

Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '08
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Preface

Starting from this year, *Mongolica Pragensia*, which has been published annually since 2002 and as a journal since 2007, will be published under the title of *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia*. This reflects more exactly the broader range of topics discussed in the journal – from linguistics (especially ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics, comparative and historical linguistics) to religion and culture relating to the area of Central Asia. We will also include reviews and other relevant information.

This is the first issue of this year which continues in the tradition of linguistically oriented topics (ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic approach and also historical linguistics). The journal will welcome papers on topics relating to other languages and cultures of Central and Eastern Asia (Mongolian, Tibetan, Manchu-Tungus) and will be open to subjects discussed from the point of view of various methodological approaches.

This year's second issue will be a monothematic collective monograph. It will contain several papers on the problem of 'Mediums and Shamans in Central Asia'. Similar collections of papers dealing with one specific topic in the form of a collective monograph will occasionally be prepared in the future and will reflect the current interesting topics emerging in our disciplines.

Editors-in-Chief

Fear and contentment as experienced by the Mongolian nomads. *Nutag*.

ALENA OBERFALZEROVÁ, Charles University in Prague

Summary: This paper presents the results of our fieldwork in rural Mongolia, this time discussing the main psychological aspect of the life of Mongolian nomads – their relationship to their native land (*nutag*). For the nomadic Mongol the *nutag* is the most important place in his whole life.

The paper refers to several areas, in which the relation between native land and the nomads has evidently been reflected. First it is folklore, which is the mirror of nomadic thought, then follows the usage of the word *nutag* in language – a discussion of typical idioms, phrases and metaphors. The third part of the paper is devoted to dreams about native land – *nutag*. It demonstrates the importance of this phenomenon in the life of the Mongolian nomads using samples of authentic discussions of dreams by my informants. The last section is intended to induce a realistic picture of the experience of a Mongol living in his native land. The fragmentary recollections of a concrete person put the finishing touches to the paper, by giving expression – not only to the difference of milieu, but also to the different manner of its perception, which determines the communicative behaviour of a nomad and in fact also the whole of his later life.

The topic of contentment and fear in the life of Mongolian nomads will later be discussed in connection with another psychological aspect of the relation to the Mother Nature – viz anxiety and fear of her in the context of her worship.

Introduction

The Mongolian nomads living the traditional nomadic way of life are surrounded by an untouched wild nature which they do not transform in any way. In fact they consider themselves to be a mere component part of this nature. In cultural anthropology we can often encounter the term ‘nature’s ethnic groups’, ‘ethnic groups of nature’. However, we should clearly distinguish what in the past were called the ‘wild ethnic groups’¹ from communities with a highly developed culture, no matter what exactly is meant by ‘highly developed’ in this context. In fact the main difference consists in the extent and manner of dealing with the surrounding natural world, to what extent we re-shape it, i.e. create it ourselves, and in which way we are able to understand it. For many centuries the Mongolian ethnic groups lived in harmony with

1) Cf. ‘la pensée sauvage’, or the ‘savage mind’ (Lévi-Strauss 1962, in Douglas 2002) and also the ‘primitive worlds’ (Douglas 2002, pp. 91–116).

nature, and also in a relationship of continuous linkage with it. And neither did nature, which is considered to be a living and divine entity by the nomads, reshape human thought. In Mongolian there is no phrase 'man of nature'. Nature perceives man, his life, his wishes, and perceives his fear of itself (i.e. of nature), and the fear guarantees that nomads will not turn against nature nor will they speak ill of it, they consider nature to be their living ancestress who creates everything, but also annihilates everything. This interconnection of man and nature finds expression in many phenomena in nomadic culture. Among the most demonstrative and illustrative are its dreams.

At first sight dreaming, a universal human phenomenon, is different with the Mongols, where it is distinguished by its collectively shared character, by the approach to its interpretation and function. What, however, is very interesting, is the fact that it differs particularly in its topics and in the manner of dreaming, as if it was something like a 'cultural dialect' of this universal phenomenon. I will try to continue the discussion along the lines of my earlier paper (Oberfalzerová 2004), in which I discussed the division of dreams according to how the informants themselves spoke about them. On the one hand the subject of the dreams of Mongolian nomads is conditioned by their life style, and on the other hand it is conditioned by the 'image' of the world, which is manifested in their thought. But the subject is also conditioned by the tradition handed down in an agreed manner. The subjects of dreams may be simply subdivided into those which are pleasant and soothing, and those which provoke fear and anxiety (unease). As a result we are openly facing a real dynamic world of nature, which is 'animate', and thus for us even inanimate nature, and in fact every object around us does have a soul. These souls communicate with the human community by way of revealed good and bad omens. Thus Mother Nature offers people a feeling of the highest contentment, but at the same time she generates great fear, which transcends man.

***Nutag* – the native land**

The native land (*nutag*), where the nomad grew up, is the most immediate and most constant partner of man. Man's relation to it is an expression of two principles – constancy and inconstancy or durability and transience. The nomads change their station four times a year, this variability in their place of stay is balanced and anchored by the stability and durability of their milieu, i.e. nature. Settled cultures transform their milieu and therefore they tend to relate themselves to a transformation, to a modification, to a change (are

we not striving for development in technology?). That may be the reason for a slightly different link of the nomad to nature, which he does not transform, because in his view there is hardly anything to be changed in nature, because nature itself is unchangeable, and at the same time able to implement changes in the destiny of people through its power.

For the nomadic Mongol the *nutag* is the most important place, it is distinguished by a water source. All that is most important in the life of an individual has taken place there, where he grew up, in the bosom of nature – on the banks of the native river or brook, near the well, mountain – and each and every one has a place like that. It is a place which educates and heals its children, creates the fundamental relationship to the native Mother Nature (*oron eez*'), and necessarily, for the rest of his life, a man relates himself to this place and she relates to him. The mutual relation may be seen in the frequently used phrase: *Nutag c'in' duudaz' baina. Nutagtaa oc!* ('Your native land calls you. Visit your native land!')

Native land (*nutag*) is formed by mountains, waters, the steppe, sands or the deserts of Gobi (*uul, us, tal, els, Govi*), though it does not include everything which it hosts on its surface – the flora, the trees, the birds and animals (*cecek, mod, s'uvuu, amitan*), nor do horses and cattle (*mori, mal*), which are exclusively linked with the human existence, belong to it. The *nutag*, i.e. the native land, is only one part of Nature, an individualised Nature. To each man belongs his individual piece of Nature in the form of the *nutag*, that may be appropriated to a certain extent. This is the space to which belongings in the form of cattle, yurt, parents, husband, deity (*o'mč, ger, eež, aav hoyor, no'hor, burhan*) are associated. When in a strange milieu or speaking with a stranger, a nomad would use the genitive of the possessive pronoun not including the other person: *minii nutag* (my native land), which actually also implies a nostalgia for nature. This is particularly typical of the situation when the individual finds himself/herself abroad. This is clearly distinguished from the use of the inclusive form of the possessive pronoun in *manai nutag* (our native land) used in discussion by a group of fellow countrymen or a group of Mongols who are bound by a merely analogical link to their own *nutag*. The possessive pronoun *minii* (my) would be used only when the speaker wants to underline that he misses his native land, that he feels homesick.

A. NUTAG IN FOLKLORE

I was born in a nomad's yurt,	<i>Argaliin utaa burgilsan</i>
above which the smoke of <i>argal</i> billows.	<i>Malc'nii gert to'rson bi</i>
I am thinking of my native land wild,	<i>Atar heer nutgaa</i>
which was my cradle.	<i>O'lgii mini gez' boddog</i>
I am watching the distant silhouettes	<i>Cenher manan suunaglasan</i>
in the falling blue fog.	<i>Alsiin baraag s'irteed</i>
My broad and beautiful native land,	<i>Celger saihaan nutgaa</i>
when I am watching you full of pride	<i>Setgel bahdan harahad</i>
it is as if the blowing wind	<i>U'leez' baigaa salhi ni</i>
was kissing me.	<i>U'nseed c' baigaa yum s'ig</i>
It is as if the loving hand of my mother	<i>O'rs'oolt eez'iin mini gar</i>
was stroking me again.	<i>Ileed c' baigaa yum s'ig</i>
When I feel the blissful grace,	<i>Enerenguu saihaan sanagdahad</i>
tears of unspeakable joy	<i>Hosgu'i bayariin nulims</i>
fill both of my eyes. ²	<i>Hoyor nu'dii mini bu'rhddeg</i>

A special folklore literary form widespread among the nomads is the heroic epic *baatalagiin tuulis*. In the beginning of the epics the *nutag* of the hero or of the ruler is always extolled and this devoted praise occupies many hundreds of verses. Some heroic epics are in fact completely dedicated to the praise of the native land of the Mongolian Altai, e.g. out of a total number of 2872 verses, 408 verses of the epic *Mongoliin Altai Hangai nutag* are devoted only to the *nutag*. We can also mention the folklore gem The Song about Altai (*Altai hailah*³). Ten thousand poems recited by heart to the accompaniment of a musical instrument reveal way in which the nomads thought of beauty. Here we can see the source for established expressions in other folklore genres. Some examples are given below.

For the nomad, the *nutag* is the main entity, it is an abstract and consistent concept of intimately known native land again and again dissolved and mixed with specific details. For example, Father and Mother are specific relational persons. If an individual finds himself within the area of his *nutag* (an area of approximately 30 km radius) – he can see their specific representative symbols – the *deel* (the traditional Mongolian coat), their manner of riding a horse,

2) A free rendering of a famous poem by C. C'imid from the 1950s, where in the initial verses the author describes his relation to the *nutag* and which provokes a strong emotion in every Mongolian reader or listener. (C'imid 1959, pp. 53–54).

3) "Altai hailah" tuuli. In: Gaadamba, Cerensodnom, 1978, pp. 231–358.

etc. If an individual finds himself outside his native land – e.g. in Ulaanbatar or abroad, to begin with he would not recollect specific close persons, but only specific features of his native land – mountains, waters, specific rocks etc. Only through his native land can he see the concrete person. This is also why the poems and the texts of folk songs are composed analogically – to begin with there is the picture of native land and only then the concrete person. Both pictures are interconnected – e.g. the mountain is linked with the father, the river C’uluut with the mother or lover, the steppe or desert, the flocks, the humming insects in the steppe with children’s plays etc. In most Mongolian songs the first two verses would evoke the picture of nature, the following verses would speak in parallel about the people from that region, about human life:

Oh, my river Yargait, you flow glittering and murmuring here and there.	<i>Yars yars ursaad baidag ni Yargaitiin mini gol oo hoò</i>
Oh, my beloved girl, when we talk, the tears of love flow.	<i>Yarisaar suugaad uilna gedeg ni Yanagiin mini setgel ee hoo</i>

This strophe is a typical recollection of home and first love in folk poetry. The very strong emotional link with native land is almost always interlinked with other events. Almost all landscape regions have their typical songs extolling the *nutag*.⁴ We can see an example in a song about the homeland of the Torguts, which was sung to us in Khovd by an old Zahc’in woman.⁵

Torguud native land (homeland)	<i>Torguud nutag</i>
The peaks of the high mountains surrounded by colourful fog.	<i>O’ndor o’ndor uuland ni O’ngin budan tatna daa.</i>
Oh, my Torguut homeland, where I grew up You are eternally remembered in the minds of us your loved ones.	<i>O’soz’ to’rson Torguud nutag mini O’nod l mandaa l sanagdana daa.</i>
Your piled up mountain tops surrounded by transparent fog My ocean-like Torguut homeland You are permanently remembered in the minds of us your loved ones.	<i>Davhar davhar uuland ni Dangiin budan tatna daa. Dalai ih Torguud nutag mini Dandaa l mandaa l sanagdana daa.</i>

4) Cf. Jackovskaja (1988).

5) A sample of the dialogue will follow. The eighty-year-old woman comes from the Manhan sum, Khovd.

COMMENTS:

The attribute without the genitive suffix *Torguud nutag* is an expression of a deep emotional relation, shared by this ethnic group with regard to native land (similarly *torguud hu'uhen* – Torgud girls, *gutal* – shoes, *nutag* – homeland). The genitive form *torguud-iin* is used in the official style as a term for the administrative unit.

The particle *l* used with the indirect object *mandaa l* (to us, your beloved) is an expression of appropriation, of a relationship, of a loving interconnection with the *nutag*, which loves its children.

The term *nutag* refers to the place where man grew up, not necessarily where he was born. This concerns his age between 4–5 years and his/her adulthood, i.e. the age of 18–19 years. The person grows up in the open air, under the open sky, having everyday direct contact with the individual details of surrounding nature. This place is also linked with the strong emotions of first loves. At this age the grown-up boy is usually conscripted into the army and girls are married into a different region. It is the first time that they leave their *nutag* for a shorter or longer period of time and they experience a shock, they suffer from separation, their nostalgia for home is great, with some individuals this nostalgia will continue for their whole life. They would often have to be satisfied only with the dreams and visions of their native land, which never cease.

Now follow some samples of folk poetry describing this nostalgia and recollections of first love.

A sad song of a bride married to a strange place:

Though I am happy (here)	<i>Z'argaltai c' bolov</i>
It is not as much as good as with my mother given to me by providence	<i>Zayanii eez'id mini hu'rmeer bis' ee</i>
Though (in many gorges) there is an icy frost	<i>Z'avartai c' bolov</i>
It does not reach the ravines of my homeland	<i>Z'alga nutagt mini hu'rmeer bis' ee</i>
Though I am respected (by all)	<i>Hu'ndtei c' bolov</i>
It is not as much as my (dear) old mother	<i>Ho'gs'in eez'id mini hu'rmeer bis' ee</i>
Though it is very cold (in many gorges)	<i>Hu'iten c' bolov</i>
It does not reach the valleys of my (dear) native land ⁶	<i>Ho'ndii nutagt mini hu'rmeer bis' ee</i>

6) Gaadamba, Cerensodnom 1978, p. 64.

The song of my dreams about my homeland:

Huder Dungui is my homeland	<i>Hu'der Dunggidaa nutagtai l</i>
The singing of a cuckoo there is very beautiful	<i>Ho'hoogiin dongodoh ni goyo l baina</i>
Talking with you my desired beloved	<i>Hu'seltei hairtai l camtaigaa</i>
I had such a sweet dream	<i>Hu'urnelden zu'udleh mini goyo l baina</i>
Ar Dungui is my homeland	<i>Ar Dunggidaa nutagtai l</i>
The singing of <i>angirs</i> ⁷ there is very beautiful	<i>Angiriin dongodoh ni goyo l baina ho'</i>
Playing with you my dearest beloved	<i>Amrag hairtai l camtaigaa</i>
I had such a sweet dream ⁸	<i>Alialan zu'udleh mini goyo l baina daa ho'</i>

B. NUTAG IN SPEECH AND LANGUAGE

In Mongolian there is the word *baigal* – nature, but in the spoken language this word is not used, there are three other important synonyms – *gazar*, *oron* a *nutag*.⁹ These three words are used in everyday language instead of ‘nature’ (*baigal*), but they are used in a completely different modality. They can be freely combined in pairs: *gazar oron*, *oron gazar*, *oron nutag*, *nutag oron*, *gazar nutag*, *nutag gazar*. These pairs imply contextually fine semantic nuances. Among these three expressions, the word *nutag* has a special importance.

Present day Mongols do not perceive *nutag* as a deity any more, but once long ago Mongols did think it was a deity. This is implied by some old forms of the word *nutag* – **nituqan/niduyan/nitüken*, which are connected with an old belief in a female deity of the Earth *Natigai/Načiyai/Etüken*, as we know it from historical sources. Nowadays something like a remainder of this deity survives in the word *udgan* < *iduyan* < *niduyan*, which is a designation

7) The Mandarin duck, reddish colour, yellow under the wings. For the symbolic implications of this bird, cf. Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 70.

8) Gaadamba, Cerensodnom 1978, p. 50.

9) Lessing's dictionary has the following translations of these words:

yazar a. ground, soil, earth, land, terrain;

b. locality, region, district, territory, country, place (physically and figuratively), point; room (possibility of admission); way;

c. office, institution, department, bureau;

oron a. place in general; territory, country, locality, area, land, site; dwelling place;

b. institution, seat, centre; c. office, official position

nutuy pasture, nomad grounds; native place, domicile, homeland; territory, country, area, locality

of a female shaman. The original form *nītuqan* developed into the Khalkha word *hymaz*, or Buriad word *hюmaz* and the understanding of this word can be considered a relic of archaic thought.

Only this word has a derivative form *nutagla-* – ‘to develop a relation to a country, to a concrete place, to settle’. *Nutag nutaglah* means to acquire a relationship to a particular place in nature and to win a relationship to nature, which in principle nature has to man, if he nomadizes on its territory for a certain period of time. This phrase also contains the value of this mutual relationship, which a concrete country has for an individual, both become something like a mutually valuable “property”. In our case this finds a one-sided expression in a contract of purchase and money, while for a nomad it is determined by the number of years spent in nomadizing and by the mutual relationship.¹⁰ There is another verbal form *nutags’ih* – to get used to a strange *nutag*, in the short term, to adapt oneself to a strange *nutag*. It is used exclusively in the context of short-term (temporary) assistance to neighbours in need – when at the time of *gan* (dry frost, winter drought) or *zud* (calamity of excessive snowfall) families of strangers would move into the territory. Then they may be asked: *Mal hu’n nutags’iz’ baina uu?* Cattle and people get used to the other people’s *nutag*. Note also the order of the words, when cattle are mentioned first. What is decisive is whether the cattle become acclimatized, and the nomad’s contentment is derived from that. Here it is not a question of the relationship of man to his native land.

The following set phrases are connected with the word *nutag* (native land). Besides that I list a few synonymic expressions of the word *nutag*.

1. *o’soz’ to’rson nutag*, *lit.*, ‘native land my growing up and birth’; it is used in this order, even though the logical order of the development is different. The reversed word order could be used (**to’rz’ o’sson nutag*), such a phrase would be comprehensible, but it is not used.

The word *to’roh* (to be born) alone is not used in this sense – the phrase *to’rson nutag* (native place) would be used in a different context, when the place of the physical birth and the place of growing up differ and the speaker would like to underline this fact. Another possibility would be the phrase *o’sson nutag* (place where the person grew up), which would refer to a place

10) A similar relationship to a place is supposed to apply also to supernatural beings. E.g. the Mangases, who are hostile towards the human world, who most often appear in fairy tales. Even they have their homeland, which they miss and which is emotionally used in the story in an analogical way: *mangasiin nutag* – the native land of the Mangases, where they stay jointly, therefore implies a relationship.

which the speaker misses, about which he speaks, to which his most important recollections are linked. Even though he was born in a different region, that region is not so important, though mostly this is the same place.

Close to the phrase *o'soz' to'rson nutag* is another phrase *o'soh nasaa o'ngorooson gazar*, lit., 'place, where one has spent the years of growing up' – it is a place where an individual lived starting from the age when he/she began to reason about the world, i.e. from the age of four to five years up to the time when he/she literally 'becomes the family creature of the *ail'* (*ail amitan boloh*), which refers to the age of about eighteen years.

2. *unasan gazar, ugaasan us*, lit., 'the place where (he/she etc.) fell down, water which washed (him/her etc.)'. The place of falling down is a symbolic expression of a concrete place, into which the individual was born from his mother's womb, thus it also refers to the direction downwards from above, which is implied in the word *unah* – to fall (down). The washing water represents a ritual of welcoming the newborn baby by a symbolical washing in the water of the local water source (a lake – *nuur*, a river – *gol*, a brook – *gorhi*, a spring – *bulag*, or a spring rising in desert areas – *s'and*, a spring rising in the steppe and Gobi – *zadgai* or a well – *hudag*¹¹). These expressions are often combined, but they can be used separately as single names. The following example is an expression of the belief that if a person does not prosper or if he or she suffers from a serious illness, returning to his native land will support him or her, and mere residence may often heal the illness through the forces of the *nutag*.

Ex.: *Unasan gazar, ugaasan usandaa oc'vol c'inii o'vc'in c'ini edgerne / ene o'vc'noos salna*. 'When you visit your native land (lit., 'place where you fell down and water which washed /you/'), its forces will heal you / you will get rid of your illness (lit., 'your illness will be healed / you will separate from your illness'). (Banzardar 2006)

11) The importance of the water source is documented by the great number of names designating water sources. The Gobi town *Sains'and* – Good Water, metaphorically means 'healthy' water. In Gobi there are many other similar local names – *Dunds'and* (Middle Water), *Deeds'and* (Upper Water), *Doods'and* (Lower Water), *Huiten s'and* (Cold Water). Similarly the town *Dalanzadgad* in Southern Gobi literally means Seventy Springlets and there are more such names, for instance *Hadtai tolgoi zadgai* (Springlet of a Rocky Hilltop), *Hadatiin C'uluutiin zadgai* (Springlet of Rocky Stones, etc. There are about a thousand local names, where a well is found – *Saariin amnii hudag* (A Well at the Beginning of a Dried Riverbed) and the like.

3. *nutag us*, lit., 'homeland (native land) and water', metaphorically means a very respectful and polite designation, close to the designation *nutag*, which is used when two people greet each other. This phrase must be used if a person obviously from a different region or a foreigner is involved. After the introductory formal phrase *Sain baina uu?* (lit., 'Are you /doing/ well?'), follows information which is important for a nomad: *Haas'aa yavz' baina ve?* ('Where are you going?') and immediately afterwards a very important question about the native land, from which the man concerned comes: *Nutag us haana ve?* ('Where is /your/ native land and water?'). Detailed information about the region is expected, not only the official administrative name, but also the unofficial collectively shared names of the region known to all nomads. These will also be characterised by an important water source, though of course a small springlet near the yurt would not be mentioned. Though the partner has never been in the other person's region, he will be able to place his or her *nutag* on the general map, and he will do so on the basis of the experience passed on from generation to generation and on the basis of the narrations of other people about the exact location of water sources. In this way a nomad will obtain important orientation in the shared space, which is called *Mongoliin bu'h nutag* – all the regions of Mongolia, all Mongolian territory. In this case the word *nutag* cannot be translated by the phrase native region or land, since it is neutral expression. We can see an example from the recollections of Damdinžav. When he travelled to Ulaanbaatar for the first time, his father would give him exact instructions concerning how to refer to his own *nutag*. The designation "Crossing/junction of many rivers" is a collectively shared designation of a great space, where the rivers Ider, C'uluut and Delger mo'ron successively flow into the river Selenge. Though Damdinžav comes from the river C'uluut, he must call his homeland this whole region. These are established designations formed in the course of centuries:

Ex.: *C'i hol gazar yavahdaa Olon goliin belc'iriin hu'n gez' helz' yavaarai! Ahmad nutgiin hu'ntei mend ustai yavaarai! gez' nadad aav maani zahiz' baisan yum. Hotgoidiin nutag.*

"When you go to a distant place, then on your way say that you are a man from the Junction of many rivers and keep greeting the elderly people of the region!" This is what our father would advise me (to do). (It is) the homeland of the Hotgoids. (Damdinžav 2006)

4. *Nutag hos'uu*, lit., 'homeland and district'. This phrase is used in a similar way to the previous one. If you ask using this phrase, you almost interrogate

the person, you control him or her, and at the same time you give expression to a deeper interest in your interlocutor. This concerns the designation of one *hos'uu* (lit. muzzle), which used to be an administrative unit in the Manchu empire. At present the same unit is designated by the name *sum*. Earlier the phrase *nutag hos'uu* was quite common, nowadays we can hear it especially at the time of festivals. For example we hear it at the time of the *Cagaan sar* (White Month), official festive occasions, at conferences and the like. Every *hus'uu* used to be well-known for something and one should be able to demonstrate this knowledge. Therefore one should first give the name of a greater space in the region (e.g. *Delger mo'ron*, *Ho'vsgol dalai*, *Han ho'hii uul*), then one should give the name of the *hos'uu* – e.g. *Mergen gu'nii hos'uu*. Nowadays the young would give the name of the district instead – e.g. *Cecerleg sum*. The elderly would first name the old administrative unit and then add the present-day district.

5. **Mend us**, lit., 'greeting and water'. Metaphorically it means to provide all the important and detailed information about *nutag*. First it is important to greet, and then you mention all the important events in the correct order, you report about people from your place, e.g. about people from one river (*neg goliin hu'muus*) this would be something like 'nomads' news'. *Mend usaa medelceh* – 'to exchange mutually greetings and water' – this means to provide information about oneself and to discuss *nutag* on that occasion.

The phrases would be as follows: *Mend usaa medelcezh' yavaya!* 'Let us exchange greetings and let us give reports! Let us report about ourselves!';

or:

Yadaz' sard neg udaa mend usaa medelcezh' baiya! 'Let us talk about *nutag* at least once a month.'

For example we may give a list of the usual questions so that we have a better idea:

Sain baina uu? (Are you /doing/ well?)

Biye c'ini sain uu (Is your body healthy?)

Tanaihan sain uu (Your family is healthy?)

Sonin yuu baina (What is interesting?, i.e. Is there anything interesting?)

Manai nutgaas hu'n irzh' baina uu (Has anybody from our native land come?)

Dolgor hu'ntei suusan bolov uu (Reportedly Dolgor has found a partner, /is that so? / do you know this?)

Batiinh hu'uhedtei bolson uu (Is a child born in the family of Bat?)

Ter guai/ hu'n nas barsan gesen u'nen yum uu (Is it true that so and so has died?) and many other phrases.

Similar questions are asked whenever fellow countrymen meet, exchange letters or nowadays speak over the phone.

Mend ustai hu'n, lit., 'man with greeting and water'. Metaphorically it refers to a communicative cordial man, *mend ustai yavah* could be described to mean keeping up a mutual 'greeting contact', e.g. *Bid mend ustai yavaya!* ('Let us keep greeting each other and inform each other about our people.') This sentence implies an intention to keep this manner of contact for the whole of life, we might compare it with our 'western' good manners, which the nomad displays by a correct use of language. This type of communicative behaviour has a correlation on the level of physical gesticulation – when an important guest is expected or met, the nomad will put on his cap and roll down the sleeves of his *deel*, or remove his right foot from the stirrup, if both meet riding on horseback.

6. *nutgaa sana-*, *nutgaa zuudele-*, lit., 'to think about one's homeland', 'to dream about one's homeland'. Both phrases mean 'to be homesick', to miss one's native land, which mostly takes shape in a number of dreams about water streams and mountains, air, earth, the implication being a strong longing for one's native land (*nutgiin us*, *uul*, *agaar*, *gazar*) and also for the people of one's homeland (*hu'n*) and for the traditional home meals of the nomads (*hu'ns*). The taste of meat, fat and milk products is so different and specific that for the nomad it coincides with the same pleasant feelings, which are provoked by his native land. A nomad living abroad for a long time experiences physical suffering because he misses Mongolian food, especially meat that Mongols will bring to friends from Mongolia, which most of the host countries have already discovered and they make thorough checks of arriving Mongolian citizens. This nostalgia also concerns 'table manners', which include loud speaking and slurping. The common plate with offal is handed round, the pieces are divided using bare hands, meat is cut off from the bones etc. The nostalgia starts at the moment of separation from native land, the 'foreign' starts at the moment of leaving the homeland and passing through other *somons* on the way to another destination and is 'accomplished' by reaching a real foreign location. Some people would feel ashamed about this nostalgia for home, though on the contrary, others would consider it the best proof of 'Mongolian-ness'. Sometimes this feeling would serve as a cover for missing one's wife, girlfriend or family, which, however, cannot be the reason for coming back home, while the nostalgia for one's *nutag* can be an excuse for coming back.

Ex.: *Ho'orhii ene hu'n manai end olon z'il bolloo. Nutgaa sanadag baih daa!* 'Poor fellow, he has been here (in this place) for many years. **He must probably be missing his home!**' (Ceceg 2007)

According to the Mongols everybody must be missing his homeland.

7. *nutgaa u'guileh* – Literally this means 'missing one's homeland', but the Mongols often use this phrase to describe the psychological condition of a nomad, who experiences a cultural shock abroad, often at the moment when he has his very first bad experience. In such a condition they would become withdrawn and would look for their countrymen *nutgiin hu'n* – one of their own people. This condition is expressed with strong emotion in the following sentence: *Nutgiin hu'nii baraa harah yum san!* 'I would like to see (at least) the silhouettes of my countrymen!'

nutgiin idee – lit. 'country's food'; it refers to all the delicacies from one's homeland – milk products (*cagaan idee*), also meat (*mah*) and alcohol – the kumiss and milk vodka (*airag, s'imiin arhi*), to which every Mongolian nomad is accustomed. A countryman would often be invited for a visit in the following words:

C'i manaid oc', nutgiin idee ams! 'Come to see us, taste food (scil. 'delicacies') from our homeland!'

or:

Manai nutgiin idee ams! ['Come and] taste food from our homeland', if a different region is involved.

The symbolism of *nutgiin idee* is very important in marriage. It must be kept on the table on the greatest and most valued plate, because it expresses respect for native land. The most important habit is passing round first the plate with the *nutgiin idee* of the bride, then that of the bridegroom and then *nutgiin arhi* – 'vodka from homeland' is symbolically poured into glasses.

nutgiin s'oroo alt, lit., 'the dust of homeland (is) gold'. This phrase is occasionally used especially about the bridegroom or partner, or when somebody marries a girl off. This phrase means that it is better to give her to a fellow countryman rather than to a man from a foreign place. Here the *nutag* refers to a greater whole which includes the region, i.e. the whole *aimag*, not native land in the narrow sense of the phrase.

Ex.: *Nutgiin soroо alt gedeg u'nen yum aa! Manai ene hu'rgen tun sain s'uu.*
 'The dust of the homeland is gold, that is really true! Here our son-in-law is really a good man.' (Avtai 2007)

8. nutagt das-, lit., 'to get used to native land'. If, however, the phrase uses the words *nutag* or *gazar* (place, also country), it does not mean that we are accustomed to live in the place, but that we took a fancy to the place. Nature evokes a feeling of the pleasant by its relation to man. That is the quality which is expressed by the word in this context. A fifty-year-old woman from Najman nuur (a place called Eight Lakes), who married into this place and gave birth to twelve children speaks very aptly about her new *nutag*:

Ex.: *Manai nutag hamgiin saihan gazar (saihan nuur, uul): oirolcoо ail mal baihgu'i, mal hui ailiin mald niileh barih yumgu'i hu'n malgu'i ene nutagtaa dasc'ihsan. Gucaad z'iliin o'mno bi ene Naiman nuurt irz' nutaglasan. Ene nutag namaig irehed mod ihte, zai muutai nutag s'ig sanagdaz' baisan. Em hu'n nutaggui gedeg. Eregtei hu'n bol yahav, nutagtaa l.¹² Minii o'sson to'rson nutag Uliastain gol. Eez'iigee amid seruun baihad bi dandaa ergez' oc'iz' baisan. Endees 40 kilometr hol. Uurgatiin davaan deerees tegs' denz' gazar ni saihan haragdaad baidag. Bi o'sson to'rson nutagaa sanadag. Manai nutag saihaan saihan. Yos zans'laa l dagaz' yavaasai gez' bi boddog. Eh ornoо sandaggu'i hu'n gez' hezee c' baihgui, neg s'irheg c' baihgu'i.*

Our native land is the most lovely and beautiful place (pleasant lakes, mountains): in our vicinity there are no (strange) families with herds, there are no problems with cattle and the work with them, herds do not get mixed up and it is not necessary to separate them, we all took a fancy to this land, both people and cattle. I came to the Eight Lakes about thirty year back and I fell in love with (the place).¹³ When I came here this land (someone else's native land) appeared to me to be too wooded and lacking in free space (lit. 'with bad/little space'). It is said that a woman does not have a *nutag*, well then, a man, he simply is in his *nutag*.¹⁴ My homeland, where I grew up, where I was born,

12) The speaker means that in most cases a woman marries and thus changes her *nutag*. She must be in contact with a new natural environment and develop a relationship with it. However, she never loses her feelings with regard to her own native land.

