. th. drawn on the ground or floor
 (s.v. *P̥IXOR-R* creak; MTD II,37–38)
BILE III fife, reedpipe (MTD I,83)
 Ma. *bilasi, bilesi* fife-player
bile, bileri fife, reedpipe

OT. *bele:-* 1. to bleat (sheep) (denom. < *be:-*) (Cl. 332)
birkir- (of a horse, etc.) to snort (morphologically obscure) (Cl. 361)
birkiğ (of a horse, etc.) a snort (presumably < *birkir-*) (Cl. 360)
mele- to bleat (denom. verb < *me:* 3 onom. for bleating) (Cl. 365)

Yak. *birilää-* onom. to creak, grit (referring to sledge) (MTD I,38)

Chuv. *VĖR* II to bark (referring to a dog) (Egorov, 52)⁹

(B) Back vowels *u, o*

Ta. *pulampu* to sound, speak foolishly or incoherently, wail, cry out, grieve, utter repeatedly; n. sound, foolish talk, lament, grief
pulampal sound, chattering, weeping, grieving
pulappam chattering, raving, lamentation
pulāvu to make noise

8) Cf. the forms with medial -č- in Vacek 2006d, Section 2. A, plus note 18.

9) The other Turkic languages have no initial labial (e.g. Kirg., etc. *ūr*). As in many other lexemes, Chuvash has an initial pre-labialisation and according to the other languages the lexeme belongs to the group with initial vowels.



- Ma. *pulampuka* to sound, bemoan, lament, speak hastily
pulampal lamentation
 Ka. [*palumbu*, *halubu* to lament]
 Koḍ. *poli-* to bark repeatedly (song-word)
 Tu. [*palambuni* to lament]
 pollè slander, tale-bearing
 Te. [*panavu*, (K. also) *palumu*, *palavu* to lament
 ? *palumu* to prattle; n. prattle
 ? *palavu*, *palavincu*, *palavarincu*, *paluvarincu* to talk in sleep
 palavaramu, *palavarinta*, *palavarimpu* talking in sleep (or with 3887
 Ta. *paṇi*)]
 Pa. *polla* noise, hissing of snake
 Go. *polo* (SR.) story, (G.) word, advice, (S.) answer, matter
 [*pallo* (Mu.) word, speech]
 pola (Ma.) language, speech (DEDR 4304)¹⁰
 Ka. *bolḷu* barking, crying out (s.v. Ta. *vakuli*, *vakuni* sound; DEDR 5204)¹¹
 Ta. [*piḷḷāṇ-kuḷal*], *pullāṇ-kuḷal* flute (s.v. *piḷḷāṇ-kuḷal*, DEDR 4197)
 Tu. *bulpuni*, *bul(i)puni* to cry aloud, shout, exclaim
 buḷu, *bulpu* cry, lamentation, noise of any animal or bird, clamour
 buḷkaḍuni to cry as from fear or being possessed of a demon
 buḷkāḍu crying passionately, bawling
 Kor. *burpi* to cry (s.v. Ta. *viḷ* to say, tell, reveal, etc., DEDR 5433)
 Ta. *poru-por-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying (a) crumbling, (b) muttering
 poruporu to be liable to crumbling from too much frying; mutter in
 dissatisfaction
 Ma. *poruporē* with a popping or cracking noise (DEDR 4542)

10) The etymon DEDR 4304 is partly mixed with respect to the vowels represented in the individual words. It also has forms with medial *-a-*, which are here in square brackets and are listed again in the section C below.

11) Cf. Pkt. *bolḷai*, *bullai* 'speaks', Hi. *bol-nā* etc. (CDIAL 9321 summing up the whole NIA etymon). Its etymology (a borrowing from the Dravidian word-group of Ta. *vakuli* etc.) as proposed by J. Bloch (BSOS V, p. 742) is refused by the CDIAL. However, the proposal that Apa. *vollai* 'speaks' comes from Pkt. *vayai* (< *vādati* and *vākti*; as proposed by L. Schwarzschild, JAOS 77, p. 205) does not sound very persuasive either. A solution might be to think in terms of contact between and merger of forms, which could have occurred already at the time of the Prakṛts.

- Ta. *mural* to make sound, cry, sing
muralal sounding, confused noise, high pitch
muralvu soft sound as of a lute
muravam noise, reverberation, drum
muraṛkai, *muraṛci* sound, song
muraṛru to make sound, cry
muraḷi flute, nose-flute
muracam, *muracu* drum, tabour, war drum
muravu, *muṛuṭu* drum
- Ma. *muraḷuka*, *muṛuḷuka* to hum, grunt, growl
muraḷi flute
muracu, *murajam* a small drum
morampuka dogs to snarl, men to hawk
- Ka. *moraḷ* to hum, grunt, growl, buzz, howl
more to hum, buzz, sound, murmur, creak, gurgle, whizz, be noisy;
cause to sound; n. humming, etc.
moraha, *morahu*, *morehu* humming, etc.
mure to hum, buzz, sound or play a lute, sound as a lute does
- Koḍ. *moraḍ-* to weep
more lamentation
- Tu. *muresuni*, *moresuni* to rumble, rattle (as thunder)
murepini, *murevuni*, *mureluni* id., creak (as shoes)
muriya cry, weeping, loud noise
muriyāṭu lamentation, wailing
muriyeḍuni, *mureḍuni*, *muriyoḍuni*, *moreḍuni* to weep, lament,
bewail
muriyeḍpini to grumble, murmur
more cry
muriyō alas!, weeping loudly, cry of lamentation, distress, etc.
morampu a cry, roaring
- Te. *morayu* to sound, resound
morayika, *morapamu* sound, noise
mrōḡu, *mrōyu*, *mrōvu* to sound (or with 4989 Ta. *muḷaṅku*)
mrōḡuḍu, *mrōṭa* sound
- Kol. *moray-* to produce musical sound (bell, etc.)
morp- to play (flute), ring (bell), make to produce musical sound
- Nk. *moray-* to sound (intr.)
morap- id. (tr.)

- Pa. *mur-* to growl (tiger), hoot (owl)
murip- to snore
- Go. *mōrītānā* (Tr.) to guggle in the throat while sleeping
muri- (F-H.), *murītānā* (W.), *muḍiyānā* (SR.), *mōr-* (Ma.) to snore
- Kui *murū inba* to mutter, grumble, growl
- Kuwi *mūrūkīali* (F.) to growl
murū murū ā- (Isr.) to grumble, complain
- Kur. *murrnā* to thunder, esp. with repeated peals, utter threats, threaten
- Malt. *mure* to speak, say yes or no
- [?Br. *marrām* shout, call, cry, fame (or with 5013)]
 (Cf. 4989 Ta. *muḷaṅku* and 5013 Ta. *muṛumuru*. / Cf. Skt. *murali-* flute; *muraja-* a kind of drum; Turner, *CDIAL*, nos. 10210, 10214) (DEDR 4973)¹²
- Ta. *muṛumuru*, *moṛumoṛu* murmur, grumble
muṛaiyiṭu to complain, express grievance
muṛaiyiṭu complaint
- Ma. *muṛumurukka* to murmur
muṛa lamentation, wailing
muṛa iṭuka to complain, find fault
- Ko. *murg-* to growl
morv- to mumble
moyr complaint
moyr iḍ- to make a complaint
- To. *muṛx-* to growl
muṛy complaint
muṛk- to complain
- Ka. *more* to roar, cry aloud, clamour, bawl, yell
more, *moṛata* roaring, wailing, etc.
moreyuvike crying aloud, etc.
morey-iḍu to wail, lament, complain
moṛō imitative sound of crying aloud
- Te. *muṛamuṛamanu*, *muṛamuralāḍu* to be angry, fret, frown
moṛugu, *moṛuvu* to bark as a dog, bawl; n. barking of a dog
moṛuguḍu barking
moṛa, *moṛra* cry, scream, shriek, howl, wailing, clamour
moṛaliḍu to cry out

12) The Brahui form with medial *-a-* properly belongs in section C below where it is mentioned again.



Kol. *mutkeng* to groan¹³

[Pa. *mokk-* to bark]

[Go. *mohcānā, muhcīnā, muhcānā, muhc-, buhs-, bu?c-* id.]

murr- to growl

Konḍa *murli-* to bark

Mand. *murg-* id.

[Kui *muska* id.; n. barking]

[Kuwi *mōkhali, mukh'nai, muk-, musk-* to bark]

[? Br. *marrām* shout, call, cry (or with 4973)] (DEDR 5013a)¹⁴

Ma. *mūḷuka* to groan, moan, mumble, buzz, assent with a hem

mūḷal hum, groan, buzzing noise

Ka. *mūlugu, muluku* to strain with a grunting, groaning, or moaning noise,
be in labour, groan when lifting a heavy load

muluku straining, etc., in childbirth

Te. *mūl(u)gu* to groan, moan as from pain, murmur, grumble; n. groan,
moan, murmur, grumbling

mulugu to murmur

Kol. *mūlg- /mūlg-* (SR.) to groan

?Kuwi *mūlginaī* (S.) to sulk (DEDR 4896b)

Ta. *muḷaṅku* to roar, thunder, make loud noise, be noised abroad, be made
public

muḷakku to sound, beat a sounding instrument; n. sound, noise

muḷakkam loud noise, as of thunder or drums, clamour, roar

muḷavu, muḷā drum, large loud-sounding drum

moḷi to say, speak; n. word, saying, language

Ma. *muḷaṅṅuka* to roar, reverberate

muḷakkam a reverberating, rumbling, roaring sound

muḷakkuka to beat or play an instrument, make to resound

13) Note that the Kol. form has a voiceless dental, which must be taken as a variant of the voiced *-d-* (cf. the Table of correspondences, DEDR, p. XI).

14) DEDR 5013b has medial *-kk-* etc. (Pa., Kuwi), 5013c has medial sibilants (Kui) or their reflection in medial *-h-* (Go.). For both cf. Vacek 2006d, pp. 166, Note 7, and p. 174 respectively. The DEDR further refers to DEDR 4973 Ta. *mural*, and to MBE 1969, pp. 295–6, nos. 37, 38, for areal etymology, with reference to Turner, *CDIAL*, no. 10215, which probably on semantic grounds should be divided into two entries, the second being related to (no. 38) Te. *moramōra* the rustling sound of cloth or the like, (B.) *moral-moral-ādu* to crackle (items which hardly belong in this DEDR entry). The Brahui form with medial *-a-* is listed further below, Section C.



moḷi word

moḷiyuka to speak

[*miḷaku*, *miḷāvu* drum]

Ko. *moṛv* a child's continuous crying

[?To. *miḷ* good points in argument (in assembly), directions given in building]

Ka. *moḷagu* to sound as certain musical instruments, roar, thunder, play certain instruments; n. sound of certain musical instruments, roaring, thunder

Koḍ. *moḷi* subject of talk or song

Te. *mrōgu*, *mrōyu*, *mrōvu* to sound (or with 4973 Ta. *mural*)

mrōguḍu, *mrōta* sound

Kol. *muḍ-* (*muṭṭ-*) to talk, speak (a language)

Nk. *muṛ-* (*muṭṭ-*) to speak

muṭṭa language

[Konḍa *miṛi-* to speak, utter (cf. 4973 Ta. *mural*)] (DEDR 4989)¹⁵

Ta. *puṭai* to utter a loud noise, roar, rattle; n. sound, noise (as from a stroke)

Kol. *poḍ-* (dog) barks

i-sa poḍ- to whistle

Nk. *poṛ-* to bark

Ga. *porp-* (P.) id. (DEDR 4254)

Ka. *buḍa*, *buḍu*, *boḍa* sound in imitation of that produced by a vessel, etc., when immersed into water, or by water issuing from the spout of a vessel, and of that produced by a small rattle-drum

buḍakkane with the sound of *buḍa*

buḍabuḍike, *buḍubuḍike* a small rattle-drum

Tu. *buḍubuḍu* in drops

Te. *buḍabuḍa* with a bubbling noise

buḍukku, *buḍukkuna* sound produced by anything suddenly sinking in water

buḍubuḍukka a small rattling drum (MBE 1969, pp. 294 f., no. 32, for areal etymology, with reference to Turner, *CDIAL*, no. 9278, Skt. *budbuda-*, *buḍabuḍa*) (DEDR 4249)

15) The Malayalam, Toda and Konḍa words are listed above in Section A.



- Ko. *burn, brn, burakn, burburn, purpurn, br..., bur...n, burk, burkn*
noise of bird flying up suddenly from ground
- Ka. *buṛa, bura, buṛu* sound in imitation of that of a rash movement
buṛa, bura, buṛu, buṛṛ imitation of the sound produced by a bird rising suddenly, or by breaking wind
buṛa buṛane with the repeated suddenness or sound of *buṛa*
buṛṛane with the sound of *buṛṛ*
pur sound in imitation of breaking wind, of easing nature
[*baṛṛane* with a whirl or sudden and noisy vibration of wings; with a rush or dash, smartly, swiftly]
- Tu. *buru, buranè, buru, buruburu, burru, burranè, burru*
the noise of a bird's wings in flying
burku, burku noise of breaking wind
- Te. *burru* (B.) loud and sudden noise such as is made when a bird flies
- Go. *bhurrne* (SR.) suddenly (MBE 1969, p. 295, no. 33, for areal etymology, with reference to Mar. *bhurbhur* sudden, and several other items in Turner, CDIAL, no. 9535) (DEDR 4329)¹⁶

The following etymon may also belong to the model with a semantic extension, which is further found and more broadly attested with several etyma below in section C (e.g. Ta. *paracu* etc.):

- Ta. *pōṛṛu* to praise, applaud, worship, protect, cherish, nourish, entertain;
n. protection, praise
pōṛṛi praise, applause
pōṛṛimai honour, reverence
- Ma. *pōṛṛuka* to preserve, protect, adore
pōṛṛi nourisher, protector (DEDR 4605)
- Ta. *pūri* a wind instrument
pūrikai trumpet
- Ma. *pūrika* id.
- Te. *būrā / būṛā* id. (? Cf. 4239 Ir. *bugari*) (DEDR 4368)¹⁷

16) The Ka. form with a medial *-a-* is to be found in section C below.

17) Cf. Mo. *būrij-e(n)* below.



- Mo. *buray-a* 2. talker, gossip; talkative, gossipy, garrulous
borgiyatu- (*borgijatu-*) to murmur (of water); to become hoarse, to gab, babble
borgiy-a (*borgij-a*) 1. rapids in a river
bürrij-e(n) trumpet, horn¹⁸
- Kh. *büree* trumpet, horn (Hangin s.v. *бүрээ*)
- Kh. *pol : pol pol hii-* onom. descriptive of a plopping sound: to plop (Hangin s.v. *нол*)
- pul* onom. descriptive of splashing or plopping sounds (Hangin s.v. *нул*)
pül see *pal* onom. splash, plop (Hangin, s.v. *нал*)
pülhii- see *palhii-* to splash, go plop; for the heart to jump (Hangin, s.v. *налхуих*)
por onom. descriptive of a bubbling or boiling sound
por por ge- to bubble, boil; to produce a sound resembling bubbling or boiling
por por hii- see *por por ge-* (Hangin s.v. *ноп*)
pur onom. descriptive of bubbling or boiling sounds
pur pur hii- to bubble, boil vigorously (Hangin s.v. *нуп*)
bur 2: *bur bur hii-* to gurgle, bubble (Hangin s.v. *бур*)
? burgila- to seethe; for a spring to bubble (Hangin s.v. *бургулах*)
?? bulay 1. spring, source, fountain head
pürd : pürd hii- onom. descriptive of cracking or popping sounds: to crack or pop (Hangin s.v. *нүрд*)
pürdhii- to crack, pop (Hangin s.v. *нүрдохуих*)

- MT. *BURKUNAŽA-* to cackle (a duck) (Evenk.) (MTD I,114)
FURGĖ loud, sonorous (Nan.) (MTD II,303)
PŌLAXĬ- to shout (MTD II,40)
 Neg. *pōlaxī-* to shout, make noise; to neigh, to mew
 Olcha *pūlaxī-* to shout
 Orok. *pūlāxī* a cry, shout
pūlāxī- to shout, cry
- MORO-* I to bellow, roar (MTD I,546–7)
 Evenk. *moro-*, *mere-* to bellow, roar (wild beast)
mureke the female of wild deer
merev- to moo, bellow (a cow)
 Oroch. *mura-* to shout
mura(n-) a cry, shout
 Olcha *mūra-* to shout

18) Cf. above Ta. *pūri* a wind instrument (DEDR 4368) and Uig. *burku* Horn zum Blasen (below).



Orok. *mūra(n-)* a cry, shout; bellowing, roar

mūra- to shout; to bellow, roar

Nan. *morā* a cry, shouting

mora- to shout

Ma. *mura-* to moo, bellow, roar

Ud. *borbosu* imitation of hare's squeaking

Nan. *bor-bos, bor-bos* onom. imitation of hare's squeaking

(s.v. *BOBO-* to weep; MTD I,86)

P'ŌOR SEME grasshopper's stridulating (Ma.) (MTD II,41)

BURE accordion (MTD I,115)

Nan. *bure* (< Ma.) accordion

Ma. *buleri* (a contamination of *buren* pipe, trumpet + *bileri* fife, reedpipe) trumpet¹⁹

PORĶĪNA- to snort (MTD II,41)

Nan. *porķina-* to snort

Ma. *for seme* onom. imitating a snort²⁰

F'OR SEME onom. imitating sipping, slurping (Ma.) (MTD II,301)

OT. *bo:rǵu:y* trumpet (Cl. 361)²¹

Uig. *burku* Horn zum Blasen

Middle Tur. *buryuj* Trompete

Soj. *muryu* whistle (Räs. 89b)

Further cf.

FU *mura*² Schreien; Singen; schreien; singen (Rédei I, p. 287)²²

19) Cf. Ma. *bileri* s.v. *BILE* III fife, reedpipe; see above.

20) Cf. also Buriad *pur* onom. imitating a snort (ibid.).

21) Clauson considers 'the phonetics' of this word to be chaotic and opines that 'it may well be a l.-w.' (Cl. 361). The correct correspondence to the Mongolian medial liquids, however, should be a voiced sibilant, cf. *bozla:-* (of a camel) to bellow, with some extended meanings (Cl. 392) (Vacek 2006d, section 2 B).

22) Cf. DEDR 4973 above, and MT. *MORO-* I, above. Starostin et alia (2003, p. 385) reconstruct **būne* 'to howl', under which they include various Turkic forms with a medial liquid, e.g. Uig. *mōri-*. This etymon may possibly be divided into medial liquids and medial velars. Cf. also Vacek 2006d, section 1 B, p. 169 (OT. *mūnre:-* to bellow, low, bleat; Cl. 770).



(C) The vowel *a*

Ta. *vali-* to say, tell, narrate; n. sound

Kor. *valli* to bark

Go. *vallih-* to call, invite (cf. DEDR 996: Ta. *oli* to sound, roar etc.²³) (DEDR 5283)

Ta. *palukku* to be pronounced clearly, boast, speak (< Te.)

Ka. *həluṣu* (Hal.) to speak like a madman while asleep

haləbu to talk foolishly

haləvəru to speak while asleep

Te. *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*)

Koṇḍa *palkis-* to cause to sound, play on (a musical instrument)

Kui *plāpa* to inquire, question, ask, address, say; n. inquiry, remark

(s.v. Ta. *paṇi* to speak, say; DEDR 3887)²⁴

Ka. *palumbu*, *halubu* to lament

Tu. *palambuni* to lament

Te. *panavu*, (K. also) *palumu*, *palavu* to lament

?*palumu* to prattle; n. prattle

?*palavu*, *palavincu*, *palavarincu*, *paluvarincu* to talk in sleep

palavaramu, *palavarinta*, *palavarimpu* talking in sleep (or with 3887 Ta. *paṇi*)

Go. *pallo* (Mu.) word, speech (s.v. Ta. *pulampu* to sound, speak foolishly or incoherently, etc.; DEDR 4304)

Ta. *paraī-* to speak, say; n. word, saying, statement

paraiccal talk, speech

paraivu speaking, talking, chattering, proclaiming

23) Cf. Vacek 1994, pp. 11–12, with further vowel-initial parallels.

24) The etymon was listed in Vacek 2006d, Section 4 (C), where the forms with liquids were bracketed, since they belong to this section. The alternation between cerebral nasal and liquids does occur occasionally and should be studied separately. It does not necessarily occur in all similar etyma, cf. e.g. DEDR 4671 and DEDR 4672 (*maṇi*), which were listed in Vacek 2006d, pp. 182–3, but do not have variants with liquids.

