

**Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '09**  
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Assoc. Prof. J. Lubsangdorji on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday



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## J. Lubsangdorji – Life and Work

ALENA OBERFALZEROVÁ, Charles University in Prague

Associate Prof. J. Lubsangdorji has completed his threescore years and ten of age. He was born on February 15, 1939 (or March 6, 1939)<sup>1</sup> in the countryside near the River C'uuluut in the Cecerleg Somon region of the Arhangai Aymag, as the first-born son in the family of a former Lama. In the 1930s his father was forced to leave the monastery and marry. J. Lubsangdorji has two brothers. All three of them have a University education; one is a medical doctor, another specialises in engineering in Ulaanbaatar. J. Lubsangdorji grew up in the traditional nomadic milieu, in a family where the carpenter's profession was passed on for generations and made the family famous. They designed many temples and his grandfather even built a mill with a millwheel on the River Az.

J. Lubsangdorji received his basic education in a rural student hostel. The first four years were not far away from the residence of his family and the next three years in the Erdenmandal Somon Centre. He spent the last three years of his education at the higher secondary school in Cecerleg, the Aymag centre. In 1957 he was admitted to study at the State Pedagogical University (Ulsiin bags'iin ih surguul') in Ulaanbaatar to study Mongolian language and literature. In 1961 he finished his studies by defending a thesis on the topic of the orthographical system of the classical Mongolian script. Classical Mongolian script and classical Mongolian literature remained a lifelong interest and topic of study.

After successfully graduating with a 'Red Diploma' and a special distinction, he was offered several attractive jobs (to become a University teacher or a language adviser to the Legislative Committee). However, he declined to accept and decided to teach small children in the countryside and became a school teacher in the Erdenmandal Somon Centre, where he soon became a Pedagogical Supervisor. He was then nominated to the post of the Director of the

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1) Traditionally Mongols did not consider the exact date of the birth of a child to be important. That is why the official date may differ, as in the case of J. Lubsangdorji. He himself considers the date in the brackets to be the correct date.

Aymag Centre of Pedagogy and Methodology (1964–1968), where he devoted all his energy to improving the quality of education of teachers and of their teaching methodology. This inspired him to study the works of world pedagogues, e.g. John Amos Comenius and Konstantin Dmitrievič Ušinskij, both of whom he admired very much. He also studied the work of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and John Locke, whose works were translated into Russian. This greatly affected his career as an outstanding teacher and pedagogue. At that time he met Prof. C'oi. Luvsanz'av, who recognised his qualities and chose him for further co-operation. J. Lubsangdorji was also successful in a public competition for the post of postgraduate training at the Soviet State Pedagogical Institute of A.I. Gercen in Leningrad, where he spent two months. In 1968 he accepted the offer of the post of senior lecturer at the Department of Mongolian Language of the Mongolian State University in Ulaanbaatar, where he worked till 1971. During that time his interest in pedagogy was replaced by another important interest in Tibetan language and Buddhist philosophy, and he started to study philosophical texts in Tibetan and Classical Mongolian. He also studied with a Buddhist Lama O'lzii, a fully ordained Lama from O'vorhangai, whom he kept visiting secretly at home on weekends for a period of three years and who trained him in these disciplines (and also Tibetan and Classical Mongolian). He studied especially the work of the reformer Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) *Lam-rim chen-mo* (Mo. *Mo'riin zereg*, Presentation of the Graded Stages of the Path). This was in keeping with other prominent Mongolian scholars of that time. For example B. Rinčen, C. Damdinsuren, S. Luvsanvandan, C'oi. Luvsanz'av and many others continued in the tradition of having a personal Lama teacher. Of course all this was done in secret and behind locked doors.

In 1971 J. Lubsangdorji was selected by a committee as a visiting professor at Leningrad University, where he spent two years (1971–73) teaching classical Mongolian as well as modern colloquial language. He could also continue with his interest in Buddhist philosophy there. In the University library he found a rare manuscript of a complete version of the Mongolian Ganjur from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, from which he studied 12 chapters of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. He felt lucky there because he could devote sufficient time to this rare text and to a number of other Buddhist texts. He also pursued another of his hobbies, astrology, which he later rejected. In 1971 he was nominated associate professor (docent) at Leningrad University, and in 1985 he obtained the same title at the Mongolian State University in Ulaanbaatar.

From the year 1973 the communist regime became a bit less rigorous, which J. Lubsangdorji took as an opportunity to publish papers, in which he tried to

apply the didactic method that he learned from the works of great European pedagogues, and started developing ethnopedagogy. He wrote a monograph about nomadic wisdom (1986), for which he had collected a great number of folklore texts, had interviewed people in the countryside and had accumulated their rich traditional experience and pastoral knowledge about the nomadic economy. Besides that he studied in depth classical Mongolian script, its orthography, and the phonetics and stylistics of the Mongolian language, which he published in further papers. And he particularly applied it in the first textbooks of Mongolian script, on which he worked jointly with Prof. C'oi. Luvsanz'av. Both of them tried to make the most of a time when 'from above' it was permitted to teach classical Mongolian script and to write the first textbooks, which would be available even if the times should deteriorate again and the Mongolian script be once again prohibited.

In 1973 the Mongolian State University established a new Department of Mongolian for Foreign Students, whose first director J. Lubsangdorji was nominated, and it was done even with some misgivings on the part of the Communist Party, because he never became a member. And in the years to come he made use of his rich pedagogical experience in teaching foreigners and tried to elaborate the best possible teaching method for them. He taught and influenced many future prominent specialists in Mongolian from abroad, for whom he also provided the best qualified teachers. It was at this time (1975) that he also met the Czech specialist in Indian studies Dr. Jaroslav Vacek, who came to Mongolia with the task of learning Mongolian within a year and also to prepare good teaching materials for the newly starting specialisation in Mongolian studies at Charles University. Their talents, teaching experience and common topics very quickly harmonised, and this, alongside a good personal rapport, enabled them to start to prepare a textbook together for foreign students. Ultimately the textbook, conceived using a new methodology, started to be used worldwide and is still in use at the present day.

In the years 1987–95 they continued their joint work in Prague and concentrated on teaching Mongolian as a language of communication. J. Lubsangdorji has been teaching in Prague from 1987 to the present day. In the course of the last ten years he has been participating in long-term field research among nomads in the Mongolian countryside. He has investigated their language and manner of expression – expressivity, modality, metaphorical expressions and symbols. In this connection J. Lubsangdorji has also continued studying old Mongolian literature and its language from the point of view of the ethnography of communication. For example, in this area he proposes a completely new perception and interpretation of the Secret History of the

Mongols, which he studies through the mirror of metaphors. The metaphorical manner of expression of the Mongols offers a new space and a key for the interpretation of old Mongolian texts and their translations, which so far have not been sufficiently explained. He regularly publishes his latest findings in this journal *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* and also in *Acta Mongolica* in Ulaanbaatar (see the enclosed Bibliography).

By way of conclusion we should like to express our gratitude to Prof. J. Lubsangdorji for his great patience in teaching several generations of Czech specialists in Mongolian, for his ever unflagging research zeal and inspiration, and particularly for his selfless readiness to continue teaching and co-operation in research.

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# A short survey of the scripts used by the Mongols (The place of Mongolian script among other 'Mongol' scripts)

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**Summary:** The author provides a historical survey of Mongol Scripts. This article is devoted to the reason for the invention of, and changes to, the scripts of the Mongols and to the Mongolian Script's place among other 'Mongol' scripts. The author considered that Mongolian Script was *approachable* for all 'felt-tent dwellers' (Mo. *isegei tuyuryatan*) and a *symbol* of the freedom for dialects to be developed independently and simultaneously with centripetal opportunities.

Key words: 'Mongol' Scripts, Mongolian Script, Linguistics point of view, Politics point of view, Synchrony, Diachrony, Centripetal apogee of the Mongolian language.

## 0. Introduction

There are about ten scripts<sup>1</sup> that were used historically by the Mongolian tribes who used to live scattered over the vast terrain of Central Asia (referred to also as Inner Asia). Nevertheless, the Mongolian script, from the first day of its invention until the present, has been the longest-serving one, and was exploited widely by all Mongol tribes. In other words, the Mongolian script was employed actively even when the other scripts were in use.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1)
    1. "Runic" form Script of the Protomongols.
    2. Mongolian Script (? VI-VII cent.).
    3. Khitan Script: Large Khitan Script (920) and Small khitan script (925).
    4. 'Phags-pa Script ~ Square Script (1269).
    5. Clear Script ~ Oirat Script (1648).
    6. Horizontal Square Script (XVII).
    7. Soyombo Script (1686).
    8. Vagindra Script ~ New Buriat Script (1905).
    9. Latin Alphabet (Feb. 1941).
    10. Cyrillic Russian Script (March 1941).
  - 2) Bibliography in order of publication: Pelliot 1925 ; Шагдарсүрэн 2001; Чулуунбаатар 2002; Kara 2005.

## 1. The reason for inventing and changing the scripts

What was the reason for one nation's using and, in some cases, inventing so many scripts? This is a fair question that could be analyzed from the *Linguistics* point of view and from the *Politics* point of view.

1.1. The relevance of script to *Linguistics* lies in its tendency to perfection of lettering and this phenomenon was derived from the Mongols' own initiatives.

1.1.1. The Mongolian script (based on Uighur script) that was used commonly was drafted in order to improve the (paleo)graphics, and in order to simplify these graphics the polyphony was changed into monophony;

1.1.2. The Mongolian written language that comprised the characteristics of the early period of Mongolian language aimed to be appropriate to the *Living Speech* (Mo. *yariyan-u kele*) of the Mongolian language of the later periods of its usage. Although at first glance this may seem to be a 'simplification' for public consumption, from the linguistic point of view it was a very 'naïve' step, as will be explained later on.

1.2. The relevance of the script to *Politics* derived from the internal and external political circumstances, the latter being initiated by outsiders.

1.2.1. The internal political circumstances were tied up with the Mongols' own initiatives, as can be illustrated by the 'Phags-pa script (1269) – *National Alphabet* (enforced by Qubilai Khan) for all the nationalities of the Yuan Dynasty.

1.2.2. The external political circumstances are related to the policy of foreign countries that aimed to exclude the Mongols' cultural inheritance and deepen their own influence, as was shown in the official use of Latin (Roman script, February 1941) for about a month and by the continuous use of Cyrillic (or Russian Cyrillic Script, started in March 1941).

## 2. Mongolian Script, its place among other 'Mongol' scripts

As was mentioned above, the Mongols invented and used many scripts during their history.

2.1. *Mongolian Script*: This script was considered to have originated in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to the historical sources, when Chinggis Khan defeated the tribe of Naimans, he detained the scribe named Tatatunga who held close to his chest a seal with inscription. As the sources mention, from

this inscription the Mongols got to know about the script and from this day onwards the Mongols invented their own script that was derived from the Uighur script. However, this is only a hypothesis.

The criterion that defines the origin of any script relates to the indicative features of the language that belong to certain period of language development. In accordance with this view, the Mongolian script characteristic at its beginnings should be appropriate to the 13<sup>th</sup> century language, or at the earliest to the Mongolian language of the sources written in Khitan, and then in 'Phags-pa, Chinese and Arabic scripts. In other words, the language features of the Mongolian script should coincide with the Middle Mongolian language sources from the 10<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, the Mongolian script shows that it has language characteristics of, a much earlier period. Another point is that in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Uighurs had already been deprived of their script for several centuries, and were already using the Arabic script, so Buddhist Uighurs had become Moslems. Therefore, one can claim the tendentiousness of the idea that the Mongolian script originated in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the sources written in Tibetan demonstrate that the Mongolian script is appropriate to the latest period of Ancient Mongolian. Thus, in the early sources written in Tibetan it is said that the Mongols and the Uighurs were taught the script and translation skills by the Sogdian 'wise teachers' (Mo. *mergen baysi-nar*); this is consistent with other historical sources in terms of historical timing. It is not surprising that the features of Mongolian script fully illustrate the language development of Mongolian. Using this opportunity, it is important to note that in the modern academic world European centrism does not accept sources written in Chinese and Tibetan as equal in validity to European sources, a situation that needs to be rectified immediately.

2.1.1. The sources written in Mongolian script are very scarce in terms of quantity, content and usage, although the earliest that is known so far is dated in 1224/1225. In addition to these, as an indication of cultural and educational co-operation with the Mongols, there was a special system for transliterating Indian, Tibetan and Chinese terms. Since the Mongolian script is capable of transliteration into Sanskrit, it has a complete capacity to transliterate Indo-European terms, the finest illustration of which is the publication of the *Holy Bible* in Mongolian using Mongolian script.

2.1.2. The Mongolian script is unique in terms of vowel and consonant gradation. The (paleo)graphics like *o~u*, *ö~ü*, *d~t*, *q~γ*, *k~g*, *j~y* in words like *соёл-суял* ('culture'), *өндөр-үндөр* ('high, elevated'), *ташуур-дашуур* ('horse-whip'), *халзан-галзан* ('bold'), *засах-ясах* [= *йасах*] ('to correct, to adjust')

show that the vowels' alteration of Mongolian language has been designed to depict several sounds with one letter, something which is unique among the 'Mongol' scripts. If we look at the comparatively earlier forms of Mongolian script, the difference between them and the Mongolian script that is known to us now is evident, for instance, in words like *бид(э) ~ бяд(а)* ('we'), *андуу ~ эндүү* ('erroneous[ly], mistaken[ly]'), *чиараг ~ чийрэг* ('stalwart, healthy'), *нийслэл ~ найслал* ('capital city'). In these cases the vowel gradation was vigorous in the different dialects of Mongolian, and therefore, the altered *a ~ e* vowels took the same form. Moreover, they were in vocalic harmony; the consonants *n* and *γ* did not receive a diacritical dot in the event of vowelization (or in the event of [*n / γ* + Vowels]).

In the early forms of Mongolian script, there was a profound reason why the consonants *n* and *γ* did not receive a diacritical dot in the event of vowelization. The word *илчи* ('heat') was known as *нилчи* (Oir. *nilči*) in the western regions of Mongolia and as *илчи* (< Mo. *ilči*) in the eastern part. The word Mo. *qaljan* ('bold') was known as *халзан* in Khalka Mongolian, and is *галзан* in the Dariganga region. Therefore, in order to fit these different dialects, the common forms of letters were chosen. The diacritical dots came into use in later period of Mongolian script, with the aim of 'differentiating the meanings' (Mo. *utq-a salyaqu*), and thus of altering the initial writing forms modifying the roots of words. These 'moderations' might seem to be a measure to make easier the distinction between certain dialects and ethnic group languages, but in reality, it was more or less coincidentally a step back towards the 'main' principles of Mongolian script which were established around the aim of providing a common script for all Mongol nomads scattered widely over vast territories, uniting different ethnic Mongols who were able to communicate their diverse dialects of Mongolian through a common amalgamated script. One may wonder whether it was done purposely or by accident, nevertheless it was the result.

In the period when the Mongolian script was initially invented, the principles of (paleo)graphics were meant to be articulated in different parts of Mongolia according to their local pronunciation, but to be understood by everybody. This was the most important key to the linguistic point that the dominance of any one of these dialectics over the others should be prevented and that each should prosper in its own way. On the one hand, the Mongolian script provided the diverse dialects of Mongolian with a way of developing independently by all means. On the other hand, it simultaneously played a centralising role in the Mongolian language. These two principles of the Mongolian script were indeed the crucial issue that unified the Mongols

linguistically and intellectually. Although during its historical development the Mongolian script was modified, as has been said above, it continued to play the role of united script for the Mongols in different areas.

Here is an example of the word Mo. *jam* ('road, path'):

- > Khal. (dzam) / зам
- > Inner Mong. (džam) / жам

Mo. *jam*; the possibilities of articulating in

- > Oir. (yam) / ям (йам)
- > Bur. (zam) / зам

2.1.3. One point to add: the orthoepy of the Mongolian script combines simultaneously the modification of the synchrony and the diachrony of modern Mongolian and its dialects. Thus it differs from the other 'Mongol' scripts where this phenomenon has not been observed.

Here is an example of a word *эгэм* ('collarbone') where the difference between the Mongolian script and the Clear Script (the 17<sup>th</sup> century) is evident.

- > Khal. *эгэм* / ээм

Mo. *egem*; the versions of readings

- > Oir. *ээм*

From this example it is obvious that each ethnic group can read the script in its own way. *Хаган* (ruler) can be read as *хагаан* or *хаан* like *эгэм* or *ээм* for collarbone.

- Oir. *е:m*; can be read only as > Oir. *ээм*

This is a case where the option of reading is limited to Oirat articulation. From the philosophical point of view, this assumption is viewed as an expression of *generality* and *particularity* and when the balance of these two is ignored, it leads to an alteration in the basic principle of the Mongolian script and a shift of attention to one of the particular dialects. This explanation relates not only to Clear script, but also to Soyombo and Vagindra scripts as well.

2.1.4. When we say Mongolian language or English language, there is no reality behind what we are saying, there is an understanding only of a branch of language that is realised through a certain dialect. That's why the Khalkhas,

Buriats, Durbets and Tsakhars speak in their own dialects but all are considered to be speaking the Mongolian language. In case of Mongolian script, all dialects were unified in one pivotal idea and the script was in charge of amalgamating and restoring the initial sense of language.

2.1.4.1. Besides what has been said above, during historical development words, like *хүмээ* (< Mo. *kituy-a* 'knife'), *хөрөө* (< Mo. *kirüge* 'saw'), *хяда/х* (< Mo. *kida/qu* 'to hew, to massacre'), *хянгар* (< Mo. *kingyar* 'chopping knife'), *шүд* (< Mo. *sidün* 'tooth') emerged. The roots of these words are found to be different from a modern prospective. According to the Mongolian script these words all originated from the root 'to cut' and in this way the Mongolian script always nourished the initial perception of a mother tongue. Modern personal names such as *Одончимэг*, *Оджаргал*, *Сэр-од* all comprise the element *од* (in modern Cyrillic Script), which is written in Mongolian script as *odu(n)* and *od* (or Mo. *Odunčimeg*, *Odujiryal* and *Ser-od*). The first two names are related to the Mongolian word *odu(n)* 'star' in the sky. In the last case there is a Tibetan word 'od meaning 'light', which can be easily traced in the Mongolian script. Once more, the Mongolian script enriches native knowledge of the Mongolian language on the part of all Mongols.

2.1.5. The Mongolian script was *approachable* for all 'felt-tent dwellers', *easy* to write, has its own system of *transliterating* foreign loan words and the *fine penmanship* (Mo. *kičiyenggüi*) style of addressing, as well as the system of 'speed-writing' (Mo. *tatalyan*), and the forms of 'ornamental folded writing' (Mo. *ebkemel*) that are furnished for all the social needs of the script. As for the other forms of 'Mongol' scripts, these functions have not been fully expounded.

The Mongolian script, having survived the longest from its inception until now, and having covered many ethnic languages over a vast terrain, being a common language available for wider consumption, needs to be acknowledged for its very determinative (paleo)graphics and orthography and for giving freedom to the dialects to be develop independently and simultaneously with centralising tendencies (if 'centripetal' is meant).<sup>3</sup>

3) Bibliography in order of publication: Ринчен 1964–1967 (repr. 2007); Кара 1976; Шар-дарсүрэн 2001, pp. 22–56, 201–224, 225–248; Чулуунбаатар 2002; КАРА 2005; Цагаансар 2005.

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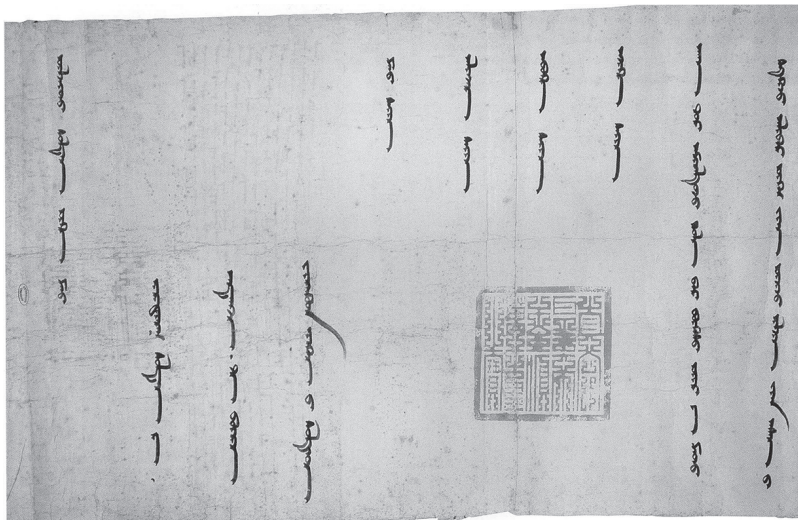
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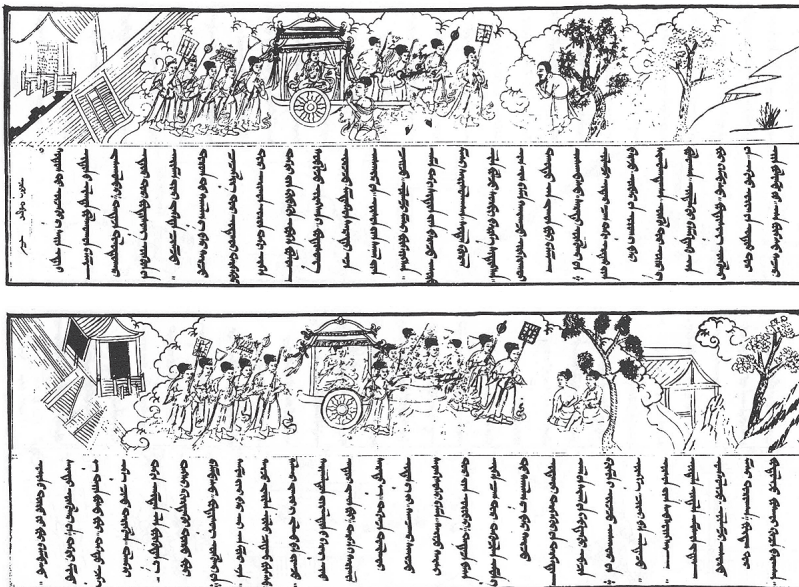


Picture 1. *Chingis Stone* monument (1224~1225) [now in Ermitage, Sankt-Peterburg].

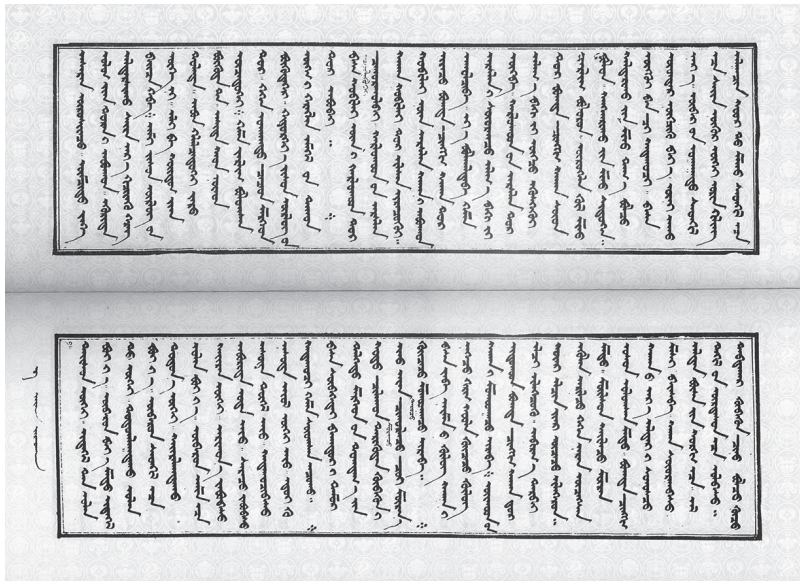




Picture 2. Öljeitü Khan's Letter to King Philippe le Bel of France (1305) [now in Secret Archives, Paris].



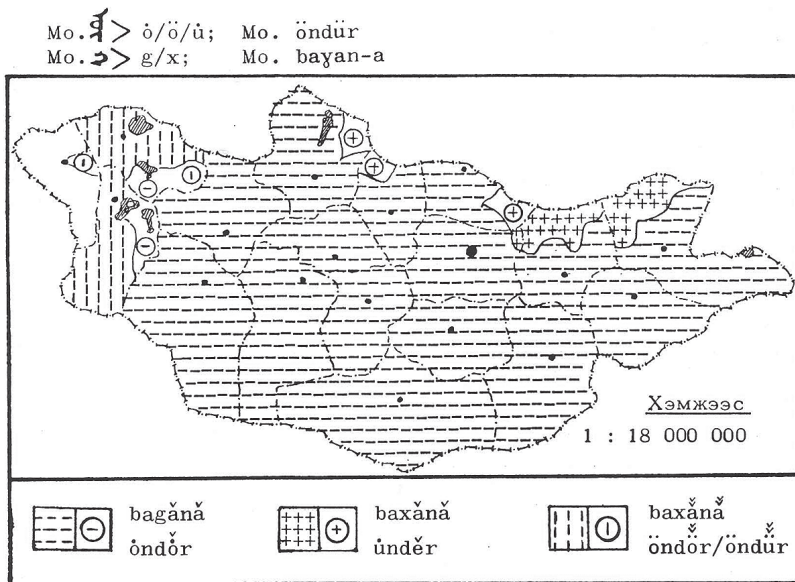
Picture 3. Xylography *The Twelve Deeds of the Buddha* (XIV c.).



Picture 4. Manuscript *Altan Tobci* (XVII c.).



Picture 5. Ornamental text in Mongolian Script.



Picture 6. Correlation between sound alternation and Mongolian Script.



# Onomatopoeia and iconopoeia – as an expressive means in Mongolian

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**Summary:** This paper continues the investigation of spoken language from the point of view of ethnography of communication and discusses a very special phenomenon of the Mongolian language – the use of onomatopoeia and iconopoeia. Though this phenomenon exists to some extent in every language, in Mongolian communication it has an important role due to its expressivity. It is essential in forming metaphors and, in particular, it serves to express contentment and discontent. In this respect the paper carries on the topic from the previous paper, which was devoted to the very contenting topic of the native land – *nutag* – and to the linguistic means of expressing this contentment. The first part of the paper is devoted to the phonetic variability of the so-called *du'rsleh u'g* (iconopoeic words) and the second part deals with their morphological structure, all of which is documented by concrete examples. The third part offers examples from folklore and from my own recording of a live interview, which are a concrete documentation of the use of iconopoeia in communication.

## 0. Introduction

The Mongolian languages (as well as the Turkic and Manchu-Tungus languages) have preserved a number of special (and conspicuous) linguistic phenomena, which probably originated at the very beginning of human existence. It is not easy to find the correct answer to the question why these phenomena have been preserved particularly in these languages. Of course, traces of these linguistic means can be found in any language, but they hardly appear as extensively as they do in Mongolian. The reason may be that the Mongols are an ethnic group living in a close bond with nature and perhaps also particularly because their culture is a nomadic culture, for which it is important to specify, to describe and to achieve an exact orientation in their milieu. Generally speaking, this involves expressive forms on the purely lexical level and also the rendering of expressivity by way of grammatical forms. These means of expression include in particular iconopoeic words, substitute words and expressions, modal words, pair words, modal grammatical forms, analytic syntactical and grammatical patterns (constructions) expressing modality, suprasegmental means, repetition, and also metaphors and metaphorical phrases and the like (cf. Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 124–142, and Oberfalzerová 2002, pp. 13–36).



This work is the result of many years of tried and tested co-operation with our colleague Prof. Lubsandorji. It is an outcome of two different perceptions and understandings of culture and language – an external perception of myself as a member of a different cultural sphere inclined to ask many questions, and an internal understanding mediated by an experienced native speaker and linguist. A study of these problems missing one or the other would not be complete. Our work is quite different from the study of written language, because it takes place among Mongolian nomads in the countryside and investigates the spoken language in daily use from the point of view of the ethnography of communication. We know that the Mongolian nation has a written tradition of many centuries with a rich written literature. Even so, if we consider the normal everyday spoken language used by the Mongolian nomads, the impact of the language of the written literature is practically negligible. In spite of that, this language is rich in expressive means, whose artistic quality and metaphorisation are comparable to the poetic instruments used by great writers. In such a rich collection of metaphorical expressions, it is particularly the onomatopoeic and iconopoeic words, *du'rsleh u'g*, which deserve our attention. They reveal not only a completely different use of language, but also a completely different manner of thinking and perception of the world.<sup>1</sup>

# **1. *Du'rsleh u'g* – lit. 'depicting words', words evoking an image, a sound and an emotion**

## **1.0.**

In the lexicon of the Mongolian language considerable space is occupied by words which represent a concrete image or evoke an idea of a concrete movement of this particular image, or which reflect tactile impressions. And of course there are also a great number of words imitating concrete sounds, which is normal in all languages. Some of them are only an imitation of sounds, while others only depict an image. If we follow their concrete usage, we encounter very lively and expressive words which, however, represent both a movement and an image, often together with the sound. When we hear such words, we immediately find ourselves in the middle of a sensory experience,

1) I discuss the problem of the perception of the world in my earlier paper (Oberfalzerová 2003).

which also evokes a specific contenting or discomfoting emotional charge linked with it. So far this topic has regrettably not received much attention and there are almost no systematic works or even articles devoted to it. In monolingual (Mongolian-Mongolian) dictionaries, these words are explained by way of other iconopoeic words and a foreigner is easily disoriented.

In grammars we can find some notes about the grammatical forms of iconopoeic words (and their morphological structure) and about the meaning and function of the individual suffixes. In the basic grammars we can also find classifications of the suffixes, which form the iconopoeic verbs, based on the traditional grammatical terminology and relating these suffixes to the category of verbal aspect (Kullman, Tserenpil 1996).<sup>2</sup> Kullman and Tserenpil further differentiate between a “quick action”<sup>3</sup> expressed by way of the suffix *-shii*, and a “repetitive action”<sup>4</sup> expressed by way of the suffixes *-lz*, *-gana*.<sup>4</sup>

But some authors designate the suffixes of the iconopoeic words as ‘unproductive types of suffixes forming the verbal stem’.<sup>5</sup> They mention the suffix *-ai* – expressing the transition of an object into a state or condition,<sup>6</sup> the suffix *-gana* – expressing actions and states or conditions taking place interruptedly or rhythmically,<sup>7</sup> and the suffix *-lza* – expressing a mildly rhythmic movement, an action with long interruptions.<sup>8</sup> Similar discussions take place concerning iconopoeic verbs in the Turkic languages, where there are representatives of both the above-mentioned concepts, either verbal aspect or unproductive stem formation (cf. Nasilov 1976).

2) Cf. Kullman, Tserenpil (1996, p. 131): “In Mongolian, aspects are expressed with analytical forms. Besides these, there are other actions that are described by the means of an aspect suffix.” Then (pp. 131–136) they describe these suffixes under the heading “Synthetically Expressed Aspects (With Suffixes)”.

3) “The action happens quickly and in a short time. Sometimes it could be translated with ‘a little, a bit’” (Kullman, Tserenpil 1996, p. 131).

4) “This AsS (aspect suffix) expresses an action which is repeated again and again.” (Kullman, Tserenpil 1996, p. 131).

5) “Непродуктивные типы образования глагольных основ.” (Санзѐев et alia 1962, p. 180–187).

6) “Глаголы, образование посредством суффикса *-аһ* (*-оһ*, *-һ*, *-уу*), обозначают переход предмета в состояние или приобретение предметом качества, выраженного прилагательными, соотносительными с этими глаголами по происхождению...” (Санзѐев et alia 1962, p. 183).

7) “Глаголы, образованные посредством этого суффикса, обозначают действия и состояния, протекающие прерывисто или ритмически.” (Санзѐев et alia 1962, p. 184).

8) “Равным образом посредством суффикса *-lza* от омертвевших и некоторых живых глагольных основ образуются глагольные основы, обозначающие мерно-ритмические, длительно-прерывистые, или ослабленные действия, и таким образом этот суффикс является непродуктивным средством образования осовых “ритмических” глаголов.” (Санзѐев et alia 1962, p. 185).

The first scholar to mention the iconopoeic words in Mongolian was P. Byambasu'ren: "There are two classes of depicting words:<sup>9</sup> iconopoeic words, which refer to both images and actions in great detail, they have mostly passive roots with special word-forming suffixes, which rarely occur with other words. Besides that there are depicting words with other special word-forming suffixes, which form onomatopoeic words."<sup>10</sup> In my opinion, these two categories of words, though their morphological structure is different, are made close to one another through their strong emotional charge and therefore they may be classified as one group of words depicting images or sounds, which evoke contenting or discomfoting feelings. Could they therefore be called 'emotional words' or image and emotion-bearing figurative words? P. Byambasu'ren's definition of the above-mentioned suffixes *-ai/ii*, *-lz*, *-s*, *-ga*, *-na* (*-gana*) is very much to the point: "These are morphemes, which are attached to passive roots referring to images and processes."<sup>11</sup>

Some specialists in Mongolian also discuss non-derived iconopoeia or onomatopoeic root words, e.g. of the type *seruun salhi ser ser uleeh*, *s'iru'un boroo s'ir s'ir oroh* (cool wind blows *ser ser*, heavy rain pounds *s'ir s'ir*). For example, S. Luvsanvandan speaks about "particles (*sul u'g*), adverbs (*daivar u'g*), some of them also (separate) verbal prepositions (*u'il u'giin ugtvar*), or words with no suffixes (*no'holgui u'g*) and the like."<sup>12</sup> In their works, S. Luvsanvandan and E. A. Kuz'menkov declined to use the term verbal aspect (*u'il u'giin baidal*). S. Luvsanvandan (1968) used, only once and with no comment, the expression *du'rsleh u'g* – depicting words (Luvsanvandan 1968, p. 31).<sup>13</sup> Similarly the Turkologist Kuz'menkov (1984, p. 83) used the expression *izobrazitel'nyje glagoly* – depicting verbs. A significant shift in the concept lies in the fact that the iconopoeic words in Mongolian were separated from the category of

9) I translate the Mongolian term *du'rsleh u'g* as 'depicting words' (Mo. *du'rs* means 'form, shape, figure, model,' the verbal form *du'rsle-* then means 'to picture, represent, portray, to shape'). What they depict may be better differentiated by the sound of the word, regardless of whether it is an image or a sound. We might perhaps also consider the term 'evoking' words, but this would almost certainly create confusion in the present usage, because it also partly includes the onomatopoeia. Therefore I remain with the term 'depicting words'.

