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CONTENTS

The 'Spiritual Sons' of the first Mongolian Jetsundampa Zanabazar (1635–1723)

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Summary: The paper investigates the list of close disciples of the first Mongolian Jetsundampa Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar [1] (1635–1723) presented in his three biographies. Zanabazar played a very important role in spreading Buddhism among the Khalkha Mongols in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and his main pupils were also influential incarnations and religious activists. The paper attempts to bring out some information about these figures in order to learn more about Mongolia's Buddhist and intellectual past.

Popularly known by the name Zanabazar, which is a Mongolized form of the Sanskrit name Jñānavajra, the first Mongolian reincarnation of Jetsundampa (*rje btsun dam pa*) Öndör Gegeen was one of the most important Buddhist leaders of Khalkha Mongolia. Ordained as Losang Tenpe Gyeltsen (*Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan*) and officially enthroned as the Buddhist incarnation in 1639, he was one of the very first reincarnated Mongolian lamas. Thanks to the support received from his father, the mighty Tüsheet (Mong. Tüshi-yetü) Khan Gombodorj, and the Tibetan Gelugpa hierarchs, the fifth Dalai Lama, the fourth Panchen Lama [2] and others, Zanabazar gradually built up his religious position to the extent that in the later sources [3] he was called

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1) Mongolian words are transcribed according to the Modern Khalkha Mongolian way of writing in Cyrillic, for example: Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar. When Classical Mongolian version is added it is indicated by an abbreviation "Mong.", for example: Tüsheet (Mong. Tüshiyetu). The Tibetan words are written in the simplified English transcription which is followed by the transliteration according to the Wylie system, for example: Jetsundampa (*rje btsun dam pa*) or only in the Wylie transliteration.

2) The fourth Panchen Lama Losang Chokyi Gyeltsen (*Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan*, 1567–1662) is quite often described as the first Panchen Lama (see for example Smith 1969) due to the fact that he was the first person to whom this title was conferred by the fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Losang Gyatso (*Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho*, 1617–1682).

3) See the Mongolian biography of Zanabazar written in 1859, translated and studied by Bawden 1961, p. 44: "he was summoned by the four tribes of the Khalkha to the trone at the place called Siregetü Naγur." It was understood not in the religious but in the political sense and repeated by almost all who followed, including Western researchers.

the supreme leader of Buddhism of the Khalkha Mongols right from his en-
thronement in 1639.[4]

The career of Zanabazar was recorded during his life time by his person-
al disciple known as Khalkha Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei (*Blo bzang 'phrin
las* 1642–1715) in a biography styled as a *namtar* (which is the Mongolian
version of Tib. *rnam thar*)*,* i.e. the exemplification of a virtuous life leading
to Buddhist enlightenment. Several other hagiographies of Zanabazar were
written later in the Tibetan and Mongolian languages on the basis of this
first account.[5]

One of the main tasks of a religious master, which are emphasized in the
namtar genre, is to be a religious teacher. A teacher is regarded as a father
(*yab*) to his "spiritual sons" (*sras*). The role of a Buddhist teacher is crucial
for the development of Buddhism, especially in its Tibetan form adopted by
Mongols. It belongs to Vajrayana Buddhism where owing to tantric prac-
tices one's own teacher is regarded as the Buddha.[6] The role of Zanabazar as
a teacher was therefore very important for the spread of Buddhism among
Khalkha Mongols. It will be interesting to learn about Zanabazar's disciples
and the way they were presented in his successive biographies.

The first biography of Zanabazar was composed by Khalkha Zaya Pandita
Luvsanprinlei in Tibetan under the title *Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan
dpal bzang po'i khrungs rabs bco lnga'i rnam thar* in 1702 at the request of his
master. [7]

The biography mentions 2,000 disciples of the first Jetsundampa (p. 532).
According to the text, besides monks, lay followers were important disci-
ples of Zanabazar, such as the Manchu Emperor Kangxi (Bareja-Starzynska

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4) The point that it was not the case was discussed by Bareja-Starzynska (2008). Such state-
ments should be treated as hagiographical assumptions. See also the similar point made
earlier from a different angle by Miyawaki (1994, p. 45).
5) See Bareja-Starzyńska (in print).
6) See Lopez (1997, p. 15) and Ganzorig (2005, pp. 1–2).
7) The standard version of this biography is preserved in Zaya Pandita's so called "Clear Mir-
ror": (*Sha kya'i btsun pa blo bzang 'phrin las kyi*) *zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi
thob yig gsal ba'i me long*, Vol. IV, starting from folio 124, line 6 till folio 154, line 2. There
is also the bilingual Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript, with the Tibetan title only: *rJe btsun
dam pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i thun mong ba'i rnam thar bsdus ba
bzhugs*, kept in the monastery Aginsky datsan in Buryatia which was copied for Raghu Vira
in 1967 and reproduced by Lokesh Chandra (1982, pp. 411–549). This version served as the
basis for the present study and all references are made to this edition. It was mentioned by
Sh. Bira (1995) in footnote 4 of the Foreword (not indicated on p.3–4) with small printing
errors: vol. 284 instead of 294 and pages 441–549 instead of 411–549. The work was stud-
ied by Sh. Bira and translated by him into Modern Mongolian (Bira 1995, pp. 7–40).

2008, p. 53–54) and the Khalkha Mongolian khans. However, the biography also includes a list of chief or close disciples (*sras slob*) of Zanabazar consisting of twenty nine names. Zaya Pandita, the author of the biography, should be treated as the thirtieth disciple.[8]

The list of disciples presented by Zaya Pandita was included with small differences in the biographies of Zanabazar written later, such as the biography written in Tibetan in 1839 by Rabjampa Ngaggi Wangpo (*Rab 'byams pa Ngag gi dbang po*) alias Ngawang Yeshe Thubten (*Ngag dbang ye shes thub bstan*):[9] *Rje btsun dam pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar skal bzang dad pa'i shing rta*[10] and the biography of Jetsundampa written in 1847 by Ngawang Losang Dondub (*Ngag dbang blo bzang don grub*) entitled *Khyab bdag 'khor lo mgon po Rje btsun blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar skal ldan thar 'dod re ba skong ba'i dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs*.[11]

The text of the biography by Zaya Pandita reads as follows:[12]

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8) In the previous article Bareja-Starzynska (2008, p. 54) a mistake was made and 37 disciples were counted.

9) According to Byambaa (2004, p. 1) and Dungkar (2002, p. 309): *Ngag dwang ye shes thub bstan (rab 'byams pa).*

10) Lokesh Chandra (1963) mentioned it on p. 19. He reproduced the *karchag* (*dkar chag*) of Ngaggi Wangchuk (*Ngag gi dbang phyug,* who is the same person as Ngaggi Wangpo*)*, where the biography is listed on p. 327 with the number 6637. The biography of Zanabazar by Ngaggi Wangpo is reproduced by Lokesh Chandra (1982, pp. 267–410). The Classical Mongolian translation of this text was studied and partly translated into German by Hans-Rainer Kämpfe (1979 and 1981). The part interesting for this study is included in the second part of the paper (1981) on pp. 331–347, with a facsimile of the Mongolian original on pp. 348–382.

11) It was reproduced by Byambaa in his reprint of Jetsundampas' biographies in Byambaa (2006). This biography was not mentioned by Bira (1995).

12) The main text is read from Lokesh Chandra (1982, p. 538, line 3 to p. 545 line 3). Notes are added on the basis of the biography by Ngaggi Wangpo of 1839 reproduced in the same book on pp. 397–1–399 and Kämpfe's article (1981), where the list of disciples is studied on pp. 337–338, reproduced in facsimile on pp. 377–378, folios 58r7–58v24 of the original manuscript and the biography of 1847 by Ngawang Losang Dondub, folios 74v6–75r3. In the edition of this text by Byambaa 2006 actually folio 75 occurs two times, so the fragment about disciples occupies folio 75 recto and verso and again folio 75 (bis) recto to the line 3.

"… [As to] his own row of pupils:

1. the head lama of the very Master, the precious Throne Holder of Geden (i.e. Ganden) [monastery],[13] the incarnation of Sangye Rinchen,[14] the abbot of Jayul[15] – Sharkhang Nomon Khaan;[16]
2. a monk from Tashilhunpo [monastery] – Mergen Nomon Khaan,[17]
3. as well as his relative[18] – Nomon Khaan Kushonpa;[19]
4. the one who was incarnated in many master practitioners from India and Tibet starting with the holy *sthavira* Aṅgirāja[20] – Tongkhor Shabdrung Jampel Sangpo;[21]

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13) 538–3: Tib. *dge ldan khri rin po che*, Mong. *gedang tiba rinbučei*. The *dge ldan pa* means 'virtous' and refers to *dge lugs pa* i.e. the 'follower of Tsonkhapa', usually a monk at the Ganden monastery.

14) 538–3: Tib. *sangs rgyas rin chen gyi sku skye*, Mong. *sangji rinčin-ü qubilyan*. Sangye Rinchen (1540–1612) was the 27th Throne Holder of the Ganden (*dga' ldan*) monastery (TBRC P5563).

15) 539–1 Tib. *bya yul* – ancient bKa' gdams pa monastery located in Lo bya yul (TBRC G229).

16) 539–1 Tib. *shar khang no mon khāng*, Mong. *šarqang nomun qayan*. In the 1839 biography Ngaggi Wangpo adds his personal name: *Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan 'dzin* (Lokesh Chandra 1982, p. 397–2 and Kämpfe 1981 p. 377, fasc. 58r10–1). However, he was the 44th abbot of Ganden and his primary name was: *Ngag dbang blo gros rgya mtsho*. He was mentioned earlier in the biography by Zaya Pandita on p. 463–3. See also TBRC P1574 and more information further in this paper.

17) 539–1: Tib. *bkra shis lhun po'i grwa pa mer ken no mon khāng*, Mong. *dasilhünbu-yin sabai* (should be: *šabi*) *mergen nomun qayan*. In the Ngaggi Wangpo's biography of 1839 he is listed on the seventh position (p. 397–5). In its Mongolian version it says: *šabtai nom-un qan*, which Tib. glosses read as: *zhabs gras* – 'servant, attendant' (Kämpfe 1981, p. 377, facs. 58r23). In Mongolian the title means 'Wise King of Dharma'. In the biography of 1847 he is also listed in the seventh position (folio 75r5).

18) 539–2: Tib. *sku nye* – 'relative, kinsman', but translated into Mongolian as *tegünü qubilyan* – 'his incarnation'. In the biography of 1839 he is listed as the eighth disciple (p. 397–5) and in its Mongolian version he is called: 'personal favorite' – *biye-yin sidar* (facs. 58r23–24). In his translation Kämpfe (1981, p. 337) omitted this person. In the biography of 1847 he is also listed in the eighth position (folio 75r5).

19) 539–2: Tib. *sku gzhon pa* – 'junior, younger', so it may not be a name, but an expression denoting the younger of two persons called by the same title of *nom-un qan* which is *dharmarāja* in Sanskrit, i.e. 'king of Dharma'. The Mongolian version of the biography of 1839 reads *jalaɣu nom-un qan* – 'young Nomon Khan' (Kämpfe 1981, p. 377, facs. 58r24).

20) 539–2: Tib. *gnas brtan pa yan lag 'byung*, Mong. *ayui šitügen-ü yanglaɣjiüng*. The Tib. term *gnas brtan* denotes 'sthavira of the Śravaka school', while Tib. *yan lag 'byung* is the Tibetan rendering of the Sanskrit name Aṅgirāja, one of the 16 arhats.

21) 539–3: Tib. *stong 'khor zhabs drung 'jam dpal bzang po*, Mong. *dongqor sabdün jimbal sangpuu*. Actually here only the title is given, without a proper name. The Stong 'khor lineage is important for Mongols, because the second incarnation *Yon tan rgya mtsho* (1557–1587) was a teacher of Altan Khan (see TBRC P2043). In Bawden 1961, p. 37 he is called *Mañjuśrī 'Jam dbyangs chos rje* or *'Jam dbyangs rgya mtsho*. About the early Tibetan Stong 'khor incarnations there was interesting information provided by Dan Martin, see Martin 2007 (the blog does not exist, but information is still available in the net).

5. the manifestation of Khuton,[22] the incarnation of the precious Throne Holder Gyelkhang Tse-ba Peljor Gyatso[23] – Losang Tenzin;[24]
6. the incarnation of the great accomplished one[25] Legtsog Lhundrub[26] – the precious abbot Nomon Khaan;[27]
7. the one who previously gave the *vajra* initiation of tradition of the Abhyākāra[28] to all those interested in it from the Khalkha and Oirat tribes, the incarnation of Dorjechang Shabdrung[29]– Ochirdara Khutagt;[30]
8. Master of Kyilkhang,[31] incarnation of venerable Sangye Pelsang[32] – Erdeni Noyon Khutagt;[33]
9. incarnation of venerable Sangye Sangpo – Dalai Manjushri Khutagt;[34]

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22) 539–3: Tib. *khu ston rnam sprul* i.e. manifestation of *Khu ston brtson 'grus g.yung drung* (1011–1075), one of Atiśa's chief disciples, see TBRC P3464, a teacher in the major transmission lineage of the *Abhidharmakośakārikā* that passed from Tsongkhapa and the fifth Dalai Lama.
23) 539–3–540–1: Tib. *khri rin po che rgyal khang rtse ba dpal 'byor rgya mtsho*. Peljor Gyatso (1526–1599) was the 25th abbot of the Ganden (*dga' ldan*) monastery (see TBRC P3116).
24) 540–1: Tib. *blo bzang bstan 'dzin*. Full name: *Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan*. He was the first incarnated lama in Khalkha, born in 1631 and recognized in 1634. He died in 1654 (see Laagan 2004, p. 54). Mongols pronounce the Tibetan term *rgyal khang rtse* as Jalkhanz, so the incarnation is known as Jalkhanz Khutagt. The second incarnation was called *Blo bzang bstan 'dzin dpal bzang*.
25) 540–1: Tib. *grub chen* – 'mahasiddha, great accomplished one'; Mong. *yeke sidütü*.
26) 540–1: Tib. *legs tshogs lhun grub* (TBRC P6420).
27) 540–2: Tib. *rin po che mkhan po no mon khāng*, Mong. *erideni* (should be: *erdeni*) *qambu nomun qayan*. Kämpfe 1981 p. 337 adds his name: *Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan*, (Mong. facs. 58r18–19; Tib. text Lokesh Chandra 1982, p. 397–3). See more information further in this paper.
28) 540–2: *a bhya ka ra'i lugs*. Abhyākāragupta, known also under the Tibetan name *'Jigs med 'byung gnas sbas pa*, the pupil of Niguma and Vajrayoginī (TBRC P0RK166).
29) 540–3: Tib. *rdo rje 'chang zhabs drung* i.e. Sanskrit *vajradhara*. See TBRC PORK106.
30) 540–3: Tib. *o chir ta ra khu thug thu*, Mong. *očir dar-a qutuytu* which is the Mongolian pronunciation of the Sanskrit *vajradhara* with the title *qutuytu,* i.e. 'holy (incarnation)'. Kämpfe (1981, p. 337): 'zhabs drung včir dhara qutuytu'. As only titles are given it is not clear who is mentioned here.
31) 540–3: Tib. *dkyil khang* – most probably refers here to a college (*grwa tshang*) at the Tashilhunpo (*bkra shis lhun po*) monastery (see TBRC G106). Otherwise *dkyil 'khor khang* is the name of the Tabo monastery in Ladakh. However, the Mongolian translation of the 1839 biography by Ngaggi Wangpo adds Mong. *suryayuli* (Kämpfe 1981, p. 337, facs. 58r25) which means 'school' and therefore the meaning of 'college' is confirmed.
32) 541–1: Tib. *sangs rgyas dpal bzang gi sku skye*, Mong. *sangčai balsang qan qubilyan*. Not certain who is mentioned here. In the 16th century *Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho* was at the Kyilkhang college of Tashilhunpo (see TBRC P1553).
33) 541–1: Tib. *er te ni no yon khu thug thu*, Mong. *erdeni noyan qutuytu* which in Mongolian means 'Precious Noble Holy (incarnation)'.
34) 541–2: Tib. *sangs rgyas bzang po'i sku skye ta la'i manyju shrī khu thug thu*, Mong. *boyda-yin gegen sangčai sangbu-yin qubilyan dalai manzusiri qutuytu*. Kämpfe (1981, p. 333) gives the Tibetan name as: *sangs rgyas rgya mtsho* – see the previous footnote, though the Mongolian letters and Tibetan glosses read *sangs rgyas bzang po* (p. 377, fasc. 58r27).

10. incarnation of Jang Rampa,[35] the precious Throne Holder of Geden[36] – Losang Khutagt;[37]
11. incarnation of Yalguusan Chöje who was enthroned as Lama Shang;[38]
12. incarnation of venerable Tsultrim Chöphelba – Ganden Khutagt;[39]
13. venerable of Shartse,[40] incarnation of Peljor Wangpo – Shartse Khutagt;[41]
14. incarnation of Chökyong Gyatso,[42] Lama of the Ganden Jangtse[43] [monastery] – Erdeni Yalguusan Khutagt;[44]
15. venerable of the Je [college] of the Sera [monastery],[45] incarnation of Jampa Mönlam – Pandita Nomon Khaan;[46]
16. incarnation of Lama of the Gomang [college] of the Drepung [monastery][47] – Yalguusan Khutagt;[48]

35) 541–2–3: Tib. *ljang ram pa'i sku skye*, Mong. *jangramba-yin qubilyan*.
36) 541–2: Tib. *dge ldan*. Either the monastery of Ganden (*dga' ldan*) is meant or one of the numerous monasteries with the phrase *dge ldan* in their name.
37) 541–2–3: Tib. *blo bzang khu thug thu*, Mong. *lubsang qutuytu*.
38) 541–3: Tib. *bla ma zhang gi khrir phebs pa'i i la kug sang chos rje'i sku skye*, Mong. *šang blama-yin siregen-dür jalyaysan ilayuysan čos rǰi-yin qubilyan*. Zhang is a district in gTsang in Tibet. Lama Shang may also refer to *brTson 'grus grags pa* (1123–1193) who had such a title (TBRC P1857).
39) 542–1: Tib. *tshul khrims chos 'phel ba'i sku skye dga' ldan khu thug thu*, Mong. *čültim čöyipel-yin* (should be: *-ün*) *gegen-ü qubilyan yandan qutuytu*. Most probably an incarnation of *Tshul khrims chos 'phel* (1561–1623) who was the 32nd abbot of the Ganden monastery (*dga' ldan dgon* [*stag rtse rdzong*]). See TBRC P2555.
40) 542–1: Tib. *shar rtse khu thug thu*, Mong. *šarzi qutuytu*. Shar rtse refers most probably to the college of the Ganden monastery.
41) 542–1–2: Tib. *dpal 'byor dbang po'i sku skye*, Mong. *šarǰi-yin gegen baljur vangbu-yin qubilyan*.
42) 542–2–3: Tib. *chos skyong rgya mtsho'i sku skye*, Mong. *čuyi čin jamču-yin qubilyan*. Chos skyong rgya mtsho (1473–1539) was an abbot of the *Byang rtse* college of Ganden and an important Gelugpa teacher (see TBRC P3160).
43) 542–2: Tib. *dga' ldan byang rtse'i bla ma*. *Byang rtse* is one of two teaching colleges at Ganden monastery (see TBRC G77).
44) 542–2–3: Tib. *er te ni i la kug sang khu thug thu*, Mong. *erdeni ilayuysan qutuy-tu* which in Mongolian means 'Precious Victorious Holy (incarnation)'.
45) 542–3: Tib. *ser byes pa* – short form of *ser byes dpe mdzod* – Byes college of the Sera monastery (TBRC G155).
46) 542–3–543–1: Tib. *byams pa smon lam gyi sku skye paṇḍita no mon khāng*, Mong. *ǰimba munlam-un qubilyan bandida nomun qayan*. Kämpfe (1981 p. 338) writes '*Byis pa*' instead of '*Byams pa*', which must be a printing error. Pandita Nomon Khan means in Mongolian 'Great Scholar, the King of Dharma'.
47) 543–1: Tib. *'bras spungs sgo mang bla ma'i sku skye*.
48) 543–1: Tib. *i la kug sang khu thug thu*, Mong. *ilayuysan qutuytu*. In Mongolian the title means 'Victorious Holy (incarnation)'. There were several incarnations in Mongolia with this title.

17. incarnation of Tulku Sönam Yeshe Wangpo[49] – Naran Khutagt;[50]
18. incarnation of venerable Chönyer Dragpa[51] – Shireet Khutagt;[52]
19. Bütügsen Khutagt[53] – incarnation of Gangchen Khenpo;[54]
20. incarnation of Mergen Nomon Khaan[55] – Rabten;[56]
21. Jigmed Dorje Dalai Khutagt;[57]
22. Dethang Pandita Khutagt;[58]
23. incarnation of Üyizin Noyon;[59]
24. incarnation of Nechu (Neichi) Toin of Kökeqota;[60]
25. venerable of Thö Samling,[61] incarnation of Legshe Peldenpa – Mergen Chöje;[62]
26. incarnation of Gyepa Shabdrung – Yalguusan;[63]

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49) 543–1–2: Tib. *sprul sku bsod nams ye shes dbang po*. Or *bSod nams ye shes dbang po* (1556–1592). He founded the monastery *Thub bstan chos 'khor* in Lithang at the order of the 3rd Dalai Lama (see TBRC P100). According to the information in the next footnote *sprul sku bSod nams chos kyi nyi ma* would be expected instead of him.