Ma. *parayuka* to say, speak, tell

paraccal speech

To. *parg ary-* to know how to talk (or with 5204)

Ka. *pare* abuse, censure

parcu, paccu to whisper

parisu to speak, chat

haraṭu to talk idly, prate

haraṭe idle talk, prate, jabber

parañcu (Hav.) to mutter

Koḍ. *pare-* to utter

Tu. *pareñcuni* to prate, prattle, find fault with

parañcena, parañcelu prattling, grumbling, murmuring

parañcele prattler, babbler, grumbler

paraṇṭele prattler, grumbler

paraṇḍa murmuring, grumbling

haraṭuni to prate, blabber

(h)*araṭe* blabbing, prate, jabber

Ga. *park-* (S.) to say, speak

park- (S.3) to speak, talk

Kui *bargi* order, command (DEDR 4031)²⁵

To. *parg ary-* to know how to talk (or with 4031 Ta. *paraṭai*)

Ka. *bargu* the crying, cooing, chirping, chattering, or singing of birds

(s.v. Ta. *vakūḷi, vakuṇi* sound; DEDR 5204)²⁶

Kur. *parparernā* to prate, prattle (s.v. Ko. *perc-*, DEDR 4430b)

Ka. *baṛṛane* with a whirl or sudden and noisy vibration of wings; with a rush or dash, smartly, swiftly (s.v. Ko. *burn*; DEDR 4329)

Br. *marrām* shout, call, cry, fame (or with 5013) (s.v. Ta. *mural* to make sound, cry, sing DEDR 4973)

25) For the historical relation of medial *-r-* to medial dental *-t-* cf. Vacek 2006d, p. 181, note 26, with further references.

26) These two words were bracketed in Vacek 2006d (note 13) and referred to DEDR 4031 in agreement with the variant proposal in the DEDR.

- Ta. *parai* drum, a measure of capacity, Paraiya caste
 paraiyan member of the Paraiya caste; fem. *paraicci*
 Ma. *para* drum, a rice measure, disk, circle
 parayan a Pariah; fem. *parayi*, (Shanmugam) *paracci*
 Ko. *par* drum
 parn Pariah; fem. *parc*
 To. *par* drum
 Ka. *pare* id.
 Koḍ. *pare* drum (large, double-headed barrel drum beaten by Me-dē)
 Te. *parra* a certain measure of capacity
 Go. *para* (A.), *parra* (G.), *par(r)ay* (Mu.) drum
 pharā (SR.) small drum (Voc. 2125) (DEDR 4032)

The following group of etyma has varying semantic extensions from ‘praising’ to ‘gossiping’ and ‘blaming’. Some of this variation can also be found in the Altaic languages. Cf. also Ta. *pōrru* above.

- Ta. *paracu* to praise, extol
 paravu id., worship, reverence, adore, sing
 paraval praising, worshipping
 Ma. *parikka* a vow
 Ko. *parc-* to pray
 parkym vow to a god, prayer
 To. *part-* to pray
 arkym vow
 Ka. *parasu* to utter a benediction, bless
 parake, *harake*, *harike* benediction, vow
 Koḍ. *parake* vow
 Tu. *parasu* benediction
 parakē vow made in trouble, beseeching
 harasuni to bless, wish well (DEDR 3951)
- Ta. *paḷiccu* to praise, worship, bless, announce, tell; n. praise, adoration
 ? Ko. *paḍ-*, *aḍ-* to tell
 paykm a story
 pa-c- (pair word with *parc-* to pray; see 3951)
 ? To. *ōšt-* (*ōšty-*) to say, tell (story, lament) (or with 4430 Ta. *pēcu*)
 pa·ym story of actual event (DEDR 4003)

Ta. *pārātṭu* to applaud, commend, eulogie

Ma. *pārātṭuka* to extol (DEDR 4092)

Ta. *paḷi* to blame, censure, ridicule, revile, slander; n. blame, ridicule, slander, fault, sin, revenge

paḷicai scorn

paḷippu scorn, blame, guilt, defect

paḷutu defect, fault

Ma. *paḷi* fault, false accusation, deadly vengeance

paḷikka to scold, blame, abuse

Ko. *paḷc-* to abuse

paly retribution

apṛ/lyk ipṛ/lyk onom. of scolding (as in: *apṛyke ipṛyke (iḍ)r maṇcuko* he scolded vigorously)

?*paya-c* woman who has casual sexual intercourse

To. *pa-k-* to abuse

Ka. *paḷi* to revile, scold, rebuke, scorn, upbraid, deride; n. (also *paḷivu*) blame, rebuke, fault, guilt

Koḍ. *paḷi, paḷe-* to speak ill of

?*paḷame* talk, gossip

Te. *prayi* blame

prabbu (K.) to abuse, blame, censure; n. blame

Kur. *paṛaṅnā* to talk against one, detract, slander, run one down (? cf. 4060 Go. *pāsk-*) (DEDR 4002)

Ko. *baṛr baṛrn* onom. of defecating with diarrhoea, or of a falling tree

Ka. *baḍabaḍa, vaṭavaṭa* sound to imitate that of gabbling, jabbering, prating

Tu. *baḍabaḍa* babbling, garrulity; noise of a drum

Te. *baḍabaḍa* (to talk) abruptly, noisily

Kur. *baṛbaṛnā* to talk loudly, chatter noisily

baṛaṅbaṛaṅnā, beṛeṅbeṛeṅnā to talk endlessly, talk together noisily

Malt. *baṛbaṛre* to prattle (DEDR 5230)²⁷

27) The variation of cerebral stops and cerebral liquids was noted before in several cases, cf. Vacek 2004b, p. 419, note 25 and also Vacek 2002a, pp. 282ff. The cerebral liquids can also alternate with dental liquids in some etyma, for that cf. also Burrow 1971 and Mayrhofer 1968 concerning the spontaneity of the appearance of cerebrals in IA.

- Ta. *vaḷavaḷa* to be talkative, wordy, babble
vaḷavaḷappu talkativeness, wordiness, vain talk, babbling
vāḷā, vāḷāṅku, vāḷātu silently, quietly
vāḷāmai silence, quietness
Ma. *vaḷavaḷā* the sound of babbling
Tu. *baḷakē* boasting
Te. *vaḷāvaḷi* noise, fuss, hubbub
vaḷāvaḷikāḍu a noisy or fussy man, babbler
Go. *vaṛk-* to say, speak
[*wankānā, vank-* to speak, talk] (DEDR 5310)

- Ta. *maḷaṛu* to be indistinct as speech
maḷalai prattling, babbling
[*miḷaṛru* to prattle as a child, speak softly
miḷalai prattle, lisp] (s.v. Ta. *miṇumiṇu* to mumble, DEDR 4856)²⁸

Further cf.

- Ta. *vaḷavaḷa-* 1. to be slippery, as mire, a polished surface
4. to babble; to wishy-washy in talk
vaḷavaḷav-eṇal expr. signifying (a) slipperiness
(b) wishy-washy talk (TL s.vv.)²⁹

- Kur. *baraxnā* to snore
Malt. *barġe* id. (DEDR 3983)

- Ta. *paḷa-paḷav-eṇal* expr. signifying bursting sound
paḷir-eṇal expr. signifying cracking, crashing, clanging
Ma. *paḷapaḷa* cracking, looping
Ka. *paḷak* sound produced when an earthen vessel with water breaks
Te. *paḷapaḷa* cracklingly (DEDR 4013)

28) For the forms with medial *-a-* cf. above section A. Further references cf. above note 7.

29) Here the onomatopoeic meaning overlaps with the meaning found in DEDR 5299a: e.g. cf. Ta. *vaḷakku* 'slimy substance' etc. Cf. the Tamil proverb quoted by Zvelebil (1964, p. 240, note 13) in connection with the question of an optimum colloquial standard language in Tamilnadu: *pārppāṇ tamiḷum veḷḷāḷaṇ kirantamum vaḷavaḷa* (The Brahmin babbles in Tamil, the *Veḷḷāḷa* babbles in Sanskrit).



- Ta. *paṭapaṭa* to rattle (as things falling, rolling or breaking)
paṭa-paṭenal onom. expr. signifying bursting, breaking, falling with a rattling noise
paṭār-ənal, paṭār-paṭār-ənal onom. expr. signifying cracking, bursting with a sudden noise, report or explosion
paṭīr-ənal onom. expr. signifying a sudden crash or explosion
- Ma. *paṭapaṭa* rattling noise, the report of a gun, etc.
paṭakkam a cracker
- Ko. *paṭ in-* to make noise of bursting of skin when burnt, of sharp blow, crack, etc.
paṭa-rn with noise of a blow, or of breaking (stick, knife, rope)
- Ka. *paḍa, paḍa paḍa* sound imitating that of a cracker or squib
paṭa, paṭa paṭa, paṭārane, paṭṭane sound imitating the flapping of wings or suspended clothes, of a dog shaking his body, of applying blows or kicks, of bursting
- paṭīr, paṭhil* bang!
- Tu. *paḍapaḍa, paṭapaṭane* a flapping or rattling sound
- Te. *paṭapaṭa* noise made in breaking or bursting, gnashing the teeth, crackling
paṭilumanu to break (intr.) with a crack
- Kur. *paṭpaṭ* any rapid succession of sounds (made e.g. by objects falling in number)
paṭpaṭrnā, paṭpoṭrnā to crackle several times in succession, make a series of rapidly repeated noises (cf. DEDR 3854 Go. *para han-*, Konda *paḍ-*) (MBE 1969, p. 294, no. 31, for areal etymology, with reference to Turner, *CDIAL*, no. 7691, *paṭ-* sudden noise, *paṭapaṭā-* a cracking noise, etc.) (DEDR 3841)³⁰
- Ta. *maṭa-maṭ-ənal, maṭa-maṭav-ənal* onom. expr. signifying gurgling (as water), rattling, rustling
maṭamaṭa to gurgle, rattle
maṭakku-maṭakk-ənal onom. expr. signifying gurgling of water in drinking
- Ko. *marv-* (water) boils and bubbles (DEDR 4648)

30) Cf. Go. *para han-* to break; Konda *paḍ-* to burst out, be broken with a crackling sound; etc. Pe., Mand., Kuwi (DEDR 3854), which would agree formally, but it is not clear whether they should be put together (except perhaps the Konda form, which also designates the 'sound'). Cf. below Mo. *pal hii-* and *balbala-* (plus note 33).



- Ta. *pātu* to sing, chant, warble, hum
 pātal versifying, song
 pāṭi singer; tune
 pāṭṭu singing, song, music)
 pā verse, stanza, poem
 pāvalar poets
 Ma. *pāṭuka* to sing
 pāṭi tune
 pāṭṭu singing, song, poem
 Ko. *pa·rv-* (*pa·rd-*) to make noise (crow, bees, gun)
 pa·ṭ song
 To. *po·r-* (*po·ry-*) to sing (the song called *po·ṭ*)
 po·ṭ a particular type of song
 po·ṭ- (*po·ṭy-*) to shout
 Ka. *pāḍu* to sing
 pāḍu, *pāṭa* singing, song
 Koḍ. *pa·ḍ-* (*pa·ḍi-*) to sing
 pa·ṭi song
 Te. *pāḍu* to sing, chant, warble
 pāṭa singing, song
 Kol. *pa·ḍ-* to sing
 pa·ṭa song
 Nk. *pār-* to sing
 pāṭa song
 Nk. (Ch.) *pār-* (*pāṭ-*) to sing
 pāṭa song
 Pa. *pāḍ-* to sing
 pāṭa song, story, word, language
 Ga. (Oll.) *pār-* to sing
 pāṭe song
 pār- to sing (S.)
 pāṭe word (S.)
 pāṭe word, speech, pronunciation (S.3)
 Go. (M.) *pārānā*, *pār-*, *pār-*, *pāṭānā* to sing
 vār-, *vār-*, *wārānā* id.
 pāṭā song
 Konḍa *pār-* to sing
 pāṭa song

Kuwi *pācali*, *pāc-* to sing
pācū, *pācu* song
pāra stanza, verse.

Kur. *pārñā* to sing

Malt. *pāre* id., bewail (DEDR 4065)³¹

Mo. *barkira-* to shout, cry, yell
barkiray-a screaming, screamer
barcigina- to crackle, rattle
bargi- to produce a hoarse sound, speak with a hoarse voice

?*barda-* to boast, brag; to be proud, vainglorious etc. (cf. also Hangin
бардах)

bardamla-, *bardamna-* to brag, boast (to be proud to be sure or over-
 confident of one's ability or success) (cf. also
 Hangin *бардамлах*, *бардамнах*)

?*asayu-* to ask, inquire, question; to ask for, request (rare) (cf. also Hangin,
 s.v. *асуух*)³²

Kh. *bargia* talkative; loud (Hangin s.v. *баргуа*)
bargi- to speak loudly (Hangin s.v. *баргух*)
barhira- to shout, yell, roar (Hangin s.v. *бархирах*)
barčigna- to crackle, rattle (Hangin s.v. *барчигнах*)

marmarhii- to talk endlessly, chatter (Hanging s.v. *мармархийх*)

?*mar : mar mar hii-* to carp, constantly complain (Hanging s.v. *мар*)

pal onom. splash, plop
pal pal hii- to chatter on to no purpose, talk idly
pal hii- to splash, plop (Hangin, s.v. *нал*)

31) Note also a widely represented and obviously related etymon with a medial retroflex nasal, e.g. Ta. *pāñ* song, melody (DEDR 4068).

32) There is a question whether the meaning of the last Mongolian word would allow us to include it into this group as a representative of a medial sibilant (though the sibilants should be a Turkic reflection!) and a lost initial **p-* (cf. Pelliot 1925, No. 6, p. 204; not found in Cin-cius 1984; Starostin 2003, p. 1190, reconstructs initial lost labial, but connects the lexeme with Turkic and Manchu-Tungus words for 'reason', 'mind'). However, the word is listed here with a question-mark as a reminder for a possible occurrence of similar cases.

palhii- to splash, go plop; for the heart to jump (Hangin, s.v. *палхийх*)³³

par onom. adverb descriptive of a variety of noises

par par hii- to crack

par par inee- to roar with laughter (Hangin, s.v. *nap*)

?*var nir* onom. quack-quack (imitation of the frog) (s.v. *VAKVANA-*, MTD I,129; not found in Hangin)

pal pal ki- (coll.) talk nonsense or drivel

MT. *B'ALANGI* chatterbox (Ma.) (MTD I,69)

with a reference to Mo. *bilangyaci* flatterer, fawner; dissembler, hypocrite (cf. Hangin *бялангач* flatterer)³⁴

BARDANGI braggart (Ma.) (MTD I,75)

with a reference to Mo. *barda-* to boast, brag; etc. (cf. above); *bardamla-* to be proud, brag, boast etc. (cf. above)

F'ALANŦI chatterbox (Ma.) (MTD II,298)

Ma. *f'alar seme* onom. in a chatty, talkative manner

BARKIRA- to bellow, roar (< Mo. *barkira-*) (Evenk., Sol., Ma.) (MTD I,75)

Ma. *b'akara-* to roar like a donkey

bar bar seme, bar bir seme onom. noise, din

PARGO- to make noise (MTD II,34)

Even. *pargo-* to make noise (referring to rain)

FARGI- to rumble, thunder (MTD II,299)

VĀLĀ- to rebuke, scold (MTD I,129)

Evenk. *vālā-* to rebuke, scold, curse

Sol. *wāld'è-* to rebuke, scold mutually

Even. *vāl-* to rebuke, scold, curse

Orok. *varḱamatčī-* to rebuke, scold mutually

33) Cf. Mo. *balbala-* 1 to break into pieces, shatter, smash (Hangin s.v. *балбалах*); *balba* 1 to pieces, bits; plus *balbara-* etc.

The relation of the last two Mongolian lexemes to the above lexemes depicting 'noises' is analogical with the relation of DEDR 3854 ('breaking') to DEDR 3841. Cf. above note 30; for Yakut cf. note 36 below.

34) However, this Mongolian word may be derived from the root Mo. *bila-* to smear, etc.; similarly there is Mo. *bilda-* to smear, etc., *bildayuci* flatterer, etc.



Ma. *m̐ari-* to bleat (sheep)
m̐ar (m̐iar) seme, m̐ar m̐ir seme onom. imit. of lamb bleating, of weeping of babies; screams of quarrelling women (s.v. *MĒRĀ-* to bleat; referring to sheep; MTD I,534)

OT.

No lexeme with a medial liquid after *-a-* could be found in Clauson's dictionary. The reason may lie in the fact that the regular Turkic reflection of Mongolian liquids is the sibilants.³⁵ However, cf. e.g.

Tuv. *palra-* ununterbrochen sprechen, schwatzen, unverständlich (undeutlich) sprechen, dummes Zeug reden, überflüssiges Zeug reden
 (Etim.: *yansıma?*; Ölmez 2007, p. 237, s.v.)

Yak. *pal, palk* plonk, plop, splash (onom. of falling of spittoons or pieces of meat) (Pekarskij II, p. 1991)

*bar*¹ onom. designating quick and loud movement in various phrases
 (Pekarskij I, p. 363)

bardaryā, bardyryā 1. to utter a loud cry; to boil, bubble noisily; 2. to be capricious, angry (Pekarskij I, p. 377)

bardaryas, bardyryas having a loud voice (Pekarskij I, p. 377)³⁶

Conclusion

This paper summarises the etyma whose form and meaning was defined above and it shows that in almost all the formal and semantic categories the individual branches of languages are well represented. The material is complementary to the previous summaries of *verba dicendi* in the broad sense of the word including onomatopoeic expressions.

35) Cf. Poppe 1960, pp. 77–78; further cf. e.g. Yak. *pas* onom. imitating the noise of a gun shot (s.v. MT. *PAŠBĀK-* to clap one's hands, applaud; MTD II,34; also Pekarskij II, s.v. *pas*¹, p. 1992–3; mentioned in Vacek 2006d, Section 2. C (p. 176).

36) Cf. also Yak. *barča* 1. broken pieces of something (Pekarskij I, p. 379); *barčālā* to break, to crumble (Pekarskij I, p. 380). For a similar formal parallel in Dravidian and Mongolian cf. above notes 30 and 32.





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The process of grammaticalization of nominalizing morphemes and auxiliaries in spoken Standard Tibetan

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Summary: The aim of the present paper is to show the process of grammaticalization of some constructions consisting of nominalizing morphemes and auxiliaries into verbal suffixes (verbal endings) in spoken Standard Tibetan using the example of the morphemes *mkhan*, *yag* and *rgyu* and essential and existential auxiliaries. In synchrony, these morphemes may function as independent nominalizers or as parts of verbal endings. Sometimes, their status is not clear since the constructions they are part of are in the process of grammaticalization but this process has not yet been completed.

1. Introduction¹

Grammaticalization (see Givon 1984, Bybee 1985, Hopper 1991, Heine 1993, Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; also called grammaticization, see e.g. Hopper 1991) is a key process in the evolution of language. It takes place very slowly. Since the grammatical system of any language develops gradually, a particular degree of grammaticalization can be seen at any point in time (Palmer 1986, p. 5). This is why we encounter items on different levels of grammaticalization. Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994, p. 4) describe the process of grammaticalization in the following way: *'Grammaticization theory begins with the observation that grammatical morphemes develop gradually out of lexical morphemes or combinations of lexical morphemes with lexical or grammatical morphemes.'* Grammatical morphemes tend to be shorter than the lexical items because they undergo the processes of semantic and phonetic reduction (Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca 1994).

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In this paper, I will have a close look at grammatical morphemes of the verbal domain in spoken Standard Tibetan² (see Hu et al. 1989, Wang 1994, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, Zhou & Xie (eds.) 2003), an SOV language, which has grammaticalized time reference. The verb can be followed only by grammatical words, such as verbal endings and particles. Old Tibetan used to have a rich system of verbal inflection (see Hahn 1974, Kesang Gyurme 1992, Zeisler 2004). Some verbs had up to four stems: past, present, future and imperative. However, the situation has changed in spoken Standard Tibetan. Most of the verbs have now only one or two stems, the past and/or the present-future³. The modern language has been developing into a single verbal stem for all tenses. Consequently, the inflectional system has been replaced by another system based on verbal endings. This system has become very complicated in the spoken language.