10) "Yanz bu'riin du'r baidliig mas' nariin zaasan, golduu idevhiigui yazguurtai, busad u'gst barag tohioldohgu'i tustai dagavruud avc' s'ine u'g bu'teedeg du'rsleh u'gs (haragdah du'rsleh u'g), duu c'imee duuraisan yazguurtai bo'good tu'nees s'ine u'g bu'teeh bas tusgai dagavartai duu c'imeenii u'gs (sonsdoh du'rsleh u'g) – iim hoyor yanziiin u'gs baina." (Byambasu'ren 1970, p. 277).

11) "...*-ai/ii*, *-lz*, *-s*, *-ga*, *-na* (*-gana*) dagavruud du'r baidliig zaasan u'giin idevhiigui yazguur deer ordog morfem..." (Byambasu'ren 1970, p. 279).

12) "Mongol heliig sudlagc'iin bu'teluuded sul u'g, daivar u'g, daivar u'il u'giin ugtvar, no'holgui u'g geh zergeer yanz yanzaar tailbarlasan." (Luvsanvandan 1968, p. 32).

13) In this work S. Luvsanvandan was the first scholar to use the term *du'rsleh u'g*.



verbal aspect. The research into iconopoeic words should continue, because they have a very important function in Mongolian communication. Iconopoeic words used in present-day Mongolian can be classified into groups (or classes) according to their grammatical form – non-derivative and derivative. And depending on their semantic function they can be divided into iconopoeic and onomatopoeic words. But all of them are loaded with expressivity and make use of a great number of syntactical means, such as analytic constructions (patterns), repetition, doubling into pairs, echo-formations, and they are accompanied by special suprasegmental means etc.

Besides this classification, however, there are also frequently occurring words, in which the image and sound are blended into a single stem and they cannot be separated. If, however, we use such words in a metaphor referring to the human world, or apply them to a completely different situation, their expressive charge is amplified, their meaning is shifted and they form new strongly expressive metaphors. E.g. the verb *guvs'i-* includes the smacking sound of a secretly suckling young (i.e. from behind between the legs of the grown-up feeding animal), which the Mongolian ear perceives as *guv, guv*. At the same time they distinguish the sound of suckling one's own mother (*ho'ho-*) and secret suckling someone else's mother (*guvs'i-*). Besides the sound, a Mongol automatically evokes the image of a calf, pressing its head from behind between the legs of an unfamiliar animal mother. This evokes the emotions of joy, humour and a bit of compassion. But when the expression is used in a different situation, transferred into the human world, its expressivity is amplified, it gives rise to a metaphor. So the expression *ah du'u naraa guvs'iz' amidarc' baigaa hu'n/hu'muus* refers to a person or more members of a family living illegally at the expense of the original family (lit. 'man/people living by suckling the older and younger brothers and sisters / of the family/'). This is a strongly expressive phrase, very critical, ironic and evoking emotions of discontent and a sense of impropriety.<sup>14</sup>

In this short paper I will concentrate on the main semantic and functional characteristics of iconopoeic words from the point of view of the ethnography of communication. This concerns particularly the meaning of the *du'rsleh ug*,

14) Mongols condemn such a situation, but it is quite common that one member of the family is sent abroad in order to feed the others, or the whole family acquires debts and borrows from the broader family or from the whole region – *nutgiinhniigaa guvs'iz' baina*. This phenomenon follows from the strong collective and family bonds of the nomads. The strong family bonds of the nomads may have resulted from the ancient clan system. In the West this can be, though only remotely, compared with the situation when grown-up children continue using the advantages of living with parents (the so-called 'mama hotel').

how it is made use of in everyday communication and how important the role of these *du'rsleh u'g* is. For reasons of clarity, I will deal only with words referring to visual phenomena, i.e. the iconopoeia.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.1. THE SOUND IMAGE OF THE ICONOPOEIC WORDS

The forms of objects in nature and phenomena linked with them – their forms, consistency, movements, sounds, or even smells and tastes penetrated through the human senses up to their imagined forms, i.e. sound images, which are depicted in iconopoeic words. In a group of listeners related by way of the same rules of communication and interpretation, the use of such words evokes concrete images, referring to a particular sensory perception. Each vowel and consonant in such language is a sound image, which in one way or another is mediated by nature, arises from nature (which in this case can also include human existence – human forms, movements, sounds). All these images are not only perceived by the senses, they are symbolically imagined; they are also analysed by the mind and intellectually interpreted. Let us mention some concrete examples of iconopoeia, without which one can only grope forward without assurance in the fine vocalic and consonantal visualisation of images.

#### 1.1.1. VOWELS DEPICTING AN IMAGE

**A:** The sound image of the vowel “a” in Mongolian iconopoeic words mostly represents an image of a being rising above the horizon. It appears as a great, mightily, broad, firm, strong and magnificent male principle,<sup>16</sup> either motionless or in motion.

The evoked emotion depends on the context. In nature it is unequivocally positive, whereas with people it is variable. For a Mongol, nature is unrestricted, unlimited, magnificent and of all shapes. As against nature, man is given a clear and concrete form and should he exceed it in the form of any

15) This analysis further elaborates the presentation of the topic in my earlier paper on the subject (Oberfalzerová 2005).

16) *Er gazar* – ‘male place’, is important e.g. for the construction of a yurt, town, monastery. It is a dry place, far away from water, a more solid ground, with ‘male plants’ – *er óvstei* – steppe vegetation, no thick or high grass, without trees, but not in the hills. *Em gazar* – ‘female place’ is not made use of, it is generally known as a moist, grassy region near water. There is also a difference between a ‘male’ and ‘female’ sound: strong and deep *er duu* – ‘male sound’ and *em duu* – ‘female sound’ of a weaker quality and higher. This then was applied to vowels – male and female.

deviation from the correct mean, this is immediately perceived as representing discontent. That is why in some cases the vowel “a” is perceived as improperly magnificent with regard to human shapes.

Ex. 1: ***bandganasan/bandgar avgai***

Image: a thickset, plump woman (*bandgar*) repeatedly moving on the horizon (suffix *-gana*). The word evokes an image of an especially broad shape of a strong body in motion as seen from behind, its posterior – bowing, leaning over work, a view mostly evoking discontent (but under certain circumstances also pleasant – if the speaker has an intimate relation with the woman); instead of a woman the phrase can also be used about a great fatty sheep tail, about a stuffed cushion, mattress and the like.

Ex. 2: ***hanhar er***

Image: robust, square-built (about a man with a broad chest), strong and healthy, magnificent (manly), well-built. The word can, for example, be used about a mountain, about a wrestler. Always a contenting feeling.

Ex. 3: ***bo'gs ni tantaisan hu'uhen***

Image: to appear broad, flat, even (about the buttocks of a girl); always an unpleasant discomfoting view, perception.

Ex. 4: ***dalbagar c'ih, navc'***

Image: broad, great, magnificent things, e.g. the ear of an elephant, a broad leaf, e.g. that of a burdock, trouser flares. If the expression is applied to human shapes, the speaker is not very fond of the particular person, it is a form of ridicule, a discomfoting feeling.

**E**: The sound image of the vowel “e” in Mongolian iconopoeic words mostly represents an image of something (as in the case of “a”) rising above the horizon, also appearing as great, and though it is also broad, as against the case with “a” it is a fragile, weak, not magnificent, inadequate female principle, and it is either motionless or in motion. The evoked emotion depends on the context, but it is on the negative side.

Ex. 1 ***bendgenesen / bendger har avgai***

Image: a thickset, undignified woman moving clumsily on the horizon (*-gene-*), with a trembling breast and trembling belly (*bendger*), e.g. an old woman, looking unhealthy and having a sunburnt dark complexion (*har*);

an unpleasant front view of the thick shape of the body/belly/ in motion. It always evokes a discomforting feeling; the expression is mainly used about the human or animal body, particularly about the goat's belly.

Ex. 2 *delbeger c'ih, navc'*

Image: great but narrow things, e.g. the ears of a hare, protruding great ears (of man); *delbeger navc'* – thin leaf of plants, e.g. of grass. If used about a human being, it is always a very humiliating and ironic designation; sometimes it may be used as a form of irony in intimate relations when poking fun at the other person in a friendly manner, when teasing the other person with a feeling of regret towards him/her.

**O**: As in the case of “a” and “e”, the sound image of the vowel “o” in Mongolian iconopoeic words mostly represents an image rising above the horizon, but appearing to be a small, short, narrow, but strong, male principle, and it is either motionless or in motion.

The evoked emotion depends on the context, but it is on the positive side.

Ex. 1: *bondgonoson / bondgor avgai*

Image: a robust, small woman moving on the horizon (-gono-), mostly a front view (*bondgor*), perceived as the normal shape of a muscular woman, a bit stout, but not yet really fat. The front view of such a whole body in motion almost always evokes a contenting feeling.

Ex. 2: *gozoi- / gozgor uul*

Image: a conical, bulging, not very broad, but high object, e.g. a hillock; it can be said about an excessively high accumulated stack of hay – *gozgor buhal*, about a protruding chimney – *gozgor yandan*. An image from nature: *O'gloo nar garahad end tendgui zuram gozoiz' baidag*. 'When the sun rises in the morning, here and there there are 'sticking up' gophers.' It could also be used about 'thousand-tower' Prague: *gozoison gozoison oroitoi su'm, cam-hag olontoï hot* – 'a town with many 'sticking sticking' turrets of temples and towers.' It evokes not a negative feeling, but a feeling of special impropriety. If used about a tall 'protruding' man – *gozgor hu' n* – it always involves discontent, ridiculousness and unpleasantness, one man should not stick out among others. Here again the expressivity depends on the context. In general we can say that it is rather complicated to establish rules of contentment and discontent, but here the discomforting feeling arises from the consonant “z”

(the root *goz-* refers to an image of something sticking out). The consonant is sometimes stronger than the vowel and determines to what type of expressivity the whole word would incline.

Ex. 3: *ovhoi-* / *ovhogor hoz'uul*

Image: the shape of a heap, little stack with a broad and firm basis, the top is rounded; therefore it evokes an unpleasant feeling. It may be used e.g. about a (tree) stump *hoz'uul*. Cf. e.g. *ovhoison hadnuud / c'uluu* – ‘unpleasant shapes of rocks’, looking like someone sitting in the Mongolian manner; *ovhogor hoz'uul* – an image of the shape of a stump, a discomfoting image. When applied to a human being, the word obtains a different metaphorical meaning besides the image of the silhouette of a sitting person of a similar shape: *Bi o'noodor no'goo az'il ruu yavz' c'adsangui, Dulmaa ireed ovhoic'ihloo*. ‘Today I could not do that work, because Dulma came and was sitting there like a block of wood’ – lit. ‘she was roundishly sticking out without movement’. Metaphorically this implies a clearly uninvited guest of this shape, while the discomfoting shape figuratively evokes an uninvited chatty visitor, sitting for a long time, not ready to leave, sitting around like a stone or rock. In this sense this iconopoeic word can be used e.g. about the members of the Parliament, sitting around and talking idly. Similarly all iconopoeia can create very strongly expressive metaphors.

**O'**: The sound image of the vowel “o” in Mongolian iconopoeic words mostly represents an image of something small, short, weak, insignificantly standing and bulging above the horizon, the female principle, or appearing as a cavity or hole under the horizon, while it is either motionless or in motion. The evoked emotion again depends on the context, but it is mostly on the very positive side.

Ex. 1: *bo'ndgonoson/ bo'ndgor huuhed*

Image: figures (*bo'ndgor*) rolling (*-go'no-*) on the horizon. It evokes a very pleasant feeling; it may be used e.g. about a ball, which rolls. *Bo'ndgor huuhed* is a podgy, rotund child. It evokes a pleasant affectionate feeling. The expression may also be used about the head of a child, mostly still with no hair, about the botto of a child, or also about the first rounding shapes of girls: *bo'gs ceez' ni bo'ndiigood* ‘her bottom and breast are getting slightly roundish’. In nature this may be used about a cute solitary round little hill, which evokes an affectionate feeling. Let us not forget that for nomads nature is a living and soulful being.

Ex. 2: *ho'nhor / ho'nhgor hu'n*

Image: the phrase is mainly used about a human being, who has deeply set eyes. According to the native speaker, a very unpleasant emotion arises from the consonant "h".

Ex. 3: *o'vhii-*

Image: fragile, weak, unsymmetrical, bulging to one side, unpleasant; if used about a human being, it evokes a hunchbacked, old, feeble and frail body. It may be used in the same sense as *ovhoi-* about a guest sitting around, but then it is always a feeble old woman or man or a sickly person. It is used about a guest always when he is an obstacle.

**U**: The sound image of the vowel "u" in Mongolian iconopoeic words mostly represents an image of something long standing or lying above the horizon, which is bulging horizontally to one side, or hollowed inside, giving the impression of a monolith which is not hollow. Therefore it is the male principle, while it can be either motionless or in motion. Generally it evokes a pleasant and content feeling, which of course can be completely reversed by the consonant.

Ex. 1: *bundganasan / bundgar* (*caraitai, hacartai*) *bandi*

Image: a robust boy with a round fleshy face, which is bulging if seen from one side, well-fed bulky faces, or it can be said about a topic blown up out of all proportions; Cf. the sentence about a blanket, which is rising and bulging irregularly, as the child is fidgeting under it: *Ho'nz'ildoo bitgii bundganaad bai!* 'Do not keep fidgeting under the blanket!' This evokes a rather pleasant emotion, even though the child is being admonished. *Neg bundgar yum* is a phrase used about an object, which is bulging on either side, e.g. the heart, a card from the suit of hearts and the like.

Ex. 2: *tuntaisan / tuntgar yum*

Image: an image of an oval or oblong thing bulging on all sides, e.g. a full, bulging bag; *tuntgar uuttai yum*; *tuntgana-* movement of something full and sack-like, e.g. *durgu'iceed tuntganaad*,<sup>17</sup> which is an image of the movement of

17) To illustrate how difficult it is to explain iconopoeic words, we may quote the explanation of this word in the Mongolian monolingual dictionary: *tuntganah* – *tuntgar yumnii tumbaga tumbaga ho'dloh*; *tuntgar* – *tumbagar, yombogor* (Ceval 1966, s.v., p. 557). We are

a person, who reminds us of a full sack through his bulging body parts, who tosses about and gives expression to his dissatisfaction by a movement of the trunk or by turning to the other side in bed, a signal of discontent. With a sitting or standing person, it is a movement expressing discontent, a shudder. Then it can be an expression of mere disagreement.<sup>18</sup> Further cf. *tu'ntgene-*.

**U'**: The sound image of the vowel "u" in Mongolian iconopoeic words mostly represents an image of an oblong object standing or lying above the horizon, which is bulging horizontally to one side or is concave on one side. As against "u" it is hollow, fragile and small, therefore it represents the female principle, either motionless or in motion (it can be used about a cave). It evokes predominantly unpleasant emotions, discomforting perception, just like the vowel "e".

Ex. 1: *bu'nhiiisen / bu'nher maihan*

Image: something dome-shaped, e.g. a tent with an empty space inside. Another variant with a finely differentiated meaning is *bu'rziisen / bu'rzger*. E.g.: *Biyen deer ni bu'rzger yumnuud garc'ihsan*. 'On his body appeared pimples, eruptions'. Figuratively this can also be used about a face: *bu'rzger carai* – 'tired, wrinkled, wizened face, looking unhealthy'. There is another variant *bultiisen / bultger (nu'dtei) avgai* 'a woman with bulging eyes'. It can be used only about the eyes of people or animals.

Ex. 2: *cu'ndgene- / cu'ndger gedes*

Image: to move (*-gene-*) with a great belly; causative: *cu'ndgenuul-* to move the abdominal cavity, to make the belly swell; *cu'ndger gedes* – a popping-up belly, e.g. when pregnant after the seventh month. It can also be said about a vessel bulging on both sides – a vase, teapot and the like. For the sake of a fine differentiation of shapes, it may for example be said about the belly of a pregnant woman in the fourth month: *gedes ni bondoiz' baina* (see *bondoi-*).

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offered again only some more iconopoeic words, whose meaning is even more refined. Similarly cf. Hangin (1986 s.vv., p. 515): we do not find the word *tuntgana-*; *tuntgar* refers to *tumbagar*; *tumbagar* – 'something roundish and protruding'. There is only the word *tuntai* with only one equivalent 'to huddle up'.

- 18) Disagreement is a culturally specific matter, it is expressed by a different expression of the face and also by the movements of the body. Generally, a Mongol shows disagreement by using the whole body, he expresses unpleasantness or disagreement by jerking the upper part of his body.

Ex. 3: *tu'ntgene-*

Image: bulging appearance achieved partly or halfway, only in motion, for example an obstacle in the room, an abandoned toy, nothing very big, on which I have stumbled many times and it rolled. *Tu'ntgenesen o'vgon/em-gen* – he (she) is old, not too great, a curled-up old man (or old woman), who makes many movements with his/her bent body, appearing to be hunch-backed. According to the context it may be contenting or discomfoting, about an old man it is contenting, he keeps doing something, is diligent, sometimes it may also be a regretful description of a futile activity of a person who is too old.

It could be said, only tentatively, that the image of the vowel “a” appears to be grandiosely protruding and its weak variant “e” is less contenting; as for man, everything exceeding the average, having protruding shapes, is primarily discomfoting, because man should stay within the limits given to him, he should not be like multidimensional Nature. The vowel “o” offers a contenting image, “o” is less contenting or almost discomfoting; “u” has an analogical relation to “u”. Another possible criterion is to differentiate the male vowels and female vowels. The male vowels are strong and contenting, the female vowels are weak and less contenting, often discomfoting, but with images of children they change their emotion and are very contenting, only temporarily powerless. In this summarising differentiation it can be said that the relation of “a” to “e” is roughly also to be found between “o” and “o” and “u” and “u”. And of course everything depends on the context, whether it relates to the human world or to nature. It is also important with which consonant the vowels are combined, the consonant has often a stronger determining expressivity. I can refer to these analogies only tentatively, we can hardly speak about an elaborated system. To prove such a hypothesis would require far more extensive research and the presentation of many more examples.

### 1.1.2. CONSONANTS CREATING AN IMAGE

It is also possible to make variants of iconopoeic words with the help of consonants, depending on their depicting ability and the ability to change the meaning in this way. The way consonants change expressivity depends on the combination of the consonants and vowel(s) of the root words. It depends on the overall sound structure of the root words. Expressivity is not determined just by the combination of the consonant and vowel (C+V), nor consonant-vowel-consonant (C+V+C), though each of them does have this quality. Expressivity is determined by the composition of the whole



stem (root + stem-extension suffix<sup>19</sup> + stem-forming suffix, e.g. *ban-da-i-* / *ben-de-i-*, *bon-do-i-* / *bo'n-do-i-*, *bun-da-i-* / *bu'n-da-i-*; *dan-ha-i-* / *den-hi-i-*, *han-ha-i-* / *hen-hi-i-*, *her-zi-i-* / *ho'r-zi-i-* etc.). Just for general orientation, a concrete emotion can be found in the following examples.

### **B: *banhai-* / *banhar***

Image: the lower part of the head/face is broad, swollen and disproportionately great; it evokes an unpleasant emotion. E.g. the phrase *banhaisan nohoi* evokes an image of a dog with a bull-dog's head. It may be used about a person, in which case it is very humiliating: *Dugar gez' neg banhaisan yum namaig duudaz' baina*. 'Dugar, that swollen thing, calls me over/has called me over'. *Banhar* is mostly a neutral name of a dog, it does not mean that the master does not like it, it really refers only to the shape. It is scarcely ever used about a woman, a woman does not have such shapes. But if the expression is used about a woman, it is strongly pejorative. *Banhar/banhaisan mas'in* – refers to a car, which has a broad front part and becomes narrow towards the back part; Mongols do not perceive it as a very beautiful design. The expression can be used about the muzzle of the hippopotamus: *neg banhaisan u'her s'ig amitan*. However, it cannot be applied to a shape in nature, it applies only to animals and people. *Banhar* may be a man having a head, a face or a nose of this shape, and the like. Such a pejorative expression always evokes very negative emotions.

### **D: *danhai-* / *danhar***

Image: the upper part of the head/face is broad, swollen and disproportionately great; it evokes an unpleasant emotion. *Danhaisan er* is an image of a man having a head broadening on top. It can be used about a bull or ox: *danhaisan / danhar buh, hainag*, but it cannot be used with reference to a cow. The expression can also be very rarely used about a house, about a monument, about shoes – the phrases *danhaisan bais'in*, *ho'soo*, *danhar gutal* always evoke an unpleasant feeling, showing that the speaker does not like them. If this iconopoeic word is used about a mountain, it creates a metaphor, which refers just to a long horizontal hill, and the negative emotion disappears, on the contrary its magnificence is underlined. An example from a film:<sup>20</sup> *Bogd uul o'mno c'ini danhaiz' baihad c'i yunaas aih ve?* 'What is there to be afraid of,

19) This suffix could be called 'determinative' because it determines the image but in itself it has no particular meaning.

20) Film *Töörsoor to'roldoo*. Wandering astray to one's relatives (1966).

when in front of you the Bogd Mountain is grandiosely stretching out?’ The implication is that there is a grandiose saviour, he will receive you, and he is expecting you. Another variant with the suffix *-lz-* (see the Morphological structure of iconopoeic words): *danhalz-* to toss, to make jerking movements of a head of this shape, e.g. *C’i bidgii danhalz! / danhalzaad bai!* ‘Stop displaying the unpleasant shape and movement of your head!’ or ‘Do not shout, stop shouting!’ The image is always accompanied by shouting. It may be used similarly ironically about the boss: *Iluu cagaar az’illuulna, calin o’oghui gez’ danhalzaz’ baina.* ‘He keeps us working overtime and does not give us more salary, he only keeps jerkily moving and jabbering.’ Here again there is some noise added, the boss is talking rubbish, the speaker does not agree with him and refers to the rather aggressive nature of the boss, the boss is hard and ruthless, does not respect others. The person must at least to some extent have a pear-like silhouette. Then there is a variant of a person with a great protruding nose, which is not considered to be nice. This can be described by the iconopoeic word *s’onhoi- / s’onhor / s’onhgon- / s’onholzo-*, which evokes an image of a man repeating a movement with such a nose many times. The expression is often used about Europeans. Mongols use it among themselves, a bit perjoratively, if they disagree a bit, or are uneasy about something.

### **H: *hanhai- / hanhar***

Image: upright, broad, high entity, a magnificent stately impression; it evokes a contenting emotion. It is used about a massive mountain *hanhaisan uul*, about a broad-chested wrestler – *hanhaisan bo’h*. *Hanhar er* – is an upright, broad-chested, pleasant and robust man. If used about a woman, then it implies that she has boyish appearance, she is a mannish woman, flat with no shapes, and the expression acquires an ironical tinge. If the suffix *-lz-* is added, it refers to a repeated movement of a body of such size and shape: e.g. *Cengel-deh hureelend olon saihaan bo’h hanhalzaz’ baisan.* ‘In the stadium there were many beautiful wrestlers throwing out their chests.’ Figuratively this may then be a metaphor about boasting: *Ter avgai hanhalzaz’ baina.* ‘That woman is boasting, displays her superiority, is standoffish.’ This is an insult and a negative emotion of the speaker with regard to the woman, whose body shape must correspond to the above-mentioned natural image. She should be about forty years of age.

### **Z: *zanhai- / zanhar***

Image: disproportionately great and broad human or animal chin, the lower jaw; it evokes an unpleasant emotion. As against *banhaisan* (an image of

a muscular, fleshy and soft body), *zanhaisan hu'n* is an image of a body which is bony, hard, broad and moves disapprovingly. All this evokes an unpleasant emotion.

**B: *bu'nhii*<sup>-21</sup> / *bu'ner***

Image: dome-shaped hollow objects visible on a vertical structure or on the horizon, semicircular, with a space within; it evokes a feeling of something special and impressive. *Bu'nhii* *sonin bais'in* is an interesting dome-shaped building, e.g. a mosque, a Kazakh yurt. The expression can be used about the roof of the National Theatre or the University in Ulaanbaatar. It can be used neither about people nor about nature. Note also that Mongols would often repeat the iconopoeic words, if a greater number of objects is involved: *Bu'ner* / *bu'nhii* *bu'nhii* *tom savand pivo esgez' baina*. 'Beer ferments in great dome-shaped vessels.' *Ih salhind geruud bu'nhelzez' baina*. 'In strong wind the yurts are bulging and fluttering.'

**D: *du'nhii*<sup>-22</sup>**

Image: dome-shaped, semicircular elevations, but solid; it evokes a contenting feeling of magnificence. E.g. *du'nhii* *ho'h uul* – 'a magnificently rising dome-shaped blue mountain', *du'nhii* *barilga* – 'a long dome-shaped building'. The word *du'nhii* is often accompanied by the words *sonin*, *saihan*, *o'ndor* (interesting, nice, high). It does not mean that the hill is too high, but that it is magnificent. It evokes strong emotions. The human head can be referred to as *du'nhii* *tolgoi*, when the front part of the head is prominent and great. It can be said about boys – *du'nhii* *bandi* (not about girls), at the time when their head is shaved and they are to be seen with a humbly bent head. And when the head is bent the crown of the head is visible. E.g. *Ter geriin hotod du'nhii* *du'nhii* *bandi nar togloz' baina*. 'In the yurt settlement boys with shaved heads are playing.' The image of many hairless crowns of heads of boys of approximately the same age evokes contentment and thus attracts attention. In Mongolian locution this word occurs with a metaphorical meaning: *Du'ursen hereg du'nhii* *tolgoi*. 'Once it is over, the head is bent down.' The implication is that what happened had to happen. If I do anything unjust, against convention, I will take the consequences. As I make my bed, so must I lie on it. Whatever I have brought about, I can only regret – an image

21) Then there is another variant *bonhoi*-, *bonhoison hu'n* – man having a head like a cone, roundish.

22) There is also another variant *denhii*-, *donhoi*-, *dunhai*-.

of a bent, dull head. Or it can also be a reaction by another person: once it has happened, what can you do?

**H: *hu'nhii***<sup>23</sup>

Image: deeply hollowed in a curve, a hollow pit, a hole; it evokes the emotion of fear, it is an image evoking fear. E.g. *hu'nhii* *ereg* 'a dangerously worn-down bank'. It cannot be used about man, only its variant *ho'nhii* / *ho'nhor* / *ho'nholzo* - / *ho'nhogno* - may be used about human eyes – deeply set European eyes, sunken beside the nasal septum. It always involves discontent. When quarrelling the partner can be much provoked by the metaphorical words: *C'i bitgii nad ruu ho'nholzood bai!* 'Do not make the movement of your eyes at me!' Such words express a great irony that someone with slightly sunken eyes is offending me, is injuring me with words, accuses me and lies. And all that is not at all pleasant to me. All this can be expressed by an iconopoeic word applied to a human shape. But Mongolian expressive means can also be applied to the Mongols themselves. If a Mongol has a physiognomically low, excessively flat nose, almost none at all, but at the same time broadening (*narmiisan*) at the bottom, and someone would like to offend him in a quarrel, he may use another iconopoeic word and say: *C'i bitgii nad ruu narmilz!* 'Do not make noses at me!' 'Do not show me your nose in your moving face.' This can bring about a really very strong expressivity and humiliation.

The above examples demonstrate the formation of iconopoeic words according to the images evoked by the vowels and consonants in these words. And they can have many variants. Each of these variants depicts a different shape and in the mind of the listener it composes a different image, which also carries the relevant concrete emotion, which is culturally transmitted together with the image.

23) This iconopoeic word has the greatest possible number of variants *hanhai*-, *henhii*-, *honhoi*-, *ho'nhii*, *hunhai*-, *hu'nhii*-. There are six different images with different emotions.

## 2. Morphological structure of the iconopoeic words

### 2.1. STEM OF THE ICONOPOEIC WORDS

In the modern language the stems of the iconopoeic words do not have a lexical meaning of their own. It seems that they originate from old adjectives<sup>24</sup> of some kind like the following: *danha-/denhe-*, *sagsa-/segse-*, *sarva-/serve-*, *sagla-/segle-*, *ogno-/ondo-/o'ndo-*, *togdo-/mogdo-*, *ovho-/o'vho-*, *oodo-/aada-*. These are a kind of secondary extended stem. There are a great number of such stems in Mongolian. They are based on dead roots (e.g. *dan-*) with the -CV- primary stem-forming extensions (or 'determinatives', see above note 19) (e.g. *-ha-*, etc.), which together form unproductive stems of the iconopoeic words (*danha-*). We think that in Mongolian almost every consonant, if followed by a short vowel, can become such a stem-forming suffix of iconopoeic words (e.g. *-ha-/he-/ho-/ho'*, *-sa-/se-/so-/so'*, *-va-/ve-/vo-/vo'* etc.).

### 2.2. SUFFIXES OF ICONOPOEIC WORDS

#### a) Suffixes forming iconopoeic verbs

1. The most productive suffix is the suffix *-ii*,<sup>25</sup> which describes in detail a concrete image with movement or without movement: *oodoi-*, *togdoi-*, *nogoi-*, *ovhoi-*, *o'vhii-* and the like.

Example: the verb *oodoi-* is used about the image of the tail of horses and cattle, which is shorter than average. Only when transferred to a human being does it acquire the emotion of humiliation or irony; it can be used about a ridiculous-looking, unusually short person. The verb *togdoi-* is used about the silhouette of an object, animal or child – an image of a short and small bulge on the horizon. E.g. *Ene neg togdoison yum c'ini byaruu yuu tugal uu? Byaruu, byaruu*. 'That small bulge, is it a one-year-old (calf) or from this year? From this year, from this year.' The verb *nogoi-* 'to be green': *Ene nogoi-son muur heniih ve?* 'Whose is the cat which is 'greening'?' (i.e. with green eyes – *nogoi-son nudtei*).

24) In Czech and other European languages we have similar applications of the words for the manifestation of colours – to become red, black, green and the like. And there is a similar transfer to the human world – e.g. he was red (crimson) with rage.

25) In present-day Cyrillic script *-ai/oi/ii*.

2. Another stem-forming suffix is the suffix **-gana** (**-gono-/gene-/go'no-**), **which describes in detail a concrete image which is always accompanied by a movement repeated many times**: *oodgono-*, *togdgono-*, *ovhgono-*, *o'vhgono-* and the like.

Example: the verb *oodgono-* is used about the multiple movement of an improperly short tail of cattle and horses; the verb *togdgono-* is used about the moving silhouette of a small bulge on the horizon: *Ter neg togdgonood guiz' yavaa hu'uhed ohin yum uu bandi yum uu?* 'That toddling and running child is a girl or a boy?' Mostly it is the smallest child among other bigger children. The verb expresses a contenting feeling about a charming little ball, which is toddling. It can also be said about beetles, which multiplied excessively in the region and are conspicuous, have long feet, but appear chubby. Or it can be said about a dog, a small pinscher, which looks like a ball of hair and evokes a pleasant emotion. It can also be said about a man with a small and short body, but pleasant appearance, e.g. a rich mop of hair and a beard. The verb *ovhgono-* is used about an unaesthetically looming cone of an ugly shape, which is moving (see above *ovhoi-*): *Dalai naimaa geel morin deeree o'vhgonoson huzaa manai nutagt baidag baisan.* 'In our region there used to be a merchant called Dalai, a Chinese, a bit bulky, who rode his horse while moving up and down.' For a Mongol this is aesthetically unacceptable, children are admonished not to sway on the horse. The verb *o'vhgono-* is mostly used only about an old man, a stooping feeble old man (practically never about an old woman). *Ter o'vgon geriin gadaa o'vhgonood yuu hiiz' baina?* 'What is that old frail man doing outside?' It is a humiliating statement, which expresses discontent or disagreement with an inappropriate effort to be active, a regrettable view of a stooping and toiling old man. It can also be used about a stooping man riding a horse and flung from side to side by the movement of the horse.

3. Another stem-forming suffix is the suffix **-lza-** (**-lzo-/lze-/lzo'-**), **which describes in detail a concrete image of a movement with steadily varying frequency; it evokes an image of more than one movement**: *ulalza-*, *oodolzo-*, *ovholzo-*, *o'vho'lzo-* and the like.

Example: The verb *ulalza-* is for example used about an open fire, about its flames: *Oroi gadaa gal tuleh saihan s'uu, do'l ni ulalzaad, oc' ni u'sreed.* 'It is pleasant to make fire in the evening, its flames blaze and sparks dart.' The verb *oodolzo-* is used about a short tail, which flaps occasionally. For example: *Ho'orhii ene heer morinii su'uliig arai heterhii bogino tairhc'ihsan yum, yalaa-gaa u'rgeeh geed cadahgui, demii l su'ulee oodolzuulahaas caas'gui baina.* 'That

poor chestnut horse, its tail is cut too short, when it wants to whisk away the insect, it does not manage it, it only moves its tail in a funny way.' A regrettable image of an insufficient shape, and consequently of a vain effort. The verb *ovholzo-* can often alternate with *ovhgono-*. If we use *ovholzo-*, it refers to a recent momentary image, not a stable, usual manner of moving, for example the riding manner of a certain man: *Dorz' guai ovholzood irlee*. 'Mr. Dorz' came staggering on his horse.' He could have been drunk this time, but resembling the shape which was mentioned above – an unpleasantly rounded clod. Cf. the use of the verb *o'vho'lzo-*: *Zamad c'ini Dorz' guai dairaldav uu? Az'ragiin adagt o'vholzood yavz' l baina lee*. 'Have you met Dorz' on the way? I saw him swagger stoopingly at the mouth of the river Az'rag.' In this case it is a momentary or accidental experience with a concrete image.