50) 543–2: Tib. *na rang khu thug thu*, Mong. *naran qutuγtu*. According to Ganzorig (2005, p. 3) this title was first used in Mongolia to denote the 23rd reincarnation of Mahasiddha Virupa (Tib. *Bir wa pa*), the Tibetan lama *bSod nams chos kyi nyi ma*, who was invited for the opening ceremony of the monastery of Zaya Pandita and from whom this line of incarnations started in Mongolia. His Mongolian incarnation *Sangs rgyas snang grags* was confirmed by the sixth (or third) Panchen Lama (1737–1780).

51) 543–2–3: Tib. *chos gnyer grags pa*.

52) 543–3: Tib. *Shi re' thu khu thug thu*, Mong. *Sirgetü* (should be: *siregetü*) *qutuγu* which means 'Throne Holder, Holy (incarnation)'. He resided in Kökeqota.

53) 543–3: Tib. *pu thug sen khu thug thu*, Mong. *bütügsen qutuγtu*.

54) 543–3: Tib. *gangs can mkhan po* – abbot of the *Gangs can chos 'phel* monastery, TBRC G424..

55) 543–3: Tib. *mer gen no mon khāng*.

56) 544–1: Tib. *rab brtan*. Perhaps he is mentioned by Laagan (2004, p. 76) as 'Nomun Khan Ravdan', a disciple of Lamyn Gegeen.

57) 544–1: Tib. *'jigs med rdo rje tāla'i khu thug thu*, Mong. *jigmed dorjei dalai qutuγtu*.

58) 544–1: Tib. *bde thang paṇḍita khu thug thu*, Mong. *de tang bandida qutuγtu*. Perhaps *Blo bzang tshul khrims rnam rgyal* (see TBRC P1757).

59) 544–1–2: Tib. *ui tsen no yon gyi sku skye*, Mong. *Üijing noyan-u qubilγan*. Üyizin (or Uizen) was mentioned earlier in this biography (p. 417–2) as one of Zanabazar's predecessors, listed as the son of Zalair (Mong. Jalair), who was one of the sons of Bat Mönkh (Mong. Batu Möngke) Dayan Khan (1475?–1517?).

60) 544–2: Tib. *mkhar sngon gnas bcu tho yon gyi sku skye*, Mong. *köke qota-yin yanbču toyin-u qubilγan*. Probably an incarnation of the famous Neichi Toin (1557–1653) is meant. He was the Buddhist missionary in eastern Mongolia among Ongnigud and Khorchin (see Kollmar-Paulenz 2008, pp. 13–28).

61) 544–3: Tib. *thos bsam gling*. It is one of the colleges in the Tashilhunpo monastery (see TBRC G105).

62) 544–2–3: Tib. *legs bshad dpal ldan pa'i sku skye mer ken chos rje*, Mong. *legsadan baldan-yin* (should be: *-u*) *qubilγan mergen čoyiji*. In the Mong. version there is no particle *-pa* after *dpal ldan*, the same in the biography of 1839, facs. 58v15 (Kämpfe 1981, p. 338).

63) 544–3: Tib. *rgyas pa zhabs drung gi sku skye i la kug sang*, Mong. *jayiba šabdüd-yin* (should be: *-ün*) *qubilγan ilaγuγsan*.

27. Master Shireeet Sangye Tashi;[64]
28. Lama of native monastery[65] of [the minister] Darpa[66] – Pandita Chöje;[67]
29. and Rabjamba Mergen Pandita[68] were the main disciples.

And also many other lamas, great and petty
and officials great and petty headed by the three khaans of Khalkha[69] and many ordained and
lay people of high and low [status]."

When compared to Zaya Pandita's biography, the list of Zanabazar's disciples
in the biography of 1839 by Ngaggi Wangpo and its Mongolian translation,
shows no considerable differences. There are a few additions in the later ver-
sion: the name of Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei is added as the fifth disciple,
while Mergen Nomon Khaan and his younger assistant Nomon Khaan Kus-
honpa are listed not as the second and third, but as seventh and eighth. Thus
in the later version thirty disciples are listed, with Zaya Pandita, the author
of the earlier biography, added. Moreover, in the later version personal name
of the 44th abbot of Ganden, called by the title Sharkhang Nomon Khaan, is
given as *Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan 'dzin*. Actually, according to the list of
Ganden's Throne Holders, i.e. *khri pa* (in the *Bod kyi lo rgyus* 1991, p. 172, see
also TBRC P1574), his name was *Ngag dbang blo gros rgya mtsho*. This name
appeared earlier in the biography on p. 464–3, when the meeting at Khüren
Belcher in 1686 was described.

As to the biography of 1847 by Ngawang Losang Dondub, in the part of the
text in which the author deals with the disciples of Zanabazar (from folio 74
verso 6th line) it follows quite closely the earlier two biographies: by Zaya
Pandita and by Ngaggi Wangpo of 1839. The author must have had the previ-
ous text of 1839 at his disposal or used the same additional materials since he
listed Zanabazar's pupils in exactly the same way as did the biography from

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64) 544–3–545–1: Tib. *slob dpon pa she re ke' thu sangs rgyas bkra shis*, Mong. *siregetü sangǰai
daši*. There was *Sangs rgyas bkra shis* whose teacher was the first/fourth Panchen Lama and
who resided in *Gung ru khams tshan* of the Gomang college of the Drepung monastery
(*'bras spungs sgo mang*). Perhaps he is the person mentioned here (see TBRC P1728).

65) 545–1: Tib. *gzhi dgon* – a small monastery attached to the village or *gzhis dgon* – 'native
monastery'. Mong. *sayurin keyid*.

66) Tib. *'dar pa* was mentioned earlier in the biography as *'dar pa bka' blon,* i.e. minister Darpa
(p. 459–1) when the meeting at Khüren Belcher in 1686 was described.

67) 545–1: Tib. *paṇḍi ta chos rje*, Mong. *bandida čos rǰi*. He was mentioned earlier in the
biography (p. 459–1) during the meeting at Khüren Belcher in 1686.

68) 545–2: Tib. *mer ken paṇḍi ta rab byams pa*, Mong. *mergen bandida rabǰamba*. He was men-
tioned earlier in the biography (p. 464–3) at the meeting at Khüren Belcher in 1686.

69) Tüsheet (Mong. Tüshiyetü) Khan, Zasagt (Mong. Jasagtu) Khan and Sechen (Mong. Sečen) Khan.

1839. The two pupils from Tashilhunpo (in the second and third position in Zaya Pandita's text) were listed as seventh and eighth. Therefore the next person mentioned by Zaya Pandita: Tongkor Shabdrung Jampel Sangpo appeared as the second. And Zaya Pandita was listed as the fifth disciple.

Another interesting difference is that Tongkor Shabdrung Jampel Sangpo was called Khukhen Khutagt Jampel Sangpo (*hu khen hu thug thu 'dam* (should be *'jam) dpal bzang po* folio 75r2).

And Nomon khaan, who was listed as the sixth disciple in the Zaya Pandita's version, was called Khenchen Chökyi Gyelpo Losang Tenzin Gyeltsen (*mkhan chen chos kyi rgyal po blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan*, folio 75r3–4). Dorjechang Shabdrung appeared under the name Dorje Phrengbe Wangnongba (*rdo rje 'phreng ba'i dbang gnong pa*, folio 75r5).

There are well known personalities on the list of close disciples of Zanabazar: the 44th Throne Holder of the Ganden monastery, eminent Mongolian physician and astrologer – Lamyn Gegeen, lamas representing important lines of incarnations, such as Neichi Toin, Jalkhanz Khutagt, Naran Khutagt and many others.

The great Gelugpa hierarch from Amdo, the 44th abbot of Ganden, Ngawang Losang Gyatso, who is described both as the teacher of Zanabazar and his pupil can hardly be regarded as his disciple. However, in the practice of Tibetan Buddhism it is possible that two lamas exchange teachings and empowerments. Zanabazar had an opportunity to spend more time with this eminent Tibetan Gelugpa master when Ngawang Losang Gyatso came to Mongolia as the representative of the fifth Dalai Lama to solve a dispute between Khalkha and Oirat tribes in 1686 at the meeting at Khüren Belcher, described in the biography (p. 463). Ngawang Losang Gyatso was born in the same year as Zanabazar, in 1635 (according to the *Bod kyi lo rgyus,* p. 172 and TBRC P1574). He assumed the office of the Ganden Tripa (*dga' ldan khri pa*) in 1682, but left in 1685 in order to travel to Mongolia with his peace mission. The mission, however, failed shortly after his visit. Later he went to Beijing to the Manchu Emperor Kangxi. He died on the way back to Tibet in 1688.

Lamyn Gegeen (Mong. *lama-yin gegegen*; see Lokesh Chandra 1963, p. 35–36, Laagan 2004, p. 73–76, Ichinnorov 2005, p. 103–104) whose personal name was Losang Tenzin Gyeltsen (*Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan*) 1639–1703[70]

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70) Some information about him is provided by Zaya Pandita in his four volume work called (*Sha kya'i btsun pa blo bzang 'phrin las kyi*) *zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gsal ba'i me long*, mentioned earlier (footnote 5). Many eminent Mongolian scholars wrote about Lamyn Gegeen: Bira, Khaidub, Khürelbaatar, Terbish, Soninbayar, Choimaa and many others. See Byambaa Ragchaa 2009 in print. Lamyn Gegeen and his works were

studied in Tibet in 1655–1661. He received the title of *maaramba* (i.e. Tib. *sman rams pa*) and in 1691 the title of Khenchen Chögyel (*mkhan chen chos (kyi) rgyal (po)*) pronounced in Mongolian Khanchin Choijal. He acquired fame as a physician and astrologer, author of many religious texts as well as scholarly treatises devoted to medicine and astrology. He started the line of incarnations called Lamyn Gegeen. Scholarly works composed by Lamyn Gegeen Luvsandanzinjaltsan comprise four volumes of his "Collected Works" (*gsung 'bum*).[71]

Lamyn Gegeen together with Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei were regarded as the closest disciples of the first Jetsundampa.

Khalkha Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei (*Blo bzang 'phrin las* 1642–1715) was the most famous and most important disciple of Zanabazar. Luvsanprinlei was regarded as a reincarnation of Khündülün Tsukhur,[72] one of the great Buddhist activists in Khalkha, who was the third son of Üyizin Noyon, who was mentioned in the biography of Zanabazar as one of his predecessors (p. 417–2, see also Bira 1980, p. 11). Luvsanprinlei studied in Tibet between 1660 and 1679. This period is therefore not covered by him in his biography of Zanabazar as he was not able to follow the events in Khalkha. Later in 1698–1702 he composed his most important text called the "Clear Mirror" (*Sha kya'i btsun pa blo bzang 'phrin las kyi*) *zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gsal ba'i me long* (Lokesh Chandra 1963, p. 36–37; Lokesh Chandra 1981) in which he has listed the names of over fifty masters and included the biographies, longer or shorter, of fifteen of them (Bira 1980, p. 11). The biography of Zanabazar constitutes a part of this very work.[73] Luvsanprinlei received the title of Zaya Pandita from the fifth Dalai Lama in 1679 (see Bira 1980, p. 12).

The autobiography by Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei is included in the second volume of his Collected Works and entitled: *Shā ka* (should be: *shākya*) *btsun*

mentioned in the work of *Ye shes thabs mkhas* entitled *Bla ma dam pa rnams kyi gsung 'bum kyi dkar chag gnyen 'bral drang gso'i me long* published in Lokesh Chandra 1961.

71) Byambaa Ragchaa is currently preparing for publication the register or catalogue (*dkar chag*) of all works of Lamyn Gegeen. In 2008 Byambaa Ragchaa re-printed all the works of Lamyn Gegeen in the four volume edition of *gsung 'bum* in their original *pothi* form to celebrate the 370th anniversary of Lamyn Gegeen's birth (see Byambaa 2008).

72) Tib. *Khun du lung tshos khur* , autobiography of Zaya Pandita, see footnote 74, folio 2v1; Bira 1980, p. 11.

73) Vol. IV, starting from folio 124, line 6 till folio 154, line 2, see footnote 5. However, Bira (1980, p. 12) refers to pages 62–78 of the fourth volume of the "Clear Mirror".

blo bzang 'phrin las kyi ngag rnams phyogs su bsgrigs pa las rang gi 'khor bar spyod pa'i tshul shin tu gsal ba'i sgron me. It occupies 33 folios.[74]

Conclusion

In the present state of research several personalities from the list of close disciples of the first Jetsundampa Zanabazar have not been identified. It is hoped, however, that further study will make it possible to acquire better knowledge about Zanabazar's disciples, who were important leaders of Buddhism among Khalkha Mongols in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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74) In the catalogue (*dkar chag*) of the second volume *kha* of the Collected Works (*gsung 'bum*) of Zaya Pandita entitled *Skyabs mgon bla ma dam pa rdo rje 'chang Blo bzang 'phrin las dpal bzang po'i bka' 'bum rin po che'i dkar chag nor bu 'phreng ba* folio 2r1 there is a short version of the autobiography's title: *rang gi 'khor bar spyod tshul*. There is no separate colophon of the autobiography at the end of the text (folio 33r).

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"Soul of enemy" and warrior deities (*dgra bla*): Two Tibetan myths on primordial battle

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Summary: The paper brings translations of two mythical narrations on warrior deities (*dgra lha/ sgra bla/ dgra bla*), one from the Bonpo text and the second from the "Old" (*Rnying ma*) tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Both are partly in contrast and reveal something of the ways of incorporation of the older religious ideas into the frame of Buddhism. Some general background of the warrior deities is discussed in the introductory parts of the paper. It is pointed out that the ritual of "imprisoning the soul of enemies" (*dgra bla brub*), described also in the translated Bonpo text, might be related to the probably oldest written form *dgra bla* ("enemy-soul") used for the warrior deities in Dunhuang texts.

1. Introduction

There is a long tradition connected with the warrior deities (*dgra lha/ sgra bla/ dgra bla*) in Tibet, but the evolution of the ideas associated with them remains obscure.

Their name appears in the oldest Tibetan texts available, i.e. texts from Dunhuang. The war-like nature of the deities under focus might be associated with the military past of the powerful Tibetan empire of the Royal period. Yet the very clear-cut scriptures come from the early tradition of "revelations" (*gter ma*); from the time of the later spread of Buddhism in Tibet.

These are treasure revelations and as such it is difficult to deal with them; some seem to preserve older traditions and some of them are at the same time adding new ornaments fitting the expectations of the given time.

Figure 1: Rigdzin Godemcan (mural from the stūpa of *Dpal yul* monastery in Kham, 2006).

This contribution aims primarily at the two texts containing myths associated with warrior deities.

The first of the texts bears the title "Readying the yak horn against the enemies: Small [ritual of] imprisoning enemies by Shugon (*shug mgon*) and turning yak horn into a weapon of sudden death" (further mentioned as "Yak horn text", Dpon gsas khyung rgod rtsal /a/). It was rediscovered by Ponse Khyung Gotsal (Dpon gsas khyung rgod rtsal, b. 1175) in Zangzang Ri (*Zang zang ri*) located in Lato (*La stod*) in the early 13th century. It is taken here only as a rather straightforward example from the corpus of texts discovered by him. Each of the particular texts of scripture in the corpus shares their common main title "Readying the yak horn against the enemies" (*G.yag ru*

dgra chos).[2] In this larger cycle of texts the detailed mythical narrations on the origins are rather scarce and this is one of the reasons for presenting this narrative part of the scripture in translation. Despite certain inconsistencies of the text, through this myth and with help of another text of the corpus the paper attempts to show that there could be a relationship between the ritual of "imprisoning the soul of enemies" (*dgra bla brub*) and the name for the warrior deities (*dgra bla*).

The second text is entitled "Lofty Praise of Warrior deities who were granted by Vajrapāṇi" (further "Lofty Praise", Rig ʼdzin rgod ldem can /a/). Although the text lacks colophon, there is indeed a high probability that its revealer was Rigdzin Godemcan (*Rig ʼdzin rgod ldem can*, 1337–1409, see Fig. 1). Curiously enough, most of his revelations come from the locality identical with the preceding master Ponse Khyung Gotsal, and thus the idea of similar roots for both of them cannot be excluded. This text is very systematically structured. It is a beautiful piece of literature and has formed an authoritative narration on warrior deities for the Buddhist traditions to this day. It also evidently inspired the Fifth Dalai Lama when he was composing his own ritual texts dealing with warrior deities.[3] The text is enveloped in the context inspired by India. But most of the ideas associated with the warrior deities and their weapons as described in the scripture are evidently different in their aesthetic appeal and are based on indigenous Tibetan imagination.

2. Warrior deities

The main role of warrior deities is to fight enemies. Practically, these days it is a generic name or sometimes title, used for deities of different background.

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2) The translation of the title of the corpus appears to be perhaps strange at first glance and it is indeed a puzzle. The expression *chos* is used inside these texts many times and appears for example during the ritual of "calling on" (*ʼbod*) or "instigation" (*rbad*) of various protective deities, for example: *sgra bla shug mgon dmag la chos* (get ready for the fight, warrior deities and Shugon!, Dpon gsas khyung rgod rtsal /b/, fol. 416). In some other cases it says: *dgra la chos* (get ready for the enemies!, Dpon gsas khyung rgod rtsal /b/, fol. 418). In yet another part of the text we have: *dgra chos lha dmag ʼkhor bcas la…*(Dpon gsas khyung rgod rtsal /b/, fol. 425), where the imperative form *chos* seems to be kept. It means "godly soldiers with your retinue, who got ready for the enemies… " The expression in the title *dgra chos* seems to have the same meaning (*dgra la chos!*) and we can only ask whether the *chos* in its imperative form was left intentionally.

3) This influence appears in frequent allusions to the god Indra, etc. in his several texts mentioning warrior deities (cf. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho).

It can be applied to a minor local deity with importance for a small tribal group. It appears often in association with Gesar, and one of the best known warrior deities is Pehar, who is renowned for possessing the oracle of the Dalai Lama up to the present time.

Warrior deities are listed in the rather wide group of deities associated with the individual person and his immediate surrounding. Beside the warrior deities, this concerns "male deities" (*pho lha*), "mother deity" (*ma lha*) or "female deity" (*mo lha*), "deity of hearth" (*thab lha*), "deity of household" (*khyim lha*), and a number of others. The relationship with these other deities seems to be a part of an older understanding. We have only later texts listing them in various ways, but still some evolution towards a very clear-cut grouping can be observed. Some of the mentioned deities can be found in texts from Dunhuang (PT 1043 names *dgra bla*, *lam lha* and *thab lha*), but here they do not constitute a group. There is a text of the Bon tradition, which calls them "protecting deities" (*mgon po'i lha* , Anonymous 2002a, p. 9). Other texts of Bon tradition frequently call them "deities of head" (*mgo ba'i lha*) and explain that they are residing around the head of the individual person (cf. Karmay 2007). There were some early attempts to classify them into strictly given groups in the commentary to *Mdzod phug* of the Bon tradition, although the group is not named here (Namdak 1996, pp. 61, 65). Similar attempts to classify them appear within the art of astrology (Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1996, p. 305). Lastly, they have been incorporated into the Buddhist-styled text written by Desi Sangye Gyatsho in 1678. They are called here "five sticking deities" (*'go ba'i lha lnga*) and the text deals with them within the genre of tantric sādhana, in which the deities are subjects of visualization and appear from the syllables of mantras in the following list: 1. female deity (*mo lha*, residing in the left armpit), 2. maternal uncle deity (*zhang lha*, residing in the right armpit), 3. deity of vital force (*srog lha*, residing in the heart), 4. local deity (*yul lha*, residing at the crown of the head), 5. warrior deity (*dgra lha*, residing at the right shoulder, Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 2003). I am inclined to see the origins of the tradition in the rather unorganized group of deities, which with the passing of time became clearly structured for the need of various disciplines requiring a definite character for use in analogy-based thinking. Prominent among them are astrology and tantric ritual (Berounský 2007).

In some of the Bon texts revealed by Ponse Khyung Gotsal, warrior deities are named together with "male deities" (*pho lha*) and in another text "mother deity", "deity of hearth", "deity of household" represent at the same time also "warrior deities". In this particular case it is as if the "warrior deity" would be a rather freely applicable title of deities in their "fighting" aspect (Dpon gsas

khyung rgod rtsal /d/). Even the "Yak Horn text" translated below mentions "male deities" (*pho lha*), and "vitality deities" (*srog lha*) along with the warrior deities. Such notes in these texts still associate warrior deities with the above-mentioned wider family. In many other scriptures such a connection disappears and warrior deities are seen as a category of their own. This is the case with the second translated text of "Lofty Praise".

2.1. "SOUL OF ENEMY" AND PROBLEMS WITH ORTHOGRAPHY

This class of deities has been straightforwardly introduced as "warrior deities". This is a simplification and requires some explanation.

It has already been mentioned by several scholars that Tibetan orthography is not uniform in writing down the name of the deities under focus. The main facts discussed were: 1. In Buddhist sources the name of deities is written down as *dgra lha* ("enemy-god"), 2. Bonpo sources mention names of deities surprisingly often as *sgra bla* ("sound-soul"), 3. The most common pronunciation of them in Tibet is "dabla" and this somehow supports the spelling used by Bonpos (Snellgrove 1967, p. 258, n. 20; Gibson 1985; Karmay 2007).

Adding new argument to the discussion of the problem, it should be stressed that these deities are already mentioned in Dunhuang documents. They can safely be dated to the end of the Royal period. And in Dunhuang documents the orthography is surprisingly uniform and somehow compromises the different spelling in Buddhist and Bonpo sources. It is written as "enemy-soul" *dgra bla* (PT 1043, 1047, 1051, ITJ 0738).