The verbal endings function as markers of the categories of tense, aspect and modality. They are basically divided in two groups: those related to evidentiality (see DeLancey 1986, Chafe & Nichols 1986, Guentcheva 2007, Aikhenvald 2004, Garrett 2004) specifying the source of information⁴, called 'evidential endings', and those expressing various degrees of certainty of the speaker towards the actuality of his utterance (epistemic modality see Nuyts 2001, Boye 2006), called 'epistemic endings'.⁵ Look at the following examples of an evidential ending (1) and an epistemic ending (2): whereas in (1) the speaker is sure that she didn't drink tea because he saw her drink something else or not drink at all, in (2) he is pretty sure she didn't drink tea because he knows that in principle she doesn't like tea but he is not 100 % sure:

- 2) Tibetan is spoken by about six million people. The Tibetan linguistic area is approximately 2,400,000 square km. There is an enormous dialectal variation in different regions inhabited by Tibetan native speakers. There are about two hundred Tibetan dialects spoken in five countries: China, Nepal, Bhutan, India and Pakistan (Tournadre 2005:1). Standard Tibetan corresponds to the variety of central Tibetan, spoken in Lhasa and its neighbourhood and in the Tibetan communities in exile (India, Nepal). It is in the process of standardization. The Lhasa dialect and the Tibetan variety spoken in the diaspora are very similar with some minor differences in terms of lexicon, grammar and intonation. Nevertheless, these differences do not hinder full mutual comprehension.
- 3) Several verbs have still three forms: past, present-future and imperative, e.g. the verb 'to see' *bltas*, *lta* and *ltos*, respectively.
- 4) There are two main evidential types: direct and indirect. The indirect type is used when the speaker obtains information from somebody (or something) else (hearsay). The direct type is used when the speaker (via his senses) is essential for learning the source of information. It consists of four evidentials: factual, sensory, inferential, and egophoric (see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003)
- 5) The same division holds true for the copulas. Thus we can speak of evidential and epistemic copulas.

- (1) *khong* – *gis* *ja* *btungs* – *ma.song*⁶
 s/he+H – ERG tea drink – PFV+SENS (NEG)
 She didn't drink tea.
- (2) *khong* – *gis* *ja* *btungs* – *a.yod*
 s/he+H – ERG tea drink – PERF-EPI₃+EGO (NEG)
 I doubt she drank tea.

From a diachronic point of view, most of the verbal endings used in spoken Standard Tibetan consist of verbal nominalizers and auxiliaries. The auxiliaries have developed from lexical verbs (verbs of action, movement and state). They are attached to a lexical, or in some cases to a secondary⁷ verb by means of verbal nominalizers (connectors). These are *pa*, *gi* or its variants *gyi*, *kyi* (their use depends on the preceding syllable), *rgyu* and empty nominalizer; they have a connective or nominalizing function (see Part 2 for more details on these nominalizers). A number of verbal auxiliaries are the same morphemes as copulas, for example: *yin*, *red*, *yod*, *'dug*, *byung* are copulas; *pa.red*, *gi.yin.gyi.red*, *gi.'dug.yod* and *byung* (with the empty nominalizer) are verbal endings including the auxiliaries *yin*, *red*, *'dug.yod* and *byung*. Both syntactic structures are represented below: in (3) *yod* is a copula and in (4) an auxiliary functioning as a verbal ending (empty nominalizer + auxiliary):

NOUN/ADJECTIVE + COPULA

- (3) *nga* – *la* *dus.tshod* *yod*
 I – OBL time have (EGO)
 I have time.

VERB [inflection] + VERBAL TAM ENDING

- (4) *nga* – *s* *ja* *bzos* – *yod*
 I – ERG tea make (PAS) – PERF+EGO
 I have made some tea.

6) The examples are given in Tibetan orthography by Wylie's transliteration. Tibetan words with more than one syllable are written with a dot between the syllables. Grammatical morphemes are attached by a dash.

7) A secondary verb specifies the meaning of the preceding lexical verb. This group consists of modal, aspectual and directional verbs.

As Heine (1993, p. 131) put it: ‘... *auxiliaries may be defined as linguistic items located along the grammaticalization chain extending from full verb to grammatical inflection of tense, aspect, and modality, as well as a few other functional domains, and their behaviour can be described with reference to their relative location along this chain, which is called the Verb-to-TAM chain ...*’. Tibetan epistemic endings are an example of the grammaticalization process from a free lexical form to a bound inflectional form. Look at the following sentence with the epistemic ending *pa.ʼdra* which has developed from the nominalizer *pa* and the lexical verb *ʼdra* meaning ‘to be like, to be similar’:

- (5) *khong* – *gis* *deb* *nyos* – *pa.ʼdra*
 He+H – ERG book buy (PAS) – PERF+EPI 2+SENS
 It looks like she bought a book.

From a synchronic point of view, the above combinations of nominalizers and auxiliaries function as verbal endings. There are, however, constructions with nominalizers that are still interpreted as nominalized constructions. This paper pays special attention to such combinations that can be interpreted both as nominalizations and verbal endings.

2. Nominalization versus verbal endings⁸

Nominalization is a very important process in spoken Standard Tibetan. It is possible to add a nominalizing morpheme to any Tibetan verb to make a nominal phrase. Although the nominalizers have different functions, most of them share the following functions: they form nominal and relative clauses that function either as a noun or an adjective. The nominalizing suffixes are: *pa*, *sa*, *mkhan*, *yag*, *rgyu*, *stangs*, *srol* and *ʼgyog*.⁹ They are primarily used as follows:

- *pa* nominalizes the whole proposition or indicates the patient.
- *sa* expresses the place or the addressee.
- *mkhan* expresses the doer (subject) of an action.
- *yag* nominalizes the whole proposition and indicates the patient.

8) Much of what follows is a result of my fieldwork in Tibet from 2004 till 2006. I am thankful to Nicolas Tournadre for support in the field of theory and comments.

9) *ʼgyog* is phonetic writing because this nominalizer does not exist in written Tibetan. It is only used in the spoken language.

- *rgyu* has the same functions as *yag*.
- *stangs* expresses the way of doing an action.
- *srol* expresses the habit of doing an action.
- *gyog* has the same functions as *pa*.

Below are examples of nominalized constructions with the nominalizers *pa* and *stangs*:

- (6) *lha.mo lha.sa – r phyin – pa nga– s ha.go –ma.song*
 Lhamo Lhasa – OBL go (PAS)– NOM I – ERG know –PFV+SENS (NEG)
 I didn't know that Lhamo went to Lhasa. (Lit.: I didn't know about Lhamo having gone to Lhasa).
- (7) *khong – gi skad.cha bshad – stangs khyed.mtshar 'dug*
 s/he+H – GEN speech say – NOM strange exist (SENS)
 The way she is speaking is strange.

In synchrony, the morphemes *pa*, *sa*, *mkhan*, *yag* and *rgyu* either function as independent nominalizers or they have been integrated as part of verbal endings. Thus the combinations of these nominalizers with copulas can be interpreted as nominalizations, and those with auxiliaries as verbal endings. The following are examples of nominalization of a lexical verb by the nominalizer *pa*, followed by the copula *yod.kyi.red* (8a) and *yin.gyi.red* (8b), and of the verbal ending *pa.yin.gyi.red* (diachronically *pa+yin+gyi+red*) (8c):

- (8) a) *las.ka ma – byas – pa yod.kyi.red*
 work NEG – do (PAS) – NOM exist (EPI 2+FACT)
 There is most probably some work that has not been done. (There was much work to be done and only little time to do it.)
- b) *'di khong – gis byas – pa yin.gyi.red*
 this s/he+H – ERG do (PAS) – NOM be (EPI 2+FACT)
 This is most probably what he did. (There were only a few people.)

- c) *las.ka* *'di* *khong* – *gis* *byas* – *pa.yin.gyi.red*
 work this s/he+H – ERG do (PAS) – PFV+EPI 2+FACT
 It was most probably he who did the work. (It was Sunday yesterday. He usually works on Sundays.)

In spoken Standard Tibetan there is, however, no example of a verbal ending with the nominalizer *pa* and the auxiliary *yod* followed by a second formant, e.g. * *pa.yod.kyi.red*:

- (9) * *khong* – *gis* *las.ka* – *byas* – *pa.yod.kyi.red*
 s/he+H – ERG work – do(PAS) – PFV+EPI 2+FACT
 Intended: She probably did some work.

In spoken Standard Tibetan, there are also combinations that can have both interpretations: a nominalization and a verbal ending. This can be explained by different stages of grammaticalization. As Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994, p. 4) put it, languages do not provide a static organization of meaning, they undergo constant change. 'One of the consequences of this ongoing evolution is that, cross-linguistically and within a given language, we can expect to find grammatical material at different stages of development.' (Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, p. 1). I propose to divide the process of grammaticalization in spoken Standard Tibetan into the following three stages:

1. Pure nominalization (i.e. nominalizer + copula)
2. Intermediary stage (i.e. nominalizer + auxiliary developing into a verbal ending)
3. Pure verbal ending

In the following parts, each of the above stages will be defined and illustrated by examples.

3. Grammaticalization of *mkhan*

This part shows different stages of grammaticalization of the nominalizer *mkhan*. At present, *mkhan* appears in two different constructions: in one functioning as a pure nominalizer and in another one becoming part of a verbal ending. Nevertheless, the latter one cannot yet be classified as an example

of a pure verbal ending (e.g. **mkhan.yin*). This stage is illustrated by the existing verbal ending *gi.yin*.

1. PURE NOMINALIZATION (I.E. NOMINALIZER + COPULA)

When a combination of a nominalizer and a verb can be determined and/or other words can follow the nominalizer, one speaks of pure nominalization. See below an example of the combination V+*mkhan* and the copula *red* with the pronoun *su* 'who' inserted between the two:

- (10) *kha.sa kha.lag bzo – mkhan su red*
 yesterday meal make (PRS) – NOM who be (FACT)
 Who cooked yesterday? (Lit.: Who is the person cooking yesterday?)

2. INTERMEDIARY STAGE (NOMINALIZER + AUXILIARY DEVELOPING INTO A VERBAL ENDING)

The intermediary stage involves the process of incorporation of a nominalizer and an auxiliary into one verbal ending and the process of development of a new meaning of the combination. These processes of grammaticalization have, however, not yet been concluded and generalized. An example of the intermediary stage is the combination of the nominalizer *mkhan* and the essential auxiliaries *yin* and *red*. Although one may still be aware of the original meaning of the nominalized construction as 'a person doing an action' or 'a doer of an action', this combination has developed a new meaning. It is used to express the fact that the subject of the sentence (or someone else) has a plan. The use of the combination is, however, limited to controllable verbs. Look at the following example:

- (11) A: *rang ga.par 'gro – ga*
 you where go (PRS) – FUT+EGO
 B: *nga khrom – la 'gro – mkhan : yin*
 I market – OBL go (PRS) – NOM : AUX (EGO) = PLAN
 A: Where are you going?
 B: I am going to the market. (My plan is to go to the market).



In the above sentence, if the speaker used the future ending *gi.yin*, this would imply that he insists on his current intention and not on his (or someone else's) plan (see ex. 15). Unlike the ending *gi.yin*, which is only used in future contexts, *V + mkhan + yin* can also be used in past contexts as shown in the example below:

- (12) a) *kha.sa nga khrom – la 'gro – mkhan: yin*
 yesterday I market – OBL go (PRS) – NOM : AUX (EGO) = PLAN
 I was planning to go to the market yesterday.
- b) **kha.sa nga khrom – la 'gro – gi.yin*
 yesterday I market – OBL go (PRS) – *PFV+EGO
 Intended: I was planning to go to the market yesterday.

The subsequent context of (12a) may follow:

- (13) *yin.na'i khong slebs – song a.ni nga phyin – med*
 but s/he+H come – PFV+SENS so I go (PAS) – PERF+EGO (NEG)
 But he came. So I didn't go.

Below is another example of the intermediary stage with *mkhan + red* expressing a planned action that can be used both in past and future contexts (14a). On the other hand, the verbal ending *gi.red* only has a future meaning (14b) and *pa.red* a past meaning (14c). Compare the examples below:

- (14) a) *khong dus.sang / zla.nyin slob.sbyong byed – mkhan : red*
 s/he+H next year / last year study do (PRS) – NOM : AUX
 (FACT) = PLAN
 She plans to study next year. / She planned to study last year.
- b) *khong dus.sang / *zla.nyin slob.sbyong byed – kyi.red*
 s/he+H next year / last year study do (PRS) – FUT + FACT
 She will study next year. / *She studied last year.
- c) *khong *dus.sang / zla.nyin slob.sbyong byas – pa.red*
 s/he+H next year / last year study do (PAS) – PFV+FACT
 *She will study next year. / She studied last year.



3. PURE VERBAL ENDING

The final stage of grammaticalization of combinations of a nominalizer and an auxiliary is when they become a fully grammaticalized verbal ending. An example of this stage is the future egophoric verbal ending *gi.yin*. Diachronically consisting of the nominalizer *gi* and the auxiliary *yin*, in synchrony it functions as a single verbal ending. It is a phonetic, syntactic and semantic unit. See the following example:

- (15) *nga* *khrom* – *la* *gro* – *gi.yin*
 I market – OBL go (PRS) – FUT+EGO
 I'll go to the market.

4. Grammaticalization of *yag* and *rgyu*

Another example of the process of grammaticalization of a nominalizer is the morphemes *yag* and *rgyu*. They can combine with essential or existential copulas or auxiliaries. First, the constructions with *yag* or *rgyu* and the essential copulas (auxiliaries) *yin* or *red* will be discussed: some are examples of pure nominalization, others of pure verbal endings:

1. PURE NOMINALIZATION: VERB – *yag* + Copula *yin/red*

The construction consisting of the nominalizer *yag* and the essential copula *yin* or *red* is an example of pure nominalization. It is possible to use *rgyu* instead of *yag* in a higher style or in literary Tibetan. Look at the examples below:

- (16) [*di*]... *khong* – *gis* *mog.mog* *bzo* – *yag* *red*
 [this] s/he+H – ERG momo make (PRS) – NOM be (FACT)
 [This] is the ingredient she [will use to] make *momos*.

- (17) a) *dug.log* *di* *khru* – *yag* *red* – *pas*
 clothes this wash (PRS) – NOM be (FACT) – Q
 Are these clothes [meant for] washing?
- b) *dug.log* *di* *khru* – *rgyu* *red* – *pas*
 clothes this wash (PRS) – NOM be (FACT) – Q
 Are these clothes [meant for] washing?

3. PURE VERBAL ENDING: VERB – *rgyu.yin* / *rgyu.red*

The construction consisting diachronically of the nominalizer *rgyu* and the essential copula *yin* or *red* is synchronically an example of pure verbal endings: *rgyu.yin* and *rgyu.red* are verbal endings that are used in the future and often have deontic connotations, meaning ‘intend’, ‘have yet to’, ‘need to’. In this case, it is impossible to use *yag.yin* and *yag.red* instead, as shown in the example below:

- (18) a) *nga las.ka byed – rgyu.yin*
 I work do (PRS) – FUT+EGO+DEO
 I have yet to work.

- b) * *nga las.ka byed – yag.yin*
 I work do (PRS) – FUT+EGO+DEO
 Intended: I have yet to work.

- (19) A: *dug.log 'di bkrus tshar – pa.red – pas*
 clothes this wash (PAS) finish – PFV+FACT – Q
 Have these clothes been washed?

- B: *'khru – rgyu.red*
 wash (PRS) – FUT+FACT+DEO
 They are yet to be washed.

Furthermore, in spoken Standard Tibetan there are constructions with *yag* or *rgyu* and the existential copulas (auxiliaries) *yod*, *yod.red* and *'dug*. Some of them are nominalized constructions, others have been undergoing the process of grammaticalization into verbal endings:

1. PURE NOMINALIZATION: S – OBL VERB – *yag* + Copula *yod/yod.red*/*dug*

The possessive construction with an existential copula in which the subject is followed by an oblique case suffix and the verb is nominalized by *yag*, is an example of pure nominalization. In a higher style or in literary Tibetan, it is possible to use *rgyu* instead of *yag* in this construction. See the following examples of the possessive construction:

- (20) a) *nga – r khyed.rang – la bkaʼ.mol zhu – yag yod*
 I – OBL you+H – OBL speech+H say (PRS)+h – NOM have (EGO)
 I have something to say to you.
- b) *khong – la mog.mog bzo – yag yod.red*
 s/he+H – OBL momo make (PRS) – NOM have (FACT)
 She has (all the) ingredients for making *momos*.

It is normally impossible to omit the oblique case suffix in the spoken language as is shown by the example below:

- (21) a) * *khong na – yag yod.red*
 s/he+H be ill – NOM exist (FACT)
 Intended: He is ill.
- b) *khong – la na – yag yod.red*
 s/he+H – OBL be ill – NOM exist (FACT)
 He is ill. (Lit.: He has some parts of his body that are ill or that hurt him.)

The fact that it is possible to insert another word between the nominalizer and the copula (22) proves that it is not an example of a verbal ending:

- (22) *nga – r za – yag mang.po yod*
 I – OBL eat (PRS) – NOM many have (EGO)
 I have many things to eat.



2. INTERMEDIARY STAGE (NOMINALIZER + AUXILIARY DEVELOPING INTO A VERBAL ENDING)

S (ANIMATE) VERB – *yag* + AUX *yod/yod.red/dug*

The construction with an animate subject without the oblique case suffix, the verb followed by *yag* and an existential auxiliary, conveys the meaning of ‘have time’ (ex. 23, 24) or ‘have an opportunity’ (ex. 25, 26). Compare the following examples:

- (23) *nga* *‘gro* – *yag* : *yod*¹⁰
 I go (PRS) – NOM : AUX (EGO) = TIME
 I have time to go.

- (24) *khong* *bod* – *la* *bsdad* – *yag* : *yod.pa.yod*
 s/he+H Tibet – OBL live – NOM : AUX (EPI 2+EGO) = TIME
 As far as I can remember, she has time to live in Tibet.

- (25) *nga* *phyi.rgyal* – *la* *bsdad* – *na* *nga* – *‘i* *nang.mi*
 I abroad – OBL live – if I – GEN family
 phyi.rgyal – *la* *‘gro* – *yag* : *yod.red*
 abroad – OBL go (PRS) – NOM : AUX (FACT) = OPPORTUNITY
 If I live abroad, my family will have a chance to go there.

- (26) *khong* *las.ka* *‘di* *byas* – *na* *dngul* *mang.po* *rag*
 s/he+H work this do (PAS) – if money much get
 – *yag* : *yod.kyi.red*
 – NOM : AUX (FACT) = OPPORTUNITY
 If he does this job, he’ll probably have a chance to get a lot of money.

10) This sentence conveys a similar meaning to the sentence containing the secondary verb *long* ‘have time’:

nga – *r* *‘gro* *long* *yod*
 I – OBL go (PRS) have time AUX (EGO)
 I have time to go.



S (INANIMATE) VERB – *yag* + AUX *yod/yod.red*/'*dug*

The construction with an inanimate subject without the oblique case suffix, the verb followed by *yag* and an existential copula, implies potentiality, possibility or ability and is often translated in English by '–able'. Look at the following examples:

- (27) *dug.log 'di chu – la 'khru¹¹ – yag : yod.red*
 clothes this water – OBL wash (PRS) – NOM : AUX (FACT) = POTENTIAL
 These clothes are washable in water. (Or: It is possible/allowed to wash these clothes in water.)

- (28) *shel.dam 'di chag – yag : med.pa.'dra*
 bottle this break – NOM : AUX (NEG+EPI 2+SENS) = POTENTIAL
 This bottle seems like it won't break. (It looks solid.)

It is impossible to determine this construction with *yag* (e.g. by *mang.po* 'many') when *yag* nominalizes a non-controllable (resultative) verb (ex. 29). It is, however, possible when *yag* nominalizes a controllable (causative) verb (ex. 30a) or in possessive constructions (ex. 30b) as has been demonstrated above (cf. ex. 22):

- (29) a) *rkub.rkyag chag – yag : yod.red*
 chair break (RES) – NOM : AUX (FACT) = POTENTIAL
 Chairs can break. / Chairs are breakable.

- b) **rkub.rkyag chag – yag mang.po yod.red*
 chair break (RES) – NOM many exist (FACT)
 Intended: There are many chairs that are breakable.

- (30) a) *rkub.rkyag bcag – yag mang.po yod.red*
 chair break (CAUS) – NOM many exist (FACT)
 There are many chairs to break.

- b) *rkub.rkyag – la chag – yag mang.po yod.red*
 chair – OBL break (RES) – NOM many exist (FACT)
 There are many parts on the chair that break.

11) *'khru* is the present-future stem used in the spoken language. It corresponds to *'khrud* in literary Tibetan.

5. Conclusion

The paper has demonstrated the long process of grammaticalization in language by taking the example of spoken Standard Tibetan. I have shown various constructions consisting of nominalizers and copulas or auxiliaries at different stages of grammaticalization starting with a purely nominalized construction and ending up with a fully grammaticalized verbal ending. The verbal endings are the main means of expressing verbal categories (tense, aspect and modality) in spoken Standard Tibetan. The synthetic expression of tenses in Old Tibetan has been abandoned and periphrastic constructions have prevailed in the contemporary language. Nowadays, there are new constructions with nominalizing morphemes that have been undergoing the process of phonological and semantic change, i.e. phonological reduction and development of new meanings.