In modern Mongolian there are just these three stem-forming suffixes, which form the stem of iconopoeic words.<sup>26</sup> Besides that, there are special analytical constructions, in which these adverbial forms with the suffixes *-s-*, *-g-* are used in phrases with auxiliary verbs *hii-*, *ge-* (see below). The stem of iconopoeic verbs can further be extended by causative suffixes, which form a new verbal stem. The causative forms have a much more vivid and emotive tinge for both the speaker and the listener. In a small sample of the speech of the informant Dulamsu'ren, there are thirteen iconopoeic words and eight of them are causatives (see the sample of the recorded interview below). Thus from the point of view of ethnography of communication this is evidence that the causatives of iconopoeic words play an important role.

## b) Suffixes forming iconopoeic adverbs<sup>27</sup>

The iconopoeic adverbs are formed by the following suffixes:

1. The suffix ***-ga/-go, -ge/-go'*** evokes an image of the **beginning of action**: once, suddenly, shortly. The adverbs are always combined with the auxiliary verbs *hii-* or *ge-*, both having the meaning "to do in such a way": *oodogo hii-, togdого ge-* and the like.

Example: *Bandaga hiigeed/geed garaad irlee*. 'Her thickset (buttocks) flitted by and (she) was here.' The repetition of iconopoeic words implies a repeated

26) In two cases (*ulalza-*, *nogoi-*) it was particularly the perception of the colour of the form, which is analogical in many languages.

27) It is slightly disputable whether in Mongolian there are real adverbs. However, we decided to use this category in order to achieve an easier orientation.

quick motion: *bandaga bandaga hiigeed* – ‘(she) swayed her thickset (buttocks) to both sides (and was here again)’. If very strong expressivity is to be achieved, it is always done by referring to the most conspicuous shape of the particular person and thus language is used to depict an image, which, however, is very much alive and moving in an exactly specified manner.

2. The suffix *-s* mostly evokes an image of the **end of an action**: once, shortly, suddenly. The adverb is also always combined with the verbs *hii-* or *ge-* “to do so”: *oodos hii-*, *oodos oodos ge-*, *cu’ndes hii-* and the like.

Example: *Bandas geed dald orc’loo*. ‘He shook his thickset (buttocks) and vanished.’ Or: ‘His thickset (buttocks) vanished inside (scil. with him).’ Another iconopoeic word, e.g. *cu’nde-* ‘to protrude roundishly to the side’, refers to the belly, particularly a pregnant belly, and is used similarly: *Cu’ndes hiigeed oood irlee*. ‘(Her) belly protruded (and she came).’<sup>28</sup>

### c) Suffixes forming iconopoeic adjectives

Iconopoeic adjectives are formed by the following suffixes:

1. The suffix *-gar/-gor/-ger/-go’r*: *oodgor* and the like.

Example: *Oodgor cagaan o’mdtei nu’cgen s’ilbee gyalalzuulsan avgai* – ‘a woman, whose bare calves were flashing in her short (improperly shortened) white trousers’ (lit. she let her calves flash). This expresses an unsightly image, a discomfiting feeling. The speaker likes neither the bare calves nor the trousers, therefore he uses an iconopoeic adjective to evoke an unpleasant image with the listener. If we replace *oodgor* (image of an improperly short tail) by *bogino* (short), the description is neutral and without emotions.

2. The suffix *-n*: *oodon* and the like.

Example: *oodon deel, mori, su’ul* – ‘a short deel, horse, tail. Modality of discontent, i.e. an unpleasantly short deel, horse, tail. If applied to a person, it becomes a defamatory nickname in the sense of ‘the short tail Dorz’ – *oodon Dorz*’, small and thin, which is very humiliating.

28) *Tenger s’ig gedestei yavna s’uu dee*. ‘She walks with a belly similar to the Tengens/Heavens.’ A pregnant woman is referred to by an expression evoking great contentment, it is a culturally most positively accepted sanctification of the life of the principle of Father Heaven – *Tenger* who creates everything.



3. The suffix **-aan/-een/-oon/-o'on**: *mogdoon*, *cu'gdeen* and the like.

Example: *mogdoon hul mori* – a low horse having a sandy colour and a short body, legs and tail (*ho'l*, *nuruu*, *su'ul*). Referring to the individual proportions the word evokes either a feeling of ridiculousness and merriment, or on the contrary discontent: *mogdoon gaans* – a ridiculously short pipe, *mogdoon buu* – a colt, pistol (slightly short). The image evokes the feeling of an improper shortness; if it is used about a man, then he is ridiculously small, but agile. Another example: *cu'gdeen heer gu'u* – a mare with a protruding big belly; it creates a merry emotion evoking a ridiculous, but at the same time unpleasant image. It can also be used about a man with a 'beer belly', but not pendent; the view is not pleasant. The expression can also be used as a nickname about a horse and also about a man.

#### d) Suffixes forming iconopoeic verbal nouns

Iconopoeic verbal nouns are most often formed by the suffix **-san/-son/-sen/-so'n**<sup>29</sup> and are always used in the function of an attribute.

Example: *s'ovoison s'ovoison ho's'oonuud* – high statues looming up, rising up conically. The repetition implies a great number of these shapes. The modality is specified by the iconopoeic word. Here it evokes feelings of interesting and strange events, which result in feelings of discontent.

#### e) Suffixes forming iconopoeic substantives

Iconopoeic substantives are formed by the suffixes **-ai<sup>4</sup>**, **-aa<sup>4</sup>**, **-aahai<sup>4</sup>**, **-aadai<sup>4</sup>**, or **-uulai/-u'ulei**.

Example: *o'ohon bo'mbii / bo'mbuulei / bo'mboodei* – a fatty ball, a little ball of fat; *arag sagsai / sagsaahai / sagsaadai* – something like a shaggy ball; it is said about hair or horsehair. It can also be used about a man, and then it is a bit ironical, ridiculous, but also affectionate and a joking form of address: my little chubby, my little pompon (from a humorous folk song); e.g. *sag-saadai* – may become a loving form of address: "My little bobble."

29) Though this **-san<sup>4</sup>** is a suffix of the past tense verbal noun, when used with iconopoeic stems it loses the temporal meaning in the colloquial language. In the attributive position iconopoeic words are mostly repeated. Though they may also take other verbal suffixes, the most frequent suffix is **-san<sup>4</sup>**.

### 3. Examples of the use of iconopoeic words

#### 3.1 ONOMATOPOIEA IN FOLKLORE

Iconopoeic words are very frequently used in all genres of folklore because of their great expressivity. That is also why they are so often used in folk riddles, where they are an ethnopedagogical means supporting the ability to think in metaphors and the cultivation of the younger generation in imagination and expressivity.

Ex.1 **Oodon** morior davhihad tuilsan bolz' uzegdeh, u'g medehgui hu'nd u'g helehed uurlasan bolz' uzegdeh. Proverb (*cecen u'g*). 'When you gallop on your horse with a ridiculously short tail, which appears as if the self-willed horse becomes skittish, it is like a fool not knowing (the meaning) of words who becomes angry when you tell him wise words.'

**Commentary:** A Mongol would first perceive the short tail of the horse, which is unaesthetic and unpleasant. However, that does not mean that it is not possible to gallop well on such a horse. The proverb admonishes people not to draw conclusions from the first unpleasant impression of the short tail. Nor should they draw the hasty conclusion that the horse is bolting and has become wild. Similarly, at first sight unpleasant but wise words, well-meant advice, do not mean that the person is angry or bad. The iconopoeic word evokes an exact and concrete image of such a horse, and therefore this image is used figuratively for the sake of abstract advice. In our idiomatic speech this would be roughly rendered by the proverbs "He cannot see beyond his own nose" and "All that glitters is not gold."

Ex. 2: *U'lee ho'oson tenger neg cemcger*

*U'nsee gargasan tulga neg cemcger*

*U'see samnasan avgai neg cemcger* (Gaadamba, Cerensodnom 1978, p. 21)

The skies from which clouds were expelled (i.e. clear skies) are one elegant beauty.

A hearth from which ashes were swept out is one elegant beauty.

A woman with combed hair is one elegant beauty.

A typical Mongolian folklore genre of "three special things of the world" (*yo'rtongiin gurav*).

**Commentary:** The traditional small stove (with a tripod *tulga*) is an open fireplace, in which there are always ashes and waste after using it for heating the whole day. In the morning, after it has been cleaned out, it is pleasant to see the clean tripod in the middle of the yurt. The hairstyle of women (in the text ‘woman with combed hair’) is a special traditional rite, where the woman first untangles her hair, then combs with a different hairbrush, then plaits the hair, then fixes and glues into place a great hair decoration and finally adds some jewels. Sometimes the decoration is rather heavy, up to five kilograms. On festive occasions or once a week a woman would traditionally re-make her hairstyle. The decoration was glued on using pitch heated up in water and she would even go to bed with it on. Aesthetically a very pleasing image. A well-combed woman was made very conspicuous by these decorations, which make the face narrow, and attracted the attention of guests. There is a legend (*domog*) about this: After the Manchus took control of the Mongols, the tripod had beaks on top which were holding the kettle (*togoo*) and they resembled the pecking beaks of ravens or crows (*heree hošuu*). And women comb their hair to resemble the wings of the king of birds Garuda (the Mongols), which keeps a watch on the crows (the Manchus) and renders them harmless.

The above very interesting and from our point of view rather abstract iconopoeic word *cemcii-/cemcgene* – literally means “to be or appear unusually beautiful”. In Mongolian communication it clearly refers to an unequivocally exceptional beauty, though not an unknown one. The criteria of that beauty are conditioned by commonly accepted image parameters, which ensure that the experience of such a beauty is passed on. The word may be used, for example, about a girl – *cemcger huuhen* – an image of pure untainted beauty: *neg huuhen cemciiz’ baina* ‘one girl excels by a special unusual beauty and purity’. The expression may be used about an interesting and spectacular hill, which is different from other hills: *cemcger uul* – from far away the hill appears to be beautiful – *ter uul cemciiz’ baina*. It may of course be used about the sacred lake Ho’vsgol: *Ho’vsgol dalai eez’ cemciiz’ baina*. ‘The Ho’vsgol mother sea appears spectacularly beautiful’. The expression may be used about an exquisite dress, a horse or its exquisite saddle: *Dorz’ guain emeel cemciiz’ baina*. The seat of Dorji’s horse is exquisitely beautiful.’

Ex. 3: *O’ohon bo’mbii*

*Arag segsii* (folk riddle: sheep) (Gaadamba, Cerensodnom 1978, p. 34)

Commentary and translation see 2.2.2. e)

Ex. 4: *Hu'n uzeed gooholzono**Hu'zuu seer ni nahilzana**Baraa haraad barhirna (bo'holzono)**Baruun ho'l ni tahilzana**Ter yuu ve?* (Mongolian riddle: crane *togoruu*) (Gaadamba, Cerensodnom 1978, p. 32)

When seeing a man (it) looks to all sides

Its neck and spine bend down

When seeing a silhouette (it) utters warning screeches (and bows)

Its right leg usually dances

What is it?

**Commentary:** The iconopoeic verb *gooholzo-* is used about a long neck, which moves from side to side and round, but also about a shorter yet agile neck, e.g. that of a hen, a small pigeon or a crane. When used about a man it evokes an image of a person with roving eyes and moving head. For example it may be used about a cribbing pupil, who looks for information with other students around him and thus his head makes the movements of a bird: *Bitgii gooholzoi bai!* 'Do not move your neck to and fro!' If used neutrally: 'Do not crib from your neighbours!' The word may be used in all its variants: *goohoi-*, *goohoc hii-*, *goohgono-* (he peeps in, he peeps once, or peeps in repeatedly and unostentatiously). It may be used about somebody who wants to find out something secretly. The iconopoeic verb *nahilza-* (*bo'holzono-*) means to bow with the whole body repeatedly (to bend). It may, for example, be used about a Japanese person who greets another by mildly bending the spine. The onomatopoeic word *barhir-* imitates the screeches of birds *bar bar*. The iconopoeic verb *tahilza-* (to bend) evokes an image of a curved arc, a long thing becoming curved. It can be said about the legs and arms of people. The expression evokes an interesting image, reminiscent of dancing.

Ex. 5: *Geriin hoino gedon godon**Ter yuu ve?* (riddle: a plait *gezeg*)

Behind the yurt it scampers about.

What is it?

**Commentary:** Here the word *ger* (yurt) is also used as a metaphor of the human body. It is also suitable because it creates alliteration. This image is used mainly in riddles.

*Geden godon yum* is an image of the end of a long thin thing, which moves to and fro, up and down. Here it is said about the end of a plait. Here two iconopoeic words are paired: *gedii-* which can mean e.g. to bend the head backwards at the doctor's, and *godoi-* which can mean e.g. to rise, go up, referring to a lying small thin thing, for example a boy's genitals when he urinates. The phrase *godgor gezegtei* refers mostly to the end of a man's plait, which is moving when riding a horse. The pairing of iconopoeic words not only makes their expressivity greater, it also acquires a new metaphorical meaning: *Bit-gii gedgenez' godgonood bai! Tegs' suu!* – 'Do not be fidgety and sit straight!' The phrase *gedgene godog ailguide-* means to make coquettish movements: *gedgenez' godgonoson ohin (huuhen)* – 'a coquette provoking with movements.'

Ex. 6: Aav ni **yanhir**

Eez' ni **cuzger**

Hu'u ni **guvs'aa**

Huuhen ni c'imheec'

Ter yuu ve? (riddle: *tulga, togoo, sanaga, galiin haic'*) (Gaadamba, Ceren-sodnom 1978, p. 36)

His father is bony

His mother is pot-bellied

Their son sucks his mother secretly

Their daughter pinches

What is it? (Instruments in the household: tripod, kettle, ladle and fire tongs)

**Commentary:** The iconopoeic word *cuzger* / *cudger* evokes an image of something bulging to one side. It can be used, for example, for the handle of a saw – *ho'roo*. The iconopoeic word *yanhir* evokes an image of a slightly clumsy thing which is somehow unpleasantly deformed. E.g. *yanhir huvin* is a leaky, decayed pail, it is unpleasant to look at; *yanhir ayaga* is a large, old, broken and dirty cup – this can be said about vessels which are too large and clumsy, whose size is unpleasant; *yanhir bais'in* is an unpleasantly large, strange building, which is often no more inhabited. When applied to a man, the meaning is shifted a bit: *yanhir hu'n* is a meagre, bony, gaunt, contorted and large figure. The iconopoeic word *guvs'aa* refers to an animal sucking its mother's breast occasionally (see above). This is another case of metaphorisation; when used about a thing, it evokes an image of scooping up from many vessels. The iconopoeic words used here are nouns. The verb *c'imhe-* 'to pinch, nip' is very interesting from the point of view of culture. Pinching is considered to be

the most unpleasant punishment, it is done mostly by a woman. As a punishment a man usually snaps his fingers (*nyasla-*) at the hand or at the forehead.

Ex. 7: *O'volz'oonii zamaar o'ovonhon o'ovonhon*

*O'tolsonoo medehgui seevenhen seevenhen*

*Havarz'aanii zamaar haivanhan haivanhan*

*Harisanaa medehgui z'uumanhan z'uumanhan* (*ardiin duu*)

On the way to the winter compounds he swaggers with a stoop

He does know that he has become old, the shameful coquettish man

On the way to the spring compounds he happily sways

He does not know he is weakening (i.e. approaching death), he just keeps smiling lecherously (folk song)

**Commentary:** The iconopoeic word *o'ovonhon o'ovonhon*, *o'ovii-* depicts an image of something round, meagre, bulging and weak. Here it refers to a stooping old man. The suffix *-hon* evokes the image of the mood of the person; he is happy and full of expectation that he will have a young girl, he rides to meet a young girl. The iconopoeic word is an expression of a critical view of such behaviour (in other cases the expectations may refer to having a good drink of vodka). The iconopoeic word *seevenhen seevenhen* is derived from *seevii-/seemii-* which refers to the light, coquettish body and eye movements of young girls, e.g. tossing the head or other coquettish movements. Using the word about an old man is very pejorative. The iconopoeic word *haivanhan haivanhan* is derived from *haivii-* which means swaying from side to side. When riding quickly an older lax body sways. It is an unpleasant image. The suffix *-han* evokes the happy mood in which the man enjoys the expectation of some dishonest benefit. The iconopoeic word *z'uumanhan z'uumanhan* is derived from *z'uumai-* to have a smile in a tight face, for example: *Hud-laa z'uumalzaad yamar hereg baih ve ineeh heregtei!* – 'It is not necessary to smirk (move the face and mouth), it is necessary to laugh!' In this case the suffix *-han* gives the word an erotic implication – riding and smirking erotically, to seduce with a grin.

The use of iconopoeic words in the whole song gives it a critical tone and the comic images depict a ridiculous old debauchee.

### 3.2. EXAMPLES FROM COLLOQUIAL SPEECH

The following interview was recorded during fieldwork in 2004. The speaker is a sixty-year-old Khalka herdsman G. Dulamsu'ren from the Arhangai Aimag, near C'uluut River. The herdsman had only three years of basic education and has died in the meantime.

When the interview, whose basic topic was dreams, was about to finish, it was just by chance that we touched upon iconopoeic words and it is interesting how he was able to describe them. At the end of the interview Dulamsu'ren looked up towards the poles at the roof of the yurt and said: *Oroin nar oodoiz' baina. Hogs'in ni odoo mordood togdoilgoc'ihno oo!* – 'The evening sun (its rays) become short-tailed (i.e. look like an improperly shortly cut tail of a dog). Your old man will mount the horse and will produce an image (will let you see an image) of a short figure leaving on horseback.'

The informant used the iconopoeic word *oodoi-* (see above) about the setting sun in free nature, when it vanishes behind the horizon and gallops like a horse. What remains is the impression of its rays, which he compared with the image of a short tail. Then he used the verb *togdoilgoc'ih-* which refers to a person of a short and slim figure riding away on a horse with a swaggering movement. It should provoke a feeling of regret, compassion and sympathy in the listener. When I asked him about the words, whether he could explain them to me because I did not understand, Dulamsu'ren pointed to the rays of the sun and explained:

– *Harahgu'i yuu? Nar uni o'od aviraad unaganii su'ul s'ig boginohon oodgor yum uldsen baigaa biz dee? Tengeriin nar heviigeed oroin seruu orz' baina gesen u'g. Togdoilgono gedeg ni bolohoor bas neg oodgor bogino biyetei Dulamsu'ren guai ni morindoo mordood po'g po'g s'ogs'uulahad morinii nuruun deer neg ho'roodson tulee s'ig yum s'ovoiz' togdoigood ineed hurmeer c' yum s'ig, o'rovdos hurmeer c' yum s'ig du'r haragdana biz dee? Togdoilgono gedeg c' nargianii u'g yum daa.*

'Don't you see it? The sun climbing up and what remains are short things – rays, which look like a tail of a foal (for a Mongol, this immediately evokes a pleasant regretful image of a poor little foal which is still helpless and has something short resembling a tail). It means that the sun is setting in the skies and the evening shade is approaching (at about five o'clock, when the sun sets the shadows get longer and there is a pleasant coolness). When I said *togtoilgono*, it means that one thing of short growth like a short tail, Dulamsu'ren will mount his horse and makes it gallop and it makes a click-clack (it starts

galloping making the sound *poḡ poḡ*) and on its back there is short sticking firewood (lit. sticking out becomes short) and looking at this silhouette raises a laugh, but it may also arouse regret, compassion, may it not? The word *togdoilgono* is a playful and funny word.

– *Togdoilgo- gedeg uḡnii orond o'or yamar dursleh ug helz' boloh ve?* 'What other word could be used instead of *togdoilgo*-'

– *Bi odoo z'artai hu'n. Nuruu ceh. Morin deer erhbis' togdoiz' haragdana biz. Nas dal garahad "mordood ovhoilgono" geh baih daa. Tegeed naya garsan hoino bol "mordood o'vhiilgoc'ihno do'o" l geh bolno biz dee, amid mend baiz' baival.*

'I am now sixty. But my back is upright, straight. I am sure I appear as a short sticking figure on horseback. When I am over seventy, I will move on horseback with a rounded back **ovhoilgono** (a silhouette of a rounded back of an old man is visible). When I am over eighty then I will ride curving on horseback **o'vhiilgoc'ihno** (ride like a curved figure, not just the back, and also more meagre). This is how it could be said, if I am still alive and healthy (he laughs).'

– *Bu'r zaluu er hu'niig bol mordood yaana geh ve?* 'And if a completely young man rides a horse, what is it like?'

– *Zaluu ers c' mordood gyals, z'iriilgoc'ihne.* 'Young men ride on a horse like a flash, they dash quickly (like a long thin thing moving quickly and drawing a straight line).'

– *Emegteic'uud bol mordood yaah ve?* 'And how do women ride?'

– *Zaluu hu'uhnuud bol mordood gunhc'ihna biz dee. Avgaic'uul bol za odoo hoyuulaa mordood ganhuulc'haya geh baih. Nariin gozgor bu'sguic'uuliig bol mordood z'omboilgoc'ihloo geh baih, o'oriigoo c' egc' ni odoo mordood z'om-boilgoc'ihno oo gene.*

'If we speak about young girls, they *gunhc'ihna* don't they? Adult women would say about themselves: so let us mount a horse and let us swing slowly. Meagre and medium tall (*nariin gozgor*) girls would say that about themselves and other (older) women would say that they *z'omboilgoc'ihno oo*.

**Comment:** The words *gunha-*, *gunhgar* depict a beautiful, pleasant, well dressed girl or also a pleasant nice thing evoking a contenting feeling and



movement. Cf. an image in nature: *o'ngiin ceceg gunhasan saihan tal* – ‘a beautiful steppe with colourful flower, pretty and softly moving’. The iconopoeic verb *ganha-* can also be used about a tree or flower which swings slowly in the wind. It is a pleasant impression of a tall thing swinging from side to side. In the case of women it is a not very hasty, leisurely and slow movement while they talk merrily in a mild wind, a peaceful and pleasant movement evoking contentment. The verb *z'omboi-* refers to something very pleasantly sticking out with a blunt roundish top, e.g. a small muzzle, pouting lips of a child, a slim tall young body: *neg heer moritoy z'omboison ohin* – ‘a shapely body making pleasant movements on a chestnut horse’; *z'ombos hiitel mordood ingeed yavlaa* – ‘she elegantly mounted the horse and left’.

– *Bu'duun avgaig bol yana geh ve?* ‘When the woman is chubby, how is it expressed?’

Dulamsu'ren laughs:

– *Gedes ni bu'duuniig bol mordood cu'ndegnuulc'ihlee gene biz. Bo'gs ni bu'duuniig bol mordood bandaganuulc'ihlaa, bandaic'ihlaa, tantaic'ihlaa geh biz. Gehdee avgaic'uul iim u'giig oor deeree helehgui, helbel uurlana s'u'u.*

‘If she has a big belly, then she *cu'ndegnuulc'ihlee*. If she has a big bottom, her riding is called *bandaganuulc'ihlaa* or you may also say *bandaic'ihlaa*, *tantaic'ihlaa*. But women would not say such words about other women and if they do, they get angry.’

**Comment:** These are comical statements. The iconopoeic word *cu'ndegne-* evokes an image of a big belly moving together with the person. Depending on the context it may also be a pleasant, regretful, affectionate statement: *Hoorhii eez' mini gal togoondoo (galiinhaa derged) cu'ndegneel (baidag)*. – ‘Poor mum, she is permanently toiling at the stove.’ The causative form implies that the shape made the figure move: *Egc'iindee oc'iz' muu egc'iigee cu'ndegnuulne dee*. – ‘I will visit my elder sister and will move her belly a bit.’ This means that I will let my elder sister offer hospitality to me. She will move with her big belly for my sake, she will anxiously do her best for me. It is a pleasant statement, an irony about the elder sister, whom I make move. Even though it is said in this way, the sister is happy that she can provide hospitality for her younger brother and he is also satisfied. The expression would become pejorative, if we used it about a strange person or e.g. about a boss who has a big belly, because then it is only an image of the movement of his belly.

The verb *bandagana-* implies that the big bottom of the person is riding the horse with him/her: *bandgar boḡs haragdaad yavlaa* – ‘she put her big bottom on the horse and left’. An even more unpleasant emotion is evoked by the word *tantai-* / *tantgar*. It can be used about a person, whose bottom is not very shapely, it is thick and square etc. The variant *tentger* depicts a broad but bony shape, the variant *bondgor* depicts a more rounded chubby shape e.g. about a cushion. (See also section 1.1. about the images depicted by vowels).

The interview documents how deeply the iconopoeic words are rooted in the awareness of the nomads and that they themselves are able to perceive that these words are ‘different’. That is why the informant clearly understood which words I was asking about and I did not have to make any complicated comment. In a short interview he used thirteen iconopoeic words, which he was able to explain and/or to attribute them to different phases of human life. However, he was not able to describe a concrete form in detail.

## Conclusion

The above examples demonstrate the very important position of onomatopoeia and iconopoeia in the Mongolian language and especially their role in communication. We can certainly say that they are the most important and most frequently used means of expressivity. They strongly and strictly modulate the contenting and discomforting feelings of the Mongolian nomads. We can therefore speak about them as being words that are emotive, though very often they describe only a natural image, which, however, is not neutral. All perceptions of images from nature, its shapes and processes, cannot be described disinterestedly, because they evoke certain emotions, which can be augmented by being transferred to something else. That is also why iconopoeic words are often used in metaphors. There is a question of what evokes which emotion, why a certain shape is contenting and another one discomforting. How does the image of wild nature, of the infinite plains and space or of the high hills with lakes determine the aesthetic perception of man living in it? And how does he visualise it retrospectively?

We have tried to trace certain regular trends in the creation of images bearing the relevant emotions, especially the question of the manner in which the vowel changes the shape and perception of contentment. The sound image of the relevant consonants then forms a number of different variants. In the mind of the listener each of these variants composes a different image with the relevant emotion and that is then passed on with the image as a part of

the cultural tradition. Therefore a foreigner should not use iconopoeic words excessively, because understanding their variability of fine emotional shades is almost impossible for a non-native speaker (that is also why in the above text I tried to provide as many concrete examples of the use of these words as possible). And in addition to that, it is important to pronounce correctly all the alternating vowels. Using these words incorrectly is extremely risky in communication.

Iconopoeic words have a very interesting morphological structure. We have tried to describe their formation and define the stem, which already depicts the first image, though its meaning may not be exactly definable. We have also listed the suffixes most often used with the iconopoeic words, which on the one hand form different lexical classes and on the other hand provide the image with 'movement'. In order to demonstrate the high frequency of the use of iconopoeic words in Mongolian, the third part of the paper analyses examples from folklore and a longer example from modern colloquial speech.<sup>30</sup> The topic of iconopoeia is really fascinating for a non-native speaker and I hope that collecting further examples will make it possible to further elaborate the above-proposed interpretations and understand the phenomenon more deeply.

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30) This phenomenon is also widely represented in old Mongolian texts, e.g. the Secret History of the Mongols. For example the poem about Borte, Chingis Khan's wife, demonstrates how in many cases the translation of iconopoeia results in misunderstandings. The text cannot be understood without linking the basic image with the metaphor arising from it. This will be an interesting topic for further research. Recently, some problematic passages of this text have been discussed by J. Lubsangdorji (2007).

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# The possibility to clarify the nature of the ancient Mongolian Language through the orthography of the old Mongolian written language<sup>1</sup>

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**Summary:** In this paper I would like to highlight the fact that the Old Mongolian script offers us an opportunity to research the nature of Mongolian language thinking and its development. In that connection I should also like to underline the importance of comparing the old Mongolian written language with other Altaic languages in order to understand better the ancient characteristics of the Mongolian language.

In diachronic research on the Mongolian language we have above all to pay attention to Old Mongolian orthography.

## 0. Introduction

Every nation attaches great importance to its literary language. In linguistics the “literary language” is understood as a thoroughly developed language with established rules of orthography, orthoepy, grammar and stylistics. The writing culture is the main indicator of the intellectual cultural heritage of a nation. In this respect, there is a need for detailed research to get an answer to questions such as when literacy came into existence, how developed the literacy is and when the literary language became fully standardised. In this regard, the old Mongolian written language has a very old tradition of its own. Although scholars have different opinions on the date when the old Mongolian written language was first used, most Mongolists acknowledge the dating which was proposed e.g. by Tumurtogoo (2002, p. 292): “It would be more credible to include the period of formation of old Mongolian written language within IX-X centuries of our era.”

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1) The aim of this article is to show that the orthography of the classical Mongolian script reflects very well the typology and morphological structure of the old Mongolian language. Therefore, this study concentrates on the analysis of the Classical Mongolian script and does not deal with the orthography of the other scripts used in the history of Mongolian languages. The questions related to the individual stages of development of the Mongolian language and to the orthography of the other scripts used by the Mongols will be discussed separately.

The reason for this is that even though the written testaments to the old Mongolian written language that have survived up to our present day date back to the beginning of the XIII century, the study of these has revealed that this is not a newly-established language. Instead it is a highly sophisticated language with a fully-formed orthography and grammar. This is proved by the substantial difference between the factual recorded language of the sub-dialect spoken by Mongols in the XIV century (Mongolian words phonetically recorded in Chinese and Arabic scripts, e.g. Chinese transcription of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the dictionary of *Mukaddimat Al-Adab*, etc.) and the old Mongolian written language. This difference implies an evolution of several hundred years and thus, on the basis of this evidence, the time when this language was first used goes back no less than a thousand years.

Russian Mongolist B.Ya. Vladimirtsov was of the opinion that Chingis Khan had officially begun using a “developed literary language”<sup>2</sup> throughout the Great Mongolian nation. Vladimirtsov made the first periodization of the development of the old Mongolian written language, dividing it into three periods, and studied the main characteristics of each of these periods (Vladimirtsov 1921, pp. 3–42, 54):

1. Ancient Mongolian (from very ancient times to the end of the XIII century)
2. Middle Mongolian (from the beginning of the XIII century to the end of the XIV century)
3. Modern Mongolian (since the XVII century)

Many related studies have been carried out after Vladimirtsov. On the basis of his elaborate research into previous studies, details of important texts, the laws and language development etc., D. Tumurtogoo suggested a periodization in terms of the *pre-classical and classical Mongolian language* (Tumurtogoo 1992, pp. 4–37, 49).

By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Old Mongolian written language had already been completely developed in terms of orthography, grammatical system and stylistics, and it had also developed the classical Mongolian systematic transcription letters for foreign words and pursued strict rules during translation. In order to examine the development and orthography of the old Mongolian written language, it is important to discuss the characteristics of the Mongolian language. As far as its origin is concerned, Mongolian is

2) Cf. Vladimirtsov (2005, p. 430): “Чингис-хан ввел для нужд своей державы уже готовый литературный язык, язык достаточно фиксированный, изображавшийся при помощи уйгурских букв. Этот письменный язык уже в ту пору отличался от живого, разговорного языка монголов и был языком традиционным.”

a language of the Altaic language family.<sup>3</sup> Its main typological feature is the fact that in word-formation (both derivation and inflection) the word-formative and inflectional morphemes are consecutively put after the root morpheme. Hence, there arises the question – which principle of orthography would be more suitable for a language with this characteristic?

Mongolian orthography based on the morphological principle clearly reflects the word structure of an agglutinative language and reliably preserves its structure and type. Mongols not only formulated their orthography rationally a thousand years ago, but they did so combining the phonemic and morphological principles that are perfectly compatible with the nature and type of their language. They have been using this traditional orthography for hundreds of years, passing it on to this day. Hence, when a word written correctly according to the orthography is broken down into the basic elements of the word, i.e. morphemes, it is possible to see clearly the origin of the Mongolian word, its root and affix(es). The Old Mongolian orthography did not change in agreement with the evolution of the spoken language and its phonetics, and did not break the lexical or morphemic structure of words. As a result, there is a significant difference between the writing in old Mongolian script orthography and the spoken language of today. This is a common situation for many nations which have a tradition of old written languages.

G.I. Ramstedt (1908, pp. 1–6) compared the old Mongolian written language orthography with the Central Khalkha dialect in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and concluded that “...the old Mongolian written language has a very ancient history. The spoken language has been changing drastically since the time when today’s stereotypical writing of Mongolian words corresponded to its real pronunciation and in the course of time it became totally different in terms of phonetics.”<sup>4</sup>

G.I. Ramstedt meant the time when the old Mongolian written language had just been forming. Because the orthography of that time was passed on almost without any transformation in the long run, the old Mongolian written language does not correspond to any of the dialects of modern Mongolian. Even though nowadays Mongols with different dialects have difficulties

3) Some scholars also include Korean and Japanese languages besides Turkic and Manchu-Tungus languages.

4) Монгольскій письменный языкъ представляет собою большую древность. Съ того времени, когда принятое теперь правописание монгольскихъ словъ еще соотвѣтствовало живому произношенію, языкъ подвергся значительнымъ звуковымъ измѣненіямъ, которые въ концѣ концовъ придали ему совершенно новую форму (Ramstedt 1908, pp. 1).

communicating with one another, every Mongol who knows the old Mongolian script, regardless of his dialect, can easily understand a text written in agreement with the old Mongolian orthography. The old Mongolian written language serves as an instrument of communication among nomads with Mongolian dialects living in the wide territory of Central Asia. This unusual capability of this unique language results from the fact that this language could reflect the characteristics of many Mongolian dialects in its graphemic system, and from the fact that its orthography has been gradually passed on to this day and all Mongols, irrespective of their dialects, have been following it. This feature of old Mongolian written language orthography gives scholars a great opportunity to investigate the linguistic typology of the ancient Mongolian language.