There is indeed a possibility that this expression could mean "the soul of the enemy". But the spelling *dgra bla* in Dunhuang documents could have a very general meaning at the same time, covering various levels of understanding. The word "enemy" (*dgra*) could be used also as a synonym for "war". This is, for example, the same case of usage of the word *dgra dpon* ("enemy-officer", i.e. commander) in the Dunhuang texts as the synonym of *dmag dpon* ("war-officer", commander) of later days.

Despite the variety of spelling of the names of the deities in all cases, the context makes clear that they are "fighting gods". Thus the translation as "warrior deities" in this article is simply reflection of such a fact. Although not a literal translation, it covers all the possible spellings. Furthermore, in this paper it will be argued that some of the myths, including the "Yak horn text" translated below, support strongly the reading of Dunhuang texts as *dgra bla* since they are associated with the ritual of summoning "souls of the enemies".

3. Myths on the origin of warrior deities

3.1. ACCOUNTS FROM *GZI BRJID*

The already published translations and paraphrases of the accounts of the origin of warrior deities deal with the Bonpo text *Mdo dri med gzi brjid*, a text in twelve volumes which appeared as a 'treasure revelation' in the 14th century.

The published section deals with various classes of warrior deities and other fierce divine protectors. These will be briefly mentioned here, since they appear also in the "Readying the yak horn against the enemies" corpus of texts revealed by Ponse Khyung Gotsal and some of them are mentioned even in the "Yak horn text" translated below. The warrior deities (*sgra bla*) form only one subgroup within the fourfold group of fierce protectors here (Snellgrove 1967, pp. 58–65; Blo ldan snying po 2000, vol. II, pp. 422–425):

1. Dabla (*sgra bla*)
2. Werma (*wer ma*)[4]
3. Cangseng (*cang seng*)[5]
4. Shugon (*shug mgon*)[6]

Each of these four groups bears some signs of the warrior deities. To each of the categories a larger explanation is dedicated in the text.[7]

However, although the text of *Gzi brjid* has rather strong authority within the tradition of Bon, it can be reasonably viewed as an attempt to organize

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4) In the language of Zhangzhung it means "king" (=Tib. *rgyal po*).

5) It should correspond to *lam lha*, i.e. "deity of the road" according to the recently published dictionary (Tenzin, Nyima, Rabsal 2008, p. 59), but the *Mdo dri med gzi brjid* speaks about the two as different in the given passages.

6) It is described as "protector from the times of ancestors" (Tenzin, Nyima, Rabsal 2008, p. 262).

7) It divides Dabla into three subgroups and mentions their origin: (A) *Ye srid 'phrul gyi sgra bla* (Miraculously manifested Dabla of the primordial creation), these appeared from the parts of original mythical eagle *khyung*. (B) *Ye rje smon pa'i sgra bla* (Dabla of primordial wish), these are descendents of three lions who came into existence from the vales, mountains and lake. (C) *Ye dbang mthu yi sgra bla* (Dabla of primordial power), who are "self originated" nine brothers used by "Primordial priest of accomplished power" (*Ye gshen dbang rdzogs*).

    Another published paraphrase of the section of this voluminous text *Gzi brjid* describes an event from the life of Shenrab Miwo, when he miraculously transforms the lightning sent to harm him into the nine weapons of Dabla. He then explains their origin in the distant past, which is mostly located on the boundary of different and contrasting regions (Clemente 1996). This part, speaking about nine miraculous weapons of Dabla can be related to the tradition of nine brothers of "Dabla of primordial power" (C) of the preceding part of the text.

diverse sources on warrior deities scattered in the various texts, which are present mostly in the "text revelation" of Ponse Khyung Gotsal revealed some century before the text of *Gzi brjid*.

   This particular tradition mentioning warrior deities as *sgra bla* and placing them besides other fierce deities called Cangseng, Werma and Shugon deserves several notes: 1. Deities with names Werma, Cangseng and Shugon seem to be unknown to the Dunhuang texts. 2. They are also unknown to the probably early scripture of Bon, the commentary of *Mdzod phug*, which also writes *dgra lha*.[8] 3. One of the earliest textual sources containing warrior deities written as *sgra bla* and mentioning also Cangseng, Shugon and Werma seems to be the scriptures revealed by Ponse Khyung Gotsal. 4. In these texts revealed by Ponse Khyung Gotsal the distinction between warrior deities, Werma, Shugon and Cangseng is mostly blurred. Although they are often mentioned as being different, in other cases they are not (i.e. Shugon is warrior deity Dabla, etc.).

   In the cycle revealed by Ponse Khyung Gotsal called "Readying the yak horn against the enemies" (*dgra chos*) the expression *le'u bon* (bon of *le'u*) or *lha bdag gi le'u* (the *le'u* of the owner of the god) sometimes appears, designating perhaps both these particular ritual teachings and the religious specialists performing them.[9] It is usually assumed that the expression *le'u* is the equivalent of "ponse" (*dpon gsas*), i.e. "offering master." But as was recently shown by a Tibetan researcher (Ngag dbang rgya mtsho 2006, 2005), there is still a surviving tradition in Amdo (in areas of *The bo* and *'Phan chu*), which is designated by the same names *le'u* or *lha bdag le'u*. It is passed on mostly orally and there are only a few surviving texts of it dealing, besides other things, with the warrior deities. These ritual teachings are carried on by the lay village priests and are often viewed with suspicion by the monastic tradition of "Eternal Bon" (*g.yung drung bon*), partly for the occasional practice of blood offerings.[10] But it seems that refusing to accept some of these *le'u* texts has a much longer tradition within the mainstream Bon. It is already mentioned in the *Gzi brjid* text revealed in the 14th century. We have, for example, the phrase "perverted view of *le'u* performer" (*le'u lta log mkhan*, Ngag

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   8) Here warrior deity appears written as *dgra lha* (Namdak 1967, p. 61) or *gra lha* (Namdak 1967, p. 65) in the commentary and there is no mention of Cangseng, Werma and Shugon here.

   9) Bonpo Katen, 186–39, fol. 504: *le'u gto yi bdag po*; 186–78, fol. 953: *le'u lha bdag*.

10) In the unpublished version of his article, the author mentions also that in the 20th century the texts containing blood offerings were collected by Togden Tshulthim (*Rtogs ldan tshul khrims*) in Amdo and burnt (Ngag dbang rgya mtsho, p. 3).

dbang rgya mtsho 2006, p. 24) in it. Thus here we have a rather old religious tradition which was probably seen as problematic by monastic "Eternal Bon" already in the time of *Gzi brjid*, i.e. at least as far back as the 14th century.

While some texts of the "Readying the yak horn against the enemies" (*dgra chos*) corpus mention Shenrab Miwo and "Eternal Bon", others are totally lacking any reference to them and other mainstream Bon concepts.[11] Thus it seems that at least part of this corpus of texts should be seen as somehow on the verge of the central ideas of Bon.

3.2. ZOOMORPHIC WARRIOR DEITIES

It can be supposed that the older form of these deities was probably zoomor-phic, rather than the idea of soldiers riding horses as is the case now. Traces of their zoomorphic features can be found elsewhere. In the rather later Bon text on the pilgrimage place of Mt. Kailas the myth of the arrival of warrior deity (*sgra bla*) of Bon appears. This warrior deity is a wild yak who descends from the sky, tears the mountains with his horns, melts into the beams of light and is eventually absorbed into Mt. Kailas (Tucci 1980, p. 220; Norbu, Prats 1989, pp. 38–39).

This text is rather late, so more significant is, perhaps, the well-known myth of the origin of six clans of Tibetans represented by the scripture "Appearance of the little black-headed man". The common father of Tibetans is first killed by Nyen being (*gnyan*), a father of his wife. As compensation the six sons representing the six Tibetan clans receive warrior deity (written as *dgra bla*) from him. These are the dragon, mythical eagle Khyung, female yak, tiger, ram and dog. The brothers then one by one depart to fight the demons that are responsible for the death of their father. Only the Dru (*'gru*) son, however de-feats the demons (Karmay 1998b, pp. 272–273; Anonymous 2002b, fol. 21a ff.).

This tradition of zoomorphic appearance of the warrior deities is in agree-ment with other texts speaking for example about the related "hearth deity" as hind, "entrance deity" as tiger and yak, etc (Anonymous 2002a, p. 10; Namdak 1966, p. 62). Their common depiction as soldiers riding horses in the Bud-dhist traditions could be later. The animal form of warrior deities found their way into the four animals depicted in the corners of wind-horse flags. These

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11) This is also given by the fact that the actual manuscripts are collected from different sources. While those illuminated ones appearing at the beginning of volume 186 of Katen contain references on Sherab Miwo, etc., the texts included by the end of the volume do not.

animals are considered to be warrior deities even by another text revealed by Rigdzin Godemcan (Rig 'dzin rgod ldem can /b/, see Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Four warrior deities riding on mythical animals of lion, dragon, tiger and Garuda eagle. The same animals are also in the corners of the wind-horse flags. (From the set of thirteen ritual cards depicting warrior deities, Labrang monastery).

3.3. MYTHS OF PRIMORDIAL BATTLE

The motif closely related to the warrior deities is the idea of a primordial battle or conflict. The strength of such a general idea is attested by the habit of shouting "kye so, gods are victorious" (*kye so lha gyal lo*) on the high mountain passes of Tibet. The tradition of various kinds of such battles is present in the Tibetan cultural sphere.

Indic influence was evidently welcomed by the monk elite of Buddhist tradition and as a result one can observe the immense influence of an Indic Buddhist text which was evidently drown into this older pattern of Tibetans. It concerns the short text, a translation from Sanskrit, which is entitled Āryadhvajagrakeyūranāmadhāraṇī (*'Phags pa rgyal mtshan rtse mo'i dpung rgyan*). The text describes how the gods of the paradise of Thirty Three were defeated by Asuras. Indra then searches advice from Buddha and he then explains to him that in one of his past lives he received dhāraṇī which protects and removes fear (Anonymous b). The text itself would not be perhaps so interesting; what matters here is its practical application. It is widely used as a text printed on prayer flags and then hung on the cairns of local deities all

Figure 3: Cairn of local deity near Labrang monastery. The upper pole connected with the main cairn of arrows by *dmu* rope is called *Rgyal mtshan rtse mo*. Flags with printed text of the same name are tied to it (*Glas drug* village, 2004).

across the Amdo. And this practical application points to the effort to redirect the general awareness of the battle between the gods and demons within the framework of the safe Buddhist origin (see Fig. 3).

The myth from "Lofty Praise" translated below (5. 2.) is the best example known to me of combining such Indian motifs with some indigenous beliefs. Its outer frame is altogether Indic in inspiration. It describes the fight of Asuras and gods over the tree growing in Mt Meru. After the success of Asuras Indra calls on Vajrapāṇi for help. He advises him to summon warrior deities. And from this moment the Indic inspirations come to their end and the following parts of the text are evidently different in their taste, starting with the creation of the warrior deities from the mountain and lake.

There are also less explicit, but still seemingly related, Tibetan narrations relevant to it. The epos of Gesar should be mentioned with all the numerous battles depicted. Rather curious also is the longer narration of the first Tibetan king Nyathi Tsenpo and his victory over the demons in Kongpo, which has survived in the chronicle written by *Mkhas pa lde'u* (*Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*). It is not only the victory fighting demons which makes one think about common features. The presence of miraculous weapons of the king is another common feature with the stories surrounding warrior deities (Mkhas pa lde'u 1987, pp. 234–238; Karmay 1998c, p. 301). It is also not excluded that the same motif could be then repeated in the hagiography of Shenrab Miwo's well-known taming of the demons in Kongpo in *Mdo gzer mig* (Drang rje brtsun pa gser mig 1991, pp. 490–533).

To come closer to the indigenous Tibetan narrations associated with warrior deities and primordial battle, we are left with the rather problematic texts of the "Readying the yak horn against the enemies" cycle. Yet even in these sources we find rather great variety in the particular stories.

It might be read through several references that there is a particular tradition connected with the myths dealing with the primordial land of Ye (*Ye*, "Primordial", "Beginning", etc.) and Ngam (*Ngam/ Ngams*). One such myth, included in the already-mentioned voluminous text *Gzi brjid* has already been briefly touched upon by S. G. Karmay.[12]

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12) It contains the story of the White Mountain and the gods of Ye and of the Charcoal Mountain and the demons of Ngam. The conflict between the two is solved through the two sheep, the one of gods and one of demons, who after being turned round find their ways to their respective places, i.e. the black sheep of demons proceeds to the mountain of demons and the white sheep of gods follows its way to the White Mountain. Order is again restored in this way (Karmay 1998a, pp. 142–3; Blo ldan snying po 2000, vol. 6, pp. 436–438).

The myth translated below in this paper, the "Yak Horn text" (4.2), seems to reveal the general idea of the usage of yak horn for summoning the "souls" of enemies (*dgra bla* /sic!/) and consequently turning them into a weapon against them. Attention is focused on it here because of the importance of the idea of "imprisoning of the soul of an enemy" and at the same time it is perhaps the longest and the most detailed mythical narration to be found in the whole corpus of the "Readying the yak horn against the enemies" scriptures.

The whole story starts with the creation of Ye (*Ye*) land (or Mon /*Smon*/ – "wish", used as synonym) with the king, sons, fort, their weapons of warrior deities, etc., and the origin of Ngam land with similar possessions. The Ngam demons invade the Mon (Ye) and then the ritual to be performed is briefly described. The pit and the bones or skulls are used for summoning souls of the enemies first, and then the goat, with hearts of yak, dog and pig tied to her neck and old cloths put onto its back, is used as a weapon. When both the bones with souls of enemies and the goat are used, it is said that they were "turned" (*bsgyur*), meaning "redirected" against the enemies. The demons of Ngam are eventually destroyed.

As for other texts of the cycle, one of them will be touched upon for the purpose of showing that a series of narrations on the original battle circulated. The text organizes the primordial battles according to the points of the compass. Its second account dealing with the yak horns is of the highest importance. The yak horn figures in the title of the whole corpus of texts and this part is another version for the mythical exposition which might bring new light to the one just briefly mentioned and translated at length below (Dpon gsas khyung rgod rtsal /c/, fols. 951–953).

According to the text, in an easterly direction two black dogs of demons came into existence and from their union a being of Ngam was produced. The being had a human body, the head of a bear, paws of a wolf and hooves of a horse. In its heart it had a thorn. The army of Ngam was led to the land of Ye and was defeated by the priest of Ye (*Ye gshen dbang rdzogs*) through burning away that thorn.

Then, in a southerly direction a copper egg came into existence on the border between gods and demons (*lha srin*) and the enemies of gods appeared from it. Invoker of gods Thokar (*thod dkar*) killed the demon-yak (*srin g.yag*). He cut off the right horn of the yak and it became a support of warrior deities (*sgra bla*). He cut off the left horn and it was used for capturing the souls of demons *srin*. These horns were discharged against the demons and eventually subdued them.

To the west there appeared a stone-egg and from it a copper ant the size of a dog originated. This became "demon of battle between China and Tibet" (*rgya bod thab pa'i dgra sri*). The army of China is led to Tibet and invoker of Tibet Rumpo Nyer (*Rum po gnyer*) exclaims "swo". The ant disintegrates into three pieces and is imprisoned in the skull of a black duck. The Chinese army then lost the battle.

In a northerly direction nine brothers were created from the warmth of fire and the cold of water. They were killers of "sudden death" (*gri*). Reified "soul of sudden death" (*gri bla*) then caused enmity between the Nyen and Dong clans.[13] The Nyen led an army to Dong, but the leader of Dong killed nine brothers and imprisoned their soul in a marmot skull with a golden bottom.

In the very briefly described ritual in the "Yak Horn" text (4. 2.), as well as in the narration just mentioned, evidence of the idea of summoning souls of enemies (mostly to the horn of yak, but also to other bones and skulls), and their redirecting against the enemies themselves, comes out. The word for soul of enemy is exactly the same as the oldest written form for the warrior deities: *dgra bla*.[14]

The second ("southern") narration deals immediately with "yak horn". While the one horn of the yak becomes the place of imprisoning the soul of enemies, the second horn is "support of warrior deities". Both horns are same, the difference is in their "direction". Both horns are cut off from the demon-yak, the enemy. It seems to be indeed a case of "capturing of the soul of enemy" and warrior deities then represent its use and "redirecting" against the enemies themselves. The central importance of the ritual of "imprisoning the soul of enemy" (*dgra bla brub*) in such texts might elucidate the role of these deities. It seems that this might be one of the basic understandings of them; they are somehow also "souls of enemies" and through this they are able to destroy them. And with reference to the indications that the older understanding of the warrior deities was connected with their zoomorphic forms we can also ask: Isn't the warrior deity the yak and goat themselves?

While this example comes from the ritual text and is part of the ritual "exposition of the original event" (*smrang*), a rather well-known semi-historical narration might be directly linked with it. It is the story on the origin of Pehar deity (De Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1994, pp. 444–454; Tucci 1949, pp. 734–7;

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13) The text contains scribal errors. It has *gdung* and only later in the text does it suddenly write *ldong*, which is one of the Tibetan tribes. Also *gnyen* should be corrected into *gnyan*.

14) One can only speculate whether it would become inappropriate to call such dangerous and "unfavorable" matter straightforwardly by its name, which would explain why in Bon sources the written form *sgra bla* often appears.

Stoddard 1997). This says that a Tibetan army was led to the "meditation hermitage" (*sgom grwa*) Bhata Hor during the 8th century. This place was destroyed and the "things", including the leather mask of the deity Pehar, were stolen. Pehar followed his "things" to the Samye monastery and became protector of one of its temples. It is indeed not excluded that in this case we are dealing not only with ritual but with real stealing of the "soul of enemies" and this might explain the Pehar's role as Buddhist warrior deity par excellence. In the military past in the time of the Royal period, one can imagine many deities of the conquered people during the time of unification of Tibetan Empire with a similar fate (cf. Sørensen, Hazod 2005, p. 277, n. 91).

3.4. THE WEAPONS OF WARRIOR DEITIES

Another motif of miraculous weapons is strongly present in the proximity of warrior deities. As in the case of primordial battle, it is not restricted solely to the narrations concerning these weapons. Both Gesar and the story on the first Tibetan king as recorded in the chronicle of *Mkhas pa Lde'u* share the miraculous weapons. In the case of the Tibetan king, the text mentions them as gifts of heavenly beings to the king Nyathi Tsenpo. He then uses his gift of the uncle, the being Mu (*dmu*), i.e. helmet, spear, shield, bow and arrow against the demons of Kongpo and Jang (Mkhas pa lde'u 1987, pp. 234–238; Karmay 1998c, p. 301).

These "self-effective" weapons are common features of this version of myth on the first Tibetan king and texts on warrior deities. Although it is mentioned several times, in a rather allusive way, in the cycle of "Readying the yak horn against the enemies" revealed by Ponse Khyung Gotsal, the very detailed parts are present in the second text of "Lofty Praise" translated below. It is not excluded at all that the appearance of self-acting weapons of warrior deities has its precursor in the above-mentioned myth on the first Tibetan king.

However, the second "Lofty praise" text translated below reveals something of the poetic features associated with these weapons. The myth opens up with hammering weapons for the gods by a godly blacksmith. In the context of the myth it is important that these weapons and armour were artificially "made" (*bcos*). When the gods lost their battle with Asuras, then comes another creation of weapons and warrior deities. During it the "colour of sky and earth" came into existence and a number of weapons and parts of armour were created from the mountain and lake (sea). All the weapons have their names and present some striking ones: helmet "Nourishment of sun" (i.e. poetic expression for snow), curved knife "[Vault of] sky", slingshot "Roaring

thunder", arrow "Falling of lightening". When the reader comes to the state-
ment that these weapons were not fabricated, but "self-arisen", it is clear that
these weapons are contrasted with those created by the blacksmith. The "self-
arisen" might be understood as "natural" in English as well. It is easy from
this to conclude that the names are not only names. The weapons of warrior
deities are indeed snow, vault of sky, thunder or lightning. Be it strange to say
or not, this seemingly bloodthirsty narration is full of gentle natural lyrics.
Some of its features can be found also in the "Readying the yak horn against
the enemies" corpus of texts, but probably less clearly expressed.

4. Readying the yak horn against the enemies: Small [ritual on] imprisoning enemies by Shugon and turning the yak horn into a powerful weapon of sudden death

4.1. INTRODUCTION OF THE AUTHOR AND THE TEXT

Ponse Khyung Gotsal (*Dpon gsas khyung rgod rtsal*) was born in 1175[15] in Lato
(*La stod*) and given the name Dorje Pel (*Rdo rje dpal*). In his 23rd year he lost
consciousness for seven days according to his hagiography (Dpon gsas khy-
ung rgod rtsal 1972, 1981) and during these days travelled through the spheres
of existence starting with hells. He also visited places in India during his mys-
tical travel and eventually came to Mt. Kailas. He met the sage Drenpa Nam-
kha there who gave him his new name Ponse Khyung Gotsal. This visionary
experience endowed him with extraordinary powers of remembering past
lives. He is also considered to be an "emanation" of Drenpa Namkha. He dis-
covered an enormous amount of texts, mostly in the mountain of Northern
Lato (*Byang la stod*) called Zangzang (*Zang zang ri / Zang zang lha brag*). He
is believed to have rediscovered also some Buddhist texts (*chos*) and one of
the chronicles says that these he passed to Guru Chowang (*Gu ru chos dbang*,
1212–1270) (Dpal tshul 1988, p. 239). It is probably worthy of note that this
Zang zang ri appears frequently as one of the seven ancient "gathering places"
of Bon of *G.yas ru* in the lists left in the chronicles of Bon (Namdak 1966, p. 21).