13) About the word *nutagla*- see above.

14) Reminiscence of *hymaz xapa-* < *nuntug qara-* (lit., to see the native land), it expresses the traditional role of man in guarding his homeland. It means that men do not leave the region, they do not move to other places, they are the upholders of tradition. Women are selected according to the 'colour of their face', which means beauty and a pleasant look. In the Secret Chronicle

is *Uliastain gol* (the region around the river Uliastai). As long as my mother was alive, I used to go there often. It is forty kilometres from here. From the Uurgat pass a flat spacious terrace can be seen very clearly. I still miss my native land where I grew up and was born. Our homeland is good, very good (metaphorically ‘exceptionally kind and loving’). Following our customary law, I wanted to go away (metaphorically – I followed the man). There is nobody who would not miss his mother-land, not a single one. (Nansalma 2008)

COMMENTS:

The word *saihan* (beautiful, nice, pleasant, good – all in one) is used in connection with nature, native land, about its mountains and waters or in connection with staying there. The other word *goyo* (beautiful), however, is not used in the context of nature (there is no phrase **goyo gazar*, *goyo nutag*). The correct phrase is *saihan nutag*, *saihan gazar*, because the Mongols do not speak only about the appearance of the place, but above all about the relationship and the contentment man derives from it. That is why the word is very often used with verbs, i.e. with activities, for example: *harahad saihan* ([it is] nice to see [it]; *end amidrahad saihan* (living here is pleasant/nice – it is pleasant to live here), *end baihad saihan* (being here is good, nice – it is nice to be here) and the like. Man and nature are important in their interconnection. The implication is that there are no strange families and thus there are no problems with the cattle of strangers. However, under the influence of modern literary translations, at present the word *goyo* (beautiful) has started to be used also about nature.

Hu'n malgu'i (pair word or *horšoo*), lit., ‘both man/people and cattle’; the phrase refers to all our countrymen – all of us and our cattle.

Ailiin mald niileh barih, lit. ‘to join to and take away the cattle of another family’ [other families], which implies arguing which animal belongs to whom, and also the hate and gossip originating from such an event. For the shepherd this is a very difficult situation, when two hundred sheep of one family join and mix with two hundred sheep of another family and go away with them from his sight, they move behind a hill, where there may be danger in the form of wolves. The nomad keeps watching where his sheep are

of the Mongols this is mentioned in §65: *Nu'un kö'üt manu*, *Nuntuq qarayu* – The task of our boys is to guard the native land, *Ökin köün manu Öngge üjekdeyü* – Girls are selected according to their beauty. For a slightly different translation cf. Cleaves (1982) or Even, Pop (1994).

moving. Formerly, I am told, the solution was more honest, nowadays two strange sheep would be immediately killed for meat or they are salted so as to be sold later in the town.

Mal hui (pair word or *horšoo*, in which the second element has no concrete meaning in this context, roughly it implies the meaning 'etc.'). lit., 'cattle etc.'. The phrase means cattle and the activities connected with it. It is a kind of generalisation.

Zai muutai nutag – this phrase literally means native land (in this case someone else's native land) with bad space/view. It is necessary to underline that for a nomad, open space is most pleasant, looking into the distance is pleasant, 'informing' and most of all it is easy to survey. If a woman marries in a place where the natural environment is different, which is too much overgrown, she may find it difficult at the beginning to put up with it, though it is nice for the others.

Some more references to *nutag* – native land – will follow in the commentary on the following topics, either dreams or in the recollections of my individual informants. I think it is important that the expressions should be kept within the broader context, and so not all the phrases are listed and analysed systematically here.

C. NUTAG IN DREAMS

The most pleasant feeling, the highest pleasantness a nomad can experience in dreams, comes from his dreams about his *nutag*, native land. The usual answer to a question about what was their most pleasant and most frequent dream, would be the dream about their *nutag*.

DEMBEREL

Mr. Demberel, advanced in years, was born in Ho'vsgol aimak, Tosoncelgel somon, and he had lived here up to twenty years of age. Then he became the driver of a lorry and lived with his family in Ulaanbaatar. He would ride through all the regions of Mongolia, delivering goods from one place to another and taking back raw materials and products (hides, bones, wool). One ride would take as long as two months. In his dreams he saw *nutag* very often, but then he returned to his native land for good and he stopped having those dreams. In his narrative about dreams he says:



Photo 1. *Naiman nuur*, Eight Lakes. *Manai nutag hamgiin saihan gazar* (Our native land is the most lovely and beautiful place).

Ho'doo olon honogoor (z'isee ni hoyor saraar) yavz' baihad hu'uhed bagac'uulaa zu'udelne. Sanadag l yum bolov uu daa gez' boddog yum.

Gert taivan baiz' baihad nutgiin uul us zu'udleh ni bii. Hotod baihad oron nutgaa ih zu'udelne. Bagad honind yavz' baisan uul us nudend haragdaad, bagadaa togloz' yavsan gazar, togloom, ter uuliin oroid c' bii geh bii, bodood yavdag c' yum uu teriigee zu'udelne. Bi bagadaa ene nutagt zuramand yavz'¹⁵ baisan bolohoor ter u'yed zuramand yavz' baina gez' zu'udeldeg baisan.

When I am on my way in the countryside for a long time (for example for two months), I dream about children. I think it is because I miss them. When I am at peace at home, then I see **mountains and waters of my native land** in

15) To hunt gophers means to hunt them for their skin. It is a very delicate matter, because it is clearly against tradition, because it was not permissible in the *nutag* to kill anything. But at the time of the socialist economy there was a government decree about how many skins children must hand in during summer. These dreams were obviously not pleasant ones.

my dreams. When I am in town, I often have dreams about my **native land**. I see in front of my eyes the **mountains and waters, where my sheep used to graze when I was a boy, places where I used to play with children**. I may be often thinking about it, the things with which we used to play, which still must be at those places, on that **hill top**, those things and other things on another one. So this is what I dream. When I was small boy, **I used to hunt gophers** and that is why I also dreamed **about hunting gophers**.

*Tiim zu'ud yo'r ni bainga zu'udelne. Getel nutagtaa irsen hoino yo'r ni tegz' zu'udlegdehgui yum daa. Als bolohoor l **oron nutgaa** ih zu'udelne.*

I've actually always had such dreams. But now, when I am back home again I don't have these dreams any more. So it is! Maybe when I am too far away from my home I dream about **my native country**.

*Heden z'iliin o'mno minii biye neleed muu baisan. Tegehed barag Mongoliin bu'h nutgiig toiruulaad ih zu'udelz' baisan. **End baisan tom c'uluu alga bolc'ihson baina** gez' zu'udelsen. Minii zu'udend orson ter c'uluu bol Uvs aimgiin caad nutagt, zamiin haz'uud baidag tom c'uluu yum. Terniig alga bolson baina gez' zu'udelsen. **Nutag mini namaig duudaz' baisan** bololtoi.*

A few years back my health was very bad. At that time I dreamed about riding round almost all the regions of Mongolia. Where there used to be **a great stone**, I dreamed that **it disappeared**. It was a huge stone, the one I saw in my dreams, it was in the western region of Uvs aimak, it was near the road. So I dreamed that it had disappeared. **My native land must have been calling me**.

COMMENTS:

bagiin togloom – lit., 'toys of young age'. These are only objects of nature, which were provided by the surrounding nature: rockeries, big stones, small stones, pieces of wood, roots, bark (*holtos*), from which children build towns, a temple with lamas and *sūtras*, yurts and the like. From the point of view of imagination, these are very much developed games, which are still played by rural children. They imitate future families with herds, mutual visits, work and daily rituals of the nomads. The constructions are not destroyed and such playgrounds in the open air do not change for many generations.

hu'uhed bagac'uulaa zu'udle- (horšoo) – lit., to dream about 'child and small one(s)'. Metaphorically this means small children and their mother. The speaker does not want to say directly that he dreams about his wife, this information is indirectly expressed in the word *bagac'uul*. It is acceptable to dream about



Photo 2. *Minii nutag* (My homeland). Selenga River.



Photo 3. *Bagiin togloom* – lit., ‘childrens’ toys’. Children only use natural objects as toys.

children who stay at home, to long to be with them, to deal with their illnesses and the like, though his profession required that he was ready to leave any time. There is an 'opposite' expression *ehner huuheḍ avah*, *ehner huuheḍtei boloh* – lit., 'to take a wife and children', but it only means 'to marry', to take a wife. Mongolian culture forbids the direct expression of longing for a woman or to say openly that one dreams about a woman. This provokes an interpretation that man thinks only about his sex life, which is generally seen as a negative thing, such an individual has had a bad upbringing. This is in contrast to the nostalgia for one's *nutag*, which is generally considered to be desirable and positive.

nutgiin uul us – lit., 'mountain(s) and water(s) of native land', in the sense of rivers, lakes, pools, rivulets, springs, mountains, mountain ridges, hills, mountain passes. This phrase is very frequent. It expresses a very clear and concrete image of native land, the word *nutgiin* induces a pleasant feeling of a landscape containing favourite landscape features, which the speaker loves.

BANZARDAR

A typical herder, sixty-three years old, tells of his dreams and worries, which are caused by the surrounding landscape and the weather of the region around the river C'uluut. His language is rich in many metaphorical and emotionally shaded expressions, though he had no education. In his life he experienced much suffering, his first wife died of a serious illness, then he lost his beloved son, who drowned in the river. Over the course of years he acquired great respect in the region.

Aa, nutag us, hangai delhiin tuhai bol odoo hurtel zu'udelne. Za odoo ene o'vol Hangai hasc'ihmaar bolbol haana oc'iz' otor hiideg yum bilee? gez' bodogdono. Manaih o'volz'otei. Gevc' hecuu cag irvel haana o'volz'ih ve? gez' bodogdono. Odoo ene o'mno haragdaz' baigaa amand "Nuudel davdagiin buuc" gedeg nertei neg saihaan huuc'in buuc baidag. "Tend o'volz'oo zasaad buuc'ihsan baina" gez' zu'udlegdez' bainalee sayahan, c'amaig irehees o'mnohon. Iimerhu'u zu'ud l. O'riin no'goo bodoz' baisan bodol baihg'u'i yuu. Ene z'il ho'gs'c'uuliin am cag agaar zaahaan tiim, castai baiḥ bolov uu gez' baina. Tend cas togtoggu'i, saihaan gazar baidag yum. Yamaand sain nutag yum. Yo'r ni manai end yamaa so'no s'iz'ignetel hiveed l, toglood l honodog yum.

Oh, I have been dreaming about my homeland (lit., native land and water, nature and the world) to this day. Well, I keep thinking about this winter, if **Nature shuts us off** (figuratively, i.e. it causes lack of pasture through too



Photo 4. Winter camp grounds.



Photo 5. Old *buuc* – winter camp grounds used for many generations with accumulated layers of manure.

much snow), where will we move for an *otor* (temporary pasture). Of course our family has winter camp grounds, but should a difficult time come, I keep thinking: where will we spend the winter? Over there to the south in the valley a *buuc* (winter camp grounds used by many generations, with accumulated layers of manure) can be seen, which is called *Nu'udel davdag* (Road for nomadizing). Recently I had an interesting dream about making winter camp grounds and raising a yurt there. Just before you came I had such a dream. I dreamed about what I was thinking about. Experienced old people (lit., 'mouths of old people') say that this year will be difficult weather (lit., 'a bit like that'), they say that there will a lot of snow. And that is precisely the good place, where snow does not heap up. It is a paradise for goats (lit., 'good native land for goats')! In our homeland (lit., 'in our here') goats spend the night in such a way that you can hear the nice music of rhythmic crunching, when they chew at night, and the noise of satisfied games of goats.

COMMENTS:

In his narration Banzardar uses very poetic expressions about nature, which clearly display his relationship to it: *nutag us, hangai delhiin*, lit., 'native land and water, nature and the world' is one such expression. Similarly poetic and metaphorical is his description of a difficult situation which for herders is really a natural catastrophe: *Hangai hasc'ihmaar bolbol*, lit., 'if Nature shuts us off', which metaphorically refers to excessive snow and the resulting loss of cattle and lack of food. It is a calamity, which in English we might call 'snow pestilence'.

Tend o'volz'oo zasaad buuc'ihsan baina, lit., 'there I repair winter camp grounds and descend'. In a normal context it means repair of the enclosure of the winter camp grounds, but here it means to prepare new winter camp grounds at a new place with an old store of layers of manure. The word 'to descend' means to 'make a camp', to raise a yurt, the whole phrase implies a pleasant image of winter activity. Banzardar also speaks very cautiously about the warning forecasts of experienced local old people, metaphorically called *ho'gsč'uuliin am*, lit., 'mouths of old men'.

Yamaand sain nutag yum. Yo'r ni manai end yamaa s'o'no s'iz'ignetel hiveed l, toglood l honodog yum. The narrator praises his homeland, which becomes a paradise for the goats, by using onomatopoeic words. He implies a pleasant feeling from the night noises of satisfied goats, especially the perception of the noise of the locking of horns, tapping the ground, crunching and the like.

DAMDINZ'AV

In the proud narrative of a knowledgeable and respected local old man called Damdinz'av we can hear stories related to the individual places, recollections from his childhood and about important persons in the region. He was able to speak about his *nutag* for several hours without having to be encouraged. The word *nutag* was often personified (*amidčilsan*), it includes both the landscape and people, and so in the spoken language it is often said:

Ex.: *Manai nutag c'ini Buh Hairhaniig s'utdeg bolohoor gan zud boldoggu'i, hoosordoggu'i, yadurdaggu'i – iim tu'uhtei nutag yum genelee.* (Damdinz'av)¹⁶

Our native land (referring to the inhabitants of this place) worships one great stone – the Holy Bull, and therefore we never have natural catastrophes here (drought – or 'dry pestilence', heavy snowfall – or 'snow pestilence'), this place is neither without people nor is it poor – this is the history of this region (and of these people in it), people say.

COMMENTS:

manai nutag – lit., 'our native land'. Figuratively it means all the people of the region.

iim tu'uhtei nutag – lit., 'native land with such history'. Figuratively it means 'this is what life here is like, given to us (by a higher force, destiny)'. These are proud words, the speaker is proud of the good life in the region.

If somebody tells of his homeland to a stranger, he thinks only about beauty, he is moved with emotion, and similarly the listener would also answer with praise about the *nutag* he has visited:

Yaasan saihan nutag ve! Iim saihan uultai, cever agaartai geh met. Iim nutgi-g bi hovor uzlee. (What a beautiful homeland it is! Such beautiful mountains

16) Damdinz'av, recording of an interview in 2006. Then follows a narration about the sacrifice to the Lord of this place: "Z'ild 6 sar 7 sar hoyoriin dund hugacaand bid, Buh Hairhaniig tahidag yum. Hairhanii derged bid, hu'muus mo'ngo to'grog hiivel hiig gez' ter to'mor haircag tavisan. Hu'muus Hairhand hadag ih o'rgoz' novs'rood baihlaar ni bid, Hairhanii oirolcoo hoyor heseg gazart hadag tavidag gazar baiguulsan ni ter baina."

Every year at the turn of June and July we bring a sacrifice to the Holy Bull. Next to him we have placed an iron box, if people were willing to offer money. People offer the Bull a lot. Sacred strips of textile – *hadag*, so that it may be accumulated there, we have erected poles on both sides to hang the *hadag* on them.



Photo 5. Holy stone bull *Buh Hairhan*, protector of the region around the River C'uluut.

and clean pleasant air etc. I saw such a homeland only rarely!). And he would say so also in a poor region where there is drought and tormenting sun at the moment, even though you do not see anything special or exceptional about the place.

DOLZ'IN

The old woman is a Torguut (Zahc'in). Today she lives in Manhan somon, in Hovd. The 80-year-old woman can also recite a *tuuli* (epic). She speaks about her homeland, about which she often dreams:

Nas deer garlaa. Tegeed odoo u'hez' o'gdoggui ee. Bi ug ni ene nutgiin hu'n bis', hol nutgiin ho'on. Nutgaa l ih sanah yum. Nutagiin maani uuls nu'dend yaraigaad l zuudnees salahgu'i yum. Uul ni duniartaad, tenger ni ho'hrood, bagadaa argal o'rz', ter uul, tednii ger, ednii mal geel togloz' o'sson togloom zu'udend u'zegdeed baih yum daa.

Ta ali nutgiin hu'n be?

Torguud nutag! O'soz' to'rsen torguud nutag geel duund gardag s'uu daa! Nutgaasaa garsaar guc'in z'il bolloo doo, hu'u mini.

I have become old (lit., 'my age has reached the top'). But death is not coming. In fact I am not local, **I am from a far away native land**. I miss my *nutag* very much. In my dreams I see the mountains of my **native land before my eyes, such dreams never stop**. The mountains become foggy, the sky is blue, as children we heap up *argal* (dry droppings of cattle) and say: "It is that mountain, that is their yurt, these people's herd..." I keep dreaming about how we play, how we grow up.

Where do you come from (lit. 'man of which native land are you')?

The native land of the Torguts! We all sing about it in the song **Homeland, where the Torguts were born and grew up**.¹⁷

My dear (lit., 'my son'), it is really thirty years since I left my *nutag*.

COMMENTS:

hol (Govi) nutgiin ho'on (hu'n ee) – I am a woman from a far away native land. Dolz'in expresses her admiration and great love for her native place, she is proud that she comes from that place and no other, she should provoke curiosity and further questions from the listener. Instead of the word *hol* 'far away', the native place can be localised, e.g. I am a woman from the Gobi native land (above in brackets) and the like.

yaraigaad – this is an iconopoeic word, which creates a tangibly beautiful image of a great number of mountain ranges arranged in layers one after another. It evokes a pleasant feeling.

zuudnees salahgu'i – lit., 'not to separate from a dream', i.e. to dream permanently, repeatedly.

D) NUTAG IN RECOLLECTIONS

It is not necessary to deal with recollections extensively, they are a unique component part of the mind of every human being. To be able to understand better the meaning of native land – *nutag*, let us introduce recollections of the winter countryside around the river C'uluut, the homeland of a small nomadic boy, who thanks to his diligence and intellectual curiosity went many thousand kilometres away from his native land, and now lives in the Czech Republic. In his dreams he keeps meeting and mingling with the water and

17) A strophe from this song is given above in section a) *nutag* in folklore.

mountains of his homeland, where he grew up and with which he is in permanent connection thanks to these dreams.

It is very difficult to explain to a foreigner the different quality of the relationship of nomads to their native land. Perhaps we may try, if we let the authentic recollections of a Mongol speak without commentary. The different quality cannot be described, it can only be experienced.

LUVSANDORZ'

THE WINTER COLD (O'VOLIN HUITEN)¹⁸

HUNGAR

Namaig tavan nastai baihad manaih Burgastiin O'ndor Tolgoid o'volz'iz' baisan. O'volz'oonii hoino o'ndor gu'vee baisan. Ter guveenii u'zuurt bagahan hadan hyasaatai. Manai hotiin hu'uhtuud ter guveen deer niilz' toglodog baisan. Guveenii ar bituu casan hungart daragdsan bolohoor tun saihaan gulsuur boldog baisan. Hungar nyagt hatuu bolohoor honhoihgu'i, ho'ld cas budrahgu'i, gutal haltirahgu'i, deeguur ni guiهد ping ping gesen tengeriin duu nurgeleh s'ig c'imee ho'l dorooos sonsogdoh ni ih taatai saihaan baidag san. Bid nar ehleed ter hungar deeguur has'giralдан piz'ignen guicgeez' hadan hysaa hurne. Tendees guveenii arluu hungar deeguur gulsan buucgaana.¹⁹ Barag zuugaad metr baisan bai. Tom hu'uhed bol bosoogooroo gulsana. Mongol gutaliin ul o'rgon, eetger bolohoor gulsahad tohiromz'toi baisan. Manai nutagt cana c'arga gez' yum baigaagu'i. Zarimdaa ter hungarluu zereg o'nhoron buuna. Hungar duusaad zo'olon zuzaan casand umbarna. Deel malgaitaigaa casand bulagdaz' naadaad no'gooh hadan hyasaand garcgaahad nu'ur gar c'im c'im hiigeed haluu orgiod irne. Haluu orgison garaa casand durehed ulam haluu orgino.

18) In Mongolia the summer is very short and the winter is extremely long. The earth is frozen in November and that continues until April. The lowest temperature was recorded in Zavhan, Tosoncengel somon, where the frost reached -53°C . The Mongolian harsh winter is described by hyperbolic metaphors in Mongolian folklore: *gunan uheriin ever huga ho'ldom huiten* – cold in which the horns of three-year-old bull are frostbitten and fall away; or *sées gazar hurelgui modron ho'ldoz' baisan* – so cold that the urine of man does not fall on the ground and becomes ice.

19) In recollections of childhood the present general tense is used, which projects man into the past and makes it present. Concerning this tense in the narrations about dreams or prediction, see Oberfalzerová 2004, p. 16.

SNOWDRIFT

When I was five, we spent winter at a place called High Willow Hill. Behind the winter camp grounds there was a high hill. At its end there were small rocks. **The children of our small town**, about seven *ail*-s who were spending winter on that hill, used to play on the hill. The northern side of the hill was completely covered by a snowdrift (with a frozen surface) and it formed an excellent chute. Since it was hard, we did not sink into it, our feet did not scatter the snow and on top of the snow our boots did not slide. When we were running on top of it, from under our feet we heard hollow sounds like thunder in the distance – ping, ping – that was very pleasant. First we clumped about on the hard surface and shouted and ran up to the rocky end. There we slid down along the snowdrift. It was almost a hundred meters. The older ones would slide standing up. Since Mongolian boots have a broad sole, it was very easy. In our native land we knew neither skis nor sledges. Sometimes all of us together would jump into the snowdrift and roll in the snow. When the hard snowdrift finished, we sank into soft deep snow. We would cover the whole of our *deel* and hats with snow. This is how we rolled there and played, when we climbed up again on the rocks, our faces and hands were pins and needles, as on the way up we felt hot. And then we cooled our hot hands down in snow, but they would be even more hot.

COMMENTS:

manai hotiin hu'uhduud, lit., 'the children of our town'. It is a metaphorical description of the place where several families spent the winter, including the enclosure with cattle.

manai hotiinhon refers to one of the smaller settlement units

manai goliinhon refers to people and cattle from one river and analogically the higher unit is called ***manai nutgiinhan*** 'people from our *nutag*, or native land'.

Using interjections evokes specific sounds of the Mongolian frosty winter:

ping ping gesen tengeriin duu nurgeleh s'ig c'imee 'hollow sounds like the noise of thunder in the distance'.

Or it may evoke feelings which this winter provokes: ***c'im c'im hii-*** 'pins and needles' (feeling in the hands or face from frost).

TOGLOH

Tegeed l hadan hysaand **ail ger bolcgooz'** toglocgoono doo. Tomhon hoyor ni aav eez' bolz' bagac'uul ni hu'hduud ni bolno. Tomhon c'uluugaar dugui hana metiig baiguulz' ger bolgono. Yanz buriin o'ngiin c'uluugaar tavan hos'uu mal hiine. Ail gerin amidraliig l durslen toglocgoono: „Aav ni galaa tuleye (sarilz' hugalan c'uluu havirc' „**het**“ cahina), „Eez' ni caigaa c'anaya“ (havtgai dugui c'uluun deer cas taviz' c'imh s'oroo hiisnee) “eez' ni u'neegee saagaadhaya“ geed garc' neg tom ulaan c'uluunii derged oc'ood neg hu'uhded: „minii hu'u tugalaa tataarai!“ geed c'uluu bariz' **s'or-s'or** gez' heleed no'goo huuhded: „minii hu'u odoo tugalaa tavi!“ geed gert orz' **caigaa suleye** geed c'imh cas hiigeed „cai bucallaa, **samaraya**“ geed garaa heden udaa o'ndor o'rgoz' buulgana. „Saihan cai bolz'. Ehleed aavdaa o'gno. Minii ohin aaviinhaa ayagiig avaad ali!“ geed neg saazangiin hagarhaid cai (cas) hiiz' o'gno. Aav bolon hu'uhduud **cai soroh** c'imee gargana. Tegeed l caas' zoc'in irne, zoc'inii moriig uyana, **ahiindaa deez' tavihaar oc'ino**....geh meteer malc'in ailiin amidraliin bu'hii l yumiig durslen toglocgoodog baisan yum.

Minii sanaanaas gardaggu'i neg yavdal bol neg udaagiin togloomd Looloo (nadaas do'rvon ah bandi) aav bolz', Namz'maa (nadaas hoyor egc' ohin) eez' bolov. Looloo: „Zaa oroi bolloo. Odoo aav eez' hoyor ni untana aa“ geed Namzaag gazar hevtuulz' tu'unii ustei deeliin hormoin sez'uuriig so'hoz' orhiid tu'unii deer gyals hevteed bosc': „Zaa o'gloo bolc'loo hu'uhduud mini bosooroi!“ gez' helz' baisan yum. Bi gertee harisan hoino bid yaaz' toglosnoo eez' aavd yarisan bolovc' „eez' aaviin“ herhen untsan tuhai heleegui o'ngorson yum. Helehed evgui l sanagdsan yum baih daa.

HOW WE PLAYED

Then of course we would play on the rocks the usual game about a family. Two of the older children would be the mother and father, we the younger ones would play children. We would mark a round wall with the larger stones and we had a yurt, and we would make the herds using colourful stones. And we played the life of the family: 'Your father makes the fire,' says one, while breaking stalks of straw and strikes the stones on each other. 'Your mother will make tea for you,' and puts snow on a round flat stone and sprinkles on it a bit of clay. 'Your mother will quickly milk the cow and will bring milk,' the girl goes to the great red stone, which represents the cow. 'My dear boy, hold the calf,' she takes a stone – the bucket – and says *s'or s'or* (imitating the sound of milking). 'Boy, you can let go the calf now!' she says and enters the yurt with the words 'I will put milk into tea,' puts a sprinkle of snow into the tea and says: 'Tea is boiling, now I will make it bubble,' and raises her hand

several times. 'I managed to make good tea, first let us give it to father. Daughter, hand over father's cup,' and she places a sprinkle of snow (tea) on a china sherd. Father and the other children make slurping noises... Then come guests, whose horses are tied up, food presents are sent to elder brothers and sisters. And in this way we would play all sorts of situations connected with the life of a nomadic family.

I never forget one game, when the father was played by Looloo, a boy older by four years, and mother by two years older Namz'aa (the narrator was five). Looloo says: 'It is already evening, now father and mother go to bed,' and Looloo placed Namz'aa on the ground and rolled up the hem of her *deel* and lied on her for a moment. Then he rose and said: 'It is already morning, get up, children.' Later, when I returned home, I narrated about how we played that day, but I did not say anything about how mother and father slept. I would feel ashamed and it would be unpleasant.

COMMENTS:

The most frequent games children play to this day are the imitation of the everyday life of nomads:

ail ger bolcgooz' toglo-, lit., 'to play establishing the family and the yurt'. The *ail ger* game is the favourite game of children, in which children exactly imitate their parents. During the narration the exact sentences they utter come to the narrator's mind. Again he imitates the sound of striking the stones on each other – *het*, or the sound of milking – *s'or-s'or*.

Besides that some culturally specific expressions also came up in the narration, e.g. *caigaa sule-*, lit., 'to milk the tea', i.e. to add fresh milk to the tea and to oxydize it by raising it in a ladle and pouring it down again – *samar-*. Another expression *cai sor-* to slurp tea – this sound is allowable and pleasant. Another expression is *ahiindaa deez' tavihaar oc'ino*, lit., 'to visit an elder brother or sister in order to present (him) with food'. Such a visit of elder brothers or sisters is traditionally made once a year, mostly in spring or in summer. And it is often the children who are sent to deliver milk products or meat. It is reminiscent of something like the gift of food for a guest to take home from a wedding. It is something like offerings to elders.

Also the narration about the first sexual hints by rolling up the *deel* of the girl and lying on her gives evidence about night life in the yurt, where everything takes place in front of children. However, while they grow up children are not instructed about sexual life.²⁰

20) For greater detail see Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 106–117.

C. MO'SOND YAVSAN NI

Manai o'volz'oo Burgastiin goloos neleed hol baisan yum. Zaa, neg tavan km za-
itai baisan bolov uu. Ailuud tendees mo's avc'irc' togoond hailuulan us bolgodog
yum. Ail bu'riin gadaa tergen deer ovoidson mo's haragddag san. Ailuud uher
tergeer eelz'len mo's avc'irc' ailuudad tugeedeg baisan. Neg udaa Agaa (manai
aaviin egc', minii **avsan eez'**, tavi garui nasnii avgai, nadad ih l ho'gs'in, nu'ur
ni urc'lee bolson hu'n s'ig sanagddad san) manaid irz' honood o'gloo ni hotiin
hu'uhduudiig daguulaad mo'sond yavah bolov. Eez' minii gar ni daaruuzai gez',
hancuid **nehii dugtui** uglaz' o'gov. Hacar ni daarna gez' is'ignii arisan **loovuuuz**
malgaig buulgan hulgavc'ilz' o'gov. Namar aav nadad byachan **s'eezgii savar**
hoyoriig hiiz' ogson baisan yum. Nadad ter s'eezgii u'uruulev. Odoo bodohod
hu'uhdiig heterhii dulaalz' baisan s'ig bodogddog yum. Ho'doonii huuheid **mon-**
gol gutaltai. Ho'l daarahiin argagu'i yum baisan. O'md gez' **honinii u'zuurseer**
hiisen nehii o'md yum. Ternii dotuur yuu c' o'msohgui. Deel gez' bas honinii
u'zuurs, gaduura daalimban gadartai. Dotuur ni cuuyambu camcnaas o'or
yumgu'i. Deel ni suran bu'stei. Hu'uhdiin deel nudargagu'i Nudargiin orond
nehii dugtuig hancuid ni ugladag baisan. Iim huvcastai 20–30 hemiin huitend
gadaa heden cag toglohod bi daarc' uzeegui.

Ingeed manai hotiin arvaad huuheid Agaatai cug golruu yavcgaav. Bi an-
udaa hol yavz' uzez' baigaa ni ter. Emeel gedeg o'ndor devseg deer garaad, Agaa
ni amarna, ta nar toglocgoo gev. O'ndor denz' deerees doos'oo harahad Bur-
gastiin goliin mo's mas' o'rgon (ug ni zaahan hu'uhed tuulaad gardag byachan
gorhi), toli s'ig gyaltganaz', goliin burgasnuud mo'siig emz'in burzain buuralta-
z' olon ailiin ger buusan s'ig haragdav. "Olon ail baina" gez' namaig helehed Agaa
ineegeed "ter ailuudaar orz' agnaarai" gez' bilee. Emeel deerees hois' harahad
Hotgoidiin ho'h uuls cenherteed casand daraastai cav cagaan taliig s'irtehed
casnaas oc' harvaad nu'd sohroh s'ig bolov. Agaad helehed „tegdgiim tegdgiim
doos'oo har“ gev. Tegeed bid doos' buuz' goliin mo'son deer oc'iv. Mo's ovoin
ho'ldson hesegt oc'ood Agaa ho'loo devsez' bid dagaldan devsehed ping-ping
hiisen c'mee garav. Agaa ter mosiig su'heer hed cavc'ihad no'goo ovgor mo's
hagaran ner hiiz' agu'i met nu'h garav. Agaa tom no's gargaz' o'good togloc-
goo gev. Tom hu'uhduud, бага hu'uhdiig tom moson deer morduuulaad tu'rz'
ho'on gulgaz' burgasand tulgahad burgasnii moc'ir deer togtsan casan hyar-
uu tolgoi deer asgaran buuh onc taalamz'tai, martagdas'gu'i dursamz' uldsen
bilee. Agaa duudav. Huuheid bu'riin uureh mo'siig beldc'ihsen baiv. Agaa na-
maig harz' ineegeed „Dorz'i burzgar cagaan sahaltai bolc'ihood irz'“ geed minii
malgain usend togtsan cang arilgav. Agaagiin ene u'g nadad taalagdav. Ingeed
bid mo'soo uurgreen geriin zu'g yavcgaahad nuruunii ard mo's haviran z'iig

z'uug hiih c'imee sonsogdoz' nu'ur gar haluu orgiz', amisgaanii uur, malgain usend cantan casarav. Bi ter „cagaan sahaliig“ arilgahgu'i, ulam ih bolgoḥ gez' amaaraa tom tom amisgaa gargan uleez' yavsan bilee.