What follows are several possibilities for studying the **word structure** of the Mongolian language with the support of the old Mongolian orthography.

## 1. Establishing etymological nests

It is possible to provide lists of words which have a common origin and to clarify the meaning of words derived from the same root. For instance:

<b><i>daru-</i></b>	<b>to press down</b>
<i>darula-</i>	to oppress
<i>darulal</i>	oppression
<i>darungyui</i>	suppressive
<i>darungyuyila</i>	to dictate, to suppress
<i>darungyuyilal</i>	dictatorship, suppression
<i>daruyasu</i>	weight
<i>darulta</i>	pressure
<i>darumta</i>	burden
<i>darumtala-</i>	to pressurize, to burden
<i>darumal</i>	printed
<i>daruy-a</i>	head, chief
<i>daruyači</i>	commander
<i>daruyala-</i>	to head, to chair

It is obvious that the root morpheme *daru-* of the above-listed words has a general meaning “to force something/someone from up to down”. The words *daruy-a*, *daruyači*, which have been actively used and absorbed by many world languages since the 13<sup>th</sup> century, have the primary meaning “to dominate, to order”, as is clearly seen from the root *daru-*.



## 2. Structure of suffixes

In the old Mongolian orthography, the suffixes affixed after the root morpheme are divided into back-vowel and front-vowel suffixes (which is of importance for the vowel harmony). The structure of the suffix cannot be changed, regardless of the pronunciation in the spoken language or local dialect. This provides the possibility of easily analysing the word according to its structure, classifying it in agreement with the suffix-type and consequently determining its meaning. For instance:

<i>tabaliy</i>	at ease, untroubled
<i>moduliy</i>	woody
<i>ebliğ</i>	polite
<i>čigiglig</i>	humid
<i>dabusuliy</i>	salty
<i>činarliy</i>	of good quality
<i>elesülig</i>	sandy
<i>miqaliy</i>	fleshy, plump
<i>tosuliy</i>	oily
<i>sikirliy</i>	sweet
<i>uqayaliy</i>	intelligent
<i>beyelig</i>	big-bodied
<i>uraliy</i>	art
<i>bayaturliy</i>	heroic
<i>ebesülig</i>	herbaceous
<i>čečeglig</i>	garden
<i>önggelig</i>	colourful
<i>üsülig</i>	hairly
<i>körüisülig</i>	having good topsoil, handsome
<i>ončaliy</i>	peculiar etc.

The above-mentioned examples clearly show how the *-liy/-lig* suffix form is used and that this word-formative morpheme forms an adjective out of a noun. This word-formative morpheme has the same form and meaning in the Turkic language family. It indicates a state of ‘having something’ or ‘being provided with something’. Thus it is possible to determine the origin of some words and their structures with the help of this word-formative morpheme.

In Buddhist chronicles we often encounter the words *erlig nom-un qayan* meaning “the king of the underworld”. There are many examples in the translations written in the old Mongolian script where *erkelig* is commonly used instead of *erlig*. However, comparison with the original Tibetan source shows that the word *erkelig* is the same as the word *erlig* of the *erlig nom-un qayan*. As a matter of fact, the written form *erkelig* is the old version meaning “having authority, entitled, powerful”, and obviously *erkelig* was transformed into

*erlig*. Furthermore, this transformation is reconfirmed in the documents of Old Turkic.

### 3. Some examples of common characteristics of the Altaic languages

The old Mongolian script orthography is not only a custom that has been passed on over the course of time. There are many examples where the fixed form of this script has reflected the common features of the Altaic language family. For instance:

Old Mongolian	Written language:	Old Turkic <sup>5</sup>	Manchu <sup>6</sup>
<i>buyu</i>	deer	<i>buyu</i> [120]	<i>buqu</i> [141]
<i>buqa</i>	bull	<i>buqa</i> [175]	<i>buqa</i> [141]
<i>törü</i>	order, rule	<i>törü</i> [581]	<i>doro</i> [391]
<i>qar-a</i>	black	<i>qara</i> [422]	<i>qara</i> [107]
<i>elči</i>	messenger, courier, emissary	<i>elči</i> [169]	<i>elčin</i> [39]

### 4. Some influence of Uighur, Sogdian scripts

The fixed script of the old Mongolian documents frequently corresponds with the script of the ancient Turkic language, particularly with the script of the ancient Sogdian and Uighur documents. This proves that Sogdian and Uighur writing systems have played an important role in the formation of old Mongolian script orthography. In this case we do not focus on the word etymology and the examples are selected because of their similar script form.

Old Mongolian	Written language	Old Turkic
<i>ada</i>	demon, evil spirit	<i>ada</i> [7]
<i>adala-</i>	to spurn, to discriminate against	<i>adala-</i> [8]
<i>aylay</i>	secluded, remote	<i>aylay</i> [21]
<i>asiy</i>	profit, gain	<i>asiy</i> [60]
<i>bayla-</i>	to pack	<i>bayla-</i> [78]
<i>bal</i>	honey	<i>bal</i> [79]
<i>baysi</i>	teacher	<i>baqsi</i> [82]
<i>bulay</i>	source	<i>bulaq</i> [121]
<i>bulung</i>	corner	<i>bulung</i> [124]
<i>bütün</i>	whole, complete	<i>bütün</i> [134]
<i>čay</i>	time	<i>čaq</i> [139]

5) The numbers concerning Old Turkic refer to pages in the OTD.

6) The numbers concerning Manchu refer to pages in Luvsanjav, Sharkhuu 1968.

Old Mongolian	Written language	Old Turkic
<i>čečeg</i>	flower	<i>čečäk</i> [143]
<i>čečerlig</i>	garden	<i>čečäklig</i> [143]
<i>čerig</i>	soldier	<i>čerig</i> [144]
<i>čoy</i>	glory, spirit, light, magnificence	<i>čoy</i> [151]
<i>čoy jali</i>	glory, spirit, light, magnificence	<i>čoy jalin</i> [151]
<i>čöb</i>	sediment, deposit	<i>čöp</i> [155]
<i>daruy-a</i>	head, chief	<i>daruya</i> [159]
<i>debter</i>	notebook	<i>däbtär</i> [159]
<i>ed</i>	goods, ware	<i>ed</i> [162]
<i>ed tavar</i>	goods, ware	<i>ed tavar</i> [162]
<i>edle-</i>	to use	<i>edlä-</i> [164]
<i>titim</i>	crown, diadem	<i>didim</i> [160]
<i>enedkeg</i>	India	<i>enätkäk</i> [173]
<i>erdem</i>	knowledge	<i>erdäm</i> [176]
<i>erte</i>	early	<i>ertä</i> [182]
<i>ertele-</i>	to be early	<i>ertälä-</i> [182]
<i>esen</i>	alright, safe, healthy	<i>esän</i> [183]
<i>esen tügel</i>	alright, safe, healthy	<i>esän tükäl</i> [183]
<i>isi</i>	first wife of Khan	<i>iši</i> [214]
<i>yilvi</i>	magic, trick	<i>jelvi</i> [255]
<i>yirtinčü</i>	world	<i>jirtinčü</i> [255]
<i>yirtinčü daki</i>	in the world	<i>jirtinčüdäki</i> [263]
<i>yosun</i>	rule, custom, principle, order	<i>josun</i> [275]
<i>jula</i>	lamp	<i>jula</i> [278]
<i>kereg</i>	necessity	<i>keräk</i> [300]
<i>keregle-</i>	to make use of	<i>käräklä</i> [300]
<i>otači</i>	doctor	<i>otači</i> [373]
<i>qamuy</i>	whole	<i>qamuy</i> [416]
<i>qarangqu</i>	dark	<i>qaranqu</i> [424]
<i>qarsi</i>	palace	<i>qarši</i> [429]
<i>qula</i>	fawn	<i>qula</i> [469]
<i>qurilta ~ quriltai</i>	meeting (hist.)	<i>quriltaj</i> [468]
<i>saqal</i>	beard	<i>saqal</i> [486]
<i>simnu</i>	demon	<i>šimnu</i> [523]
<i>sikir</i>	sugar	<i>säkär</i> [522]
<i>tal-a</i>	steppe	<i>tala</i> [528]
<i>tala-</i>	to rob	<i>tala-</i> [528]
<i>tangsuy</i>	luxurious	<i>taṣuq</i> [533]
<i>tekimlig</i>	reverend (Buddhist monks)	<i>teginlig</i> [547]
<i>ayay-a tekimlig</i>	reverend (Buddhist monks)	<i>ajayqa tekimlig</i> [26]
<i>temür</i>	iron	<i>temür</i> [551]
<i>tergen</i>	cart	<i>tergän</i> [554]
<i>ters</i>	heretic	<i>ters</i> [555]
<i>turqaryu</i>	always	<i>turqaru</i> [588]
<i>tutury-a</i>	rice	<i>tuturyan</i> [593]
<i>ükeg</i>	chest, box	<i>ükäk</i> [623]

Old Mongolian	Written language	Old Turkic
<i>üjüm</i>	grape	<i>üzüm</i> [631]
<i>qurmusta</i>	Khormusda, the chief of the thirty-three gods	<i>xormuzda ~ xormuzta</i> [637]
<i>turqay</i>	guard (hist.)	<i>turqay</i> [587]
<i>uruy</i>	child, seed	<i>uruy</i> [615]
<i>teke</i>	male of the rocky mountain	<i>tekä</i> [550]
	goat	
<i>arslan</i>	lion	<i>arslan</i> [55]
<i>bars</i>	tiger	<i>bars</i> [84]
<i>kömlüdürge</i>	breast-strap of harness	<i>kömlüdürük</i> [314]
<i>köl-</i>	to harness	<i>köl-</i> [314]
<i>tobray</i>	earth, dust	<i>topraq</i> [575]
<i>quvaray</i>	lama, priest	<i>quvrag</i> [475]
<i>bursang</i>	priest (Buddh.)	<i>bursañ</i> [126]
<i>jarliy</i>	order, decree	<i>jarliy</i> [242]
<i>jas-</i>	to put right	<i>jas-</i> [245]
<i>jimis</i>	fruits	<i>jemiš</i> [255]
<i>kkir</i>	dirt, filth	<i>kkir</i> [311]
<i>ubasi</i>	layman	<i>upasi</i> [613]
<i>ubasanča</i>	laywoman	<i>ubasanč</i> [613]
<i>jad</i>	strange, foreign, alien	<i>jat</i> [247]
<i>jad</i>	to make rain by magic	<i>jat</i> [247]
<i>šongqur</i>	falcon	<i>soñqur</i> [508]
<i>labai</i>	trumpet made from a shell	<i>labai</i> [332]
<i>lingqu-a</i>	lotus	<i>linxua</i> [333]
<i>simnača</i> <sup>7</sup>	nun	<i>šimnanč</i> [523]

When comparing the writing of words such as *simnu*, *yilvi*, *ayayqa tekimlig*, *arslan*, *bars*, *ters*, *bursang quvaray*, *kkir*, *yirtinčü*, *qormusta*, it can be clearly seen that the old Mongolian orthography has an ancient tradition of formal or established writing.

## 5. Old Mongolian writing of Sanskrit loan words

There is a tradition that one of the ancient routes through which Buddhism entered Mongolia from India was via Central Asia. Ancient Sogdian and Uighur not only used the ancestor writing of the old Mongolian script, but they also worshipped the Buddha. Indeed, this was the period when hundreds of religious words from Buddhism entered into the ancient Turkic language

7) Further cf. Lessing's Dictionary (1960) s.v. *simnanca*, which lists several variants (in his transliteration): *simnanca*, *simnaca*, *sibayanca*, *cibayanca*, etc. (from Sogdian, Kh. *c'avganc* 'nun; female devotee who has shaved her hair and has taken certain vows, lay sister').

from Sanskrit. The spelling of the **Sanskrit words**, which entered the Mongolian language many years ago, are part of an ancient Sogdian and Uighur tradition and since this happened over many years they became truly Mongolised. For example:

Od Mongolian	Witten Language	Old Turkic	Sanskrit
asuri	one of the six states of rebirth (Buddh.)	asuri [61]	<i>asura</i> -8
<i>asangi</i>	countless, endless	<i>asanki</i> [59]	asaṃkhyā9
<i>adistid</i>	blessing	<i>adištīt</i> [10]	adhiṣṭhāna-
arsi	hermit, saint	arši [55]	ṛṣi-
<i>biraman</i>	Brahmin	<i>barman</i> [119]	brāhmaṇa-
<i>čadiy</i> (čedig)	biography	<i>čadik</i> [135]	jātaka-
<i>diyan</i>	meditation	<i>dijan</i> [160]	dhyāna-
<i>dibangyar</i>	Dipangkara, one of the (divangyar) Buddhas of the past	<i>dipankari</i> [160]	dīpaṅkara-
<i>včir</i>	diamond	<i>včir~vačir</i> [631]	vajra-
<i>šakimuni</i>	Buddha Shakyamuni	<i>šakimuni</i> [520]	śākyamuni-
<i>šajin</i>	religion, teaching	<i>šazin</i> [521]	śāsana-
<i>mandal</i>	mandala	<i>mandal</i> [336]	maṇḍala-
<i>sartavaki</i>	leader	<i>sartavaxi</i> [490]	sārthavāha-10
erdeni	jewel, treasure	<i>erdāni</i> [176]	ratna-
<i>gšan</i>	moment	<i>kšan</i> [321]	kṣaṇa-
<i>lagšan</i>	sign (Buddh.)	<i>lakšan</i> [332]	lakṣaṇa-
<i>nirvan</i>	Nirvana (Buddh.)	<i>nirvan</i> [359]	nirvāṇa-
<i>baramid</i>	perfection (Buddh.)	<i>paramit</i> [396]	pāramitā
<i>sudur</i>	sutra, scripture	<i>sutur</i> [515]	sūtra-
<i>šastir</i>	textbook, history	<i>šastr</i> [520]	śāstra-
<i>buyan</i>	good deed	<i>bujan</i> [120]	punya-
<i>bodi</i>	enlightenment (Buddh.)	<i>bodi</i> [107]	bodhi-
<i>abisiy</i>	consecration (Buddh.)	<i>abişik</i> [2]	abhiśeka-
<i>abida</i>	Buddha Amitābha	<i>abita</i> [2]	amitābha-
sümer (sümbet)	Mount Sumeru	sumir [513]	sumeru-
<i>tarni</i>	magic spell, incantation	<i>darni</i> [194]	dhāraṇī
<i>yarudi</i>	Bird Garuda	<i>garudi</i> [194]	garuḍa-
<i>maqabod</i>	element	<i>maqabut</i> [338]	mahābhūta-
<i>mutur</i>	mudra (Buddh.)	<i>mudur</i> [347]	mudra-
<i>baday</i>	stanza	<i>patak</i> [396]	pāḍaka-

8) Cf. *asura* – n. of the titanic demons, enemies of the gods (Roerich 1987, p. 273).

9) Cf. *asaṃkhyā* – countless, numberless /Tib. *grang-med*/ = 10<sup>58</sup> (Roerich 1984, p. 90).

10) Cf. *sārthavāha* – captain of a ship, leader of a caravan /Tib. *ded-dpon*/ (Roerich 1985, p. 187).

Od Mongolian	Witten Language	Old Turkic	Sanskrit
<i>nayud</i>	1010, trillion	<i>najut</i> [354]	niyuta-11
<i>raqu</i>	planet Rahu	<i>raxu</i> [477]	rāhu-
<i>šlok (silug)</i>	lyrics	<i>šlok</i> [524]	śloka-
<i>sansar</i>	existence	<i>sansar</i> [484]	samsāra-
<i>samadi</i>	contemplation	<i>samati</i> [483]	samādhi-

Almost 600 words, which have been borrowed by Turkic from Sanskrit, were listed and compared. The comparison revealed that these words embrace a wide range of aspects such as places and cities connected with the life stories of the Buddha, Buddhist vows and teachings and the names of the Bodhisattvas. Obviously all these words entered into the old Mongolian written language many years ago. Only a few examples were quoted above.<sup>11</sup>

During the time when Buddhism was spreading throughout Mongolia from Tibet in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Sanskrit words entered the Mongolian language in the Tibetan transcription. Those words closely follow the Sanskrit spelling (and pronunciation) and it is easy to identify these words as foreign on that basis.

## 6. Origin of long vowels

The appearance of the Mongolian **long vowel** is not only the main difference between the orthography of old Mongolian script and of the modern Mongolian language orthoepy, but it also represents a sizeable transformation in the phonetic system of the Mongolian language. For that reason, since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century this subject has become a research area for many Mongolian and foreign scholars, including A.A. Bobrovnikov, G.I. Ramstedt, B.Ya. Vladimirtsov, G.D. Sanjeev, N. Poppe, Sh. Hattori, L. Ligeti, Sh. Luvsanvandan and D. Tumurtogoo.

What follows is a formula, based on the latest research works, showing how the modern Mongolian long vowel or a V+V structure results from the complex expression written as V+C+V according to old Mongolian orthography:

$$V+C+\acute{V} \rightarrow V+C+\bar{V} \rightarrow V+C+*+\bar{V} \rightarrow V+'+V \rightarrow V$$

For example:

$$ay\acute{u}la \rightarrow ay\bar{u}la \rightarrow aw\bar{u}la \rightarrow a'\bar{u}la \rightarrow \bar{u}la$$

Even though after the 19<sup>th</sup> century research works on the origin of the Mongolian long vowel have described the above-mentioned natural evolution, some

11) Cf. *niyuta*, *prayuta* – indefinitely, big number /Tib. *khṛag-khṛig*/ = 10<sup>10</sup> (Roerich 1983, p. 316).

scholars have recently come to the opinion that the V+C+V structure actually represents the manner of writing the long vowel of the ancient Mongolian language in the old Mongolian script. However, the comparison of old Mongolian language with another Altaic language (e.g. Turkic or Manchu-Tungus) proves that this view cannot be supported. For example:

Old Mongolian	Written Language	Old Turkic
<i>ariyun</i>	sacred, chaste	<i>ariy</i> [51]
<i>buyudai</i>	wheat	<i>buydaj</i> [120]
<i>bilegüü</i>	grindstone	<i>bilägü</i> [99]
<i>birayu</i>	two-year-old calf	<i>buzayu</i> [130]
<i>imay-a</i>	goat	<i>imya</i> [218]
<i>jayan</i>	elephant	<i>jayan</i> [224]
<i>jige</i>	grandchild	<i>jegän</i> [252]
<i>jegerde</i>	chestnut	<i>jegrän</i> [753]
<i>qayan</i>	Khan	<i>qayan</i> [405]
<i>qayur-</i>	to roast	<i>qayur-</i> [406]
<i>qarayul</i>	guard, stopwatch	<i>qarayu</i> [424]
<i>qatayu</i>	hard	<i>qatıy</i> [433]
<i>qoriyan</i>	regiment	<i>qoriyan</i> [458]
<i>qobuyu</i>	bucket	<i>qovya</i> [461]
<i>tayar</i>	sack	<i>tayar</i> [526]
<i>tegerm-e</i>	mill	<i>tegirmän</i> [548]
<i>jiruy-a</i>	amble	<i>joriya</i> [274]
<i>jundayul</i>	horse dung	<i>jundaq</i> [281]
<i>say-a-</i>	to milk	<i>say</i> [480]
<i>sayam</i>	yield of milk	<i>sayim</i> [480]
<i>sayari</i>	rough leather	<i>sayrı</i> [481]
<i>quyur</i>	fiddle	<i>qubuz &lt; qobur</i> [Rassadin 2007, p. 51]
<i>kirayu</i>	hoarfrost	<i>qırayu</i> [Rassadin 2007, p. 48]
<i>tuula &lt; tuyula</i>	river	<i>toyla</i> [571]
Old Mongolian	Written Language	Manchu-Tungus Languages
<i>ayali</i>	nature, conduct, manner	Ma. <i>ageli</i>
<i>aray-a</i>	gear	Ma. <i>argan</i>
<i>ačiy-a</i>	baggage	Ma. <i>ačiha</i>
<i>bayatur</i>	hero	Evenk. <i>bagadi</i>
		Even. <i>baytir</i>
<i>büriyesü</i>	upholstery, covering	Ma. <i>burgiyen</i>
<i>görügesü</i>	antelope	Ma. <i>gurgu</i>
<i>güjjige</i>	maw, belly	Evenk. <i>gudige</i>
		Sol. <i>gudege</i>
<i>gegegen</i>	clear, bright, shiny	Ma. <i>genggiyen</i>
<i>dabay-a</i>	pass	Ma. <i>dabayan</i>
<i>deligüü</i>	spleen	Ma. <i>delihun</i>
		Ud. <i>deligi</i>

Old Mongolian	Written Language	Manchu-Tungus Languages
<i>noyuyan</i>	green	Ma. niowanggiyan
<i>serigiün</i>	chilly, cool	Ma. serguwen
<i>ulayan</i>	red	Ma. fulgiyan
<i>üliye-</i>	to blow	Ma. fulgiye-
<i>imay-a</i>	goat	Evenk. imayan Sol. imaya Neg. imaga

Although there are some phonetic changes in the above-mentioned examples, it is obvious that the intervocalic consonants like *γ*, *g*, *y*, *b* corresponded to the long vowel of the modern Mongolian Khalkha dialect.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, we can see that they reflect the weakened syllables of those consonants. Our example could be a word that can belong to any language. Although this may be true, the V+C+V structure written according to the old Mongolian orthography is not a method for taking note of the long vowel. Instead, it still remains as demonstrating the typical phonological system of the ancient Mongolian language.

## 7. Clarification of the root meaning by way of word formation

It is possible to clarify the root meaning of some words of the old Mongolian written language by using the **word-formation** principle of the Altaic language family. This is because the word-formation principles of Mongolian and Turkic languages are the same.

A formula for forming one word existing in two different languages would be:

$$V + \gamma/g/ = N$$

In Old Mongolian writing: *budu* + *γ* = *buduy*

In Old Turkic: *bodu* + *γ* = *boduy* [107] [108] to paint colour, paint

The following examples reveal the root of old Mongolian words formed in accordance with the above-mentioned model:

Old Mongolian	Written Language	Old Turkic
<i>emgeg</i> ( <i>emge</i> + <i>g</i> )	ailment	<i>emgä-</i> [172] – suffer, agonise <i>emgäk</i> [172]
<i>sürüg</i> ( <i>sür(ü)</i> + <i>g</i> )	herd	<i>sür-</i> [517] – to drive, chase <i>sürüg</i> [517]

12) The reason for emphasizing the “Khalkha dialect” is that in some Mongolian dialects the consonant between two vowels is still preserved. For instance, some Buryat dialects pronounce *nyyyy* (back) as *nuryan* and *xpyyy* (finger) as *quryan*.



Old Mongolian	Written Language	Old Turkic
<i>bölüg (böl(ü)+g)</i>	group, part	<i>böl-</i> [117] – to divide <i>bölük</i> [117]
<i>keseg (kese+g)</i>	part, piece	<i>kes-</i> [302] – to cut, divide <i>kesäk</i> [302]
<i>bilig (bili+g)</i>	talent, ability	<i>bil-</i> [98] – to know, <i>bilig</i> [99]
<i>quduy (qud(u)+γ)</i> <i>(qudduy)</i>	well	<i>qud-</i> [463] – to pour, spill <i>quduy</i> [463]
<i>tayay (taya+γ)</i>	stick	<i>taja-</i> [527] – to offer support, lean <i>tajaq</i> [527]
<i>körüg (kör(ü)+g)</i>	portrait	<i>kör-</i> [317] – to see, look <i>körk</i> [317]
<i>kösig (kösi+g)</i>	curtain	<i>köši-</i> [319] – to cover, shield <i>köşik</i> [319]

As we can see, there is a possibility of clarifying the meaning of the root morpheme of the old Mongolian words by way of examples from an old Turkic language. Though the derived words are used more actively in the modern Mongolian language, the old meaning of their root morphemes has already been forgotten.

## Conclusion

1. The old Mongolian written language and its orthography not only reflect the characteristics of ancient Mongolian language development, but they have also preserved it until this present time. In the words of Shagdarsuren (2001, p. 41): “It is important to emphasize that indeed this characteristic of old Mongolian written language opens up for us a research opportunity into the nature of Mongolian language thinking and its development. It is the fundamental source for restoring the origin, structure, form and meaning of the word.”

2. As Mongols began using the old Mongolian script, they worked out an orthography based on morphological principles which exactly match the language of an agglutinative type. Consequently, Mongols have followed this orthography for hundreds of years without making any changes. Therefore, it was my aim to demonstrate the importance of paying attention to the old Mongolian orthography in the very first place.

3. Scholars have different views regarding the theory of the Altaic language family. It was my intention to show the importance of comparing the old Mongolian written language in order to study the ancient characteristics of the Mongolian language, irrespective of whether in ancient times there was

one separate language or different languages that influenced each other because of being in contact for thousands of years.

4. In every area of research, including phonetics, morphology and etymology, regardless of whether the research is diachronic or synchronic, it is necessary to pay attention to the orthography of the old Mongolian language. However, some comparative linguists still use modern Khalkha dialect examples written in Cyrillic script and disregard the foundation of the old Mongolian written language, particularly in research on the Altaic language family. This shortcoming in comparative linguistics must be corrected.

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# Comparison of the Mongolian locative suffix *-dur/-dür* – *-tur/-tür* and the Manchu ablative suffix *-deri*

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**Summary:** In the present paper I compare the Classical Mongolian locative suffix *-dur* with its allomorphs *-dur/-dür* – *-tur/-tür* and the Written Manchu ablative suffix *-deri* and suggest the conclusion that the latter suffix is of Mongolian origin. I prove this view with the help of concrete examples from written sources, as well as from material of related languages.

Key words: Mongolian language, Manchu language, Case suffixes, Analogy, Language similarity

## 0.

Comparative study of the grammar of Manchu and Mongolian has great significance for making a further step in clarifying the questions of the origins of Mongolian and Manchu. “Grammatical formants are the most stable of all the important elements of a language. Comparative study of archaic word-formative and inflectional formants is enormously important for comparative linguistics.” (Qinggeertai 2003, p. 1) The founder of the theory of Altaic studies, Ramstedt, also greatly accented the importance of morphology for comparative studies of the Altaic languages. In his monumental work *Introduction to comparative Altaic Studies* he examined more than 100 derivative and inflectional suffixes. In his important work *Study of the Altaic languages* Kotwicz examined the suffixes of the Altaic languages and stated (Keteweiqi /Kotwicz/ 2004, p. 163) that ca 5% of grammatical formants are common to Manchu-Tungusic languages (on the one hand) and Mongolic and Turkic languages (on the other hand). According to our observation, the amount of formants in Mongolian and Manchu, which are lexically close, by far exceeds this rate. In the present text I would like to analyse the relationship between

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the Classical Mongolian locative suffix *-dur/-dür* – *-tur/-tür* and the Written Manchu ablative suffix *-deri*.

### 1. About the Mongolian locative case suffix *-dur/-dür* – *-tur/-tür*

In his *Study of Middle Mongolian* Garudi labels the Old Mongolian suffix *-dur/-dür* – *-tur/-tür* as “locative case suffix” and treats it as distinct from the dative case (Garudi 2001, p. 447). In his opinion, “In Middle Mongolian the dative and locative cases were separate, the dative meaning being mostly expressed by the forms *-a/-e*, *-da/-de*, while the locative meaning was most often expressed by the form *-dur/-dür* – *-tur/-tür*” (ibid. p. 448).

The Mongolian suffix *-dur/-dür* – *-tur/-tür* is a composite suffix. In my opinion its first component *-du/-dū* – *-tu/-tü* is likely to be identical with the *-da/-de*, *-ta/-te* and *-du/-dū*, *-tu/-tü* locative suffixes. In other words, it is possible that in the earlier stages of Mongolian, the locative case was expressed by a single suffix, the suffix *-du/-dū*, *-tu/-tü* and *-da/-de*, *-ta/-te*, while these variant forms are allomorphs of one suffix.<sup>2</sup> In particular the variants *-da/-de*, *-ta/-te* seem to retain a more archaic form, because the Turkic locative suffix takes the form *-da/-dä*, *-ta/-tä* (Litifu, Tohuti 2002, p. 406), and the Manchu locative suffix form is *-de*.

If so, where does the element *-r* in the Mongolian suffix *-dur* come from? Here we may examine the possibility of relationship of this suffix to an earlier Altaic lative case suffix *\*-ru/-rü*. This lative case suffix was relatively frequent in Old Turkic (Litifu, Tohuti 2002, p. 406). In the Turkic languages it is mostly used in composite forms, together with the dative suffix *-ga/-gä*, *-ka/-kä* (Litifu, Tohuti 2002, p. 406). In Chuvash there is a form *-ru/-ri* (Keteweiqi /Kotvicz/ 2004, p. 310). In the Old Uighur materials the dative case suffix sometimes takes the forms *-yaru/-gärü*, *-qaru/-kärü* (Li Zengyang, Maitiriyimu, Zhang Tieshan 1999, p. 123). In the language of the Orkhon-Yenisei inscriptions, this suffix is extremely frequent among the lative case suffixes – e.g. *tabyač-yaru* ‘in the direction of the Tang Empire’, *äb-gärü* ‘in the direction of home’ etc. (Geng Shimin, Abudurishiti, Yakufu 1999, p. 107). It is particularly worth mentioning that in the language of these inscriptions, among other directional case suffixes we find the suffix *-ra/-rā*, as for example in *taš-ra* ‘outwards’ or *ič-rä* ‘inwards’ and others (Geng Shimin, Abudurishiti, Yakufu 1999, p. 108).

2) In the opinion of some scholars, however, the suffix *-da/-de* was originally different from the suffix *-du/-dū* and the two suffixes were used to express different meanings.

In her *Old Turkic Grammar*, A. von Gabain noted the existence of the locative case suffix *-ra* in Monguor, one of the Mongolian languages (Cong Jiaban /A. von Gabain/ 2004, p. 82). In the opinion of some scholars this suffix may have developed from the word *dəre* (<*deger-e*) – ‘on’ (Činggeltei 1991, p. 168). This requires further examination, because it seems that the meaning expressed by this suffix is rather abstract and ambiguous, for example, *cyḏḏkynr3 kurge:n te:r3* (‘look for a groom for your daughter’), or *sdzu uds<sup>o</sup>r3 kurḏa* (‘water reached to the knees’) (ibid.). Judging from the usage of this suffix, the opinion that it has recently developed from the word *deger-e* is incorrect.

Forms corresponding to the Monguor locative suffix *-r3* are found in the Oirat dialects of Mongolian – the spatial *na:r* (‘towards here’ – *naaš*) and *tsa:r* (*caaš*) etc., and in the Written Mongol forms *inaru/cinaru* and others. Furthermore, we assume that the suffix *-ra*, *-ru* occurring in the Mongolian words *deger-e*, *doyur-a*, *dotur-a*, *umar-a*, *jayur-a*, *qoyoru* is etymologically related to the Monguor *-r3*. In our opinion the suffix *-ra*, *-ru* in early Mongolian was not a derivative, but rather an inflexional suffix. In modern Mongolian the words *deger-e*, *doyur-a* and others are sometimes used in the adverbial function. The word *jayur-a* seems to be divisible into *jayu\*+r-a*. There is another Mongolian word, *jayuči*, which is also divisible into *jayu+či*. In the Secret History the word *jayur-a* is written as *zha-wu-ra* and in the parallel translation it is rendered as *lu jian* (in the course of the way, during the way). From this it can be seen that the word was also used in an adverbial function. The root of the Mongolian word *qoyoru* may be *qoyo-\**. The Mongolian words *qoyosun*, *quyus* (this word is close to *qoyoru* through its meaning ‘middle, half’ etc. and its pronunciation *xuyus* may be explained by the regular alternation of *o[ɔ]* and *u[ω]* in Mongolian), as well as other words, have the root *qoyo-\**. In Modern Mongolian the word *qoyoru* occurs in the pair expression *qoyoru qoyorundu*. It is possible to guess that in early Mongolian this word, like the *jayur-a* in the Secret History, was used in the adverbial function.

From the observations above we discover that in the course of development of the Mongolic languages the range of usage of some case suffixes narrowed. The suffixes lost their inflectional ability and remained only as a part of the word structure.

It seems that while in the earlier stages of Mongolian the system of *-da...*, *-du...* and the system of *-ra* was sometimes used with the same meaning, later the latter was fully replaced by the former. The forms *-dur/-dür – -tur/-tür* are a duplicate case of parallel usage of the two systems. Doubling of case suffixes is a widespread phenomenon in the Altaic languages. According to

Ramstedt, the Turkic suffix *-yaru* is an example of adding the lative case suffix *-ru* to the dative suffix *-ya* (Lansitie /Ramstedt/ 1981, p.30). Therefore we may suppose that the Mongolian suffixes of the *-dur* system are combinations of the *-da* and the *-du* systems.

## 2. About the Manchu ablative case suffix *-deri*

In Manchu the ablative case is expressed by the suffixes *-ci* and *-deri*. According to Hasbaatar (1991, p. 173), when comparing the two suffixes, the range of meanings of the suffix *-ci* is broader than that of *-deri*, and the degree of abstraction is significantly higher.

Here we will not speak about the suffix *-ci*, but we will examine the suffix *-deri*. It is clear that, like the Mongolian suffix *-dur*, it has a composite structure. It may be divided into *-de+ri*. It is (also) evident that the component *-de* has a certain relationship to the Manchu-Tungusic locative suffix *-de*. Hasbaatar connects the component *-ri* with the derivative suffix *-ri* in the Manchu spatials, such as *tuleri* ('outside'), *juleri* ('in front/south') etc., but then he limits himself to the remark (Hasbaatar 1991, p. 187) that this *-ri* is a suffix expressing location in space and leaves it without further examination. In our opinion the suffix *-ri*, although in the Manchu words *tuleri*, *juleri* etc. it functions as a derivative suffix, originally may have been an inflectional suffix. If this is the case, it would at first sight seem that the suffix *-ri* is related to the Altaic lative case suffix *\*-ru/\*-rü*, which, again, would be related to the Mongolian suffix *-ra*, *-ru* in the words *deger-e*, *doyur-a*, *dotur-a*, *umar-a*, *jayur-a*, *qoyor-u* etc. (Litifu, Tohuti 2002, p. 407). We have already examined the relationship of this suffix to the Altaic lative suffix *-ru/-rü*.