Abbreviations

AUX	auxiliary
DEO	deontic
EGO	egophoric evidential
EPI	epistemic
ERG	ergative
FACT	factual evidential
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
h	humilific
H	honorific
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
OBL	oblique
PAS	past
PFV	perfective
PERF	perfect
PRS	present
RES	resultative
SENS	sensory evidential

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Tibetan ritual texts concerning the local deities of the Buryat Aga Autonomous Region, Part II

Daniel Berounský

Summary: The text presents nine Tibetan ritual texts of Aga Buryats concerning their local deities, both in translation and in the original. The particular texts are introduced by short paragraphs. Most of the texts are dedicated to the local deities bound to particular villages. One text touches the holy pilgrimage place Alhanai and one of the texts is generally used for propitiation of the all local deities in the Aga region. This is the second part of the paper published in *Mongolica Pragensia* '06 by the same author and is also related to the text on Thirteen Northern Lords published in *Mongolica Pragensia* '05.

4. DEITY OF THE “RED HILL” (ULAAN ULA / ULAAN HADA) NEAR THE VILLAGE OF CHILUTAI: INTRODUCTION

There is a small wooden chapel (Bur. *bumhan*) on the top of the "Red Hill" and the annual ritual dedicated to the deity of the hill takes place here during the second day of the fifth month. The time of the ritual was decided in the Aga monastery at the beginning of the 1990s and the ritual is performed by monks of the same monastery. One of the texts (4. 2.) names the deity of the hill “Hero Skilful In Taming Enemies” (*dpa' po dgra 'dul rtsal*) and another one (4. 3.) as “Hero Skilled In Ferocity” (*dpa' po drag rtsal*). No information on the past of the deity is available to me.

Three texts are dedicated to the deity of the “Red Hill”. The first text is authored by the fourth Jamyang Zhepa from Labrang monastery. Two other two texts were composed by Pelden (Tib. *dpal ldan*, Mong. Baldan, Skt. śrī) and Dāna (Skt., i.e. Tib. *sbyin pa*) according to colophons. Although there is no information on these persons (and their names in the colophons are probably abbreviated), it is probable that they were monks of the Aga monastery and their ritual texts were later replaced by that of the highly respected reincarnated master Jamyang Zhepa from the Tibetan monastery Labrang.



4.1. TRANSLATION

IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: PRAYER AND OFFERING TO THE LORD OF THE HOLY PLACE ULAAN ULA OF CHILUTAI

Great protector of the holy place together with surrounding areas,
come here to this spot in the northern direction; the earth keeping the jewels,
which is adorned by many auspicious signs,
to the hill called Ulaan Ula.

Inside the burning mountain of fire in front,
are rows of smoke-clouds from the various fumigation offerings,
they spread and fill the paths of immortality,
satisfied and pleased, you deity, assist us!

Be our guard during the night, watchman during the day,
to us, yogis with retinue,
escort us on the way off, welcome us on the way back,
discharge entrusted deeds without weakening.

Make the preaching and practice of monks' communities prosper,
make the triple training¹ challenge waxing moon,
let the bright youths of perfect ease and luck,
and the joyful grove of ease and benefit flourish forever!

[colophon]

*Concerning this, upon the request of Lozang Sangje Dagpa of the Pori locality
from the family of monks; it was compiled by a manifestation of Jamyang Zhepa,
Kelzang Thubten Wangchug. Let good virtue increase!*

Let come the auspice of pacifying diseases, demons of obstacles and obstructions,
let come the auspice of increasing life-span, merits and vitality,
let come the auspice of overcoming the three spheres of the world,
let come the auspice of suppressing the troops of *māras*!

1) Triple training (*bslab gsum*) is training in morality (*tshul khrims*), concentration (*ting nge 'dzin*) and knowledge (*shes rab*). See Rigzin 1993, p. 298 and elsewhere.



[colophon]

*This was taken aside and copied from the collected works of Alu Rinpoche.
Jayantu!*

4.2. TRANSLATION

PELDEN: FUMIGATION AND OFFERING TO THE RED HILL

Perform the “going for refuge” and “generation of the mind of awakening” in advance and then comes the blessing by the six-fold mantra and gestures.²

Kye kye!

From the outside it appears as a hill,
inside is a palace made from precious stones,
and inside the palace of all common qualities,
is Hero Skilful In Taming Enemies in the manner of man.

He wears precious armour and helmet, with flags on his head,
dressed in a long coat with fine silk strips of five colours,
in his right hand he raises his sword towards the sky,
in his left hand a big drum resounds in triple thousand-worlds,
by which he overcomes all humans and non-humans,
on his right side is his noble son Kunga Dorje,
who presents to his father weapons: arrows, spear and sword,
on his left side his noble wife Lutsen Menzang,
presents to her husband food, drinks and other things,
in front he is surrounded by many ministers, the lords of soil,
behind him the flesh-eating beasts of prey are roaming,
birds, dogs, jackals and others – *ngu ru ru*,
tigers, leopards, female and male bears – *chem se chem*,
flags of five colours and other things – *bu ru ru*,
inconceivable offerings of enjoyment; water for the face and so forth,³
we present to the lords of earth; kings and ministers with their retinue.

2) For the sixfold mantra see Berounský 2005, note 21; Berounský 2006a, note 28.

3) Offerings of enjoyment (*nyer spyod*) are in this case water for the face, water for the feet, flowers, incense, lamps, perfume, food and music, see also Berounský 2005, note 38.



By excellent wood of sandal, eaglewood and juniper,
grains, flour, butter, flour mixed with butter and so forth,
by burning these large fumigation offerings,
we fumigate lords of soil, lords of holy places with their retinue.
we offer them an ocean of “golden drink”; tea, wine and milk.

Accepting this ocean of various offerings,
annihilate the diseases of two-legged people,
the loss of four-legged cattle,
in the world of destruction in general and in particular in this part of the
land,
pacify enemies, quarrels and lawsuits of the four directions of the world,
and all unfavourable decline,
spread the auspice and good ease as a waxing moon,
befriend us and discharge the entrusted virtuous deeds.

By the blessing of protectors Brahma and Indra,
...let come long life, happiness and ease without sickness.
By the miraculous power of offering and prayer to you,
...we pray, spread the dharma and auspice.

Perform the “asking for forbearance”.⁴

[colophon]

This was written by a mad mantrin-scholar Pelden, I beg wise ones for forbearance.

Auspice! All is pure!

If many and many beings of this land,
are offering to you again and again,
fulfil the aims of their minds and minds,
discharge the entrusted deeds fast and fast.

[colophon]

This was written by Dāna.

4) Here come any particular verses asking the deities to be benevolent towards the transgressions done by people or cattle.



4.3. TRANSLATION

DĀNA: OBLATION OF GOLDEN DRINK TO THE LORD OF THE HOLY PLACE OF ULAAN ULA NEAR CHILUTAI CALLED SATIATION OF LOCAL PEOPLE'S HOPES

Homage to the master!

*If someone wants to present an offering of “golden drink” to the lord of the holy place of Chilutai’s hill Ulaan Ula, he should prepare “golden drink” from the first parts of unspoiled tea, wine, milk and so forth. Through the “pride” of one’s own tutelary deity the following is to be pronounced:*⁵

Kye kye!

The mass of offering of “golden drink”,
blessed by miraculous power of the truth of dharma-space and the three
highest ones,⁶

which generates the joy of master, protectors of dharma and local deities,
changes into the all-good heap of the cloud of offerings,

om āḥ hūṃ

...by triple repetition [of the mantra] it is blessed.

Kye kye!

This excellent drink; inexhaustible in whatever use,
blessed by the miraculous power of the truth of dharma-space,
it is presented to the masters of the root-lineage and tutelary deities,
while accepting it I beg you to grant the blessing of the miraculous powers.

This excellent drink; inexhaustible in whatever use,
blessed by the miraculous power of the truth of dharma-space,
is presented to the three highest ones, *ḍākini* and protectors of dharma,
while accepting it grant us virtuous acts in assisting us and freeing us from
fear.

This excellent drink; inexhaustible in whatever use,
blessed by the miraculous power of the truth of dharma-space,

5) The “pride” of the tutelary deity means here that before the text itself comes the *sādhana* of one’s own tutelary deity.

6) “Three highest ones” (*mchog gsum*) is Triple Gem of Buddhists: Buddha, Dharma and the community of monks.



is presented to the eight classes of fierce deities and demons,
while accepting it make all our wishes to be fulfilled fast.

This excellent drink; inexhaustible in whatever use,
blessed by the miraculous power of the truth of dharma-space,
is presented to the local deities and lords of base of this holy place,
while accepting it establish convenient circumstances according to our wishes.

This excellent drink; inexhaustible in whatever use,
blessed by the miraculous power of the truth of dharma-space,
is presented to the Hero Skilled In Ferocity with his wife, noble sons and retinue,
while accepting it protect the people and cattle of this land.

Let the crowd of masters, tutelary deities and protectors,
make us accomplish completely acts of peace, increase, power and ferocity,
and befriending us fulfil, without obstacles,
all our ultimate and temporary wishes.

You severe local deities, lords of base with retinue,
do not be short-tempered, fastidious and jealous,
towards the deeds of the local people not knowing what is to be done and
what not,
befriend us and fulfil quickly our desired wishes.

In this part of the land worshipping and offering to you,
pacify all the demons of sickness, poverty, fighting, frost, hail and drought,
famine, thieves and robbers,
and make to increase the grains, cattle and enjoyable wealth.

[colophon]

This "Oblation of golden drink to the lord of the holy place Ulaan Ula in Chilutai satiating the hopes of local people" was written by old ignorant Dāna,⁷ let it bring auspice!

7) The text contains Tāna which I consider to be a scribal error.



5. SOGTU HAN ULA: INTRODUCTION

The hill bears the name Sogtu Han Ula where the Sogtu Han (“Brilliant Lord”, Mong. Cogt Han) is also the name of the deity believed to reside in it. The text dedicated to the deity is anonymous and states only that its author was a full monk (Tib. *dge slong*, Skt. *bhikṣu*) “wandering in the wilderness”. The possibility that the deity of the hill was originally the famous Mongolian hero Cogt Taiji, living in the 17th century, remains an open question.

The present state of the hill is a witness to its unfavourable fate. It belongs to the tantalum mine “Orlovsk” and the upper part of the hill has been completely removed. There is neither *oboo* nor chapel and the rituals dedicated to the deity are performed at the bottom of the hill these days.

5.1. TRANSLATION

ANONYMOUS: OBLATIONS AND OFFERINGS TO THE LEADER OF LOCAL DEITIES SOGTU HAN ULA BLAZING WITH SPLENDOUR CALLED “THE SEA OF ENJOINMENT PRODUCING ALL THINGS NEEDED AND DESIRED”

Homage to guru Hayagrīva!

I bow respectfully to the incomparable kind master,
the crown jewel of the gathering places of many scholars,
who is like a perfect full moon, the lord of night with cool rays,
amidst the cloudless sky abundant with stars.

Those who wish to perform offering and oblation to this renowned great hill known as Sogtu Han Ula blazing with splendour, the ruler of this area, should burn juniper, artemisia, aquilaria, rhododendron, valerian and other fragrant substances for fumigation; a portion of milk, tea, wine (chang) and other [substances] of good smell should be mixed with three white substances and three sweet ones [and offered].⁸ In advance they should perform the ritual of taking refuge [in Triple Gem] and generation of the mind of awakening. Having pride of himself as tutelary deity [generated] as much as possible [one pronounces

8) Three white substances are curd, milk and butter; three sweet ones are molasses, honey and sugar.



the following:] By [mantra] om vajra amṛta it is cleansed, by svabhāva it is purified.⁹

It changes into emptiness itself. From the sphere of emptiness appear offering substances; these are adorned by the spot of the first syllable of one's own name. They melt and in your sight appear master, tutelary deities, heroes, *ḍākinīs*, protectors of dharma, guardians in general and particularly the lord of the base of this area protecting various people. Let [the offerings] extend!

[Offerings] are blessed by gestures and mantras called "Treasury of the sky" and six-fold mantras and gestures, and then the "Power of True" [verses] should be pronounced.¹⁰

Kye kye!

I beg you to come swiftly without delay,
root masters, crowd of peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities,
Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*,
guarding assembly of heroes, *ḍākinīs* and protectors of dharma!

And in particular Sogtu Han Ula blazing with splendour,
deities of rocks, hills, stones, woods and waters,
the lords of base with all their retinue dwelling in what is primordial (*gnyug ma*),
all of you come as guests to this fumigation offering.

Come here immediately and without delay,
powerful demons and deities of the arisen world of existence,
birth-deities, local deities, five "sticking deities",¹¹
assembly of protecting enemy-deities, spirits, deities and non-humans.

9) These are two mantras. The first one is dedicated to the deity Amṛtakunḍali, it is believed to cleanse the obstacles and sounds: *om Vajra-Amṛtakunḍali hana hana hūṃ phaṭ* (sometimes the word *vajra* is omitted). The second mantra purifies into emptiness and sounds: *om svabhāva-śuddhāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ svabhāva-śuddho 'ham*. See Berounský 2005, notes 19, 20; Berounský 2006a, notes 26, 27.

10) For the mantras mentioned here and the prayer called „Power of Truth“ see Berounský 2005, pp. 138–139, notes 21, 22.

11) Five sticking deities (*go ba'i lha lnga*) are protective deities dwelling both outside and inside the body of the individual person and sometimes include the already mentioned "birth-deity" (*skyes lha*). Their lists vary in particular Tibetan texts, and are often given as Female-deity (*mo lha*), Vitality-deity (*srog lha*), Male-deity (*pho lha*), Local deity (*yul lha*), Warrior-deity (i.e. deity protecting people from their enemies, *dgra lha*). For more detailed information see Berounský 2006b.



Sit firmly in the joyous manner each of you,
in the centre of a beautiful tent of the colour of the rainbow in front,
on the cushions of lotus, sun and moon, on your animal mounts and dwelling places,
with whatever beautiful armour and things pleasing the senses.

The guests of the fumigation offering arrive to the front; as if to the offerings [assembled] as clouds in the sky and think in the sphere of mind about accomplishing their virtuous deeds.

Kye kye!

Be fumigated through burning fragrant substances and various medicines,
masters, tutelary deities, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas,
the guarding assembly of heroes, *ḍākinīs* and protectors of dharma,
eight classes of gods and demons, "sticking deities" and enemy-deities,
and in particular the one who became the leader of the gods of this area,
Sogtu Han Ula blazing with splendour,
rocks, hills, stones and lords of soil and lords of holy places,
be fumigated, entire assembly of his retinue,
be fumigated, all those dwelling in lakes, rivers,
in waterfalls, meadows, pools and springs,
be fumigated, those dwelling in gardens of medicinal plants and pleasant groves,
deities of woods and groves at the points of the compass and in intermediate directions,
be fumigated, assembly of demons and non-humans of the white side,
all lords of base dwelling in what is primordial (*gnyug ma*).

Kye kye!

Be cleansed by this entire offering of fumigation,
masters, tutelary deities, peaceful and wrathful lords,
assembly of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, heroes and *ḍākinīs*,
those who have broken their oath through mistakes of ignorance,
be cleansed of all obstructions to you, lords of soil,
ploughing the soil, crushing stone, cutting woods, stirring *gnyan* of water.¹²

12) The Tibetan expression *gnyan* is hard to translate. Here it designates spirits and deities of the intermediate sphere between the sky and the earth, texts often speak about *gnyan* of stone, wood and water.



Kye kye!

These offerings are presented to your sight with great devotion,
well arranged and produced as a manifestation of mind,
inner and outer offering substances, offering for enjoyment¹³ and music,
five desirable articles¹⁴ and pleasant substances generating joy,
three white and three sweet ones,¹⁵ medicines and portions of tea and wine,
unpolluted *artemisia* of golden drink,
red sacrificial cake of blood and flesh piled up like a mound,
outer supports of animals; horse, oxen, goat and sheep,
the tools of heroes; bow, sword and spear,
beautiful armour with goods satisfying all needs,
perfect wealth of gods, *nāgas* and humans,
this ocean of clouds of offerings devoid of imperfection,
having accepted them in a loving way,
accomplish all needed deeds in joyful state!

Now to the oblation of golden drink.

Kye kye!

This offering of ambrosia of golden drink is presented,
to the root master, peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities,
assembly of heroes, *ḍākinīs* and protectors of dharma,
having accepted it accomplish all fourfold activities.

This offering of ambrosia of golden drink is presented,
to the proud eight classes of gods and demons of the arisen existence,
to the Sogtu Han Ula blazing with splendour,
to the assembly of *gnyan* of earth, woods, rocks, stones and deities of water,
to the lords of base dwelling in what is primordial (*gnyug ma*),
having accepted it accomplish all deeds entrusted to you.

This offering of ambrosia of golden drink is presented,
to the inborn deities and five "sticking deities",
to the assembly of protecting enemy-deities,
having accepted it establish all harmonious circumstances.

13) Tib. *ner spyod*, i.e. flowers, incense, lamps, perfume, food.

14) Tib. *ḍod yon lnga*, are objects for the five senses. In the other lists the objects are mirror, lute, conch filled with water, fruits, silk (see Rigzin 1993, pp. 145–6).

15) See note 8.



Kye kye!

Assembly of masters, tutelary deities, heroes and *ḍākinīs*,
accept this ocean of ambrosia and vast fumigation offerings,
and watch us; patrons and benefactors with all the retinue,
during all the days and nights.

Pacify entire inner and outer dangers,
Make our life-span, merits, power and wealth be extended like a waxing moon,
summon all the needed wealth,
and crush harming enemies and demons into dust.

Make spread the pure Teaching of the Victorious One in the ten directions,
make firm the lotus-feet, bodies and lives of man adhering to the Teaching,
make spread the agreeable good instructions in the monastic communities,
watch over the noble ease and happiness of beings,
yet, make all aspire to friendly virtues.

Establish perfect and complete joy and ease,
of the day and night and swiftly pacify,
the illness of people, loss of cattle, loss caused by wolves,
enemies, robbers, bandits, thieves, armed conflicts, famine and drought,
frost, hail, bad omens, outbreak of insects, [intense] snowing,
miraculous activity of non-humans, gossip and slander,
bad omens in dreams, excessive fire, water, wind and rain,
all the fear from earthquakes and lightning,
in brief; any harm and all things undesired,
pacify quickly both during the day and night,
and establish a mass of perfect joy and ease.

Bhyoḥ!

Gems protecting the Teaching of Buddhas...¹⁶

Now to the request for the departure [of the guests].

All you guests, return joyfully to your respective places! When called again,
come without delay!

16) These are verses of praise given only from the beginning in the text. I was not able to find this particular praise starting with the words *sangs rgyas bstan bsrung dkon mchog*...



*Now to the [verses of] pronouncement of good fortune.
Greatest of the greats; supreme highest Teacher...¹⁷*

*The Conclusion is adorned by such a pronouncement of good fortune.
[colophon]*

What concerns this [text] “Fumigation offering and oblations to the renowned great mountain and leader of local deities Sogtu Han Ula blazing with splendour called ‘The Sea of Enjoinment producing all things needed and desired’”, it was done by bhikṣu wandering in the wilderness.

You guest of fumigation offering, who is like the light of a rainbow,
accept this presented offering, which is like a mirage,
ease the harm to make it like a dream
of all beings with bodies, which are like a magical illusion.

Marvellous is the sun to every darkness,
but what is the butter lamp of Pure Teaching in the cave?
excellent is the power of mindfulness and [good] explanations to every gathering,
yet this was written following the request of a few [persons] of this land.

Auspice!

17) These are the following verses: Greatest of the greats; supreme highest Teacher, let by the blessing of sun – the Lord of Dharma, ease the harm done by enemies – the *māras* and demons of obstacles, let good fortune be present all the days and nights in the place of glory. The highest Dharma – true Dharma itself, let by the blessing of the ambrosia of the true Dharma, be pacified the enemy of sorrows – the *kleśas* and five poisons, let good fortune be present all the days and nights in the place of glory. Community of monks – jewels blazing with splendour, let by the blessing of beneficial princes, be cut down all faults of evil, let good fortune be present all the days and night in the place of glory. The Tibetan text reads: che ba'i che mchog ston pa bla na med// chos rje nyi ma rgyal ba'i byin rlabs kyis// bdud dang bgegs rigs gnod pa'i dgra zhi ste// rtag tu dpal gnas nyin mtshan bkra shis shog// chos nyid bden pa'i chos mchog bla na med// dam chos bdud rtsi bden pa'i byin rlabs kyis// nyon mongs dug lnga gdung ba'i dgra zhi ste// rtag tu dpal gnas nyin mtshan bkra shis shog// dge 'dun yon tan rin chen dpal 'bar ba// rgyal sras phan mdzad bden pa'i byin rlabs kyis/ nyes pa'i skyon bral dge tshogs rnam par 'phel// rtag tu dpal gnas nyin mtshan bkra shis shog// (Nor brang o rgyan 2000, p. 651).