The catalogue of the New Collection of Bonpo Katen (*bka' brten*) texts con-
tains more than 200 works which claim to have been rediscovered by him.
There are a large number of them touching upon warrior deities in some

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15) The date of birth is given by Nyima Tendzin (Karmay 1972, p. 173, n. 3), the names from
his hagiography are generally in agreement with this dating.

way. The most revealing of them are to be found in Bonpo Katen's volume 186, where rather inconsistently some 36 texts with the title "Readying the yak horn against the enemies" also appear (Karmay, Nagano 2001, pp. 1112–1127). These texts seem to have formed a single cycle of rituals originally, but in Bonpo Katen they are scattered throughout particular text collections of varying provenance.

4.2. TRANSLATION

Readying the yak horn against the enemies: Small [ritual on] imprisoning enemies by Shugon and turning the yak horn into a powerful weapon of sudden death

(1b) Kye kye!
Today we priests,
worship and reward powerful Shugon,
having worshipped and rewarded Shugon,
we also beseech him to capture the soul of enemy-demons,
we also beseech him to destroy troops of enemies committing crimes,
we also beseech him to bind the troops of harming demons of obstacles,
we beseech him to cut off the horn of wondering demon-yak (*srin g.yag*).

Where did the imprisoning of enemy-demons appear in the past?
at the time before the creation,
in the father-soul of heaven,
the sea of action came to existence,
in the mother-soul of earth,
sea of water came to existence,
from the foam born in the two seas,
the single conch-shell egg came to existence,
the egg burst and fell apart,
a land came to existence – how large it is!
the square-like Wishful land (*smon*) came to existence,
from the Beginning (*Ye*) came to existence – how large it is!

(2a) As for the fort, it is non-built – how high it is!
in this high-peaked splendid wishful fort,
resides the Lord "King of the original wish",
his son is "Wishful prince, the miraculous son",
his wife is "White wishful lady",

overseer is "Priest of the Ye of accomplished might",
they posses the treasures of pearls and crystal,
the divine tools of creation; the drum and flat bell,
they are owners of the five kinds of armour and weapons of the warrior-deities (*sgra bla*),
and birth-companions with white conch-shell earrings,
the four related male-deities and warrior deities.

The warrior deity is the iron falcon,
the life-deity is the white conch-shell Garuda bird,
make the wishful dominion spread!

As for their enemies and adversaries,
at that period and time,
in the remains after the period of fire,
(2b) in the remains after the period of water,
in the heart of the remains after the period of elements,
there appeared black charcoal egg,
the egg burst and fell apart,
the uncreated large land "Ngam of nine parts" came to existence,
the non-built high-peaked "District of nine forts of Ngam" came to existence,
the lord of Ngam "The quick one" came to existence,
his sons are nine brothers, princes of Ngam,
his wife is "Dumting, the wife of Ngam",
overseer is "Black horse, the invoker (*bon*) of Ngam",
they possess the black mule "Radiant army-force" (*dpung bkra*) as their wealth,
black dog of Ngam with iron head,
black charcoal falcon of Ngam,
the black deer of Ngam with hair filled with blood,
they posses various weapons and armour of Ngam.

Since that period and time,
the Lord of Ngam "The quick one" got a vicious idea,
he led their army to the Wishful land,
and said: "People and wealth of Wishful fort must be robbed!
The Wishful prince must be killed and the Wishful lady must be robbed!"

That cruel Lord of Ngam, "The quick one",
(3a) rides on the mule "Radiant army-force",
in his hand he holds up the black flag of Ngam,
he leads the cruel army of Ngam,
the army came to the Wishful land.

At that period and time,
the "King of original wish" had dreams,
he dreamt a spreading fire from the eastern mountain,
he dreamt a stirred up sea in the north,
he dreamt a swirling black wind in the west,
he dreamt hail and sleet falling from the south,
he dreamt growling and howling wolves,
he dreamt badly injured conch-shell falcon,
having such harsh dreams of bad signs,
the Wishful Lord of original existence,
asked for divination ritual (*gto*) and investigation (*dpyad*),
to be performed by the overseer "Priest of the Ye of accomplished might",
The invoker (*bon*) "Priest of the Ye" said:
"In our region of land of gods and people,
the army of Ngam seems to arrive,
it seems to be stirred by black demons of Ngam,
it seems that weapons of Ngam are brandished,
it seems that enemy-demons of Ngam rose up,
(3b) it seems that sudden death from Ngam is stirred,
I suggest seizing the soul-stone of Ngam,[16]
nothing else can help."

Then "Priest of the Ye of accomplished might",
formed three rows of *gsas* (?),
took the drum, flat bell and conch-shell and piled them up in the fort,
he erected supports of spears with flags,
spears and flags supported the warrior deities,
made powerful cairns (*gsas mkhar*) in good quantity,
and performed ritual of "reward" to the Shugon of the three worlds of existence,
with the left horn of yak,
bone with knee of the wolf,
skull of dog "Gloomy darkness",
skull of pig with long jaw-bone,
and skull of black goat,
he seized the souls of enemy-demons and imprisoned the enemies in the pit,
he cursed the enemies placing [their souls] to the pit,
it turned into the weapon of sudden death of enemies,
to the neck of black goat of sudden death with red cloth,
the hearts of goat, pig and yak were tied,
its back was covered with old cloth,
it turned into the powerful weapon of sudden death of enemies.

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16) Reference to yak-horn?

"Priest of the Ye of accomplished might"
 turned upon the friendly mighty protector god:
 (4a) "Lend us powerful lord commander from Nyen beings!"

 Vicious lord of Ngam "The quick one",
"Dumting Karma, the wife of Ngam",[17]
 defiled prince of Ngam, "Evil defilement",
 black dog of Ngam with iron head,
 black charcoal falcon of Ngam,
 black mule "Radiant army-force",
 black deer of Ngam,
 all the vicious army of Ngam,
 was well captured and bound,
 suppressed down by horse hoof,
 the goat of sudden death with red cloth,
 started to drive back agitation of demons of sudden death,
 and suppressed the fighting of killing enemies of demons,
 they were imprisoned inside the gloomy darkness of yak horn,
 and started to drive back powerful weapons of sudden death,
 enemies were imprisoned in the enemy-pit,
 demons of sudden death, do not rise!
 enemies of demons were suppressed and dominion of Ngam destroyed,
 the Wishful dominion spread further.

5. Lofty Praise of warrior deities who were granted by the Lord of Secret

5.1. INTRODUCTION OF THE TEXT AND ITS REVEALER

This scripture usually forms part of a larger collection of four texts. It is altogether entitled "Fumigation texts delighting gods; a compilation of mutually interconnected texts" (*Thun mong rten 'brel sgrig byed pa'i/ lha rnams mnyes byed bsangs yig*, see Fig. 4 and 5). The first two texts of the collection are dedicated to the fumigation ritual (*bsang*) and praise of warrior deities (*dgra lha dpang stod*) and both were revealed by Godemcan according to the colophons. The next short text was composed by the Fifth Dalai Lama. The last

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17) *Dun(m) ting skar ma.*
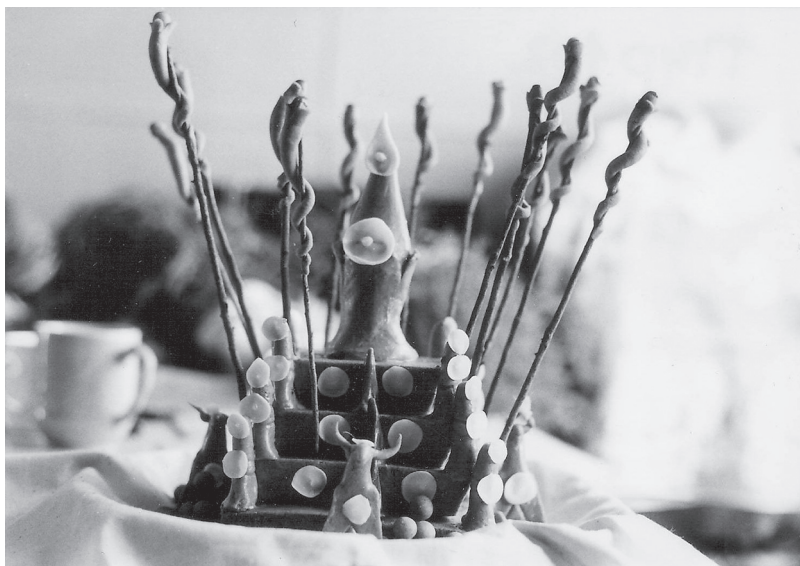
Figure 4: Sacrificial cake (*gtor ma*) used for the ritual based on "Fumigation texts delighting gods…". Note the yak, goat and sheep. The strange formations on the thin sticks above the main body of the cake are said to represent hearts (Labrang monastery, 2003).

fourth text is without colophon and this is the text containing the mythical narration translated below.[18]

There are, however, several arguments supporting the claim that the text can come also from the revelations by Rigdzin Godemcan. Firstly, it is

18) The first text of the whole collection is *Rgyags brngan chen mo* believed to be composed by Padmasambhava (LhV, fol. 1a-28b /see note 20/). This text states in its colophon that it was revealed as "treasure" by Rigdzin Godemcan (*Rig 'dzin rgod ldem can*) from the middle part of the rocky mountain called "One resembling heap of poisonous snakes".

　　The second text is again authored by Padmasambhava according to its colophon and was revealed by the same Rigdzin Godemcan. Its title is given as "Praise of warrior deities" or "The praise of warrior deities; A joy from benefit for the others" (*Dgra lha dpang stod gzhan phan rol ba*, LhV, fol. 28b-38b).

　　The third text bears simple title "Summoning *phya* and *g.yang*" and the colophon states that it was composed by the 5th Dalai Lama and the brief text was taken from his larger *Bsang bkra shis 'khyil ba* (LhV, fol. 28b-29b).

　　The last fourth text, the one concerning warrior deities with the title "Lofty Praise of Warrior deities who were granted by the Lord of Secret (Vajrapāṇi)" contains the myth translated below (LhV, fol. 29b-53a).

Figure 5: Burning the sacrificial cake with juniper twigs while chanting "Fumigation texts delighting gods…" (Labrang monastery, 2003)

included in the corpus of "Northern revelations" (*Byang gter*), which were far the most connected with this prolific treasure revealer. Another strong argument is based on another text of his revelations, which is similarly left without colophon, but included into the volume which is called his "treasure revelation". This work shares many formal features with the one discussed. It starts with a similar longer mythic narration on the origin of the *g.yang 'gugs* ritual in the form of a dialogue between Brahma and Indra (Rig 'dzin rgod

ldem can 1980). In a formally similar way it attempts to put ritual of evidently non-Indian origin into formal Buddhist garb through such myth.

Rigdzin Godemcan (*Rig ʾdzin rgod ldem can*, 1337–1409) was curiously born in the same area as the above-mentioned Ponse Khyung Gotsal and he found many of his treasures in similar places (*Zang zang lha brag* and *Ri bo bkra bzang*). And also some details given in their hagiographies when describing the main revelations demonstrate some similarities. These features together with some awareness about the revelation of some Buddhist texts by Ponse Khyung Gotsal probably led the author of the 18th century Bonpo chronicle to present both of them as a single person (Kun grol grags pa 1974, fols. 329–336, 371–5). But this would hardly be so in reality, since the dates of their lives seem to be well established (in the case of Ponse Khyung Gotsal, his alleged autobiography contains names of his contemporaries which are in agreement with the suggested year of his birth and in the case of Godemcan the hagiography written by his disciple Nyima Zangpo gives the dates precisely, Nyi ma bzang po 1985). However, it seems to be an interesting fact that perhaps the most revealing texts on warrior deities from Buddhist and Bon traditions come from a single place.

The strange name of Rigdzin Godemcan (or *Rgod kyi ldem ʾphru can*, meaning "The one with vulture feathers") is explained in his hagiography. It describes how in his 12 years the three vulture feather grew from the top of his head (or the three feathery growths) and in his 24 years they were five. He stands behind many of the so-called "Northern revelations" (*Byang gter*, meaning from *Byang stod*). Later he travelled to Sikkim and is one of the important masters propagating the eschatological tradition of the so-called "Hidden Lands" (*sbas yul*). He also passed away in Sikkim (cf. Boord 2003). His hagiography introduces him as a person intimately tied up with the Royal period of Tibetan history and he is believed to be the reincarnation of Nanam (Dorje) Dudjom (*Sna nam rdo rje bdud ʾjoms*), a disciple of Padmasambhava and at the same time uncle of Tibetan king Thisong Deutsen. The role of sentiment towards the Royal period might play; in this particular case, some role in attempting to bring to life some of the religious ideas of that already distant time.[19]

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19) This text was already briefly mentioned by R. Stein (Stein 1972, pp. 208–9). Then it was again paraphrased in the Russian text strongly influenced by Marxist ideology (Gerasimova 1981, pp. 7–45). However, such an interesting text (even from the literary point of view) has never attracted more attention of scholars and deserves to be translated.

5.2. TRANSLATION[20]

Lofty Praise of Warrior deities who were granted by the Lord of Secret (Vajrapāṇi)

(39b) *For this [ritual of] "Lofty praise of warrior deities who were granted to Indra by Vajrapāṇi", first gather together all animals, tools and weapons…*

Kye kye!
First, in the non-existence of anything,
from the womb of the empty sphere of sky,
the crossed vajra of wind originated,
the dew of water originated in it,
and the outer ocean came to existence.

In the ocean foam originated,
(40a) and the mighty foam became gold.

Above it is a sea of salt,
and the Meru mountain in the middle of it,
is surrounded by seven golden mountains and seas of enjoyment,
these together with four continents and islands,
are wholly encircled by [the chain of] iron-mountains.

That mountain Meru consists of four materials,

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20) Three particular textual versions are at my disposal. The first of them, xylograph, was given to me in the "Tantric temple" (*sngags pa lha khang*) associated with Labrang monastery in Amdo. It lacks colophon and the origin of the text is unknown to me. The second text, again xylograph, was bought in a shop with religious texts near Labrang monastery in 2005. The owner of the shop claimed that it had been printed in Lhasa (and the paper used at least confirms that it does not come from Labrang monastery printing house and is indeed similar to that of Lhasa prints). Only after some investigation did it turn out that these two are exactly the same xylographic edition coming from the same woodblocks. There is only one difference; this second version includes colophon stating that "the pious printer *Bstan ʼdzin chos ʼphel* made it to be printed again". The colophon was probably additionally carved into the last wooden block. The history of this edition remains enigmatic, but it will be called here the "Lhasa version" (LhV).

The next version comes from the vast collection of texts of "Northern revelation" used for ritual purposes in Nubra valley of Nepal. The whole large collection was retyped by computer and published in dpe cha form (Chos kyi nyi ma 2005) The text of "Lofty praise" is on the folios 1465–1499. This edition will be called "*Byang gter* version" (BtV).

The BtV version contains more scribal errors as compared to LhV. The transliteration of the text in Appendix (1.2) follows LhV and the different reading of BtV is given in brackets.

crystal in the east, beryl in the south,
copper in the west and gold in the north.[21]

From the hole in the mountain Meru,
[grew] a tree crumbling the whole heaped soil,
it bore fruits of various wishes.

At the foot of that mountain Meru,
was the dwelling place of mighty Asuras,
on the top of that mountain Meru,
was the palace of god Indra.

The wish-fulfilling fruits of that tree,
provided enjoyment for the gods,
(40b) yet since the roots of the tree,
were in the land of Asuras,
they claimed to be the owners of that fruits,
and they rose up against the [heaven] of Thirty Three.

By that time the gods had got angry in their hearts,
in that time of quarrel with Asuras,
the armour protecting gods was hammered,
Asuras hammered their weapons.

Mahā, the smith of the gods,
built a stove for melting precious stones,
in the sandalwood coal, fragile as clay,
he set the essence of the fire of primordial knowledge,
blowing the strong whirling wind,
he threw there the precious stones and the scoria was separated,
above the lower base of [melted] precious stones,
the melting stones were congealing,
hardening and not leaking it became stiff,
he beat it with golden hammer,
by diamond, the lord of stones, he made holes,
and adorned it by decoration of beryl,
(41a) on the peak of mountain Meru he thus hammered,
the helmet, the main and subsidiary [parts] altogether,
it became known as Kharahati,[22]

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21) This description differs from that of Abhidharmakośa. Beryl (*bai ḍūrya*, from Skt. *vaiḍūrya*)
   might also mean lapis-lazuli.
22) The Indian name might be perhaps interpreted as "Resistant towards hits".

similarly, on the slope of the mountain Meru,
he hammered complete armour with helmet,
this was named "Great king – the flaming darkness",
and at the bottom of that mountain Meru,
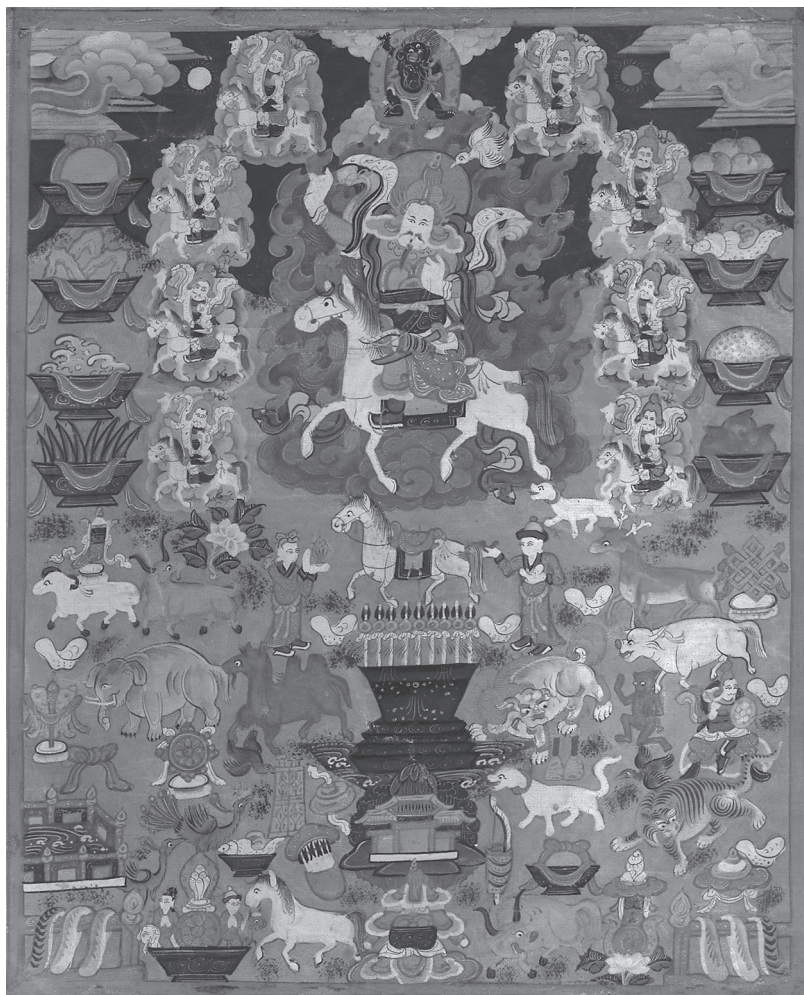
Figure 6: Nine warrior deities related to one another with offerings and Vajrapāṇi above them. Mongolia, cca 19ᵗʰ century (collection of Náprstek Museum in Prague, acquisition No. A 16333, published with kind permission).

he hammered complete armour with helmet,
it became known as "Agent of the upper peak",
these all were hammered at their respective places.

The smith of Asuras,
hammered sword "The lower jaw of demon Sinpo",
cutting axe "Long edge",
and the third, the spear "Long body",

In the fight of gods and Asuras,
Asuras won in the morning,
many smaller gods were killed in the battle,
(41b) mighty Indra called for Vajrapāṇi in the afternoon,
and turned upon him with the speech:
"We gods have lost the battle,
bestow upon us the means of protection from it!"
Thus addressed, Vajrapāṇi said:
"The answer to these words of Mighty God himself,
is that gods lack their warrior deities (*dgra lha*),
invite then the warrior deities!"

When inviting the warrior deities,
the white colour of the sky came to existence,
the blue colour of the earth came to existence,
the glacier mountain came to existence there,
and the outer ocean came to existence there,
from inside of that ocean,
about nine golden sacks came to existence.

The mouths of the sacks opened,
and there appeared helmet "White Garuda bird",
armour "Nourishment and clothing of the rising sun",[23]
guard of genitals "Armour of vajra",
(42a) protection of hands "One diverting weapons",
guard of heart "One mighty over all arrows",
protection of thighs "Luminous white crystal",
guard of knees "One saving from faults",
protection of legs "One mighty over all weapons",
shield "Six islands of red bamboo",
all these were not fabricated by smith, they were self-arisen.

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23) It is a poetic expression designating "snow".

During the middle origination,
there appeared nine kinds of weapons of existence,
disc "Victorious over all enemies",
axe "Splitting enemies apart",
curved knife "Cutting violators of promises into pieces",
sword "Reliably cutting those of wild strength",
bow "Destroying the brain of enemies",
arrow "Falling as lightning".
lasso "Binding opponents".
spear "Piercing the hearts of enemies".
slingshot "Roaring of thunder".
(42b) these are nine self-arisen weapons.