If we are right, another question suggests itself. Some scholars interpret the suffix *-la/-le/-lo* of the Manchu words *amala* ('after, in the north'), *wala* ('in the west'), *dele* ('above'), *fejile* ('below'), *cala* ('on that side'), *ebele* ('on this side'), *dolo* ('inside') etc. in such a way as to suggest a connection with the above-mentioned Mongolian suffix *-ra* in spatials.

The *-la/-le/-lo* of the Manchu spatials may also have been a case suffix. In the present-day Oroqen and Nanai languages, the locative case is expressed by the suffixes *-la/-le/-lo/-lo*, *-dula/-dula* (Chaoke 1997, pp. 221–226). Of these, the suffix *-dula/-dula* is also a composite form which originated from the dative-locative case suffix *-du/-du* and the locative suffix *-la/-le*. Furthermore, in the Oroqen and Ewenki languages there is a suffix *-duli/-duli/-li*, which expresses the meaning of unspecified location (Chaoke 1997, pp. 221–226).

### 3. Origin of the Manchu suffix *-deri*

Above we have analyzed the structure of the Manchu ablative case suffix *-deri*. It is relatively clear that this suffix, like the Mongolian suffix *-dur/-dür*, *-tur/-tür*, is a composite suffix, which has developed relatively recently. But, in our opinion, this suffix is of Mongolian origin. We can prove this in several ways, as listed below.

**3.1. Firstly, besides the suffix *-deri* there is another ablative case suffix in Manchu, namely *-ci*.** The range of meanings of the suffix *-ci* is broader and the degree of abstraction is much greater, therefore the Manchu suffix *-ci* is a very archaic form. Scholars suppose that in the earlier stages of development the locative and ablative meaning was expressed by a single suffix (Qasbayatur 1991, p. 188). Later, in the course of language development, the ablative case became distinguished from the locative case. But the phonetic difference between the forms is small. To take Manchu as an example, in the period of the common form the suffix of the locative-ablative form was *\*-de* ~ *\*-te*, and later, when the two cases were fully differentiated from each other, the form *-de* started expressing the locative case, while the form *-te* started to be used for the ablative case. Later the suffix *-te* underwent a phonetic change resulting in the form *-ci*, i.e. *\*-te* ~ *\*-ti* – *-ci*. In the Alcuha dialect of Manchu the ablative case sometimes has the form *-ti*. In the earlier stage of Manchu, the Jurchen, the ablative is also expressed by the form *\*-ti* (Jin Qizhong 1984, p. 4). The Mongolian suffix of common origin with the Manchu *-ci* is the suffix *-ča/-če*. The suffix *-ača/-eče* of Written Mongolian is a form composed of the older dative-locative suffix *-a/-e*, and the ablative suffix *-ča/-če*. The ablative suffix *-dača/-deče*, *-tača/-teče*, which was very common in the Middle ages, is likewise composed of the dative-locative suffix *-da/-de*, *-ta/-te* and the ablative *-ča/-če*.

**3.2. Secondly, this suffix is not used in Jurchen, Nanai, Ewenki, Oroqen and other languages** (Jin Guanping, Jin Qizhong 1980, p. 12). Scholars suppose that the Jurchen language is identical with the Manchu language. In Jurchen the ablative is expressed by a single suffix, viz *-ti* (Jin Qizhong 1984, p. 4). The ablative in Oroqen takes the form *-duki/-duki/-diki/-tki*, in Ewenki *-duxi/-duxi/-dixi/-txi*, in the Nanai language *-tiki* (Chaoke 1997, pp. 221–226). In the Sibe language the ablative is expressed by the forms *-deri/-diri* (Li Shulan, Zhong Qian 1986, p. 12), but the Sibe language can in fact be considered as having developed from one of the Manchu dialects. Beginning probably

from the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century the Sibe have been using the Manchu language and script.

**3.3. Thirdly, on the basis of phonetic agreement it is possible to prove that the suffix *-deri* did not originally exist in Manchu.** Above we have seen that the suffix *-ra/-ru* of the Mongolian words *deger-e*, *doyur-a*, *dotur-a*, *umar-a*, *jayur-a*, *qoyoru* is of common origin with the *-la/-le* of the Manchu *amala* ('in the north, in the back'), *dele* ('above'), *cala* ('on that side'), and we have examined the relationship of all these forms to the Altaic lative case suffix *-ru/-rü*. This suffix also exists in other Manchu-Tungusic languages, such as Oroqen, Nanai and Ewenki, its forms being *-la/ -le/ -lo/-lə*, and most often it expresses the locative case (Chaoke 1997, pp. 221–226). The suffix *-la/-le* occurs as a part of some composite suffixes. This suffix can be recognized, for example, in the Oroqen locative suffix *-dula:/-dule:*, in the locative-ablative suffix *-la:k/-lə:k/-lo:k/-lə:k~dula:k/-dulə:k*, or the 'passing' case suffix *-duli/-dūli* (Hu Zengyi 2001, p. 70). In Ewenki this suffix appears in the locative case suffix *-dala/-dələ/-dolo/-dələ* and in the suffix of the case of unspecified location, i.e. *-duli/-dūli* (Chaoke 1995, pp. 55–60).

From these observations it follows that in the Manchu-Tungus languages the Altaic lative suffix *\*-ru/\*-rü* (which could have some relationship to the locative case), generally changed into the form *-la/-le*. Therefore the *-la/-le* in the Manchu words *amala* ('in the north, in the back'), *dele* ('above') and others is a remnant of an original case suffix, while the suffix *-ri* in the words *tuleri* ('outside'), *juleri* ('in the south, in front') etc. appears to be a remnant of a very archaic Altaic lative case suffix *\*-ru/\*-r#*, which is preserved in the word structure, or, in other words, it is a derivative suffix.

**3.4. Fourthly, the structure of the suffix may imply that it has appeared recently.** We can consider it a composite form (*-de + -ri*). Undoubtedly the form *-deri* is a later form than the form *-la/-le*. In Manchu the frequency of the suffix *-la/-le* is much higher than that of the other (presumably derivative) suffix *-ri*. This proves that the suffix *-la/-le* is a later form than *-ri*. Therefore it seems that the element *-ri* in the composite form *-deri* is not an original Manchu suffix.

**3.5. Fifthly, from the meaning expressed by the Manchu suffix *-deri* it can be seen that it has some common features with the Mongolian suffix *-dur/-dür*, *-tur/-tūr*.** The Mongolian suffix *-dur/-dür*, *-tur/-tūr*, besides its locative meaning, is sometimes also used to express the ablative meaning



(Jorigtu 2001, p. 57). Above we discussed the possibility that the Mongolian ablative suffix *-ača/-eče* originated as a composition of the dative-locative suffixes *-a/-e* and *-ta/-te*, and that the other Manchu ablative suffix *-ci* has also developed from the dative-locative suffix *\*-te*. It is a phenomenon common to all the Altaic languages, that the locative case also expresses the ablative meaning (Qasbayatur 1991, p. 180).

Furthermore, the Manchu suffix *-deri*, besides being used in the ablative meaning, sometimes seems to be expressing location, as, for example, *muke jugūn deri jihe* ('he came by water'), or *dorgi deri kimuntumbi* ('they take revenge/fight among themselves/') (Mijiddorj 1986, p. 72).

In our opinion, the Mongolian suffix *-dur/-dür*, *-tur/-tür* may have been borrowed by Jurchen after the 13th century as a result of the contacts between the Jurchens and the Mongols, and has been used in Manchu up to and including the present day. Ščerbak and some other Altaists maintain that all the parallel forms between the Mongol and Manchu-Tungus languages evolved as a result of the close contacts and relationship between the Khitans and the Jurchens, and between the Mongols and the Manchus, in the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> and 17–18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Basekakefu /Baskakov/ 2004, p. 36). From the fact that the suffix *-deri* does not occur in the Jurchen language material, we may suppose that it possibly entered into Jurchen only after the 13<sup>th</sup> century. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century on the Mongolian dative-locative suffix *-dur/-dür*, *-tur/-tür* was probably gradually replaced by the suffix *-du/-dü*, *-tu/-tü*, and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> it fully disappeared (Jorigtu 2001, p. 77). Therefore there is little possibility that this suffix could have been borrowed by Manchu during this period.

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# A comparative study of the usages of Mongolian and Japanese kinship terminologies

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**Summary:** Through comparison this paper analyses the similarities and differences between kinship terms in two languages, Mongolian and Japanese, used in communicative behaviour. Kinship terminology used in communication is not only a subject of sociolinguistic study but also a subject of politeness study. The work compares kinship terminologies in Mongolian and Japanese, referring to different views of these two studies.

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

### 1.1. VIEWPOINT OF THE COMPARATIVE STUDY

The purpose of this article is to specify the similarities and differences in the usage of Mongolian and Japanese languages' kinship terms – which are used inside/outside the household and used among household members depending on rank – through a comparative study of kinship terminology in the Mongolian language and in the Japanese language. The analysis reported in this article is based on interviews and preliminary test documentation: It has no intention of enumerating the kinship terms of both languages in a comprehensive or encyclopedic way.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1) I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. J. Lubsangdorji, a member of the editorial board of *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia*, Dr. J. Vacek, and Dr. A. Oberfalzerová, the editors-in-chief of *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* for giving me the opportunity to write this article.
  - 2) In this article, the Mongolian materials, the conversation examples (1)–(3) in section 1.3.1., 1)–19), and List. Mo. I and II were provided by the subject N. Battuyaa (female, 22 years old, her parents, 3 elder brothers, 2 elder sisters, born in Ulaanbaatar, a Khalkha). Also, I received significant comments from U. Tumenjargal (female, 33 years old, her husband, 3 daughters, born in Nalaikh, a Khalkha), B. Otgon (male, 33 years old, his wife, 2 daughters, born in Uvs, a Dorvod), and N. Gerelmaa (female, 46 years old, single, born in Ulaanbaatar, a Khalkha). The Japanese materials, the conversation examples 1)–19), and List. Ja. I and II, were provided by my sister's family member, my niece, Kato Sae (female, 22 years old, her parents, a younger brother). I send them my sincere gratitude.

## 1.2. ANALYZED TERMINOLOGY

The main target of the analysis is the kinship terms of daily usage. However, designations, such as person's names and personal pronouns, are used in addition to kinship terms between family members. The correlation of such names is important. We will therefore discuss a person's name and personal pronouns in addition to kinship terms.

## 1.3. SYSTEM OF THE KINSHIP DESIGNATIONS

### 1.3.1. TERMS OF THE ADDRESSEE, PERSON REFERRED TO, AND SELF

We divide the usage of kinship terms into three categories: usage where the speaker addresses the listener (the address term); usage where the speaker refers to a passive listener or a third party who is absent in a conversational situation concerned (the term referring to a person); and usage where the speaker refers to himself (the self-oriented term).<sup>3</sup>

In addition, based on the elements of a sentence, the system can be sub-classified into address terms (addressing, subject within the sentence, complement within the sentence), terms referring to a person (subject within the sentence, complement within the sentence), and self-oriented terms (subject within the sentence, complement within the sentence). In this article we discuss address terms (addressing), terms referring to a person (subject within the sentence), and self-oriented terms (subject within the sentence) in section 2. **Similarities**, for the sake of convenience. In section 3. **Differences**, we discuss terms referring to a person (subject within the sentence, complement within the sentence) and address terms (addressing).

Kinship terms referring to a form of address, a person and oneself will be defined as below:

#### (1) *The address term:*

A→B, ⇒B: *Aav aa, cai uuḥ uu?*

Lit. Dad, do you want some tea?

A→: Speaker

→B: Listener

⇒B: Person addressed with the kinship term *aav*

3) In addition, person's names and personal pronouns are also divided into terms of the addressee, of the person referred to and of the self (Suzuki 1973, p. 134).

**(2) The term referring to a person:**

A→C, ⇒B: *Aav delgu'ur yavsan.*

Lit. Dad went shopping.

A→: Speaker

→C: Listener

⇒B: Person referred to with the kinship term *aav*

**(3) The self-oriented term:**

B→A, ⇒B: *Aav ni talh avaad iriye.*

Lit. Your dad (= I) will buy a loaf of bread.

B→: Speaker

→A: Listener

⇒B: Person referred to with the kinship term *aav*

The following notes will be added in regard to (1)–(3) above:

(1) Explanation of one of the examples: (1) The address term: A→B, ⇒B: *Aav aa, cai uuh uu?*

1) *Aav aa, cai uuh uu?* – Example of the kinship term and its possible usage in a sentence concerned.

2) The kinship relationship: The relationship between A, B, C, D, E and F is defined as A (child), B (A's father), C (A's mother), D (C's father), E (C's mother) and F (non-kin). A "child" can be represented as A, or can be indexed as A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>. Basically, A is the subject. But when it's indexed as A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>, A<sub>1</sub> becomes the subject and A<sub>2</sub> becomes A<sub>1</sub>'s elder sister in Mongolian, and when A<sub>2</sub> becomes the subject, A<sub>1</sub> becomes A<sub>2</sub>'s younger brother in Japanese.

(2) The conversational examples 1)–19) and the attached lists I and II were provided by the subjects in both languages. In the main text of this article, however, the names of the subjects were omitted and simply specified as "in Mongolian" and "in Japanese". But the names of information providers are mentioned when necessary.

(3) The terms used in Japanese conversations include the postpositional particles *wa*, *ga* (subjective), *o* (accusative), *ni* (locative), *ka* (interrogative particle), *no* (genitive or interrogative particle), and *ne* (confirmation); the copula *da* (conclusive); and the suffix *sama* (higher-level respect), *san* (lower-level respect), and *chan* (endearment).

### 1.3.2. THE USAGE OF KINSHIP TERMS AND THE KINSHIP RELATIONSHIP

#### (1) *Two-person relationship* (address term and self-oriented term)

Basically, when a kinship relationship exists between speaker and listener, the kinship terms are used to signify the self and the addressee. With the second term, the listener is the person addressed. With the self-oriented term, the speaker is the person referred to by himself or herself.

#### (2) *Three or four person relationship* (term referring to a person)

On the other hand, when at least one out of the speaker, listener and passive listener (or third party who is absent from the conversation concerned) has a kinship relationship with the person referred to, the kinship terms are used as a rule to name the person referred to. The kinship relationship where the terms referring to persons are used inside/outside the household is divided into the following categories:

- 1) Three person relationship (speaker, listener, and person referred to):
  - (a) One of the two communicants (speaker or listener) is in a kinship relationship with a person referred to. The other is not in such a relationship.
  - (b) Both communicants (speaker and listener) are in a kinship relationship with a person referred to.
- 2) Four person relationship (speaker, listener, passive listener or third party, and person referred to):
  - (a) Two communicants (speaker and listener) are not in a kinship relationship with a passive listener (or a third party), and a person referred to. Only the passive listener (or the third party) is in a kinship relationship with the person referred to.
  - (b) All three participants (speaker, listener, and passive listener or third party) are in a kinship relationship with the person referred to.

Generally, (2) 1) (a), (2) 2) (a) represent the usage outside the household and (1), (2) 1) (b), (2) 2) (b) are for inside the household. In this article, the kinship terms used in the case of (1), (2) 1) (a), (2) 1) (b) above are analyzed. In particular, in terms of the kinship terms used as terms referring to persons, the cases of (2) 1) (a), (2) 1) (b) are analyzed because the relationships of the three parties inside/outside the household are enough to clarify the contrast between the usage of a term to refer to a person inside/outside the household in both languages. In addition, the third person pronoun-specified kinship

terms used in a form to refer to persons are the object of analysis of a four person relationship and are not used in (2) 2) b) (= inside the household) as the dominant speech form.

The fictional usage of the kinship terms used between non-family members will not be discussed in this article.

### 1.3.3. VIEWPOINT OF THE KINSHIP RELATIONSHIP

In a setting where “Child A’s father is B” and “Child A’s mother is C”, we will define “Child A” as the “viewpoint” of their kinship (father-child, mother-child relationships). When Mother C refers to A’s father B with a kinship term (*aav c’ini*) in the terms referring to a person, the usage of this kinship term (*aav c’ini*) is defined as a usage where Mother C uses Child A as a “viewpoint”. When clarifying the characteristics of the kinship terms in both languages, a viewpoint of the kinship relationship is set out as a working assumption. A term based on a viewpoint of relationship is defined as an I-centred term and a term not based on such a viewpoint is defined as a non-I-centred term. Because the kinship terms are generally based on the viewpoint of a kinship relationship, they can be defined as I-centred terms (Suzuki 1973, pp. 164–165).<sup>4</sup>

### 1.3.4. PRONOUN-SPECIFIED CATEGORIES

In order to make analyses in 2.1.1. and 2.1.2., kinship terms referring to a person (subject within the sentence) are categorized by the types of personal pronouns and enclitic possessive pronouns which show the “viewpoints” of kinship relationships.<sup>5</sup> Only examples in Mongolian are shown below because the use of personal pronouns and enclitic possessive pronouns is limited in Japanese.

4) In this paper we use the term I-centred instead of the term egocentric used in Suzuki’s book (Suzuki 1973).

5) In both languages, “person’s name + kinship term” is also used as a personal pronoun-specified kinship term because a person’s name can also show the viewpoints of the kinship relationships.

**(1) *Personal pronoun-specified kinship terms***<sup>6</sup>

- 1) The first person pronoun-specified kinship terms: *manai*, *minii*, *bidnii*, *bid nariin* + kinship terms, kinship terms + *maani*, *mini*
- 2) The second person pronoun-specified kinship terms: *tanii*, *tanai*, *c'inii* + kinship terms, kinship terms + *tani*, *c'ini*
- 3) The third person pronoun-specified kinship terms: *tu'unii*, *tednii* + kinship terms, kinship term + *ni*

**(2) *Non personal pronoun-specified kinship terms***

- 1) Non pronoun-specified kinship terms: single kinship term
- 2) The third person non pronoun-specified kinship terms: kinship term + *ni*  
 “*ni*” can be defined as “second person pronoun specific” because the view-point of the kinship relationship is “listener” in the case of *ni* (the third person pronoun non specific). In sections 2.1.1. and 2.1.2. we focus on the “third person pronoun non specific” function of *ni* as the first principle. In sections 2.2.1., 2.2.2. and 3.1. we focus on the “second person term specific” function of *ni* as the second principle.

**1.3.5. CATEGORIZING RANKS**

We will divide family members into two categories based on their generations and ages: High ranking people (grand parents, parents, and elder brothers and sisters) and low ranking people (sons, daughters, grandchildren, and younger brothers and sisters). The kinship terms in both languages are categorized based on generations, ages, and ranks as specified below. In Japanese, particularly, categories based on the honorification method are added. The honorific kinship terms 1 and 2 are categorized based on the levels of respect they receive: The former is higher and the latter is lower.

In both languages, both upper-level and lower-level kinship terms are concerned when the kinship terms, modesty kinship terms, honorific kinship terms 1, and honorific kinship terms 2 are specified.

**(1) *Kinship terms in Mongolian***

- 1) Upper-level kinship terms: *o'voo*, *emee*, *aav*, *eez'*, *ah*, *egc'*
- 2) Lower-level kinship terms: *hu'u*, *ohin*, *du'u*

6) As additional usage, “*minii* + lower-level kinship term”, “kinship term + *mini*” are used as address terms (addressing) and “kinship term + *c'ini*, *ni*”, and “lower-level kinship term + *tani*” are used as self-oriented terms (subject within the sentence).



In Mongolian (the Khalkha dialect) each kinship term is usually used based on the concrete kinship relationship. But in terms of lower-level kinship terms (*hu'u*, *ohin*, *du'u*), *hu'u* and *ohin* are used between parents and children; grand parents and parents; and grand parents and grandchildren; and *du'u* is used regardless of gender between elder brother/sister and younger brother/sister. The correlation between the terms and the conversational situations which were analyzed can be defined as follows:

In section 2.1.1., term referring to a person, *ac'* (*hu'ugin hu'u*, *hu'ugin ohin*) and *zee* (*ohinii hu'u*, *ohinii ohin*) used as the personal pronoun-specified kinship terms in the grandparents-grandchildren relationships are in accordance with those analysed. In sections 2.2.1. and 2.2.2., the address terms, *minii hu'u* and *minii ohin*, the term referring to a person, *hu'u*, *ohin*, *hu'u ni* and *ohin ni*, and the self-oriented terms, *hu'u ni* and *ohin ni*, are expected to be in accordance with those analysed in the grandparents-grandchildren relationships. On the other hand, the terms referring to persons, *eregtei du'u* and *ohin du'u* used as the personal pronoun-specified kinship terms, are in accordance with those of the objects of the analysis of section 2.1.1. The address term, *minii du'u*, the terms referring to persons, *du'u* and *du'u ni*, and the self-oriented term, *du'u ni* used between siblings, are expected to be in accordance with the objects analysed in sections 2.2.1. and 2.2.2.

In addition, there are normative terms of grandfather (*ov'og aav*) and grandmother (*emeg eez'*). But in this article the kinship terms *o'voo* and *emee* which were shown by the Mongolian subject in the research were used.

## (2) Kinship terms in Japanese

### 1) Modesty kinship terms

- (a) Upper-level modesty kinship terms: *sohu*, *sobo*, *chichi*, *haha*, *ani*, *ane*
- (b) Lower-level modesty kinship terms: *musuko*, *musume*, *mago*, *otooto*, *imooto*

### 2) Honorific kinship terms 1

- (a) Upper-level honorific kinship terms 1: *ojiisama*, *obaasama*, *otoosama*, *okaasama*, *oniisama*, *oneesama*
- (b) Lower-level honorific kinship terms 1: *musukosama*, *musumesama*, *omagosama*, *otootosama*, *imootosama*

### 3) Honorific kinship terms 2

- (a) Upper-level honorific kinship terms 2: *ojiisan*, *obaasan*, *otoosan*, *okaasan*, *oniisan*, *oneesan*
- (b) Lower-level honorific kinship terms 2: *musukosan*, *musumesan*, *omagosan*, *otootosan*, *imootosan*

In Japanese (standard Japanese used particularly in Tokyo) diverse modesty kinship terms and honorific kinship terms are used based on kinship relationships. In this article, these kinship terms are represented by modesty kinship terms and honorific kinship terms 1 and 2. The usage of these kinship terms is described in the main body of the article.

### 1.3.6. DOMINANT SPEECH FORM AND MARKED SPEECH FORM

As in other languages, one usage is selected from the multiple choices of kinship terms in certain conversations. We will categorize the multiple usages of kinship terms in terms of two forms of speech depending on certain conversational situations: the dominant form of speech and the marked form.<sup>7</sup>

The dominant form of speech therefore determines the default condition of the conversational situation. The marked form is used less frequently than the dominant form and has special functions for the listener. Theoretically the functions of the marked form can be divided into three categories:

- (1) + politeness (respect, endearment, etc.);
- (2) discourse effect (emphasis on statement, etc.);
- (3) – politeness (impolite, rudeness, informal, non-endearment, etc.).

Below, we will make four notes regarding the forms of speech discussed in this article.

(1) Generally the dominant and marked forms should be determined based on a conversation of a certain time duration in a certain situation. But here, we assumed the basic state of naming activities in each conversational situation and studied the individual dominant and marked forms of speech of the subjects by limiting conversational situations based on the interviews as much as possible. We define the words which the subjects stated that they had used (or the word used) most frequently from a range of choices of terms in certain conversational situations as a 'dominant form of speech'. We define all other words as 'marked forms of speech'. For this reason the term "unmarked form of speech" (over 50% of the component ratio) is not used in this article. However, the following is to be underlined:

- 1) When the subject is unable to categorize the multiple terms as candidate terms for a dominant or a marked form of speech, we define all of these

7) In the categorization of dominant form and marked form in sections 2.2.1. and 2.2.2., we will discuss a person's name and personal pronouns in addition to kinship terms.

terms as the “dominant speech form group”. We also make clear that there will be no apparent disengagement among these terms.

- 2) When the subject is unable to make conversation using as an example a certain term, the term is defined as unusable.
- 3) Of course the default condition differs for each subject, even in the same situation, giving divergent results.

(2) In this article the usage (zero form) in which no self-oriented terms, address terms, or terms referring to a person are uttered is not discussed. But when the same kinship terms are repeated between the speaker and listener in terms referring to a person, they can frequently be omitted in both languages. In that case alone, square brackets: [] show examples of the kinship terms which can be omitted between them.

(3) In this article, we will only indicate whether or not there is disengagement from the basic state after categorizing by dominant and marked forms of speech. The meanings of naming terms that are used in each conversation and the specific psychology of the speakers are not defined. For example, the default condition is endearment in the family in which the address term of the kinship term, *minii ohin* (my daughter), for a daughter, is used as the dominant speech form. In this case her name is used as an address term which is a marked speech form (non-endearment) that breaks away from the condition (endearment).

On the other hand, the default condition is non-endearment in the family in which the address term of a person's name, or zero form for a daughter, is used as the dominant speech form. In this case, the address term of the kinship term *minii ohin* (my daughter), for her, which is a marked speech form (endearment), breaks away from the condition (non-endearment). In this article we are not trying to identify the meaning of both the former endearment as the dominant speech form, or the default condition, and the latter as a marked speech form, as well as the specific psychology of the speakers who use these forms.

Rather than that we try to analyze the function of marked speech forms in the discourse politeness through breaking away from the basic state in this article (Usami 2001, pp. 32–33).

(4) In addition, we will present a dominant speech form and basically one marked form in each conversational situation rather than specifying the composition and component ratio of the forms of speech in certain conversational

situations. The reason we adopt the method above is because the hierarchical relationship inside/outside the household is a basic human relationship for the activities and a contrasting usage (level of usage rate, whether used or not) of kinship terms, a person's name, and personal pronouns based on such relationships, is to be expected (Suzuki 1973, pp. 183–184). On that premise, we will clarify the correlation of:

- 1) hierarchical relationships inside/outside the household;
- 2) the form of speech in the contrasting usage of kinship terms, the level of usage rate, and whether a form of speech is used.

## 2. Similarities

### 2.1. RELATIONSHIP INSIDE/OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

In both languages the personal pronoun-specified kinship terms, the non personal pronoun-specified kinship terms, the modesty kinship terms and the honorific kinship terms 1 and 2 are used to make a contrast based on the relationship inside/outside the household as terms referring to persons (subject within the sentence). This correlates with the “inside/outside” relationship between the speaker and the listener with respect to the person referred to.

#### 2.1.1. RELATIONSHIP OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

In a relationship outside the household, the existence of the kinship of the speaker and listener is reversed with respect to the person referred to. Their relationship with the person referred to becomes an inside and outside relationship.

In Mongolian, the “inside/outside” relationship of the speaker and listener with respect to the person referred to is expressed as “the first person specified term” versus “the second person specified term” in a relationship outside the household. The first person pronoun-specified kinship terms (speaker's kin)<sup>8</sup>

8) Not all the first person pronoun-specified kinship terms can clarify the inside and outside relationships equally as the dominant form of speech in Mongolian. In Mo. Ex. 1), “*manai* + kinship term” or “kinship term + *maani*” can clarify the relationships best as a dominant speech form group among the first person pronoun-specified kinship terms (Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 91–92).

and the second person pronoun-specified kinship terms (listener's kin)<sup>9</sup> are therefore the dominant speech form in Mongolian.

In Japanese, on the other hand, the "inside/outside" relationship between the speaker and listener with the person referred to is expressed as "modesty" versus "respect". The modesty kinship terms (speaker's kin) and the honorific kinship terms<sup>1</sup> (listener's kin) are therefore the dominant form of speech in Japanese.

Example 1) below, where the outside/inside relationships must be clarified, is an example of the dominant form of speech, "the second person pronoun-specified kinship term" (*tanai aav*), "the first person pronoun-specified kinship term" (*manai aav*), "the honorific kinship term 1" (*otoosama*) and "the modesty kinship term" (*chichi*).

**Ex. 1:** Conversation example: An older person F asks what A's father B does for a living when they meet for the first time.

**Mo. Ex. 1: Dominant Speech Form**

F→A, ⇒B: *Tanai aav yuu hiideg ve?*

A→F, ⇒B: [*Manai aav*] *bags' hiideg.*

**Ja. Ex. 1: Dominant SF**

F→A, ⇒B: *Otoosama wa nani o sareteimasu ka?*

A→F, ⇒B: [*Chichi wa*] *kyooshi o shiteimasu.*

**Lit. 1: Dominant SF**

F→A, ⇒B: What does your father do?

A→F, ⇒B: My father is a teacher.

Primary common conditions which constitute the conversational situations where the inside/outside relationships are clarified in both languages are as follows:

- 1) Conversational situations: public situations (official meetings, ceremonies); meeting for the first time; among people who are not friends of one another; and so forth.

9) The second person pronoun-specified kinship terms can be categorized into two: "kinship term + *tani*" and "*tanii* + kinship term" with higher respect and "*tanai*, *c'inii* + kinship term" and "kinship term + *c'ini*" with lower respect. The second person pronoun-specified kinship terminology therefore must have dominant and marked speech forms defined separately based on the level of respect for the listener.

- 2) Conversation contents: conversational texts about the attributive information of the person referred to (occupation, personal history, family, age, place of birth, personality, life, health, etc.)
- 3) Emphasis on the person referred to (main theme): strong.

But even when the speaker and listener are in the inside/outside relationship outside the household, their relationship is not always clarified in naming activities. If the relationship is not clarified in Mongolian, the single kinship term (speaker's kin), and kinship term + *ni* (listener's kin), which are non personal pronoun-specified kinship terms, are the dominant speech forms. In Japanese, the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2, which are lower-level respectful kinship terms, are the dominant form in the same conversation example.

Example 2) below, where the outside/inside relationships do not have to be clarified, is an example of the dominant speech form, kinship term + *ni* (*aav ni*), single kinship term (*aav*), and the honorific kinship term 2 (*otoosan*).

**Ex. 2:** Conversation example: An older person F knows a young child A and F asks A if his father B is back home already.

Mo. Ex. 2: Dominant SF

F→A, ⇒B: *Aav ni azlaasaa irsen u'u?*

A→F, ⇒B: [*Aav*] *saya irlee*.

Ja. Ex. 2: Dominant SF

F→A, ⇒B: *Otoosan wa kaette kita no?*

A→F, ⇒B: [*Otoosan wa*] *ima kaette kita*.

Lit. 2: Dominant SF

F→A, ⇒B: Has your dad come home?

A→F, ⇒B: Yes, he has.

Primary common conditions which constitute the conversational situations where the inside/outside relationships are not clarified in both languages are as follows:

- 1) Conversational situations: daily situations, listeners (in particular, infants, children, young people), close friends, and so on.
- 2) Conversation contents: conversational texts about the repetitive, habitual actions in the daily life of the person referred to.
- 3) Emphasis on the person referred to (main theme): weak.

In this article, however, we define *aav ni* and *aav c'ini* as dominant speech forms in the conversation example 2) in Mongolian. Generally, the closer the relationship between a speaker and listener (infant, children) becomes (pseudo-household: for example, the speaker and the person referred to are close friends, and so on), the clearer the categorization of dominant and marked forms between *aav ni* and *aav c'ini* becomes. The former is the dominant speech form and the latter is the marked form (with the content of the statement emphasized). In the conversation example 2), *tanai aav* and *c'inii aav* are marked speech form (with the content of the statement emphasized) and *tanii aav* and *aav tani* are not candidate terms as terms for both dominant and marked speech forms because the listener is an infant.

However, as a third category, there are many conversational situations where the personal pronoun-specified kinship terms and non-personal pronoun-specified kinship terms are used together in Mongolian, and the upper-level honored kinship terms 2 and modesty kinship terms are used together in Japanese.

### 2.1.2. RELATIONSHIP INSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

In a relationship inside the household, both the speaker and listener are in a kinship relationship with the person referred to and both of them are therefore in an “inside” relationship with the person referred to.

In Mongolian, the use of the “first person pronoun-specified kinship term” versus the “second person pronoun-specified kinship term” is avoided, and the single kinship term (speaker’s kin) and “kinship term + *ni*” (listener’s kin), which are among the non personal pronoun-specified kinship terms, are the dominant speech forms. In particular, if the speaker and listener are in the same family relationship with respect to the person referred to, the single kinship term (the kin of both parties) is the dominant form.<sup>10</sup>

In Japanese, the use of the “modesty kinship terms” in relation to the “honorific kinship terms 1” is avoided and the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 (the kin of the speaker and listener) are the dominant speech form.<sup>11</sup> However, the lower-level honorific kinship terms 2 are not used inside the household in Japanese.

10) An example of the same kinship relationship: grandchildren (speaker, listener) → grand parents, children (speaker, listener) → parents, younger siblings (speaker, listener) → elder siblings, etc.

11) In Japanese upper-level honorific kinship terms 1 can be used as the dominant speech form inside the household. Very few, however, use it there today in Japan because of the function of its higher-level respect.

Example 3) below shows examples of the dominant form, “kinship term + *ni*” (*eez’ ni*), single kinship term (*eez’*), and the upper-level honorific kinship term 2 (*okaasan*). Example 4) below contains examples of the dominant speech form and single kinship terms (*aav*).

**Ex. 3:** Conversation example: Asking where mother C is.

Mo. Ex. 3: Dominant SF

B→A, ⇒C: *Eez’ ni haasaa yavsan?*

A→B, ⇒C: [*Eez’*] *delgu’ur yavsan*.

Ja. Ex. 3: Dominant SF

B→A, ⇒C: *Okaasan wa doko ni itta no?*

A→B, ⇒C: [*Okaasan wa*] *kaimono ni ikimashita*.