6. TABTANAI: INTRODUCTION

There is no information on the past of the cult of the hill near the Dul'durga village called Tabtanai. The deity of the hill is named Tashi Samphel and the author of the text remains unknown. The text contains many scribal errors and some of them appear also in the colophon. It is highly probable that its author bears the title "Kagyur Lama" (*bka' gyur* instead of *'ka' gyur* of the text) and he was evidently one of several learned monks bearing this title; perhaps he was the Kagyurwa Gegen from Kumbum monastery in Amdo. Despite the large number of scribal errors the text is very poetic with a number of metaphorical expressions, which somehow disappear in translation due to the fact that it would be incomprehensible in English. Besides the Tibetan metaphorical expressions, often the inspiring influence of Sanskrit expressions on the Tibetan appears in the text. So, for example, a tree is called "the one drinking by feet" (*rkang 'thung*, Skt. *pādapa*), for the hill stands "one keeping the earth" (*sa 'dzin*), the Tibetan poetic name for stream of river comes here as "running [while] laying" (*nyal 'gro*), for the inanimate and animate world comes literally "firm-waving" (*brtan g.yo*), etc.

6.1. TRANSLATION

KAGYURWA LAMA: PRAISE AND OFFERING TO THE SUPREME ENEMY-DEITY TASHI SAMPHEL WITH RETINUE PROTECTING THE AREA OF TABTANAI

Homage to the master!

To the way of performing the fumigation. Tutelary deity should be generated or one's own momentary death. Then follows cleansing and purification.

From the sphere of emptiness by the first syllable of one's own name...and so on.

*Perform "Treasure of sky"; "arḥam" and so on; six mantras and gestures. Together with melody of music [the following should be pronounced:]*¹⁸

Hūṃ!

From the nature of fully accomplished great bliss,¹⁹

[appears] the assembly of root masters, tutelary deities of four classes of *tantras*,

18) For the mantras mentioned here see Berounský 2005, pp. 138–139, notes 21, 22.

19) The verse plays with words, „the isle of fully accomplished great bliss“ (*bde chen lhun grub gling*) which is also the official Tibetan name of Aga monastery.



ocean of heroes, *ḍākinīs* and protectors of Teaching,
 and particularly the beneficial earth-dome of the holy mountain,
 surrounded by a wall of hills in the fields with crops,
 groves with lotuses and noble auspicious signs,
 slow stream of Kailāsa river is flowing,
 beautiful flying ones and sneaking ones are playing among the assembly of
 trees,
 on the top of the noble mountain bestowing all what is desired,
 is the lord of the base, powerful and excellent Tashi Samphel,
 come here with your retinue of deities,
 and others of the white side!

Kye kye!

From the great bliss, the innate union of appearance and emptiness,
 [come] various precious stones, fine silks, various grains,
 juicy trees, medicines and various fragrant foods,
 these substances for fumigation fill the sky, earth and intermediate space,
 this burning cloud of offerings spreads through all the fields,
 let root masters, assembly of tutelary deities,
 heroes, *ḍākinīs* and protectors of Teaching be fumigated,
 let it bring joy and smooth away all what is opposing their hearts,
 let the lord of base, protecting the world of destruction, be fumigated,
 who was completely liberated through the playing of the triple root deities,²⁰
 mighty Tashi Samphel with his retinue,
 let all violent defilements of the animate and inanimate world be purified.

Accept with joy this excellent cloud of offerings presented to you,
 two waters, offerings of enjoyment, music and five desirable substances,²¹
 seven precious ones, eight auspicious signs,²²
 horse, yak, ox, sheep, goat, bear and others,
 joyous garden with all kinds of flying ones and sneaking ones,
 arranged things both in our possession and those we do not possess,
 in all the country in general and in particular in this area of Tabtanai,

20) Triple root deities (*rtsa gsum lha*) are master, tutelary deity and *ḍākinī*.

21) See notes 13 and 14.

22) Seven precious substances (*rin chen sna bdun*) are mostly understood as seven royal emblems, i.e. precious wheel, jewel, queen, minister, elephant, horse, general. Eight auspicious signs are parasol, golden fish, vase, lotus, white conch-shell, endless knot, victorious banner and wheel of Dharma. See Rigzin 1993, pp. 13–14 and elsewhere.



pacify and remove from consideration
obstacles of illness both of people and cattle,
arisen or potentially arisen bad omens, robbers, thieves and others,
frost, hail, blight, drought and all undesired bad circumstances,
increase our life-span, merit and wealth,
strength, "wind-horse", power and progeny of people and cattle,
and with eternal joy of noble four abundances,²³
with mind in accordance with Dharma accomplish desired acts without delay.

Kye, kye!

We praise the glorious Triple Gem, the protector of Buddha's Teaching... *and
so forth until*

remove all obstructions and unfavourable conditions,
for attainment of incomparable perfect buddhahood,
in myself and all the limitless sentient beings,
establish harmonious conditions and fulfil our desires,
accomplish entire entrusted deeds,
let all our wishes be fulfilled,
the wishes of us, teachers and disciples; patrons and priests with retinue,
and perfect pleasure of health and long life-span be established,
let magical power be established for the benefit of beings,
let the world of destruction be placed at ease,
let perseverance be established,
and further may in this land even a name,
of diseases, famine and other unfavourable degeneration does not resound,
may the Teaching of master Lozang Dagpa (Tsongkhapa) spread in the ten
directions,
may an auspice of happiness come and bring ease for all beings!

What concerns the oblation of "golden drink":

For accomplishment of the entrusted deeds we pray and present offerings,
to the master of the true lineage – blessing and incomparable kindness,
to the peaceful and wrathful tutelary deities – the place of origin of miracu-
lous powers (Skt. *siddhi*),
to the swiftly acting Lords and assembly of protectors of Teaching.

23) Tib. *phun tshogs sde bzhi*, (1) spread of dharma, (2) possession of wealth, (3) enjoyment of sensual pleasures, (4) liberation through dharma. See Zhang Yisun et al. 2000, p. 1718.



For the accomplishment of the entrusted deeds we pray and present offerings,
to the mighty Tashi Samphel with his retinue,
the supreme enemy-deity enjoying dance and songs,
granting the deeds of pacifying, multiplying, control and wrath,
[to him we] present oblation of “golden drink”.²⁴

For accomplishment of the entrusted deeds we pray and present offerings,
to the assembly of triple “root deities” and creatures of eight classes [of gods
and demons],
to the entire guests of karmic retribution; demons *gdon* and *bgegs*.

Hūṃ

Accept these offerings and sacrificial cakes,
filling the extent of triple thousand-worlds arisen from various manifestations,
of the immaculate great bliss of wisdom,
and accomplish the deeds entrusted to you now,
pacify all that is undesirable and harmful,
caused by past deeds and present conditions,
and extend the life-span, merits, entourage and Teaching,
may all the food and wealth of the triple world,
and the entire proud people, be at this very moment brought under control,
may perversely thinking enemies and demons of obstructions,
residing at all all points of the compass and in intermediate directions,
be at this very moment annihilated,
may all of them be reduced to a small particle of dust,
prolong the [enduring] of the Teaching of the Lords of the three times,
and the life-span of the noble master,
and particularly accomplish the virtuous deed,
of fulfilling our tasks.

I praise you for the falling rain of all that is desirable,
for the wish-fulfilling power of the great lord; the protector of Dharma,
for an excellent vase, the cow milking all what is desired, the wish-granting tree,
for the white cloud (?)²⁵ making the harvest ripe.

24) The text gives only “golden drink” with a cross as a mark of shortening the whole sentence.
Hence I add “we present” as a probable reading of it.

25) The text reads *pu dra dkar po*, an evident scribal error. I suggest the cloud (*sprin pa dkar po*)
instead, which makes sense, but still the suggestion is uncertain.



Whenever one only recollects,
grant him miraculous powers (Skt. *siddhi*) to gain all he wants,
befriend us and fulfil our tasks,
you wish-fulfilling jewel, you protector of dharma with retinue.

[colophon]

This was hand-written by one with the name '*bras dre po (?) 'ka' (bka') 'gyur ba bla*.

7. ALHANAI OBOO: INTRODUCTION

There is an unusual *oboo* dedicated to the deities of Alhanai Mountains. It consist of *stūpa*-like global masonry construction set in the quadrate base to a height of approximately 2 meters. This central monument is encircled by smaller global stones at the points of the compass, one bigger stone surrounded by smaller ones. The construction resembles the model of the universe according to *abhidharma* literature.

The unusual shape of the *oboo* is given by the fact that the Alhanai mountains were raised to the more universal status of "pilgrimage place" (*gnas*) by Buddhists. As such it is not only bound up with local people, it is considered to be the residence of tantric deity Cakrasaṃvara, and Buryats proudly include the mountains in the list of the 24 "holy places" of Jambudvīpa continent (originally *piṭha* in Sanskrit, but of course both Indian and Tibetan sources do not mention it).

The sole surviving text dedicated to the deities of Alhanai does not mention any particular names of the deities. It was composed by Gungthang Jamyang according to the colophon; probably the Gungthang Jamyang Tenpe Nyima (*gung thang 'jam dbyangs bstan pa'i nyi ma*, 1860–1925, see Ko zhul grags pa 'byung gnas, Rgyal ba blo bzang mkhas grub 1992: 255–6).

Some brief note is also deserved by another cultic place recently established here. Down the hill with *oboo* dedicated to Alhanai and beside the road to the praised hot springs, there is a small *stūpa* build at the place where the present 14th Dalai Lama landed by helicopter during his visit to Alhanai at the beginning of the 1990's.



7.1. TRANSLATION

JAMYANG GUNGTHANG: PRAISE AND OFFERING TO THE LORD OF BASE OF ALHANAI

Homage to the Triple Gem!

If there is a wish to perform praise and offering to the lord of base dwelling in Alhanai, the place of mountains in Aga [region], the oval and white sacrificial cake [should be prepared] surrounded by as many sacrificial pills as possible, then tsampa mixed with butter, milk, curd and other drinks and food of a clean kind, and so the offerings for fumigation should be properly gathered. With the pride of tutelary deity the cleansing [will be performed] by amṛta [mantra] and by svabhāva [mantra] the purification [into emptiness is performed].²⁶

From the sphere of emptiness [arise vessels with] om adorned by the spot of the first syllable of one's own name. They melt [and from them] limitless offerings arise; sacrificial cakes, proper substances and necessities having the five qualities pleasing senses. They fill the whole extent of the earth, intermediate space and sky.

Initially comes [mantra] "Treasure of sky" together with ritual gestures. [Then continues] om sarvavid pura pura sura sura and so forth, preferably [repeated for] three times, and this is "six fold mantra and six fold gestures". Also the "Power of truth" should be pronounced.²⁷

Kye kye swo swo!

Surrounding of beautiful string of mountains,
youth of well developed elixirs and fruits,
this land of relaxed joyful feeling,
is renowned as mighty mountains Alhanai.

Powerful deities dwelling there,
with their entourage are invited as guests to the offerings of fumigation,
proceed here swiftly and without delay!

Also all deities, nāgas and lords of base,
dwelling in the mountains, cliffs and woods of this part of the land,

26) See note 9.

27) See note 10.





in the springs, waterfalls, rocks and solitary trees,
in supports of deities, cairns (*lab tse*) – proceed here!

In the midst of a power-bow (i.e. rainbow) and clouds in front,
is the supple seat with silks and others in the joyous manner,
thrones and cushions for each of you according to your wish,
I pray you to sit here as long as you will pay attention.

Bswo!

The cloud of beautiful offerings is pleasing you,
arranged substances – manifestation of mind determining the truth,
beautiful military standards blazing in light – *bu ru ru*,
solid and firm vajra-armour – *sheg se sheg*,
music of drum, flat bell, conch, flute – *we ri ri*,
smoke from incense and fumigation trees – *chi li li*,
excellent horse neighing at the top of its voice – *tse re re*,
wild yak, domestic yak, yak-bull with horns – *zeng se zeng*,
roaring voice of the dangerous beast of prey – *u ru ru*,
birds dancing in the sky – *leng se leng*,
various white and sweet foods – *nyi li li*,
ocean of tea, wine and milk – *khyi li li*,
many useful possessions – *su ru ru*,
assembly of singers, dancers and divine girls,
let it bring eminent joy and noble bliss to your hearts,
this gift of offerings devoid of imperfection,
to you, mighty local deity with retinue,
accepting it with pleasure and satisfaction accomplish your deeds!

We pray for your benevolence towards all that strikes your heart,
our dishonest acts done in ignorance,
digging the earth, crushing stone, cutting tree and stirring the *gnyan* of water,
the filthy acts of impure defilement.

Now, watch always tirelessly,
teachers, disciples and their benefactors,
settlements of monks, Teaching and followers of Teaching,
who always think about prayer and offering,
together with benefactors giving gifts and wealth,
with sharp divine eye beholding the sky,





clear away adverse circumstances and establish all favourable ones,
and fulfil accordingly all their wishes,
calm down illness and epidemics of people and cattle, ill-speaking and disputes,
harm done by beasts of prey, ritual daggers, obstacles and demons *sri*,
frost, hail, drought, famine and other things,
rid us completely of all undesired harm.

Accomplish virtuous deeds of increase like the waxing moon,
give long life to all men and beings devoid of illness,
multiply strength, wealth, pleasures, power and progeny,
all the righteous ways of dharma and world of existence.

Accomplish the virtuous deeds of multiplying the signs of virtue in the vessel and content of the world,²⁸
summon all the good fates and auspices (*phywa g.yang*) of cyclical existence
and what is beyond it,
to extend life-span, merits, glory and wealth in the triple world,
you, endowed by magical power, with your iron hook of virtuous action.

In particular control the minds of local deities and people,
and in order to make the Teaching venerated by local people,
who are controlled by you,
be brought under control by us, yogis.

Briefly, from now onwards,
we people and our wealth,
are entrusted to you and your serving on our behalf,
do not give victory to the enemies of the black side,
do not deceive people ready to rely on you,
do not break the vow of empowerment in *maṇḍala*,
do not violate the *vajra*-instruction of Padmasambhava,
presenting offerings to you,
let the fruit fall in the time of accomplishment – *samaya*!

This dedication [through mantra samaya] repeat three times.

28) Vessel is understood roughly as the inanimate world and content as the animate one.





Swo!

Pleasing you...*recite it until this. Then pronounce the "Hundred syllable mantra".*²⁹

Kye, kye!

Great local deity with retinue! I beg you, proceed now back to your respective place. Accomplish the virtuous deed and arrive without delay at the time of my calling you again.

This is the request for departure.

Om!

Let come the auspice of health and long life in this land,
given by the magical power of the local deity at the end of life,
let the very pure ambrosia, granting immortality and splendour,
stir as at the great time of bestowing empowerment in the series of lines [of
maṇḍala].³⁰

Let the auspice of victory in the battle with the black side come,
by the splendour of the young warrior-deity, the protector of the place,
youthful hero with the face of the enemy,
with rolling angry eyes of sun and moon.

Let the auspice of introducing ease and happiness to this part of the land come,
through the magical power of youths of deities, *nāgas* and *sman mo*,³¹
as pearl and cane grow well,
let [similarly increase] the happiness and joy of beautiful and charming youths.

Let the auspice of ripe juicy trees, harvest and fruits come,
and the juicy base of land through lucky omens,
the self-manifestation of various palaces,
good residences with gilded pagoda-style roofs.³²

29) For the hundred syllable mantra see Berounský 2005, p. 146, note 39.

30) This difficult part touches upon the ritual of initiation ("empowerment"). It concerns the "empowerment of vase" (Skt. *kalaśa abhiśeka*, Tib. *bum pa'i dbang*), i.e. the first of four empowerments. During it the initiated person enters maṇḍala and his purification is done through filling his body with ambrosia from a vase.

31) These are female deities often associated with lakes, their name might be translated as "medicine-lady".

32) Palaces here represent mountains and residences of the deities.





As a heavy and noisy divine summer rain,
 let these verses of auspice with praise,
 turn into the ocean of milk bringing joy to your heart,
 and let a series of waves of your good actions ripple out in a hundred
 directions!

This is the pronouncement of auspice.

[Colophon]

Pious genyen Jigje expressed the need in this [scripture] "Performance of prayer and offering to the lord of base of Alhanai" and accompanied his request with a divine strip of silk. In virtue of it, gelong Kelzang Jinpa with the title Abbot of Geden Dechen Lhundubling [monastery] partly persuaded Gungthang Jamyang to express it and write it down. Let this scripture turn into a benefit for all!

8. BUDULAN OBOO: INTRODUCTION

No information from the past of the cult of Budulan hill is available to me. There is an *oboo* in a shape of pile of stones with sticks and prayer flags there and beside it is a masonry construction for fumigation (*bsang khang*) in the shape of a simple *stüpa*, which is of recent origin. The author of the only surviving text is again the IV. Jamyang Zhepa.

8.1. TRANSLATION

IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: FUMIGATION AND OFFERING TO THE BUDULAN, THE GREAT LORD OF THE HOLY PLACE

Kye kye!

At the auspicious, pleasing and excellent holy place,
 which has arisen from the essence of a hundred thousand perfect virtuous
 signs,
 the hill renowned as Budulan,
 is the great deity-*gnyan* with his shrine protecting the white side,
 with four ministers and retinue,
 proceed here as a guest for the fumigation and offerings,
 sit on your respective cushions each of you,
 and fulfil all wishes in accordance with Dharma.



Outer, inner and secret offerings are in front,
well arranged and originated from the miraculous manifestation of the mind,
this gathered fumigation and offering substances consisting of all to be found,
we offer and present with reverence as reward to you.

On the bright white-bluish excellent horse,
he is of yellow colour holding a spear with flags in his right hand,
in his left hand he keeps the wish-fulfilling gem,
I praise you, great warrior deity with your retinue.

Accomplish the entire religious and worldly deeds,
for the pleasure of us, people and cattle; your retinue and subjects,
through your magical power of running on the road without obstruction
all the time,
befriend us spontaneously and without effort.

[colophon]

Ordinary benefactors from the four directions of this mountain itself expressed their need in something similar to this [text] "Fumigation and offering to the Budulan, the great lord of the holy place"; it was composed by the yellowish³³ scholar Kelzang Thubten Wangchug; the scribe was gelong Kelzang Legshed.

9. BAATOR OBOO: INTRODUCTION

The *Baator oboo* is a rare case of *oboo*, where despite the transformation of its cult into Buddhist shape, its origin is still remembered by the local people and the name of the *oboo* was not changed into the Tibetan one. Its name means "hero" and indeed designates the *post mortem* existence of an ancient Buryat hero with the name Babzhi Baras Baator. He lived probably at the turn of the 17th century and his fame spread following his leading the army of Hori Buryats against Evenks. Chronicles say that a large number of victims were left on both sides of the conflict and decaying bodies on the battlefield then gave its name to the locality known as "Umehei" ("Stinking", see Jumsunov 1995, p. 39).

The only text dedicated to the Lord of the *oboo* is again written by the IV. Jamyang Zhepa and is a document of its transition into Buddhist

33) I.e. that of the Gelug sect.

shape. In this case, however, even the word "hero" is left in the Buryat language and this probably indicates that the cult of the past hero was still vivid by the turn of the 20th century.

9.1. TRANSLATION

IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: FUMIGATION RITUAL TO THE BAATOR

Kye kye!

Beside the purifying stream of the falling waterfall – *lhung lhung*,
in the mountain renowned as Baator,
is the great warrior-deity protecting the white side with his cairn,
although he shows himself in various unsteady moods and appearances,
his body is mostly white as the moon,
in his right hand he holds a spear and in the left he keeps a gem,
he rides on the miraculous and powerful excellent horse,
proceed now here, you well haughty and powerful one!

Accepting this fumigation offering beautifully spreading in the space of the sky,
incense of various fragrant woods and medicines,
the cloud of smoke burning in the luminous chariot,
accomplish all entrusted deeds without delay!

make the source of benefit and ease, the teaching of Buddhas,
spread as unpolluted spring waters,
make good qualities shine as the sun of good virtue,
make prosper the ease and happiness of the lotus grove of this land.

[colophon]

As concerns this, it was composed by the noble body of Kelzang Thubten Wangchug following the wish of pious Kelzang Ngawang.

10. BURHANTA TOLGOI (TABTANYN OBOO): INTRODUCTION

The hill called mostly "Hill with deity (*burhan*)" is located not far from the Aga monastery and serves as an example which is somehow opposite to the previous case of *Baator oboo*. The cult of the place is connected with the

families called Ulaalzai-hubdud from the Hubdud clan of Hori Buryats, who come here every year to participate in the ritual. The ritual is performed as the last in the Aga district and the original deity of the hill has been forgotten. In the small wooden chapel on the hill there is a depiction of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī instead of the local deity. This is a result of the fact that young people from the families worshipping the hill did not wish to study in the Aga monastery and those studying there were leaving the monastery at the beginning of the 20th century, according to local accounts. There is also no particular text dedicated to the deity of the *oboo* and instead of it the general text of fumigation ritual is used here as well as in other places of worship lacking their own ritual text.