During the last origination,
the thunder roared and red lightning flashed,
from the ancestor, white cloud radiating with light,
[came] father "Wild god – falling lightning",
the mother was Nāginī "One protecting shells",
nine brothers and sisters of warrior deities came to existence as their children.

The oldest from all the brothers and sisters,
was "General firm hero", he was the first,
"Powerful tamer of enemies" was the second,
"Well seen and heard roaring thunder" was the third,
"Wrathful falling lightning" was the fourth,
"One expelling the life-force of men" was the fifth,
"One cutting off the life force of hateful ones" was the sixth,
"Self-led man" was the seventh,
"Blue falcon" was the eighth,
ninth was "Warrior-*sman* of white wings",[24]
you nine related warrior deities,
even when dwelling in the space of sky,
(43a) be the warrior deities protecting the white side!
Inviting the warrior deities [I am] asking them to take their seats.

At that moment the warrior deities said:
"Mighty god Indra, listen!
If the gods wish to win the battle,
they have to establish supports for us, warrior deities,
they have to present offerings for us, warrior deities,
they have to bow and praise us, warrior deities!"

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24) *Sman* are female beings, often bound with lakes (*mtsho sman*).

Then Mighty god Indra said:
"I respectfully offer this,
 arrow with white strips and three sprouts on the top of it,
 and what concerns establishing supports for warrior deities,
 this helmet 'Sun rising on the snow',
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this guard of genitals 'Armour of vajra',
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this protection of hands 'One diverting weapons',
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 (43b) this guard of heart 'One mighty over all arrows',
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this protection of thighs 'Luminous white crystal',
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this guard of knees 'One saving from faults',
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this shield 'Six islands of red bamboo',
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities.

 Kye kye!
 What else should be established as supports,
 for you, great warrior deities?
 this disc with thousand spokes,
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this axe radiating with light of fire,
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this curved knife having the appearance of sky,
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this bow of precious stones radiating the light,
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this strong arrow with vulture feathers,
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 (44a) this lasso radiating the golden light,
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this spear with standard attached,
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
 this slingshot [with rope called] 'nine interweaved water-springs',[25]
 we establish now as a support of warrior deities.

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25) This term survives as a name of a popular bracelet-string, which is worn by today's Tibetans
     from Kham. It is partly understood as a protection string and it is woven from nine threads,
     half of them being white and half black.

Kye kye!
What else should be established as supports,
for you, great warrior deities?
this general 'Wish fulfilling gem',
noble, of good origin and intelligent,
handsome, mighty and conquering adversaries,
always victorious over all enemies,
we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
this beautiful stallion with colours of peacock,
possessing strength overcoming that of lion,
having the power of elephant and might of clairvoyance,
such excellent horse faster than wind,
we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
(44b) these banners on the right and left,
we establish now as a support of warrior deities,
this blue sky above,
we establish as a support for those of high rank,
this flag attached to the helmet,
we establish as a support for ferocious heroes,
this reddish grey base of earth below,
we establish as a support for those firm and steadfast,
warrior deities, settle in the changeless supports!"

Kye kye!
Again, the warrior deity said:
"Listen to me, Mighty God!
For tens of hundred millions of soldiers of gods,
there are eight places of attachment of warrior deities,
commander 'Tamer of enemies' will be attached to the horse,
'Well seen and heard roaring thunder' will be attached to the shield,
'Blood-thirsty falling lightning'[26] will be attached to the arrow,
'One expelling the life-force of men' will be attached to the armour,
'One cutting off the life force of hateful ones' will be attached to the spear,
(45a) 'Self-led man' will be attached to the stone,
'Iron falcon' will be attached to himself,
this female 'Warrior-*sman* of white roots of wings',
will be attached to the respectable noble ladies,
these are thus eight places of attachment of warrior deities."

The warrior deity of the beginning of creation then said:
"We have eight places of hiding,

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26) *Khrag chags thog 'bebs*, literally "attached to blood."

we hide in the centre of the heart of the hero,
we hide below the crunching of horse,
we hide below the *dung khung* (?) of the shield,
we hide below the *gzhung dor* (?) of the armour,
we hide up in the vulture feathers of the arrow,
we hide in the extremes of the bow with white ends,
we hide at the bottom of the blue sword,
these are the eight places of hiding."

Then, Mighty God,
turned upon the leader of warrior deities:
"Although the warrior deities,
(45b) explained well the places of attachment and hiding,
by hidden warrior deities the enemies will not be tamed,
the troops of adversary enemies will not be defeated,
thus, at the time of defeating the troops of enemies,
from where will the warrior deities march?
from where will the warrior deities leap?"

When he addressed the speech to the deity,
the warrior deity said again:
"We warrior deities have six places of marching,
we march from the right shoulder of man,
we march from the left side of the mane of horse,
we march from the top of the arrow-head,
we march from the string of white-ended bow,
we march from the sharp blade of sword,
we proudly march from the edge of shield.

We warrior deities have six places of leaping,
warrior deities of ancestors leap from the middle,
warrior deities of the beginning of creation leap from the heart,
(46a) warrior deities effecting hearing leap from the ear,
warrior deities effecting seeing leap from the eye,
warrior deities effecting speaking leap from the mouth,
protecting warrior deities leap from the right side,
troops of heroic warrior deities leap from the left side,
warrior deities winning the battle leap from the front side,
keep this in your mind, Mighty God!"

Then Mighty god Indra,
addressed the same warrior deity:
"If we would not worship warrior deities with their retinue,

at the time of conquering enemy in the battle,
the general of Asuras would not be subdued,
and thus at the time of worshiping warrior deities,
first, how we should call on them,
then by what we should worship them,
lastly, how can we instigate warrior deities,
and in what manner do warrior deities thirst for enemies?"

(46b) And as he only asked,
brothers and sisters of warrior deities said:
"First, call us on by [sound] 'kye kye',
then, worship as through [the sound] 'so so',
lastly, incite us through [the sound] 'hā',
warrior deities thirst for the hearts of enemies,
warrior deities thirst for the life-force of enemies,
warrior deities thirst for the wealth of enemies!"

Then Mighty god Indra said:
"After paying homage and presenting offering to warrior deities and their retinue,
soldiers of servant deities gather all,
at the moment of arrangement for the fight,
the warrior deities with their retinue,
will arrive to the top of mountain Meru,
from the calling 'hūṃ hūṃ' three times,
radiance of soldier gods will overflow,
from the calling 'kye kye' three times,
the weapons will be overfilled with light,
from the calling 'so so' three times,
(47a) all heroes gain their force,
from the calling 'ha ha' three times,
the whole realm of enemies will be utterly brought down.

Hundreds of demons (srin po) will be beheaded,
the ears of hundreds of demonesses will be cut off,
Asuras will be completely defeated,
lungs and hearts of enemies will be pulled out,
and offered to the mouths of nine related warrior deities."

Such skilful victory of gods,
came out from the worship of warrior deities of the beginning of creation.

6. Concluding remarks

In the preceding lines the possible alteration of the ideas surrounding warrior deities were touched upon. It was shown that in Dunhuang documents these deities are consistently written down as "enemy-soul" (*dgra bla*). While in case of later Buddhist texts the change into the *dgra lha* is observed, the questions concerning the written form of *sgra bla* in many texts of Bon are not easy to elucidate. An early commentary of *Mzod phug* writes *dgra lha* in a similar way to that used by the Buddhist sources, but there is the tradition, probably starting with the texts revealed by Ponse Khung Gotsal, which uses the written form *sgra bla*. The reasons for such a change remain unexplained.

The zoomorphic appearance of warrior deities seems to prevail in the older times, which survived consistently, even in the Bonpo and the Buddhist text translated above, in the image of warrior deity "iron" or "blue falcon". Other texts know warrior deities connected with the particular clans of Tibetans in the forms of dragon, yak, Garuda eagle, tiger, ram and dog.

The Bonpo origination myth translated in the paper describes the ritual of "imprisoning souls of enemies" using the yak horn. It is not very consistent and clear. Only using another narration about the demon-yak, whose horns were used for "imprisoning the souls of enemies" and "support of warrior deities", can we seriously ask whether this ritual might stand behind calling warrior deities "enemy-soul" *dgra bla*.

Two myths are then translated. The translation seeks to do two things. Firstly, to show how both are good literary pieces which have not been available to readers in Western languages. Secondly, through comparing them it is also possible to learn a lesson concerning the ways in which Buddhist traditions in Tibet adapted older Tibetan religious ideas.

Abbreviations

BtV   *Byang gter* version of Rig 'dzin rgod ldem can /a/ (see note 20)
LhV   Lhasa version of Anonymous a, Rig 'dzin rgod ldem can /a/ (see note 20)
TBRC   Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (http://tbrc.org)

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Appendix

TRANSLITERATION OF THE TIBETAN TEXTS[27]

1.1. G.yag ru dgra chos kyis shug mgon dgra brub chung ba gri kha mtshon bsgyur zhes bya ba bzhugs so//

(1b) kyai de ring gshen po bdag cag gis/ shug mgon stobs chen yar brngan 'tshal/ shug mgon stobs chen yar brngan pas/ dgra sri bla ni bzung yang 'tshal/ nyes byed dgra dpung bshigs kyang 'tshal/ gnod byed bgegs dpung bcing yang 'tshal/ srin g.yag khams pa'i rwa bcad 'tshal/ sngon tshe dgra sri brub pa gar srid na/ srid pa'i sngon gyis dus tsam nas/ gnam gyi ya (=yab?) bla ru/ las kyis (kyi) rgya mtsho srid/ sa yi ma bla ru/ chu yi rgya mtsho srid/ mtsho gnyis lbu ba 'khrungs pa las/ dung gi sgong nga gcig tu srid/ sgong nga bcag cing rdol ba la/ yul cig srid pa rgya re che/ smon pa'i yul ni gru bzhi srid/ ye nas srid pa rgya re che/ mkhar ni ma brtsigs (2a) dpang re mtho/ smon mkhar brtse mtho ldem pa der/ rje bo ye smon rgyal po bzhugs/ sras ni smon sras 'phrul bu yin/ lcam mo smon lcam dkar mo yin/ kha 'dzin ye gshen dbang rdzogs yin/ bkor du mu tig shel du mnga'/ srid pa'i lha cha rnga gshang dang/ sgra bla'i go mtshon sna lnga bdog/ skye rog dung rna dkar po dang/ pho lha sgra bla mched bzhi yin/ sgra bla lcags kyi bya khra yin/ srog lha dung khyung dkar po yin/ smon khams dar la rgyas par shog/ dus dang bskal pa'i de tsam na/ de yi 'thab zla dgra bo ni/ bskal pa me yi rjes shul dang/ bskal pa chu yi rjes (2b)

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27) The first text is re-written from the often abbreviating *'bru yig* script. The original text might be consulted in the edition of Bonpo Katen. In both of the transliterated texts brackets mark my corrections. In the second text the different reading of BtV is given in brackets.

shul dang/ 'byung ba'i rjes shul snying ma la/ sol sgong nag po gcig tu byung/ sgong nga chag shing rdol pa la/ ma srid rgya che ngams yul gling dgu srid/ ma brtsigs rtse mtho ngam mkhar dgu rdzong srid/ rje bo ngams rje rtsol po srid/ sras ni ngams sras spun dgu yin/ lcam mo ngams bza' dun ting yin/ kha 'dzin ngams bon rta nag yin/ bkor du dri'u (dre'u) nag dpung bkra mnga'/ ngams kyi khyi nag lcags mgo dang/ ngams kyi sol khra nag po dang/ ngams kyi sha ba nag po'i spu mtshal gang pa dang/ ngams kyi go mtshon sna tshogs mnga'/ dus dang bskal pa'i dus tsam nas/ ngams rjes (rje) rtsol po'i gdug sems kyis/ smon pa'i yul du dmag drangs pas/ smon mkhar mi nor phrog dgos zer/ smon sras bsad la smon lcam phrog dgos zer/ gdug pa'i ngams rjes (rje) rtsol po de/ dre'u (3a) dpung bkra' (bkra) 'og nas zhon/ ngams kyi dar nag lag na thon/ gdug pa ngams kyi dmag drangs pas/ smon pa'i yul du dmag byung ste/ dus dang bskal pa de'us (de) tsam na/ ye smon rgyal po rmi lam la/ me ri shar nas mched pa rmis/ rgya mtsho byang du lhud pa rmis/ rlung ngan nub nas 'tshub pa rmis/ skyi 'dangs (skyin thang) lho nas 'bebs pa rmis/ spyang ku ngur zhing mdur ba rmis/ dung khra la nyes ngan pa rmis/ rmis lam mo ngan sog brtsub (sogs rtsub) pas/ srid pa ye rje smon pa yis/ kha 'dzin ye gshen dbang rdzogs gnyer/ gto dang dpyad du zhus pa la/ ye gshen bon gyi zhal na re/ 'o skol lha mi yul shed du/ ngams kyi dmag 'dren 'ong ba 'dra/ ngams bdud nag po g.yos pa 'dra/ ngams kyi mtshon cha 'gul ba 'dra/ ngams kyi dgra sri langs ba 'dra/ ngams kyi (3b) gri kha 'gul ba dang/ 'di la gzhan ma ci kyang mi phan pas/ ngams kyi bla rdo bzung 'tshal lo/ gsas gral mthun gsum bca'/ rnga gshang dung slang mkhar du brtsigs/ mdung dang dar la brten yar byas/ sgra bla mdung dang dar la brten/ gsas mkhar gnyan po rab bgrangs byas/ srid pa gsum gyi shug mgon brngan/ g.yag ru g.yon pa dang/ spyang khu gru mo dang/ khyi thod mun 'thib dang/ phag thod 'gram ring dang/ ra nag thod pa rnams/ dgra sri bla bzung dgra dong nang du brub/ dgra dong dmod byad nang du bcug/ gri kha mtshon so dgra la bsgyur/ gri ra rog po lhan dmar la/ ra snying phag snying g.yag snying mgul du btag/ na bza' gos rnying rgyab tu skon/ gri kha mtshon so dgra la bsgyur/ ye gshen dbang rdzogs kyis/ mgon skyabs sdong grogs lha la zhus/ mthu mgon dmag (4a) dpon gnyan la (las) g.yar/ gdug pa ngams rje rtsol po dang/ ngams za dun ting skar ma dang/ ngams sras grib bu grib ngan dang/ ngams kyi khyi nag lcags mgo dang/ ngams kyi sol khra nag po dang/ ngams kyi dre'u nag dpung bkra dang/ ngams kyi sha ba nag po dang/ gdug pa ngams kyis (kyi) dmag tshogs rnams/ zung su bzung la chings su bcings/ ku rub rta rmig 'og tu mnan/ gri ra rog po lhan mar (dmar) la/ gri bdud g.yos pa bzlog cing bsgyur/ dgra sri gri sri 'khrug pa mnan/ g.yag ru mun 'thib nang du brub/ gri kha mtshon kha bzlog cing bsgyur/ dgra dong nang du dgra bo brub/ gri bo gri sri ma ldang cig/ dgra sri mnan pa'i ngams khams cham la phab/ smon pa'i lha khams dar la rgyas/

1.2. Gsang ba'i bdag pos gnang ba'i dgra lha dpang bstod ces bya ba bzhugs so//

(39b) dgra lha dpang bstod lha dbang la gsang ba'i bdag pos gnang ba 'di la dang po skyes chas go mtshon tshang bar bsags la/ kyai/ dang po ci yang med pa la// nam mkha' stong pa'i dbyings rum nas// phyogs mtshams kun nas rlung g.yos pas// rlung gi rdo rje rgya gram chags// de la chu yi zil pa chags// de la phyi yi rgya mtsho srid// rgya mtsho de la sprin ma chags// sprin (40a) ma dbang chen gser du chags// de steng ba tshwa can gyi (BtV: gyis) mtsho// dkyil du ri rab lhun po la// gser gyi ri bdun rol mtshos bskor// de la gling bzhi gling phran dang// lcags ris yongs su bskor ba ste// ri rab de yi rgyu bzhi ni// shar shel lho phyogs bai ḍūrya// nub phyogs zangs la byang phyogs gser// ri rab de yi khong gseng nas// yongs 'dus sa brtol (BtV: brdol) bya ba'i shing// dgos 'dod 'bras bu sna tshogs 'khrung// ri rab de yi rtsa ba na// lha min dbang po'i bzhugs gnas yod// ri rab de yi rtse mo na// brgya byin lha yi pho brang yod// shing de'i 'bras bu yid bzhin de// lha yi longs spyod byed na'ang// lha min rnams kyi yul du ni// (40b) shing de'i

rtsa ba yod pa'i phyir// shing de'i 'bras bu nga dbang zer// rtsa gsum lha la rgol bar byed// de tshe lha rnams thugs khros nas// lha ma yin dang 'thab pa'i tshe// lha yis skyob pa'i go cha brdungs// lha ma yin gyis mtshon cha brdungs// lha yi mgar ba ma hā yis// rin chen gzhu ba'i (BtV: bzhun pa'i) thab brtsigs nas// tsandan sol ba rdza ltar bsnyil// ye shes me yi snying po bcug// rlung chen g.yo ba'i sbud pa yis// zhun btab rin chen lhad rnams phyung (BtV: phyungs)// rin chen mas gzhi'i steng du ni// rin chen zhun ma (BtV: ma'i) bzhag nas kyang/ 'chor med skam pas dam du bzung// gser gyi tho bas brdungs byas te// pha lam rdo rjes (BtV: rdo rje) mig phug nas// bai dūrya yi rgyan gyis brgyan (BtV: rgyun gyis brgyun)// (41a) rmog mo ma lag tshang ba gcig// ri rab de yi rtse ru brdungs// kha ra ha ti bya bar grags// de ltar ri rab rked pa ru// khrab rmog go mtshon tshang bar brdungs// rgyal chen mun pa 'bar du btags// ri rab de yi rtsa ba ru// khrab rmog go mtshon tshang bar brdungs// stod rtse bya ma bya bar grags// de rnams rang rang gnas su brdungs (BtV: bkungs)// lha min rnams kyi mgar ba yis// ral gri srin po'i ma mgal (BtV: srin bu'i ma 'gal) dang// gcod pa'i dgra stwa kha chen dang/ srin mdungs (BtV: mdung) mtshams ring gsum du brdungs// lha dang lha min 'thab pa las// snga dro (BtV: snga 'gro) lha min rgyal ba byung// lha phran mang po g.yul ngor bsad// phyi dro lha dbang brgya byin gyis// gsang (41b) ba'i bdag po spyan drangs te// brgya byin lha yis 'di skad zhus// bdag cag lha rnams g.yul pham pas// 'di la skyob pa'i thabs stsol cig (BtV: zhig)// de skad zhus pas gsang bdag gis// lha dbang nyid la 'di skad smras// lha la dgra lha med pas lan// de na dgra lha spyan drongs gsungs// de nas dgra lha spyan 'dren ni// gnam gyi kha dog dkar po dang// sa yi kha dog sngon po srid// de la gangs ri dkar po srid// de la phyi yi rgya mtsho srid// rgya mtsho de yi nang nas ni// gser gyi rkyal pa dgu tsam srid// rkyal pa de rnams kha che (BtV: ches) bas// rmog mo bya khyung ke ru dang// khrab rmog nyi shar (BtV: khrag rmog nyi shur) lto rgyab dang// sba (BtV: wa) khebs rdo rje'i go cha dang// lag shag mtshon cha lam log (42a) dang// snying khebs mda' mtshon kun thub dang// brla gri shel dkar 'od ldan dang// pus khebs nyes pa skyob byed dang// rkang shag mtshon cha kun thub dang// phub mo sba (BtV: ba) dmar gling drug rnams// mgar gyis ma bcos rang byung yin// de yi bar gyi srid pa la// srid kyi mtshon cha sna dgu srid// 'khor lo (BtV: los) dgra las rnam rgyal byed// dgra sta dgra bo shog (BtV: gshog) byed dang// chu gri dam nyams gtub byed dang// ral gri ngar ma gdeng gcod byed dang// gzhu mo dgra klad 'gem byed dang// mda' mo thog ltar 'bebs byed dang// zhags pa (BtV: pas) pha rol 'ching byed dang// mdung mo dgra snying gzer byed dang// 'ur thog (BtV: mthogs) 'brug sgra sgrogs byed rnams(BtV: dang)// de (42b) dgu rang byung mtshon cha yin// de yi srid pa mtha' ma la// mes po sprin dkar 'od 'phro la// 'brug sgra sgrog cing klog (BtV: glog) dmar 'khyug// yab rje lha rgod thog (BtV: thogs) 'bebs dang// yum ni klu mo dung skyong ma// sras ni dgra lha mched dgu srid// mched lcam kun gyi gcen po ba (BtV: la)// dpa' brtan dmag dpon de dang gcig// mthu chen dgra 'dul (BtV: dgra dpung 'dul) de dang gnyis// snang grags 'brug ldir de dang gsum// drag rtsal thogs (BtV: thob) bebs de dang bzhi// skyes pa srog 'don de dang lnga// sdung (BtV: sdang) pa srog gcod de dang drug// skyes bu rang chas de dang bdun// bya khra sngon po de dang brgyad// dgra sman gshog (BtV: shog) dkar de dang dgu// srid kyi mched dgu'i dgra lha rnams// nam mkha'i dbyings na (BtV: su) bzhugs na'ang// dkar phyogs skyong ba'i dgra (43a) lha mdzod// dgra lha spyan 'dren bzhugs su gsol// de tshe dgra lha'i zhal na re// lha dbang brgya byin tshur gson dang// lha rnams g.yul las rgyal 'dod na// dgra lha nged la rten cig tshugs// dgra lha nged la mchod pa phul// dgra lha nged la phyag 'tshal bstod// de nas lha dbang brgya byin gyis// mda' dar dkar po tshigs gsum de// dgra lha'i phyag na (BtV: tu) phul nas kyang// dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs pa ni// rmog mo gangs la nyi shar 'di (BtV: de)// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// sba (BtV: wa) khebs rdo rje'i go cha 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// lag shag mtshon cha lam log 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// snying khebs mda' mtshon kun thub 'di (43b) de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// brla gri shel dkar 'od 'phro 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// pus khebs nyes pa skyob byed 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// phub mo sba (BtV: ba) dmar