Lit. 3: Dominant SF

B→A, ⇒C: Where is your mom?

A→B, ⇒C: Mom went shopping.

**Ex. 4:** Conversation example: Asking where father B is.

Mo. Ex. 4: Dominant SF

A<sub>1</sub>→A<sub>2</sub> (A<sub>1</sub>’s elder sibling), ⇒B: *Aav haasaa yavsan?*

A<sub>2</sub>→A<sub>1</sub> (A<sub>2</sub>’s younger sibling), ⇒B: [*Aav*] *delgu’ur yavsan*.

Lit. 4: Dominant SF

A<sub>1</sub>→A<sub>2</sub> (A<sub>1</sub>’s elder sibling), ⇒B: Where is dad?

A<sub>2</sub>→A<sub>1</sub> (A<sub>2</sub>’s younger sibling), ⇒B: Dad went shopping.

On the other hand, the personal pronoun-specified kinship terms of the inter-household relationship in both languages represent a marked speech form. Example 5) below shows examples of marked speech forms (emphasis on statement), the first person pronoun-specified kinship terms (*minii aav, uchi no otoosan*),<sup>12</sup> and the second person pronoun-specified kinship terms (*aav c’ini, Sae chan no otoosan*. *Sae*: a female name).

12) The word *uchi* is a noun (household) and *uchi no* means “of our household”.



**Ex. 5: Conversation example: Talking about the father B's diligence.**

Mo. Ex. 5: Marked SF

A→C, ⇒B: *Minii aav mas' az'ilsag hu'n yum aa.*

C→A, ⇒B: *Tiim ee. [Aav c'ini] u'neheer az'ilsag s'u'u.*

Ja. Ex. 5: Marked SF

A→C, ⇒B: *Uchi no otoosan wa totemo hatarakimono ne.*

C→A, ⇒B: *Soone. [Sae chan no otoosan wa] hontooni hatarakimono ne.*

Lit. 5: Marked SF

A→C, ⇒B: My father works very hard, doesn't he?

C→A, ⇒B: Yes, he does. Your (Sae's) father really works very hard.

## 2.2. HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS INSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

In both languages the address terms (person's name, "upper-level kinship terms + *aa*"<sup>47</sup>, "*minii* + lower-level kinship terms", and the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2), terms referring to persons (single kinship terms, "kinship terms + *ni*", and the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2), the self-oriented terms ("kinship terms + *ni*", the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2, and the first person pronoun) are used in a contrasting way according to the hierarchical relationships inside the household. These contrasting uses are closely related to respectful treatment toward an upper-level person and non-respectful treatment toward a lower-level person.

### 2.2.1. HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS INSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD (I) (UPPER-LEVEL PERSON → LOWER-LEVEL PERSON)

In this article we take a mother-child relationship as an example in the conversation examples 6)–11). But the family relationship patterns between an upper-level person → a lower-level person in the inside the house hierarchical relationship (I) includes parents (B, C) → children (A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>), grandparents (D, E) → parents (B, C), grandparents (D, E) → grandchildren (A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>), elder siblings (A<sub>2</sub>) → younger siblings (A<sub>1</sub>) relationships and so forth. Also, the person referred to is added to the patterns above, with terms used of the person referred to in the 'inside the household' hierarchical relationship (I). For the family relationship patterns refer to List. Mo. I and List. Ja. I.

**(1) Address terms** (addressing)

In Mongolian a person's name has a marked speech level in a household where "*minii* + lower-level kinship terms" is the dominant form of speech. In Japanese "addressing a person without honorific title" is a marked form of speech in a household where "person's name + *chan*" (endearment form) is the dominant form.<sup>13</sup> In Japanese the lower-level honorific kinship terms 2 are not used inside the household.

Example 6) below shows examples of "*minii* + lower-level kinship term" (*minii ohin*) and "person's name + suffix *chan*" (*Sae chan*). Example 7) below shows examples of a marked form of speech (—P: non-endearment), "person's name" (*Tuyaa*), and "addressing a person without honorific title" (*Sae*), versus the mother C's daughter A.

**Ex. 6:** Conversation example: Offering daughter A tea.

Mo. Ex. 6: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒A: *Cai uuh uu? Minii ohin.*

A→C: *Uuya.*

Ja. Ex. 6: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒A: *Ocha o nomu? Sae chan.*

A→C: *Nomimasu.*

Lit. 6: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒A: Do you want some tea, my daughter (Dear Sae)?

A→C: Yes, I do.

**Ex. 7:** Conversation example: Asking the daughter A to take a seat.

Mo. Ex. 7: Marked SF

C→A, ⇒A: *Tuyaa aa, end suu.*

A→C: *Za.*

Ja. Ex. 7: Marked SF

C→A, ⇒A: *Sae, koko ni suwarinasai.*

A→C: *Hai.*

Lit. 7: Marked SF

C→A, ⇒A: *Tuyaa (Sae), sit down here.*

A→C: Yes.

13) Depending on the family environment, "a person's name without honorific title" can be a dominant speech form in the relationship (I). In that case "person's name + *chan*" becomes a marked speech form (+P: endearment).

In Mongolian the following three remarks should be made about the address terms in the hierarchical relationships inside the household (I):

- 1) Depending on the family environment, a person's name can be a dominant speech form. In that case, "*minii* + lower-level kinship term" becomes a marked speech form (+P: endearment). In some cases, if the dominant form of speech differs, so does the atmosphere of the family. For example, according to B. Otgon, a household where the relationships of parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, elder brother/sister, and younger ones are bad, the person's name or zero form becomes the dominant speech form and *minii hu'u*, *minii ohin*, *minii du'u*, etc., become marked speech forms that are not often used. Further research is necessary to determine the correlation between the forms of speech and family environment.
- 2) The address terms which were used between parents and children, and grandparents and grandchildren of the subject families in Mongolian could be categorized by the dominant form of speech (*minii ohin*) and the marked speech form (person's names: *Tuyaa*, *Battuyaa*). The dominant speech form *minii ohin* constitutes the basic state by itself. But the usage of address terms varies significantly in each family. According to U. Tumenjargal, the naming terms (*eez'in ohin*, *minii ohin*, terms of endearment, etc.) constitute a dominant speech form group in her family.
- 3) We also defined *minii du'u* used between elder sister and a younger one in the Mongolian subject family as the dominant speech form and a person's names as the marked speech form. However there are cases where the marked speech form (person's name: *Tuyaa*) does not depart from the basic state depending on intonations and conversation contents. But a person's name (*Battuyaa*) always has a clear deviation from the basic state.

**(2) Terms referring to a person** (subject within a sentence)

In both languages the kinship terms in which an upper-level person's viewpoint is of a lower-level person are the dominant form of speech when a "viewpoint of kinship relationship" is connected with the term used to refer to a person.<sup>14</sup> Example 8) below shows examples of the dominant speech

14) In Mongolian non personal pronoun-specified kinship terms (single kinship term, "kinship term + *ni*") used as the dominant speech form inside the household are the most appropriate ones when analyzing the viewpoints of kinship terms. On the other hand in Mongolian inside the household both an upper-level and lower-level person can use a personal pronoun-specified kinship term as the marked speech form, which makes personal pronoun-specified kinship terms inappropriate when trying to analyse the viewpoint of the kinship terms based on the hierarchical relationship.

form where the mother C's viewpoint is of the daughter A, "kinship term + *ni*" (*o'voo ni*), and upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 (*ojiisan*).<sup>15</sup>

In both languages, in contrast with example 8) below, single kinship terms, and upper-level honorific kinship terms 2, in which an upper-level person has a viewpoint of himself/herself are not used. Example 9) below therefore shows only a diagram of the three parties: upper-level person (mother C), lower-level person (daughter A), and the person referred to (grandfather D).

**Ex. 8:** Conversation example: Notification of the return of grandfather D.

Mo. Ex. 8: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒D: *O'voo ni irlee*.

Ja. Ex. 8: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒D: *Ojiisan ga kaette kita*.

Lit. 8: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒D: Your grandfather has just come home.



**Ex. 9:** Conversation example: None

Mo. Ex. 9: C→A, ⇒D: *Aav*. (Not used)

Ja. Ex. 9: C→A, ⇒D: *Otoosan*. (Not used)



### (3) *The self-oriented terms* (subject within a sentence)

In both languages the kinship terms in which an upper-level person's viewpoint of a lower-level person is presented are the dominant speech form when a "viewpoint of kinship relationship" is connected with the self-oriented

15) In both languages, when the person referred to is a sibling of the listener or a person of lower level than the listener, a person's name can be the dominant speech form. In Mongolian, in the relationship between an upper-level person (elder brother and sister) → a lower-level person (younger brother and sister), a single kinship term (*du'u*) is used as the appropriate term for the person referred to in the same kinship relationship.

term.<sup>16</sup> Example 10) below shows examples of a dominant speech form where the mother C's viewpoint is of the daughter A, "upper-level kinship term + *ni*" (*eez' ni*), and upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 (*okaasan*).

On the other hand, the first person pronoun is a marked speech form in both languages.<sup>17</sup> Example 11) below shows examples of a marked speech form (—P: non-endeartment) and the first person pronouns (*bi*, *watashi*).

**Ex. 10:** Conversation example: Mother C buys a loaf of bread.

Mo. Ex. 10: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒C: *Eez' ni talh avaad iriye.*

A→C, ⇒A: *Bi bas hamt yavya.*

Ja. Ex. 10: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒C: *Okaasan ga pan o katte kimashoo.*

A→C, ⇒A: *Watashi mo issho ni ikimasu.*

Lit. 10: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒C: Your mother (= I) will buy a loaf of bread.

A→C, ⇒A: I'll go with you.

**Ex. 11:** Conversation example: Mother C reminds her daughter of an order.

Mo. Ex. 11: Marked SF

C→A, ⇒C: *Bi zo'ndoo helsen biz dee.*

A→C: *Tiim.*

Ja. Ex. 11: Marked SF

C→A, ⇒C: *Watashi ga nando mo itta desho.*

A→C: *Hai.*

Lit. 11: Marked SF

C→A, ⇒C: I've told you lots of times.

A→C: Yes.

16) In both languages, the first person pronouns can become the dominant speech form between an upper-level person (elder brother and sister) → a lower-level person (younger brother and sister). Generally in both languages the use rate of kinship terms (self-oriented terms) is more common with children in the early years and decreases as they grow older.

17) Although the Japanese language has many types of first person pronoun we used *watashi* and *boku* representatively in this article.

**2.2.2. HIERARCHICAL RELATIONSHIPS INSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD (II)**  
**(LOWER-LEVEL PERSON → UPPER-LEVEL PERSON)**

In this article the mother-child relationship has been used as an example in the conversation examples 12)–17). But the kinship relationship pattern between a lower-level person → an upper-level person in the ‘inside the household’ hierarchical relationship (II) includes children (A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>) → parents (B, C), parents (B, C) → grand parents (D, E), grandchildren (A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>) → grand parents (D, E), younger siblings (A<sub>1</sub>) → elder siblings (A<sub>2</sub>), and so on. Also, the person referred to is added to the patterns above, with terms used to refer to a person in the ‘inside the household’ hierarchical relationship (II). For the kinship relationship patterns refer to List. Mo. II and List. Ja. II.

**(1) Address terms** (addressing)

In both languages a person’s names are not used and the use of kinship terms therefore reflects the dominant form of speech.<sup>18</sup> In Mongolian, in particular, “*minii* + upper-level kinship terms” are not used for the dominant speech form and “upper-level kinship terms + *aa*” (*eez’ ee*). Also, in Japanese upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 are not used when the first person pronoun is specified.<sup>19</sup>

Example 12) below shows examples of the dominant speech form, “upper-level kinship terms + *aa*” (*eez’ ee*), and upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 (*okaasan*) in the viewpoint of the daughter A towards her mother C. Example 13) below only shows a diagram of two parties: a lower-level person (daughter A), an upper-level person (mother C), and the person addressed (mother C).

**Ex. 12:** Conversation example: Asking the mother C about dinner.

Mo. Ex. 12: Dominant SF

A→C, ⇒C: *Eez’ ee, hool bolson uu?*

C→A: *Bolson.*

Ja. Ex. 12: Dominant SF

A→C, ⇒C: *Okaasan, gohan dekita no?*

C→A: *Dekimashita.*

18) In both languages, between a lower-level person (younger sibling) → an upper-level person (older sibling) a person’s name can be the dominant form of speech.

19) In Japanese when the dominant speech form is the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 (*okaa-san*) speech levels can be shifted using kinship terms with different suffixes (*okaa-sama*, *okaa-chan*).

Lit. 12: Dominant SF

A→C, ⇒C: Mom, is dinner ready?

C→A: Yes, it is.

**Ex. 13:** Conversation example: None

Mo. Ex. 13: A→C, ⇒C: *Minii eez'*. (Not used)

Ja. Ex. 13: A→C, ⇒C: *Watashi no okaasan*. (Not used)

**(2) Terms referring to a person** (subject within a sentence)

In both languages the kinship terms in which a lower-level person's viewpoint is of himself or herself are the dominant form of speech when a "viewpoint" of the kinship relationship is connected with a term used to refer to a person.<sup>20</sup> Example 14) below shows examples of the dominant speech form, single kinship term (*emee*), and upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 (*obaasan*), where the daughter A's viewpoint is of herself.

On the other hand, in both languages the contrasting use of 14) below is shown in terms of how to express a viewpoint. "Kinship term + *ni*", and upper-level honorific kinship terms 2, in which a lower-level person's approach to an upper-level person is expressed, are not used. Example 15) below therefore shows only a diagram of the three parties: lower-level person (daughter A), upper-level person (mother C), and the person referred to (grandmother E).

**Ex. 14:** Conversation example: Grandmother E returns home.

Mo. Ex. 14: Dominant SF

A→C, ⇒E: *Emee irlee*.

Ja. Ex. 14: Dominant SF

A→C, ⇒E: *Obaasan ga kaette kita*.

Lit. 14: Dominant SF

A→C, ⇒E: My grandmother has just come home.

E  
↑  
A → C

20) In both languages a person's name can be the dominant form of speech when the person referred to is a sibling of the speaker or a person of lower-level than the speaker.

**Ex. 15:** Conversation example: None

Mo. Ex. 15:  $A \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow E$ : *Eez' ni*. (Not used)

Ja. Ex. 15:  $A \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow E$ : *Okaasan*. (Not used)

$$\begin{array}{c} E \\ \uparrow\uparrow \\ A \rightarrow C \end{array}$$

**(3) Self-oriented terms** (subject within a sentence)

In both languages the first person pronouns are the dominant speech form. Example 16) below shows examples of the dominant speech form and the first person pronouns (*bi*, *watashi*).

On the other hand, in Mongolian the kinship terms in which a lower-level person's viewpoint is of an upper-level person are the marked speech form when the "viewpoint of kinship relationship" is connected with the self-oriented term. In Japanese, however, lower-level honorific kinship terms 2 are not used. Example 17) below shows examples of a marked speech form (+P: endearment) in which the daughter A's viewpoint is of mother C and "lower-level kinship term + *ni*" (*ohin ni*).

**Ex. 16:** Conversation example: Daughter A buys bread.

Mo. Ex. 16: Dominant SF

$A \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow A$ : *Bi talh аваад ириye*.

$C \rightarrow A, \Rightarrow C$ : *Eez' ni hamt yavya*.

Ja. Ex. 16: Dominant SF

$A \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow A$ : *Watashi ga pan o katte kimasu*.

$C \rightarrow A, \Rightarrow C$ : *Okaasan mo issho ni ikimashoo*.

Lit. 16: Dominant SF

$A \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow A$ : I'll buy a loaf of bread.

$C \rightarrow A, \Rightarrow C$ : Your mother (= I) will go with you.

**Ex. 17:** Conversation example: Daughter A helps her mother C.

Mo. Ex. 17: Marked SF

$A \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow A$ : *Ohin ni tuslah uu?*

$C \rightarrow A, \Rightarrow C$ : *Zu'geer, zu'geer. Eez' ni o'roo hiie*.

Lit. 17: Marked SF

$A \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow A$ : Your daughter (= I) will help you.

$C \rightarrow A, \Rightarrow C$ : That's all right. Your mom (= I) will do it by myself.



### 2.2.3. NAMING BEHAVIOUR AND HONORIFIC BEHAVIOUR

The basic conditions of the discourse politeness of both languages' address terms, terms used of the person referred to, and self-oriented terms, which were mentioned above, agree with the norm of respectful treatment of upper-level persons (treating an upper-level person with respect, dignity, and reservation) and non-respectful treatment of a lower-level person (treating a lower-level person with endearment and providing him/her with protection, discipline, education, and advice), which is, in particular, obvious in the household, the most basic human community.

The categories of dominant and marked forms of speech, and the use or non-use of each form in these address terms, terms used of a person referred to, and self-oriented terms can be explained by whether there's a breakaway from respectful treatment of an upper-level person and non-respectful treatment of a lower-level person. Below, we will discuss this feature in three categories: address terms (person's name, kinship term), self-oriented terms (first person pronouns), and terms used of a person referred to/self-oriented terms (kinship term).

#### (1) *Address terms* (person's name, kinship term)

As we already know, using a person's name for an upper-level person means a complete breakaway from the respectful treatment of an upper-level person in both languages. Kinship terms are only used for an upper-level person. On the other hand, using a person's name for a lower-level person does not break away from the non-respectful treatment of a lower-level person.

Also, "*minii* + upper-level kinship term" is not used in Mongolian because its function of endearment breaks away from the respectful treatment of an upper-level person. By way of contrast, "*minii* + lower-level kinship term" for a lower-level person can be the dominant form of speech because its endearment function does not break away from the non-respectful treatment of a lower-level person.

In addition, the second person pronouns *ta* (respectful term) and *c'i* (closeness term) are used based on hierarchical relationships inside the household in address terms (subject within a sentence) in Mongolian.

#### (2) *Self-oriented terms* (the first person pronoun)

In Japanese a lower-level person does not usually use either address terms or terms used of a person referred to making use of second/third person

pronouns towards an upper-level person as the dominant form of speech. This is because personal pronouns have a direct designation function in which a lower-level person directly provides an upper-level person with a “role” as the person addressed or referred to (Takubo 1997, p. 19). In short, a lower-level person’s direct designation of an upper-level person means a breakaway from the respectful treatment of an upper-level person.

The direct designation function of the second/third person pronouns can also be used for the first person pronouns of both languages. In the hierarchical relationship inside the household, the self-oriented terms of an upper-level person (the first person pronoun) are a marked form of speech (– P: non-endearment) because of the direct designation function of the first person pronoun. In other words, an upper-level person’s direct designation of himself or herself through the first person pronoun for a lower-level person (listener) signifies a breakaway from the respectful treatment (self-respect) of an upper-level person (himself or herself).

On the other hand, a lower-level person’s direct designation of himself or herself through the first person pronoun for an upper-level person (listener) does not break away from the non-respectful treatment of a lower-level person (himself or herself) and the self-oriented terms (the first person pronoun) are therefore the dominant form of speech in both languages.

### (3) *Terms referring to a person and self-oriented terms* (kinship term)

The above-mentioned direct designation function of personal pronouns in Japanese can be utilized in the analysis of kinship terms. In other words, the viewpointing of the target is a form intended to designate him/her directly and it means to enter without permission the territory of his/her kinship relationship (Takubo 1997, p.31). Therefore when the lower-level person is directly assigning a kinship relationship viewpoint to an upper-level person (or from an upper-level person to himself) (viewpointing = direct designation), this is considered a breakaway from the respectful treatment of an upper-level person. Keeping this in mind, the following can be noted:

- 1) In both languages terms referring to persons (“kinship term + *ni*”, upper-level honorific kinship terms 2) in which a lower-level person assumes a viewpoint of an upper-level person are not used because the lower-level person’s viewpointing an upper-level person (direct designation) means a breakaway from the respectful treatment of an upper-level person.
- 2) For the same reason as 1), in Mongolian the self-oriented term in which a lower-level person has a viewpoint of an upper-level person (“lower-level kinship term + *ni*”) is a marked form of speech (+P: endearment).

- 3) An upper-level person's viewpointing of himself (direct designation) connotes a breakaway from the respectful treatment (self respect) of an upper-level person (himself). In both languages the terms referring to a person (single kinship terms, upper-level honorific kinship terms 2) in which an upper-level person has a viewpoint of himself as a lower-level person (listener) is therefore not used.
- 4) On the contrary, an upper-level person's viewpointing of a lower-level person (direct designation) does not break away from the non-respectful treatment of a lower-level person and the terms used to refer to a person ("kinship term + *ni*", upper-level honorific kinship terms 2) and self-oriented terms ("upper-level kinship term + *ni*", upper-level honorific kinship terms 2) are therefore the dominant form of speech in both languages.

However, in terms of the function of viewpointing (= direct designation), the following is to be underlined:

- 1) There are differences between the direct designation function of the personal pronouns in both languages. The Mongolian second person pronoun has a classification of terms denoting respect and closeness and *ta* (respectful term) does not have the direct designation function. The pronoun *ta* therefore does not break away from respectful treatment of an upper-level person. In Mongolian direct designation function analysis is only possible with the first and third person pronouns which have no classification of terms denoting respect and closeness. Therefore "lower-level kinship term + *tani*" (self-oriented terms) such as *hu'u tani*, *ohin tani*, *du'u tani* can be used with the second person pronoun possessive suffix *tani* (respectful term).
- 2) In terms of the function of viewpointing (= direct designation), we treat the address terms of Mongolian as exceptions because, unlike the terms referring to a person and self-oriented terms, the target of viewpointing (= direct designation) is always the speaker, regardless of the hierarchical relationship of the speaker and listener. The speaker's (upper-level person) viewpointing (= direct designation) of himself therefore never disengages from respectful treatment (self-respect) of the upper-level person (himself). If anything, usage analysis of *minii* (possessive pronoun), *aa*<sup>4</sup> (vocative case), and *mini* (enclitic pronoun), which indicate viewpoints, is important with the address terms. As to the viewpointing of Japanese address terms, refer to sections 3.1. and 3.2.

### 3. Differences

#### 3.1. I-CENTRED TERMS AND NON-I-CENTRED TERMS

The system of kinship terms of both languages share a similarity; they are used for the purpose of making contrasts based on the hierarchical relationship. But their kinship terms differ significantly in their methods of view-pointing the kinship relationship.

Suzuki compared the kinship terms of the Japanese and Turkish languages. He specified the differences by categorizing them as a language in which the viewpoint of kinship relationship is expressed through personal pronouns (Turkish) and a language in which the viewpoint is not expressed through personal pronouns (Japanese). According to his study, identification of viewpoints in kinship relationships occurs in Japanese (Suzuki 1973, pp. 166–168). The same is true with about the kinship terms in Mongolian and Japanese. Below we discuss the following in two categories: the terms used of persons referred to (complement and subject within the sentence) and address terms (addressing) which are the dominant forms of speech inside the household.

#### (1) *The terms used of persons referred to* (complement and subject within the sentence)

A question is raised when view-pointing a kinship relationship in terms used of a person referred to, as to whether or not a speaker should express the viewpoint of the listener towards the person referred to depending on the personal pronoun.

As in Mongolian Ex. 18), an example of terms used of persons referred to (complement within the sentence), shows daughter A referring to father B with a term used of a person referred to, namely “single kinship term + dative-locative case” (*aav-d*). But mother C refers to father B with a term used of a person referred to, namely “single kinship term + dative-locative case + reflexive possessive suffix” (*aav-d-aa*). In this case, mother C expresses the kinship relationship between daughter A and father B through a reflexive possessive suffix (*aa*: daughter A’s). On the other hand, in Japanese. Ex.18), both mother C and daughter A refer to father B with a term used of a person referred to, namely “upper-level honorific kinship term + locative particle” (*otoosan ni*). In Ja. Ex.18), mother C does not express the kinship relationship between daughter A and father B through personal pronouns. To express this Japanese usage in Mongolian, it is the same as both mother C and daughter

A referring to father B with a term used of a person referred to, namely “single kinship term + dative-locative case” (*aav-d*).

Also, as shown in Mo. Ex. 19) about the term used of a person referred to, namely (subject within the sentence), daughter A refers to mother C with a single kinship term (*eez'*) of the term used of a person referred to. But father B refers to mother C with a term used of a person referred to, namely “kinship term + *ni*” (*eez' ni*). In this case, father B expresses the kinship relationship between daughter A and mother C through the possessive suffix (*ni*: daughter A's).<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, in the example Ja. Ex. 19), both father B and daughter A refer to mother C with a term used of a person referred to, namely “upper-level honorific kinship term 2 + subject-propositional particle” (*okaasan wa*). In Ja. Ex. 19) father B does not express the kinship relationship between daughter A and mother C through personal pronouns. To express this Japanese usage in Mongolian, it is the same as when both father B and daughter A refer to mother C with single kinship terms (*eez'*) of the term used of a person referred to.

Moreover, in Japanese, all upper-level honorific kinship terms 2, in addition to *otoosan* and *okaasan*, can be shared and used by all family members.

**Ex. 18:** Conversation example: Giving a present to father B.

Mo. Ex. 18: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒B: *Aavdaa beleg oḡson u'u?*

A→C, ⇒B: [*Aavd*] *sayā oḡson*.

Ja. Ex. 18: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒B: *Otoosan ni purezento o ageta no?*

A→C, ⇒B: [*Otoosan ni*] *sakki agemashita*.

Lit. 18: Dominant SF

C→A, ⇒B: Have you given your dad the present?

A→C, ⇒B: I've just given it to dad.

21) In sections 2.1.1. and 2.1.2. “kinship term + *ni*” is a non personal pronoun-specific kinship term which cannot clarify the inside/outside relationship. It means *ni* has almost no function of making clear whose viewpoint is being referred to as compared with personal pronoun-specific kinship terms which can make it very clear. But in Mo. Ex. 19) it is obvious that *ni* expresses the mother-child relationship of daughter A and mother C through the “personal pronoun specific” function, even though not so clearly, in particular as compared with the use of the Japanese kinship terms whose viewpoints are not expressed through the personal pronouns.

**Ex. 19:** Conversation example: Asking where mother C is.

Mo. Ex. 19: Dominant SF

$B \rightarrow A, \Rightarrow C$ : *Eez' ni haasaa yavsan?*

$A \rightarrow B, \Rightarrow C$ : [*Eez'*] *delgu'ur yavsan*.

Ja. Ex. 19: Dominant SF

$B \rightarrow A, \Rightarrow C$ : *Okaasan wa doko ni itta no*.

$A \rightarrow B, \Rightarrow C$ : [*Okaasan wa*] *kaimono ni ikimashita*.

Lit. 19: Dominant SF

$B \rightarrow A, \Rightarrow C$ : Where is your mom?

$A \rightarrow B, \Rightarrow C$ : Mom went shopping.

## (2) *Address terms* (addressing)

The identification of viewpoints is more obvious in address terms. In Mongolian daughter A can address father B with a kinship term (*aav*) but mother C and grandparents D and E cannot address father B with a kinship term (*aav*) because mother C and grandparents D and E are not in the father-child relationship with father B. In Japanese, on the other hand, as shown in (a), (b), (c), and (d) below, daughter A, mother C, and grandparents D and E can address father B with upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 (*otoosan*). In Japanese all family members can share and use all upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 as address terms as well.<sup>22</sup>

**Ex. 20:** Conversation example: Asking father B to buy envelopes.

Ja. Ex. 20: Dominant SF or Marked SF

(a)  $A \rightarrow B, \Rightarrow B$ : *Otoosan. Huutoo o katte kite*.

(b)  $C \rightarrow B, \Rightarrow B$ : *Otoosan. Huutoo o katte kite*.

(c)  $D \rightarrow B, \Rightarrow B$ : *Otoosan. Huutoo o katte kite*.

(d)  $E \rightarrow B, \Rightarrow B$ : *Otoosan. Huutoo o katte kite*.

Lit. 20: Dominant SF or Marked SF

A, C, D, E  $\rightarrow B, \Rightarrow B$ : Dad, go and buy envelopes.

We have discussed the fact that in the upper-level person  $\rightarrow$  lower-level person relationship the upper-level person can viewpoint the lower-level person (direct designation) in both languages. But the viewpoint of the kinship

22) In Japan not all families share and use upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 as the address terms inside the household. Sharing upper-level honorific kinship 2 does not occur in the Japanese subject family.

relationship (= viewpoint of lower-level person) is not expressed in personal pronouns in the terms used of persons referred to in Japanese. In the terms used of persons referred to, after an upper-level person viewpoints a lower-level person, it seems as if the upper-level person's viewpoint identifies with that of the lower-level person. This viewpoint identification is more obvious in address terms in Japanese. The viewpoints of mother C and grandparents D and E identify with that of daughter A, which makes it seem as if they address father B using the kinship terms (*otoosan*) regardless of the actual kinship relationship. Suzuki defined this as a form of Japanese kinship terminology which is identified with the lower-level person's viewpoint and ready to be shared and used by all family members as a non-I-centred term (Suzuki 1973, p. 169).<sup>23</sup>

In Mongolian, on the other hand, viewpoints never identify with that of a lower-level person and no similar terms are shared by all family members. Mongolian kinship terms express the viewpoints of kinship relationship through personal pronouns and can be defined as I-centred terminology, as in the case of Turkish.

### 3.2. OIKOCENTRIC USAGE AND PERSONAL NAMING

The non-I-centred usage of the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 in Japanese categorized in section 1.3.5. (2) 3), is defined as the personal naming of honorific terms in personal pronoun study and is defined as Oikocentric usage in sociolinguistics.

(1) In personal pronoun study it is considered that the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 mentioned above become non-I-centred terms because of their lexical characteristics. The upper-level honorific kinship terms 2, in other words, become honorific terms and non-I-centred terms simultaneously, depending on the functions of “*o* (honorific prefix) ...*san* (honorific suffix)”. The upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 are therefore used like personal name titles inside the household (Takubo 1997, p. 27).<sup>24</sup>

23) This is not meant to say that Japanese people use kinship terms without considering kinship relationships. We would like to discuss the identification of viewpoints in another article.

24) Even in Japanese, the modesty kinship term which is not an honorific term is an I-centred term. For example, only children can refer to their mother using the modesty kinship term (*haha*) outside the household. On the other hand, in Mongolian the honorific term *avgailah u'g* is a non-I-centred term and similarities are expected with the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 in Japanese (Vreeland 1962, pp. 67–69).

(2) In sociolinguistics the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 do more than just express the kinship relationship between two parties, but they are considered to express “Oikocentric” relationships. For example, a father is his child’s father but he is also a “father of the household” for all family members (Suzuki 1967, p. 9).

Based on the two interpretations above, the upper-level honorific kinship terms 2 have at least three functions:

- 1) A function of expressing kinship relationships;
- 2) A function of treating upper-level persons (parents B and C, grandparents D, and E, and elder siblings) with respect;
- 3) Oikocentric usage, that is to say, a function in which all family members treat upper-level persons with respect through the same kinship terms (non-I-centred terms).

All these three functions are integrated into the Japanese inside-the-household kinship terms usage. If item 2) above is defined as “the first honorific treatment function”, then item 3) above is Oikocentric usage in sociolinguistics. But it can also be defined as “the second honorific treatment function” if the focus is on honorification.

The Mongolian language lacks Oikocentric usage, or a second honorific treatment function, described in 3) above. Unlike the Japanese language, Mongolian kinship terminology does not have honorific terms because it lacks the lexical contrastive qualities of honorific kinship terminology and modesty kinship terminology and therefore it does not become non-I-centred.<sup>25</sup> As discussed here, the kinship terms of both languages have completely different I-centred characteristics.

#### 4. Conclusion

This article only describes an overview of the usage of both languages’ kinship terms (including persons’ names and personal pronouns for some part of the article) by setting up particular situations. Under the circumstances, I focused on the confirmation work of diverse, multi-layered characteristics

25) There’s no oikocentric usage in Mongolian. But it has “*manai* + kinship term” and “kinship term + *maani*” which emphasizes the inside relationship, the non personal pronoun-specified kinship term inside the household, and so on. Both languages share a similar sense of belonging to their families but they have different naming methods.



of kinship terminology rather than the work of understanding both languages' kinship terms in a unified manner. In the future it is necessary to compare and explore both languages' kinship terms in a more comprehensive and systematic manner based on the detailed analysis of each standpoint in this article.

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## Appendix

For the identification of the viewpoint of kinship relationships and the function of the enclitic possessive pronoun *ni* of Mongolian refer to my following theory (Yoshino 2003):

Based on Suzuki's note, the upper-level person's empathetic identification with the lower-level person occurs in the use of Japanese kinship terms when an upper-level person uses the kinship terms in viewpointing a lower-level person and his viewpoint is identified with that of the lower-level person (Suzuki 1973, p. 168).

Based on his definition, the author has earlier pointed out the relationship with both the empathetic identification and the function of enclitic possessive pronoun *ni* as follows;

1) According to the Mongolian subject concerned, when an upper-level person uses the "kinship + *ni*" viewpointing of the lower-level person, it becomes the term referring to a person which can express more endearment for the listener in comparison with "*c'inii* + kinship", "*tan-ai* + kinship", etc. This use of "kinship term + *ni*" shows that the upper-level person's empathetic identification with the lower-level person also occurs in Mongolian.

2) In terms of the empathetic identification, when we take notice of the function of the enclitic possessive pronoun *ni* alone, it can hardly clarify the second personal pronoun viewpoint as much as the other second personal pronouns and enclitic possessive pronouns such as *tanii*, *tanai*, *c'inii*, *tani* and *c'ini* can. But it is the very function of *ni* which makes the empathetic upper-level person's identification with the lower-level person possible in the most positive way in Mongolian. This is because not clarifying the second personal viewpoint makes the upper-level person's empathetic identification with the lower-level person possible.