HOW WE WENT TO FETCH ICE

Our winter camp ground was very far from Willow Brook. It was about five kilometres. Families used to bring ice from there and would melt it in the kettle and thus obtain water. In front of every *ail* there was a cart with ice. Families would take turns, every week one family would go with the cart drawn by an ox and would distribute ice to other families.

Once Agaa (elder sister of our father and my 'midwife mother', about fifty, she appeared to me to be terribly old, because she had a wrinkled face) came and slept with us, the next morning she would go to fetch ice with all the children of our little town.

Mother put sheep warmers on my sleeves so that my hands would not freeze. She would give me a kid hat so that my cheeks would not freeze and would roll down the fur hems around my face and tie them. In autumn my father had made a small corb for me and a fork from willow wood to collect *argal* and now my mother would put it on my back. Thinking about it now, they just burdened me too much. Country children wear Mongolian boots. Feet cannot freeze. The trousers were sewn from autumn sheep skin, nothing was worn under them. The *deel* was also sewn from autumn sheep skin, on the surface it was further covered by fabric. Under that we wore only a cotton shirt. A leather belt was put on that. The children's *deel* does not have cuffs, instead we put on warmers. When dressed in this way and playing outdoors in twenty to thirty degrees frost for several hours, I never experienced cold.

And thus about ten children from our little town went with Agaa to the brook. It was the first time that I went such a distance. When we climbed a high hill called Saddle, Agaa wanted to have a rest and let us play. When I looked from the top down, I could see the broad ice of the Willow Brook, which made it into a great river (otherwise it was a small rivulet, which could be crossed even by a small child), it glittered like a mirror, the willows covered by hoarfrost shone through as grey tufts and flanked the ice of the brook, as if many families had raised their yurts here. I say that there are many *ails* there and Agaa laughs and incites me to run there immediately to ask for the ice. When looking from the top of the Saddle towards the north, one could see the Hotogojt blue hills, which were blue behind the lily-white steppe covered by snow. When looking at it, the rays from the snow fell into my eyes and blinded them. When I told Agaa about it, she only said that this happens

and that it is nothing, and that I should look downwards. Then we descended down to the ice of the river. We went to the ice bubbles, Agaa crushed the ice with her feet and we imitated her, which produced hollow tinkling sounds *ping-ping*. Agaa would cut the ice into pieces with an axe and the bubbles produced a sound, and as they broke, there remained holes like small caves after them. Agaa took a great piece of ice, put it on the other ice and told us we can play with it. Large children would make small children sit on the ice like on a horse, would push them and then run after them, the ice would hit the willows. At that moment the accumulated hoarfrost fell in massive clumps from the branches onto our heads and rang out. It was fantastic and I have an unforgettable recollection from that. Then Agaa called us and put ice on the back of each child and fixed it. Agaa looked at me and laughed: 'Dorž' returned with a white shaggy beard' and shook off the hoarfrost from the hair of my cap. It was pleasant to hear what she said.

Then with the ice on our backs we started to go back home and from my corb on my back I could hear the tinkling of the ice pieces hitting each other, I had pins and needles in my face and hands from heat, and on the cap around the mouth the hairs were covered by frozen hoarfrost. I did not want to clean the white beard, on the contrary I wanted it to be even greater, I breathed deeply and breathed out vapour on all sides.

COMMENTS:

In the narration we encounter a number of culturally specific names and phrases. E.g.

mongol gutal – Mongolian boot. These are high leather boots, the sole of such boots is also from leather and above it is a finger-thick layer of felt. In it are also insoles from one finger-thick piece of felt, and inside there is further a square piece of cloth for wrapping.

honinii u'zuurs – autumn sheep skin with thick fleece.

nehii dugtui – these are leather warmers, which were put on the sleeves of children's *deel*, because they did not have cuffs; they were more comfortable than mittens, because they had an opening which made it possible to work with them.

loovuuz malgai – a cap from lamb skin or kidskin which could be rolled down.

ailuudaar orz' agna- lit., 'to enter the yurts and hunt', which expresses the usual rounds children made around yurts, where they would always get a small delicacy – cheese, bakery and the like.

malgain usend togtsan can – lit., 'the hair of the cap gets covered by *can*' – frozen balls of ice.

The iconopoeic word *burzgar* means the formation of a tuft around one centre and *z'iig z'uug* is an interjection imitating the sound of tinkling of frozen ice, *ner* imitates the sound of the collapsing ice.



Photo 7. *Manai nutag, neg goliinhon*. Our native land. Countrymen from the River C'uluut.

Conclusion

Every reference to native land evokes pleasant feelings, which stimulate the mind. *Nutag* is the most frequent topic of discussion, particularly between two strangers. This conversation is safe, confirming that the person belongs to the emotionally equally shared, most essential experience of a nomad. If the homeland is the same – we have in mind a clearly specified landscape region – two strangers are attracted by a higher degree of feeling of fellowship than is usual in our cultural circles. Perhaps it could be expressed through the words ‘common nature-parents’ (the surrounding natural landscape representing parents), which turn both people into real brothers descended from the same parents. They are automatically obliged to help each other more than we would expect, they are able to trust each other to such an extent that in need one can even leave one’s children in the protection of such a countryman, if it is necessary, and one can be sure that he will take care of them.

Abroad this process takes place against the background of a broader conception of the word *nutag*, which for a Mongol is the whole of Mongolia, the certainty of the same emotional relationship to one’s homeland is sufficient. The meetings of Mongolian communities abroad are often accompanied by nostalgic, and for us often fantastically sentimental, songs about *nutag*, which are emotionally taken to heart and have a therapeutically supportive function.

I have tried to grasp the essential difference, which is not directly evident, because a similar conception can be encountered in European romanticism and in the Czech revivalists, when to some extent the native place played a similar role according to the spirit of the times. Nowadays, however, the pressing need of fellowship is getting lost rapidly due to the possibility of fast travel in space and time. Recollections and experiences are easily available thanks to videorecordings, we can move within a few hours where we want and so on. In a way similar fellowships are experienced by young people all over the world, but it is somehow temporary.

Temporariness and permanence is the distinctive difference. The Mongols tell us about a permanent link with native land, which is a higher principle than one’s own mother, who gave birth to one, but who at the same time represents a sort of a microworld of that higher mother – Nature, and that is why we experience the feeling of fellowship through her and do not resist her. In the same way, it is not possible to resist native land, it is necessary to worship her, to praise her. Both mothers are worshiped by the nomads, because they give life, about whose great value the nomads persuade us.

In the end we may perhaps say that from the point of view of the nomad, it is his or her native land which is most important, which remains absolutely constant and provides something like an anchoring in the world. It has become the principle of an elementary understanding of the world. The relation to It is the essence of Life. This Nature of ours, in the narrower sense of the phrase native land, can be known, it is understandable, it is unambiguous and also highly dangerous, it is at the same time the creator of all fears (this aspect will be treated separately in a later paper). This, however, is so essential a motive of the psychological make-up of the nomad that pointing to its reflection in the genres of oral or written traditions, where this motive necessarily becomes manifested, appears to be only a secondary product. The question is not what is *nutag*, but who is *nutag*. For the Mongolian nomad it is God himself.

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Diacritic marks in the Mongolian script and the 'darkness of confusion of letters'

J. Lubsangdorji

Summary: This paper deals with some of the results of the 18th century critical discussion and argument among scholars concerning the usage and function of the dots as diacritic marks in Mongolian script. This is of importance not only for research into the history of Mongolian philology but also for the present and future practical use of the Mongolian script. There are two dots in front of (i.e. to the left of) the Mongolian letter *γ* (designating voiced back velar in classical Mongolian orthography). However, there were many variants in the usage of the dots and in the 18th century this became the subject of argument and sharp criticism, which even referred to the situation as the 'darkness of confusion of letters' (*üsüg-ün endegürel-ün qarangyui*; Kh. *үсгийн эндүүрлийн харанхуй*).

0. Diacritic marks

The principal diacritic mark¹ of the Mongolian script is the dot, or *čeg*² (Kh. *үэг*). In order to specify the varying phonetic meanings (polyphony) of some basic letters (graphemes), either a single dot (*dang čeg*; Kh. *дан үэг*) was placed in front (to the left), or a double dot (*dabqur čeg*; Kh. *давхар үэг*) was placed in front (to the left) or at the back (to the right) of the relevant letters.

1) There are not many diacritic marks in Mongolian script. Besides the single dot and double dot, there is one diacritic, which is called the 'horn' (*eber*; Kh. *эвэр*) and is attached to the letters *l* and *m* (cf. Шагдарсүрэн 2001, p. 46). Sometimes the 'horn' is also called 'ear' (*čikin*; Kh. *чих*; cf. below). There is one more term, which must have come from the Tibetan script, viz Kh. *зармуз* (also cf. Капа 1972, p. 41, who provides a Russian translation as *флажок* or 'little flag'). However this word is not to be found in any dictionary. It seems to have the same meaning as the above two terms. These terms can also be used in pairs (Kh. *хоршоо*) – *эвэр чих*, *чих зармуз* – to designate the same diacritic sign. In fact a pair word may also be used to designate the 'dot' (one or two dots), viz *үэг дусал* (lit. 'dot drop'). Another pair word *үэг тэмдэг* (lit. 'dot sign') designates 'punctuation' in general.

It is to be noted that many of the terms used to designate the various parts of letters come from the sphere of the 'animal body', e.g. the 'tooth' or 'molar' (*sidün* or *araya*; Kh. *уүд* or *араа*), the 'belly' (*gedesü/n*; Kh. *зэдэс*), the 'shank' (*silbi*; Kh. *шилбэ*), the 'tail' (*segül*; Kh. *сүүл*).

2) Before the word *čeg* 'dot' was taken from Tibetan (Tib. *tsheg* 'the point separating syllables'), the dot had been called just *temdeg*, Kh. *тэмдэг*, lit. 'sign', i.e. a 'diacritic' (*Oytaryui-yin maiñi* – 1, p. 12v), or *dusul*, Kh. *дусал*, lit. 'drop' (Цэвэл 1966, p. 213).

a) The function of a single dot placed in front (to the left) of the relevant letter is to differentiate the letter *n* (a simple 'tooth' with a dot) used as an initial letter of a syllable from the letter *n* used as a final letter of a syllable before a consonant (a simple 'tooth'). Besides that the dot differentiates this initial *n* from the vowels *a, e* (also a simple 'tooth').

b) Historically the double dot (*dabqur čeg*) placed in front (to the left) of the relevant letter was used differently in different regions, either to differentiate the letters *q / k* from the letters *γ / g*, or to differentiate the letters *γ / g* from the letters *q / k*, or to differentiate only the letter *γ* from the letter *q*. These local differences resulted in the formation of various 'alphabet schools' or 'graphemic schools' (Kh. *цагаан толгойн дэгүүд*).³

c) A double dot at the back (to the right) of the relevant letter is used to turn the letter *s* into *š*.

d) Besides that there is a diacritic mark called the 'ear' (cf. above Note 1), which was called *qoyar čikin* by Danzandagva⁴ or *morin-u čikin* by Bilig-ün Dalai.⁵ This diacritic has been used from the 14th century to differentiate the letter *p* from the letter *b* (it was placed either on top of the letter *b* – in the initial position, or on top slightly to the left – in the medial position). However, starting from the 18th century, when written Mongolian was pushed to a secondary position by the representatives of the yellow sect (Владимирцов 1925, p. 451), this diacritic was replaced by a similar Tibetan diacritic called Kh. *зармуз* (see above Note 1). Then in the 20th century it was under the influence of Russian culture that the new letter *f* (ф) was based on the letter *b* and was differentiated by a diacritic called *eber* (lit. 'horn') added to the letter *b*.

In the course of centuries the opinion about the use of the double dot diacritic mark varied and as a result of that, the graphemics of written Mongolian also varied and in fact there were several 'graphemic schools'. The usage of diacritic marks in both written and printed Mongolian literary texts can conveniently be classified as belonging to four different schools. When giving names to the four schools, I have followed the tradition of calling them by the names of the first syllables in the series,⁶ following the practice of Mongolian grammarians and methodologists.

3) Ramstedt (1967, p. 126) noted the irregular usage of the dots in written Mongolian from as early as the beginning of the 20th Century.

4) Lit. 'two ears'; cf. *Oyṭaryui-yin Mañi-1* by *Bstan-'dzin-grags-pa* (Danzandagva), p. 6r.

5) Lit. 'horse ears'; cf. *Mongyol üsüg-ün tolta-ača öčüken jiyaburi bolai* by Bilig-ün Dalai, p. 5r.

6) The Mongolian script has only 14 non-syllabic letters (phonetic writing). However, since those who made the system of written Mongolian language, were well acquainted with the syllabic script (i.e. written Tibetan), they adapted the arrangement of the Mongolian

1. Mongolian graphemic schools⁷

1.1. SCHOOL A – THE SCHOOL OF 'SEVEN (SYLLABLES) OF QA' WITH DOTS

(KH. ХА-ГИЙН ДОЛОО ЦЭГТЭЙ)

The School is referred to as *qa-yin doluy-a* (folk designation), *qa-yin törül* (*Oγtaryui-yin Mañi* – 1, p. 11v., lit., 'the the category of *qa*', or 'the class of *qa*'), or *qa-yin ayimay* (*Todudqayci toli*, p. 58, lit., 'the category of *qa*', or 'the class of *qa*'). These references imply that there are seven syllables produced from the letter *q* (which is written with a double dot to the left): *qa, ke, ki, qo, qu, kö, kü*.

- The letter *ḥēth*⁸ with two dots to the left = *q*. In concrete terms the letter *q* standing at the beginning of an open syllable (i.e. opening the syllable) produces three syllables *qa, qo, qu*.
- The letter *kāph* with two dots to the left = *k*. Concretely the letter *k* standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces four syllables *ke, ki, kö, kü*.
- The letter *ḥēth* without dots = *γ*. In concrete terms the letter *γ* standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces three syllables *γa, γo, γu*. The letter *γ* at the end of a syllable (i.e. closing a syllable) is always written without dots.
- The letter *kāph* without dots = *g*. In concrete terms the letter *g* standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces four syllables *ge, gi, gö, gü*. The letter *g* at the end of a syllable (i.e. closing a syllable) is always written without dots.
- The letter *nūn* with one dot to the left = *n*. In concrete terms the letter *n* standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces seven syllables *na, ne, ni, no, nu, nō, nü*. The letter *n* closing a syllable is always written without the dot.

graphemic system to the Indo-Tibetan tradition of syllabic script and used the seven vowels in a fixed order (*a, e, i, o, u, ö, ü*). For that purpose each consonant was written in combination with the seven vowels, e.g. *na, ne, ni, no, nu, nō, nü* (*на-гийн долоо*, lit. 'the seven of *na*'). Thus for example the expression *на-гийн гуравдугаар үсэг* (the third letter of *na*) designated the syllable *ni*.

7) See also Appendix No. 1. These four schools are called 'four different schools of classical orthography' by D. Kara (четыре разные школы классической орфографии; cf. Kara 1972, p. 70). However, the difference between these schools consists not in orthography (correct writing) but rather in the graphemic system (the manner of writing some individual letters, i.e. the use of the diacritic marks).

8) For the terms relating to the Sogd-Uighur script cf. Шагдарсүрэн (2001, p. 44) or Владимирцов (1989, p. 71). Cf. Appendices Nos. 2A, 2B.

- The letter *šin* with two dots to the right = *š*. In concrete terms the letter *š* standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces seven syllables *ša, še, ši, šo, šu, šö, šü*. The letter has always two dots.
- The letter *taw* = *t*. Mongols call this letter the ‘upright *ta*’ (Kh. *босоо та*) or ‘*ta* with barley head’ (Kh. *таруан толгойм та*). It produces seven syllables (*ta, te, ti, to, tu, tö, tü*) and designates the consonant *t* in all positions.
- The letter *dāleth* = *d*. Mongols call this letter the ‘lying *da*’ (Kh. *хэвтээ да*). It produces seven syllables (*da, de, di, do, du, dö, dü*) and designates the consonant *d* in all positions but for one exception: the final form of the Sogd-Uighur letter *taw* was slightly changed when writing the letter *d* at the end of a syllable, i.e. the syllable-closing letter *d* (consisting of *gedesün* + *sidün* / *segül*; Kh. *зэдэс+шүд* / *сүүл*; lit. ‘belly + tooth / tail’; cf. Appendix No. 3).
- The letter *šādhē* was used to designate the letter *č*. Besides that its form was slightly changed (the sharp angle on the left side was made obtuse) and that form was used to designate the voiced affricate *j* (дж) in the medial position.

School A was widely represented in the southern Mongolian region and among the Buriads (Шагдарсүрэн 2002, p. 230). Its main document was a philological work (the so-called Beijin xylograph) by Danzandagva printed in the first half of the 18th century (*Jirüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi*⁹ – *Üsüg-in*

9) The phrase *jirüken-ü tolta* (Kh. *зүрхний толт*; lit. ‘heart’s aorta’) is a designation of the point where the aorta enters the heart. There are also other almost synonymous phrases, like Kh. *золт зүрх* (lit., ‘aorta and heart’, or the ‘whole heart’, i.e. love), *зүрхний үз* (lit., ‘the bottom of the heart’). Its metaphorical meaning is ‘the life of s.th., the soul of s.th., the very heart of s.th., the very basis of s.th.’, and it is a rather refined way of underlining the importance of the respective object referred to. The use of the term *jirüken-ü tolta* implies that the rules concerning the language of Mongolian Buddhist books were set by the Venerables themselves (*boydas-un jirum*). Since the original meaning of the word *tolta* was forgotten, it is sometimes folk-etymologically linked with the modern word for ‘mirror’, *toli*, Kh. *толь*, and the title of the book is then erroneously transcribed as *Jirüken-ü tolita* / *tolitu*. For a correct interpretation of this word cf. Шагдарсүрэн (2007, p. 161).

The phrase *Jirüken-ü tolta* was translated into Russian as “сердечный покров” (*jirüken* ‘сердце’, *tolta* ‘покров’), i.e. heart’s cover (Пагва 1957, back side of the title page). According to Baldanžarov (Балданжапов 1962, p. 31–32) this translation is less appropriate than the previous translations, particularly ‘heart’s artery’, because the word *tolta* never had the meaning of a ‘cover’ (покров), and he prefers the interpretative translation as the ‘real basis’ (сущая основа; подлинная основа).

Baldanžarov writes: ...перевод представляется нам менее удачным, чем ранее известные переводы *Jirüken-ü tolta* как “артерия сердца” (Б. Лауфер, *Очерк монгольской литературы*, Л., 1927, стр. 49) или “сердечная аорта”. На наш взгляд, слово *tolta*

endegürel-ün qaranyui-yi arilyayçi Oyтарыui-yin Mañi,¹⁰ 1727). Northern Mongols commonly call this type of print the ‘books with a dotted *qa* / *ke*’ (Kh. *qa* / *ke*-д цэгтэй судар).

1.2. SCHOOL B – THE SCHOOL OF ‘SEVEN (SYLLABLES) OF *IA*’ WITH DOTS

(KH. *IA*-ГИЙН ДОЛОО ЦЭГТЭЙ)

The School is referred to as *ya-yin doluy-a* (folk designation), *ya-yin törül* (lit., ‘the category of *ya*’, or ‘the class of *ya*’) or *ya-yin ayimay* (lit., ‘the category of *ya*’, or ‘the class of *ya*’), which means that there are seven syllables produced from the letter *q* (which is written with a double dot to the left): *ya*, *ge*, *gi*, *yo*, *yu*, *gö*, *gü*.

- The letter *hēth* with two dots to the left = *y*. In concrete terms the letter *y* standing at the beginning of an open syllable (i.e. opening the syllable) produces three syllables *ya*, *yo*, *yu*.
- The letter *kāph* with two dots to the left = *g*. In concrete terms the letter *g* standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces four syllables *ge*, *gi*, *gö*, *gü*.

вообще не употребляется в значении “покров”, нам кажется, что перевод “сердечная аорта” точнее и не требует пересмотра (ibid. p. 31). Оно (*Jirüken-ü tolta*) получило широкое распространение именно как название грамматического сочинения. При этом давно известно и бесспорно следующее:

Во-первых, название *Jirüken-ü tolta* является традиционным и связано своим происхождением с восточной традицией, согласно которой книгам давались образные и иносказательные, образные и иносказательные названия. Во-вторых, под выражением *Jirüken-ü tolta* имеется в виду то главное и сжатое, которое стало основой грамматического учения о монгольском языке. На эту мысль наводит то, что в самом сочинении *Jirüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi* сказано: *Jirüken-ü tolta mongyol üsüg-ün bodatu youl endegürel ügei mön* – “*Jirüken-ü tolta* является подлинной и безошибочной основой монгольского письма”. Отсюда нам представляется возможным сделать смысловый перевод выражения *Jirüken-ü tolta* как “сущая основа”, или “подлинная основа”, а *Jirüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi* как “комментарии [сочинения] “Сущей основы” (Балданжапов 1962, p. 32).

- 10) ‘Commentary on the heart’s aorta – The Jewel of the Sky eradicating the darkness of confusion of letters’. The phrase *Oyтарыui-yin Mañi* (lit. ‘sky’s jewel’; *mañi* < Skt. *mañi*) refers to the ‘sun in the skies’. Using such names reflects the Buddhist tradition. Its symbolical implication is that the book is the light removing darkness and wrong understanding. There is even a book title using the phrase ‘thousand suns’ mentioned by Sazykin (Сазыкин 1998, p. 264): *Öcüken üsüg nomuyadqaly-a-yin jirüken-ü qaranyui-yi arilyan ayiladuyci mingyan naran-u gerel kemekü oruşıba* – lit., ‘Here is the (so-called) light of a thousand suns removing the darkness of the heart of ordering of letters’.

- The letter *ḥēth* without dots = **q**. In concrete terms the letter **q** standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces three syllables *qa, qo, qu*.
- The letter *kāph* without dots = **k**. In concrete terms the letter **k** standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces four syllables *ke, ki, kō, kū*.
- The manner of writing the letters **n** and **ṣ, ċ, j** (дж) was the same as that used in School A.
- The manner of writing the letters **t** and **d** was the same as that used in modern manner of writing the Mongolian script.

School B was presumably represented in southern and eastern Mongolia. Examples of documents are e.g.

Mongyol üsüg-ün tolta-ača öčüken jiyaburi bolai (A little instruction from the Tolta [aorta] of Mongolian script)

and *Mongyol üsüg-ün ilyal ba maqabod-un öčüken tobči-nuyud bolai* (Here is the division of the Mongolian letters and summary of Elements) (cf. 2. 2. 5.).

Northern Mongols commonly call this type of print ‘books with dotted *ya* / *ge*’ (Kh. *ya* / *ge*-д цэгтэй судар).

1.3. SCHOOL C – THE SCHOOL OF ‘SEVEN (SYLLABLES) OF *GA*’ WITH SELECT DOTS (KH. ГА-ГИЙН ДОЛООГИЙН ЗАРИМ НЬ ЦЭГТЭЙ)

The School is nowadays referred to as *га-гийн долоогийн зарим нь цэгтэй* or *га-гийн аймагийн зарим нь цэгтэй* (lit., ‘the category of *ya* with select dots’). In practical terms this means that the dotted letters include only three syllables based on **γ** (*ya, yo, yu*), which have the two dots, and do not include the four syllables based on **g** (*ge, gi, gō, gü*), which are without the dots.

- The letter *ḥēth* with two dots = **γ**. In concrete terms the letter **γ** standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces three syllables *ya, yo, yu*. The letter **γ** closing a syllable is always written without dots.
- The letter *ḥēth* without dots = **q**. In concrete terms the letter **q** standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces three syllables *qa, qo, qu*.
- The letter *kāph* without dots = **k** / **g**. In concrete terms the letter **k** standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces four syllables *ke, ki, kō, kū*, the letter **g** standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces four syllables *ge, gi, gō, gü*. The letter designating the consonant **g** closing a syllable is always written without dots.
- The letter *nūn* with one dot to the left = **n**. In concrete terms the letter **n** standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces seven syllables *na,*

ne, ni, no, nu, nō, nü. The letter *n* closing a syllable is always written without the dot.

- The letter *šin* with two dots to the right = *š*. In concrete terms the letter *š* standing at the beginning of an open syllable produces six syllables *ša, še, šo, šu, šö, šü.* The letter has always two dots. Exception: the letter *š* has no dot if followed by the vowel *i* (*ši*).

The classical Mongolian script which has developed and has been established in the course of the last two hundred years and which is currently used in printing books follows the rules of this School C.

1.4. SCHOOL D – THE SCHOOL WITHOUT DIACRITIC MARKS (DOTS)

(KH. ЦЭГҮҮЙ)

School D is variously referred to as *čeg ügei üsüg* (lit., 'script without dots'; folk designation) = *temdeg-i oyuruysan* (lit., 'throwing away the diacritic'; *Oytaryui-yin Mañi* –1, p. 13r.), *qoyar čeg-i orkiju* (lit., 'leaving out the two dots'; *Todudqayči toli*, p. 58), 'not using the dots at all' (Kh. *epөөсөө үзг тавьдаггүй*; Шагдарсүрэн 2001, p. 230).

Most manuscripts and xylographs of Mongolian translations of Buddhist literature, especially the Ganjur (*Bka'-gyur*), represent the usage of this school. However, we can discern two trends in this school:

- a) no dots at all except *ša*
- b) occasional use of dots with doubtful or ambiguous words.¹¹

11) Concerning the ambiguous words (*эндүүрэлт үг*) or names (*endegyüreltү ner-e*), there are many interesting examples presented by Pandita Deligiungnai (*Todudqayči toli*, p. 60–61).

1.5. SURVEY OF THE GRAPHEMIC SYSTEMS OF MONGOLIAN SCRIPT

1.5.0. TRANSLITERATION

In the transliteration in the following text, the letters with one or two dots are marked with a dash below or above.¹²

᠋ᠨ = the letter *n* with one dot to the left (“н” in modern Mongolian Cyrillic)

᠋ᠭ = the ‘male’ letter *q* with two dots to the left – tense (fortis) back velar stop (fricative “x” in modern Mongolian Cyrillic)

᠋ᠭ = the ‘female’ letter *k* with two dots to the left – tense (fortis) front velar stop (fricative “x” in modern Mongolian Cyrillic)

᠋ᠭ = the ‘female’ letter *g* with two dots to the left – lax (lenis) front velar stop (“r” in modern Mongolian Cyrillic)

᠋ᠭ = the ‘male’ letter *γ* with two dots to the left – lax (lenis) back velar stop (“r” in modern Mongolian Cyrillic)

᠋ᠫ = the letter *p* with the diacritic mark called *zapmuᠣ* (“п” in modern Mongolian Cyrillic; cf. Note 1 above)

᠋ᠳ = the ‘lying’ letter *d* (“д” in modern Mongolian Cyrillic)

᠋ᠲ = the ‘upright’ letter *t* (“т” in modern Mongolian Cyrillic)

1.5.1. THE SYSTEM OF GUNGAJALTSAN SAKYA¹³ PANDITA

a, e, i, ᠋ᠨ, b, ᠋ᠭ / k, γ / g, m, l, r, s, d, t, y, č, j, w(v)¹⁴

The original of this system created in 1243 has never been found, it is only referred to in the normative grammar of Bstan-‘adzin-grags-pa (Danzand-agva) from 1727 (*Oytargui-yin mañi* – 1: p. 3r.; *Oytargui-yin mañi* – 2: p. 4v.).

12) In the transliteration I have used the same diacritics as the Hungarian scholar Ligeti (1972, p. 9–11).

13) The Tibetan word Sakya is sometimes pronounced as *saja*, *saj*. The syllable *kya* is pronounced as *ja* in other words as well: Tib. Shākyamuni (Skt. Śākyamuni) = Kh. Шагжамуни; Tib. Čos-kyi-odzer = Kh. Чойжи-одсэр; Tib. Ljan-skya = Kh. Жанжаа.

14) In this graphemic system of Gungajaltsan there are no labial vowels (o, u, ö, ü). This may be explained by the fact that these vowels are written with the help of the letter **w** (u), i.e. *waw* = o / u; *waw* + *yod* = ö / ü (cf. Лувсанвандан 1965, p. 21; Төмөртөгөө 2002, p. 477).

1.5.2. THE SYSTEM OF BOGDA¹⁵ ČOIJI-ODSER:

a, e, i, o, u, ö, ü, ɳ, b, p, q / k, γ / g, m, l, r, s, š, d, t, y, č / c, j / z, v, ng

The original of this system created in 1305 has never been found either, it is referred to in the above mentioned grammar of Danzandagva (*Oytargui-yin mañi* –1: p. 6r.; *Oytargui-yin mañi* – 2: p. 8v –9r.).

1.5.3. THE SYSTEM OF BILIG-ÜN DALAI:¹⁶

a, e, i, o, u, ö, ü, ɳ, b, γ / ġ, q / k, m, l, r, s, d, t, y, č, j, v

This system is used in the works of Bilig-ün Dalai. He changed the order of the velar consonants and placed the letters *γ / ġ* before *q / k*. This is a meaningful change! (Bilig-ün Dalai, p. 2r.–2v.).

1.5.4. SOUTH MONGOLIAN SYSTEM:

a, e, i, o, u, ö, ü, ɳ, b, p, q, k, γ, g, m, l, s, š, t, d, č, j, y, r, v, (f, ž, c, k, h)

This system is used in South Mongolian dictionaries (cf. Luvsandordž 1995, p. 19).

1.5.5. NORTH MONGOLIAN SYSTEM:

a, e, i, o, u, ö, ü, ɳ, b, q, k, γ, g, j, y, t, d, m, č, r, s, š, l, v, (f, p, ž, c, k, h)

The dictionaries published in the Mongolian Republic after 1924 used this order (cf. Luvsandordž 1995, p. 19).

15) In a similar context the word *boyda* (Lessing: holy, sacred, divine; august; a holy one) is rendered by Vladimircov as 'святители монгольского письма', lit. 'the clergymen of the Mongolian script' (Владимирцов 1925, p. 447, note 1). Could we use the phrase 'the venerable' or 'the venerable teachers'?

16) Bilig-ün Dalai, a famous 18th century translator from Tibetan into Mongolian (see section 2. 2. 5.).

2. History of the standardisation of diacritic marks

2.1. THE SPELLING PREFERENCES OF THE EARLY TEACHERS OF MONGOLIAN SCRIPT AND THE CONFERENCE OF LEARNED SPECIALISTS IN THE 18TH CENTURY

At the beginning of the 18th century, the South Mongolian Lama and linguist Danzandagva (*Bstan-'dzin- grags-pa*) wrote and published the above-mentioned widely circulated book *Jirüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi* – *Üsüg-ün endegürel-ün qarangyui-yi arilyayči Oyaryui-yin Mañi*. The orthography and orthoepy proposed in his book were immediately accepted by all schools. The orthographic rules applied to this day are those determined in his book. What Danzandagva called 'the norms (or system) of the Bogdas or Venerable Teachers' (*boydas-un jirum*) refers to the rules first set by Sakya Pandita Gungaa-Jaltsan (beginning of the 13th century) and later (beginning of the 14th century) refined by Bogda Choiji-Odser.

However, regrettably, Mongols did not accept the system of his graphemics (School A) immediately. Religious teachers and specialists in Mongolian philology were unable to agree and their disputes ultimately resulted in a conference of specialists (*merged quran*) and the Yong Zheng Emperor's decree.