The general text chanted here by monks was written by Bhūsuku Sumati Arthasiddhi according to the colophon, i.e. probably renowned scholar Lozang Dondhup (*blo bzang don grub* would be the translation of the Sanskrit version of his name), the 31st abbot of the Gonlung Champaling (*dgon lung byams pa gling*, abbot since 1743) in today's Qinghai province of China (Kozhul grags pa 'byung gnas, Rgyal ba blo bzang mkhas grub 1992, pp. 1167–8). It is a text strongly influenced by astrology, enumerating deities of various astrological categories. This text is included in the rather well-known fumigation ritual text (*bsang yig*) authored by the fifth Dalai Lama and entitled Namdag sang (*rnam dag bsang*).³⁴

10.1. TRANSLATION

LOZANG DONDHUP: OFFERING OF THE SACRIFICIAL CAKE TO THE LORD OF BASE

By [mantra] amṛta a cleansing is done, by [mantra] svabhāva purification [into emptiness].³⁵

From the sphere of emptiness [appears] the syllable *bhrūṃ*, from it precious spacious vessels, inside them is the syllable *om* which melts into the light. From it a sacrificial cake arises and it changes into the ocean of unpoluted ambrosia of the primordial wisdom. *Om āḥ hūṃ*.

Repeat it three times. [Then comes] *om* sarva tathāgata until sambhara sambhara hūṃ.³⁶

34) This text is rather well known and was published in the collection of the “fumigation ritual texts” (*bsang yig*), see Sangs rgyas 1993, pp. 23–42.

35) See note 9.

36) It is the mantra called “Treasury of the sky”, see Berounský 2005, pp. 138–9, note 21.



I bow to *tathāgata* Many Jewels, I bow to the *tathāgata* Beautiful Noble Body, I bow to *tathāgata* Straight Body, I bow to the *tathāgata* Thoroughly Devoid Of All Fear.

This white, peaceful and large sacrificial cake has five desirable qualities,
its levels lead higher than Mt. Meru,
its bottom is deeper than that of the ocean,
it has more juices than all aromatic shrubs and trees,
its light is brighter than that of sun and moon,
it is arranged better than four continents,
and it turns to the place of dedication,
to the Brahma and the other ten fierce protectors of directions,³⁷
four great kings,³⁸
eight great deities,³⁹
eight great *nāgas*,⁴⁰
eight great planets,⁴¹
twenty-eight constellations,⁴²

37) Mostly enumerated as Indra (*dbang po*), Yama (*gshin rje*), Varuṇa (*chu bdag*), Yakṣa (*gnod sbyin*), Agnideva (*me lha*), Rakṣasa (*srin po*), Vāyudeva (*rlung lha*), Bhūta (*'byung po*), Brahma (*tshangs pa*) and Vanadevī (*sa'i lha mo*). Cf. Rigzin 1993: 176, Zhang Yisun et al. 2000, p. 1762. For a slightly different list see Rnagjung Yeshe on-line dictionary.

38) These are guardians of the four points of the compass: (1) King Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the east (*yul khor bsrungs*), (2) King Virūdhaka of the south (*'phags skyes po*), (3) King Virūpākṣa of the west (*spyan mi bzang*), (4) King Vaiśravaṇa of the north (*rnam thos sras*).

39) Maheśvara (*dbang chug chen po*), Indra (*brgya byin*), Brahma (*tshangs pa*), Viṣṇu (*khyab 'jug*), Kāmeśvara (*'dod pa'i dbang phyug*), Gaṇeśa (*tshogs bdag*), Bhṛṅgiriṭi (*bhri nggi ri rdi*), Skandakumāra (*gzhon nu gdong drug*). See Phur bu tshe ring 1994, p. 610; Rigzin 1993, p. 300; Zhang Yisun et al. 2000, p. 3081.

40) These are usually listed as: (1) Ananta (*mtha' yas*), (2) Takṣaka (*'jog po*), (3) Karkotaka (*stobs rgyu*), (4) Kulika (*rigs ldan*), (5) Vāsuki (*nor rgyas*), (6) Saṃkhaṇḍa (*dung skyong*), (7) Padma (*pad ma*), (8) Rāhu (*Skt., Tib. sgra gcan*). See for example Rigzin 1993, p. 239.

41) Given mostly as: (1) Sun (Skt. āditya, Tib. nyi ma), (2) Moon (Skt. soma, Tib. zla ba), (3) Mars (Skt. aṅgārika, Tib. mig dmar), (4) Mercury (Skt. budha, lhag pa), (5) Venus (Skt. br̥haspati, Tib. phur bu), (6) Jupiter (Skt. śukraḥ, Tib. pa sangs), (7) Saturn (Skt. śanāiscāra, Tib. spen pa), (8) Rāhu (Skt., Tib. sgra gcan). See for example Rigzin 1993, p. 239.

42) Twenty-eight divinities of constellations (Skt. Nakṣatra), believed also to be daughters of the four great kings of the point of compass: (1) Eta Tauri (Skt. kṛttikā, Tib. *smiṇ drug*), (2) Aldebaran (Skt. rohiṇī, Tib. *snar ma*), (3) Lambda Orionis (Skt. mrgaśīras, Tib. *mgo*), (4) Alpha Orionis (Skt. ārdṛā, Tib. *lag*) 5) Beta Geminorum (Skt. punarvasu, Tib. *nabs so*), (6) Delta Cancrī (Skt. puṣya, Tib. *rgyal*), (7) Alpha Hydroe (Skt. āśleṣā, Tib. *skag*), (8) Regulus, (Skt. maghā, Tib. *mchu*) (9) Delta Leonis (Skt. pūrvaḥphalgunī, Tib. *gre*), (10) Beta Leonis, (Skt. uttaraphalgunī, Tib. *dbo*), (11) Delta Corvi, (Skt. hasta, Tib. *me bzhi*), (12) Spica



seventy-five Lords of the pure abodes of nine Bhairavas and others,⁴³
 twelve Tenma deities protecting Tibet,⁴⁴
 twenty-one *genyen* deities,⁴⁵
 and further to the deities and *nāgas* of the white side
 dwelling in the upper and lower parts of Mt. Meru,
 the shores and centre of the ocean,
 first thousand-world, second and third one,
 seven golden mountains,
 seven dancing seas,
 four continents and eight islands.

And further to the lords of earth-base, deities and *nāgas*,
 dwelling in the Wu-t'ai-shan to the east of Jambudvīpa,
 Potala to the south,
 Malaya to the west,
 Shambhala to the north,

Verginis (Skt. citrā, Tib. *nag pa*), (13) Arcturus (Skt. svāti, Tib. *sa ri*), (14) Alpha Libroe (Skt. viśākhā, Tib. *sa ga*), (15) Delta Scorpio (Skt. anurādhā, Tib. *lha mtshams*), (16) Antares (Skt. jyeṣṭha, Tib. *snron*), (17) Lambda Scorpii (Skt. mūla, Tib. *snrubs*), (18) Delta Sagittari (Skt. pūrvāṣādhā, Tib. *chu stod*), (19) Sigma Sagittari (Skt. uttarāṣādhā, Tib. *chu smad*), (20) Alpha Aquiloe (Skt. Śravaṇa, Tib. *gro bzhin*), (21) Abhijit (Skt., Tib. *byi bzhin*), (22) Lambda Aquarius (Skt. Śatabhiṣaj, Tib. *mon gre*), (23) Betha Delphinum (Skt. śraviṣṭhā, Tib. *mon gru*), (24) Alpha Pegasi (Skt. pūrvabhādrapadā, Tib. *khums stod*), (25) Gama Pegasi (Skt. uttarabhādrapadā, Tib. *khums smad*), (26) Zeta Piscum (Skt. revatī, Tib. *nam gru*), (27) Beta Arietis (Skt. aśvinī, Tib. *tha skar*), (28) 35 Arietis (Skt. bharaṇī, Tib. *bra nye*). Cf. Das 1998, p. 316; Mornier-Williams 1993, p. 524, Rangjung Yeshe on-line dictionary.

- 43) These seventy-five deities are understood in two different ways. Firstly, the expression Lord (*mgon*) might refer to the deity Mahākāla and designate the deities of his entourage (apparently the author understood it in this way, since he mentions nine Bhairavas). Another understanding includes within this group the already mentioned four kings, four *nāgas*, eight planets, twenty-eight constellations, ten protectors of ten directions and thirteen deities *mgur lha* (see for example De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993, p. 265). Nine Bhairavas mentioned in the text are: (1) 'jigs byed kyi bdag po, (2) 'jigs byed bra mi ta, (3) 'jigs byed bhai ra ba, (4) 'jigs byed ku be ra, (5) 'jigs byed ye shes be ra, (6) 'jigs byed bai shan ta, (7) 'jigs byed bi ti, (8) 'jigs byed ka la bai ra, (9) 'jigs byed ga na pa ti.
- 44) Tib. *bstan ma/ brtan ma*, this is a group of twelve female deities bound up with particular places in Tibet. Their older designation seems to be *brtan ma* (*brtan* – "steady"), which was later interpreted as "protectors of Teaching" (*bstan* – "Teaching"). For various lists of them see De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993, pp. 181–198, for rather concise account of them Sle lung bzhad pa'i rdo rje 2003, pp. 167–198, for the iconography see 'jigs med chos kyi rdo rje 2001, pp. 1058–1063.
- 45) Tib. *dge bsnyen ni shu rtsa gcig*. Group of male protectors of places in Tibet. For their list see De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993, p. 222.

and Vajrāsana in the centre,⁴⁶
 in the three divisions of Upper Ngari of the northern Land of Snow,
 in the four horns of the Middle Ü-tsang,
 in the three divisions of the Lower Dokham,⁴⁷
 upper nine peaks,
 the other lower nine ones,
 Upper Gang Tise,
 Middle Nyenchen Thanglha,
 Lower Machen Pomra,⁴⁸
 nine deities of the arrangement of the world of existence,⁴⁹
 lords of the earth-base of Jambudvīpa,
 and a further eight *parkha*,
 nine *mewa*,⁵⁰
 cycle of twelve years,
 the dominating ones,
 upper earth-lord Heavenly Dog,⁵¹
 lower earth-lord Creeping One,⁵²

46) Wu-t'ai-shan (*ri bo rtse lnga*) is a famous holy place in China connected with the cult of Mañjuśrī, Potala is a half-mythical place in South India connected with the cult of Avalokiteśvara, Malaya is probably located in Western Ghats of southern India, Shambhala is a mystical land of the north connected with Kālacakratanttra. Vajrāsana is at today's Bodhgayā, the place of Buddha's awakening and symbolical centre of Jambudvīpa for Buddhists.

47) Traditionally divided territory of Tibet. Upper means at the same time "western", three divisions of Ngari (*mnga' ris skor gsum*) are areas of Guge, Maryul and Purang, Central Tibet (Ü-tsang) was traditionally divided into four military horns (or banners) and Dokham (*mdo khams*) are the territories of Khams (*mdo stod* – „Upper valley“) and Amdo (*mdo smad* – „Lower valley“).

48) These three mountains are holy places symbolically representing territory of traditional Tibet. Gang Tise (*gangs ti se*) is the Tibetan name for Kailāsa, Nyenchen Thanglha (*gnyan chen thang lha*) is located to the north-west from Lhasa and Machen Pomra (*rma chen spom ra*) is in Amdo.

49) These are nine mountain deities representing Tibetan territory. For detailed study of them and their various lists see Karmay 1996.

50) Parkha (*spar kha*) are eight astrological trigrams corresponding to the Chinese *pa-kua* of "Book of Changes". Mewa (*sme ba*), literally „birthmarks“ are another nine astrological signs represented as numbers in the square diagrams. For detailed information see Cornu 1997, pp. 102–126.

51) This and the following beings are earth-lords (*sa bdag*) of astrological tradition. For the depiction and more information on Heavenly Dog (*gnam khyi*) see Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1997, pp. 177, 196–7.

52) Tib. *lto 'phye*, see Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1997, p. 214.

middle *gnyan* and [earth-lord] of planets Visṭīpati (?),⁵³
 earth-lord of years These,⁵⁴
 earth-lord of moon Tsangkun,⁵⁵
 and further earth-lords controlling the year, the king These and others,
 earth-lords controlling the months, Dragon-Deity Gawa and others,⁵⁶
 earth-lords controlling the days, Yellow Treasure Of Gold and others,⁵⁷
 earth-lords controlling the hours, Blue Treasure Of Turquoise and others,⁵⁸
 and in particular the earth-lords of *such and such* area,
 eastern grey tiger,
 southern blue dragon,
 western red bird,
 northern green tortoise,
 and especially my sole king of the year,
 the minister of my month,
 one dominating today's day,
 precisely counted star of this night,
 the mountain there on the left side,
 the mountain here on the right side,
 the tree of the birth,
 water of the falling,
 road of the moving,
 place of staying,
 wind of the stirring,
 place of the house,
 place of the field,
 straightness of the road.

I present [sacrificial cake] to all these earth-lords, lords of the earth-base,
 lords of the holy places, lords of the treasures, companions – lords of places of
 the white side dwelling in that what is primordial, I dedicate it to them, ven-
 erate them, welcome them as guests and pray them to accept [the sacrificial

53) The texts have *pishṭi pa ta*, which I consider to be erroneous. Yet even the long list of lords of earth in the astrological treatise “White Beryl” does not contain such a name and the correction is only tentative (see Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1997, pp. 174–240).

54) Tib. *the se*, see Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1997, p. 199.

55) Tib. *tsang kun*, see Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1997, pp. 179, 186, 209.

56) Tib. *brug lha ga ba*, see Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1997, p. 199.

57) Tib. *gser mdzod ser po*, see Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1997, p. 223.

58) Tib. *gyu mdzod ngon po*, see Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1997, p. 235.



cake]. Accepting it, praise triple Teaching of Buddhas⁵⁹ and the glorious state of Triple Gem. Listen to the orders of masters. Pacify for us, yogis with retinue, all misfortune and unfavourable conditions; unfavourable conditions and obstruction to the practice of the noble Dharma, illness, demons *gdon* and *bgegs*, epidemics, disputes, gossip, quarrels, wars, [bad] omens in dreams, time of obstacles coming from year, month, day and hour, frost, hail and famine, longing for food, destruction, killing, robbing, stealing, loss caused by jackals, loss and death of cattle and others. Dispel them, annihilate them. Do not be angry and jealous. Do not tease and jest. Keep your heart and mind calm. Do not send illness to the people and cattle. Do not send obstruction to the mind. With your white virtuous deeds be helpful and friendly. Increase and multiply all the perfect favourable conditions, life-span, merit, wealth, progeny, might, pleasure, all the necessary goods for the servants, horses, cattle, goats, sheep, camels and others. Bring under control all people, wealth and food of the three spheres of the world. All harming enemies and demons of obstructions fiercely annihilate and crush to dust. We pray you, fulfil thoroughly all our wishes without obstacles and bring good auspice and ease.

[Then pronounce verses from:] Our wishes...until ...let arise!

[colophon]

Being asked by those of very white minds, this was composed by Bhūsuku Sumati Arthasiddhi.

Conclusion

The ritual texts to the local deities are rather uniformly structured and the performance of the ritual mostly requires a tantric master who deals with the local deities only after his own ritual change into the Buddhist tutelary deity. The ritual texts presented in the series of three articles (Berounský 2005, Berounský 2006a and the present text) represent a wide range of levels of elaboration of the ritual. Thus, there is an extensive text with 18 different steps of the ritual in the case of the Thirteen Northern Lords (Berounský 2005) on the one hand and a simple description of the deity and request for protection in the case of *Baator oboo* (see 9. 1.) on the other hand. This range reveals the

59) I.e. lesser vehicle, great vehicle and vajra vehicle.



possibility of simplification of the ritual and most of the text falls between the above-mentioned extremes.

Only for several cases of the local deities is some information on the pre-Buddhist cult known. It is made clear that besides the deities of the Thirteen Northern Lords these were, in all cases, originally renowned army leaders in the past (3., 9. and perhaps 5.). In accordance with this is the fact that a large majority of designations of the deities describe them as a form of warrior-deity (*dgra lha*) in the texts, i.e. deities protecting people from enemies. The main deities of the Aga district are called “lords of the base” (*gzhi bdag*), the general designation of these deities seems to be “local deity” (*yul lha*) and several times appears the designation “lord of the holy place” (*gnas bdag*). The aim of the ritual texts is to win the favor of the particular deity and thus some exaggeration concerning both the place and deity is rather frequent and so one should not strictly classify the deities according to these designations.

The deities of the Aga district are not divided according to any hierarchical structure. For the inhabitants of particular villages their own local deity has the highest status. But still some different position of the deities might be distinguished from the general point of view. Most of the deities were bound up with particular clans in the past (3., 4., 5., 7., 8., 9.). Two of the deities gained, through the connection with the Aga monastery, a status that was somehow different (1., 2.). A very general role is ascribed to the deities of Alhanai (9.), who are lords of the universal “pilgrimage place” (*gnas ri*). A separate category is represented by Thirteen Northern Lords, who are deities of all Hori Buryats (Berounský 2005). As such these have a much greater impact on the people of Aga region in comparison with the most of the local deities. At the same time the cult of Thirteen Northern Lords is blended with the cult of both the Alhanai mountains and one of the monastery *oboos* (1.). This fact points back to the pre-Buddhist cult of both places.

All the texts witness to the dominance of Tibetan Buddhism over the cult of local deities. While in some cases the manner of transformation of the cult did not lack a fairly sensitive attitude towards Buryat religious tradition (3. and perhaps 9.), there are also a cases of a rather forceful implementation of the cult (10.).

One surprising thing is the frequent authorship of the IVth Jamyang Zhepa (1856–1916) from Labrang monastery in Amdo, since he never visited Buryatia. This dignitary was very sensitive towards the cult of local deities, as is apparent from his autobiography, which is full of accounts of his dealing with the local deities in Amdo. It mentions his frequently composing ritual texts to them starting from a very young age. For example, it is narrated how at

the age of 6 years a new cairn for the local deity was built in accordance with his instructions. The deity then brought rain in the drought during the year 1861 (Bskal bzang thub bstan dbang phyg: fol. 15a). His authorship of 7 texts dedicated to the local deities presented here is witness to the strong influence of Tibetan reincarnated masters over Buryats and perhaps more generally of strengthening ties between reincarnated masters and local deities both in Amdo and Buryatia.

Behind the series of three articles dedicated to the local deities of Aga Buryats published subsequently in *Mongolica Pragensia* was a rather simple intention. It was to make available the texts dedicated to the local deities in this particular region. Such texts are hardly to be found either in the main monastery of the Aga district or in the collected works of their authors. These texts are present mostly in the particular villages worshipping the particular deity. The work was done also in the hope that other scholars might be encouraged to do similar work in distinct areas and so contribute to the understanding of the phenomenon of the local deities among Mongolians and Tibetans. Many general considerations about their cult have been expressed to date, but mostly without the painful work of editing and translating the texts being examined, which seems to be the only way of understanding them in a more accurate manner.