On the other hand, the second personal pronouns and enclitic possessive pronouns such as *tanii*, *tanai*, *c'inii*, *tani* and *c'ini* are able to make the second personal viewpoint much clearer than *ni* does. In Mongolian. On the other hand, all of these pronouns, except *ni*, can hardly make the empathetic identification possible more positively than *ni* does.

**List. Mo. I: Hierarchical relationships inside the household (I)**(1) B, C→A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>⇒(A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>), (B, C), (D, E)

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term Term referring to person	B, C→A <sub>1</sub> , ⇒A <sub>1</sub> /B, C→A <sub>2</sub> , ⇒A <sub>2</sub>	<i>minii ohin</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	p.n. (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	
	B, C→A <sub>2</sub> , ⇒A <sub>1</sub> /B, C→A <sub>1</sub> , ⇒A <sub>2</sub>	<i>du'u ni</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> ), <i>egg' ni</i> (⇒A <sub>2</sub> )	p.n. (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	<i>ohin</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )
	B→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒C/C→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒B	<i>eez' ni</i> (⇒C), <i>aav ni</i> (⇒B)		p.n. (⇒B, C)
	B, C→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒D/B, C→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒E	<i>o'voo ni</i> (⇒D), <i>emee ni</i> (⇒E)		<i>aav</i> (⇒D), <i>eez'</i> (⇒E), p.n. (⇒D, E)
Self-oriented term	B→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒B/C→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒C	<i>aav ni</i> (⇒B), <i>eez' ni</i> (⇒C)	<i>bi</i> (⇒B, C)	

(2) D, E→B, C, ⇒(A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>), (B, C), (D, E)

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term Term referring to person	D, E→B, ⇒B/D, E→C, ⇒C	<i>minii hu'u</i> (⇒B), <i>minii ohin</i> (⇒C)	p.n. (⇒B, C)	
	D, E→B, C, ⇒A <sub>1</sub> /D, E→B, C, ⇒A <sub>2</sub>	<i>ohin ni</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	p.n. (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ), <i>ohin</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	
	D, E→B, ⇒C/D, E→C, ⇒B	p.n. (⇒B, C)		<i>hu'u</i> (⇒B), <i>ohin</i> (⇒C)
	D→B, C, ⇒E/E→B, C, ⇒D	<i>eez' ni</i> (⇒E), <i>aav ni</i> (⇒D)		p.n. (⇒D, E)
Self-oriented term	D→B, C, ⇒D/E→B, C, ⇒E	<i>aav ni</i> (⇒D), <i>eez' ni</i> (⇒E)	<i>bi</i> (⇒D, E)	

(3)  $D, E \rightarrow A_1, A_2 \Rightarrow (A_1, A_2), (B, C), (D, E)$ 

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term Term referring to person	$D, E \rightarrow A_1 \Rightarrow A_1/D, E \rightarrow A_2 \Rightarrow A_2$	<i>minii ohin</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )	p.n. ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )	
	$D, E \rightarrow A_1 \Rightarrow A_2/D, E \rightarrow A_2 \Rightarrow A_1$	<i>egc' ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ ), <i>du'u ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )	p.n. ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )	<i>ohin</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )
	$D, E \rightarrow A_1, A_2 \Rightarrow B/D, E \rightarrow A_1, A_2 \Rightarrow C$	<i>aav ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>eez' ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ )		<i>hu'u</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>ohin</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ ), p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )
	$D \rightarrow A_1, A_2 \Rightarrow E/E \rightarrow A_1, A_2 \Rightarrow D$	<i>emee ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ ), <i>o'voo ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
Self-oriented term		$D \rightarrow A_1, A_2 \Rightarrow D/E \rightarrow A_1, A_2 \Rightarrow E$	<i>bi</i> ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )	

(4)  $A_2 \rightarrow A_1 \Rightarrow (A_1, A_2), (B, C), (D, E)$ 

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term Term referring to person Self-oriented term	$A_2 \rightarrow A_1 \Rightarrow A_1$	<i>minii du'u</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )	p.n. ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )	
	$A_2 \rightarrow A_1 \Rightarrow B/A_2 \rightarrow A_1 \Rightarrow C$	<i>aav</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>eez'</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )
	$A_2 \rightarrow A_1 \Rightarrow D/A_2 \rightarrow A_1 \Rightarrow E$	<i>o'voo</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ ), <i>emee</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
	$A_2 \rightarrow A_1 \Rightarrow A_2$	<i>bi</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	<i>egc' ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	

## List. Mo. II: Hierarchical relationships inside the household (II)

(1) A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>→B, C,⇒(A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>), (B, C), (D, E)

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> →B,⇒B/A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> →C,⇒C	<i>aav aa</i> (⇒B), <i>eez' ee</i> (⇒C)		p.n. (⇒B, C), <i>minii aav</i> (⇒B), <i>minii eez'</i> (⇒C)
Term referring to person	A <sub>1</sub> →B, C,⇒A <sub>2</sub> /A <sub>2</sub> →B, C,⇒A <sub>1</sub>	<i>egg'</i> (⇒A <sub>2</sub> ), <i>du'u</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> )	p.n. (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	<i>ohin ni</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )
	A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> →C,⇒B/A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> →B,⇒C	<i>aav</i> (⇒B), <i>eez'</i> (⇒C)		p.n. (⇒B, C)
	A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> →B, C,⇒D/A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> →B, C,⇒E	<i>o'voo</i> (⇒D), <i>emee</i> (⇒E)		<i>aav ni</i> (⇒D), <i>eez' ni</i> (⇒E), p.n. (⇒D, E)
Self-oriented term	A <sub>1</sub> →B, C,⇒A <sub>1</sub> /A <sub>2</sub> →B, C,⇒A <sub>2</sub>	<i>bi</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	<i>ohin ni</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	

(2) B, C→D, E,⇒(A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>), (B, C), (D, E)

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	B, C→D,⇒D/B, C→E,⇒E	<i>aav aa</i> (⇒D), <i>eez' ee</i> (⇒E)		p.n. (⇒D, E), <i>minii aav</i> (⇒D), <i>minii eez'</i> (⇒E)
Term referring to person	B, C→D, E,⇒A <sub>1</sub> /B, C→D, E,⇒A <sub>2</sub>	<i>ohin</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	p.n. (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	<i>ohin ni</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )
	B→D, E,⇒C/C→D, E,⇒B	p.n. (⇒B, C)		<i>ohin ni</i> (⇒C), <i>hu'u ni</i> (⇒B)
	B, C→D,⇒E/B, C→E,⇒D	<i>eez'</i> (⇒E), <i>aav</i> (⇒D)		p.n. (⇒D, E)
Self-oriented term	B→D, E,⇒B/C→D, E,⇒C	<i>bi</i> (⇒B, C)	<i>hu'u ni</i> (⇒B), <i>ohin ni</i> (⇒C)	

(3)  $A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow (A_1, A_2), (B, C), (D, E)$ 

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	$A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, \Rightarrow D/A_1, A_2 \rightarrow E, \Rightarrow E$	$o'voo\ o\dot{o} (\Rightarrow D),\ emee\ ee (\Rightarrow E)$		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ ), <i>minii o'voo</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ ), <i>minii emee</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ )
Term referring to person	$A_1 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_2/A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_1$	$egc' (\Rightarrow A_2),\ du'u (\Rightarrow A_1)$	p.n. ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )	<i>ohin ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )
	$A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow B/A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow C$	$aav' (\Rightarrow B),\ eez' (\Rightarrow C)$		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ ), <i>hu'u ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>ohin ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ )
Self-oriented term	$A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, \Rightarrow E/A_1, A_2 \rightarrow E, \Rightarrow D$	$emee (\Rightarrow E),\ o'voo (\Rightarrow D)$		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
	$A_1 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_1/A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_2$	$bi (\Rightarrow A_1, A_2)$	<i>ohin ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )	

(4)  $A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow (A_1, A_2), (B, C), (D, E)$ 

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	$A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow A_2$	$egc' ee (\Rightarrow A_2)$	p.n. ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	<i>minii egc' (\Rightarrow A_2)</i>
Term referring to person	$A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow B/A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow C$	$aav' (\Rightarrow B),\ eez' (\Rightarrow C)$		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )
	$A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow D/A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow E$	$o'voo (\Rightarrow D),\ emee (E)$		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
Self-oriented term	$A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow A_1$	$bi (\Rightarrow A_1)$	<i>du'u ni</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )	

- 1)  $A_1$  (the subject),  $A_2$  ( $A_1$ 's elder sister),  $B$  ( $A_1$ 's/ $A_2$ 's father),  $C$  ( $A_1$ 's/ $A_2$ 's mother),  $D$  ( $C$ 's father),  $E$  ( $C$ 's mother)
- 2) Address term (addressing: "minii+kinship terms", "upper-level kinship terms+ $aa'$ ", person's name/p.n./)
- 3) Term referring to person (subject within the sentence: single kinship term, "kinship terms+ $ni'$ ", person's name/p.n./)
- 4) Self-oriented term (subject within the sentence: "kinship terms+ $ni'$ ", personal pronoun  $bi$ )
- 5) Some kinship terms are omitted in order to simplify the diagrams and tables.

List. Ja. I: Hierarchical relationships inside the household (I)

(1) B, C→A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>⇒(A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>), (B, C), (D, E)

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	B, C→A <sub>1</sub> ⇒A <sub>1</sub> /B, C→A <sub>2</sub> ⇒A <sub>2</sub>	p.n. + <i>chian</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	p.n. (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ), <i>oneesan</i> (⇒A <sub>2</sub> )	
Term referring to person	B, C→A <sub>2</sub> ⇒A <sub>1</sub> /B, C→A <sub>1</sub> ⇒A <sub>2</sub>	p.n. + <i>chian</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	<i>oneesan</i> (⇒A <sub>2</sub> )	
	B→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒C/C→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒B	<i>okaasan</i> (⇒C), <i>otoosan</i> (⇒B)		p.n. (⇒B, C)
	B, C→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒D/B, C→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒E	<i>ojiisan</i> (⇒D), <i>obaasan</i> (⇒E)		<i>otoosan</i> (⇒D), <i>okaasan</i> (⇒E), p.n. (⇒D, E)
Self-oriented term	B→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒B/C→A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> ⇒C	<i>otoosan</i> (⇒B), <i>okaasan</i> (⇒C)	<i>watashi</i> (⇒B, C)	

(2) D, E→B, C,⇒(A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>), (B, C), (D, E)

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	D, E→B,⇒B/D, E→C,⇒C	p.n. + <i>san</i> (⇒B,C)		
Term referring to person	D, E→B, C,⇒A <sub>1</sub> /D, E→B, C,⇒A <sub>2</sub>	p.n. + <i>chian</i> (⇒A <sub>1</sub> , A <sub>2</sub> )	<i>oneesan</i> (⇒A <sub>2</sub> )	
	D, E→B,⇒C/D, E→C,⇒B	p.n. + <i>san</i> (⇒B, C)		
	D→B,⇒E/E→B,⇒D	<i>kanai</i> (⇒E), <i>shujin</i> (⇒D)		p.n. (⇒D, E)
	D→C,⇒E/E→C,⇒D	<i>okaasan</i> (⇒E), <i>otoosan</i> (⇒D)		p.n. (⇒D, E)
Self-oriented term	D→B,⇒D/E→B,⇒E	<i>watashi</i> (⇒D, E)		
	D→C,⇒D/E→C,⇒E	<i>otoosan</i> (⇒D), <i>okaasan</i> (⇒E)	<i>watashi</i> (⇒D, E)	

(3)  $D, E \rightarrow A_1, A_2, \Rightarrow (A_1, A_2), (B, C), (D, E)$

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	$D, E \rightarrow A_1, \Rightarrow A_1/D, E \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow A_2$	p.n. + <i>chan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )		
Term referring to person	$D, E \rightarrow A_1, \Rightarrow A_2/D, E \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow A_1$	p.n. + <i>chan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )	<i>oneesan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	
	$D, E \rightarrow A_1, A_2, \Rightarrow B/D, E \rightarrow A_1, A_2, \Rightarrow C$	<i>otoosan</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>okaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )
	$D \rightarrow A_1, A_2, \Rightarrow E/E \rightarrow A_1, A_2, \Rightarrow D$	<i>obaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ ), <i>ojiisan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
Self-oriented term	$D \rightarrow A_1, A_2, \Rightarrow D/E \rightarrow A_1, A_2, \Rightarrow E$	<i>ojiisan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ ), <i>obaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ )	<i>watashi</i> ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )	

(4)  $A_2 \rightarrow A_1, \Rightarrow (A_2), (B, C), (D, E)$

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	$A_2 \rightarrow A_1, \Rightarrow A_1$	p.n. ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )	p.n. + <i>chan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )	
Term referring to person	$A_2 \rightarrow A_1, \Rightarrow B/A_2 \rightarrow A_1, \Rightarrow C$	<i>otoosan</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>okaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )
	$A_2 \rightarrow A_1, \Rightarrow D/A_2 \rightarrow A_1, \Rightarrow E$	<i>ojiisan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ ), <i>obaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
Self-oriented term	$A_2 \rightarrow A_1, \Rightarrow A_2$	<i>oneesan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	<i>watashi</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	



List. Ja. II: Hierarchical relationships inside the household (II)

(1)  $A_1, A_2 \rightarrow B, C, \Rightarrow (A_1, A_2), (B, C), (D, E)$ 

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	$A_1, A_2 \rightarrow B, \Rightarrow B/A_1, A_2 \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow C$	<i>otoosan</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>okaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )
Term referring to person	$A_1 \rightarrow B, C, \Rightarrow A_2/A_2 \rightarrow B, C, \Rightarrow A_1$	<i>oneesan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ ), p.n. ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )	p.n. + <i>chan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )	
	$A_1, A_2 \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow B/A_1, A_2 \rightarrow B, \Rightarrow C$	<i>otoosan</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>okaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )
	$A_1, A_2 \rightarrow B, C, \Rightarrow D/A_1, A_2 \rightarrow B, C, \Rightarrow E$	<i>ojisan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ ), <i>obaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ ), <i>otoosan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ ), <i>okaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ )
Self-oriented term	$A_1 \rightarrow B, C, \Rightarrow A_1/A_2 \rightarrow B, C, \Rightarrow A_2$	<i>boku</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ ), <i>watashi</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	<i>oneesan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	

(2)  $B, C \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow (A_1, A_2), (B, C), (D, E)$ 

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	$B \rightarrow D, \Rightarrow D/B \rightarrow E, \Rightarrow E$	zero form		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
Term referring to person	$C \rightarrow D, \Rightarrow D/C \rightarrow E, \Rightarrow E$	<i>otoosan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ ), <i>okaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
	$B, C \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_1/B, C \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_2$	p.n. ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )	p.n. + <i>chan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ ), <i>oneesan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	
	$B \rightarrow D, \Rightarrow C/B \rightarrow E, \Rightarrow C$	p.n. ( $\Rightarrow C$ )		
	$C \rightarrow D, \Rightarrow B/C \rightarrow E, \Rightarrow B$	p.n. + <i>san</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ )		
Self-oriented term	$B, C \rightarrow D, \Rightarrow E/B, C \rightarrow E, \Rightarrow D$	<i>okaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ ), <i>otoosan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
	$B \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow B/C \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow C$	<i>watashi</i> ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )		

(3)  $A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow (A_1, A_2), (B, C), (D, E)$

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	$A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, \Rightarrow D/A_1, A_2 \rightarrow E, \Rightarrow E$	<i>ojisan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ ), <i>obaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
Term referring to person	$A_1 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_2/A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_1$	<i>oneesan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ ), p.n. ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )	p.n. + <i>chan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1, A_2$ )	
	$A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow B/A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow C$	<i>otoosan</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>okaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )
	$A_1, A_2 \rightarrow D, \Rightarrow E/A_1, A_2 \rightarrow E, \Rightarrow D$	<i>obaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ ), <i>ojisan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
Self-oriented term	$A_1 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_1/A_2 \rightarrow D, E, \Rightarrow A_2$	<i>boku</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ ), <i>watashi</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	<i>oneesan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )	

(4)  $A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow (A_1), (B, C), (D, E)$

Conversational Situations		Dominant SF	Marked SF	Not used
Address term	$A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow A_2$	<i>oneesan</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_2$ )		
Term referring to person	$A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow B/A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow C$	<i>otoosan</i> ( $\Rightarrow B$ ), <i>okaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow C$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow B, C$ )
Self-oriented term	$A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow D/A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow E$	<i>ojisan</i> ( $\Rightarrow D$ ), <i>obaasan</i> ( $\Rightarrow E$ )		p.n. ( $\Rightarrow D, E$ )
	$A_1 \rightarrow A_2, \Rightarrow A_1$	<i>boku</i> ( $\Rightarrow A_1$ )		

1)  $A_1$  ( $A_2$ 's younger brother),  $A_2$  (the subject),  $B$  ( $A_1$ 's/ $A_2$ 's father),  $C$  ( $A_1$ 's/ $A_2$ 's mother),  $D$  ( $C$ 's father),  $E$  ( $C$ 's mother)

2) Address term (addressing: upper-level honorific kinship term 2, person's name/p.n./)

3) Term referring to person (subject within the sentence: upper-level honorific kinship term 2, person's name/p.n./)

4) Self-oriented term (subject within the sentence: upper-level honorific kinship term 2, personal pronoun *watashi* and *boku*)

5) Some kinship terms are omitted in order to simplify the diagrams and tables.

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

## **4.2. Etyma with initial dentals (*t*-, *d*-, *n*-) and root-final liquids and retroflex stops<sup>1</sup>**

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**Summary:** The paper provides further material for the systematic survey of *verba dicendi* as it was published in previous years (Vacek 2003ff.). It is written in the context of the general principles and theoretical reflections presented in the earlier papers (cf. Vacek 2009e, plus further references). The subject discussed is the etyma with the above defined structure, viz initial dentals (*t*-, *d*-, *n*-) and root-final liquids and retroflex stops. The arrangement of the etyma follows the same formal criteria as in the previous papers. It includes *verba dicendi* in the narrow sense of the word and also their semantic extensions and onomatopoeic expressions.

### **0.**

The present paper is the second part of the paper dealing with *verba dicendi* in the broad sense of the word with initial dentals (*t*-, *d*-, *n*-) (Vacek 2008a). In this case the subject is the verbs with initial dentals and root-final liquids (both dental and retroflex liquids) and retroflex stops, occasionally retroflex nasal stops in Dravidian (for the phonological status of these consonant ‘groups’ cf. Vacek 1969).

Formally the indicated types of verbs were divided into the following six groups of which the first five were dealt with in Vacek 2008a:

- 1 *t/d/n* – *k/g/ŋ/ng* (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 / ɭ / r / ɾ / ɽ / ɳ*

1) Only five groups of these stems were discussed in the previous paper (Vacek 2008a). The stems ending in a liquid or cerebral stop were left for a later analysis (see No. 6 in the general survey of the types of stems, Vacek 2008a, pp. 100). The numbering of the items here continues the numbering of the previous paper.

This is another heuristically motivated paper. For more recent interpretations of the parallels between Dravidian and Altaic in terms of an ancient linguistic area (or areas) and high contact of languages see e.g. Vacek 2009a and particularly 2009e (with further references also to the author's work done before 1993). For details of the theoretical background and formal classification cf. also Vacek 2008a (pp. 99ff.). Concerning the variation of initial dental stops and nasals in the following material, cf. Bh. Krishnamurthi 2001. Further cf. also Zvelebil 1990, 1991.

## 6. *t/d/n – l / ɭ / r / ɽ / ʈ / ɳ*<sup>2</sup>

### (A) *Front vowels i, e*

Go. *tiri-* to speak (Subrahmanyam 1968, p. 164, No. 276)

Koṇḍa *ḍir-* to roar (as a tiger); to thunder (Krishnamurti 1969, p. 378)

Go. *teru:-* to quarrel (Subrahmanyam 1968, p. 208, No. 813)<sup>3</sup>

Ta. *teḷi* to drive or control by shouting, bluster, cause to sound (as a drum);  
resound, roar; n. sound, noise

*teḷippu* sound, noise, noisy rage

Ma. *teḷikka* to drive cattle with shouts (DEDR 3432)

Ta. *teḷir*<sup>-2</sup> 1. to sound, articulate (TL s.v.)<sup>4</sup>

2) The forms with liquids also include some cases of Ta. *-r-*, which normally reflects an older dental stop. However, the development is not always quite regular and in exceptional cases some of the forms may belong to the formal and semantic group discussed below.

3) Subrahmanyam considers the word to belong to DED 2832 (= DEDR 3440), e.g. Ta. *teru* to burn, scorch, be angry; Go. *ter-* to be fierce (heat of the sun); etc. But it may be one of the cases when formally close lexemes (not necessarily full homophones) overlap semantically.

4) This Tamil word is obviously missing in DEDR 3432. At the same time it is found relatively frequently in one group of Old Tamil Sangam texts: e.g. *teḷirppa* (14x) – Aka. 51,12; 117,8; 140,6; 261,5; 376,9 (cf. SVS s.v.); Aiṅk. 24,4; 197,1; 235,3 (cf. Elayaperumal s.v.); Naṛ. 20,5; 394,3 (cf. Wilden 2008, III, s.v.); Puṛa. 368,15; 370,18; 374,6; 393,20; 394,7; 397,10 (cf. VIS s.v.); *teḷirkkum* (1x) – Aka. 257,10 (cf. SVS s.v.).

As for the *Narriṇai* occurrences, Wilden mentions both meanings of this homophonic verb (*teḷir*<sup>-1</sup> 'to shine, sparkle'). When translating the relevant texts, Wilden translates the verb as 'sparkling' (Naṛ. 20,5), while Kandaswamy pillai translates the same passage as 'jingling'. As for Naṛ. 394,3, Wilden translates as 'sounds/sparkles' and adds a note that this may

- Koḍ. *tēli-* to laugh (Mercara dialect)  
*tēli* laughter (Mercara dialect)  
 Tu. *telipuni, telpuni* to laugh, smile, deride  
*telipāvuni* to make laugh  
*telikè* a laugh, smile, ridicule  
 Kor. *telī* (T.), *telli* (O.) to laugh (DEDR 3436)<sup>5</sup>

Te. *telucu* to praise, worship, request, pray<sup>6</sup> (DEDR 3427)<sup>7</sup>

- Ka. *dāriki* a belch (Rabakavi, *LSB* 5.19)  
 Te. *t(r)ēcu, trēn(u)cu, tēncu* to belch, eructate  
*t(r)ēpu, trēn(u)pu, tēnpu* belching, a belch  
 Kol. *dērg, dērk* (Kin.), *dērkā* (SR.) id.  
 Go. *dēr* (Tr.) a belch due to indigestion  
*dēr* (pl. *dērk*; sic) (Ph.), *dērka* (A.) a belch  
 Konḍa *dērk-* (BB) to belch  
 Pe. *dreb in-* id.  
 Kuwi *drebali* (F.), *dreb-* (Isr.) id. (s.v. Ta. *tēmpu*, DEDR 3451b)<sup>8</sup>

- Kuwi *drep-i-* to hum (Israel, p. 371)  
 Kuwi *dreki-kāli* to snore (F.) (s.v. Ta. *kuṟukuruppu, kuṟukuruppai* snoring; DEDR 1852)  
 Cf. also  
 Kuwi *dreki-ki-* to snore (Israel, p. 371)

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be a deliberate ‘pun’ with regard to the double meaning of the root. The latter is translated as ‘hoot’ (an owl) by Kandaswamypillai.

5) For Koḍ. *tolī-* to laugh, see below Section B.

6) Cf. below MT. *DERI-* to praise, and OT. *tile:-* to seek, wish, ask for (Clauson, p. 492).

7) For Go. *talehkānā* etc. see below Section C.

8) The medial labial in DEDR 2451b is represented only by Ta. *tēmpu-* to sob violently (cf. Vacek 2008a, par. 2, p. 111, and Note 29). As for the Telugu forms *tēncu* and *tēnpu*, they can be explained as a loss of the liquid.

The following etymon appears to be another case of two meanings (seme-mes) *overlapping*, one referring to ‘boiling’ and thus related to formally similar verbs designating ‘heat’ etc. (cf. Vacek 2001b, Section 1), and the other designating ‘noise’. Cf. also Ta. *taḷ-taḷ-eṇal* expr. of bubbling, as boiling water (DEDR 3126; below Section C).

Ta. *tiḷai* to boil

[*taḷai* id., to bubble]

Ma. *tiḷa* bubbling up

*tiḷekka* to bubble up, boil over, overbear, presume

*tiḷeppu* bubbling over, arrogance, triumph

*tiḷappikka* to boil, rouse passion (DEDR 3257)<sup>9</sup>

Ta. *tiṭutiṭu* to make a reiterated noise, as by hasty steps, to thump constantly

Ko. *diḍ diḍ in-* to make trampling noise (DEDR 3217)

Tu. *diḍumbu* a big drum

Koṇḍa *ṭirmi* a small drum (s.v. Ta. *tuṭi* a small drum shaped like an hour-glass; drummer; DEDR 3297; see below Section B)

Ta. *ñeḷ* to sound

*ñeḷḷal* sounding

*ñeḷir* to sound in a high pitch; n. gentle vibrant sound, sound

*neḷir* to make noise; n. voice at high pitch

Ma. *ñeḷḷu* imit, sound of crash, burst

To. *niḷf-* to whistle; n. act of whistling

Ka. *neḷḷu* to groan, moan

*neḷil, niḷi* a sound imitating that of breaking (DEDR 2932)

Ta. *ñeral* sound, noise

Koḍ. *nerak-* to groan

Malt. *nire* to groan

*nirqe* to growl, roar

*nire* to sound, roar (as the wind) (s.v. Ta. *ñaral*, DEDR 2904; see below Section C)

9) For Ta. *taḷai* cf. also Section C below.

- Ta. *neruneru* to gnash one's teeth, snap (as a stick in breaking), sound (as the biting of a hard, brittle, or crispy substance)  
*neru-ner-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying (a) crashing sound, (b) snapping or breaking sound  
*nerukk-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying snapping sound  
*neraner-eṇal* onom. expr. of grinding or gnashing the teeth  
*nerumu* to gnash (s.v. Ta. *naṛa-naṛ-eṇal*, DEDR 3623, see below Section C)

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- Mo. *nirdki-* to make a cracking noise  
*nirge-* to strike (as lightning); to rumble, roll  
*nirdki-* to make a cracking noise  
Kh. *nirhii-* (нурхуйх) to roar, rumble, thunder, crack, crash<sup>10</sup>

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MT. *DILGAN* voice (MTD I,206)

- Evenk. *dilgan* voice; sonorous  
*dilgūrā* loud  
*dilam* clear (voice, sound, ringing)  
*dilamkūn* high (voice)  
[*diṇina-* to ring]  
Sol. *dilgā* voice  
Even. *dilgən, delga, dilgon* voice  
*dilgūr, dilgoger* sonorous(ly), loud(ly)  
Neg. *dilgan* voice; noises produced by animals, birds, insects  
*dilgan-* to utter; to shout; to speak  
[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)]<sup>11</sup>  
Olcha *dilža(n)-* voice  
*dilžan-, [žilžan-]* to utter a sound  
[Orok. *žilda(n)-* voice; sound (small, e.g. buzzing of a gnat)  
*žildan-* to utter a voice, a sound]

10) Mongolian also has a verb with an initial dental stop, which, however, seems to be another case of the semantic overlapping of two sememes, 'explosion' and the 'noise of explosion':

Mo. *delbe* 1. through and through, to pieces, asunder  
*delbeci-* to crush, explode; to detonate, burst  
*delbele-* to explode, blow up; to break, crack open

11) The Oroch. and Ud. lexemes with medial velar stops (*digga(n)-*, etc.) and the Evenk. form with medial velar nasal (*diṇina-*) were listed earlier (Vacek 2008a, pp. 106–107). But in order to provide a complete view of the etymon, they are listed here in square brackets.

- Nan. *žilgā* voice  
*žilgan-* to utter a voice, a shout  
*žiarō/ū, žirō/ū* high-pitched (voice, sound)  
 Ma. *žilga-* to utter a voice, a sound; to shout; to sing  
*žilgan* voice; talk; sound, tone (in music); singing (of birds); buzzing (of insects); noise]<sup>12</sup>

*DILIŅ- DALAŅ SEME* onom. ringing (MTD I,207)  
 Ma. *diliŅ- dalaŅ seme* onom. ringing (about small bells)

*DIRGI-* to chirp (MTD I,208)  
 Evenk. *dirgi-* to chirp (about birds)  
*dirgivkī* thrush; forest pigeon  
 Even. *dirgō-* to murmur (water)  
*dirgōn* humming; vzlykat rydanie  
*dirilōn-* to buzz, hum (moskito, bee)  
*dirōlči-, direlči-, [diŋelči-], dirēlči-* to hum, to roll, to rumble  
*dirōlčin, direlčin, dirōlōn, [diŋelēn], direlen* buzzing; noise of the sea, splashing of the waves; din, thunder  
*dirōlōn-, direlen-, [diŋelen-, dirōlōn-]* to hum for some time, to roll for some time, to rumble for some time<sup>13</sup>  
*direrge-* to hum  
*dirōs* noisily  
 Neg. *dergivkī* grasshopper  
 Nan. *dergi-* to crack; make noise (about the tractor)  
 [Ma. *durgi-* to reverberate (about the sound of the drum)]<sup>14</sup>

*DELBEN-* to make noise (MTD I,232)<sup>15</sup>  
 Evenk. *delben-* to make noise; to reverberate

*DERI- II* to praise (MTD I,237)<sup>16</sup>  
 Orok. *deri-* to praise; to boast  
*deribge* boaster

12) Formally the examples with initial *ž-* (variation in Olcha, systematically in Orok., etc.) would belong to my earlier paper dealing with initial sibilants, affricates etc. (Vacek 2003), though etymologically they belong to this group and represent a further development of the initial voiced dental stop before a front vowel.

13) The Even forms with medial velar nasal were listed earlier (Vacek 2008a, p. 107). But in order to provide a complete view of the etymon, they are listed here in square brackets.

14) Formally, Ma. *durgi-* is also listed below in Section B.

15) The MTD refers to *DELBI* II ear, helix of the ear (Ma. < Mo. *delbe, delbi* petal of a flower; helix of the ear). Further cf. *DERDEHUN* ear (Ma.) (MTD I,237).

16) See above, the Dravidian examples.



**TIR** I sound of snorting or of a shaking horse (MTD II,186)Oroch. *tir*, *tir-r* onom. sound of a shaking horseMa. *tur* onom. sound of snorting (horse)*turgi-*, *turge-*, *turga-* to snort; to drivel (about a horse); to neigh**TIRGI-** to chirp (MTD II,187)Evenk. *tirgi-* to chirp (birds, insects); to roll, make noiseSol. *tir-tir* ding dong (the sound of a small bell)**TERGI-** I to crack (MTD II,238)Neg. *tergi-* to crack (about ice); to rattle, clink (about glass)**TERGILBAKĀŪN** organ (MTD II,238)Evenk. *tergilbakāun* organ (wooden musical instrument)**TĒL'BN** narration (MTD II,233)<sup>17</sup>Even. *tēl'bn* narration, tale, story*tēl'bn*, *tēl'bn*- to narrate, report, recount; to whimper, moan, complain*tēl'bnəmŋə*, *tēl'bnəmŋə* narratorNeg. *tēlun* story, legend, oral tradition*tēlun*- to narrate stories, legendsOroch. *tēlumu*, *tēlunu* oral tradition, old narrative*tēlumuči-*, *tēlunuči-* to narrate old storiesUd. *telunu* oral tradition, story*telunusi-* to narrate old storiesOlcha *telungu* oral tradition, old narrative*telungu-* to narrate old storiesOrok. *telunu*, *telungu* story, legend, oral tradition; discussion, talk*telunu-*, *telungu-* to narrate legends, stories; to discuss*telunutči* narratorNan. *tēlungu* story, legend, oral tradition*tēlungu-*, *telungu-* to narrate legends, stories*tēlungusu* master of narrations, legend**NIRGI** noise (MTD I,559)Evenk. *nirgi-* to murmur (sea); to roll (thunder)*nirgi* noise (of the bird's fly)*nirgi-* to thunder; to make noise; to reverberate (noise of flying birds)*nirgit-*, *nirkit-* to make a great noise, to rumble

17) The MTD refers to Nivh *t'ylgu* legend; *t'ylgufurnivh* narrator. For some parallels between Mongolian and Nivh (with references to Dravidian) cf. Vacek, Lubsangdorji 1992.

Even. *nirgə-*, *nirgə-*, *nirge-* to bleat (wild ram); to roar (deer)  
*nirgəl-*, *nirgəl-*, *nirgel-* to utter a bleat; to utter a roar  
*nirgən*, *nirgen*, *nirgen* bleating (wild ram); roaring (deer)  
*nirəlči-*, *nirəlči-*, *nirəlči-*, *nirələn-*, *nerələn-*, *nirələlən-* to murmur (rain)  
*nirənuken-*, *nirənukən-*, *nirənukən-*, *nirenuken-*, *nerənukən-* to murmur (rain)  
 Nan. *nirgi-* to roll, to rumble

*N'ĬLAMŬ* loud (MTD I,637)

Olcha *n'elamū*, *n'ĭlamū* loud, high-pitched (sound, voice)  
 Orok. *n'elamū*, *n'ĭlamū* loud, high-pitched (sound, voice)

*N'ĒR-N'ĒR* beating with pain (about the heart) (MTD I,637)<sup>18</sup>

Olcha *n'ēr-n'ēr* onom. beating with pain (about the heart)

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OT. *tirt* (hap. leg.) onom. for a tearing sound (Cl. 534)

*til* the tongue, hence metaphorically 'an informer, information, particularly secret information' (Cl. 489)<sup>19</sup>

*tile:-* to seek, to desire s.th.; to ask s.o. for s.th. (Cl. 492)<sup>20</sup>

Yak. *n'ir*, *n'yr*, *žir* onom. muted sound, noise of shaking, imitation of remote thunder

*n'irgii-*, *n'yrgyi-* to utter muted sounds, to resound from faraway

*n'irgīr* sound from faraway

*n'irilää-*, *närilää-* to make noise, to resound loudly, to rumble, to resound permanently in a distance  
 (MTD I,599, s.v. *NIRGI*, see above) (cf. a slightly different translation:)

*n'ir* onom. the noise of a remote thunder; feeling of dull pain deep in the body (MTD I,637, s.v. *N'ĒR-N'ĒR*, see above)

18) The MTD refers to Yak. *n'ir* onom. the noise of remote thunder, etc.; cf. below the Turkic section.