This is what Pandita Delegjunai wrote about this event:

It is necessary to place two dots to the left of each letter from the class of seven *qa*-syllables, (dots) which prevent misunderstanding (or confusion; *endegürel*, Kh. *эндүүрэл*). But at present the dots are placed only before *ya*, both opening and closing a syllable. This does not agree with the preference of the first teachers who composed the script. This is how the *Jirüken-ü Tolta-yin tayilburi* (Commentary on the heart's aorta) concludes the matter.¹⁷

In spite of that, at the time of the **Emperor Nayiraltu Töb** (Yong Zheng; 1723–1735) **specialists met by his order** and translated into Mongolian and published the complete work (*bum jarlig*, lit. 'hundred thousand decrees or words') of Janjaa Bogda (*Ljang-Kiy-a boyda*)¹⁸ and when doing so they

17) Namely that the dots should not be used.

18) Normally called Janjaa Hutagt – a learned Mongolian Lama from Cing Hai (Mo. Köke Nayur). Because of his achievement in the sphere of religion and politics of the Manchu Empire, he obtained the title the 'Teacher of the Manchu Empire' from the Manchu Emperor, was a holder of a gold stamp and became a Hutagt. His second incarnation was Rolbi Dorji, translator of the Tanjur into Mongolian, and it is in fact the work of this incarnation that is mentioned in this text.

created the so-called **critically purified (cleaned) printing script** (*keb-ün üsüg*). When we (now) examine (this printing script) we can see that in order to make writing easier (they) mostly dropped (the two dots) that may be known from the context (*nökür-iyer medekü*), and put (them) on ambiguous (*endüürelt*) words. For example, in order to differentiate the two (words) *qalaqun yalaqun* (see Appendix No. 4), the former (being) an antonym (*qarsi qani-yin ner-e*) of (the word) 'cold', the latter (being) a designation of a kind of bird, it is necessary to have the help of the context and also the sign (i.e. dot).¹⁹

The references to 'specialists meeting by the Emperor's order' and 'critically purified (cleaned) printing script' (*ejen-ü... jarliy-iyar olan merged quran... sigümjilen ariyudqaysan keb-ün üsüg*) imply that it was really by the order of the Emperor that the specialists met at a conference and critically discussed the problem of script and only then agreed on the type of the script for printing (which we will now call *keb-ün üsüg*; Kh. *модон хэвийн үсэг*; lit., 'printing script').²⁰

In fact it was the above-mentioned script without diacritic marks (School D), which was confirmed to be used as the 'printing script' (*keb-ün üsüg*) for Mongolian Buddhist books. There was a majority opinion of 'specialists' that the tradition established before classical Mongolian language (i.e. before the 18th century) should continue without changes. From the work of Delejunai it follows that they still did not leave out the system of diacritic marks completely and decided that diacritic marks may be used in the case of words which are ambiguous (*endegüreltü ner-e*). This specification, however, is nothing new, it also reflects the tradition of writing before the period of classical Mongolian.

19) *qa-yin törül doluyula-yin emün-e, endegürel qayaqu qoyar čig talbiqu keregtei bolbaču, edüge manayar amitu ba amin ügei ya yagčayar-tur talbiju бүкүү-yi, üsüg yaryaysan angqan-u baysi-yin tayalal-dur üli neyičekiü bolai kemen Jirüken-ü Tolta-yin tayilburi-dur qayaqu amui.*

Teyimü bolbaču Nayiraltu Töb ejen-ü üy-e-dür jarliy-iyar olan merged quran, degedü ljang-Kiy-a boyda-yin bum jarliy-i mongyolčilaju yaryaqui-dur sigümjilen ariyudqaysan keb-ün üsüg-i sinjilebesü bičiküi-dü könggedken, nöbür-iyer medekü olangkin-a orkiyu, endegüreltü ner-e dü talbiysan üjegdemiü. qalaqun yalaqun kemekü qoyar-un angqan küiten-ü qarsi qani-yin ner-e, qoyaduyar sibayun-u ilyal-un ner-e-dür medeküi-dü, nöbür-ün küčün be temdeg keregtei metü jisigdekü bolai (Todudqayči toli, 1927, p. 58).

20) The Emperor Yong Zheng by whose order they met, ruled in the years 1723–1735 and this is the time when the *keb-ün üsüg* was approved of. The grammatical works on diacritics by Danzandagva and Bilig-ün Dalai also belong to that period. Thus from Delejunai's words it follows that the opinion of these two grammarians in fact was not approved by the specialists' 'conference'.

2.2. "THE DARKNESS OF CONFUSION OF LETTERS"

The full title of Danzandagva's book is *Jirüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi – Üsüg-ün endegürel-ün qarangyui-yi arilyayči Oyṭaryui-yin Mañi* (Commentary on the heart's aorta – The Jewel of the Sky eradicating the darkness of confusion of letters). It is mostly called by its shorter name, viz *Jirüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi*, though it is also referred to by the final phrase as an abbreviation of its title, viz *Oyṭaryui-yin Mañi* (The Jewel of the Sky). The phrase in the middle of the title, viz *üsüg-ün endegürel-ün qarangyui-yi arilyayči*, lit., 'eradicating or removing the darkness of the confusion of letters' is taken as an embellishment. But in this phrase we may see the resentment of the Mongolian learned monk – a genuine pupil of the Buddha, whose aim it was to show the correct manner of spreading the correct teaching of the Buddha to the believers – at the fact that his ideas were suppressed by the 'opinion of the majority'.

We might even reconstruct what he must have thought about the situation: *The translation and publication of Buddhist books in Mongolian is quickly developing. Can such a nice development be seen also elsewhere? But since the confusion of the Mongolian script is great there is a great danger that the Buddhist teaching will be frequently misinterpreted. This is a great sin. It is necessary to remove the confusion of the Mongolian script. It is not difficult to do so. It means to confirm legally the writing system with diacritic marks established by the early learned authors, the venerable teachers. That's all!*

2.2.1. PANDITA GUNGAA-ODSER'S JIRÜKEN-Ü TOLTA

The phrase *endegürel-ün qarangyui* (lit., the darkness of confusion) appears to be rather terse. Should we not ask what such a phrase implies? In fact there is a written answer to be found in Danzandagva's work:

In Gungaa-Odsér's *Jirüken-ü Tolta* the diacritics are given up with the letter class of *ṇa* and *ṇa*, and they are placed at three syllables of the class of *ya*, and some syllables of the *ya* class [*ge, gi, gö, gü*] remain without diacritics. Therefore there are different forms (of writing), in some texts the syllable *ṇa* has diacritics, which in some others is the syllable *ya* that has diacritics. In such a situation the *Jirüken-ü Tolta* composed by Choiji-Odsér is the real basis of Mongolian script (and is) without confusion. Therefore if following (this) rule of the Bogdas (Gungajaltsan and Choiji-Odsér), the learned (Lamas) will not be blamed.²¹

The letters implied in the above-translated text are arranged as follows:

- **na**-yin *törül* (the category or class of **na**) includes 7 syllables *na, ne, ni, no, nu, nō, nū*
- **qa**-yin *törül* (the category or class of **qa**) includes 7 syllables *qa, ke, ki, qo, qu, kō, kū*
- **ya**-dur *temdeg talbiyad* (lit., 'having put a diacritic on **ya**') concerns 3 syllables *ya, yo, yu*
- **ya**-yin *busu törül* (the category or class of other than **ya**) includes 4 syllables *ge, gi, gō, gü*

From the above it follows that Gungaa-Odser's *Jirüken-ü Tolta* uses a graphic system belonging to the third School (C) and corresponding to the modern Mongolian graphic usage. Only the modern script gradually re-introduced the dot with the letter *n*. Danzandagva considered the use of diacritic marks in Gungaa-Odser's works ambiguous and supported Choiji-Odser, which follows from the last two sentences of the above text. The last sentence in particular turns clearly against Gungaa-Odser.

Besides that Danzandagva also underlined the fact that though Choiji-Odser's system has 123 letters, Gungaa-Odser disregarded this fact and in his new *Jirüken-ü Tolta* he spoke about 'the 108 letters created by Choiji-Odser'. Thus he obviously thought that this number of letters was sufficient for Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs. Danzandagva specified that Gungaa-Odser did not include six letters from Choiji-Odser's **ša**-class [*še, ši, šo, šu, šō, šü*] and six letters from his **pa**-class [*pe, pi, po, pu, pō, pū*].²² This is the reason why these twelve letters are not used in early books.²³ Then Danzandagva

21) *Basa Bañdita Gun-dka'-od-zer-ün Jirüken-ü Tolta-dur na-yin törül-ün temdeg kiged qa-yin törül-ün temdeg-i oyuruyad ya-dur temdeg talbiyad, ya-yin busu törül-dür temdeg ügei böged; teyimü-yin tula jarim bičigsed-tür qa-dur temdeg kiged, jarim-dur ya-dur temdeg talbiysan eldeb bayinam. Teyin atala Čos-kyi'-od-zer-ün jokiyaysan Jirüken-ü Tolta anu Mongyol Üsüg-ün bođatu youl endegürel ügei mōn-ü tula Boydas-un jirum-i dayabasu merged-tür ülü sonjiydamui* (Oytaryui-yin Mañi 1, p. 12v.–13r.; Oytaryui-yin Mañi 2, p. 19r.–19v.). Cf. Appendix No. 5.

22) Danzandagva's implication is probably that the omitted letters are those syllables which do not have the vowel *a* (i.e. the omitted letters or syllables have the vowels *i, e, o, ō, u, ü*). For a more detailed summary of the systems and the number of letters, see Appendix No. 6.

23) Danzandagva's original text runs as follows: *Mongyol-un jayun qorin yurban üsüg bui bögelele ... Bañdita Kun-dga'-od-zer šine Jirüken-ü Tolta yaryaju Čos-kyi'-od-zer-ün jokiyaysan jayun nayman üsüg kemegen bölüge. ... Mongyol nom-dur edeger güičekü kemen sedkigen bayinam. Teyin atala Čos-kyi'-od-zer-ün yaryaysan ša-yin törül kiged pa-yin törül qoyar-ača juryuyad juryuyad orkiysan bolai. Edüged-tür erte bičigsen sudur-tur edeger üsüg ügei boluysan šiltayan anu tere metü bolai* (Oytaryui-yin Mañi 1, p. 11v.–12r, Oytaryui-yin Mañi 2, p. 17v.–17r.).

clearly criticises Gungaa-Odsar by saying that the spreading of the correct teaching is regularly accompanied by the spreading of wrong teaching, though this is the result of interference from the devils.²⁴

In the final section of his work called 'The benefits of writing according to rules and the harms caused by writing with mistakes' (*Yosuyar bičigsen-ü ači tusa kiged buruyu bičigsen-ü gem eregüü*), Dandzandagva wrote a special paragraph about the danger of sins resulting from the 'darkness of confusion of letters'. It appears that he wrote this paragraph in order to make his readers understand that Gungaa-Odsar's confusing graphemic system and the above-mentioned Emperor's printing script (*keb-ün üsüg*) are the basis of the sin of abandoning the teaching. It is interesting to note that he speaks in rather sharp words. He urges both 'the wise and the dull to abhor the acts of abandonment of the teaching' (*mergen teneg bügüde-ber nom-i tebčikü üiles-i čegerlebesü; Oyčaryui-yin Mañi 1, p. 13r.*) by considering any 'careless and mistaken, erroneous and divergent reading and writing' (*jaliqai endegüü buruyu busučar ungšibasü bičibesü; ibid., p. 13r.*)²⁵ as a sin of 'abandoning the Buddhist teaching' (*degeđü nom-i tebčigsen bölüge; ibid., p. 13v.*). He further underlines his ideas by quoting a phrase from the Buddhist Sūtra *Samadhi-yin qayan* ('The king of *samādhi*') to the effect that 'the sin of abandoning the *Sūtrapīṭaka* (*sudur-un ayimay*) is very much greater than killing as many Arhants as there are sand grains in the Ganga river'.²⁶ We may ask why in a small booklet about script, he discussed the sin of abandoning the teaching so extensively.

24) *Jöb nom delgereküi-dür buruyu nom qouslaqu jima yosun meṭü bölüge kemegsen meṭü buyu uu, esebesü šimnus qūdqulaysan bolai. (Oyčaryui-yin Mañi 1, p. 12v., Oyčaryui-yin Mañi 2, p. 19r.)*

25) We may find examples of 'mis-reading' and 'mis-spelling' (эндүү буруу унших бичих явдал) of Dandzandagva's work itself, as may be seen from the following example. In the original there are two words in which *q̇* is written with two dots, one is a verb – *q̇abiya-* (to be close to; to touch upon, refer to, be related to), one is a noun – *q̇abiy-a* (proximity, vicinity; relationship) the same root. The original meaning of these words has been forgotten. Thus a 'guess-reading' of the first word turned into a different word written in the Cyrillic script, viz *xyaaa-* (to divide). Cf. Pagva's reading (Парва 1957, p. 44), which was translated into Russian by Baldanzanov as *буквы образования которых не аналогично* (lit., 'letters whose formation is not analogical'; Балданжапов 1962, p. 69). The noun on the other hand, if read according to the school reading *q̇* with two dots as *ṛ* (C school), became Kh. *гавьяа* (merit). Again cf. Pagva's reading (Парва 1957 p. 50) and its Russian translation by Baldanzanov as *слава* (glory, fame) (Балданжапов 1962, p. 80).

26) *Alin-iyar Gangga mören-ü qumaki-yin toyaṭan Arahad-i alaysan-ača ber, alin-iyar Sudur-un ayimay-i tebčün üiledügsen nigül ene inü asuru ülemji. (Oyčaryui-yin Mañi 1, p. 14r.)*

2.2.2. A FEW NOTES ABOUT PAGVA'S CONFUSION

T. Pagva was the first modern scholar to deal thoroughly with Danzandagva's work. Introducing the contents of this work, Pagva said: 'By his reform, Choiji-Odsar was really able to produce a system of script which could correspond to all basic sounds used to distinguish the meaning of Mongolian words. ... It is amazing how extremely exactly he analysed the special character of Mongolian grammar.'²⁷ In this way he expressed high appreciation of Choiji-Odsar's achievement. Pagva's booklet includes a newly printed copy of Danzandagva's text (in fact a commentary including also the original of Choiji-Odsar) in Mongolian script,²⁸ a translation into Khalkha (in Cyrillic script) and an explanation of some words and technical terms.

What is regrettable, however, is the fact that T. Pagva mistakenly replaced the voiced and voiceless velars and read the letter *q* / *k* with two dots (representing a voiceless consonant) as if it was a voiced consonant and transliterated it into the Cyrillic script as *z*. Similarly he took the letter *y* / *g* without dots (representing a voiced consonant) for a voiceless consonant and transliterated it into the Cyrillic script as *x* (because he belonged to the third School C). This explains why in his Cyrillic Mongolian translation he says that 'in Gungaa-Odsar's *Jiriken-ü Tolta* the dots are omitted on the letters of the groups NA and GA, the dots are placed on the letter QA, and there are no dots on other groups than QA....'²⁹ This mistaken interpretation, viz that the texts with voiceless *q* / *k* letter written with two dots belong to Gungaa-Odsar's school, was widely accepted among the Mongolian specialists. Prof. Pagva found out

27) 'Монголын хэлний үгсийн утгыг ялгахад хэрэглэгдэх гол бүх авиануудыг илэрхийлэн чадсан тийм үгсийн системийг Чойжи-одсэр өөрийн реформоор үнэхээр гаргаж чадсан, (Пагва 1957, р. 13)... Монгол хэлний зүйн өвөрмөц онцлогийг туйлын нарийн шинжлэн дүгнэсэн болох нь гайхамшигтай.' (Пагва 1957, р. 14).

28) Concerning the diacritical marks, Pagva's copy obviously follows a careless version of *Jiriken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi*, which mixed up the graphemic schools. In Vladimircov's words it 'put the diacritical marks in only sometimes, in a haphazard manner and at random and arbitrarily' ('... диакритические точки ставятся только иногда, случайно и произвольно.' Владимирцов 1989, р. 76). The relevant careless version used by Pagva is obviously to be found in Pozndeev's Reader and it is a copy which according to Baldanzanov 'cannot be considered exemplary' ('... не может считаться образцовым'; Балданжапов 1982, р. 18 and р. 20). The same source was evidently also used in Čoyijalsürüng's Reader (Čoyijalsürüng 1968, р. 246–266). Just let us note that in Čoyijalsürüng's Reader (р. 263) a passage about the elements of the letters (*üsüg-ün maqabod*) was missed by the typist copying the text.

29) 'Бас бандид Гунгаа-одсэрийн Зүрхний тольтод НА-гийн төрлийн тэмдэг хийгээд ГА-гийн тэмдгийг огоороод, ХА-д тэмдэг тавиад, ХА-гийн бус төрөлд тэмдэг үгүй...' (Пагва 1957, р. 50).

his mistake³⁰ rather late. The book had gone through the final proof reading and was already being printed.³¹ The only thing he could do was to make a list of misprints. But such lists are not always properly read (a copy of the list is attached as Appendix No. 7).

2.2.3. P. B. BALDANJAPOV'S MISINTERPRETATION OF JIRÜKEN-Ü TOLTA-YIN TAYILBURI

Baldanjavov's book (1962) is the first more comprehensive book about Dandzandgava's work in a foreign language. Specialists from other countries mentioned occasionally Dandzandgava's work. They were aware of the fact that this is an important treatise about Mongolian script and translated passages referring to historical facts, but besides including some of the grammatical technical terms in Mongolian dictionaries, they did not translate the work into any other language besides Russian.

B. P. Baldanjavov was a Buriad specialist in Russia and his work represents a very thorough analysis of the subject. It includes an extensive introduction, the Mongolian original (a photocopy of the xylograph from the Agin Datsan Buriad monastery), a Russian translation, copious notes and many Appendices (consisting of photocopies of two small Sūtras, which are summaries of Choiji-Odser's work; lists of Choiji-Odser's technical terms, grammatical suffixes and particles; bibliography etc.). It offers many relevant pieces of information about Mongolian literary documents.

What is, however, regrettable is the fact that following Pagva, he too transliterated the letters *q̣* / *ḳ* with two dots representing voiceless consonants by the Latin letters *ġ* / *g*, and the letters *ɣ* / *g* without dots representing voiced consonants by the Latin letters *x* / *k* (Балданжапов 1962, p. 69; see the Appendices Nos. 8A, 8B).

30) We should note that in recent years the graphemic system of Choiji-Odser and Dandzandgava has been transliterated into the Latin script and published in research works in the Mongolian Republic, and thus Pagva's confusion has been further repeated.

31) In Khalka Mongolian – “*боолтод*” *орсон*. The phrase *боолтод оро-* is a technical printing term. Мо. *боолт* < Rus. *болт* < Engl. *bolt*. Actually in modern Mongolian this borrowed word was interpreted as *боолт* ‘bandage, cord, band’ derived from the verb *боо-* ‘to bind, tie, bundle’. This is another nice example of a folk-etymological re-interpretation of a borrowed word (cf. e.g. Luvsandorj 2005, p. 99–101).

2.2.4. THROWING LIGHT ON THE 'DARKNESS OF CONFUSION' OF LETTERS

2.2.4.1. THE 'ABSENCE OF CONFUSION' OF THE AGIN DATSAN MONASTERY³²

By now there are only two printed copies of the original of Dandzandagva's work:

- 1) The copy of the Beijin xylograph (*Oyṭaryui-yin Maṇi* – 1)
- 2) The copy of the Agin Datsan Monastery xylograph (*Oyṭaryui-yin Maṇi* – 2)

Both of them put diacritic marks on the letters *q̄* / *k̄* systematically (see Appendix No. 1, School A), and they distinguish *q̄*, *t̄* by two different graphemes and do so also systematically (see Appendix No. 9). The photocopy of *Oyṭaryui-yin Maṇi* printed by Baldanžapov is based on the Agin Datsan xylograph, which is a better copy of the two, and thus the photocopy in the book is very clear. However, the Agin Datsan copy is not only a nicer script than that of the Beijin xylograph, but its special feature is the fact that besides the Mongolian script in the presentation of the graphemic system, it specifies each and every letter by the relevant Tibetan letters (see Appendix No. 8C), which is not done in the Beijin xylograph. For example:

- Beside the Mo. letters *q̄*, *k̄* with dots it puts the Tib. letter *kha*.³³
- Beside the Mo. letters *y*, *g* without dots it puts the Tib. letter *ka*.³⁴
- Beside the Mo. 'horizontal' or 'lying' letter *q̄* it puts the Tib. letter *ta*.³⁵
- Beside the Mo. 'vertical' or 'upright' letter *t̄* it puts the Tib. letter *tha*.³⁶
- Beside the Mo. letter *č* it puts the Tib. letter *tsha*.³⁷
- Beside the Mo. letter *j* it puts the Tib. letter *tsa*.³⁸

However, even this very clearly demonstrated that the graphemic system was 'mis-read' due to the accepted 'fixed idea' of how the letters 'should' be

32) The Lamaist monastery Agin Datsan was located in the Buriat region (Chita region of Russia). It used to have a good tradition of printing xylographs. They printed their own xylographs, but also xylographs prepared elsewhere in the Buriat region or in Mongolia.

33) Mongolian specialists in Tibetan use their own 'colloquial' designations for the letters of the Tibetan script. This letter is called *амны ха үсэг* (lit., 'the mounth's letter *ha*'). The designations are based either on the meaning of the one-syllable word (represented by the relevant letter) or on a characteristic feature of the shape of the letter.

34) Mongolian colloquial name *хагархай* *za*, lit., 'the open letter *ga*', or 'the letter *ga* with a gap'.

35) Mongolian colloquial name *бөгтөр* *da*, lit., 'the stooped, or hunch-backed letter *da*'.

36) Mongolian colloquial name *бүстэй* *ma*, lit., 'the letter *ta* with a belt'.

37) Mongolian colloquial name *хоёр гэдэст* *ца* (*ts*), lit., 'the letter *tsa* with two bellies or abdomens'.

38) Mongolian colloquial name *ходоодон* *за* (*dz*), lit., 'the stomach-like letter *dza*'.

pronounced. Baldanzapov interpreted Dandzandagva's graphemic system (School A) in terms of his own habitual School C.

There are, however, two interesting cases in the xylograph from Agin Datsan, viz the last two letter *č, j*. This is because the letter *č* is called *ya* (*ts*) by the Khalkhas and Oirads, though it is also pronounced as *ča* in some words. It is called *ya* / *tš* in Inner Mongolia (and also pronounced like that in all contexts). Similarly, the Mo. letter *j* is called *za* (*dz*) by the Khalkhas and Oirads, though it is also pronounced as *dža* in some words. However, it is called *ja* / *dža* in Inner Mongolia (and also pronounced like that in all contexts). Judging from the Tibetan 'transliteration', the first editor of the Agin Datsan original was a person belonging to the '*ya* / *tsa*' area (which possibly also applied in the case of Dandzandagva who is supposed to have been an Oirad³⁹).

2.2.4.2. THE 'ABSENCE OF CONFUSION' OF TS. DAMDINSUREN

The first specialist to make serious suggestions concerning Dandzandagva's work to facilitate a 'confusion-less' understanding of the work was Ts. Damdinsuren. In his 1957 book about the history of Mongolian literature he devoted two pages to Choiji-Odser's work. He particularly underlined the following ideas (Дамдинсүрэн 1957, p. 112–113):

- Choiji-Odser divided the letters into three groups – 'strong' or 'tight' (*čingγ-a*, Kh. *чанга*), 'hollow' or 'concave' (*köndei*, Kh. *хөндүй*) and 'mixed' (*sayarmay*, Kh. *саармаг*) (cf. the division into male, female, neutral). This threefold division fits the special character of Mongolian. This classification must have been made on the basis of a thorough study of the Mongolian language. It could not have been taken over from Chinese, Tibetan or Sanskrit. This is because in these languages there is not exactly the same differentiation (of sounds) as in Mongolian. But such a differentiation exists in Uighur.⁴⁰
- When we see the rules of the old Mongolian script, it is obvious that they were developed in a very accurate manner.... Mongolian orthography was

39) There is information that Dandzandagva was Oirad (Гомбожав 2005, p. 45). The Mongols who have been living in Inner Mongolia in the Alashaa region up to now are of Oirad origin. D. Kara speaks about the influence of southern Mongolian culture in the area south east of the Baikal sea (Kara 1972, p. 39).

40) Чойжи-одсэр монгол үсгийг чанга хөндий саармаг гурван анги болгон хуваажээ. Ингэж гурван анги болгон хуваасан нь монгол хэлний өмөрмөц байдалд тохирсон бөгөөд, монгол хэлийг судалж байж энэ хувиарыг хийсэн байх ёстой. Энэ хувиарыг хятад, түвд, санскритаас уламжлан авах нөхцөлгүй юм. Учир нь тэр хэлнүүдэд монгол хэлтэй яг адил тийм ялгавар байдаггүй, харин уйгур хэлэнд ийм ялгавар бий юм.

cultivated even before the 13th century very accurately on a scientific basis. It is to Choiji-Odser's merit that it was written down.⁴¹

- Choiji-Odser's *Jirüken-ü Tolta* has been the main source of guidance for Mongolian script for almost seven centuries and has been influencing specialists dealing with Mongolian script. And since Sakya Pandita's *Jirüken-ü Tolta* was only a list of letters, Choiji-Odser's *Jirüken-ü Tolta* was the first work about Mongolian orthography and grammar.⁴²

These conclusions of Ts. Damdinsuren are fully valid even now. Using the example of the Cyrillic script he showed how to transliterate the systems of Mongolian script of Sakya Pandita, Choiji-Odser and Dandzandagva correctly. He wrote (Дамдинсүрэн 1957, p. 112): Sakya Pandita did not create the Mongolian script, he only created the list of letters or spelling, viz:

а, на, ба, ха, га, ма, ла, ра, са, да, та, за, ца, я, ва / вэ.⁴³

2.2.4.3. THE 'ABSENCE OF CONFUSION' OF SH. LUVSANVANDAN

An important analysis of Dandzandagva's work from the point of view of modern linguistics was made by Sh. Luvsanvadan in his paper on the phonemic system of early Mongolian (1965). Sh. Luvsanvadan transliterated Bogd's letter *hēth* with two dots by means of the Latin letters *q, k*, and the letter *hēth* without dots by the letters *y, g*. Besides that he compared the conceptions of linguists in the last 200 years concerning the division of Mongolian sounds into *er* (*er-e*), *em* (*em-e*), *ers* (*ersü*) or *čingy-a*, *köndei*, *sayarmay*. He came

- 41) Монголын хуучин бичгийн дүрмийг үзэхэд нарийн нягт боловсруулсан нь илт мэдэгдэж байна.... монголын үсгийн дүрмийг XIII зуунаас их урьд эрдэм шинжилгээний суурьтай, нарийн нягт боловсруулсан юм. Үүнийг тэмдэглэж бичсэн нь Чойжи-одсэрийн гавьяа болно.
- 42) Чойжи-одсэрийн зүрхний толт, долоон зуу шахам жилийн турш монгол бичиг үсгийн гол мөрдлөг болж ирсэн бөгөөд хэл бичгийн эрдэмтэн нарт их нөлөөг үзүүлсээр иржээ. Сажа Бандидын зүрхний тольт зөвхөн цагаан толгой байсан учир, Чойжи-одсэрийн зүрхний тольт бол монголын анхны үсгийн дүрэм, хэлний зүйн зохиол мөн болно.
- 43) When Ts. Damdinsuren submitted this book to press in May 1957, T. Pagva had transliterated Sakya Pandita's list of letters (Kh. *цагаан толгой*) as **а, э, и, на, ба, га, ха, ма, ла, ра, са, да, та, жа, ча, я, ва / вэ** (changing the order of *ха* and *га*; Парва 1957, p. 41) before handing over his book to be printed in June 1957. The editor of the second edition of C. Damdinsuren's book changed the above list of Sakya Pandita's letters to **а, б, х, г, м, л, р, с, д, т, з, ц, я, н** (changing the order and leaving out *ва / ве*). In the first edition of the book, Ts. Damdinsuren wrote that there were there were 123 letters (mainly representing syllables) including the two letters 'нг, ай' (Дамдинсүрэн 1957, p. 112). The second edition has the same remark only the two letters are spelled as 'нг un' and the number of syllables is kept at 123 (Дамдинсүрэн 1999, p. 150), which does not make sense (obviously a misprint).

to the conclusion that none of them was satisfactory and proposed his own interpretation.

He writes:

‘It was not Choiji-Odsar who first noted the important role of the vowels (called) *er*, *em* and *neutral* in the system of Mongolian phonemes, but Gungaa-Jaltsan. His *Jirüken-ü Tolta* is the first work about Mongolian phonetics (Лувсанвандан 1965, p. 22). ... However, Choiji-Odsar determined the laws of distribution of Mongolian sounds’ (ibid. p. 24).⁴⁴

Furthermore, Sh. Luvsanvandan writes that the three terms *er*, *em*, *ers* are not related to the position of the tongue on the palate as Mongolists think. He criticises the translation of *er* as ‘male, back, hard’ (Rus. мужской, задний, твердый) and the translation of *em* as ‘female, front, soft’ (Rus. женский, передний, мягкий). In his opinion, ‘translating *er* as ‘fortis’ (сильный) or tense and *em* as ‘lenis’ (слабый) or lax would have corresponded better to the real situation.’⁴⁵ And he repeats the idea in similar terms in the Russian summary.⁴⁶

2.2.5. BILIG-ÜN DALAI'S ‘CONTROVERSIAL THOUGHTS’

Dandzandagva's contemporary Bilig-ün Dalai (18th cent), a well-known translator from Tibetan to Mongolian, wrote two Sūtras called *Mongyol üsüg-ün tolta-ača öcūken jiyaburi bolai*, *Mongyol üsüg-ün ilyal ba maqabod-un öcūken tobci-nuyud bolai* (cf. 1. 2. above). A photocopy of the xylographs (possibly of South Mongolian origin) of these Sūtras was published in the book by Baldanzapov (Балданжапов 1962).⁴⁷ Bilig-ün Dalai appears to have had dif-

44) Монгол хэлний эгшиг фонемийн системд эр, эм саармаг эгшгийн чухал ролийг эн тэргүүн Чойжи-одсэр биш, харин Гунгаажалцан ажиглаж олсон. Түүний *Jirüken-ü Tolta* бол монгол хэлний авианы шинжлэлийн анхны бүтээл. Чойжи-одсэр бол монгол хэлний авианы байршилтын хуулийг маш нарийн тодорхойлсон (Лувсанвандан 1965, p. 22, 24).

45) ...эр гэдгийг сильный юмуу напряженный, эм гэдгийг слабый юмуу ненапряженный гэж орчуулсан бол үнэн байдалд илүү тохирох байжээ (ibid. p. 28).

46) ... деление звуков монгольского языка на мужские и женские не зависит от положения языка (заднеязычный и переднеязычный) и неба (мягкий и твердый), а основывается на артикуляционной напряженности или не напряженности (ibid. p. 47).

47) When P. I. Baldanzapov copied Bilig-ün Dalai's two small Sūtras about Mongolian script for his book, either he mixed some leafs from the two texts, or it could also have been done in the library where the texts were preserved (manuscript section of the Buriad Committee

ferent ideas and he wrote: '[the teaching] was not spread in the script created by Pandita Gungaa-Jaltsan and thus arose disorder'.⁴⁸ In his work Bilig-ün Dalai changed Choiji-Odser's letters *hēth* and *kāph* with two dots (*q / k*) systematically⁴⁹ into the letters *γ / g* and wrote in this manner his Sūtras. This is in contradiction to the rules set out by Dandzandagva. And Bilig-ün Dalai specified that his own work is a 'little summarised work of Bogd Choiji-Odser's *Jirūken-ū Tolta*'.⁵⁰ Bilig-ün Dalai also speaks about 108 letters created by Choiji-Odser and 123 letters created by Pandita Gungaa-Odser,⁵¹ which is a one-sided statement. Bilig-ün Dalai did not mention Dandzandagva and his *Oytaryui-yin mañi* at all. Above (section 2. 2. 1.) we have seen that Dandzandagva attributes 123 letters to Choiji-Odser and it is obvious that this question deserves more detailed investigation.