gling drug 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// kyai/ dgra lha chen po khyed rnams la// yang gcig rten du 'dzugs pa ni// rtsibs stong ldan pa'i 'khor lo 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// me 'od 'phro ba'i dgra stwa 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// nam mkha'i mdangs can chu gri 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// rin chen 'od 'phro gzhu mo 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// shugs drag mda' mo rgod sgro 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// zhags pa gser (44a) 'od 'phro ba 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// mdung la ba dan btags pa 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// 'ur thog chu mig dgu sgril 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// kyai/ dgra lha chen po khyed rnams la// yang gcig rten du 'dzugs pa ni// ya rabs rigs bzang blo gros ldan// bzhin legs rtsal ldan pha rol 'joms// dgra bo kun las rtag par rgyal// dmag dpon nor bu bsam 'phel 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// gyi ling yid 'ong rma bya'i mdog// shugs 'chang sengge zil gyis gnon// glang bo'i stobs 'chang mngon shes mnga'// rlung las mgyogs pa'i rta mchog 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// (44b) g.yas dang g.yon gyi ru dar 'di// de ring dgra lha'i rten du 'dzugs// steng gi nam mkha' sngon po 'di// dbu 'phang mtho ba'i rten du 'dzugs// rmog la lcog dar btags pa 'di// dpa' ngar che ba'i rten du 'dzugs// 'og gi sa gzhi gro mo 'di// sra zhing brtan pa'i rten du 'dzugs// dgra lha 'gyur med rten la bzhugs (BtV: 'dzugs) // kyai/ yang gcig dgra lha'i zhal na re// lha yi dbang po tshur gson dang// dgra dmag bye ba dung phyur la/ dgra lha chags pa'i sa brgyad yod// dmag dpon dgra 'dul rta la chags// snang grags 'brug ldir (BtV: 'dir) phub la chags// khrag chags thog 'bebs mda' la chags// skyes pa srog 'don khrab la chags// sdang ba srog gcod mdung la chags// (45a) skyes bu rang chas rdo la chags// lcags kyi bya khra rang la chags// dgra sman gshog rtsa dkar mo 'di// mo btsun ya rabs rnams la chags// chags sa brgyad po te ltar lags// ye srid dgra lha'i zhal na re// nga la skung (BtV: bkungs) sa brgyad yod de// dpa' bo'i snying gi dkyil du skung (BtV: bkungs)// rta yi khrum khrum 'og du skung (BtV: bkungs)// phubs (BtV: phub) kyi dung khung 'og du skung (BtV: bkungs)// rmog gi khyung dor (BtV: khuyng shog) 'og du skung (BtV: bskungs)// khrab kyi gzhung dor 'og du skung (BtV: bkungs)// mda' mo rgod sgro'i stong la skung (BtV: bkungs)// mchog dkar gzhu yi mchog la skung (BtV: bkungs)// ral gri (BtV: gris) sngon mo'i 'og du skung (BtV: bkungs)// skung (BtV: bkungs) sa brgyad po de ltar lags// de nas lha yi dbang po yis// dgra lha'i gtso la 'di skad zhus// chags sa skung sa rnams// (45b) dgra lhas (BtV: lha'i) legs par gsung na yang// pha rol dgra dpung 'joms pa la// dgra lha skung (BtV: bkungs)pas dgra mi thul// des na (BtV: de nas) dgra dpung 'joms pa'i tshe// dgra lha 'grim na gang nas 'grim// dgra lha mchong (BtV: mchod) na gang nas mchong (BtV: mchod)// de skad lha la zhus pa'i tshe// dgra lha'i zhal nas yang gsungs pa// nged dgra lha 'grim pa'i sa drug yod// mi yi phrag pa g.yas nas 'grim// rta yi ze rngog g.yon nas 'grim// mda' yi mde'u rtse nas 'grim// mchog dkar gzhu yi rgyud (BtV: rgyus) nas 'grim// ral gri ngar ma'i so nas 'grim// phub mo'i (BtV: ma'i) zur nas ngom (BtV: ngoms) shing 'grim// nged dgra lha mchong (BtV: mchod) pa'i sa brgyad yod// pha mes dgra lha dbus nas mchong (BtV: mchod)// ye srid dgra lha thugs nas mchong (BtV: mchod)// thos (46a) byed dgra lha snyan nas mchong (BtV: mchod)// mthong byed dgra lha spyan nas mchong (BtV: mchod)// smra mkhas (BtV: byed) dgra lha zhal nas mchong (BtV: mchod)// mgon skyabs dgra lha g.yas nas mchong (BtV: mchod)// dpa' dpung dgra lha g.yon nas mchong (BtV: mchod)// g.yul rgyal dgra lha mdun nas mchong (BtV: mchod)// lha dbang thugs la de ltar zhog// de nas lha dbang brgya byin gyis// dgra lha nyid la 'di skad zhus// g.yul ngor dgra bo gzhom pa'i dus// dgra lha 'khor bcas ma mchod na// lha min dmag dpon mi thul bas (BtV: 'thul pas)// de phyir dgra lha mchod pa'i dus// dgra lha dang po ji ltar 'bod// de nas dgra lha ci (BtV: spyi) yis mchod// mtha' mar dgra lha ji ltar rbad// dgra lha dgra la ji ltar rngam (BtV: rngams)// de skad tsam zhig zhus pa (46b) dang// dgra lha mched kyi zhal na re// dang po kyai yis nged bos zhig (BtV: 'bod cig)// bar du bswoo yis nged mchod cig// mtha' mar hā yis nged skul (BtV: bskul) cig// dgra lha dgra bo'i snying la rngam (BtV: rngams)// dgra lha dgra bo'i srog la rngam (BtV: rngams)// dgra lha dgra bo'i nor la rngam (BtV: rngams)// de nas lha dbang brgya byin gyis// dgra lha 'khor bcas thams cad la//

phyag dang mchod pa phul nas kyang// lha bran dmag rnams kun bsdus (BtV: 'dus) nas// lha ma yin la dmag bshams tshe// dgra lha 'khor dang bcas pa rnams// ri rab rtse la byon nas kyang// hūṃ hūṃ lan gsum brjod pa las// lha dmag rnams la mdangs gcig phyung// kyai (BtV: kye kye) lan gsum brjod pa las// go mtshon rnams la 'od cig phyung// bswoo bswoo lan gsum brjod pa las// thams (47a) cad dpa' bo'i (BtV: ba'i) ngar dang ldan// ha ha lan gsum brjod pa las// dgra khams thams cad cham la phob// srin po brgya yi mgo bo bcad// srin mo brgya yi sna yang bregs// lha min ma lus pham par byas// dgra bo'i glo snying phyung nas kyang// dgra lha mched dgu'i zhal du gsol// lha rnams thabs kyis rgyal ba de// ye srid dgra lha mchod las byung//

The lexical and grammatical expression of epistemic meanings in spoken Tibetan

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Summary: The aim of the present paper is to show that in spoken Tibetan[1], epistemic modalities are not expressed by modal verbs as is the case with many languages of the world, especially European languages, but by other lexical and grammatical means. The lexical means include, in particular, epistemic adverbs. However, the main means in the spoken language is morpho-syntactic. It is a system of epistemic verbal endings. This system will be discussed in detail in this paper.

1. Introduction[2]

From a formal point of view, in various languages, epistemic modalities are expressed by various lexical and grammatical means, e.g. modal verbs and affixes. As for lexical expression, epistemic meanings may also be encoded in the lexicon by means of epistemic (cognition) verbs (e.g. believe, guess, predict, expect, think, say) and epistemic adverbs (e.g. probably, likely, maybe, possibly) (see Givón 1984, p. 318).

In Tibetan, possibility and probability are not conveyed by modal verbs but by other lexical categories, for example epistemic adverbs and verbs. Look at the following example with the epistemic verb *bsams* 'think':

(1) *nga – s   stod.phad – la   glugs – yod   bsams   – byung*
    I – ERG   bag   – OBL   put   – PERF+EGO   think   – PFV+EGO
    I thought I put it in the bag. (implying "I most probably put it in the bag.")

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1) The term "Tibetan" used in this paper corresponds to the language that is based on the dialect of Lhasa and its neighbourhood, which is a variety of Central Tibetan (*dbus.skad*). It is used as the *lingua franca* in the Tibetan Autonomous Region and in the Tibetan diaspora (India, Nepal, U.S.A., Europe). It is spoken by about one and a half million people, 130 000 of whom live in the diaspora. In Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003) the term "Standard Tibetan" is used.

2) I base this article on the results of my research work done in Tibet and India between 2002 and 2005 that I later developed. The research work was aimed at studying epistemic modalities in spoken Tibetan.

Nevertheless, in Tibetan, the most frequent lexical means for conveying modal meanings is epistemic adverbs. These can be divided in two groups according to the degree of certainty they convey: adverbs expressing possibility (close to 50%) such as *phal.cher* 'possibly' or 'probably' (Ex. 2) and *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps', 'maybe' or 'possibly', and adverbs expressing certainty (close to 100%) such as *gtan.gtan* 'certainly' or 'surely' (Ex. 3) and *brgya.cha brgya* 'definitely'. Compare the examples below:

(2) *khong   phal.cher   yong   – gi.red*
      s/he+H   probably   come   – FUT+FACT
      She will probably come.

(3) *khong   gtan.gtan   yong   – gi.red*
      s/he+H   certainly   come   – FUT+FACT
      She will certainly come.

The world's languages also use various grammatical means for conveying modality, whether it be morphological or syntactical means, such as modal particles, verbal affixes and the word order. Concerning epistemic modalities in Tibetan, epistemic meanings are usually expressed by verbal affixes that I call "verbal endings".[3] The epistemic verbal endings have two fundamental functions: they express the tense-aspect and epistemic modality (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, pp. 175–176). The use of these verbal endings is illustrated by the following sentence with the epistemic ending *yod.pa.yod*. This sentence corresponds in meaning and epistemic degree to the above example (1):

(4) *nga – s   stod.phad – la   glugs – yod.pa.yod*
      I   – ERG   bag   – OBL   put   – PERF+EPI 2+EGO
      I thought I put it in the bag. (implying "I most probably put it in the bag.")

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3) Tibetan verbal endings can be divided in two groups: evidential endings that primarily express an evidential meaning, and epistemic endings that primarily convey an epistemic meaning. For more details, refer to Vokurkova (2008) and the article entitled "Epistemic modalities and evidentiality in spoken Standard Tibetan" (to be published in the *Chronos* 7 proceedings in 2010).

This paper will concentrate on the system of epistemic verbal endings because they are the most common means for expressing epistemic modalities in spoken Tibetan.

2. Classification of epistemic verbal endings

Out of many Tibetan epistemic endings, some are frequently used in the spoken language, others are rare or literary.[4] There are a dozen different types of epistemic endings that are common in spoken Tibetan. These are: *yod.pa.yod,*[5] *yong.nga.yod, a.yod, yod.kyi.red, yod.ʼgro, yod.pa.ʼdra, yod.sa.red, yod-mdog. kha.po-red/ʼdug* and *yod.bzo.ʼdug*, which are paradigm-like (i.e. each type consists of several endings differing in the tense-aspect, see below), and the endings *pa.ʼdug, pa.yod, yong* and *mi.yong.ngas.*

Diachronically, the epistemic verbal endings consist of nominalizers/connectors (empty, *gi, pa, rgyu*) and auxiliaries (*yod, red, ʼdug*), and they also contain other morphemes (*a, ʼgro, ʼdra, sa, bzo*, etc.). Most epistemic endings were formed by the process of 'double suffixation', i.e. they consist of two parts that I will call formants (word forming elements).

From a functional point of view, epistemic endings can be primarily classified according to the tense-aspect they refer to, the degree of probability and the evidential meaning (see Vokurková 2007, p. 114). This is illustrated by the following examples with the epistemic endings *gyi.yod.ʼgro* and *yod.sa.red*. In Ex. (5), *gyi.yod.ʼgro* is interpreted as the imperfective future, epistemic degree 1 and the factual evidential. In Ex. (6), *yod.sa.red* corresponds to the present perfect, epistemic degree 2 and the sensory evidential:

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4) In literary Tibetan, there are also several ways of expressing various degrees of certainty. The most common means, epistemic copulas and epistemic verbal endings, occur in literary Tibetan as well. The epistemic copulas used in literary Tibetan are, for example, *yod.las. che, yod.shas.che, yod.thang (yod.na.thang), yod.zhan.ʼdra, yod.bzo.ʼdug, yod.tshul.ʼdug, yod. tshod.ʼdug, yod.nges.la, yod.shag.la* and the corresponding essential copulas, e.g. *yin. las.che* (see *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo* 1993, Goldstein 2001, *Bod-kyi-dus-bab* (Tibet Times)). Some of the above-mentioned are common in the spoken language but the majority of them are only used in written Tibetan. Below is an example with the epistemic copula *yin. las.che*:

gnas.tshul	de	bden.pa	yin. las.che
event	that	true	be (EPI)

This event may be true. (Goldstein 2001, p. 1001)

5) I chose the perfective past form to represent each type of endings.

(5)   *kho*   *grogs.po* *– la*   *spo.lo* *gYar* *– gyi.yod.ʿgro*
       he   friend   – OBL   ball   lend   – <u>IMPF+EPI 1+FACT</u>
       He might lend the ball to his friend. (The speaker infers from the fact
       that friends, in general, lend things to each other.)

(6)   *phun.tshogs* *– kyis* *kha.lag* *bzos*   *– yod.sa.red*
       Phuntshog   – ERG   meal   make (PAS) – <u>PERF+EPI 2+SENS</u>
       It seems Phuntshog has cooked. (The speaker can smell it.)

The functional classification will be discussed in detail in Part 3 of this paper.

It is true that tense-aspect is often expressed by the first formant and epistemic modality by the second one[6]. However, synchronically, it is better to consider that the epistemic endings are non-analyzable units, even though diachronically they were two suffixes. The synchronic representation of epistemic endings is, therefore, TA+EPI+EVI (tense-aspect + epistemic modality + evidentiality), not analyzable into three units TA, EPI and EVI.

Epistemic endings may be further classified according to the parameter of polarity into affirmative and negative epistemic endings. In general, affirmative epistemic endings convey positive polarity and negative epistemic endings[7] negative polarity. Usually, whenever it is possible to use an affirmative ending, it is also possible to use its negative counterpart. Negative polarity is often expressed by the second formant of the epistemic ending as illustrated in Ex. (7): (a) is positive and (b) negative. Nevertheless, the types *yod.ʿgro* and *yod.pa.ʿdra* are exceptions – negative polarity is conveyed by the first formant (Ex. 8):

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  6) The fact that during the process of double suffixation a new modal meaning develops (epistemic modality) and is expressed by the second part of the new suffix (e.g. *yod.pa.ʿdra, yod.bzo.ʿdug*), seems to confirm the hypothesis that modality is, in general, in a more distant position from the main verb than other verbal categories (see François 2003, p. 30). For example, *gi.yod-pa.ʿdra* where *gi.yod* corresponds to the imperfective and *pa.ʿdra* expresses probability. However, this morphemic analysis does not work for all epistemic endings, e.g. *mi.yong.ngas, yong.nga.yod, yod.ʿgro, yod.ʿgroʾo* and *med.ʿgro, med.ʿgroʾo*. The epistemic meaning is only deducible from the whole ending, not from a single formant. As a result, epistemic endings are treated as single units in this study, i.e. they are written with dots between syllables, not with a hyphen showing the morphemic structure.

  7) Diachronically, negative endings are formed by adding the negative morphemes *ma* or *mi* to the affirmative ending or by using the negative auxiliaries *med, min* instead of their affirmative counterparts.

(7) a) *khong   las.ka   byed   – kyi.yod.kyi.red*
          s/he+H   work   VBZ   – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

     He probably works. (The speaker bases himself on the fact that the
     person is adult.)

     b) *khong   las.ka   byed   – kyi.yod.kyi.ma.red*
          s/he+H   work   VBZ   – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG

     He probably doesn't work. (The speaker bases himself on the fact
     that the person is still young.)

(8) a) *khong   yang.se   mo.Ta ʻdi   btang   – gi.yod.pa.ʻdra*
          s/he+H   often   car   this   VBZ   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

     It seems he often drives the car. (The speaker can often see that the
     person's car is not in front of the house.)

     b) *khong   yang.se   mo.Ta ʻdi   btang   – gi.med.pa.ʻdra*
          s/he+H   often   car   this   VBZ   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

     It doesn't seem he often drives the car. (The speaker can see that the
     person's car is constantly in front of the house.)

Some types are formally negative but semantically positive or vice versa, for
example *med.ʻgroʻo* (pronounced with a rising intonation it has positive po-
larity) or the verbal ending *mi.yong.ngas.* See the example below, in which (a)
is formally negative (containing the negative auxiliary *med*) but semantically
positive and (b) formally positive (containing the positive auxiliary *yod*) but
semantically negative:

(9) a) *khong – gis   las.ka   byas   – med.ʻgroʻo*
          s/he+H – ERG   work   do (PAS) – PERF+EPI 1+FACT
     She probably worked.

     b) *khong – gis   las.ka   byas   – yod.ʻgroʻo*
          s/he+H – ERG   work   do (PAS) – PERF+EPI 1+FACT+NEG
     She probably didn't work.

There are differences in acceptability of some negative endings between the
Tibetans living in Central Tibet and those from the diaspora. The latter admit

some negative forms that are rejected in Lhasa, e.g. *med.kyi.red, gi.med.sa.red*.
The forms used in Lhasa are *yod.kyi.ma.red* and *gi.yod.sa.ma.red*. This is il-
lustrated by Ex. (10), which is only acceptable in the diaspora, not in Lhasa:

(10) a) *! kho   phyin   – med.kyi.red*
          he   go (PAS)   – PERF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG
      He probably didn't go. (The speaker bases himself on the fact that the
      person rarely goes there.)

      b) *! nyi.ma   na   – gi.med.sa.red*
          Nyima   be ill   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG
      It seems Nyima won't get ill. (The speaker infers this from the fact that
      Nyima looks healthy and he does a lot of sports.)

This fact confirms the hypothesis that there are fewer restrictions on the ac-
ceptability of certain language items in the exile community than in Central
Tibet. The reason is most probably the fact that the Tibetans living in the ex-
ile community come from all parts of Tibet, and thus the dialectal variation
is much higher there and the influence of these dialects on Standard Tibetan
more important than in Central Tibet.

3. Functional analysis of epistemic endings

In this part, epistemic endings will be discussed from a semantic and func-
tional point of view. I will analyse in more detail their epistemic, evidential,
deontic and other meanings, and their use as markers of the tense-aspect.
Furthermore, the relation of epistemic endings with the category of person
will be approached.

It should be pointed out that there are geographic differences in the use of
epistemic endings among native speakers. The Tibetans in Central Tibet tend
to use different types of epistemic endings than those in the diaspora (India,
Nepal). Below is an example with the ending *pa.ʾdug* (*pa.ʾdug > pa*), which is,
in general, only used by Tibetans in Central Tibet (Ex. 11):

(11) *khong   na.tsha   mgyogs.po   drag   – pa*
      s/he+H   illness   fast   get better   – FUT+EPI 3+SENS
      Surely, he'll be OK soon. (The speaker can see that the person is eating
      more than before.)

In the diaspora, the epistemic endings with the morpheme *sa* (e.g. *yod.sa.red*)
are the most frequent epistemic type. On the other hand, they are less fre-
quent in Central Tibet. The Lhasa people view them as dialectal because they
are usually used by Tibetans coming to Lhasa from Eastern Tibet (Kham,
Hor). Whereas Ex. (12a) occurs more often in the exile community, Ex. (12b)
would be heard in Lhasa:

(12) a) *nyi.ma   – r   dngul   thob   – yod.sa.red*
          Nyima   – OBL   money   win   – PERF+EPI 2+SENS
          Nyima most probably won some money. (The speaker saw Nyima in
          the shop spending a lot of money.)

      b) *nyi.ma   – r   dngul   thob   – yod.pa.ʿdra*
          Nyima   – OBL   money   win   – PERF+EPI 2+ SENS
          Nyima most probably won some money. (The speaker saw Nyima in
          the shop spending a lot of money.)

Epistemic endings also differ in the degree of frequency with which they are
used. Below are sentences with the frequently used ending *yod.pa.ʿdra* and
the rare ending *pa.yin.bzo.ʿdug*:

(13) *khong   – gis   bod.skad   rgya.gar – nas   sbyangs– yod.pa.ʿdra*
      s/he+H   – ERG   Tibetan   India   – ABL   learn   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
      He most probably learnt Tibetan in India. (The speaker can hear that
      the person speaks in the same way as the Tibetans living in India do.)

(14) *bu ʿdi – s   dbyin.ji.skad   rgya.gar – nas   sbyangs – pa.yin.bzo.ʿdug*
      boy   this -ERG   English lang.   India   – ABL   learn   – PFV+EPI 1+SENS
      It seems it is in India that this boy learnt English. (The speaker thinks
      so because the boy speaks with the Indian accent.)