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Appendix: Original tibetan texts in transliteration

4.1. IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG:

PRAYER AND OFFERING TO THE LORD OF THE HOLY PLACE ULAAN ULA OF CHILUTAI

chi lu tha’i o lang o la’i gnas bdag la bsols (gsol) mchod bzhugs sa (so)//
 bkra shis dge mtshan du mas mdzes pa yi// byang phyogs nor ‘dzin sa yi
 thig le ru// o lang o la zhes grags sa ‘dzin la// gnas bcas yul skyor (skyong)



chen po gnas 'dir gshegs// mdun du sregs byed me ri 'bar ba'i nang// sna
tshogs sangs rdzas bsregs pa'i dud sprin 'phreng// 'chi med lam kun khyab
par 'gengs pa 'dis// lha khyod dgyes shing tshim de stong grogs mdzod// rnal
'byor bdag cag 'khor dang bcas rnams la// nyin gyi bya ra mtshan gyi mel tshe
dang// 'phar 'gro'i bskyel ma tshur 'ong bsu ma sogs// gang bcol 'phrin las bya
ra ma g.yel zhig// dge 'dun sde rnams thugs mthun bshad sgrub 'phel// bslabs
gsum nyams bzhes (sic) yar zla'i dpal la 'gran// bde bskyid rdzogs ldan bsar
pa'i lang tsho dang// phan bde'i dga' tshal rtang tu rgyas gyr cig//

bces (ces) pa 'di ni po rid grwa rigs blo bzang sangs rgyas grags pas bskul
ngor/ 'jam dbyangs bzhad sprul skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug gyis sb-
yar pa'o// dge legs 'phel//

nad gdon bar chad zhi ba'i bkra shis shog// tshe bsod mnga' thang rgyas
pa'i bkra shis shog// khams gsum dbang du bsdud pa'i bkra shis shog// bdud
dpung gzil gnan pa'i bkra shis shog//

ces pa'ang a lu rin po che'i bka' 'bum las gzur du bshus pa dza yantu//

4.2. PELDEN: FUMIGATION AND OFFERING TO THE RED HILL

ri dmar gyi bsang mchod bzhugs//

skyabs 'gro sems bskyed sngod du btang nas/ sngags drug dang phyag rgya
drug gis byin gyis rlobs/ kye kye phyi rten sa 'dzin dbang po'i rnam pa la//
nang du rin chen las grub gzhal med kha (khang)// mtshan nyid kun sngan
pho brang chen pa'i nang// mi yi tshul bzung dpa' bo dag (drag) 'dul rtsal//
rin chen khrab rmog sku dar dbu la gsol// za 'og dar tshon sna lnga 'jol ber
gsol// phyag mtshan ral gri g.yas pas mkha' la 'phyar// dgra bgegs ma rung
thams cad rngul du rlog// phyag yon (g.yon) sdong gsum khyab pa'i rnga bo
ches// mi dang mi min thams cad dbang du bsdus// g.yas su sras chung kun
dga' rdo rje yis/ mda' ma dung (mdung) ral gri mtshon cha yab la 'bul// g.
yon du yum chen klu btsan sman bzang mos// bza' bcas bdung ba (btung ba)
l asogs yab la 'bul// mdun du sa bdag rgyal blon mang pos bskor// rgyab du
sha za gcan gzan mang ro (po) rgyu// bya khyi ce spyang la sogs ngu ru ru//
sngag (stag) gzig dom dred la sogs chems se chems// dar tshon sna lnga la
sogs bu ru ru// a rghaM 'dod yon mchod pa bsam mi khyab// sa bdag rgyal
blon 'khor dang bcas la 'bul// shing mchog tsan dan a kar shugs (shug) pa
dang/ 'bru phyte rtsi mar bsres ba'i phyte mar sogs// bsregs pa'i bsangs mchod
rgya chen dam pa 'dis// sa bdag gnas bdag 'khor dang bcas pa bsangs// ja
chang 'o ma'i gser skyems rgya mtshos mchod// sna tshogs mchod pa rgya
chen 'di bzhes la// 'jig rten spyi dang yul phyogs 'di dag gi// rkang gnyis mi
la na tsha med pa dang// rkang bzhi phyugs la god kha med pa dang// phy-





ogs bzhi'i dgra sna gyod sna kha mchu sogs// mi mthun rkun pa (?rgud pa)
thams cad zhi ba dang// bkra shis bde legs yar ngo'i zla ltar 'phel// bcol ba'i
'phrin las 'grub pa'i grogs mdzod cig// tshangs dang lha dbang bsrung ma'i
byin rlabs kyis/ X tshe ring nad med bde skyid ldan par shog// khyed rnams
mchod cing gsol pa btab pa'i mthus/ X chos dang bkra shis 'phel par mdzad
du gsol// bzod gsol bya//

smyon pa sngags pan (paṇ) dpal ldan gyis bris pa la mkhas pa rnams kyis
bzod par gsol/ maṃga laṃ/ sarba shubham (? shuddham)/

mang mang yul 'di'i 'gro ba kun// yang yang khod la mchod byed na// bsam
bsam don kun 'grub pa dang// myur myur bcol pa'i las kun mdzod//
ces dā nas bris

**4.3. DĀNA: OBULATION OF GOLDEN DRINK TO THE LORD OF THE HOLY PLACE OF
ULAAN ULA NEAR CHILUTAI CALLED SATIATION OF LOCAL PEOPLE'S HOPES**

na mo gu ru/ 'dir chi lu tha'i o lang o la'i gnas bdag la gser skyems 'bul bar
'dod na phud ma nyams pa'i ja dang chang dang 'o ma sogs skyems bzang
pa sta gon byas de/ rang lha'i nga rgyal gyis 'di skad do/ kye kye: chos dby-
ings rnam par dag pa'i bden pa dang// mchog gsum byin mthus gser skyems
bchod pa'i thsogs// bla ma lha bsrung yul lha dgyes bskyed pa'i// kun bzang
mchod pa'i sprin gyi phung por gyur// aum āḥ hūṃ lan gsum brjod cing byin
rlabs bya// kye kye chos dbyings bden mthus byin rlabs bskyed pa yi// ci tsam
spyad cing mi bzad skyems bzang 'di/ rtsa brgyud bla ma yi dam rnams la
'bul// bzhes nas byin rlabs dngos grub stsal du gsol// chos dbyings bden mthus
X ci tsam spyad cing X mchog gsum mkha' 'gro chos bsrung rnams la 'bul//
bzhes nas 'jigs sgrol sdongs grogs 'phrin las stsol// chos dbyings X ci tsam X
lha srin dregs pa sde brgyad rnams la 'bul// bzhes nas ci bsam don kun myur
'grub mdzod/ chos dbyings X ci tsam X 'dir gnas yul lha gzhi bdag rnams la
'bul// bzhes nas mthun rkyen yid bzhi (bzhin) 'grub par mdzod// chos dby-
ings X ci tsam X dpa' bo drag rtsal yum sras 'khor la 'bul// bzhes nas yul mi
nor phyugs bsrung bar mdzod// bla ma yi dam bsrung ma'i tshogs rnams
kyis// zhi rgyas dbang drag 'phrin las ma lus bsgrub// gnas skabs mthar thag
(thug) bsam don ma lus pa// bgegs med lhun gyis grub pa'i sdongs grogs md-
zod// yul lha gzhi bdag gnyan po 'khor bcas rnams// yul mi'i bya spyod 'dor
len mi mkhas pas// rko (ko) long ru nga phrag dog ma mdzad par// sdong
grogs mdzad cing 'dod don myur 'grub mdzod// khyed rnams bsden (bsten)
cing mchod pa'i yul phyogs 'dir// nad gdon dbul 'phongs 'thab rtsod sad ser
than// mu ge rkun jag la sogs kun zhi zhing// 'bru phyugs longs spyod 'byor
ba 'phel bar shog//





ces chi lu tha'i o lang o la'i gnas bdag la gser skyems 'bul tshul yul mi'i re
bskong zhes bya ba 'di ni/ rmongs rgan tā (dā) nas bris pa bkra shi (shis) par
gyur cig//

**5.1. ANONYMOUS: OBLATIONS AND OFFERINGS TO THE LEADER OF LOCAL
DEITIES SOGTU HAN ULA BLAZING WITH SPLENDOUR CALLED "THE SEA OF
ENJOINMENT PRODUCING ALL THINGS NEEDED AND DESIRED"**

yul lha'i gtso bo gzi byin 'bar ba'i sog thu hang 'u la zhes la mchod dang gser
skyems 'bul tshul dgos 'dod 'byung ba'i rol mtsho zhes bya bzhugs so//

na mo gu ru ha ya ghri wa ya/ sprin bral chu mthongs rgyu skar 'khrigs
pa'i dbus// mtshan mgon bsil zer nya gang rdzogs pa bzhin// dge 'dun 'dus
sde mkhas mang gtsug gi nor// mnyam med drin can bla mar gus pas 'dud//
'di la 'dir yul 'di dbang byed gzi byin 'bar pa'i sog thu hang 'u la zhes su grags
pa'i ri bo chen po la bsang mchod dang gser skyems 'bul bar 'dod na shug
po mkhan a dkar spang spos dang dri zhim pa'i bsang rdzas rnams bsregs pa
dang 'o ma dang ja chang gang rung gi phud la dri bzang dkar mngar gsum
bsres nas// skyabs sems sngon du btang// rang nyd yi dam gang rung gi nga
rgyal dang ldan pas// aum badzra amritas bsangs/ swa bha was sbyang/ stong
pa nyid du gyur/ stong pa'i ngang las bsang rdzas rnams kyi rang rang gi ming
yig dang po thig le brgyan pa zhu ba las 'byung ba'i bla ma yi dam dpa' po
mkha' 'gro chos skyong bsrung ma spyi dang khyad par sa phyogs yul rigs 'di
dag skyong ba'i gnas gzhi bdag po 'khor dang bcas pa rnams kyi spyen lam du
'byung zhing rgyas par gyur cig// nam mkha' mdzod kyi sngags phyag rgya
dang/ sngags drug phyag drug gis byin gyis rlabs nas bden stobs brjod/ kye
kye: rtsa brgyud bla ma yi dam zhi khro'i tshogs// sangs rgyas byang sems
'phags tshogs nyan rang dang// dpa' po mkha' 'gro chos skyong bsrung ma'i
sogs// thogs pa med par myur du gshegs su gsol// khyad par gzi byin sog thu
hang 'u la// brag ri rdo dang sa shing chu lha'i tshogs// gnyug mar gnas pa'i
gzhi bdag 'khor bcas rnams// bsang gyi mgron du gnas 'dir da tshur byon//
snang zhing srid pa'i lha srin mthu bo che// skyes lha yul lha 'go ba'i lha lnga
dang// bsrung skyob dgra lha mi min 'byung bo tshogs// ma lus myur du
thogs med da tshur byon// mdun du yid 'ong 'ja' tshon gur khyim dbus//
pad nyi zla gdan bzhon dang gnas mal dang// go mtshon spyen gzigs 'dod
yon gang 'os pa// rang rnag dgyes pa'i tshul gyis brtan par bzhugs// bsang kyi
mgron rnams mdun gyi nam mkhar sprin gyi phung po ltar byon nas 'phrin
las thams cad 'grub par bsam pa'i ngang nas// kye kye bla ma yi dam sangs
rgyas byang sems dang// dpa' po mkha' 'gro chos skyong bsrung ma'i tshogs//
lha srin sde brgyad 'go lha dgra lha rnams// bsang rdzas dri zhim sman sna





bsregs pa bsang// khyad par phyogs 'dir yul lha'i gtso gyur ba// gzi byin 'bar
 ba'i sog thu hang 'u la// brag ri rdo dang sa bdag gnas bdag dang// 'khor mang
 sde tshogs ma lus thams cad bsang// bab chu ne'u gseng ldeng ka'i chu mig
 dang// mtsho rdzing chu klung kun la gnas pa bsang// phyogs dang phyogs
 mtshams nags tshal shing lha dang// sman ljongs skyid tshal kun la gnas pa
 bsang// dkar phyogs skyong ba'i mi min 'byung po tshogs// gnyug mar gnas
 pa'i gzhi bdag ma lus bsang// kye kye: bla ma yi dam rgyal ba zhi khro'i dang//
 sangs rgyas byang sems dpa' po mkha' 'gro'i tshogs// ma rig 'khrul pa'ithugs
 dam 'gal ba rnams// bsang mchod 'di yi ma lus bsang gyur cig// sa rdo phru
 rlog shing gcod chu gnyan dkrugs// sa bdag khyed 'gal thams cad bsang gyur
 cig// kye kye: dngos bshams yid kyis sprul ba las 'byung ba'i// phyi nang
 mchod rdzas nyer spyod rol mo dang// 'dod yon sna lnga dgyes bskyed mt-
 hun pa'i rdzas// dkar gsum mngar gsum sman dang ja chang phud// zag med
 bdud rtsi gser skyems btung ba dang// sha khrag dmar chen gtor ma ri ltar
 spungs// phyi brten rta glang ra lug srog chags dang// dpa' po lag cha dha nu
 ral gri mdung// go khrab spyen gzigs mkho rgu yo byad dang// lha klu mi yi
 'byor ba phun sum tshogs// ma tshang med pa'i mchod pa'i sprin rgya mtsho
 'dis// rab tu gus pas khyed kyi spyen sngar 'bul// brtse ba'i tshul gyis legs par
 bzhed (bzhin?) bzhes nas// dga' ba'i nyams kyi gang 'dod las kun 'grub// gser
 skyems 'bul ba ni/ kye kye: rtsa rgyud bala ma yi dam zhi khro dang// dpa'
 bo mkha' 'gro chos skyong bsrung ma'i tshogs// bdud rtsi gser skyems mchod
 pa 'di 'bul lo// bzhes nas 'phrin las rnam bzhi grub par mdzod// snang srid
 lha srin dregs pa sde brgyad dang// gzi byin 'bar ba'i sog thu nang 'u la// sa
 shing brag rdo gnyan dang chu lha tshogs// gnyug mar gnas pa'i gzhi bdag
 'khor bcas la// bdud rtsi X bzhes nas gang bcol las kun grub par mdzod// lhan
 cig skyes dang 'go ba'i lha lnga dang// bsrung skyob byed pa'i dgra lha tshogs
 rnams la// bdud rtsi X bzhes nas mthun rkyen ma lus grub par mdzod//
 kye kye: bla ma yi dam dpa' bo mkha' 'gro tshogs// bsang mchod rgya chen
 bdud rtsi rgya mtsho bzhes// bdag cag yon mchod 'khor dang bcas rnams
 la// nyin mtshan kun du bya ra mel tshe mdzod// phyi nang nyer 'tshe ma
 lus zhi ba dang// tshe bsod stobs 'byor yar ngo'i zla bzhin 'phel// mkho rgu
 'byor ba ma lus dbang du bsdus// gnod byed dgra bgegs thams cad brlag par
 mdzod// rgyal bstan dri med phyogs bcur rgyas pa dang// bstan 'dzin skyes
 bu sku tshe zhabs pad brtan// dge 'dun sde rnams thugs mthun lugs bzang
 dar// skye 'gro bde skyid dpal la rtag du 'tsho// kun kyang blo mthun dge la
 'dun par shog// mi nad phyugs kyi god kha spyng shor dang// dgra jag chom
 rkun dmag 'khrugs mu ge than// sad ser ltas ngan btsa' 'bu kha ba dang// mi
 min cho 'phrul mi kha bram mchu dang// rmi ltas la mtshan ngan me chu
 rlung char drag// g.yo 'gul gnam lcags thog gi 'jigs pa kun// mdor na mi 'dod





nyer 'tshe ma lus pa// myur du zhi zhing nyin mtshan kun tu yi// dga' bde
phun tshogs lhun gyis 'grub par shog// bhyo: sangs rgyas bstan bsrung dkon
mchog X mdzod// gshegs gsol ni/ mgron rnams dgyes bzhin rang rang gnas
su gshegs// slar yang bos tshe ma thogs byon par mdzod// shis brjod ni/ che
ba'i che mchog ston pa bla na med// XXXX bde skyid ldan par shog// ces
shis brjod kyis mtha' brgyan par bya'o//

ces pa 'di yang sa phogs 'di ni yang yu(l) lha'i btso bo gzi byin 'bar ba'i sog
thu hang 'u la'ang zhes su grags pa'i ri bo chen po'i bsang dang gser skyems
'bul tshul dgos 'dod 'byung ba'i rol mtsho zhes bya ba 'di ni yul mthar 'khyams
pa'i bhikṣu bgyis pa'o//

'ja' tshon lta bu bsang kyi mgron rnams kun// smig rgyu lta bu 'bul pa'i
mchod pa bzhes// sgyu ma lta bu lus can mtha' dag gi// rmi lam lta bu zyer
'tsho zhi bar mdzod// smag rum kun la rta ljang ngo mtshanr kyang// byang
bstan phug la sgron me ci la mtshar// dran dbang 'chad 'dzom kun la mchog
rab kyang// phyogs 'dir 'ga' zhig 'di tsam dgos zhes 'bri// mangga lam//

**6.1. KAGYURWA LAMA: PRAISE AND OFFERING TO THE SUPREME ENEMY-DEITY
TASHI SAMPHEL WITH RETINUE PROTECTING THE AREA OF TABTANAI**

thabs tha gnas yul skyong pa'i dgra lha mchog bkra shis bsam 'phel 'khor
bcas gsol mchod do//

na mo gu ra (ru)// bsangs mchod bya tshul ni/ yi dam gyi bdag bskyed
dam// skad cig krong bskyed/ de nas bsangs spyangs (sbyangs)/ stong pa'i
ngang las rang rang gi ming yig dang po zhes sogs dang/ nam mkha' mdzod
argham sogs sngags drug phyas/ drug (phyag drug/) de nas mo dbyangs (rol
mo dbyangs) dang bcas/ hūm bde chen lhun gyis grub pa'i rang bzhin las/ rtsa
brgyud bla ma rgyud sde bzhi yi lha/ dpa' po mkha' 'gro bstan bsrung rgya
mtsho'i tshogs// khyad par sa khang gnas ri yo lo dang// 'ong khar la sogs sa
'dzin rwa bas bskor// chu skyes tshal dang bkra shis rtag (rtags) rdzas dpal//
kai la sha yi nyal 'gro'i rgyun babs cing// rab mdzas 'phur 'dzul rkang thung
(thung) chogs (tshogs) la rol// 'dod dgur 'byor ba'i sa 'dzin dpal gyi rtser//
gzhi bdag bkra shis bsam 'phel dbang phyug mchog// lha tshogs 'khor bcas
gzhan yang dkar phyogs kyi// bsang mgron ma lus gnas 'dir gshegs su gsol//
kye kye snang stong zung 'jug lhan skyes bde chen las// sna tshogs rin chen
dar zab 'bru sna dang// rtsi shing sman dang zas sna dri zhim pa'i// gnam sa
bar snang gang ba'i bsang rdzas rnams// bsreg pa'i mchod sprin zhing kun
khyab gyur 'dis// rtsa rgyud bla ma yi dam lha tshogs dang// dpa' bo mkha'
'gro bstan bsrung tshogs rnams bsangs// dgyes mdzad thugs dang 'gal kun dag
gyur cig// rtsa gsum lha yi rnam par rol ba las// 'jig rten skyong ba'i gzhi bdag





rnam par zol (grol)// bkra shi bsam 'phel dbang phyug 'khor bcas bsangs//
 brtan g.yo nyams gribs thams cad dag gyur cig// chu gnyis nyer spyod rol mo
 'dod yon lnga// rin chen sna bdun bkra shis rtag (rtags) rdzas brgyad// rta
 yag (g.yag) glang lug ra dang dom dred sogs// 'phur 'dzul yod dgur cog dang
 skyid so'i (? po'i) tshal// bdag bzung dngos dang ma bzung dngos bshams
 dang// kun bzang mchod sprin legs 'bul dgyes bzhe (bzhes) nas// rgyal khams
 spyi dang thabs tha gnas ljongs 'dir// mi phyug (phyugs) kun la nad don bar
 gcod dang// 'byung dang 'byung 'gyur mtshon ngan chom rkun sogs// sad
 sor (ser) bca' (btsa') than mi 'dod rkyen ngan kun// dmigs med zhi zhing tshe
 bsod dpal 'byor dang// dbang rlung mnga' thang mi phyugs rigs rgyud 'phel//
 phun tshogs sde bzhi'i dpal la rtag rol ba'i// bsam pa chos bzhin bgegs med
 'phrin las mdzod// kye kye sangs rgyas bstan bsrung dkon mchog dbu 'phang
 bstod// zhes pa nas// bdag dang mtha' yas sems can thams cad kyi// bla med
 rdzogs pa'i byang chub bsgrub pa la// 'gal rkyen bar gcod thams cad zhi ba
 dang// mthun rkyen bsam don lhun gyis grub par mdzod// bcol ba'i 'phrin
 las ma lus bsgrub par mdzod// bdag cag dbon (dpon) slob yon mchod 'khor
 bcas kyi// tshe deng (dang) nad med longs spyod phun sum tshogs// don
 rnams thams cad yid bzhin 'grub pa dang// 'gro ba'i don la mthu dang ldan
 par shog// 'jig rten bde zhing lo (?) X 'bad dang rtso! ba X gzhan yang ljongs
 'dir nad chen mu ge sogs// mi mthun rgud pa'i ming yang mi grags cing// blo
 bzang grags brtan (bstan) phyogs bcur rgyas pa dang// 'gro kun bde skyed
 (skyid) ldan pa'i bkra shis shog// gser skyems ni/ byin rlabs spyi ltar la bka'
 drin mnyam med dngos brgyud bla ma dang// dngos grub 'byung gnas yi
 dam zhi khro'i lha// myur mdzad mgon sogs bstan bsrung tshogs rnams la//
 gsol lo mchod do bcol ba'i 'phrin las mdzod// zhi rgyas dbang drag 'phrin las
 kun stsal ba'i// gar gur (mgur) nyams kyi rol ba'i dgra lha mchog// bkra shis
 bsam 'phel dbang phyug 'khor bcas la// gsol lo X gser skyems X rtso! gsum lha
 dang sde brgyad 'byung po'i tshogs// gdon bgegs lan chags mgron rnams ma
 lus pa// gsol lo mchod do bcol ba'i 'phrin las mdzod// hūm zag med ye shes
 bde chen gyis// rnam rol las byung stong gsum khyon// gang ba'i mchod gtor
 'di bzhes la// de ring bcol ba'i 'phrin las mdzod// sngon gyi las dang phral rky-
 en las// 'byung ba'i mi 'dod nyer 'tshe kun// zhi zhing tshe dang bsod rnams
 dang// 'khor dang bstan pa rgyas par mdzod// 'jig rten gsum na gnas pa yi//
 zas nor longs spyod phun tshogs kun// dregs ldan skye po (bo) ma lus pa//
 skad cig nyed (nyid) la dbang du bsdus// log par bsam pa'i dgra dang bgegs//
 phyogs dang tshams na gnas pa kun// rdul phran tsam yang ma lus pa// skad
 cig nyid la tshar cod cig// dus gsum rgyal ba'i bstan pa dang// dpal ldan bla
 ma'i sku tshe bsring// khyad par bdag cag bsam don rnams// lhun gyis bgrub
 pa'i 'phrin las mdzod// chos skyong rgyal po chen po yid bzhin dbang// bum





bzang 'dod 'jo'i ba dang dbag (dpag) bsam shing// pu dra (sprin?) dkar pos
lo tog rgyas mdzad pa'i//