As we said above, Dandzandagva and Bilig-ün Dalai were contemporaries. Baldanžapov dates Dandzandagva's *Oytaryui-yin mañi* around 1727 (Балданжапов 1962, p. 11) and Cerensodnom dates Bilig-ün Dalai's translation of the

of the Research Institute in Ulaan-Ude) and he did not notice it. This also affected his interpretation of the two texts (Балданжапов 1962, pp. 8–10). Because the two Sūtras are important, I offer a correction to help those who will deal with the originals of the texts:

1) As for *Mongyol üsüg-ün Tolta-ača öcūken jiyaburi bolai*, it begins on p. 106 with the title, continues with page 1v on p. 107 (left column). The text continues with 2r on p. 119 (right column) and the text continues up to p. 125.

2) The other text, *Mongyol üsüg-ün ilyal ba maqabod-un öcūken tobci-nuyud bolai* starts from p. 118 with the title, continues by the left column on p. 119 (1v), and the remainder of the text is to be found between p. 107 (2r) and p. 116 (10v).

Note that the text of the Supplement between pages 102 and 126 is not paginated and the above page indications are based on interpolation between the last paginated page of the previous text (p. 101) and the following paginated page of the Bibliography (p. 127ff.).

- 48) The Mongolian phrase *samayun boluysan* is a serious expression of dislike. When Bilig-ün Dalai wrote this Sūtra, he made use of many earlier works and that may have been the reason for his critical attitude. Concerning this Dandzandagva speaks in much less harsh words and seems to express understanding for Gungaa-Jaltsan: 'Either because there was not enough time or there were not the (right) circumstances the (Buddhist) texts were not translated into Mongolian.' (*Olan qaγučin bičig üd-tür Qutuγtu Blama [Saskya Baṇḍita] mongyol üsüg-i jokiyaqai tere üsüg-iyer inü [Burqan-u šasin] ese delğereged samayun boluysan-dur...*; Bilig-ün Dalai, *Mongyol üsüg-ün Tolta-ača öcūken jiyaburi bolai*. In: Балданжапов 1962, p. 119, 2r.).
- 49) With the exception of *g* at the end of a syllable, where Bilig-ün Dalai did not add the two dots and did not explain why he did not add them.
- 50) Boyda Čhos-kyi-'od-zer-ün jokiyaγsan Mongyol bičig-ün Jirūken-ū Tolta-yi öcügūken tobčilan ilγaγsan egün-i... (Bilig-ün Dalai, *Mongyol üsüg-ün Tolta-ača öcūken jiyaburi bolai*. In: Балданжапов 1962, p. 5r.).
- 51) *Čhos-kyi-'od-zer-ün jokiyaγsan jaγun ṇayman üsüg...* Baṇḍita Kun-dga-'od-zer ber urida-yin deger-e *ša, pa, ja, ng* üsüg-üd-i nemejü 123 üsüg bolγaγsan (Bilig-ün Dalai, *Mongyol üsüg-ün Tolta-ača öcūken jiyaburi bolai*. In: Балданжапов 1962, p. 125 (7r., 7v.).

Buddhist text *Bodisadv-a nar-un yabudal-dur oruqui* (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*⁵²) by *Śāntideva* to 1748 (Цэрэнсодном 1987, p. 199). These two great Lamas⁵³ specialised in the same field and their research concerned the same subject.⁵⁴ And both of them published their works on the subject as Beijin xylographs.⁵⁵ But concerning the use of the diacritic marks, they proposed two contrary ideas and this became the basis for the differentiation between the two 'schools'. However, both of them differ from Gungaa-Odser in the system of the dots used or not used with the letters *q / k, γ / g*.

2.2.6. DEEPENING OF THE 'DARKNESS OF CONFUSION' OF LETTERS

Making new copies of books was done by copying them by hand (Kh. *хуулан бичих*).⁵⁶ And when copying texts of another school, it was not unusual to amend the orthography according to the wish of the customer. The copyist would change the diacritic marks accordingly with those words, which he knew well and would leave the diacritic marks with words about whose meaning he was not sure. And according to Vladimircov the diacritic marks are

52) *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, or 'the Entrance into the Bodhi-Life, i.e. "into the way of life leading to enlightenment' (cf. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi etc. 1988, Vol. II, p. 357).

53) Danzandagva held a high scientific degree *lharamba* (adapted from Tib. *Lhasa rab 'byams pa*). Tib. *rab 'byams pa* 'infinite, all-pervading' (= Class. Mo. *masi ketüregsen* 'excellent, distinguished'); with the implication of 'profoundly/ thoroughly (learned)'; was also taken into Mongolian as *rabjamba* (doctor of theology, doctor of Lamaist philosophy; cf. Lessing). The term *lharamba* may be interpreted in the sense of a 'Lhasa Ph.D.' defended in a Lhasa monastery.

Bilig-ün Dalai held a high position in the *Jing jusa* Monastery as the 'First Lama' (*Тэргүүн лам* = 'bishop').

54) Both of them worked on the grammatical rules set by Choiji-Odser's *Jirüken-ü Tolta*.

55) An abridged text of Bilig-ün Dalai's *Jirüken-ü Tolta* was also printed in Beijin in the 18th century (cf. Дамдинсүрэн 1957, p. 114).

56) The main manner of adding new books to both private and monastic libraries was copying them or having them copied by hand. There was a strong belief that there is no higher merit (Kh. *буян*) than copying Buddhist texts. There is an oral tradition documenting this attitude. It was while thinking about this merit that a man copying the Ganjur (108 volumes) fell ill in the middle of the work, and while copying the rest lying on his left side, his hip (Kh. *ташаа*) became sore. Then he copied the remaining portion lying on his right side. When many years back I saw the 17th century Mongolian manuscripts of the Ganjur in the library of the University of St. Petersburg, it was clear to me that this must have been the work of many people. And most of them were copies written in very nice handwriting though not a few of them were written carelessly.

used in a haphazard manner (cf. Note 28 above). In fact there was no other way when converting the texts from the first (A) and second (B) schools into the third (C) school.

Thus it could happen that words which were clear in the original became sources of confusion and in the further process turned into completely different words. For example the texts of *Jirüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi* published in the 20th century (the versions of Pozdneev, Pagva and Čoyijalsürüng) were copied by confusing the diacritic marks of School A with those of the other schools.

3. Diacritic marks and the venerable teachers of Mongolian script

In the Oirad script (Kh. *mod* *γсэг* or 'clear script') derived from the Mongolian script (1648)⁵⁷ and in the related Uighur and Arabic scripts, the letter *q* has two dots. It is not unusual that in Mongolian texts written before the classical script the letter *q* also has two dots. Thus it can be said that writing the letter *q* with a diacritic mark – two dots, was not a new idea.

B. Ya. Vladimircov, a great specialist in the Mongolian script, summarised the letters of the early Uighur-Mongolian script in a table (Владимирцов 1989, p. 69) and we can quote the following:

- the letter *hēth* without dots represents the letter *q* (modern Khalkha *x*)
- the letter *hēth* with and without dots represents the letter *γ* (modern Khalkha *z*)
- the letter *kāph* represents the letters *k*, *g* (modern Khalkha *x*, *z*)

From that it is obvious that the letter *hēth* without dots represented both *q* and *γ*, and the letter *kāph* represented both *k* and *g*. This fuzziness could only be overcome by contextual comparison or by a guess based on linguistic experience and competence. There was a requirement to change the graphemics because it was not permissible that the religious Buddhist texts should be confusing. The venerable teachers achieved this change in a very simple way. Concerning these letters they did not take into consideration the 'male-female' distinction and set a principle that the letters would be read as they appear in the text. They made a rule that before the tense consonants *q*, *k* there will be

57) Зая-пандита создал свое письмо на основе уйгуро-монгольского алфавита... графема Q с двумя точками, как в некоторых древнеуйгурских и среднемонгольских текстах, обозначает X (Кара 1972, p. 80).

two dots, and there will be no dots before the lax consonants *γ*, *g*. This was the new suggestion of the venerable teachers to avoid confusion.

There is a tradition of more than three hundred years that in classical Mongolian only the letter *γ* (in fact only in 'male' words) had two dots. Thus some specialists seeing two dots before the letters *q*, *k*, think that this confusion was an invention of Pandita Gungaa-Odsar in the 17th century and that this temporary deficiency was removed because of the criticism of Danzandagva (cf. 2. 2. 2. above). But we can show that in fact writing the letter *q* with two dots was an earlier tradition.

4. Diacritic marks and the early documents in Mongolian script

4.1. TWO DOTS TO BE FOUND IN THE TEXTS⁵⁸

1225 in the text of the so-called Chingis' Stone (*Чингисийн чулуу*) (Жанчив 2006, p. 114):

Buqa-sočiḡai (local name)

1257 in the text of the so-called Stone of the Emperor Mönke (*Мөнх хааны хөшөө*) (ibid., p. 117):

bosḡayul- causative of *bosqa-* 'to erect, construct'

1272 in the text of the letter of Nur ād-Dīn (ibid., p. 225, l. 9):

aḡa (Clas. Mo. *aq-a*) 'elder brother'

Personal names: ***Marḡus***, ***Taraḡai*** (ibid., p. 226, l. 27); ***Buḡačar*** (ibid., p. 226, l. 30); ***Masḡud*** (ibid., p. 226, l. 49); ***Iduḡadai*** (ibid., p. 227, l. 51); ***Nasuḡdliḡ*** (ibid., p. 227, l. 52)

1289 in the text of the letter sent by Il-Qan Argun to Philip the Fair of France (ibid., p. 216, l. 17):

Ḍimisḡ(i) Damascus

1312 in the text of the earliest xylograph (ibid., p. 192, l. 7, l. 9, p. 193, l. 6):

γaiḡamšiy marvellous; ***joḡiyabai*** wrote (the book); ***ḡur-a*** rain

1335 in the text of the stone inscription of Chang Ying-jui (Ligeti 1972):

taḡiḡu (ibid., p. 39, l. 17) to sacrifice; ***soyurḡal*** (ibid., p. 47, l. 50) favour, kindness; ***usḡal*** (ibid., p. 43, l. 30) gentle, humble; ***čidaḡui-ača*** (ibid.,

58) The below examples are taken from the photocopies in the book by Жанчив (2006) and are transliterated into the Latin script. The letter *q* with two dots is represented by the letter *ḡ*. A few examples are taken from Ligeti (1972).

p. 49, l. 54) as well as one can (lit. 'from being able', i.e. 'within the limit of being able')

1346 in the text of the stone inscription in Kara Korum (Ligeti 1972):

sayuqū balayasun (Clas. Mo. *sayuqu balyasu/n/*; ibid., p. 22, l. 2) residence; *yaqai jil* (ibid., p. 22, l. 6) year of the pig;⁵⁹ *noqai jil* (ibid., p. 23, l. 11) year of the dog; *dabqur* (ibid., p. 23, l. 10) layer; *asaraqū* (ibid., p. 23, l. 16) to take care; *adalidqabasu* (ibid., p. 23, l. 14) for example (lit. 'if compared'); *ülü uqaqun* (ibid., p. 24, l. 19) having no understanding or sense

In the early texts the letter *q̇* (with two dots) appeared quite often but unsystematically, and there are examples of two dots used with both *q* and *y* in one word. But this did not represent the decision of those who copied the texts, but rather was a matter of a tradition of using dots with words of cultural importance as they were remembered by visual memory. In other words, this was a 'residuum' of old rules set at an earlier time, which in the meantime had changed. For example in the calendar of the Turfan collection, the suffix *-q̇ui* in the phrases *ökin yaryaq̇ui* (to hand over the bride), *ber bayulq̇ui* (to bring the bride) was a regular form appearing several dozens of times. Similarly frequent is the form of the word *joq̇iq̇u* in grammatical phrases ...-*baču/bečü joq̇iq̇u* (to be appropriate to do, ought to do), ...-*baču/bečü ülü joq̇iq̇u* (not to be appropriate to do, should not do), though in the Turfan texts dots are not used in other cases. The reason may be some sort of conservative attitude connected with the specification of good and bad aspects of the individual calendar days.

59) Actually, the English translation should respect the fact that the year is a 'female' year and it should properly be called 'the year of the sow'.

4.2. THE TWO DOTS IN THE *ALTAN TOBČI* OF LUBSANDANZAN⁶⁰

It should be noted that the *Secret History of the Mongols* in Mongolian script,⁶¹ viz the *Altan Tobči* of Luvsandanzan, is an important document relating to the question of two dots. It is obvious that the early version of the *Secret History* in the Uighur-Mongolian script, from which the *Altan Tobči* of Luvsandanzan was copied, used two dots with the letter *q*.

It would have been easy to copy a text and leave out the dots according to the wish of the high officials (*keb-ün üsüg*, or D school). This, however, was not the target of Luvsandanzan, who obviously tried his best to prevent confusion. Thus he preserved the form of the original text and wrote the letter *q* with two dots in words, which could have been confused with one another (e.g. proper names, both personal and local). In some words, he also added two dots to the medium back velar *ɣ* in between two vowels (indicating a long vowel) for the same purpose. This was the more generally used manner of the time. And there was a very serious problem of proper names (both personal names and toponyms), which were difficult to guess from the context. Thus the problem was the ambiguity involved in writing the *ḥēth* letters *q* or *ɣ* with or without two dots.

We may see a few examples of the letter *q* with two dots to be found in the photocopy of the text (*Lu. Altan Tobči*, 1990), which had been preserved from the earlier graphemic system before the time of fixing the system of the Mongolian script in the written language.

- *Burqan qaldun* (p. 4v, name of a mountain); cf. *Burqan-Qaldun* (SHM §1, l. 4)
- *Uriyangqai* (p. 5r, family name); cf. *Urjañqai* (SHM § 9, l. 6)

60) There are two Mongolian historical works called *Altan Tobči* from the 17th century. The more extensive one repeats almost completely the *Secret History of the Mongols* and continues the narration up to the 17th century. This is referred to by Mongolian specialists as the *Altan Tobči* of Luvsandanzan (Kh. *Лувсанданзаны Алтан Товч*, which is abbreviated to *Лу. Алтан Товч*). Since the other one is not that extensive, it is usually called the 'Short *Altan Tobči*' (*Quriyangyui Altan Tobči*, Kh. *Хураангуй Алтан товч*). The latter is sometimes also called the 'Altan Tobči of Mergen Gegen' (Kh. *Мэргэн Гэгээний Алтан Товч*), or the 'Anonymous *Altan Tobči*' or 'Altan Tobči without name' (Kh. *нэргүй Алтан Товч*).

61) It can be taken for granted that the 'Altan Tobči of Luvsandanzan' was a version of the *Secret History* in Mongolian script. P. Pelliot and B. Ya. Vladimircov had proposed this idea, which was further investigated by S. Kozin. S. Kozin then published the parallel passages of both texts (Козин 1941, pp. 321–399). Most recently this aspect was also investigated by Sh. Choima (Чоймаа 2002).

- *Botaqan-Boyorjin* (p. 4v, name of a river); cf. *Botoqan-Bojorzi* (SHM §106, l. 15)
- *Olqunud* (p.14r, family name); cf. *Olqunuγud* (SHM § 54, l. 2)
- *Qoqatai* (p.15v, personal name); cf. *Soqatai* (SHM § 70, l. 3)
- *Jaq-a Gambuu* (p.27v, personal name); cf. *Žaqayambu* (SHM § 107, l. 10)
- *Qalqajin aled* (p. 61r, local name); cf. *Qara-Qalžid eled* (SHM § 170, l. 8)
- *Qal qaljid aled* (p. 68v, local name); cf. *Qalqalžid eled* (SHM §214, l. 54)

This list of names could be further extended. In this text there are also many examples of the letter *q* with two dots with a number of general nouns and verbs: *ayiladq-a-* to speak; *uq-a-* to understand; *idq-a-* to persuade; *darqala-* to provide special rights;⁶² *odqan* youngest child; *soyurqal* to deign, condescend. The reason for the preservation of the two dots in these cases was not necessarily the danger of misunderstanding the words nor that the copyist would not have known the letter *q* with dots. It was rather following the tradition of preserving the form of some word referring to spiritual culture (*ebüged-ün üges*, lit., 'words of the old people').

From among these words we can point to one example which is more interesting for the understanding of early graphemics, viz the manner of writing the word *kituy-a* (Kh. *xymza*, knife). It appears that from seven occurrences of the word on the front and back page of one sheet (*Altan Tobci*, pp. 68r, 68v), the first occurrence is written thoughtlessly by Luvsandanzan as *kituy-a* (D school), while the following six occurrences are written as *qituy-a*,⁶³ which may have been a conscious preservation of the earlier 'spelling'.

62) This is a contextual figurative meaning of the word. For the basic meaning and some more figurative meanings of the word cf. Lessing: 'to do the work of an artisan, craftsman or smith; to exempt from taxes or official duties; to set aside as sacred (forest or mountain)'.

63) For the 'spelling' of the word in the original script, see Appendix No. 10. It is said by some scholars that in the early texts in Mongolian script the back vowel *ī* is used only with the back velar consonants *q* / *γ* (Владимирцов 1989, p. 171). However, according to B. Rinchen the letter *i* in the 'male' words in texts up to the 17th century should be transcribed as *ī* (Ринчен 1966, p. 168).

4.3. THE TWO DOTS IN THE *SHORT ALTAN TOBČI*⁶⁴

This historical text, which was written sometime in the 17th–18th centuries, used earlier documents and in doing so it implemented the principles of the D School in writing the letters *q* / *g* systematically without dots. We may count the letters *q* / *γ* written with dots in this text on the fingers of one hand. Though rather scanty, this is an important piece of evidence. Let us see a few examples from the photocopy of the text (*Quriyangyui Altan Tobči*, 2002):

- *Qorildai Mergen* (p. 4b, personal name) cf. *Qorilartai-Mergen* (SHM § 8, l. 3). The copyist put two dots on the letter *q̇* so that it would not be read as *Forildai*.
- *Dabqur quyay* (p. 46b, ‘double suit of armour’). The word *dabqur* (Kh. *дав-хар*) is a generally easily understood word. The copyist put two dots accidentally and seven lines further he corrected his mistake and wrote it without the dots. Obviously he did not suspect that the previous occurrence of the letter with dots would be misunderstood and did not bother to correct it any more.
- *Künggüi Jabaqan* (p. 63a, local name; Kh. *Хүнгүй-Завхан*). The letter *q̇* with two dots was used in order to prevent reading a voiced consonant.
- *Jalyaqui* (p. 82a, ‘to connect’), Kh. *залгах*. This too is a fully comprehensible ordinary word. We may ask why the scribe wrote it with two dots. The reason may be his ‘handwriting’. When writing this word it had to have ‘seven teeth’ (Kh. *долоон шүд*) according to Mongolian graphemic rules. However, the scribe unwittingly wrote only ‘six teeth’ as can be seen in the photocopy. In the original the meaning was ‘for the sake of continuing the lost reign and the interrupted religion’ (*aldaysan törü, tasuraysan šasin-i jalyaqui-yin tula*), where the relevant word with six teeth would have been read as *jalqanui-yin tula*, where the *-nui* ending would not have been meaningful, but the root *jalqa-* would have implied ‘to be afraid or to get tired of’, and in the context of the phrase *törü, šasin-i jalqa-* the implication would have been rather unacceptable. And since the scribe did not have space to add one more ‘tooth’, he added the tooth next to the word between the lines, which can very well be seen in the photocopy. Apparently, the correction did not appear to the scribe to be sufficient and therefore he added

64) *Quriyangyui Altan Tobči* was known earlier and became a well-known source for Mongolian studies in many countries. It is generally accepted that its author was Mergen Gegen of the Urad people. Mergen Gegen had the merit of resuming the tradition of using Mongolian in the monasteries (choir singing, prayer) and brought the Lamaist religion closer to the believers. This is discussed in the book by Cerensodном (Цэрэнсодном 1997).

two small dots between the 'additional tooth' in the line and the last tooth of the word to indicate that the letter is *q̃* and not *n* (see Appendix No. 11).

The scribe may have been afraid of creating mistrust on the part of his superiors and in this way he managed to correct the text unequivocally. Thus there were also other reasons besides mere coincidence as implied in the above criticism of Vladimircov (above Note 28).

5. Conclusion

I have written this paper after pondering over this question for more than twenty years. When in the early nineties of the last century the movement to restore the classical Mongolian script started in the Mongolian Republic, it occurred to me that it would be desirable to develop an easy method of writing the Mongolian script with the diacritic marks according to the 'opinion of early teachers'. At that time I wrote a short paper on *Cegtü mongyol üsüg* (Dotted Mongolian script) in classical Mongolian script and in 1991 I sent it through a Czech pupil to offer it to a Mongolian philological journal in Inner Mongolia or in Sin-ťiang in China. Since I have no information whether it was published or not, I enclose it here as Appendix 12.

We may conclude this paper by quoting the words of Pandita Deligjüng-nai, a Lama who lived in the Keshigten district (Khoshun) at the turn of the 20th century and who in his work on the subject was able to express himself very meaningfully in just a few words. This is how he explains why he wrote his work *Todudqayči toli* (1927, p. 61):⁶⁵

'...with an (immodestly) great idea. Why should it not be possible to explain to others who suffered the same fate, how I myself understood [the principles of Mongolian script], having pardoned the bad aspects inflicted by the understanding of simple, ignorant common people⁶⁶ on the very precise system of Mongolian script created by respected high teachers...'

65) Erkin degedü merged-ün yaryagsan mongyol üsüg-ün narin niyta yosun-dur, egel mungqay bertegčün arad-un oyun-ača qaldaysan gem-ün jүүл-i namančilaju, ... öber-ün yambar metü uqaysan udq-a-yi qubi sačayu busud-a todudqabasu, yayun ülü bolqu! kemekü ülemji sanal-iyar... As it was first published by his pupil Lubsangčoyikor and reprinted in the name of Lubsangčoyikor in 1957.

66) Vladimircov (Владимирцов 1989, p. 135) explains this word (*bertegčün*) to have come from Skt. *prthag-jana-* (a man of lower cast or character or profession; pl. common people; lit. 'separate, different man') > Sogd. *prtkčn* > Mo. *bartagčün* / *bertegčün* (ordinary, simple man), while the latter 'female' reading prevailed because of the presence of the 'female' letter *g* and because the tradition of reading according to the Sogd tradition was lost.

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Appendices

APPENDIX NO. 1

Table of diacritics used in the Mongolian graphemic schools (see section 1 above)

Name of the letter	Mongolian letter			Graphemic schools			
	initial	medial	final	School A (Gungaa-Jaltsan, Choiji-Odser, Danzanda gva)	School B (Bilig-ün Dalai)	School C (Gungaa-Odser)	School D (<i>keb-ün üsüg</i> , i.e. printing script)
<i>ḥēth</i> with two dots	ᠬᠠ	ᠬᠡ	ᠬᠢ	q̄	ȳ	γ	
	ᠬᠠᠠ	ᠬᠡᠠ	ᠬᠢᠠ	q̄a	ȳa	γa	
	ᠬᠠᠤ	ᠬᠡᠤ	ᠬᠢᠤ	q̄o q̄u	ȳo ȳu	γo γu	
<i>ḥēth</i> without dots	ᠬ	ᠬᠡ	ᠬᠢ	γ	q	q	γ q
	ᠬᠠ	ᠬᠡᠠ	ᠬᠢᠠ	γa	qa	qa	γa qa
	ᠬᠠᠤ	ᠬᠡᠤ	ᠬᠢᠤ	γo γu	qo qu	qo qu	γo γu qo qu
<i>kāph</i> with two dots	ᠬᠠ	ᠬᠡ	ᠬᠢ	k̄	ḡ		
	ᠬᠠᠠ	ᠬᠡᠠ	ᠬᠢᠠ	k̄e	ḡe		
	ᠬᠠᠤ	ᠬᠡᠤ	ᠬᠢᠤ	k̄i	ḡi		
	ᠬᠠᠭ	ᠬᠡᠭ	ᠬᠢᠭ	k̄ö k̄ü	ḡö ḡü		

<i>kāph</i> without dots	ᠠ	ᠡ	ᠢ	g	k	g k	g k
	ᠠᠡ	ᠡᠡ	ᠢᠢ	ge	ke	ge ke	ge ke
	ᠠᠢ	ᠢᠢ	ᠢᠢ	gi	ki	gi ki	gi ki
	ᠠᠭ	ᠡᠭ	ᠢᠭ	gö gü	kö kü	gö gü kö kü	gö gü kö kü
<i>nūn</i> with a dot	ᠨ	ᠨᠡ	ᠨᠢ	ᠨ	ᠨ		
	ᠨᠡ	ᠨᠡᠡ	ᠨᠢᠢ	ᠨa ᠨe	ᠨa ᠨe		
	ᠨᠢ	ᠨᠢᠢ	ᠨᠢᠢ	ᠨi	ᠨi		
	ᠨᠭ	ᠨᠭᠡ	ᠨᠭᠢ	ᠨo ᠨu	ᠨo ᠨu		
	ᠨᠬ	ᠨᠬᠡ	ᠨᠬᠢ	ᠨö ᠨü	ᠨö ᠨü		
<i>nūn</i> without a dot	ᠨ	ᠨᠡ	ᠨᠢ			n	n
	ᠨᠡ	ᠨᠡᠡ	ᠨᠢᠢ			na ne	na ne
	ᠨᠢ	ᠨᠢᠢ	ᠨᠢᠢ			ni	ni
	ᠨᠭ	ᠨᠭᠡ	ᠨᠭᠢ			no nu	no nu
	ᠨᠬ	ᠨᠬᠡ	ᠨᠬᠢ			nö nü	nö nü
<i>šin</i> with two dots	ᠰ	ᠰᠡ	ᠰᠢ	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ
	ᠰᠡ	ᠰᠡᠡ	ᠰᠢᠢ	ᠰa ᠰe	ᠰa	ᠰa	ᠰa
	ᠰᠢ	ᠰᠢᠢ	ᠰᠢᠢ	ᠰi	ᠰi		
	ᠰᠭ	ᠰᠭᠡ	ᠰᠭᠢ	ᠰo ᠰu	ᠰo ᠰu	ᠰo ᠰu	ᠰo ᠰu
	ᠰᠬ	ᠰᠬᠡ	ᠰᠬᠢ	ᠰö ᠰü	ᠰö ᠰü	ᠰö ᠰü	ᠰö ᠰü

<i>šin</i> without dots	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ	s	s	s	s
	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ	sa se	sa se	sa se	sa se
	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ			ši	ši
	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ	so su	so su	so su	so su
	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ	sö sū	sö sū	sö sū	sö sū

APPENDIX NO. 2A

Transliteration of the Sogd-Uighur script (Shagdarsuring 2001, p. 44)

Согд арван дөрвөн үсгийн толгойг
латинаар үсэгчлэн буулгах ёсон

No.	Үсгийн махбод	үсэгчилэн буулгах галиг	галигийн нэр
o1	𐰀	' (/ ʼ)	áleph
o2	𐰁	y (ĭ)	yod
o3	𐰂	w	waw
o4	𐰃	n	nún
o5	𐰄	k	kápt
o6	𐰅	γ	héth
o7	𐰆	p (b ³)	pé
o8	𐰇	s	šin
o9	𐰈 𐰉	t / δ (d ⁴)	taw, dáleth
10	𐰊	l	lámeth
11	𐰋	m	mém
12	𐰌	c (č ⁵)	sádhé
13	𐰍	r	rés
14	𐰎	v	béth

APPENDIX NO. 2B

Transliteration of the Sogd-Uighur script (Vladimircov 1989, p. 71)

ТАБЛИЦА VI
уйгурско-монгольский алфавит:

Названия букв и их механическая транслитерация согласно основному значению		Начальные	Средние	Конечные	Древнее значение	Современное халхаское произношение
āleph	'	ا	ا	ا ا	a	a ā
—	'	ا	ا	ا ا	e	e ē ō ū
yod	y	ي	ي	ي	ī i	i
waw	w	و	و	و	o u	o y
—	w	و	و و	و	ō ū	ō ū
nūn	n	ن	ن	ن ن	n	n
nūn + kāph	nk		ن ک	ن	ng	ŋ
hēth	γ	ه	ه		q > ɣ	x
—	γ	ه ه	ه ه	ه ه	γ q	ɣ ɣ' k
pē	p	پ	پ	پ	p b w	b w ɸ w ɸ
šīn	š (s)	ش	ش	ش ش	s	c
—	š	ش	ش		š	ш
taw, dāleth	t d	ت	ت ت ت	ت د	t d	t' d
lāmedh	l	ل	ل	ل	l l	l l l l
mēm	m	م	م	م	m	m
ṣādhē	č	ص	ص	ص	č j	č' č' ʒ ɸ
yod	y	ي	ي	ي	j y	ʒ ɸ j
kāph	k	ك	ك	ك گ	k g	x' x' ɣ' ɣ' k
rēš	r	ر	ر	ر	r	r r r r
bēth	β	ب	ب		v w	w

APPENDIX NO. 3



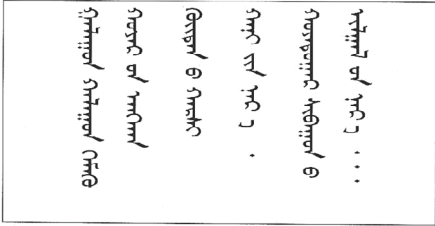
Writing the letter *d*.

(*gedesiün* + *sidün* / *segül*, Kh. *гэдэс+ийд/сүүл*; lit. ‘belly + tooth / tail’):

Medial syllable-closing <i>d</i>		Initial syllable-closing <i>d</i>	
belly ᠳ	ᠳ	belly ᠳ	ᠳ
tooth ᠳ		tail ᠳ	

APPENDIX NO. 4

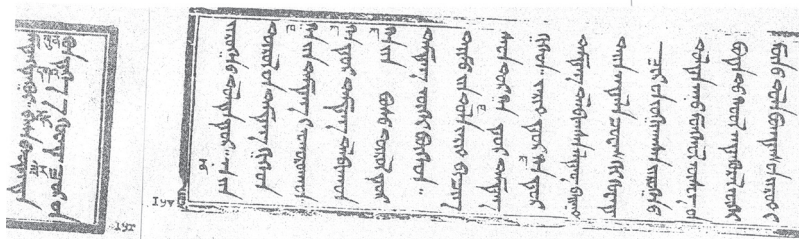
Differentiating *qa* and *ya* in writing (according to Deligunai and Lubsangcойiqor)

	
(<i>qalaqun</i>)	(<i>yalaqun</i>)
	

(Cf. *Todudqayči toli*, 1927, p. 58)

APPENDIX NO. 5

Passage from Danzandagva's work (cf. Note 21 above).