3.1. MARKERS OF EPISTEMIC MODALITIES

The various types of epistemic endings differ in the degree of the speaker's certainty of the actuality of his utterance. I have classified them in three degrees, EPI 1, EPI 2 and EPI 3, corresponding, respectively, to weaker (>50%), stronger (+−75%) and strongest (<100%) levels of probability.[8] All types of epistemic endings are classified according to their degree of certainty as follows:

Weaker probability, >50%:   *yod.bzo.ʻdug, yod.ʻgro* and *med.ʻgroʻo, mi.yong.*
                               ngas, mdog.kha.po+red/ʻdug
Stronger probability, +/−75%: *yod.pa.yod, yod.kyi.red, yod.sa.red, yod.pa.ʻdra,*
                               yong, yong.nga.yod
High probability, <100%:   *pa.yod, pa.ʻdug*

Compare the three degrees of certainty expressed by epistemic verbal endings in the following examples: EPI 1 (Ex. 15), EPI 2 (Ex. 16), EPI 3 (Ex. 17):

Weaker probability:

(15) *khong   – gis   tshags.sha   bzas   – yod.ʻgro*
      s/he+H   – ERG   yak meat   eat (PAS) – PERF+EPI 1+FACT
      She probably ate yak meat. (The speaker bases his statement on
      the fact that this is common food in Tibet. She is Tibetan. So it is
      probable that she ate yak meat. However, the speaker cannot be sure
      because there are also other things to eat in Tibet.)

Stronger probability:

(16) *khong   – gis   tshags.sha bzas   – yod.kyi.red*
      s/he+H   – ERG   yak meat   eat (PAS) – PERF+EPI 2+FACT
      She most probably ate yak meat. (She usually eats it. So the speaker
      assumes that it is more probable than not that she ate it this time.)

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8) This classification is based on my fieldwork in Tibetan communities between 2002–2005.

High probability:

(17) *khong   – gis   tshags.sha bzas   – pa.yod*
      s/he+H   – ERG   yak meat   eat (PAS) – PFV-EPI 3+EGO
      She must have eaten yak meat. (The speaker knows that she loves yak
      meat. So he is almost sure that she ate it.)

3.2. MARKERS OF EVIDENTIALITY

Although it is not the primary function of epistemic endings, they often con-
vey an evidential meaning i.e. they specify the source of information[9] (for
more details, refer to Vokurkova 2008), e.g. *yod.ʿgro, yod.kyi.red* and *mdog.
kha.po-red* have a factual meaning, *pa.ʿdug, yod.pa.ʿdra* and *mdog.ka.po+ʿdug*
a sensory meaning, *pa.yod, yod.pa.yod* and *a.yod* an egophoric meaning. The
fact that some epistemic endings have evidential connotations was stated in
Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003, pp. 176, 307) for the types *yod.pa.ʿdra, yod.
kyi.red,* and *pa.yod* but not for other types. Compare below the differences
in the evidential meaning of the examples (18), (19) and (20):

(18) *khong   – la   dgaʿ.rogs   yod.kyi.red*
      s/he+H   – OBL   lover   exist (EPI 2+<u>FACT</u>)
      She most probably has a boyfriend (logical inference – The speaker
      knows her well. They are friends or relatives. She has changed her
      behaviour recently, e.g. coming home late, buying new clothes.).

(19) *dmag.mi – s   lam.khag   bkag   – yod.pa.ʿdra*
      soldier   – ERG   road   block   – PERF+EPI 2+<u>SENS</u>
      Soldiers probably blocked the road. (The speaker bases his statement
      on a visual perception that there are no cars in the street.)

---

9) As Aikhenvald (2004:9) put it, "linguistic evidentiality is a grammatical system […] In lan-
   guages with grammatical evidentiality, marking how one knows something is a must."

(20) *khong   – gis   mog.mog   bzos   – a.yod*
     s/he+H – ERG   momo   make (PAS) – PERF+EPI 3+<u>EGO</u>+NEG
     I doubt she made momos. (The speaker bases his statement on
     personal knowledge. He knows that she doesn't know how to make
     them.)

3.3. MARKERS OF DEONTIC AND OTHER DERIVED MEANINGS

According to the results of my research, epistemic endings may also imply
other meanings than the expression of probability and the source of infor-
mation. They convey various deontic and other derived meanings, such as
obligation, hope, surprise, disagreement, regret. In determining these mean-
ings, one has to consider illocutionary modalities and speech acts[10] (Palmer
1986). Prosody also has an influence on the semantic interpretation of sen-
tences containing an epistemic ending. Below are examples of various derived
meanings of epistemic endings:

OBLIGATION

Some epistemic endings in spoken Tibetan historically consist of the nomi-
nalizer *rgyu* and an essential epistemic auxiliary (e.g. *yin.gyi.red*), for exam-
ple *rgyu.yin.gyi.red*. These endings are used in future contexts. In addition
to the epistemic and evidential meanings, they may also convey the deontic
meaning of obligation. It should be emphasized that, unlike deontic eviden-
tial endings (e.g. *rgyu.yin*), the deontic endings that express a lower degree
of certainty of the speaker than 100% are rather rare in the spoken language.
See the following examples:

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10) Tournadre (2004, p. 52) discusses the role of illocutionary modalities and stresses the impor-
    tance of the theory of speech acts in relation to the enunciative aim of the speaker: *«Le troi-
    sième domaine, celui de la visée énonciative, correspond aux modalités illocutoires et à l'objectif
    que poursuit le locuteur en prononçant un énoncé. Cette visée peut être analysée d'un point
    de vue grammatical, en types de phrases (modalités interrogatives, déclaratives, exclamatives,
    injonctives) mais doit aussi être plus précisément décrite dans le cadre théorique des actes de
    langage.»*

(21) *las.ka   tshang.ma   rang   – gis   byed   – rgyu.yin.pa.'dra*
    work   all   you   – ERG   do (PRS) – FUT+EPI 2+SENS+DEO
It seems you have to do all the work. (The speaker bases himself on a visual perception that you are the only person here, the others all left.)

(22) *khong   bod.skad   sbyangs   – rgyu.yin.gyi.red*
    s/he+H   Tibetan lang.   learn   – FUT+EPI 2+FACT+DEO
He most probably has yet to learn Tibetan. (He has learnt Chinese but not yet Tibetan. He lives in Tibet now.)

DESIDERATIVE

Sentences with an epistemic ending may sometimes have a boulic meaning: they convey the speaker's hope and expectations. The subject is often, though not always, first person. Look at the example below:

(23) *nga   – s   yig.tshad   di   lon   – pa.yod*
    I   – ERG   exam   this   pass   – PFV+EPI 3+EGO
I must have passed the exam. or Hopefully, I passed the exam.
(The speaker answered all the questions and he thinks that he knew everything.)

Furthermore, there is an expression consisting of the verb *chog* 'be allowed' and the epistemic ending *ga* (*ga < pa* from the epistemic ending *pa.'dug, chog – pa.'dug > chog – ga*) corresponding to the English 'May… (do)' or 'I wish …'. The lexical verb is in the past stem. See the following examples:

(24) *kho   phyin   chog   – ga*
    he   go (PAS)   be allowed – FUT+EPI 3+SENS
May he go.

(25) *gshe.gshe ma   – btang   chog   – ga*
    scold   NEG – VBZ   be allowed – FUT+EPI 3+SENS
I wish you didn't scold [me].

SURPRISE, DISAGREEMENT

Some sentences with an epistemic ending convey the speaker's surprise at what he hears and may also imply his disagreement or discontent with the content of the sentence (Ex. 26). Such sentences could be interpreted in relation to the "category which is used to mark both hearsay or inference and certain kinds of first-hand knowledge", called 'mirative' or 'admirative' (DeLancey 1997, p. 33, see also DeLancey 2001). The category marks "both statements based on inference and statements based on direct experience for which the speaker had no psychological preparation, and in some languages hearsay data as well" (DeLancey 1997, p. 35). This is illustrated by the following examples with the epistemic ending *pa.yin.ʿgroʿo*:

(26) *dkar.yol*   *ʿdi*   *nga* – *s*   *bcag* – *pa.yin.ʿgroʿo*
     cup   this   I – ERG   break – PFV+EPI 1+FACT+NEG
     What! I can't have broken the cup. (The speaker is told that he broke the cup. He is surprised and doesn't agree.)

REGRET

Epistemic endings (and copulas) are furthermore used in contexts implying that the speaker regrets having done something. This use is illustrated by the following example with the epistemic copula *yong.nga.yod*:

(27) *nga* – *s*   *kha.lag*   *ʿdi*   *ma* – *bzas*   *naʿi*   *yong.nga.yod*
     I   – ERG   food   this   NEG – eat (PAS)   even if   exist (EPI 2+EGO)
     If only I hadn't eaten this food.

3.4. MARKERS OF TENSE-ASPECTS

3.4.1. THE TENSE-ASPECT PARADIGM OF EPISTEMIC ENDINGS

In spoken Tibetan, as stated above, there are eleven types of epistemic endings that are more or less frequently used. The majority of these types are paradigmatic, i.e. each type consists of four endings, each of them referring to a different tense-aspect. Formally, all these endings consist of two formants. The first formant is always identical for those endings that express the

same tense-aspect (e.g. *gi.yod* for all imperfective endings), the second one is different (e.g. *pa.ʾdra, sa.red, bzo.ʾdug*). The epistemic paradigm is presented in the table below and illustrated by examples:[11]

1 Perfective past   *pa.yin*.gyi.red[12]
2 Present perfect and the immediate present   *yod*.kyi.red
3 Imperfective (past, long-term present and future) *gi.yod*.kyi.red
4 (Deontic) future   *rgyu.yin*.gyi.red

(28) a) *khong rgya.gar   – la   phyin – pa.yin.gyi.red*
         s/he+H   India   – OBL   go (PAS) – PFV+EPI 2+FACT
         Most probably, it is to India that she went. (The speaker knows
         that she left. He is asked whether she went to China or India.
         Basing himself, for example, on the fact that many Tibetans go to
         India, he thinks she went to India.)

   b) *khong rgya.gar   – la   phyin – yod.kyi.red*
         s/he+H   India   – OBL   go (PAS) – PERF+EPI 2+FACT
         She has most probably gone to India. (The speaker may know that
         she has left but not necessarily. He bases himself, for example, on
         the fact that many Tibetans go to India.)

   c) *khong mgyogs.po rgya.gar – la   ʾgro   – gi.yod.kyi.red*
         s/he+H   soon   India   – OBL   go (PAS)   – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT
         Most probably, she will soon go to India. (The speaker knows that
         she planned to go in September. It is the beginning of September
         now. So he infers that she will probably leave soon.)

   d) *khong rgya.gar   – la   ʾgro   – rgyu.yin.gyi.red*
         s/he+H   India   – OBL   go (PAS) – FUT+EPI 2+FACT
         She most probably has (yet) to go to India. (The speaker knows that
         she was about to go to India. The weather conditions have been very
         bad recently. So he thinks that she has not left yet.)

---

11) Some native speakers living in the diaspora accepted other future endings than those men-
    tioned below but these were refused by the informants from Lhasa. Diachronically, these
    endings consist of the nominalizer *gi* and the auxiliary *yin* followed by a second formant,
    e.g. *gi.yin.ʾgro.*
12) The perfective past endings are generally less frequent than the present perfect endings. If
    it is possible to use both endings, they usually differ in scope.

PARADIGMATIC EPISTEMIC ENDINGS

The following types form the same paradigm as *yod.kyi.red: yod.pa.yod* (i.e. *pa.yin.pa.yod, yod.pa.yod, gi.yod.pa.yod, rgyu.yin.pa.yod*), *yod.ʼgro, yod.pa.ʼdra, yod.sa.red, yod.bzo.ʼdug,* and *yong.nga.yod* (**pa.yong.nga.yod* does not exist). The type *a.yod* differs in that the morpheme *a* is placed between the nominalizer and the auxiliary (*pa.a.yin, gi.a.yod, rgyu.a.yin*).

NON-PARADIGMATIC EPISTEMIC ENDINGS

Some epistemic endings used in spoken Tibetan are not part of the above paradigm. These are: *pa.yod, ʼgro, bzo.ʼdug, pa.ʼdug, sa.red, mi.yong.ngas, a.yong, pa.ʼdra* and *yong.* Moreover, there is a construction with the epistemic suffix *mdog.kha.po* and the auxiliaries *red, ʼdug* or *yod.*

3.5. PARTICIPANT PERSPECTIVE AND EPISTEMIC ENDINGS

Epistemic verbal endings are neutral regarding the person, i.e. they may be used with any person in the subject position. Almost any epistemic ending can be used with all persons. However, since epistemic endings are usually used to express some degree of the speaker's uncertainty in relation to the content of his utterance, the subject is usually third or second person. The speaker is in general less sure about other persons than about himself. The following sentence is an example of co-occurrence of the third person with an epistemic ending:

(29) *khong   ʼkhyag   – gi.yod.pa.ʼdra*
      s/he+H   be cold   – IMPF+EPI 1+SENS
    It seems she is cold. (The speaker can see her shivering.)

In an appropriate context, it is, however, sometimes possible to use an epistemic ending with the first person subject that justifies the co-occurrence of the first person and the epistemic ending, as in Ex. (30):

(30) *nga – r   gser – gyi   rtags.ma   rag – gi.yod.pa.ʼdra*
      I   – OBL   gold – GEN   medal   get   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
    It seems I will get the golden medal. (The speaker has seen the other competitors and it seems to him that he is the best one.)

Although the first person subject sentences may sometimes express the speaker's mere doubts or hesitation as in the case of the sentences with the third person subject, my fieldwork has shown that, in general, they convey other meanings, such as: bad memory (the speaker does not remember something well, Ex. 31), deontic (wish or hope, Ex. 32), non-controlled actions (the action of the utterance does not depend on the speaker's will, Ex. 33). The various meanings of sentences with the first person subject and an epistemic ending are illustrated by the following examples:

(31) *gzaˑ.zla.ba*   *– r*   *nga*   *– s*   *brnyan.ʿphyin*   *bltas*
    Monday   – OBL   I   – ERG   television   watch (PAS)
    – yod.ʿgroˑo
    – PERF+EPI – 1+FACT+NEG
    I do not think I watched TV last Monday. (The speaker does not remember well if he watched TV on Monday but he rather thinks it was some other day.)

(32) *nga*   *– r*   *spu.gu*   *skyes*   *– a.yong*
    I   – OBL   child   give birth   – PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG
    I wish I could have a child. (The speaker rather thinks she won't. She tried many times but it didn't work out.)

(33) *nga*   *– r*   *las.ka*   *rag*   *– gi.yod.ʿgro*
    I   – OBL   work   get   – IMPF+EPI 1+FACT
    I will perhaps get a job. (The others got a job. So the speaker thinks he has a chance too.)

The first person subject may also be used with an epistemic ending in conditional sentences implying that the fulfilment of the content of the main clause depends on the condition expressed in the subordinate clause. This is illustrated by the following example:

(34) *nga   chu.tshod brgyad.pa – r   thon – na   chu.tshod dgu.pa – r*
     I   hour   eighth   – OBL leave – if   hour   ninth   – OBL
khong – gi   nang   – la   slebs – mdog.kha.po   – red
     s/he+H – GEN   home   – OBL arrive – EPI 1   – AUX (FACT)
If I leave at eight, I should get to his place at nine. (The speaker
guesses so but it depends on the traffic conditions.)

Some epistemic endings, e.g. *yod.pa.yod, yod.pa.'dra* (Ex. 35a), combine more
easily with the first person than others, e.g. *yod.kyi.red* (Ex. 35b). In particular,
the verbal endings of the type *yod.pa.yod* are often used with the first person
subject implying the speaker's bad memory. Compare the following sentences:

(35) a) *nga   'khyag   – gi.yod.pa.'dra*
       I   be cold   – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
I have a feeling of getting cold.

b) * *nga   'khyag   – gi.yod.kyi.red*
      I   be cold   – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT
Intended: I will probably get cold.

4. Conclusion

The paper has demonstrated that to convey epistemic meanings Tibetan
makes use of both lexical and grammatical means. The grammatical ex-
pression of epistemic meanings has, in the spoken language, developed into
a complex system of epistemic verbal endings. Nowadays, this is the most
common way of expressing possibility and probability in Tibetan. Neverthe-
less, the use of this grammatical means does not exclude using other lexical
means for conveying an epistemic meaning, especially epistemic adverbs.

Furthermore, it should be stressed that there is a considerable divergence in
the use of epistemic endings among native speakers caused by various factors,
e.g. geographical (Central Tibet vs. diaspora), dialectal (influence of other
dialects) and idiolectal (preference for one or two types of epistemic endings).

Abbreviatons

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

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Dravidian and Altaic – two layers in Dravidian due to ancient high contact?[1]

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Summary: This paper draws general conclusions about the implications of the parallels found between Dravidian and Altaic. In the margin it also offers several important parallels concerning the 'chieftain' or 'king' and a few words referring to the related 'instruments of power' ('chariot', 'axe', 'bow', 'bow-string'), possibly also 'hunting' (including the 'hook'). The parallels established so far (see the references below) are too numerous to be mere coincidence. But at the same time there are important gaps (no parallel numerals or personal pronouns) on the one hand, and on the other hand we encounter a great variation of forms, irregularities in the phonetic correspondences and numerous doublets in all the languages concerned. These 'symptoms' are a clear indication that we have to do not with a language family but with an ancient contact between languages with all that this entails. It was obviously a 'high contact'. The question of when and where this contact took place remains open and though there are some hypothetical implications pointing to the 1st half of the 1st Millennium B.C. on (South) Indian soil, this hypothesis will have to be checked against many more linguistic, archaeological and anthropological data.

1. Introduction

The Dravidian and Altaic parallels were discussed in my earlier papers over the last thirty years. In the last 150 years the relationship of Dravidian and Altaic has been proposed by several scholars. Some examples have been mentioned already by R. Caldwell in 1850 and later the subject was raised by P. Meile (1949) and K. Bouda (as Uralaltaic – 1953, 1956). The problem has also been studied in some greater detail by K.H. Menges (esp. 1964, 1977). However, Altaic is not the only language family to be compared with Dravidian. Apart from Bouda, Dravidian and Uralian was discussed very early by F.O. Schrader (1925) and later also by Th. Burrow (1943) and S.A. Tyler (1968). Also to be mentioned are the suggestions concerning a relationship

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1) This paper is an extended version of the presentation at the 37th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, International School of Dravidian Linguistics and Dravidian Linguistic Association, June 18–20, 2009. A shorter Russian version was presented at the Conference on the Current Problems of Mongolian and Altaic Studies (Актуальные проблемы монголоведных и алтаистических исследований), on the occasion of the Jubilee of V. I. Rassadin, in Elista, Kalmyk Republic on November 12, 2009 (cf. the references below).

with Elamite (McAlpin 1981) on the one hand, and Korean (Hulbert 1906, Clippinger 1984) and Japanese (Ohno 1980) on the other. The various trends in the long-range comparison of Dravidian with other language families were summed up by Zvelebil (1991 with further references). There are also studies on the parallels with Australian languages (Blažek 2006, 2007), which may be complementary to some of the above comparisons with Eurasia (see below).

In my previous papers (see the list at the end of the paper) I have under-lined several times that this type of parallels cannot or need not necessarily be interpreted as a reflection of a language family. There are a relatively great number of **lexical** parallels and only some **morphological** parallels including the resulting **phonetic** parallels, although with a rather high rate of variation and also important *lacunae* – **no numerals, no personal pronouns**.[2] In ad-dition to that, there are many **irregular** correspondences due to a number of lexical **doublets** on both sides, which have to be accounted for.[3]

The lexical parallels include words from the **basic vocabulary**, in partic-ular **verbs** and **nouns** referring to the immediately *surrounding natural en-vironment*, to *parts of the body*, *kinship terms*[4] and some general concepts.[5] Particularly important are the parallel verbs (particularly the VC- / CVC- root),

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2) As for other pronouns, in some Altaic languages we may possibly detect some common deictic bases, e.g.
   Ta. *aṉaiya* such, the same; *aṉṉa* such or similar things (DEDR 1)
   Mo. *önüge, önü* b. the present, this; the said, the one
   　önüki the one in question, that very (thing or person).
   Or interrogative bases, e.g.
   Ta. *yā* what or which things; *eṉṉa* what (DEDR 5151)
   Mo. *jayu(n)* what, which; Preclass. Mo. *yan* what (Poppe, 1964, p. 52)
   MT. *Ē* what (MTD I,286–7; seven languages).
   　However, this is only a preliminary sample of select data, which will have to be further elaborated.
3) Particularly if we should think in the 'Young Grammarian' manner. In fact the phonetic cor-respondences display a 'regularity' of a different order, which I have called a *continuum* of forms which can be best grasped by way of *models* (cf. particularly Vacek 2002a). For a sum-mary of the basic phonetic correspondences cf. e.g. Vacek (2002a, 2004b and also 2009a).
4) Including the general term for 'male':
   Ta. *āḷ* man, husband (plus Ma., Ka. etc.)
   Kur. *āl* adult male, husband; *ālas* an adult male person, husband (DEDR 399)
   Br. *arē (pl. arisk)* male individual, person, husband (listed with a question mark s.v. Ta. *ēṟu* bull, male of certain animals; DEDR 917);
   Mo. *er-e* man, male
   MT. *ILE* I man, human being, husband (Evenk., MTD I,311)
   OT. *el, il* people (MTD I,311); tribal alliance; tribal organisation; people (OTD s.v.); Clauson (s.v. *é:l*, p. 121) maintains that "the basic, original meaning was 'a political unit organ-ized and ruled by an independent ruler'; the most convenient short term in English is

which further display another substantial parallel morphological feature immediately after the root or stem – the original verbal noun suffixes, which ultimately developed into **temporal suffixes**. They correspond both in form and function to the same morphemes in Mongolian and partly also in Turkic (cf. Vacek 1977, 1978). Besides that there are suffixes, which could be called '**stem extensions**' in both Dravidian and Altaic and which constitute verbal stems of two syllables (for more details cf. e.g. Vacek 2009a, p. 232).