'dod dgu'i char 'bebs khod la bdag stod do// gang zhig yid la dran pa tsam
gyis gyang// 'dod 'gu'i (dgu'i) dngos grub ma lus ster mdzad pa'i// chos skyong
yid bzhin nor bu 'khor bcas kyis// bdag sogs bsam don 'grub pa'i grogs mdzad
cig// 'bras dre po 'ka' (bka') 'gyur ba bla ming bas sug bris su bgyis pa'o//

**7.1. JAMYANG GUNGTHANG: PRAISE AND OFFERING TO THE LORD OF BASE OF
ALHANAI**

a la ha na'i gzhi bdag la gsol mchod bya tshul bzhugs so// dge'o// legs so//

na mo ratna (tra) yā ya/ 'dir a gu'i po ri yang kyi sa cha a la ha na gnas pa'i
gzhi bdag la gsol mchod bya bar 'ong pas/ gtor ma dkar zlum 'khor ci mang
ril bus skor/ bye mar 'o zho sogs bza' btung gtsang ma'i rigs dang bsangs
mchod rnams legs par 'du bas la/ yi dam lha'i nga rgyal ldan pas/ a mri tas
bsangs swa bha was sbyangs/ stong pa'i ngang las aum dang rang rang gi ming
yig dang po thig les brgyan pa zhu ba las byung ba'i mchod gtor mthun rd-
zas yo byad dpag tu med pa 'dod pa'i yon tan lnga dang ldan pas sa dang bar
nam mkha' khyon thams cad yongs su gang bar gyur/ dpral bar nam mkha'
mdzod kyi phyag rgya bcas la/ aum sarba bid pu ra pu ra su ra su ra sogs
lan gsum ngag spro na snags drug dang phyag rgya drug dang bden stobs
kyang brjod// kye kye bswa/ khor yug yid 'ong sa 'dzin phreng bas bskor//
rab rgyas rtsi bcud 'bras bu'i lang tsho dar// dge mtshan bcu ldan sa yi thig
les mchog/ bag phebs nyams su dga' ba'i yul ljongs 'di'i// sa 'dzin dbang po
a la ha nar grags// gang der gnas pa'i yul lha mthu bo che// 'khor bcas bsangs
mchod mgron du spyen 'dren gyi// ma thogs rings pa'i tshul gyis gnas 'dir
gshegs// gzhan yang phyogs 'di'i ri brag nags tshal ljongs// chu mig 'bab chu
pha bong shing gcig dang// lha rten lab tse sogs la gnas pa yi// lha klu gzhi
bdag thams cad gnas 'dir byon// mdun du dbang gzhu gur dang sprin phung
dbus// dgyes pa'i tshul gyis za 'og 'bol stan sogs// rang rang ji ltar 'dod pa'i
gdan khri la// ji srid dran pa de srid bzhugs su gsol// bswa/ khyed rnams
dgyes byed yid 'ong mchod pa'i sprin// dngos bsham yid sprul bden pa bdar
ba las// 'od 'bar mdzes pa'i ru mtshan bu ru ru// sra mkhregs rdo rje go cha
shegs se shegs// rnga gshang dung gling rol mo wer ri ri// bsangs shing spos
kyi dud pa chi li li// rta mchog steng gi rta skad tse re re// 'brong g.yag zhol
chen rwa kha zeng se zeng// gcan gzan gdugs pa'i ngar skad 'u ru ru// mkha'
la 'dab chags zlos gar leng se leng// dkar mngar zas sna sna tshogs nyi li li//
ja chang 'o ma'i rgya mtsho khyi li li// mkho dgu'i yo byad rnam mang su ru
ru// glu dang gar mkhan lha yi bu mo tshogs// khyed rnams thugs la phul



byung dga' bde'i dpal// sbyin byed ma tshang med pa'i mchod sbyin 'di/ stobs
ldan yul lha 'khor dang bcas pa la// dgyes bzhes thugs dam skongs la las kun
sgrub// bdag cag bag med bya byod mi mkhas pas// sa brkos rdo rlog shing
bcod chu gnyan dkrugs// mi btsang grib kyis mnol bar byas pa sogs// phog
thugs thams cad bzod par gsol// da lta dpon slob sbyin pa'i bdag po yi// rtag
tu gsol zhing mchod pa'i don dgongs la// bstan dang bstan 'dzin dge 'dun 'dus
pa'i sde// yon sbyor sbyin pa'i bdag por bcas pa la// nam mkha' mthong nas
lha yi mig rnon pa'i// dus rnams kun tu bya ra mi g.yel par// 'gal rk yen kun
sel mthun rkyen ma lus sgrub// gang bsam don kun yid bzhin 'grub par md-
zod// mi phygs nad rims kha smas (smras) rtsod gling (gleng) dang// gcan
gzan gnod 'tshe byang phur keg dang sri// sad ser than pa mu ge la sogs pa'i//
mi 'dod nyer 'tshe mtha' dag zhi bar mdzod// skye 'gro thams cad tshe ring
nad med cing// stobs 'byor longs sbyod mnga' thang tigs rgyud 'phel// ya
rab lugs bzang chos srid legs tshogs kun// yar ngo'i zla ltar rgyas pa'i 'phrin
las mdzod// mthu ldan khyod kyis 'phrin las lcags kyu yi// srid pa gsum gyi
tshe bsod dpal 'byor dang// 'khor 'das phywa g.yang thams cad 'dir khug la//
snod bcud dge mtshan rgyas pa'i 'phrin las mdzod// khyad par yul lha yul mi
sems la dbang// de phyir khyed cag gang la dbang bsgyur ba'i// yul mi kun
kyang bstan la rab gus shing// rnal 'byor bdag gi dbang du 'du bar mdzod//
mdor na deng nas bdag cag mi nor kun// kyed la bcol lo gnyer ro bdag md-
zod la// nag phyogs dgra la rgyal kha ma sbyin zhig// re ltos 'cha' ba'i skye
bo ma bsul zhig// dbang chen dkyil 'khor dam tshig ma dral zhig// pad 'by-
ung rdo rje'i bka' las ma 'da' zhig// kyed rnams mchod cing bskul ba 'bras
ldan du// sgrub pa'i dus la bab po sa ma ya// lan gsum du bsngo/ bswo bswo/
khyed rnams dgyes byed ces pa nas/ 'di'i bar 'don/ de nas yig brgya brjod//
kye kye yul lha chen po 'khor dang bcas// da ni rang gi gnas su gshegs// slar
yang bdag gis 'bod pa'i tshe// ma thogs byon la 'phrin las sgrubs// ces gshe-
gs gsol dang/ auM 'chi med dpal ster rab dkar bdud rtsi'i chu// dbang bskur
thigs phreng ji bzhin lan cher g.yo// tshe mthar phyin pa'i yul lha rnams kyi
mthus// phyogs 'dir tshe ring nad med bkra shis shog// stag shar dpa' po dgra
la chas pa'i zhal// dmar nag nyi zla'i sdang mig g.yo ba can// gnas skyong dgra
lha gzhon nu'i gzi byin gyis// nag phyogs g.yul las rgyal ba'i bkra shis shog//
mu tig 'khri shing yang dag rgyu ba bzhin// yong 'ong 'jo sgeg lang tsho kun
dka' (dga') dgyid// lha klu'i na chung sman mo'i tshogs kyi mthus// ljongs
'dir bde skyid 'dzom pa'i bkra shis shog// gser gyi rgya phibs 'bar ba'i khang
bzang sogs// rang snang gzhal yas bgod pa sna tshog pa'i// dge mtshan des
kyang sa gzhi bcud ldan zhing// rtsi shing lo 'bras smin pa'i bkra shis shog//
dbyar skyes sgra ldan lha yi char chen bzhin// shis brjod dbyangs dang 'brel
ba'i bstod tshig 'dis// khyed thugs 'o 'tsho (mtsho) dgyes dgur 'gyur ba las//



legs byas rlabs phreng phyogs brgyar g.yo bar mdzod// ces shis pas brjod
par byao/

zhes a la ha na'i gzhi bdag la gsol mchod bya tshul 'di lta bu zhig dgos zhes
dad ldan dge bsnyen 'jigs byed kyis lha dar dang bcas bskul ba la brten nas
dge ldan bde chen lhun grub gling gi khri ba'i ming 'dzin dge slong skal bzang
sbyin pas gung thang 'jams pa'i dbyangs kyi gsung la bri snan cung zad byas
te bris pa 'dis kyang kun la phan thogs par gyur cig//

**8.1. IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: FUMIGATION AND
OFFERING TO THE BUDULAN, THE GREAT LORD OF THE HOLY PLACE**

gnas bdag chen po bho ti ling gi bsangs mchod bzhugs so//

kye kye phun tshogs dge mtshan 'bum gyi bcud chags pa'i// bkra shis
nyams dga'i gnas mchog dam pa na// bho ti ling zhes grags pa'i sa 'dzin la//
rten bcas dkar phyogs skyong ba'i lha gnyan che// bka' blon sde bzhi la sogs
'khor dang cas (bcas)// bsang mchod mgron du dgyes bzhin tshur bshegs la//
rang rang mos pa'i gdan la legs bzhugs nas// bsam don mtha' dag chos bzhin
'grub par mdzod// mdud du dngos bshams yid kyis sprul la (pa) las// byung
pa'i phyi nang gsang gsum mchod pa'i rdzas// ji snyed mchis pa'i tshogs dang
bsang mchod 'di// gus pas 'bul lo mchod do khyod brdan (brngan) no// rab
dkar rta mchog rdog (mdog) sngon brjid pa'i steng// sku mdog ser po g.yas
pas dar mdung 'phyar// g.yon pas yid bzhin nor bu bsam 'phel brnams// dgra
lha chen po 'khor dang bcas la bstod// bdag cag mi nor longs spyod 'khor
'bangs rnam// dus kun gegs med lam du rgyug pa'i mthus// chos dang srid
kyi bya pa ma lus pa// 'bad med lhun gyis grub pa'i sdongs grogs mdzod//

ces gnas bdag chen po bho ti ling gis (gi) bsang mchod 'di lta bu zhig dgos
shes ri bo de nyid kyi phyogs bzhi'i spyin bdag thun mong nas bskul dor
(ngor)/ gser mdogs can paN 'chad pa skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug gis
sbyar ba'i yi ge ba dge slong skal bzang legs bshad do//

**9.1. IV. JAMYANG ZHEPA KELZANG THUBTEN WANGCHUG: FUMIGATION RITUAL
TO THE BAATOR**

pa ka thur kyi bsangs bzhugs so//

kye kye: dag byed char rgyun lhung lhung 'bab pa'i gram// pa ka thur zhis
(zhes) grags pa'i ri bo la// brten bcas dkar phyogs skyong pa'i dgra lha che
rnam 'gyur ma nges sna tshogs ston mdzad kyang// phal cher sku mdog zla
ba ltar dkar zhing// g.yas pas mdung ring g.yon pas nor bu bsams// rdzu
'phrul shugs ldan rta mchog rag pa'i (dag pa'i) steng// legs 'gyings mthu stobs





ldan khyad da tshur byon// dri zhim shing sna sman spos la sogs pa// 'od kyi shing rda'a (rta'i) bsreg pa'i dud pa'i sprin// mkha' dbyings mdzes par khyab pa'i bsang mchod 'di// bzhis (bzhes) la bcol pa'i las kun thogs med sgrubs// phan bde'i 'byung gnas bu ram shing pa'i bstan// mi nyams dbyar gyi chu gter ltar 'phel shing// dge legs nyin mor byed pa'i dpal yon gyis// ljongs 'dil ('dir) bde skyed (skyid) pad tshal rnams rgyas mdzod//

ces pa 'di ni dang (dad) ldan skal bzang dbang gi 'dod mos bzhin/ btsun zgugs skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug ma'i (sic) sbyar bao/ mangga lam/

10.1. LOZANG DONDHUP: OFFERING OF THE SACRIFICIAL CAKE TO THE LORD OF BASE

gzhi bdag gtor ma 'bul tshul ni/ a mrI tas bsangs/ swa bha was sbyangs/ stong pa'i ngang las bhrum las rin po che'i snod yangs shing rgya che ba rnams kyi nang du aum 'od du zhu ba las 'byung ba'i gtor ma zag med pa'i ye shes kyi bdud rtsi'i rgya mtsho chen por gyur/ aum āḥ hūṃ/ lan gsum brjod/ na ma sarba ta thā ga ta nas sambha ra sambhara hūṃ/ de bzhin gshegs pa rin chen mang la phyag 'tshal lo// de bzhin gshegs pa gzugs mdzes dam pa la phyag 'tshal lo// de bzhin gshegs pa sku 'jam klas la phyag 'tshal lo// de bzhin gshegs pa 'jigs pa thams dang yongs su bral ba la phyag 'tshal lo// zhi ba'i dkar gtor rgya chen po 'di 'dod pa'i yon tan lnga dang ldan pa/ ri rab bas kyang bang rim mtho/ rgya mtsho bas kyang gting ri zab/ rtsi shing bas kyang grangs mang ba// nyi zla bas kyang 'od gsal ba// gling bzhi bas kyang bkod legs pa// 'di nyid bsngo ba'i gnas su gyur pa ni/ dpal tshangs pa la sogs phyogs skyong gnyan pa bcu/ rgyal po chen po sde bzhi/ lha chen po brgyad/ klu chen po brgyad/ gza' chen po brgyad/ rgyu skar nyi shu rtza brgyad/ 'jigs byed dgu la sogs pa gtsang ris mgon po bdun cu rtza lnga/ bod khams skyong ba'i bstan ma bcu gnyis/ dge bsnyen nyi shu rtza gcig/ gzhan yang ri rab chen po steng shong/ rgya mtsho chen po mtha' dbus/ stong gcig stong gnyis stong gsum pa/ gser gyi ri bdun/ rol pa'i mthso bdun/ gling bzhi gling phran brgyad la gnas pa'i lha klu dkar phyogs skyong ba rnams dang/ gzhan yang 'dzam bu gling gi shar na ri bo rtse lnga/ lhor po ta la/ nub ma la ya/ byang shambha la/ dbus rdo rje gdan la sogs pa na gnas pa'i gzhi bdag lha klu/ byang phyogs kha ba can gyi'i (sic) yul stod mnga' ris skor gsum/ bar dbus gtsang gru bzhi (sic)/ smad mdo khams skor gsum/ stod kyi rtse dgu/ smad kyi bshan dgu/ stod kyi gangs te se/ bar gyi gnyan chen thang lha/ smad kyi rma chen pom ra/ srid pa chags pa'i lha dgu/ 'dzam bu gling gi gzhi bdag/ gzhan yang spar kha brgyad/ sme ba dgu/ lo skor bcu gnyis/ dbang byed pa rnams dang/ steng gi sa bdag gnam khyi/ 'og gis sa bdag lto 'phe/ bar gyi gnyan dang gza' i piṣṭi



pa ta/ lo'i sa bdag the se/ zla ba'i sa bdag tsang kun/ gzhan yang the se rgyal
 po la sogs pa lo la dbang ba'i sa bdag/ 'brug lha ga ba la sogs zla ba la dbang
 ba'i sa bdag/ gser mdzod ser po la sogs zhag la dbang ba'i sa bdag/ g.yu md-
 zod sngon mo la sogs dus tshod la dbang ba'i sa bdag/ khyad par du yang yul
 che ge mo'i sa bdag/ shar gyi stag skya bo/ lho'i 'brug sngon po/ nub kyi bya
 dmar po/ byang gi rus sbal ljang khu/ bye brag du nga gcig gi lo'i rgyal po/
 nga res kyi zla ba blon po/ de ring gi nyi ma la dbang che ba/ do nub rgyu
 skar la rtsi zhib pa/ pha ri g.yas/ tshu ri g.yon/ skye ba shing/ bab pa chu/ 'gro
 ba lam/ sdod pa sa/ g.yo ba rlung/ khang sa/ zhing sa/ lam srang/ 'di kun la
 gnas pa'i sa bdag/ gzhi bdag/ gnas bdag/ gter bdag stongs grogs yul bdag dkar
 phyogs gnyug mar gnas pa rnams la 'bul lo// bsngöo// mchod do// mgron
 no// bzhes su gsol// bzhes nas sangs rgyas kyis bstan pa bsrung/ dkon mchog
 gi dbu 'phang bstod/ bla ma'i bka' nyan/ rnal 'byor pa bdag cag 'khor dang
 bcas pa'i dam chos bsgrub pa la bar du gcod pa'i 'gal rkyen nad gdon bgegs
 rigs kha mchu kha smras 'thab rtsod 'khrugs long rmi ltas mtshan ngan lo
 zla zhag dus za ma'i skeg/ sad ser mu ge lto gdung phung grol cho ma rkun
 ci spyang bor stor god kha shi kha la sogs pa 'gal rkyen bar chad mi mthun
 pa'i phyogs thams cad zhi bar mdzod/ bzlog par mdzod/ med par mdzod/ ru
 nga phrag dog ma byed cig/ ku re kyal kha ma byed cig/ thugs zhi ba byang
 sems dang ldan par mdzod la/ mi la na tsha ma btang/ phyug la god kha ma
 btang/ bsam pa la bar chad ma btang/ las dkar po dge ba'i kha 'dzin dang
 stongs grogs mdzod/ mthun rkyen tshe bsod dpal 'byor rigs brgyud mnga'
 thang longs spyod 'khor 'bangs mkho dgu'i yo byad rta nor ra lug rnga mong
 la sogs phun tshogs thams cad dar zhing rgyas pa dang/ khams gsum gyi mi
 nor zas gsum thams cad dbang du 'du ba dang/ gnod byed dgra bgegs thams
 cad drag po'i chad pas thal bar rlog pa dang/ bsam pa'i don thams cad bgegs
 med par lhun gyis grub pa'i bkra shis bde legs mdzad du gsol// bdag gi bsam
 pa'i zhes pa nas 'byung gyur cig//

lhag bsam dkar ba'i sems kyi bskul te/ bū su ku su ma ti a rtha si ddhi ming
 can gyis sbyar ba'o//

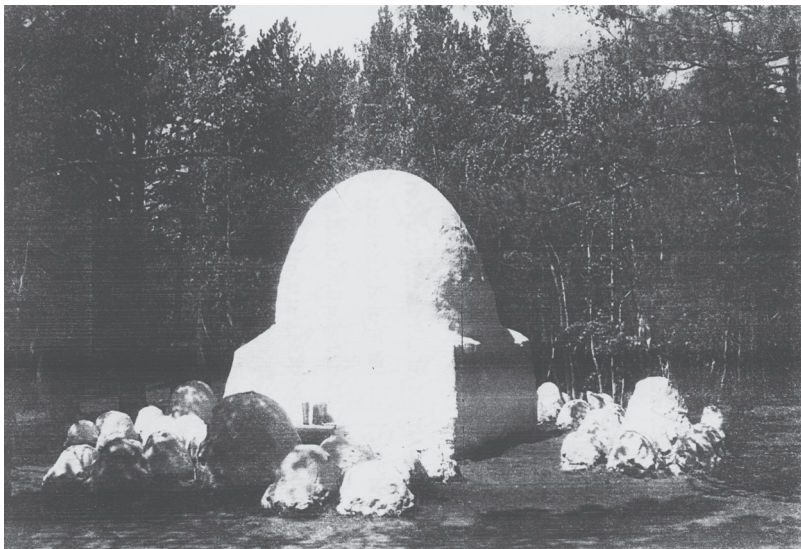


Plate 1: Alhanai oboo (Photo: Munko Bazarov)



Plate 2: Tabtanyn oboo (Photo: Munko Bazarov)



Plate 3: Mañjuśrī in the bumhan of Tabtanyn oboo (Photo: Munko Bazarov)