APPENDIX NO. 6

Table of the 123 letters appearing in Danzandagva's *Oytaryui-yin mañi*

<i>čingy-a</i>	<i>köndei</i>	<i>sayarmay</i>	<i>kijayar-taki qoyar</i>	<i>basa</i>
'strong' or 'tight', i.e. syllables combined with <i>a o u</i>	'hollow' or 'con- cave', i.e. sylla- bles combined with <i>e ö ü</i>	'mixed', i.e. syl- lables combined with <i>i</i>	'two (letters) in the end' ⁶⁷	'and also'
<i>a</i> (o u)	<i>e</i> (ö ü)	<i>i</i>	<i>va</i>	(ng)
<i>na</i> (no nu)	<i>ne</i> (nö nü)	<i>ni</i>	<i>ve</i>	(iyar)
<i>ba</i> (bo bu)	<i>be</i> (bö bü)	<i>bi</i>		
<i>qa</i> (qo qu)	<i>ke</i> (kö kü)	<i>ki</i>		
<i>ya</i> (yo yu)	<i>ge</i> (gö gü)	<i>gi</i>		
<i>ma</i> (mo mu)	<i>me</i> (mö mü)	<i>mi</i>		
<i>la</i> (lo lu)	<i>le</i> (lö lü)	<i>li</i>		
<i>ra</i> (ro ru)	<i>re</i> (rö rü)	<i>ri</i>		
<i>sa</i> (so su)	<i>se</i> (sö sü)	<i>si</i>		
<i>da</i> (do du)	<i>de</i> (dö dü)	<i>di</i>		
<i>ta</i> (to tu)	<i>te</i> (tö tü)	<i>ti</i>		
<i>ya</i> (yo yu)	<i>ye</i> (yö yü)	<i>yi</i>		
<i>ča</i> (čo ču)	<i>če</i> (čö čü)	<i>či</i>		
<i>ja</i> (jo ju)*	<i>je</i> (jö jü)*	<i>ji</i> *		
(<i>pa po pu</i>)	(<i>pe pö pü</i>)	(<i>pi</i>)		
(<i>ša šo šu</i>)	(<i>še šö šü</i>)	(<i>ši</i>)		
(<i>ja jo ju</i>)**	(<i>je jö jü</i>)**	(<i>ji</i>)**		
51	51	17	2	2

* The letter *j* in the initial position (*silbi*, lit. 'shank')

** The letter *j* in the medial position (*moquyu eber*, lit., 'blunt horn'; *moquyu öncüg*, lit., 'ob-
tuse angle')

COMMENT:

In the above Table the letters without brackets are those, which (in Danzandagva's words) were created by Sakya Pandita called *ijayur-un döčin dörben üsüg* (forty four root letters).

67) I.e. the two final letters.

According to Danzandagva, the letters found in brackets are those derived from the letters with the vowels *a/e* by Choiji-Odsar. This amounts to 121 syllables or letters, one combined letter (*ng*), one suffix letter (*iyar/iyer*), which amounts to a total of 123 letters.

According to the oral tradition of the early Mongolian grammarians, Choiji-Odsar derived two new letters (in brackets) from each of the fourteen *čingy-a* letters (from *a* to *ja*), and two new letters (in brackets) from each of the fourteen *köndei* letters (from *e* to *je*), which amounts to 56 new letters added to the 44 'root' letters (*ijayur-un döčin dörben*). That amounted to a total of 100 letters (in this respect Danzandagva sees eye to eye with Bilig-ün Dalai).

Their difference of opinion consists in the following:

A) ACCORDING TO DANZANDAGVA,

Choiji-Odsar added the following letters to the above 100 letters:

- 1) He created the letter *pa* by adding two signs resembling 'ears' to the letter *ba*.
- 2) He created the letter *ša* by adding two dots to the 'braid' (ᠰᠠᠰᠠᠭ) of the letter *sa*.
- 3) In the medial position he used the letter *ča* instead of *ja* (while the pronunciation remained voiced).
- 4) By adding the seven vowels (*a, e, i, o, u, ö, ü*) to each of the above three letters he produced twenty-one new letters, which together with *ng, iyar* rose to 23 new letters, the total then being **123** letters.

B) ACCORDING TO BILIG-ÜN DALAI,

1) Choiji-Odsar added two letters, viz *ša, pa*, to the above 100 letters, which amounted to 102 letters. Then by adding the medial letters *ja, ji, jo, ju, jö, jü*, he reached 108 letters.

- 2) To the above 108 letters Gungaa-Odsar added the following:
 - *ša, šī, šo, šu, šö, šü* (*sa üsüg-ün gejigen-dür qoyar čeg talbiysan ša*, lit. "the letter *ša* with two dots added to the 'braid' /*gejigel* of *sa*")
 - *pa, pī, po, pu, pö, pü* (*ba üsüg-ün deger-e morin-u čikin metü temdeg talbiysan pa*, lit. "the letter *pa* with two signs resembling 'horse's ears' added to the letter *ba*")
 - plus *iyar, ja* (medial) and *ng* the total is 123 letters

However, note that Bilig-ün Dalai's calculation includes also the three *čingy-a* letters *pa, ša, ja*.

APPENDIX NO. 7

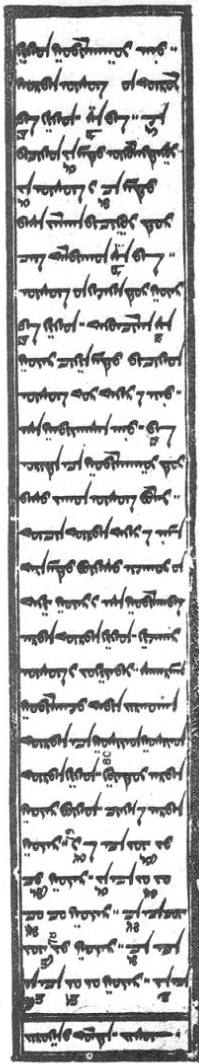
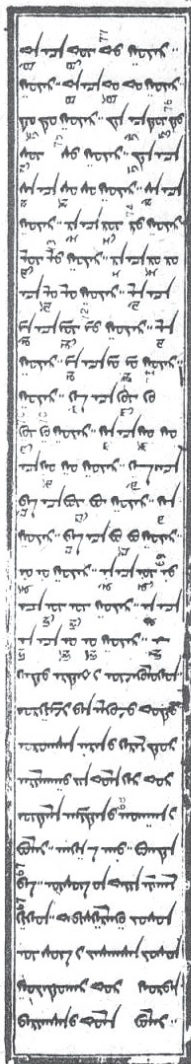
List of misprints in Pagva's book (1957)

„Зүрхний тольтын тайлбарын“ хэвлэлийн зарим залруулга.

Хуудас	Мөр	Ташаарсан нь	Залруулах нь
9	4	бүтүүлэг	битүүлэг
14	37	НА-нөхцөлийг	АА-нөхцөлийг
18	16	ГА ха	ха ГА
19	39	ГА ха	ха ГА
44	15	хуваасн нь	хавьяагсан нь
46	20	айлтгахын	айлдахын
46	24	айлтгахуй	айлдахуй
50	4	Г А	ха
50	5	ХА	Г А
50	6	ГА	ХА
50	7	ХА	ГА
52	18	ВА	Б А
24	8	ᠮᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠮᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
25	13	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
27	8	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
27	8	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
28	19	ᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨ ᠠᠨ
29	3	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
29	9	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
29	9	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
29	10	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
29	10	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
29	13	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
29	15	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
29	19	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
31	3	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
31	8	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
32	17	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
34	3	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
35	7	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
35	13	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
36	1	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ ?
37	15	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
39	6	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ
39	20	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ	ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨ

APPENDIX NO. 8A

List of Mongolian letters in the text of *Oytaryui-yin Mañi* – 2 (Agin Datsan Monastery xylograph) (Балданжапов 1962, p. 42–43)



APPENDIX NO. 8B

Latin transliteration of Baldanžapov (1962, p. 69)

a > o, u^{*}

e > ö, ü

na > no, nu

ne > nō, nū

ba > bo, bu

be > bō, bū

ga > go, gu

ge > gō, gū

xa > xo, xu

ke > kō, kū

ma > mo, mu

me > mō, mū

la > lo, lu

le > lō, lū

ra > ro, ru

re > rō, rū

sa > so, su

se > sō, sū

da > do, du

de > dō, dū

ta > to, tu

te > tō, tū (᠑a)

ya > yo, yu

ye > yō, yū

ca > co, cu

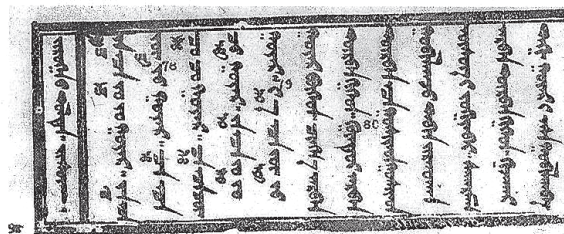
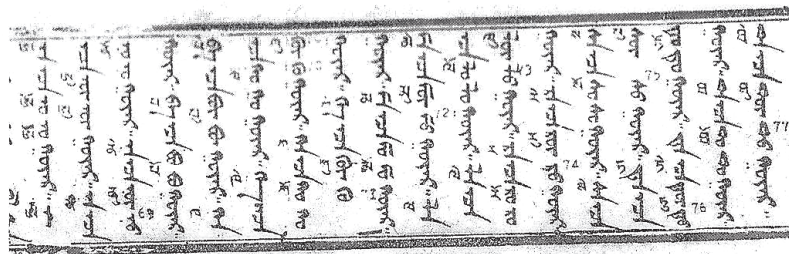
ce > cō, cū

ja > jo, ju

je > jō, jū

APPENDIX NO. 8C

Tibetan letters placed next to Mongolian letters in *Oyṭaryui-yin Mañi* – 2 in order to avoid confusion (Agin Datsan Monastery xylograph of *Oyṭaryui-yin Mañi* – 2; pp. 42–43, 8v– 9r)



Quoted letters:

Specification of the Mo. letters	Mongolian letter	Attached Tibetan letter
Letters <i>q̃</i> , <i>k̃</i> with dots	ᠠ ᠡ	ᠠ
Letters <i>y</i> , <i>g</i> without dots	ᠢ ᠣ	ᠢ
'Horizontal' or 'lying' letter <i>d</i>	ᠣ	ᠣ
'Vertical' or 'upright' letter <i>t</i>	ᠤ	ᠤ
Letter <i>č</i>	ᠨ	ᠨ
Letter <i>j</i>	ᠠ (ᠡ)	ᠠ

APPENDIX NO. 9

Formal differentiation of the letters *d*, *t* in the texts of *Oyṭaryui-yin Mañi* – 1 (Beijin xylograph) and *Oyṭaryui-yin Mañi* – 2 (Agin Datsan Monastery xylograph)

Latin transliteration	Position of the letter	No formal difference (in classical Mongolian script)	Formal differentiation (<i>Oyṭaryui-yin Mañi</i> – 1, <i>Oyṭaryui-yin Mañi</i> – 2)
d	initial	ᠳ	ᠳᠠ
	medial	ᠳᠠ	ᠳᠠ
t	initial	ᠳ	ᠳ
	medial	ᠳᠠ	ᠳ

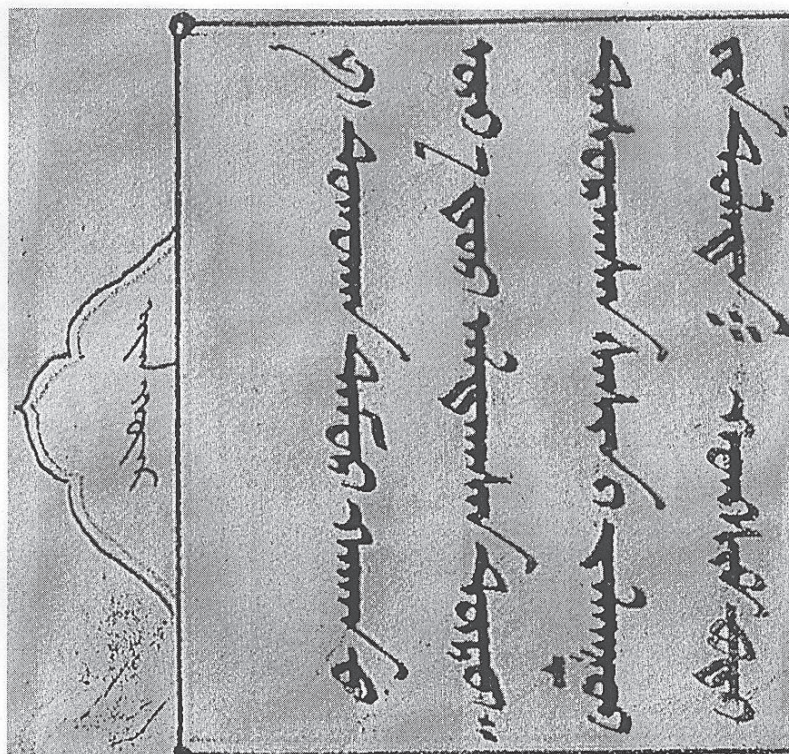
APPENDIX NO. 10

The 'spelling' of the word *qūtuy-a* in the original script (cf. Note 63 above)



APPENDIX NO. 11

Mistaken correction of the word *jalyaqui* in *Quriyangyui Altan Tobci* (third column bottom)



APPENDIX NO. 12

The author's earlier essay *Cegtü mongyol üsüg* (Dotted Mongolian script, 1991)

1. Алгебра (100 баллов)
 2. Геометрия (100 баллов)
 3. Физика (100 баллов)
 4. Химия (100 баллов)
 5. Биология (100 баллов)
 6. История (100 баллов)
 7. Литература (100 баллов)
 8. Математика (100 баллов)
 9. Музыка (100 баллов)
 10. Изобразительное искусство (100 баллов)

[illegible]

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

4. 1. Etyma with initial dentals (*t-*, *d-*, *n-*)

Jaroslav Vacek

Summary: The paper continues the systematic survey of *verba dicendi* as presented in the previous volumes of *Mongolica Pragensia* ('03, '04, '05, '06, '07). The subject is the etyma with the above defined structure, viz initial dentals (*t-*, *d-*, *n-*) with all the various root final consonants except root-final liquids and retroflex stops. The general principles and theoretical considerations for this study were presented in some of my earlier papers (e.g. Vacek 2004b or 2006a). 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.

0.

The present paper continues the systematic analysis of the verbs referring to “speaking” in the broad sense of the word and to various other “noises”. As in the previous papers, I summarise the lexemes according to the formal structure of the root. The CVC roots of the verbs discussed in this paper have root-initial dentals and all root-final consonants except for the liquids and cerebral stops. The material is arranged according to the formal difference between the root-final consonants and consonant groups and the range of vowels within the individual models in the individual sections. Occasionally, however, it is possible to refer to parallels with root-initial sibilants or affricates discussed in my earlier paper (Vacek 2003), which may merely reflect the different historical development of the same roots and/or may also be a result of mutual borrowing. It appears that a number of these verbal roots are ‘motivated’ designations of the various sounds, i.e. they are onomatopoeic. In some cases the lexical groups can ‘overlap’ with formally similar verbs designating either movement or beating and the like.

Concerning both the system of analysis and the methodology behind this primarily heuristic work, the reader is welcome to read the author’s latest outline of the principles of dealing with this subject (Vacek 2004b or 2006a). That paper outlines the general background and summarises the basic phonetic, morphological and lexical parallels, and introduces the concept of phonetic

'models' as well as individual phonetic correspondences. It also suggests the possibility of understanding this special type of linguistic relationship (both regular and irregular correspondences, absence of parallels e.g. of numerals or pronouns) on the basis of the concepts of language contact and ancient linguistic area(s), which would have provided a natural milieu for the development of languages in early contact situations. It further makes some hints at the possible 'historical' circumstances of these processes.

It may be interesting to note that in the early system, verbs played an important role¹ and the same is true of some other groups of words in the basic vocabulary like kinship terms,² parts of the body,³ animals⁴ and some other semantic fields.⁵ While it is based on a general theoretical background, this work is primarily a heuristic work. Relying on the preliminary survey of the parallels, the work slowly adds new material until a dossier of evidence is reached that can hardly be explained away as a mere play of chance. It will take more time and energy before we are able to develop not only a more reliable picture, but also a theoretical instrument which will be sufficiently precise and at the same time flexible (with regard to the implied hypothesis of a development in contact). In this context the reader may be reminded once again of the emotional exclamation of G. Doerfer in his book on 'omnicomparatism' (1973, p. 122): 'Die Junggrammatiker sind tot, es leben die Junggrammatiker der Zukunft!'⁶ And needless to say, the study of Dravidian and Altaic is in no way a case of 'omnicomparatism'.

Formally the indicated types of verbs are divided into the following six groups:

- 1 *t/d/n* – *k/g/ŋ/ŋg* (p. 101)
- 2 *t/d/n* – *p/b/v/m/mb* (p. 110)
- 3 *t/d/n* – *c/s/š/z/ž/ñc* (p. 122)
- 4 *t/d/n* – *i/y* (p. 125)
- 5 *t/d/n* – *t/d/n/nt* (p. 127)
- 6 *t/d/n* – *l / ! / !]*

1) For other verbs cf. Vacek 1983, 1992b, 1992c, 1994, 1996b, 2005a, 2006b, 1007b.

2) Cf. Vacek, Lubsangdorji 1994. There are also parallel terms for the parts of the body between Dravidian and Uralian, which have been discussed by T. Burrow (1943–6; repr. 1968).

3) For parts of the body cf. Vacek 2005a, 2006c, 2007a, and Vacek in press.

4) Several examples of parallel terms were discussed in my earlier papers (Vacek 2002c, 2004a).

5) For example 'water, cold' (2002a) or 'fire, heat, hot' (Vacek 2001a, 2001b).

6) The Young grammarians are dead, long live the Young grammarians of the future!

7) This group of etyma will be the subject of a later paper. Some of the etyma listed below have already been mentioned in my 1994 paper, though they were arranged slightly differently.

The initial variation of stops and homorganic nasals has already been discussed on several occasions (cf. e.g. 2007b, p. 396 with further reference). Note also that the initial dental nasals may sometimes alternate with initial liquids (particularly in MT., also in Mongolian and occasionally also in Turkic) and occasionally also with *ŋ*- (in MT.). For cases of a similar variation of the initial nasals with liquids in some MT. etyma cf. Vacek 2007b (pp. 400–401). The following models with the above mentioned root-final consonants (Nos. 1–5) are arranged according to the medial vowels – starting from the front vowels, then the back vowels and finally *-a-*. The forms with initial nasals (and also liquids) are listed in an analogical order at the end of the relevant lists of forms with the corresponding root-final consonants in each language group.

1. *t/d/n – k/g/ng*

Ta. *tikku* to stutter, stammer, err or hesitate as in recitation, reading, etc.; n. stuttering, halting in speech

tikku-vāyaṇ stammerer, stutterer

Ma. *tikku* stuttering; *tikkuka* to stammer

Ko. *tekva-yṇ* stammerer, stutterer

Ka. *tikkalu* stuttering (DEDR 3210)

Kur. *tengnā* (*tingyas*) to tell, narrate, explain

tengrnā to confess, profess

tingāba'anā to moralize, preach, impress upon, inculcate; *tingārṇā* (refl.-pass.)

Malt. *tenge* to tell, point out, relate (DEDR 3409)

Ta. *tēkkam* eructation

tēkku to belch; n. belching, eructation

tēkk-iṭu, *tēkk-eri* to belch

tekiṭṭu vomiting sensation

[*teviṭṭu* to chew the cud]⁸

8) Ta., Te. and Kui have a variant with a medial labial, which could also be listed below as a separate sub-item in section 2, dealing with medial labials. In that respect they are closer to the only remaining Tamil variant with a labial medial in DEDR 3451b (Ta. *tēmpu-*). Cf. also Notes 10, 27, 28, 29.

- Ma. *tēkkuka* to belch
tēkkam nausea, unsubdued anger
tēñnuka to feel nausea, sob
tekiṭtu belching
tikaṭṭuka to belch, feel nausea
tēṭṭuka to belch, ruminate⁹
- Ko. *te·kl* a belch
 To. *tō·k-* (*tō·ky-*) to belch
 Ka. *tēgu*, *tēku* id.; n. a belch
tēguvike belching
ḍēgu (Bell.; U.P.U.), *ḍēku* (Gulb.; U.P.U.) to belch
 Koḍ. *tē·kilī* a belch
 Tu. *tēgu* id.
tēguni to belch
 [Te. (K.) *dēvu* (nausea) to be caused in stomach]
 Nk. *ḍēkur* a belch
 Konḍa *dēk-* to belch
dēkun a belch
 [Kui *tēpka* (< *tēk-p-*; *tēkt-*) to vomit; n. vomiting] (DEDR 3451a-a)¹⁰
- Kur. *ḍhikraānā*, [*ḍhakraānā*] to belch
ḍhikar belching (Bleses, p. 20, s.v. belch)
- Go. (Mu.) *ṭingō* dancing-bells
 Pe. *ṭingo* cow-bell
 ?Kui *ṭini* a bell (DEDR 2954)
- Ta. *tūñku-* 6. to sound (TL s.v.)
- Pe. *ḍuṇ ḍuṇ* onom. expression of the beating of a drum
ḍuṇ ḍuṇ striker for a stringed instrument (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1970, 209)
- Kuwi *ḍū ḍū ki-* to knock at door
ḍū? to knock; to kill lice squeezing between finger nails (Israel, p. 369)

9) The form with the long vowel *-ē-* is to be seen as a contraction of the previous form with medial velar.

10) I have subdivided DEDR 3451a into DEDR 3451a-a (medial velars) and DEDR 3451a-b (medial labials). Cf. below Note 27, 28, 29.

Ta. *tokku-t-tokk-eṇal* 1. onom. expr. of creaking noise, as of shoes; [2. expr. of rocking, unsteady motion, as of a corpulent person in walking] (TL s.v.)

To. *to.k* tune (Sakthivel 1976, 350)

Kuwi *ḍuk-i-* to sob (Israel, p. 369)

Go. [*tum* (Ko.) a sneeze]
tuhkānā (Ph.), *tuh-* (Mu.), *tuhk-* (S.), *tukhānā* (L.) to sneeze
tuhkānā (Tr.) to cough (of cattle in the rainy season)
tuhk (Ph.) a sneeze (s.v. Ta. *tummu*, DEDR 3336)

Kur. *ṭhoknā* to sound, to drum (Bleses, p. 144, s.v. sound; p. 56, s.v. drum)
thokbokrnā, *thokōbokō mannā* to speak hesitatingly (Bleses, p. 144, s.v. speak)

Te. *daggu*, (K. also) *ḍaggu* to cough; n. a cough

Kol. *dag-*; *ḍagg-* (SR.) to cough

ḍag (Kin.) a cough

Nk. *ḍhag-* to cough

Go. *ḍagānā* (M.) id.

ḍag(u) (Ko.) coughing, hawking (DEDR 2939)

Pa. *ḍakar* belch (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1953, 172)¹¹

Kur. *ḍhakraānā*, [*ḍhikraānā*] to belch (Bleses, p. 20, s.v. belch)

Pa. *ḍagga* story (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1953, 172)

Kur. *ḍhāk* a drum (Bleses, p. 56, s.v. drum)

The following etymon is clearly onomatopoeic and formally identical with the other etyma in this section, though semantically it has a broader range of meanings, most of them referring to sound only indirectly.¹²

11) Cf. the forms with a front vowel above in DEDR 3451a.

12) There is one more etymon with a medial front vowel, which probably could also belong to this group, only its semantics is more 'concentrated' and its reference to sound is not very clear:

Ta. *tiku-tik-eṇal* expr. signifying bubbling of water

Ma. *tikakka* to boil, bubble up; *tikattuka* to boil (DEDR 3203)

Ta. *taka-tak-eṇal*, *taka-takav-eṇal* onom. expr. of boiling, bubbling
 Ma. *taka taka* beating time
 Ka. *takatakane* quickly (of dancing)
 taka pakane id., vehemently (used of boiling)
 Tu. *takataka*, *takapaka* agility in dancing; bubbling in boiling, nimbly, briskly
 Te. *takapikalāḍu* to dance about, dangle (DEDR 2997)

Nk. *nēk-* to sound
 Nk. (Ch.) *nēk-* (musical instrument) to sound, be played on
 nēkup-/nēkp- to play an instrument
 Go. *nēkānā* to sound (of a pot, gong, bell) (Tr. SR.), to ring (M.)
 nēk- (musical instrument) to sound (G. Mu.), (bell) to sound (Ma.);
 caus. *nēkstānā* (Tr.), *nēksānā* (SR.), *nēkih-* (Mu.)
 [*eksānā* to beat (drum) (Pat.)
 eganta (spelled *yeganṭa*) o'clock (= 3sg. neut. pres.) (Pat.)] (DEDR 3762)¹³

Go. *ne:ku:s-* to play a musical instrument (Subrahmanyam 1968, 212; No. 952)

Ka. *nakta* a saying or proverb of the country
 (s.v. Ta. *naccu-* to babble, prate; DEDR 3579, see below)¹⁴

Kur. *nagērā* a drum (Bleses, p. 56, s.v. drum)

Kur. *nagdawā* a trumpet (Bleses, p. 162, s.v. trumpet)

Mo. *tegede-* to stammer; to be a stammerer; to have difficulty in speaking¹⁵

13) For the initial vowels, cf. DEDR 879. Variation of initial dental nasal and zero before front vowels is phonetically admissible and may also be found elsewhere.

14) This lexeme was mentioned with the whole etymon in Vacek 1994, No. 6.

15) Note that some of these words with front vowels in the first syllable can have the palatalized form (Vacek 2003, p. 184):

cikira- to squeak (as a cart, etc.)

cinggine- to ring, resound

senggene- to sing (of wind)

zigigi- to hum, buzz, chirp, chirup

zinggine 2. to have a ringing in the ears; to ring, tinkle (of bells); to hum (as telegraph wires)

The alternation of -NC- (medial homorganic nasal plus occlusive) and -C- (occlusive) is found in a number of etyma both in Dravidian and Mongolian.

toy onom. tick tack, sound of hitting a hard object or walking on a wooden floor¹⁶

toysi-, tongsi- to knock, rap, beat; to throb; to pack

doki- (2.) to beat a drum (cf. *toy* above; *tay* 3., *tab* 6. below)

toyurul- to speak smoothly or fluently

dongsi- to talk too much, babble, prate; to wander about idly, gad, saunter

dongyus- to chatter, jabber, make idle talk

dongyud- to make a sound; to cry, sing, chatter; cuckoo (of birds); to blame, rebuke, reprimand, scold, bawl out

tuyuri novelette, short story

tuyuzi (*tuuz*) story, narrative, tale, legend

tuyuzila- (*tuuzila-*) to recount, narrate

tüg 2. onom. expressive of a knocking sound¹⁷

tüng 1. onom. sound describing drum beat, hitting on a hard object, etc.

dünggine- to make a hollow sound, resound; to make a rumbling sound; to hum

düngginegür making a hollow noise; (a five-gallon gasoline can)

dünggür shaman's drum (a large, shallow one-headed drum beaten with a curved stick)

tay 3. onom. sound of striking on something hard; knock

taysi- b. to cry (of eagles); [a. to beat, hit, click, clap]¹⁸

16) This and some of the following one-syllable onomatopoetic expressions (*tüg*, *tay*) can be a basis for verbs whose meaning is some noise, but also beating in general.

17) Cf. the derived verbs and their meanings: *tügse-* to thresh grain; to beat metal; *tügsi-* to palpitate, throb (of heart).

18) Cf. *cayci-* to chatter (of a magpie), and related forms with initial affricates (Vacek 2003, p. 188). For the meaning to 'knock, hit', cf. a formally close verb form *dayari-* to knock down or hit in passing.

dayu(n) 2. sound, noise; voice; tone; musical sound; song¹⁹

dayuda- to call; to evoke; to read aloud; to pronounce

dayudaly- a call, summons, evocation; pronunciation

dayuci(n) singer

dayula- to sing, chant

dayulal hymn, song

dayurija(n) echo, resonance

dayuris- to sound; to be(come) known or famous

dayzi- b. to chatter, rattle

tang 5. onom. sound of a gong or shot

tangsi- to champ; to click the tongue in surprise, disgust, or admiration

tangsily-a sound made by chewing; click of tongue; applause

danggina- 2. to resound or ring (as frozen soil underfoot)²⁰

nangsi- to babble, to grumble; to act inconsistently or imprudently; to act foolishly or crazily

nangsij-a babbling, chattering

nangsijaci chatterbox; dotard, imbecile

laysi- to babble, prattle, gossip; [to become sticky]

MT.

Ma. *teḡ taḡ seme* onom. shouting (about people arguing with each other)
(s.v. *TEPKE-* to shout; MTD II,237)

Oroch. *digga(n)-* voice; language, speech

diggamdika able to speak (about a child)

diggan-a- to speak, shout

Ud. *digan-a-* to say, speak; to utter cries (animals); to sing (birds)

(s.v. *DILGAN* voice; MTD I,206)

19) Cf. also *duuyara-* (< *dayu yarxu*) to produce a sound; to sound, resound; to roll (as thunder).

20) The first meaning of this verb is 'to freeze solidly'. There is obviously some overlapping with another lexeme, viz *dayara-* to feel cold, be cold; to catch a cold.

Evenk. *diŋelči-* to hum, to roll, to rumble
diŋelēn buzzing; noise of the sea, splashing of the waves; din, thunder
diŋelen-, diŋelēn- to hum for some time, to roll for some time, to rumble
 for some time (s.v. *DIRGI-* to chirp; MTD I,208)

Evenk. *diŋina-* to ring (s.v. *DILGAN* voice; MTD I,206)

Ma. *dukži-* to make noise, to speak loudly (s.v. *DURŽU-* to make noise; MTD I,225)

DĀGYRGĀ- to caw (MTD I,189)

Evenk. *dāgyrgā-* to caw [< Yak.]

DAN̄DI- to utter a mating call MTD I,196)

Evenk. *dan̄di-* to utter a mating call (wood grouse)

DAXAV^FKA- to sing (MTD I,191)

Neg. *daxav^fka-* to sing (religious and old-fashioned use)

TAKOT-/Č- to shamanize (MTD II,154)

Neg. *takot-/č-* to shamanize (over a sick person)

Oroch. *takontau* onom. bang bang (about the beating of the Shaman's drum)

TAKPUTA- to chatter (the teeth) (MTD II,154)

Ud. *taḵputa-* to chatter (the teeth)

Nan. *taḵar-r* chattering (about teeth)

TAKTEÆNAIŽI loudly (MTD II,154)

Ud. *takteænaiži* loudly (hitting by hand)

Ma. *taḵ taḵ seme* onom. about knocking, beating (the heart)

taḵ tiḵ seme onom. about cutting wood; about dice (in playing)

TAKTIKA- to utter a mating call (MTD II,154)

Evenk. *taktika-* to utter a mating call (wood grouse)

Nan. *taktarī* wood grouse

NINŅŪ- to moan (MTD I,597)

Evenk. *ninŋū-, n'iniŋū-, [nimū-], niŋū-, [nimŋū-], n'uŋu-, niŋu-* to moan
 (from pain), groan

ninŋūn, n'iniŋūn, niŋūn, [nimŋūn] moaning, groaning²¹

21) The forms with medial labials in square brackets are then repeated below in the relevant section.

ninḡūsin-, *n'inḡus-*, *n'inḡusīn-* to utter a moan
 Even. *ninḡṣ-*, *ninḡṣ-*, *ninḡṣ-* to moan, groan
ninḡṣl-, *ninḡṣl-*, *ninḡṣl-* to utter a moan
 Neg. *niḡu-*, *niḡu-* to moan, groan
 Ud. *n'uḡu-*, *n'uḡugde-* to bellow (elk in August during hunting)
 Olcha [*miḡu-*, *miḡuči-*] *n'inḡiči-/u-*, *n'inḡuči-/u-* to moan, groan²²
 [Nan. *miḡuči-* to moan, groan
miḡučiḡu- to utter a moan]

Olcha *n'ḡma(n-)* tale; narration
n'ḡman- to tell (tales); to shamanize
n'ḡmarū-, *n'ḡmači-* to tell tales
 Orok. *n'ḡma*, [*n'imḡa*] tale
n'ḡman- to tell tales, to shamanize
n'ḡmači- to beat (the drum)
 Nan. *n'ḡmāā*, [*imākā*, *imḡa*] tale
n'ḡmān-, [*imḡan-*] to tell tales (s.v. *NIMḤĀKĀN* tale; MTD I,594)

LENḤAN the cry of geese (Evenk.) (MTD I,496)

LIGIRĪ- to snore (MTD I,497)
 Evenk. *liyirī*, *liglī*, *ligrī*, *luglī-* to snore (in sleep); to sigh
 Even. *nīyirī*, *l'iyirī*, *nīyirīl-*, [*nīivri-*, *nīivril-*] to utter a snore
nīyirīn, *nīyirīnmaj*, *nīyirīnmaji*, [*nīivrin*] a snore²³
 Neg. *liyī-* to snore
liyīl- to utter a snore
 Orok. *līi-* to snore

LOKTĪR-R-LOKTĪR-R sound of snoring (MTD I,502)
 Neg. *loktīr-r-loktīr-r* onom. sound of snoring (of a sleeping man)

LUNḤU noise (MTD I,511)
 Evenk. *luḡu* noise, hubbub (of voices); noisy; very noisily
luḡu- to be noisy, shout (about children); to make noise (crowd)
luḡun noise, hubbub
luḡēri- to shout at deers (so that they do not disperse) etc.