19) Starostin et alia (2003, Vol. 2, p. 1370) reconstructs \**tilV* 'tongue; voice' and connects the lexeme with MTD \**dilga-n* 'voice' (cf. MT. *DILGAN* above). Cf. also the palatal in Chuv. *čıl-re* Zunge (Räs. p. 478a, s.v. *tyl*, *til* Zunge, Sprache, Gereide). Cf. also Egorov (1964, p. 323: Chuv. *ČĖLXE* language, speech) who also lists the word with words having an initial dental in other Turkic languages.

20) Cf. above DEDR 3427: Te. *telucu-* to praise, worship, request, pray.

**(B) Back vowels u, o**

Koḍ. *toḷi-* to laugh

*toḷi* laughter (Shanmugam)

*toḷip* id. (s.v. Koḍ. *tēḷi-* to laugh DEDR 3436)

Ta. *tuṭi* a small drum shaped like an hour-glass; drummer

*tuṭiyan* drummer

*tuṭumai* a kind of drum

Ma. *tuṭi* a small drum shaped like an hour-glass

Ka. *tuḍubu* a kind of drum; (Hav.) *duḍi* drum

Koḍ. *duḍi* id.

Tu. [*diḍumbu* a big drum]

*duḍi* (B-K.) Ādi Drāviḍas' long drum

Te. *tuḍumu* a kind of drum, tomtom

Go. *tuḍum* (SR) drum

*turam* (Grigson) kettle drum

[Konḍa *ṭirmi* a small drum]

Kui *ṭuḍumi* (K.) a kind of drum (cf. Mar. *tuḍūm*, *tuḍūb* a sort of kettle-drum) (DEDR 3297)<sup>21</sup>

Pa. *ḍōla*<sup>1</sup> drum (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1953, p. 173)

Pa. *tuṭburī* kind of drum (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1953, p. 175)

Go. *ḍhōl* drum

*ḍhōlki*: small drum (Subrahmanyam 1968, p. 206)<sup>22</sup>

Pe. *ḍōl* drum (< O.) (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1970, p. 210)

Kur. *ḍhulkī*, *ḍhōl* a drum (Bleses, p. 56, s.v. 'drum')

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

21) The Tulu and Konḍa forms with medial front vowel are also listed above in Section A.

22) Subrahmanyam refers to IA (Turner, CDIAL 5608 \* *ḍhōla* 'large drum'), which is reflected in a number of IA languages starting with Prakrit. Though in some of the Central Dravidian languages (Pa., Go., Pe.) the word may be borrowed from e.g. Oriya, it does not seem to be an IA word.

Ta. *tuṭum-eṇal* onom. expr. signifying jumping sound, as into water

Ka. *duḍum, duḍhum* imitation of the sound of a body suddenly falling or plunging into water

*duḍhum ili* to plunge

Kol. *duḍm-* to swim (DEDR 3300)

Ta. *tūru* to traduce, slander; n. calumny, slander, ill-report

*tūral* slander, abuse

*tūrū* to publish abroad evil reports, slander, defame

*tūrri* tale-bearer

Ma. *tūrūka* to abuse, blame

*dūru* blame, slander

?To. *tudy-* to tell a lie

Ka. *dūru* to bear tales, report evil of others, blame, reproach, abuse, revile, calumniate, slander, asperse; n. aspersion, blame, slander, calumny

*dūrisu* to cause to abuse

Koḍ. *du-ri* information laid against a person

Tu. *dūruni* to accuse, complain, blame, reproach, censure

*dūrāṭa, dūru* aspersion, blame, reproach

*dūrunāye, dūrele* an accuser, censurer, complainant

[*tūpuni* to blame, abuse]

Te. *dūru* to reproach, blame, censure, abuse; n. reproach, blame, censure, abuse

Kui *dohpa* to mention the name of a person, cite, accuse, blame; praise, honour; n. citation, accusation, praise (Cf. 403 Ta. *ārātūru*) (DEDR 3397)

Kui *ḍrōka* snore, snoring

*ḍrōka pihpa* to snore

Kuwi *ḍrukinai* to snore, snort (S.) (s.v. Ta. *kuṛukuruppu, kuṛukuruppai* snoring; DEDR 1852)

Kuwi *ḍruk-i-* to roar, growl; to snore (Israel, p. 371)<sup>23</sup>

Kur. *thorḃorṇā* to speak hesitatingly (Bleses, p. 144, s.v. speak)

23) Cf. Mo. *turgi-*; *dürge-*, *dürgi-* below.

- Ta. *noṭi* to say, tell, speak, declare; insinuate so as to stir up ill-will, make unfavourable allusions, use sarcasm; n. word, phrase, language, speech, wise saying, riddle, enigma, stanza, noise
- Ma. *noṭikka* to speak hastily or superciliously  
*noṭiyuka* to murmur, lisp as fools
- Ka. *nuḍi* to sound, utter, speak, say; n. sounding, speaking, uttering a voice, speech, word, term, promise, language  
*nuḍisu, nuḍiyisu* to cause or induce to utter, speak, etc.; perform music upon, play  
*nuḍiha* uttering, telling  
*nuḍisuha* making speak, addressing
- Tu. *nuḍi* word, speech, saying  
*nuḍiyuni* to pronounce, utter  
*nuḍipuni* to speak, talk  
*nuḍipāvuni* to cause to speak, speak through another, play on a musical instrument
- Te. *noḍi, nuḍi, noḍuvu* word, expression  
*noḍikāḍu* talkative man  
*noḍikāramu, nuḍikāramu* mode, style of speech  
*noḍugu, nuḍugu* to say, speak; n. word or expression, line in verse  
*noḍucu* to find fault with  
*noḍupu* finding fault  
*nuḍuvari* speaker, talker  
*nuḍuvu* word, expression; vb. (K. also *noḍuvu*) to say, speak  
*nānuḍi* rumour, report; saying, proverb
- Nk. (Ch.) *uḍuk-/uṭk-* to speak, suggest (DEDR 3784)<sup>24</sup>

Pe. *noṇo noṇo* onom. expression of the humming of a bee  
 (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1970, p. 215)

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- Mo. *torcigina-* to rattle, clatter, crackle (cf. *tarcigina-* below)  
*tord in: tord kikü, tord gekü* onom. expr. denoting a sound made by a hard object when hitting some other objects; to crack  
*dorgi-* [a. to tremble, shake, jolt, vibrate]; b. to rumble, roll, peal, jar

24) Cf. below Mo. *nuršula-* b. to talk idly, etc.; MT. *TURĒN-* to speak, etc.

- dorgij-a(n)* [a. trembling, shaking, vibration]; b. rumbling, echo, confusion
- dorgilya-* to sound, make noise, ring, echo
- torlu-* to chirp, sing (of birds)
- turgi-* to snort (of horses)<sup>25</sup>
- ?*durad-* to mention, quote, enumerate, set forth; to slip in a remark, touch upon; to invoke, implore (gods)
- türcigine-* onom verb expressing a rattling noise; to rustle; to thunder, rumble; to crackle, clatter
- türcinel* noise, uproar, stamping of feet; rumble
- dürge-, dürgi-* to make noise, be tumultuous; to raise a hubbub<sup>26</sup>
- dürgege-* to be noisy, raise a hubbub
- ?*tuuli* old tale, story
- ?*tuulila-* to relate, narrate, tell stories
- nurgi-* a. to buzz softly
- nuršula-* b. to talk idly, prattle; to indulge in smutty talk

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- MT. *DURŽU-* to make noise (MTD I,225)<sup>27</sup>
- Olcha *duržu-* to make noise, shout; to sing (in chorus)
- Nan. *dur* in chorus, together
- durgi-* to make noise, shout

- TURĒN-* to speak (MTD II,222)
- Evenk. *turē-, türē-* to scold (children for mischief)
- turēl-* to speak; to scold
- turēldi-* to answer; to promise
- turēn, türān, türōn* language, speech; word; voice; folklore: having a name, called (so-and-so)
- türen-, türēn-* to speak
- turērbu-* to start to speak, pronounce; to start to speak (about the child)

25) Cf. above Kuwi *ḍruk-i-* to roar, growl; to snore.

26) Cf. above Kuwi *ḍruk-i-* to roar, growl; to snore.

27) Here the MTD makes a reference to

MT. *JÖRGIN-* to tinkle (MTD I,348)

Evenk. *jörgin-* to tinkle (trinkets)

*jurgin-* to knock, make noise, rattle

The initial *j-* is normally a Turkic reflection of the Mongolian and partly also MT. initial dental. However, I cannot find a corresponding Turkic root with this form and meaning (OTD, Clauson, Räsänen).

- turēt-/č-* to speak, to hold a speech (at a meeting); to sing (birds); to squeak (mouse)  
*turēltēn* orator  
*turētmēt-/č-* to talk  
 Sol. *tūrē-* to speak, pronounce; to utter sounds; to shout; to ring; to cackle (geese)  
 Even. *tøere-*, *tóra-*, *tøerē-* to talk, to make a speech; to sing, chirp (birds)  
*tøereb-/p-* to talk at pleasure  
*tøerev-* to be pronounced, reported  
*tøerel-*, *tøerēl-* to start to speak, hold a speech; to start singing, chirping etc. (birds)  
*tøerelēn*, *tøerelen* orator  
*tøeremjə*, *tøeremjə*, *tøeremje* speaker, orator  
*tøerēmēt-*, *tøerēmēččīn-* to argue, to quarrel  
*tøeren*, *tøerēn*, *tóran*, *tøerenmej*, *tøerenmeji* word, speech, language; address, information; singing, chirping (birds)  
*tøerēsčī-*, *tøerehčui-* to try to speak; to prattle  
*tøeret-/č-*, *tøerēt-/č-* to scold, to reproach  
 Neg. *tūjē* [\**tūrē*] folklore: to speak; to scold; to coo (pigeon)  
 Oroch. *turpin* narration (traditional oral form)

?Even. *dūūlan* noise, shouting (s.v. *DŪŪJA* noise; MTD I,220)

Ma. *durgi-* to reverberate (about the sound of the drum)  
 (s.v. *DIRGI-* to chirp; MTD I,208)

*LOR-R* noise of movement (MTD I,505)  
 Nan. *lor-r* noise of movement

*LOR SEME* talkatively (MTD I,505)  
 Ma. *lor seme* talkatively; talking without cessation

*LURILDĪ-* to roar (MTD I,513)  
 Evenk. *lurildī-*, *lurildū-* to roar (animal)

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OT.

Novikova (1972, p. 136) connects some Turkic names of birds with the onomatopoeic root *tor* and Mo. *torlu-* ‘to chirp, sing’ (of birds) (cf. above) and refers also to Räs. p. 490a and Old Turkic:

OT. *toriya* skylark (Novikova 1972, p. 136, note 218; cf. also *toriḡa*: sky-lark; Cl. 541)  
 Further cf.

Tel. *torlo* Steinhaselhuhn  
 Hak. *torlaŋa* partridge (Räs. p. 490b)

Räs. connects these words with Mo. *torla-* to trill, sing, twitter

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**(C) The vowel *a***

Ko. *dardarn* noise of dragging something along ground  
 Ka. *dara dara, jara jara* noise in dragging anything on the ground  
 Tu. *daradara* noise of dragging (DEDR 3093)

Pa. *tarp-* to cackle (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1953, 173)

Go. *talehkānā, talahkáná* to beg, ask for anything, esp. a bribe  
*talk-* to ask<sup>28</sup>  
*talp-* to ask, beg (s.v. Te. *telucu* to praise, request; DEDR 3427)

Ta. *naṛa-naṛ-eṇal, naṛu-naṛ-eṇal* onom. expr. of grinding the teeth<sup>29</sup>

Ko. *narkn* with noise of crunching up bones  
*nark nark in-* (gristle) makes noise when chewed

Ka. *naṛa, naṛanaṛane, naṛak* imit. sound of the noise of the cracking  
 of the fingers and other joints or of the  
 breaking of wood

Tu. *naruguru, narunuru* a crack, crash; sound produced while eating  
 anything crisp (DEDR 3623)

Ta. *ṇaral* to sound, make noise

[*ṇeral* sound, noise]

*naral* to sound, make noise, creak, roar, low (as cows), caw, hum  
 (as many voices), cry

*naralvu* sounding, roaring, high pitch, vibrating sound of a lute

28) This word is mentioned by Subrahmanyam (1968, p. 206, No. 758). He sees no connection with DED 2821, i.e. DEDR 3427; however DEDR 3427 did include the word. Could OT. *yal-var-* 'to beg, beseech, pray (to someone, *Dat.*)' (Cl. 920) be a parallel? Turkic *y-* often reflects original initial dental (Poppe 1960, p. 22–3). However, Starostin et alia (2003, Vol. 2, p.1525) connect the Turkic word(s) with Mo. *zala-* 'to invite; bring an image of a deity or a sacred object to a new place; to ask for medicine.'

29) The Tamil forms with medial front vowel (-e-) are listed above in Section A.



- naralai* roaring, sea (as roaring)  
*nararru* to cause to sound, produce sound  
 Ma. *ñaraiṇṇuka, naraṇṇuka* to grumble, groan  
     *ñarakkam, narakkam* moan, groan  
 Ka. *naraku* to groan, etc.  
     *naraṭu* grumbling  
     *naraḷ, neraḷu* to groan, moan; caus. *naraliṣu, naraḷiṣu*  
 [Koḍ. *nerak-* to groan]  
 Tu. *narakuni, narkuni, naraluni, narluni, nerluni, naraḷuni* to sigh, groan,  
     moan, grumble  
     *narakele, nargele* a grumbler  
     *naraṭuni* to grumble  
 Te. *naraga* a drum  
 Kur. *naryaṇṇā* to hum, weep and sob loudly so as to attract attention (DEDR  
     2904)<sup>30</sup>

The following two etyma represent a case of the overlapping of formally close etyma with different meanings, in this case ‘noise’ and ‘boiling’ or ‘heat’ (cf. above Section A):

- Ta. *taḷ-taḷ-eṇal* expr. of bubbling, as boiling water  
 Ka. *taḷataḷane, taḷapaḷane* with a briskly bubbling noise in boiling  
     *taḷapaḷa* the noise of bubbling water or the brisk bubbling up of water  
     in boiling  
     *daḷ* sound in imitation of that of boiling  
 Tu. *taḷapaḷa* a bubbling noise (DEDR 3126)

Ta. *taḷai* to boil, to bubble (s.v. Ta. *tiḷai* to boil; DEDR 3257)

- Ka. *daḍa* a sound imitating trembling, quivering, palpitation  
     *daḍadaḍiṣu* to tremble, etc.  
 Te. *daḍiyu* to tremble  
     *daḍa* shaking, trembling  
     *daḍadaḍam-anu* to palpitate (B.) (DEDR 3021)<sup>31</sup>

30) The Tamil, Koḍagu and Malto forms with medial front vowels (-e-, -i-) are listed above in Section A.

31) The DEDR refers to Emeneau 1969, p. 293, No. 27, for an areal etymology, with reference to Turner, *CDIAL*, No. 6711. Some items, e.g. Mar. *dhaḍ-dhaḍ* ‘palpitatingly’, *dhaḍdhaḍṇē* ‘to palpitate’ refer to the trembling motion. But note the combination of the iconopoeic and onomatopoeic meaning in the Dravidian etymon and partly also in *CDIAL*, No. 6711: Pkt.

Ta. *taṭa-taṭ-ənal* onom. expr. of falling sound

Ma. *taṭutaṭa* (to beat) soundly

Ka. *taṭa* sound in imitation of beating

*taṭataṭane* with repeated blows

*daḍḍu daḍḍu* sound of pounding by means of an ēta, that of knocking at a door with the fist

Koḍ. *daḍ, daḍa* noise of a thud

*daḍḍa, daḍḍu· buḍḍu·* noise of a heavy fall (as of a coconut from a tree)

Tu. *daḍabada, daḍabaḍi, daḍubaḍu* noise of falling suddenly (DEDR 3023)<sup>32</sup>

Ta. *ṭaṇṇ-ənal* onom. expr. signifying the sound of a bell

Ka. *ṭaṇ, ṭaṇa* sound of a gong being struck, of a metal vessel falling and striking hard things

*ḍhaṇa, ḍhaṇal, daṇ, daṇa, daṇal, daṇ-daṇā-daṇa* a sound to imitate that emitted by a gong when struck

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*dhaḍahadā*- n. 'thunder'; Nep. *dhaṛkanu* 'to beat loudly (of heart), walk smartly'. Cf. also the paper by A. Oberfalzerová on onomatopoeia and iconopoeia in Mongolian (above in this journal, pp. 29ff.).

- 32) This and the previous etymon (DEDR 3021 and 3023) seem to be an example of 'overlap-ping' with formally similar verbs designating either (quick) movement (e.g. Ko. *daḍṇ, daḍa-l* with a sudden jerk; Ka. *taṭakkane* quickly, suddenly; etc.; DEDR 3022) or beating and the like (cf. Vacek 2008a, p. 99; cf. also Note 35 below).

E.g. DEDR 3039:

Ta. *taṭṭu* to knock, tap, pat, strike against, dash against, strike, beat, hammer, thresh; n. knocking, patting, breaking, striking against, collision

Ma. *taṭṭu* a blow, knock; *taṭṭuka* to tap, dash, hit, strike against, knock

Ko. *taṭ- (tac-)* to pat, strike, kill, (curse) affects, sharpen, disregard (words)

To. *toṭ* a slap; *toṭ-* to strike (with hammer), pat, (sin) strikes; *toṭ-* to bump foot

Ka. *taṭṭu* to tap, touch, come close, pat, strike, beat, clap, slap, knock, clap on a thing (as coudung on a wall), drive, beat off or back, remove; n. slap or pat, blow, blow or knock of disease, danger, death, fatigue, exhaustion

Koḍ. *taṭṭ-* to touch, pat, ward off, strike off, (curse) effects

Tu. *taṭṭāvuni* to cause to hit, strike

Te. *taṭṭu* to strike, beat, knock, pat, clap, slap; n. stripe, welt

Kur. *taṛnā* to flog, lash, whip

Malt. *taṛce* to slap

The DEDR further refers to

DEDR 3156 Ka. *tāṭu* to strike against, touch, come in contact with, etc.; strike

and Turner, CDIAL, no. 5490, *\*thaṭṭh-* to strike; no. 5493, *\*thaṭṭhakāra-* brassworker;

√ *taḍ*, no. 5748, *tāḍa-* a blow; no. 5752, *tāḍāyati* strikes.

Cf. also DEDR 3030:

Ta. *taṭi* stick, staff, rod, cane, club (plus Ma., Ko., To., Ka.) and Skt. *daṇḍa-* stick, staff, pole, cudgel, mace. However note that Kuiper (1948, p. 75f.) connects the Sanskrit word with Munda.

- Tu. *taṇṭaṇu* a noise made in sounding a brass vessel, etc., with the  
knuckles, the striking of a clock  
*ḍaṇḍaṇu* sound of a gong  
*ḍaṇḍaṇa* sound of a large bell  
*ḍaṇḍu* sound of a bell (DEDR 2944)<sup>33</sup>  
 Ka. *ḍaṇḍaṇ* sound of the drum called *ḍavaṇe*  
 Tu. *ḍaṇḍaṇu* sound of a large drum (DEDR 2945)<sup>34</sup>  
 Ta. *taṇṭu* lute  
 Ma. *taṇṭi* a musical instrument (DEDR 3057)

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- Mo. *talkitalki-* to speak indistinctly, babble<sup>35</sup>

*tar* 1. onom. describing the sound of tapping or of footsteps on  
a hard surface

*tarcigina-*, *tarzigina-*, *darcigina-* onom. a. to rustle (of leaves);  
b. to knock, tap, clatter, stamp;  
c. to jar, rattle (from detonation)  
(*torcigina-* above)<sup>36</sup>

*tarciginayur* rattling; rattle (instrument)

*dargi-* to roar or rush noisily (of water)

*dargij-a* noise; gaiety; roaring (of water)

*darbijan*, *darbiyan* cry, call

*darbijantai* joyful and noisy

?*darbi-* [Lu.] to become joyfully excited at the sight of a noisy crowd

33) The DEDR refers to Emeneau 1969, p. 293, No. 25, for an areal etymology, with reference to Turner, *CDIAL*, No. 5494, \**ṭhan-* ‘jingle, clang’; Mar. *ṭhaṇṭhaṇṇē* ‘to clank, beat, throb’.

34) The DEDR refers to Ta. *taṇṇumai* ‘a kind of drum’ with a question mark. But given the ‘model’ type of sound variation of *C / NC / NN* [*stop / nasal+stop / nasal+nasal*] that can be observed in Dravidian etyma (cf. e.g. DEDR 3023 and DEDR 2944, which form a continuum of forms with this etymon), this word could be included within the etymon without the question mark.

35) Cf. Mo. *talki-* b. to beat someone very hard, beat to exhaustion; *talkida-* c. to beat hard. It seems to be another example of ‘overlapping’ with formally similar verbs designating either movement or beating (cf. above Note 32).

36) Cf. also

Mo. *car* 2. sound of voice; cry, clamour, noise

*cargi-* 1. to rattle, make a harsh sound; to speak harshly etc. (Vacek 2003, p. 195)

?*darbalzayur* one who usually opens his mouth wide when speaking  
or laughing

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MT. *TALTA* echo (MTD II,158)  
Evenk. *talta* echo, reverberation  
*talta-* to reverberate

*TARUN* prattler (MTD II,169)  
Ma. *taruda-*, *taruta-* to talk nonsense; to speak insolently  
*tarun* prattler; person talking nonsense; impudent, impertinent

*LAR SEME* thickly; talkatively (MTD I,494)  
Ma. *lar seme* onom. thickly; often; talkatively etc.

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OT. *tartar* an onom. for the name of a bird (Cl. 536)

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## Review Section



**Sziiregetü Güüsü Czordži, *Czikula keregleczi: Zasady buddyzmu*.**  
Translated from Mongolian into Polish, edited and introduced by  
Agata Bareja-Starzyńska. Biblioteka Dzieł Wschodu – Myśl Wschodu,  
Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2006, 332 pp.;  
Paperback, 41.00 zł.; ISBN 83-235-0257-9 – Reviewed by Rachel Mikos

Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, an expert in Mongolian and Tibetan studies active at the Faculty of Oriental Studies (Wydział Orientalistyczny) of the University of Warsaw as well as at Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza in Poznań, focuses in her scholarly work primarily on the influence of Buddhism in Mongolia and Tibet, involving both the investigation of historical written texts and direct field research. Her publication from 2006, *Czikula keregleczi: Zasady buddyzmu* (The Principles of Buddhism) is an important achievement for a variety of reasons: primarily as it consists of the very first translation of an essential text of Mongolian Buddhist thought into any European language.

The original text – to give its full title, *C'ikula kereglec'i tegu's udkatu śastir* – is assumed to have been written in the period 1587–1607 by the Buddhist scholar known as S'iregetu' Guu's'i C'ordji. As Bareja-Starzyńska notes in her introduction (p. 23), relatively little is known of the author's personal life: indeed, the question remains open as to whether he was of Mongolian or Tibetan origin. What is known from the historical record is that he studied personally with the third Dalai Lama, and gave teachings and translated Tibetan religious texts in the famed monastery at Erdene zuu. In 1585, he was sent by the Dalai Lama to Khalkha, where according to Bareja-Starzyńska, S'iregetu' Guu's'i C'ordji started his major work of translating in 1587; since his name is not listed as one of the translators working on the Mongolian translation of the *Kanjur* in 1628–1629, it can be assumed that he was no longer alive by this date (p. 24).

The historical period in which S'iregetu' Guu's'i C'ordji was active was of crucial importance for the intellectual, spiritual and historical course of Buddhist Mongolia, and indeed for Buddhism in central Asia in general. With in Tibet, the Gelugpa (“Yellow Hat”) school – known in Mongolia as *śariin śas'in* (the yellow faith) – was reaching ascendancy over the Sakya pa (“Red Hat”) school (Mongolian: *ulaanii śas'in*, ‘red faith’). Disputes within Buddhist philosophy were, of course, deeply intertwined with questions of political power. Lamas and secular rulers were bound in mutual relationships of spiritual and worldly authority. The “lama-patron” relation is perhaps best

exemplified by the relationship between Sonam Gya tso and Altan Khan, in which the Mongolian ruler was the one who designated the Tibetan lama as the third Dalai Lama in 1578 – an event at which S'iregetu' Guu's'i C'ordji was in fact present (p. 23). The spread of the “Yellow Faith” in Mongolia likewise coincided with another dramatic shift within the intellectual framework of Mongolia: the drive to suppress or eliminate Mongolia's pre-Buddhist traditions of shamanism.

As noted by the Mongolian historian Baabar: “Tibetans themselves helped convert Mongolia to Buddhism by sending battalions of Buddhist monks there”; in return, Mongolia's secular rulers relied on “*s'ariin sas'in*” Buddhist teachings as a legitimating ideology up until the Communist revolution of 1921. Bearing this context in mind, the text of *C'ikula kereglec'i* is unquestionably a key work for understanding the history, society and philosophy of Buddhist Mongolia. Moreover, its author is not only worth recalling as one of the most prolific propagators of Buddhism in Mongolia, but in fact became the founder of a line of reincarnated lamas. Bareja-Starzyńska, in her introduction, gives her strongest thanks to the eleventh incarnation of S'iregetu' Guu's'i C'ordji, the current head of the monastery in Hohhot, for his great efforts to help in her research – notwithstanding the tragic loss of all of the personal materials of the first S'iregetu' Guu's'i C'ordji, most likely including the original manuscript of *C'ikula kereglec'i*, during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (pp. 27–28).

Bareja-Starzyńska likewise devotes great care (in the section of the introduction entitled ‘O rękopisach’) to the discussion of the manuscripts of *C'ikula kereglec'i* still known to exist. At present, she notes, twenty-five such manuscripts are confirmed: the majority (fifteen) in St. Petersburg, with others known in Ulan Bator (two in private hands), Paris (one), Vilnius (one), Hohhot (three, with one copy in Beijing) and three (“still unexamined”) in Tuva (pp. 28–37). In the section immediately following (‘Stan badań nad tekstem’, pp. 37–44), she assembles an equally impressive summary of previous scholarship (e.g. I. J. Schmidt, J. Kowalewski, W. Heissig, S. Bira) that has dealt with *C'ikula kereglec'i*.

At this juncture in her introduction, Bareja-Starzyńska confronts the question of the text of *C'ikula kereglec'i* itself. She agrees with the Mongolian scholar S. Bira that the work ‘can be divided into three basic parts’ (p. 45): in her formulation, ‘Budda i jego nauka’ (Buddha and his teachings), ‘Kosmologia, czyli o powstaniu i zniszczeniu świata’ (Cosmology, or the creation and destruction of the world) and ‘Przewodnik buddysty’ (The Buddhist's glossary). As is common in central Asian Buddhist spiritual writings, *C'ikula kereglec'i*

does not entirely constitute an “original” work in the Western sense, but is in part grounded in the reworking of a variety of earlier sources, here predominantly Mongolian translations of canonical Sanskrit texts. Bareja-Starzyńska notes the base-texts (in both their Mongolian and Sanskrit designations), as well as discussing the highly likely possibility – hypothesized by a number of scholars, but still unconfirmed through any manuscript yet discovered – that an earlier Tibetan compilation could have served as the organizing text for *C’ikula kereglec’i* (pp. 57–60). The introduction concludes with a characterization of the language of the text (pp. 60–63), a brief discussion of Buddhist terminology (pp. 63–65), and remarks on methodology, transliteration, and the compilation of the glossary (pp. 65–68).

Bareja-Starzyńska’s translation of the actual text of *C’ikula kereglec’i*, starting on p. 73, is a remarkable achievement on several levels. In addition to its fluid rendering of the Mongolian text, it provides a highly detailed annotation of religious and philosophical terms, phrases and formulae as expressed in Mongolian, Tibetan and (where possible) Sanskrit. The range of knowledge to be found in Bareja-Starzyńska’s footnotes is impressive both in terms of her theological and philosophic explications as well as her linguistic knowledge in the three languages necessary for comprehension of Mongolian Buddhist thought and scholarship. Following the translation of *C’ikula kereglec’i* is a thorough bibliography (pp. 251–265), and a trilingual glossary (pp. 266–310) followed by indexes of Tibetan (pp. 311–322) and Sanskrit (pp. 323–332) expressions encountered in the main glossary. The usefulness of the glossary, it must be said, should in no way be overshadowed by the other primacies of Bareja-Starzyńska’s publication: the presentation of the Mongolian, Tibetan and Sanskrit verbal formulations in such a clear and accessible manner will definitely prove invaluable to any future scholarship involving the study of Buddhism in Mongolia.

**Bayarma Khabtagaeva, *Mongolic Elements in Tuvan*. Turcologica Band 81. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2009, 341 pp.; Price not specified; ISBN 978-3-447-06095-0 – Reviewed by Veronika Kapišovská**

In this book B. Khabtagaeva provides a comparative analysis of elements of Mongolic origin in Tuvan. The book itself is structured into seven parts including Introduction and Conclusion, although somewhat unconventionally the chapters and sections are not numbered.

In the Introduction the main intention of the author is expressed, namely to demonstrate the strong influence of Mongolian on Tuvan throughout the centuries. The author sets out to determine the laws of linguistic adaptation of the items borrowed into Tuvan from Mongolic, items that she had previously recognised as being borrowed from Mongolian through the historical-comparative method. She also suggests that analysis of these borrowings might resolve some specific problems in the phonetic development of Tuvan (for example, \**y-* > *s-* instead of \**y-* > *č-*, etc.) and some other problems of Mongolian phonetics.

Besides essential notes concerning the sources of linguistic material and transcriptions, the author gives a detailed account of the Tuvan people, their language, dialects and the varieties they speak. The main phonetic features are shown along with corresponding forms of Old Turkic. Moreover, each section of the book is provided with detailed information about the previous research in the field.

The second part deals with Mongolian-Tuvan relations that go back to the 13th century. The author points out that the reason for the great number of Mongolian borrowings in Tuvan lies primarily in the bilingualism of the Tuvan people. Even today there are still areas where the speakers of various Tuvan dialects are bilingual, especially in the territory along the Tuvan-Mongolian borders. It is also remarkable to note the existence of a specific Mongolic variety spoken by Tuvans in Southeast Tuva (pp. 22–23). The spread of Buddhism is also responsible for bringing a number of borrowings from Mongolian into Tuvan (pp. 24–25).

In the following sections of the book an examination of the linguistic material is provided. As the author herself mentions, this linguistic analysis is based on lexical material of the Tuvan-Russian Dictionary edited by Tenishev

and published in Moscow in 1968 (p. 4). In all more than 1,500 words of Mongolic origin are examined (p. 277). Through the detailed analysis of Mongolian phonemes (short and long vowels and consonants) the phonological changes in the borrowed words are revealed. Based on the character of the changes early, transitional and later layers of borrowings are recognized. In terms of morphology, the borrowings are examined according to the word classes and the author describes the Mongolic suffixes identified in them. Several Mongolic suffixes that appear in genuine Tuvan words are mentioned as being an especially interesting feature (pp. 147–149). The loanwords are further analysed according to their category as nouns, adjectives and verbs; loanwords in the first two categories are divided into semantic groups that indicate the fields from which the Mongolic borrowings originated (such as clothing, material and jewellery, buildings, art, writing and science, human emotions, etc.). As a matter of fact, many Mongolic words borrowed into Tuvan have been borrowed into Mongolian from other languages, for example from Chinese, Sanskrit, Tibetan or Turkic (i.e. re-borrowings into Tuvan). The words analysed in this part are provided with more detailed explanatory and etymological data than in previous parts. At this point, cross-references would probably be useful to interconnect the words discussed more than once in different parts of the book (as is, for example, the case with *madar* “wooden bowl” – p. 53 and 201), although all analysed words are listed in the Index of Tuvan words and Index of Literary Mongolian words at the end of the book.

As a whole, the book gives a profound insight into behaviour of Mongolic loanwords in Tuvan and thus can be considered a valuable source of information not only for Turcologists, but also for Mongolists and researchers in the field of Central Asian and Siberian linguistic contacts.<sup>1</sup>

1) This book was printed in 2009 and it is a revised version of B. Khabtagaeva's PhD. thesis defended in 2007. The author quotes extensively from the works published on the topic up to that time. In the meantime V.I. Rassadin has published two works on the same topic:

V.I. Rassadin, 2007, *Očerki po istorii složenija tjurko-mongol'skoj jazykovoj obščnosti. Čast' I. Tjurkskoe vlijanie na leksiku mongol'skih jazykov* (Studies of the History of the Turkic-Mongolian Linguistic Community Formation. Part I. Turkic Influence on the Lexicon of Mongolian Languages). Kalmyckij gosudarstvennyj universitet, Elista, 163 pp.

V.I. Rassadin, 2008, *Očerki po istorii složenija tjurko-mongol'skoj jazykovoj obščnosti. Čast' II. Mongol'skoe vlijanie na leksiku tjurkskih jazykov* (Studies of the History of the Turkic-Mongolian Linguistic Community Formation. Part II. Mongolian Influence on the Lexicon of Turkic Languages). Kalmyckij gosudarstvennyj universitet, Elista, 242 pp.