22) For the forms with initial labial nasals in square brackets in Olcha and also below in Nanai, cf. Vacek 2004, p. 44, note 55 or Vacek 2006a, p. 85, note 55 concerning the alternation of initial dental and labial nasals, which obviously also affects Manchu-Tungus. However, in this particular case, it could also be interpreted as a dissimilation of two identical or close consonants in the same morpheme (cf. Trnka 1964). The etymon also has one Manju and Orok form with a medial dental and an Orok form with a medial palatal.

23) For the forms with medial labial -v- in square brackets see also below in the relevant section.

Even. *nəŋeri-* to make noise, shout, speak loudly
nəŋerin noise (of discussions, shouting)

LOŋSĪ- to prattle (MTD I,504)

Nan. *loŋsi-* [< Ma.] to prattle, to be querulous
loŋsiso/ũ talkative, querulous

Ma. *loksi-, loŋsi-* to prattle, to chatter idly
loksin, loŋsiķu talkative person, prattler
loŋ seme, loŋ loŋ seme onom. talkatively (without cessation)

LAK-LAX onom. imitation of the sound of boiling porridge (MTD I,488)

Neg. *lak-lax* id.

LAKSIJ- to prattle (MTD I,488)

Evenk. *laksij-* [< Yak. *laxsyi-*] to prattle (foolishly); to speak (for a long time)

OT. *tigi:* a sound, a sound heard at night (Cl. 478)

cf.

TIKI I sound (OTD s.v.)²⁴

tigilig noisy, resounding (Cl. 481)

tigir (hap. leg.) onom. for a clattering noise (Cl. 485)

tigre:- to clatter (horse's hooves) (Cl. 486)

cf.

TIKRÄ- I (horse's hooves) to clatter (OTD s.v.)

tigret- to make (the horse) break wind (Cl. 486)

toki:- to hit, knock (Cl. 467)

TOQĪ- to beat, hit, knock (OTD s.v.)

TÖG- to crush, pound (OTD s.v.)

taŋ toŋ onom. to make noise (heavy thing) (Cl. 511)²⁵

24) For the corresponding forms with initial sibilants or affricates cf. Vacek 2003, p. 185ff.

25) It appears that in Turkic, as in Mongolian, there is also a formally close lexeme related to cold, cf.

TOŊ I frozen; cold, frost (OTD s.v.)

toŋ I frozen hard (Cl. 513)

toŋ- to be frozen hard (Cl. 514)

Yak. *dāgyrgā-* to caw
dāgyrnai, dāh crow (s.v. *DĀGYRGĀ-* to caw; MTD I,189)²⁶

loŋ sound (of metal, bell)
loŋkunā- to utter a loud noise
lŋŋ sound (loud – of a drum)
lŋŋkŋnāā- to utter a sound (MTD I,511; s.v. *LUNU* noise)

laxsyi- to prattle, talk foolishly, meaninglessly (MTD I,488)

Chuv. *lak-lak* onom. imitation of murmuring, gurgling
 (s.v. *LAK-LAX*, MTD I,488)

laŋ, lŋŋ, liŋ the sound of metal
liŋ-laŋ reverberating, prolonged noises (s.v. *LEŊNAN*; MTD I,496)

2. *t/d/n – p/b/v/m/mb*

Ta. *timi-timi* syllables sung to keep time in dancing
timi-timiy-eŋal onom. expr. of (a) keeping time in dancing or music,
 (b) repeated sounds in rapid succession

Ka. *dim* a sound in imitation of tingling or ringing
dimi sound produced by the quick motion of the feet in dancing

Tu. *dimidimi* dancing nimbly, agility
dimma the sound of a small finger-drum

Te. (B.) *dimidimi, diṃdiṃ, dhiṃindhimin* dingdong (DEDR 3232)

Kuwi *timu tima hī-* to announce, proclaim (Israel, p. 373)

Kur. *dhimirdhimir ēknā, dhimirdhimirernā* to walk with sonorous steps, step
 noisily, walk heavily (as an old man or a man carrying a burden)
 (for *ēknā*, see 871)

Malt. *dimdimre* to sound (as footsteps)
dim-qerḡe to sound as when larger objects fall

26) For a paralel form with an initial palatal cf. OT. *çakır-* to call out, shout (Cl. 410). Cf. also Vacek 2003, p. 189.

dip-qerǵe to sound as when smaller objects fall (for *qerǵe*, see 1960)
(DEDR 3236)

Ta. *timilai* a kind of drum

Ma. *timila* id. (cf. Skt. *timilā*- a musical instrument; Pkt. *timila*-, *timilā*- id.)
(DEDR 3237)

Pe. *ḍība*- (fire) to crackle

Mand. *ḍība*- (fire) to spark out (DEDR 2961)

[Ta. *teviṭṭu* to chew the cud]

Te. (K.) *dēvu* (nausea) to be caused in stomach

Kui *tēpka* (< *tēk-p*-; *tēkt*-) to vomit; n. vomiting (DEDR 3451a-b)²⁷

Ta. *teviṭṭu*-¹ 5. to make noise (TL s.v.)²⁸

Ta. *tēmpu* (*tēmpī*-) to sob violently (s.v. DEDR 3451b)²⁹

Ta. *tevvu* to beg hard, importune

Ta. *tevvu* (*tevvī*-) to beg hard, importune

Ma. *tēra* beggar³⁰

Te. *dēvurincu* to beg humbly, importune

Kur. *tembnā* to beg for alms

tembarus mendicant, beggar (DEDR 3431A)

Konḍa *ṭever ṭever* onom. crying of a child (Krishnamurti 1969, p. 371)

Ta. *tummu*, *tumpu* to sneeze

tummu, *tummāl* sneeze, sneezing

27) These words appear in the midst of other lexemes meaning 'to belch' or 'to ruminate'. For the forms with a medial velar in DEDR 3451a-a, see above Section 1, note 8. For Ta. *teviṭṭu* see the following note.

28) In fact this lexeme belongs to DEDR 3451a-b instead of the same lexeme with the meaning 'to chew the cud', though the latter may represent a semantic extension. Cf. also OTa. *teviṭṭa* to sound (*Aṅkurunūru* 453,1; 468,1; 494,1; cf. M. Elayaperumal, *Grammar of Aṅkurunūru with Index*. Trivandrum 1975, s.v.)

29) Most of the roots in this etymon (DEDR 3451b) have liquids in their roots. Therefore they may be separated and discussed later in the section with medial liquids in the root. This lexeme, however, may have a closer relation to the following DEDR 3431A below.

30) The Malayalam form can be interpreted as a contraction of a form with a media labial.

- Ma. *tummuka*, *tumpuka* to sneeze
tumekka (cattle) snort
tuvekka to sneeze, snort
Ko. *tub-* to sneeze
To. *tüb-* id.
Koḍ. *tümm-*, *tumm-* (Mercara dialect) id.
Tu. *tumbilü* sneezing, sneeze
Te. *tummu* to sneeze; n. sneeze
Kol. *tum-* to sneeze
Nk. *tum* a sneeze
Nk. (Ch.) *tum-* to sneeze
Pa. *tumm-* id.
tumkuḍ a sneeze, sneezing
Ga. *tum-* (Oll.), *tumm-* (S.) to sneeze
Go. *tum* (Ko.) a sneeze
[*tuhkānā* (Ph.), *tuh-* (Mu.), *tuhk-* (S.), *tukhānā* (L.) to sneeze
tuhkānā (Tr.) to cough (of cattle in the rainy season)
tuhk (Ph.) a sneeze]
Konḍa *tup-* to sneeze
tumbu (pl. *tupku*) a sneeze
Pe. *tum-* to sneeze
Mand. *tum-* id.
Kui *tumb-* (K.) id.
Kuwi *tumm-* (Su.), *tūhmali* (F.), *tūminai* (S.) id.
tūmu (S.) a sneeze
Kur. *tum'nā* (*tummyas*) to sneeze
tum'ta'ānā to cause one to sneeze
Malt. *tume* to sneeze (DEDR 3336)³¹

Kuwi *tu'm-i-* to sneeze (Israel, p. 373)

- Konḍa *ṭupku ṭapku* onom. expression of the falling of rain drops
ṭuvek ṭuvek onom. beat of pulse (Krishnamurti 1969, p. 371)
ḍupku ḍapku onom. adv. of rain drops falling and producing noise
on dried leaves, etc. (Krishnamurti 1969, p. 372)

31) Cf. DEDR 2774 – Ka. *semilu* to sneeze. Kor. *cimili* id., which was not included in Vacek 2003.

- Ka. *toval* faltering, stammering, speaking inarticulately or indistinctly, lisp-
ing; *untruth* (s.v. Ka. *todal(u)*, *todal*, *todul* faltering, stammering, speaking
inarticulately or indistinctly; DEDR 3503; cf. below)³²
- Ko. *dop dap in-* to make bumping noise of sexual intercourse
dop in- to make noise of falling
dopn, dobn with noise of falling or of beating
doba-r in- to make noise of (pots, body) falling with a crash
doba-rn with noise *doba-r*
doba-r daba-r in- to make noise of thrashing about while struggling
dobakn, dopakn with noise of falling with a crash
- To. *pa· top* the river's noise of waves beating
- Ka. *dop* sound in imitation of the fall of heavy bodies, and of smart slapping
doppa sound imitating that of a heavy body suddenly falling or knock-
ing against anything
doppane with the sound *doppa* (DEDR 3069a; s.v. Ta. *tapukk-eṇal*; see below)³³

32) There is a formally close Tamil lexeme, which, however, is a borrowing from Sanskrit:

Ta. *tuvani*¹ sound, noise, clamour

*tuvani*² to sound, resound (both from Skt. *dhvani*-) (TL s.v.)

33) For medial *-a-*, cf. below. The DEDR etymon includes onomatopoeic words which have two meanings, most of them have the meaning of a 'sound'; but some have the meaning of 'speed'. Therefore the etymon could be divided into a) and b), though the meaning of 'speed' could possibly be an extended meaning based on the former meaning (the meaning of 'speed' is perhaps less frequent, but more significant is the fact that both meanings are combined in some lexemes, e.g. Ta. *tapukk-eṇal*, Ka. *dabbane* and Te. *dabbuna*, see below). However, for the time being I separate the two and list the 'speed' meanings separately. Note that there are also other medial vowels, both front and back (DEDR 3069, s.v. Ta. *tapukk-eṇal*; further see below):

Ta. *tapukk-eṇal* expr. signifying haste, rashness, etc., as in falling; onom. expression of sharp **sound** Ka. *tapakkane* all at once, slapdash

tappane, teppa quickly, suddenly, all at once

dabbane suddenly and with the **sound** *daba*

Tu. *dabakka* suddenly, headlong

Te. *dabbuna* with a loud **noise**; quickly, promptly

teppuna quickly, at once

Go. *topne* (Ma.) quickly

Kuwi *toppe, tobbe, tobboninga* (S.) quickly

Go. *topne* (Ma.) quickly

Pe. *tapp inji* suddenly

Kuwi *toppe, tobbe, tobboninga* (S.) quickly

dapre'e (Isr.) suddenly

dabṛi quickly, fast (DEDR 3069b)

Further cf.

There are some more lexemes to be added to the above list, e.g.
 Kui *top top*; *topu topu* onom. noise made by falling drop by drop
topu topu inba v. to fall drop by drop (Winfield 1929, s.v. p. 122)

Koṇḍa *ṭompo* wooden cow-bell
 Kuwi *ṭōṇpa* cow's bell (s.v. Kol. *ṭapor* wooden cattle-bell; DEDR 2948; see also below)³⁴

To. *tomk/tobk waḍ-* to beat drum, publish by drum
 (s.v. Tā. *tapaṭṭam* small drum, tomtom; DEDR 3082; see below)

Pe. *ḍum ḍum* onom. expression of the beating of a drum
 (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1970, 210)

Ka. *dombi, dombe, ḍombi, ḍombu* crowd, mob, disorderly, riotous mob, fray,
 quarrel

dombigāra man that belongs to a riotous mob, rioter

Tu. *dombi, ḍombi, ḍombe* mob, rabble, riot, uproar

dombigāre rioter, turbulent man

Te. *dommi* mingled or confused noise, crowd, throng, mob, rabble, mêlée,
 affray

dommul-āḍu to squabble, scuffle (DEDR 3510)³⁵

Ta. *tapukk-eṇal* [expr. signifying haste, rashness, etc., as in falling]; onom.
 expression of sharp sound³⁶

Ko. *daba-r in-, daba-l in-* to make sound of body falling in a heap on to
 ground from a height

daba-rn with noise *daba-r*

Kuwi *ṭapu* suddenly, immediately (Israel, p. 365)

vs.

Kuwi *ṭapuḍi vē²* to clap (Israel, p. 365)

Pa. *tapor* slap (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1953, 173) (both mentioned below with medial *-a-*)

34) The DEDR refers to Skt. *tarpaṇa*- bell hanging down from the throat of cattle. Cf. also Mayrhofer KEWA III, p. 721 referring to Kuiper's earlier reference (IJ 2, 1958, p. 241) to similar words in Munda. Mayrhofer EWA III, p. 239 refers to this DEDR etymon and does not refuse the possibility of Dravidian etymology (Vielleicht Wiedergabe eines drav. Wortes). For the parallels in Munda, cf. Kuiper 1991, p. 72.

35) As in DEDR 3069 above, the meaning of 'noise' in this etymon may also be taken as a basis for further semantic extensions because of the general onomatopoeic context of these forms.

36) The latter meaning is not mentioned in the DEDR, but cf. the TL s.v. *tapukk-eṇal* 2.

- daba-l(n)* with noise *daba-l*
dabakn with noise of falling crashingly or floppily
dap dop in- to make repeated noises of falling or beating, or of a body thrashing about
[dap dap in- to make bumping noise of sexual intercourse
dop in- to make noise of falling
dopn, dobn with noise of falling or of beating
doba-r in- to make noise of (pots, body) falling with a crash
doba-rn with noise *doba-r*
doba-r daba-r in- to make noise of thrashing about while struggling
dobakn, dopakn with noise of falling with a crash] (cf. above)
To. *pa·top* the river's noise of waves beating
Ka. *dap, [dop]* sound in imitation of the fall of heavy bodies, and of smart slapping
dappane with the sound of *dap*
[doppa sound imitating that of a heavy body suddenly falling or knocking against anything
doppane with the sound *doppa]*
daba sound in imitation of the falling of heavy bodies, the slapping of blows, the pattering of running feet, the audible palpitation of the heart
dabakku sound in imitation of that produced by the falling of bundles or persons, or that produced by stones falling into mud
dabakkane with the sound of *dabakku*
dabbane [suddenly and] with the sound *daba*
ḍab sound produced by the sudden falling of heavy bodies
ḍabbane with the sound of *ḍab*
Tu. *dabadaba* palpitation of the heart
ḍabba noise of anything falling into water
Te. *dabbuna* with a loud noise; [quickly, promptly]
dabadaba sound made by knocking, walking quickly, pattering as of rain (DEDR 3069a)³⁷

37) The DEDR further refers to M.B. Emeneau's suggestion of an areal etymology, with reference to Turner, *CDIAL*, no. 6170, **dab-* 'a noise'.

For a greater number of words having only the meaning 'to strike' etc., but no onomatopoeic meaning, cf. DEDR 3075:

Ta. *tappu* to strike, beat, kill, etc.

Pa. *tapoṛ* slap (also: Burrow, Bhattacharya 1953, 173)

Kuwi *tapūr vecali* to slap etc.

Further cf.

Ta. *ṭapār-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying cracking sound

ṭapīr-eṇal onom. expr. signifying the sound produced in firing a gun

ṭapa-ṭapav-eṇal onom. expr. signifying the sound of a drum

Ko. *ḍaba-r in-* to make noise as of gun shooting or bamboo joints exploding in fire

ḍab ḍab in- to make noise of the big flat drum (*tabaṭk*)

ḍab ḍob in- to make noise of gun shooting

Ka. *ḍabbu* sound emitted by a hollow box, a sort of tabor, etc., when struck

Te. *ḍabbu* noise of a drum (DEDR 2947)

Ta. *tappaṭṭam* small drum, tomtom

tappaṭṭai, tappaṭṭam a kind of drum

Ma. *tappiṭṭa* tabret, cymbal

tammiṭṭam large drum, tambourine

Ko. *tabaṭk* a big, flat drum

[To. *tomk/tobk waḍ-* to beat drum, publish by drum (< Badaga; for *waḍ-*, see 4252)]

Ka. *tambaṭa, tambaṭe, tapaṭe, tappaṭe, tabaṭe, tamaṭe, tammaṭa, tammaṭe* large tambourine beaten with sticks

Tu. *tambaṭa, tambaṭè, tammaṭè* tambourine, war-drum

tambaḍa a large drum

tamaṭè, tabiṭe tambour, a little drum

Te. *tammaṭamu* large drum

tappaṭa a kind of drum

tamuku drum, tambourine

Nk. *tappa* id.;

tappaṭe small drum (DEDR 3082)

Kuwi *ḍapu* small drum (Israel, p. 367)

Kur. *ḍaphlā* a drum (Bleses, p. 56, s.v. drum)

Kol. *ṭapor* wooden cattle-bell

Nk. *ṭapar, tapar* cow-bell

Nk. (Ch.) *ṭapru* wooden cow-bell

Further cf.

Kuwi *ṭapudī vē²-* to clap (Israel, p. 365)

Go. *ṭāpur*, *ṭapri* (Haig); *ṭāpar*, *ṭāpur* (Ph.) id. (DEDR 2948)³⁸

Ta. *ṭama-ṭamav-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying the sound of a drum

Ko. *ḍam ḍam in-*, *ḍam ḍum in-* to make sound of drum being beaten

Ka. *ḍama* sound of certain drums

ḍamaḍam tomtom! (the sound of certain drums)

Tu. *ḍamḍam* the noise of a drum

Te. *ṭamaṭama* a drum, tomtom (cf. Skt. *ḍam-* to sound, as a drum) (DEDR 2949a)

Ta. *iṭamāṇam* double drum carried on the back of an animal

ṭamāyi kettle-drum mounted on an ox

ṭamāram, *ṭamāṇam*, *ṭammāram*, *ṭammāṇam* a kind of drum

Ma. *ṭamānam*, *ḍhamānam* kettle-drums beaten before princes

Ka. *ḍamāra*, *ḍamāṇa* a pair of kettle-drums

Tu. *ḍamāra*, *ḍamāna* a kettledrum

Te. *ḍamāramu*, *ḍamāyi* id. (DEDR 2949b)³⁹

Kuwi *ṭamki* drum (small one) (Israel, p. 365)

Kur. *ḍamuā* a drum (Bleses, p. 56, s.v. drum)⁴⁰

38) For medial *-o-* see also above.

39) The initial *i-* in Tamil may be explained in the same way as initial vowels before borrowed words with initial liquids. The initial cerebrals are not to be found in Tamil words unless they are onomatopoeics. The whole Dravidian etymon could of course be a result of contact interference with an early Munda source. The DEDR refers also to Skt. *ḍamaru-* a kind of drum; Turner, *CDIAL*, no. 5531 (q.v. for more IA developments). However, note that Skt. *ḍamaru-* has also Munda references (Mayrhofer KEWA I, p. 460, s.v. with further references).

40) There is also a group of words in Tamil, which formally belong here, which, however, may have been re-borrowed from Sanskrit (as suggested in the TL):

Ta. *tamaram*¹ noise, din, sound (TL s.v. perhaps < *ḍamaru*)

tamari- to sound (TL s.v.)

tamarippu 1. sound (TL s.v.)

tamaru, *tamarukam* kettle-drum (TL s.v. < *ḍamaru*)

Note that Skt. *ḍamaru* was also borrowed into Mongolian (below).

The other meaning of *tamarippu* (2. desire, TL s.v.) does not seem to be related to this group of words. However, there does not seem to be a fitting etymology (the word is not found in the DEDR), unless it can be linked with Ta. *tamai*¹ passion, desire (TL s.v., < Te. *tami*), DEDR 3077 (Tu. *tabakuni* to desire, wish, etc.), DEDR 3431 (Ka. *tevalu* an itching desire; etc.). There might also be a Mongolian counterpart in *tab* 3. pleasure, comfort; benevolence; OT. *tap* satisfaction, sufficiency (Cl. 434), Uig. *tap* Wunsch, Oir. *tap* Gewalt, Wille, Lust (Räs. 462a). Further Mo. *temegüle-* to strive after; to exert oneself, struggle, force one's way. Another Dravidian word, viz Ta. *tavi-* 'to be distressed, to pant for' may display only a coincidental closeness (cf. TL s.v., which links this word with Skt. *tap-*).

?Kuwi *dā dā in-* to crack, smash (Israel, p. 368)

Ta. *nuval* to say, declare, utter; n. word, saying

nuvaṛci saying, utterance

?To. *nōw* voice; song (DEDR 3616, s.v. Ta. *navil*)

Ta. *navil* to say, tell, learn, utter, sound loudly, sing, perform (as a dance)

naviṛru to say, utter, declare with authority (DEDR 3616)⁴¹

In this section the Mongolian representation is rather limited. Mongolian languages seem to have preserved only some cases of initial dentals before the front vowels to be found in some cases below. For lexemes with palatalised affricates or also sibilants after front vowels cf. Vacek 2003, p. 179 (Mo. *cimege(n)*, *cim-e* sound, noise; etc.). The back vowels are also less well represented.⁴²

Mo. *tobsi-* 2. to pluck, play a musical instrument pizzicato⁴³

dombura a Kalmuk musical instrument resembling a lute; balalaika

?*domuy* legend, fable; historical tale; joke, fun, ridicule

domuyla- to narrate or compose a legend; [to tease, ridicule]

tüber- to stamp the feet; to trample underfoot

tüberle- to stamp the feet; to make noise

tübergen, tübürgen sound, noise, uproar; stamping of feet

tab 6. the sound of hammering (onom.)⁴⁴

tamala- to chant or sing

41) For medial *-u-* see above.

42) Note the borrowing from Sanskrit: *damaru*, *dambaru* (Skt. *ḍamaru*) 'small drum made of two skull crowns fastened back to back, covered with parchment, bladder or (rarely) human skin (used in Tantric and shamanistic rites); peddler's hand drum; child's toy drum'.

43) But Mo. *tobci-* (to speak fluently but concisely) obviously does not belong to this semantic field, it belongs to the etymological group of words with the original meaning 'brief, abridged' etc.

44) In Mongolian this form has the onomatopoetic meaning of the 'hammering'. Cf. the possible parallel in Dravidian: Ta. *tappu* to strike, beat, kill; *tappai* a blow (etc.; DEDR 3075), which does not have the meaning of the 'sound'. Also Note 37 above.

tamsija- to champ; to click the tongue; to strum a stringed instrument;
to pluck a bow string when trying out the bow; [to taste food]

MT. *TEPŪ-* II to quarrel (MTD II,238)

Evenk. *tepū-* to quarrel

Even. *tepurī-* to prattle, talk in vain

TEPKE- to shout (MTD II,237)

Evenk. *tepke, tepkēn* shouting

tepke- to shout; to low (a cow); to roar (animal); to make noise (people)

tepkēv- to resound (about shouting); to be called (by shouting)

tepkēyin, tepkētē noisy child

Even. *tepke-* to reverberate (echo); to provoke, irritate

tepkēvkis echo

Neg. *tepke-* to shout; to croak (frogs)

tepkel- to utter a shout

Ud. *tepte-* to shout

[Ma. *teḡ taḡ seme* onom. shouting (about people arguing with each other)]⁴⁵

TEPES-TEPES bang, slam, slap (MTD II,238)⁴⁶

Neg. *tepes-tepes* onom. sound of a slap, smack

DEVEJ I song (MTD I,228)

Evenk. *devej* song (for dancing)

devej-, devejde- to sing and dance a national dance

DUPKI- to shout (Evenk.) (MTD I,224)

DABSITA- to speak harshly (MTD I,184)

Ma. *dabsita-, tabsita-* to speak harshly, vulgarly

TAFULA- to talk s.b. round (MTD II,172)

Ma. *tafula-* to talk s.b. round, persuade; to advise; to discourage

TAM- I to eat noisily, chomp (MTD II,158)

Evenk. *tam-* to eat noisily, chomp

Ma. *tamiša-* to eat noisily; to taste, try

45) For the last Ma. lexeme cf. above Section 1.

46) But cf. *TEPUSKĒN-TI* suddenly (Evenk.) (MTD II,238) not referring to the 'sound'. See Ta. *tapukka* (DEDR 3069) above Notes 33, 35.

TAMPA prattler (MTD II,160)

Evenk. *tampa* prattler
tampa- to prattle, speak nonsense

DAVLĀ- to sing (MTD II,186)

Evenk. *davlā-* to sing (the 'long songs')
davlāvun, davlan 'long song'
davlāmnē, davlāmnī singer
 Sol. *dō* [< Mo.] song⁴⁷

NIMŃĀKĀN tale (MTD I,594)

Evenk. *nimŃākā-, n'imŃākā-, nimnaka- nimnakan-, nimnoka-* to tell a tale
nimŃākān, n'imŃākān, [*lomgakān*], *nemgakān, nemŃukān, nimmakan, nimna-*
kon, nimnoka-, nymŃakan, nimnokavun, nimŃakāvun, etc. tale, narra-
 tion, myth
nimŃākāt-/č-, n'imŃākāt-/č- to tell, sing (skazania); not to speak what is to be
 said, to talk nonsense; to shamanize
nimŃān-, n'imŃān-, nemŃan-, nimŃa-, nimŃālā-, nimŃāli- to sing, to shaman-
 ize, čarovat, provádět kouzla' (o šamane)
 Even. *n'imŃan-, nimŃan-, i'imŃan-* to tell a tale
n'imŃan, n'imŃān tale, narration
n'imŃalōn, n'imŃalon narrator, singer of tales
 Oroch. *n'ima, n'imapu* tale
n'imači- to tell tales
 Ud. *nimasi-* to tell tales
nimaŃku tale
 Orok. [*niŃma*], *nimŃa* tale⁴⁸

Evenk. *nimū-, nimŃū-* to moan (from pain), groan

nimŃūn moaning, groaning (s.v. *NINŃŪ-* to moan; MTD I,597)

Even. *nŃvrī-, nŃvrīl-* to utter a snore

nŃvrīn a snore *LEPČI-* to shout despairingly (Olcha) (MTD I,518)

LĚMTEME- to eat noisily, chomp (MTD I,516)

Evenk. *lēmteme-* to eat noisily, chomp (by the lips)

47) Cf. Mo. *dayu(n)* 2. sound, noise (above). In fact the forms with medial labials and velars are etymologically closely related (cf. Vacek 2004b, pp. 428ff., examples 25a and 25b; repr. 2006c).

48) For the forms with medial velar nasals in Olcha, Orok. and Nan. cf. above, for medial vowels -o- (plus initial liquid; Evenk.), and -a- (Neg.) cf. the relevant sections below.

LOP-LOP imitation of the screeching of a bird (MTD I,505)
 Neg. *lopkū-* to screech lop-lop (screeching of a bird, which according to the Negidals
 announces that there will be too many mosquitos in summer)
lop-lop, lop-p-lop-p onom. imitation of the screeching of a bird

Evenk. *lomgakān* tale, narration, myth (s.v. *NIMŃĀKĀN* tale; MTD I,594)

NAMSI- NAMSĪ GUSIRE- to talk nonsense (MTD I,582)
 Ma. *namsi-namsi gusire-* to talk nonsense, talk thoughtlessly

NAMBA noise (Orok.) (MTD I,581)

?NĀMĪČA- to beg (MTD I,581)
 Neg. *nāmīča-* to beg, to talk s.b. round; to promise
 Olča *nambūčī-, namčū-* to beg, to talk s.b. round
namča-/ī- to beg for permission; to beseech
 Nan. *nāmboča-* to beg, to talk s.b. round
namoča- to beg for permission

Neg. *nāmka-* to shamanize, to conjure, perform charms
 (s.v. *NIMŃĀKĀN* tale; MTD I,594)

NAVŤĪ- to shout (MTD I,576; MTD refers to *LAVKĀN-*, cf. below)
 Even. *navtī-* to shout (about Shamans)
navtisan- to utter a shout (about Shamans)

LAVKĀN- to attack, to bark (MTD I,486; MTD refers to *NAVŤĪ-*, cf. above).
 Evenk. *lavkān-, lapkān-* to attack (about dogs)
lapkaya-, lapkama-, lapkamē- to bark (haltingly)
 Neg. *lav-* to bark (dog)
lavkan-, lapkan- to utter a growl, to bare the teeth (dog)
lavtī- to bark and fight (dogs)
 Ud. *laugdan-e-* to bark (not strongly)
 Olča *lavī-, lavū-* to bark (and whine), to howl
 Orok. *lao-, laū-* to bark (dogs); to shout, to curse; to be obtrusive, ingratiating
 Ma. *loo-* to howl (a long-drawn-out howl)

N'AUNDA- to swear, call someone names (MTD I,636)⁴⁹
 Ud. *nāunda-* (obsolete) to swear, curse, call someone names

49) Because of the medial *-u-*, this word may be tentatively listed with the medial labials.

OT. *tüvek* (hap. leg.) a blow-pipe (Cl. 439)

taviş a sound (a soft, not a loud sound) (Cl. 446)⁵⁰

cf.

TAVUŠ a sound, voice (OTD s.v.)⁵¹

Cf. also

Jap. *noberu* to state; speak; mention; utter etc. (Kenkyusha s.v.)

3. *t/d/n – c/s/š/z/ž/ñc*

In this formal group, the medial consonants (particularly the nasal+stop or nasal+affricate) do not appear so often as in other formal models discussed in the earlier papers.

Tu. *dojjuni* to stammer

dojje stammerer (s.v. Ka. *todal(u)*, *todal*, *todul* faltering, stammering, speaking inarticulately or indistinctly; DEDR 3503; cf. below Section 5)

Kur. *tussnā* to be about to cry, grunt, let escape in a suppressed grunt, ask for in a whisper

Malt. *tuse* to snort (DEDR 3290)

Ta. *naccu-* to babble, prate; n. babble

Te. *nasuku*, *nasugu* to murmur, utter indistinctly; n. murmuring (DEDR 3579)⁵²

50) Clauson mentions a wide range of phonetic changes, *t-/d-* and *a/ɪ/o...* and *-b/-v/-w...* and *-ɪ/-u-* occurring in this etymon.

Further cf. OT. *TOVUL*, *TOWUL*, *TOVĪL* a drum (OTD s.v.). Is the similarity with the Arabic word to be explained as a case of borrowing, or is it only a result of a contamination of the domestic etymological basis and a borrowed etymon? Cf. OT. *tawil*, *tebil*, *davul* etc. from Ar. *ṭabl* 'a drum' (Cl. 439). For such cases cf. Vacek 1995.

51) Cf. *tavra:k* (<*tavra:-*) speed, hurry; quick (Cl. 443), or *TAVRAQ* 1. quick; *TAFURAQ* quickly, suddenly (OTD s.vv.), which are formally close and refers only to movement, not sound (cf. above Notes 33, 35 with regard to DEDR 3069).

52) This etymon was included in the first draft of *verba dicendi* in Vacek 1994 (p. 10, No. 6). The DEDR also includes Ka. *nakta* (a saying or proverb of the country) with a question mark. It should properly be included in the section with medial velars (cf. above, Section 1).

Mo. tozigina- to knock, make a noise (of something small)
tūs onom. sound expressing sudden blow or banging noise
tūski- to make a crashing sound

tacigina-, tazigina- to make a great noise, crash, crackle, crack, clap, peal, thunder, roar

tas 1. onom. a. expressive of a cracking sound, b. also of the idea of firmness, resoluteness, speed, swiftness⁵³

nizigine- to thunder

nasal-, nislā-, nisel- to hit, snap with the fingers

MT. TISKANA- to creak (MTD II,188)⁵⁴
 Evenk. *tiskana-* [< Yak.] to creak
 tihinti- to creak
 Even. *tisaḡan-, tiskan-* to flip, to creak
 tisalan-, tiḡalān-, tiḡələn- to creak, to flip, to cracle (about joints)

TOHĪTĀ- to tap (MTD II,201)⁵⁵
 Evenk. *tohītā-* to tap (by something), to creak
 Neg. *tōsin-* to flip
 Orok. *toṣḡitčī-* to flip

TAS III creaking (MTD II,169)
 Evenk. *tas* onom. creaking
 tas ō- to creak; to fire (a gun)
 tasina-, taskani- to creak (trees from frost)
 Even. *tahələn-, tahəlčī-* to creak
 Neg. *tas-s* onom. creaking, making noise, with a creak
 Oroch. *toas* onom. bump! bang!

53) The meaning b) is another example of the above-mentioned semantic ‘variation’ including also the meanings of ‘beating’ and ‘speed’. Cf. also MT. *TAS* II at once (MTD II,169), further cf. notes 33, 46, 51 (on DEDR 3069). Similarly there are close lexemes having the meaning of ‘beating’ but not necessarily the corresponding ‘sounds’: e.g. *Mo. tasi-* 1. to beat, hit with a flat object, clap, slap, slam; MT. *DASIXI-* to beat (also with a wing) (MTD I,201); OT. *TASGA-* to box somebody’s ears (OTD s.v.)

54) MTD refers to Yak. *tys* the sound of something striking (cf. below).

55) MTD refers to Yak. *tos* knock! (cf. below).

Olcha *tas-tas* onom. creak-creak!
 Nan. *tas, tas-tas* onom. creak-creak!
 Ma. *tas seme, tas tis seme* onom. click!

LIS-LIS noise of a heavy object falling down (MTD I,500)
 Evenk. *lis-lis* onom. noise of a heavy object falling down

LIS-S-LIS-S screech of the plover (MTD I,500)
 Neg. *lis-s-lis-s* onom. imitation of the screech of the plover (foreboding a fall of the water level in the river)

LEŽU- to roar (MTD I,515)
 Evenk. *ležu-* to roar (animal)
ležul- to utter a roar (animal)

L'ES flatways (MTD I,496)
 Olcha *l'es* flatways
l'es-s onom. flop! (the noise of an object falling flatways); sharply
 Nan. *lias* onom. splash! (the noise of an object falling on a moist surface)

LAS: LAS O- to chatter (teeth) (MTD I,494)
 Evenk. *las: las o-* to chatter (teeth)
las las onom. click click!

LAhIRGAT- to chatter (teeth) (MTD I,494)
 Evenk. *lahirgat-* [*< Yak. lasyrġat-*] to chatter (teeth)

Olcha *n'inžiči-/u-*, *n'inžuči-/u-* to moan, groan
 Orok. *n'inžiči-/u-* to whine (dog) (s.v. *NINŇÜ-* to moan; MTD I,597)

OT. *tus / tüs* (hap. leg.) onom. for (the sound of) striking anything soft
 (Cl. 554)

Yak. *tys* the sound of something striking (MTD II,188)
tos knock! (MTD II,201)
lys onom. noise of something small falling on s.th. hard (MTD I,500)
lasyrġat- to chatter (teeth) (MTD I,494)

4. *t/d/n – i/y*

Ta. *toy* to breathe short and hard, ... hiss

Ta. *toy* to breathe short and hard (as while suffering from asthma)

toyvu difficulty of breathing, asthma

To. *tüy-* to breathe heavily

tüy breathing (esp. hard), breath inside, life

Koḍ. *tuyⁿ*;– (*tuyⁿmp-*, *tuyⁿñc-*) (snake) hisses, (bull) snorts in anger

tuyⁿ hiss of a snake (cf. 2680 Ko. *si·l*, Ka. *suy*) (DEDR 3512)⁵⁶

Pa. *ṭoyela* stringed instrument for music

Go. (Mu.) *ṭoyli* id.

Koṇḍa *ṭoyla* id.

Pe. *ṭoyela* id. (DEDR 2987)

?Kur. *ḍhāy* loud noise (Bleses, p. 108, s.v. noise)

Kuwi *noye noye jōli-* to speak out loudly in anger (Israel, p. 380)

Mo. *düibed-* to sound, make a noise

düibedke- to make a sound, noise, or racket

düibege- to cause a disturbance, alarm

düibegele- to make noise; to echo

düibegen, *düiben* noise, clamor; commotion, disturbance

MT. *DEJENĠU* melody (MTD I,190)

Ma. *dejengu* melody

dejengulele- to sing (in a lokal melody), to sing in chorus

DÜŬJA noise (MTD I,220)

Even. *düüja-* to make noise, shout; cry (about children)

düüja, *düüjan*, *düüjanmajī*, [*düülän*]⁵⁷ noise, shouting

56) This etymon appears to mean not only 'breathing', but also the relevant 'noise'. There is one Dravidian etymon which appears to have only the meaning of 'breathing', e.g. Tu. *nēsa* asthma; Pa. *nēñ(j)-* to breathe; Kur. *nāxnā*; etc. (DEDR 3765).

57) This form will be listed with root-final liquids later.

DĀIRAŽI- to make noise (MTD I,190)
 Oroch. *dāiraži-*, *dājraži-* to make noise, shout
 Olcha *dāiraži-*, *dājraži-* to make noise, shout
 Orok. *dāiraži-*, *dājraži-* to make noise, shout
 Nan. *dāičā*, *dājčā* noise
 dāiča- to make noise
 dāičaso/ū noisy
 Ma. *dajša-* to make noise, to roar

?*N'OJČA-/Ī-* to boast (MTD I,642)
 Olča *nòjča-/ī-* to boast, brag

LEJE- to sing (MTD I,515)
 Ma. *leje-* to sing (a national melody)
 lejexe gisun songs (folksongs)
 leječun folksong melody

LĒI- to soothe (MTD I,515)
 Nan. *lēi-* to soothe, to talk s.b. into

Some Turkic words have a long vowel in the final position of the root which could be a very close form related to diphthongs (note the Yakut examples below).

OT. *té:-* to say (Cl. 433-4)

Further cf.

OT., Uig. *tä* sagen

Chag. *dä*, Middle Tur. *ti*, Turkm. *dī* etc. sagen

Yak. *diä* sagen, nennen (Räs. 469b-470a, s.v. **tää*, **tē*)

Tuv. *di-* sagen (Ölmez 2007, s.v., p. 140)

**tōj*: Yak. *tuoj* to sing (Räs. 484a)

Cf. the possible reconstructions for the Altaic languages:

Alt. **tē* to say, to sound (Starostin et alia 2003, II, p. 1358)

The reconstruction is based on Mongolian (**dawu-*; Mo. *dayu* etc.), Manchu-Tungus (e.g. Ma. *dejengu*) and Turkic (e.g. OT. *te-* etc.). In my analysis

of the material, however, the Mongolian form would fit with another range of etyma with a medial velar.

Alt. **tōje* to sound, make a noise (Starostin et alia 2003, II, pp. 1451–2)

The reconstruction is based only on Mongolian (cf. above) and Turkic (e.g. MTurk *tujuq* ‘a verse metre’; Yak. *tuoj-* to sing, chant; *tojuk* improvised song) and Japanese (Old Jap. *tojom-*, *tojok-* to sound, hum, howl).

5. *t/d/n – t/d/n/nt*

The following cases are rather limited and would perhaps confirm the proposal of the Prague School phonological theorem that ‘phonemes differentiated by a mark of correlation never combine in the same morpheme’ (Trnka 1964, p. 294). We could interpret the violation of this law in these lexemes as being caused (or allowed) by an onomatopoeic tinge, because onomatopoeia can and usually does violate the general principles of the phonological structure.⁵⁸

Kuwi *titri* trumpet (Israel, p. 372; see also DEDR 3316 below and Note 60)

Ka. *todal(u)*, *todaḷ*, *toduḷ*, [*toval*] faltering, stammering, speaking inarticulately or indistinctly, lisping; untruth

dodde indistinct or inarticulate speech connected with stuttering

Tu. *todale* stammerer

todaḷè stammering, indistinct pronunciation, untruth

doddè lisping, stammering

[*dojjuni* to stammer

dojje stammerer]

Pa. *totr-* to stammer

Kuwi *tothali* to mumble, stammer (F.)

toth'nai to stammer (S.)

Malt. *todlo* stammerer

todlqoṭe to stammer, lisp (DEDR 3503)⁵⁹

58) For an illustrative application of this principle in Tamil cf. my paper (Vacek 1969) proposing an interpretation of the structural position of -NC- (medial nasal + homorganic stop) in the phonological structure of Tamil.

59) The DEDR refers to Turner, CDIAL, No. 5965, **tōtta-* ‘stammering’, which, however, has further variants **thōttha*-³, **thōnthā*-³ with a number of modern IA developments.

Cf. further Kuwi variants:

Kuwi *tot-* to stammer

totnasi stammering person (Israel, p. 374)

Kur. *thothṛaṇā, thothyaṇā* to stutter (Bleses, p. 150, s.v. stutter)

thothor-bothor kacnakhrnā to stammer (Bleses, p. 150, s.v. stammer)

thothṛas stammerer (Bleses, p. 150, s.v. stammerer)

thothṛē stammering (Bleses, p. 150, s.v. stammering)

Ta. *tuttari, tuttāri* a kind of bugle-horn

Ma. *tuttāri* horn, trumpet

Ka. *tutūri, tuttāri, tuttūri* a long trumpet

Tu. *tuttāri, tuttūri* trumpet, horn, pipe

Te. *tutārā* a kind of trumpet (DEDR 3316)⁶⁰

Kur. *ḍhat* a drum (Bleses, p. 56, s.v. drum)⁶¹

Ta. *tantaṇav-eṇal* onom. expr. of stamping sound

Ma. *tantināti* humming a tune

Ka. *tandānatāna, tandanāna, tandānatānāna* sounds used in beating time in music

Tu. *tandana* an unmeaning sound used in humming a tune (DEDR 3066)⁶²

Ka. *nettu* to stutter, stammer (s.v. Ma. *nattuka*, DEDR 3593)

Ma. *nattuka* to stammer

Ka. *nattu, [nettu]* to stutter, stammer

Tu. *nattiṅge* a man partially dumb

Te. *nattu* to stammer, stutter

natti stammering or stammer, stuttering, stutter (DEDR 3593)

60) The DEDR refers to Mar. *tutāri* a wind instrument, a sort of horn. Cf. also Kuwi *titri* (above).

61) However, there is a close lexeme in Prakrit, which would only reflect the possibility of early close contacts: cf. CDIAL No. 5576, **ḍhaḍḍha*-³ 'drum' (onom.), Pkt. *ḍhaḍḍha*- m. 'drum'; Lahndā *ḍhaḍḍh* f. 'sounding the drum rapidly to call men together'.

62) The medial nasal-stops (-*ṅk*-, -*ṅc*-, -*ṅṭ*-, -*nt*-, -*mp*- etc.) are phonologically relevant variant units within the consonant series in Dravidian and may reflect a rather ancient phonological characteristic of these languages (for Tamil cf. Vacek 1969). For more parallels cf. Vacek 2004b, No. 7a-b; pp. 396ff.).

Mo. *dedegene-* 1. to speak rapidly; to chatter, talk idly; (2. to vacillate, oscillate, swing, be unstable)

tetegeile- to tremble from the cold (of voice)

tetegei the trembling of the voice from cold; trembling (of voice)⁶³

duduna-, *düdüne-* to mumble, mutter, talk indistinctly

düdünegür mumbling, indistinct talking

dütüggle- to whistle, cry, call, coo (imitating the sound of birds)

tatayuli stammering, stuttering; lisping

MT. *DEDEV-* to ring (MTD I,230)

Evenk. *dedev-* to ring⁶⁴

TEDEŦV- to announce (MTD II,228)

Even. *tedēv-* to announce, declare; to publish; to warn; to complain

tedēvkēn- to confirm

tedēvun- to be announced, declared; to be published

tedēvün, *tedēn* announcement, invitation

Neg. *tedev-* to announce; to inform, share experience; to talk s.b. into s.th.

Oroch. *tedu-* to teach

tedeuči- to teach s.th.

Orok. *tedde-*, *tede-* to note, to learn, to guess

Ma. *todolo* a good sign, feature; presage; instruction (MTD I,205)⁶⁵

Orok. *n'indu-*, *n'indu-* to moan, groan

Ma. *nidu-* to moan, groan (from pain) (s.v. *NINŦÜ-* to moan; MTD I,597)

OT. *tm-* to speak (Cl. 514)⁶⁶

63) The basic meaning of the last two words may be 'trembling' and the 'voice' is only implied. Cf. the palatalised form Mo. *cicire-* 'to tremble, shake, shiver, quake, quiver'.

64) The MTD further mentions Evenk. *dembulken-* 'to be heard (about the noise of a river)'; *denkiri-* 'clear, distinct (about a sound)', which are to be linked with Sections 2 and 1 respectively.

65) The MTD further refers to MT. *DIDASI* pupil (Ma. *didasi*, *dütsi*), which implies a different semantic extension and possibly semantic overlapping with another etymon.

66) We could possibly refer to a 'palatalised' form of this exeme in Chuvash: ČĖN- II,1. to talk s.b. round; 2. to invite (Egorov, p. 323), which is missing in Vacek 2003.

Conclusion

The above material enlarges the picture of the *verba dicendi* in the broad sense of the word by lexemes of the above-defined structure. It is obvious that a number of the words are onomatopoeic. One conspicuous aspect is the frequency of the various phonetic forms. Some of the combinations of the initial consonants with the root-final consonants appear to be more 'productive', while others are less frequent. Particularly frequent is the combination of the initial dentals with the root-final labials (Section 2) and only a slightly lower number of root-final velars (Section 1). A much lower frequency in descending order may be observed with final palatals (Section 3), dentals (Section 5) and diphthongs (Section 4).

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Internet resources

Classical Mongolian: <http://www.linguumongolia.co.uk/dict1.html>

Review section

Taube, Erika, *Tuwinische Folkloretexte aus dem Altai* (Cengel / Westmongolei). Kleine Formen. Serie Turcologica Bd. 71. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2008, 281 pp., 1 map – 24 × 17 cm. Paperback, 68 EUR; ISBN 978-3-447-05636-6 – Reviewed by Klára Boumová

Erika Taube's book on the short forms of *Tuvan Folklore Texts from the Altai* is a noteworthy contribution to Turkic and Central Asian studies. It is a collection of orally transmitted folklore of the Tsengel Tuvans recorded by the author during her five field research trips to Western Mongolia between 1966 and 1985. The book deals with the short forms of oral tradition e.g. blessings, songs, proverbs, riddles etc., most of which have never been published before. The Tuvan texts are accompanied by German translations supplemented by references to textual variants, by lexical interpretation and by commentaries on the texts, on their contents and function.

Erika Taube is a well known Leipzig researcher who, starting from the 1960s, has collected linguistically and ethnologically highly interesting materials including genuine folklore texts, some of which have been published. She has published a great number of articles and several books on the folklore and religion of various Mongolian ethnic groups and the Tuvans living in Western Mongolia (cf. the list of her works on pp. 275–279 of the present book).

This book is based on orally transmitted folklore gathered by the author mostly among the Tuvans from the Tsengel Sum in the Bayan-Ölgii Aimag on western boarder of Mongolia. Seventy percent of the material is from 1966 to 1969, the time before the Tsengel Tuvans' gradually increasing migration to central areas of Mongolia. The texts clearly show that the Tsengel Tuvans were minimally influenced by other civilizations and by the modern era at that time.

The work starts with general information about the Tsengel Tuvans and their language (pp. 11–12, 30–35) and about the conditions and methods of collecting and presenting the data employed by the author (pp. 12–30, 35–38). Then follows the main part of the work, which contains bilingual texts and commentary (pp. 41–259). The work concludes with a list of informants, geographical index, bibliography and a sketched map of the Tsengel territory.

The author divided the collected material into nine longer or shorter chapters which follow the traditional genre typology:

1. Praises (11 items)
2. Invocations (14 items)
3. Blessings (55 items)
4. Curses and Swearwords (8 items)
5. Songs (114 items)
6. Proverbs (431 items)
7. Riddles (313 items)
8. Triads (4 items)
9. Tongue Twisters (4 items)

All chapters start with detailed information about the literary form presented and about the circumstances of its appearance. Each text is supplemented by comments on its origin, on the informant, and on the place, time and conditions of recording, by lexical commentaries and by information about its ethnographical and historical background. Parallels and variants from other published Tuvan texts are also added, if available. The author gave up her original intention of including references to parallels which can be found in other Turkic and Mongolian texts because of the excessive amount of data.

Since there is no official transliteration standard for transforming the Cyrillic-based Tuvan alphabet into Latin and the Tsengel dialect has only the oral form, the author uses her own transcription based on German standards. She made the translations on the basis of her knowledge of the Tuvan language and with some help from Tsengel native speaker Činagijn Galsan. Some words were found in the literary Tuvan-Russian dictionary. She translated unknown or not very precise lexemes with the help of related languages. The author herself says that in some cases the translation of the texts and the interpretation of the lexical data are not very clear and raise doubts. Her hesitation concerning the presentation of the material in fact is a testimony to her exactness and humility rather than to any shortcomings in her work. For example, she concludes (p. 45) that a possible translation for an unknown word in Tseng. Tuv. *zayışın* could be 'offering sacrifices' (Opferdarbringung), because it is probably from Old Turkic *jayış* 'sacrificing by pre-Islamic Turks'. Another interesting example is Tseng. Tuv. *yalda* (p. 143), which was translated by the native speaker as Tuv. *ommyk* 'firelock' (Stahl zum Feuerschlagen

aus Feuerstein), but with the help of the Altai language (Alt. *kalta*), the author translated the word as ‘snuffbox’ (Tabaksbeutel; Tuv. *таакпы хааржаа*).

It is interesting to note some of the dialectal features in which the Tsengel dialect differs from written Tuvan, as described by the author (pp. 30–35). Tsengel Tuvan is closer to the western dialects of Tuvan, particularly to the dialect from the Möngүн-Taiga region. Its lexicon has many borrowings from Mongolian. Its inventory of phonemes is slightly different. Besides the eight vowels typical for Tuvan, viz *a*, *o*, *u*, *ï*, *e*, *ö*, *ü*, the author mentions also the vowel *ä*, which is very open and forms a transition between the vowels *a* and *ï*. It occurs mostly in words of Mongolian origin, e.g. ‘life’ – Mo. *amīdrāl* (*амьдрал*), Tseng. Tuv. *ämdrāl* (written Tuv. *амыдырал*).

A characteristic feature of Tsengel Tuvan is the sonorisation of consonants in the initial position:

d < *t* (‘Tuva’ – Tseng. Tuv. *Dīva*, Tuv. *Тыва*),
ɣ/g < *q/k* (‘man’ – Tseng. Tuv. *giži*, Tuv. *кижи*),
j < *č* (‘heart’ – Tseng. Tuv. *jürek*, Tuv. *чүрек*),
 sometimes also *b* < *p* (no example found).

On the other hand, the voiced sibilant *z* in written Tuvan occasionally changes to *s* (‘if it is’/‘let it be’ – Tseng. Tuv. *bolsa*, Tuv. *болза*). Initial *i* sometimes changes to *e* (e.g. ‘shoes’ – Tseng. Tuv. *e’dik*, Tuv. *удук* [*i’dik*]). There is also a frequent alternation between the initial labial nasal/stop *m/b*. Where written Tuvan has *m* (e.g. ‘wrestler’ – Tseng. Tuv. *böge(n)/möge*, Tuv. *мөге*).

In morphology there is a difference in the formation of the Ablative. Where written Tuvan has the variants *-dan/-den* and *-tan/-ten*, there is a variant *-nan/-nen* in Tsengel Tuvan. The Directive I (Allative I) is formed by the suffix *-ja/-je* or *-ča/-če* as against the written variant *-че*, *-же*. Furthermore, there are differences in the formation of the *gerundium perfecti* (called converb by Anderson and Harrison¹), which has the variant *-yaštan/-gešten* in Tsengel Tuvan besides the standard form *-yaš/-geš*. It should be noted that this variant, which in fact is the Genitive case of this Gerund (proving that the Gerund has the quality of a noun!), is also mentioned with other possible case forms in the grammar of Written Tuvan by F.G. Ishakov.² Tsengel Tuvan also differs in some verbal forms. E.g. all the variants of the second person plural possessive have a medial *ɣ/g* instead of *ŋ* (Tseng. Tuv. *-iɣar/-iger*, *uɣar/-üger*,

1) Anderson, G.D.S., Harrison, K.D., *A Grammar of Tuvan*. SCS Publications, Washington, DC 2002, p. 65.

2) Исхаков, Ф.Г., Пальмбах, А.А., *Грамматика тувинского языка. Фонетика и морфология* (Grammar of the Tuvan Language. Phonetics and Morphology). Izdatel'stvo vostočnoj literatury, Moskva 1961, p. 335.

-*yar/-ger*), and in the first person imperative the final *n* of the written language is replaced by *m* (Tseng. Tuv. -*aj(i)m/-ej(i)m*).

The main value of this book is folkloric and ethnographic – as a whole it represents the culture of a relatively small group of Tsengel Tuvans and fills up many white spaces in our understanding of the culture of this Tuvan group and their speech from the 1960s to the 1980s. It is a valuable document of a culture and lifestyle that has rapidly changed in the last decades. The documentation of this little studied Tsengel dialect of Tuvan language, which has numerous archaic features, is also very important for linguists.

Language is the core of cultural heritage of every nation and genuine texts gathered by linguistic fieldwork research provide invaluable information that cannot be acquired in any other way. Erika Taubé's Tuvan texts from Western Mongolia, collected in the second half of the last century and published now with translations and interpretations, play an important role in saving the vanishing cultural world of Tsengel Tuvan from oblivion.

D. Tumurtogoo (ed.), *Mongolian Monuments in Uighur-Mongolian Script (XIII–XVI Centuries). Introduction, Transcription and Bibliography*. With the collaboration of G. Cecegdari. Language and Linguistics Monograph Series A–11. Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, Taipei 2006, xiv + 722 pp. (including 48 pages of Plates). Price 新台幣900元 / US\$ 50; ISBN 978-986-00-7826.8 – Reviewed by Ondřej Srba

The pre-classical Mongolian monuments represent a relatively smaller group within the whole of old Mongolian literature. In spite of the fact that from the very beginning of Mongolian studies in Europe they have been the most intensively studied and published texts, so far they have not been systematically summarised. Most of the included texts have already been published in transcription or facsimile and many of them have also been translated in the course of almost two hundred years of Mongolian studies. However, with all respect for the previous work done in this field, including the important edition prepared by Ligeti (1972), we can say that the present volume is the first publication providing an opportunity to get acquainted with the whole of the preserved pre-classical Mongolian documents as they are known to modern Mongolian studies. The present edition is a representative work resulting from D. Tumurtogoo's lifelong study of classical and pre-classical Mongolian linguistics. It was preceded by the collection of his published articles in *Questions in the Linguistic Theory and History of Mongolian* (To'mo'rtogoo 2002).

The publication has appeared in the context of other bibliographical and editorial works published recently in Mongolia. These publications have already covered pre-classical Mongolian monuments in all scripts used in the 13th to 16th centuries (Uighur-Mongolian script, 'Phags-pa script, Arabic script and Chinese characters).¹ The publication by Z'an'z'iv (2006) is in fact a complementary work for the reviewed edition (cf. below the short annotation of that book). Tumurtogoo's publication is the first volume in the series of Mongolian literary monuments of the 13th–16th centuries, to be followed by the volumes concerning Mongolian literary monuments written in the 'Phags-pa script, Arabic script and Chinese characters.

The primary aim of the publication is the critical edition of all the available pre-classical Mongolian monuments with an extensive bibliography of the most important studies related to the subject. However, the book does not include more extensive information on the individual documents, except for their transcription and bibliography. It begins with a brief Introduction (pp.

1) C'oimaa 2002, Bold 2003, Z'an'z'iv 2006.

1–8), which in a limited space summarises the relevant information concerning existing studies. These studies cover such themes as the unattested writing systems used by the ancient pre-literary nomadic empires on the Mongolian plateau and in Northern China, the theories concerning the origin of the first known Mongolian writing system (Uighur-Mongolian script), the history of research on the development of Mongolian literacy, general characteristics of pre-classical Mongolian, specification of various forms of literary monuments, and a list of the studies of pre-classical Mongolian. All the subjects are provided with detailed bibliographical references. The author is of the opinion (p. 2) that the theory proposed long ago that the Uighur-Mongolian script originated before the 12th century (in the 9th or 10th centuries), though the original documents were lacking until 1225, may be supported by the archaic language features conserved in the script rather than through the political history of the region or the external form of the script.²

Detailed references are provided not only in the Introduction but also for all the published documents. However, in comparison with the references contained in Z'anz'iv (2006) the bibliography is more selective and points out only the most important works.

The texts are arranged according to the type of documents or materials on which they were written. There are four sections: Inscriptions – 16 texts, Xylographs – 5 various texts and 29 Turfan fragments, Manuscripts – 37 manuscripts of various origin, 33 Turfan-Collections manuscripts, Paizi and Seal Letters – 5 texts. Within these sections the documents are arranged according to their date, if available.

The largest part of the book includes a number of appendixes (pp. 283–722). Particularly useful is the comprehensive Word-index of the pre-classical Mongolian texts (pp. 285–632), which contains all the word forms with concrete references to the relevant texts, although without translations. Then follows a selective name index (pp. 633–640, the names are classified according to their types – personal, place and year names – and a specification of the language from which they were borrowed), a selective index of binominal expressions (pp. 641–650), and bibliography (pp. 651–667). The edition is accompanied by photocopies of selected original documents. Even though in most cases the resolution quality of the facsimile samples is good, longer texts are only occasionally represented by more than one or two pages. For the whole facsimiles of the texts the reader may refer to the sources specified in

2) Tumurtogoo has discussed this theory already in his article “Mongol bic’igiin hel” in 1983 (reprinted in To’omo’rtogoo 2002, pp. 290–322).

the references, or in the case of the most famous texts to the work of Z'anž'iv (2006). Most of the Mongolian monuments discovered in the region of Turfan can be found in the *Digitales Turfan-Archiv* of the *Turfanforschung* at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.³

D. Tumurtogoo's edition is the result of highly professional philological work and it demonstrates the linguistic scholarship of its author. It is an important contribution to the study of the history of Mongolian, which will facilitate the future study of the oldest Mongolian language and literature.

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3) See the web page: <http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/index.html>.

Жанжив, Ёндонжамцын, Сонгодог монгол өмнөх үеийн дурсгалууд
(The Preclassical Mongolian Monuments). Corpus scriptorum, Tomus
II. МУИС, Монгол хэл соёлын сургууль, Түрэг судлалын тэнхим.
Revised second edition, Улаанбаатар 2006, 242 pp. (pages 114–241
Plates). Price not stated, ISBN 99929-0-418-6 – Annotated by Ondřej
Srba

This publication by Z'anž'iv appeared amongst several recent books prepared in Mongolia and dealing with pre-classical Mongolian as represented by the preserved texts in 'Phags-pa, Arabic and Chinese scripts. Z'anž'iv deals with the largest group of texts written in Uighur-Mongolian script from the 13th to the 16th centuries (the pre-classical period, or *songodog mongol bič'giin o'mnoh u'i*).

The volume contains a general study of the pre-classical monuments (pp. 7–24), their individual description and detailed bibliographical references following every single monument. One half of the book forms an extensive Appendix of good quality facsimiles, though they do not cover the monuments completely. Z'anž'iv's book was prepared with the anticipation that the complete textual edition of *Mongolian Monuments in Uighur-Mongolian Script* would be published by Tumurtogoo soon (Z'anž'iv 2006, pp. 5, 23; cf. the review of Tumurtogoo 2006 above). In fact Z'anž'iv did not prepare a full textual edition of all the monuments, though he included a summary of the characteristics of each monument. His Introduction (pp. 7–24) deals briefly with the chronological classification of Written Mongolian, various views on the origin of Mongolian script and the history of pre-classical Mongolian studies since the discovery of the Stone of Chinggis at the beginning of the 19th century. Besides enumerating and discussing briefly the traditional theories about the origin of the Uighur-Mongolian script (creation by Tatatunga, by Sakya-pandita Gungaaz'alcan; or the theory that the Uighur-Mongolian script was identical with the Khitan small script), Z'anž'iv summarises the theory of the direct Sogdian origin proposed by G. Su'hbaatar (1971) and supported by C. S'agdarsu'ren (1981, 2001). Then he compares the chronologies of Written Mongolian presented by B. Ya. Vladimircov (1921), N. N. Poppe (1937), C. S'agdarsu'ren (1981, 2001), Dobu (1983) and the currently generally accepted chronological division only into the pre-classical period (up to the 16th/17th centuries) and the classical period (after the 16th/17th centuries). Z'anž'iv attaches special importance to the work of F.W. Cleaves

(1911–1995), whom he considers to be a Mongolist who made a great contribution to pre-classical Mongolian studies. He also refers to lesser known Chinese (especially Inner Mongolian) and Japanese research, based mainly on the monuments recently discovered in China – the inscriptions in Shaolinsi 少林寺, Arjai cave (*Arjai ayui*) and Zhongyanggong monastery 重陽宮. Finally Z'anz'iv refers to the existing bibliographical lists. The whole survey of the pre-classical texts contains 210 items, though some of the rather complex texts like ‘The Twenty-One Praises of Tārā’ (*Qorin nigen Dar-a eke-yin maqtayal*) are subdivided into single paragraphs covering the smallest meaningful units (i.e. the individual *maqtayal*’s in this case). Each text is provided with information about its discovery, about the places where it is currently kept, about its size, the number of folios or the extent of the preserved textual parts, and occasionally some information about its content. The texts are arranged according to their place of discovery – first are the inscriptions found in Mongolia (pp. 24–30), followed by the inscriptions and manuscripts found in China (including the Province of Gansu and Inner Mongolia; pp. 30–55), texts found in the localities of Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang autonomous region; pp. 55–71), the monuments originating from Iran (including Il-haans’ letters kept in Europe; pp. 71–79) and the monuments which originated at the Golden Horde (pp. 80–82). Finally, there are five texts which originated in the pre-classical period, but have been preserved only in the form of later woodcuts or manuscripts – *Erdeni-yin sang Subasidi* (The Precious Collection, *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*), *Burqan baysi-yin arban qoyar jokiyangyui* (The Twelve Deeds of the Buddha), *Banjarayçi, Altangerel* (The Sūtra of Golden Light, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*) and *Doluyan ebügen neretü odon-u sudur* (The Star Sūtra Called The Seven Old Men). The survey of the texts concludes with a sample analysis of one document (the letter written by Il-haan Argun to Philip IV in 1289; pp. 84–92). The text is transcribed in the Latin transcription, translated into modern Khalkha and followed by a detailed philological and historical explanation.

The work includes high-quality photocopies even of the longer monuments including *Bodīcary-a avadar-a-yin tayilburi* (1312; The Commentary on *Bodhicaryāvatāra*), *Açilaltu nom* (the Yuan Dynasty translation of the Chinese Filial Piety Classic *Xiaojing* 孝經), the Inscription in the Memory of Prince Hindü (1362, *Intü ong-un kösiyen-ü bicig*), or the Praise of Tārā (*Qorin nigen Dar-a eke-yin maqtayal*).

Z'anz'iv's book is another highly professionally prepared volume which is well documented and which can be used with profit by those interested in pre-classical Mongolian texts and palaeography.