All these 'symptoms', the combination of regularity with irregularity, and in particular the significant *lacunae* in the lexical parallels, actually point in the direction of an ancient **linguistic area**, whose time and space are still to be specified more precisely in the course of further investigation of this topic (cf. also Hook 1987; Masica 1976).

I have argued several times that attempting reconstructions in such contexts would hardly bring any reliable or realistic results (Vacek 2002a, 2004b, 2009a), though reconstruction is made both in Altaic (e.g. Poppe 1960, Starostin et alia) and also in Dravidian (cf. Zvelebil 1970, 1977; Krishnamurthy 2001, 2003; Southworth 2005a; P.S. Subrahmanyam 2008). At a very early stage in the comparative work I gave up the possibility of **reconstruction** of the individual lexical parallels (on reconstruction cf. also Birnbaum 1977; Schwink 1994). It was only very slowly that I arrived at the idea of ***models*** which can be applied especially to verbs, but also to some nouns, having a wide range of phonetic variation. Some of the models can be more complicated, including the problem of semantics (cf. Vacek 2002a).

As for the missing ***personal pronouns***[6] and the ***numerals*** there is one hypothetical possibility that these lexical classes are related to the Australian languages (Blažek 2006, 2007) and could thus represent a residuum of the

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'realm'." Could this be a further semantic development, which can also be compared with DEDR 5157: Ta. *(y)āḷ* to rule, reign over; Te. *ēlu, ēḷu* to rule, govern; etc.?

As for the 'female', the lexeme has a different connotation in the 'mother / woman' semantic 'blend': Ta. *ammā,* Mo. *em-e* etc. (cf. Vacek, Lubsangdorji 1994; Vacek 2004b or 2006a, No. 2).

5) The majority of etymologies discussed in my papers include the **verbs** (Vacek 2004b, Nos. 4–14; cf. also Vacek 1983, 1992b, 1994, 1996b, 2003, 2004c, 2005a, 2005b, 2006b, 2006d, 2007b, 2007c, 2008a), particularly those of the ***basic lexicon***, and also **nouns** from the basic lexicon – concerning the *body* (Vacek 2005c, 2006c, 2007a, 2008b)*, immediate nature* (No. 3 above; Vacek 2001a, 2001b, 2002a)*, some animals* (Vacek 2002c, 2004a) and *kinship terms* (Vacek 2004b, Nos. 2, 3; cf. also Vacek, Lubsangdorji 1994)*.

6) For an important systematic survey and comparative study of Dravidian personal pronouns, cf. Krishnamurti (2001, chapter 4, pp. 76–98), which is an updated reprint of a study published in 1968 (*Studies in Indian Linguistics: Professor M. B. Emeneau Ṣaṣṭipūrti Volume*. Centers of Advanced Study, Poona & Annamalainagar, pp. 189–205).

original linguistic structure (cf. Note 59 below; cf. also the proposal below concerning 'layers' in Dravidian).

In this paper I will add a few lexical parallels from the area specified below referring to the 'king' and select 'instruments of power'. I will show, by using a sample of lexemes from this semantic field, that the situation in Dravidian in fact corresponds to the possibility of an ancient language contact. The contact had to be very intimate. It could have allowed for a significant amount of borrowing on the one hand, but on the other hand it also preserved parallel synonyms in the Dravidian languages. The implication of this relatively considerable phonetic closeness would seem to be that the time of the contact should not be projected onto an excessively remote past. Judging from the other indications (a relatively small number of Dravidian borrowings in the *Ṛgveda* for which I cannot identify any Altaic parallels; a great number of Munda borrowings including personal names; cf. Witzel 1999, Kuiper 1991), the presumed contact of Altaic migrants(?) with the indigenous ('pre-Altaic') Dravidian speakers could have occurred as late as the first half of the first millennium B.C.

2. Select parallels referring to the 'king' and related 'instruments' of power

2.0.

This choice of parallels is not coincidental. The following lexemes represent one mutually connected lexical (and semantic) group in the semantic structure of these languages and in that sense they can be viewed as a special semantic unit with a higher informative value. The 'chieftain' or 'king' uses the 'chariot'; in military activities both 'axe' and 'bow / bowstring' are essential. Some of these words may also be used in the context of hunting (including also the 'hook'), but may also be used in more general contexts.[7] There is a possibility that the word for 'boat' in some MT. languages (and also Nivh) may be related to the lexeme designating a 'chariot'. It should be underlined that Dravidian has a number of synonyms for all these concepts (including borrowings from IA), which appear to be of great importance. At the same time, these are not 'absolute' synonyms, but rather they usually represent a semantic oscillation around the basic concept.

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7) The list of 'instruments' is not final. There are some more parallels of this type which will have to be dealt with on a later occasion.

2.1. King, ruler, chieftain

A. Synonyms in Dravidian

None of the synonyms is distributed in a balanced manner in the various Dravidian languages. It is interesting to note that the Sanskrit borrowing (Ta. *aracaṉ,* etc.; DEDR 201) is represented in the greatest number of languages from Tamil to Telugu. On the other hand DEDR 2177 (Ta. *kō,* etc.) may have a significant representation in North Dravidian (cf. below). Ta. *vēḷ* (DEDR 5545) is recorded on two extreme sides of the Dravidian continuum – South Dravidian (Tamil) and North Dravidian (Kurukh). Most of these lexemes are relatively well represented in Old Tamil Sangam literature, a fact that is also true of the Sanskrit borrowing (Ta. *aracaṉ,* DEDR 201), though the frequency is lower (cf. below). For the description of the position of the various chieftains etc. in ancient Tamil social structure cf. e.g. Subrahmanian (1980, pp. 37ff.) or Thirunavukkarasu (1994). Some interesting aspects of the social relations are also referred to by Gurukkal (2006).

Ta. *maṉ*   king, kṣatriya, warrior, lord, chief, husband
   maṉṉaṉ   king, lord, chief, husband; *maṉṉavaṉ* king, etc., Indra[8]
Ma. *mannan, mannavan*   king
Ka. *manneya*   chieftain, commander
Te. *manniya, manniyāḍu, mannīḍu, manne, mannēḍu, mannekā ḍu*   lord, suzerain, chief, chieftain (DEDR 4774)[9]

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8) These lexemes are represented in Old Tamil Sangam literature quite frequently if counted together:
   Ta. *maṉṉaṉ* – Sangam total **16×:** Puṟa. 7×; Aka. 2×; Naṟ. 2×; Kuṟu. 1×; Kali. 1×; Pati. 1×. Plus inflected forms: *maṉṉaṉiṉ* (Aiṅk. 290,1); *maṉṉaṉai* (Puṟa. 328,16) (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
   Ta. *maṉṉar* (plural or honorific) – Sangam total **49×:** Puṟa. 17×; Aka. 7×; Naṟ. 6×; Pati. 5×; Peru. 2×; Ciṟu. 2×; Aiṅk. 1×; Pati-ti. 1×; Poru. 1×; Matu. 1×; Paṭṭi. 1×. Plus inflected forms: *maṉṉarkku* (2×); *maṉṉarai* (3×) (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
   Ta. *maṉṉavaṉ* – Sangam total **8×:** Kali. 5×; Aiṅk. 1×. Plus *maṉṉava* (Pari. 3,85); *maṉṉavar* (Pari. 10,59) (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
9) Southworth (2005, App. B, note 5) mentions the possibility (p.c. S. Stever) that the word is to be derived from *maṉ* 'to be located', *maṉai* house etc. He probably means DEDR 4778, Ta. *maṉṉu* to be permanent, endure etc.

Ta. *vēḷ*   petty ruler, chief, Cāḷukya king, illustrious or great man, hero[10]
    vēḷir   a class of ancient chiefs in the Tamil country, the Cāḷukyas, petty chiefs
    ?*vēḷāḷaṉ*   a person of Vēḷāḷa caste
Kur. *bēlas*   king, zemindar, god
    belxā   kingdom
    belō, *bēlō*   queen of white-ants   (DEDR 5545)[11]

Ta. *vēntaṉ*   king, Indra, sun, moon, Bṛhaspati[12]
    vēntu   kingly position, kingdom, royalty, king, Indra
    vēttiyal   kingly nature
Ma. *vēntan, vēntu*   king (only Ta., Ma.)   (DEDR 5529)[13]

Ta. *aracaṉ, araicaṉ, araiyaṉ*   king, sovereign, prince
    araci   queen
    aracu, araicu   kingliness, king, kingdom, government[14]
      Plus Ma., Ko., To., Ka., Koḍ., Tu., Te. (< Skt.)   (DEDR 201)[15]

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10) These lexemes are represented in Old Tamil Sangam literature relatively frequently:
    Ta. *vēḷ* – Sangam total **32×:** Aka. 9×; Puṟa. 8×; Pari. 4×; Matu. 2×; Aiṅk. 1×; Naṟ. 1×; Kuṟu. 1×; Kali. 1×; Pati. 1×; Pari-ti. 1×; Kuṟi. 1×; Malai. 1×; Peru. 1× (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
11) Southworth (2005, Ap. A-E) reconstructs as *vēḷ, a form identical with Tamil.
12) These lexemes are represented in Old Tamil Sangam literature with a high frequency:
    Ta. *vēntaṉ* – Sangam total **51×:** Aka. 17×; Puṟa. 10×; Aiṅk. 8×; Kali. 3×; Naṟ. 1×; Neṭu. 1×; Kuṟi. 1×. Plus inflected forms: *vēntaṟku* (**4×**: Puṟa.); *vēntaṉatu* (**1×**: Aiṅk.); *vēntaṉai* (**1×**: Puṟa.); *vēntaṉōṭu* (**4×**: Aiṅk. 2×; Puṟa. 2×); (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
    Ta. *vēntar* (plural or honorific) – Sangam total **55×:** Puṟa. 22×; Pati. 14×; Aka. 9×; Naṟ. 3×; Matu. 2×; Kuṟu. 1×; Kali. 1×; Kuṟi. 1×; Poru. 1×; Paṭṭi. 1×. Plus inflected forms: *vēntarkku* (**7×**: Puṟa. 6×; Pati. 1×); *vēntarai* (**5×**: Puṟa. 4×; Aka. 1×); *vēntaroṭu* (**2×**: Kuṟu. 1×; Matu. 1×) (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
    Ta. *vēntu* – Sangam total **77×:** Puṟa. 39×; Pati. 16×; Aiṅk. 9×; Aka. 2×; Kali. 2×; Naṟ. 7×; Kuṟu. 1×; Matu. 1× (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
13) Here the DEDR refers to DEDR 5530: Pa. *vēdid, vēdiḍ* god; Ga. (Oll.) *vēndiṭ* id.; (S.) *vēndiṭ* devil(s), spirit(s). ?Go. (Mu.) *vanḍin,* in: *pēnḍra vanḍin* the highest god of the Murias. If there is a relation between the two etyma, this also would represent a considerable semantic variation. This was discussed above as one of the important symptoms.
14) These lexemes are represented in Old Tamil Sangam literature with a lower frequency:
    Ta. *aracu* – Sangam total **33×:** Puṟa. 11×; Pati. 10×; Aiṅk. 4×; Matu. 2×; Naṟ. 1×; Malai. 2×; Mullai. 1×. Plus inflected forms: *araciṉ* (Puṟa. 1×); *aracoṭu* (Kali. 1×) (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
    Ta. *aracaṉ* – Sangam total **5×:** (Kali. 2×; Kuṟu. 1×). Plus inflected forms: *araca* (Aka. 1×); *aracaṉai* (Kali. 1×) (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
    Ta. *aracar* (plural and honorific) – Sangam total **5×:** (Aka. 1×; Kuṟu. 1×; Puṟa. 1×; Pati. 1×). Plus inflected form: *aracarkaḷ* (Kali. 1×) (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
15) Southworth (2005, Ap. B-E) reconstructs as *arac-aṉ and refers to the fact (note 9) that the

Ta. *kō, kōṉ, kōmāṉ*   emperor, king, great man, leadership[16]
    kōyil   palace, temple; *kōvil* temple
    kōyiṉmai, kōviṉmai, kōṉmai   royal dignity, arrogance
    kōṉāṭu   a division of the Chola country
    kōcar name of certain chieftains mentioned in the Sangam literature and
        connected with the Tuḷu country
Ma**.** *kō, kōn, kōmān* king
     kōyil, kōvil palace, temple; *kōyilakam* palace
     kōnma, kōyma royal authority
*Ko***.** ko·na·ṛ the plains; ko·na·ṭo·n, ko·na·ṭo·r man, men of the plains
Te. *kōyila, kōvela* temple
Pa. *kōc* king; Ga. (S) *kōsu* id.
? Kur. *kōhā* great, big, haughty, important, eminent in rank, etc.
    kōhar elders, grandees, chiefs; *koghā* great one, elder relative
    koghar elders   (DEDR 2177)[17]

B. Altaic parallels

The last etymon is represented rather selectively in the Dravidian continuum. But the Kurukh form is interesting. Though the DEDR puts a question-mark before the Kurukh examples with a medial velar, this form appears to be rather significant in the following Altaic context.

Ta. *kō, kōṉ, kōmāṉ*   emperor, king   (DEDR 2177) (see above)[18]

***

    DEDR includes the word though referring to its IA origin. Obviously, it is only a matter of the level of integration of the foreign borrowing into the system of the receiving language.

16) The Tamil words *kō, kōṉ, kōmāṉ* are attested in the Sangam literature with a relatively high frequency:
    Ta. *kō* – Sangam total **31×:** Puṟa. 15×; Pati. 9×; Kali. 4×; Naṟ. 1×; Pati.-ti. 1×; Matu. 1× (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
    Ta. *kōṉ* – Sangam total **6×:** Puṟa. 4×; Kali. 1×; Matu. 1× (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
    Ta. *kōmāṉ* – Sangam total **24×:** Puṟa. 7×; Aka. 7×; Ciṟu. 4×; Aiṅk. 2×; Pati. 2×; Kuṟu. 1×; Kali. 1× (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).

17) Southworth (2005, Ap. A-E) reconstructs as **kō(ṉ),* a form identical with Tamil. As for the Kurukh form, he makes a reference to DEDR 2178: Ta. *kō* 'mountain'.

18) At the moment I cannot see any parallels in Altaic with the variant lexemes having the medial sibilant or affricate in Old Tamil, Parji and Gadba:
    Ta. *kōcar* name of certain chieftains mentioned in the Sangam literature and connected with the Tuḷu country; Pa. *kōc* king; Ga. *kōsu* id.

Mo. *xayan*   great Khan, emperor, king (cf. *xan*[19])
    xan   Khan, king, chief

***

MT. *KAYANKĀN*   emperor (Evenk.) (MTD I,358)
    Variants in other languages: *kan, kahán, ẋan* etc.

***

OT. *xa:n*   a title at first practically synonymous with *xaǧan* but later used
        mainly for a subordinate ruler   (Cl. 630; according to Clauson this word
        was borrowed by Mongolian)
    xaǧan   a title of great antiquity taken over by Türkü in the specific sense
          of 'an independent ruler of a tribe or people' (Cl. 611)

2.2. Chariot, cart, (?boat)

A. Synonyms in Dravidian

In this case too, the synonyms are not distributed in a balanced manner throughout the continuum of Dravidian languages. The most widely represented is Ta. *paṇṭi* etc. (DEDR App. 50), though it does not appear in Old Tamil Sangam literature. As for the representation in Sangam literature, it is only the last lexeme below (Ta. *tēr*) which is represented there with a very high frequency, though its distribution in Dravidian is also rather selective (from Tamil to Telugu).

Ta. *paṇṭi*   cart, wagon, carriage
    vaṇṭi   id., cartload
    pāṇṭi   cart with a top, bullock cart
    pāṇṭil   two-wheeled cart, horse-drawn chariot
Ma. *vaṇṭi, vaṇṭil*   wheel, cart, bandy
Ko. *vaṇḍy*   cart
To. *poḍy*   bullock-cart
Ka. *baṇḍi*   bandy, cart, carriage, wheel
Tu. *baṇḍi, bhaṇḍi*   cart

---

19) Both of these two forms occur in Mongolian literature more or less interchangeably, and are rendered into English as Khan. However in modern usage *xayan* is used only for the Great Khan or for a foreign sovereign while *xan* is applied to lesser Khans.

Te. *baṇḍi*   carriage, cart, any wheeled conveyance
Kol. *baṇḍi*   bullock-cart for freight
Ga. *baṇḍi*   cart
Kuwi *baṇḍi*   id.   (DEDR App. 50)[20]

The other synonyms are less sufficiently represented in all the other Dravidian languages:

Kol. *kasur, kāsul, kāssul*   cart
Go. *kasur*, *khasur*   id.   (DEDR 1092)[21]

Ta. *kāl*   wheel, cart
Ka. *gāli*   wheel
Tu. *gāli*   id.
Te. *kalu*   a carriage wheel
　gānu, gālu   wheel   (DEDR 1483)[22]

Ta. *tēr*   car, chariot, vehicle[23]
Ma. *tēr*   chariot, temple car
Ko. *de·r*   god, possession of a diviner by a god
　te·r   possession of a diviner by a god
　te·rka·rn   diviner
　te·rka·rc   wife of diviner
To. *tö·r o·ḍ-*   (shaman) is dancing and divining
Ka. *tēr(u)*   chariot, idol-car
Tu. *tērụ*   idol-car, the car festival
Te. *tēru*   car, chariot   (DEDR 3459)

---

20) The DEDR refers to Oriya and derives the word from Sanskrit: 'Or. *baṇḍi*. Ultimately from Skt. *bhāṇḍa-* goods, wares, as carrying these; for an IE etymology for *bhāṇḍa-*, see Burrow, *BSOAS* 34.545–6.' However, the IE etymology is not acceptable for Mayrhofer (EWA s.v. *bhaṇḍa*) declares the word as 'unklar'. The Tamil word is not found in Sangam but appears in much later *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* (TL s.v.).

21) These two words with medial sibilants might be related with the following etymon with a liquid. This is not completely unusual in some other cases and should be kept in mind for future considerations.

22) Southworth (2005, Ap. B-G3) reconstructs as *kāl-, a form identical with Tamil. The Tamil word appears in Sangam ('wheel'), but since it is a homophone with many meanings, its frequency cannot be counted at the moment.

23) Ta. *tēr* – Sangam total **375×:** Aka. 97; Puṟa. 62×; Naṟ. 57×; Aiṅk. 36×; Kali. 32×; Kuṟu. 27×; Pati. 24×; Pari. 10×; Matu. 8×; Ciṟu. 5×; Peru. 5×; Malai. 4×; Poru. 2×; Kuṟi. 2×; Neṭu. 1×; Pati-ti. 1×; Mullai. 1×; Paṭṭi. 1× (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).

B. Altaic parallels

The Tamil word *tēr* appears relatively frequently in Sangam literature, very often in combination with *kōṉ* (see above).[24]

Ta. *tēr*   car, chariot, vehicle   (DEDR 3459) (see above)

***

Mo. *terge/n/*   vehicle; cart, wagon, carriage; car; rook (in chess)
    ?*teleg*   (Go.) cross pieces in a boat; thwarts

***

MT. *TERGE*   cart, wagon (Evenk., Sol., Ma. < Mo.; MTD II,238)
    ?*TERKE* II   boat (of the Nivh type consisting of three boards)
            (MTD II,239; cf. Nivh below)
    ?*TELLEKE*   boat (small and flat, of the Nanais) (MTD II,232)
    TURKU I   sledge (MTD II,220, cf. Yakut and Nivh below)

***

OT. *tilge:n*   wheel, disc (Cl. 499: 'unlikely to be a basic word but with no obvious
                etymology')
Yak. *turku*   a small sledge (< MT *turki* sledge) (MTD II,220; Räs. 500b-501a)[25]

***

?Nivh. *tyrky*   boat (high, for the sea) (MTD II,239, s.v. *TERKE* II)
        tū   dog's harness (MTD II,220, s.v. *TURKU* I)

A similar word in Slavonic (Russian *telega* cart) comes from the Turkic forms like *tägäräk, tägäläk* 'wheel, circle' (in several Turkic languages) and Krym. Tat. *täkär* 'the wheel of a cart' (Fasmer s.v. *telega*).

   This seems to be a much broader etymon, which also includes verbs and should be treated more exhaustively later. Cf. e.g.:

Mo. *tekere-, tekeri-*   to return, go back
    toɣuri-   to go about, circle; etc.
    teberi-   to encircle, encompass with etc.

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24) E.g. Aka. 35,14–14; 100,11–12; 209,2; 270,8–9; Aiṅk. 55,2.
25) Räsänen further refers to Mo. *terge-n* Karre, Wagen and Turk. *täz* entfliehen. MTD derives the Yakut word from Even.

***

Ta. *tikiri*   circle, circular form, wheel, potter's wheel, the discus weapon, char-
iot, car; etc.   (DEDR 3201)

Besides:
Ta. *tiri-*   to turn, revolve, be twisted etc.; Ma. *tiri* a turn, twist; Ko. *tirg-* to
turn (it.), return; *tirk* act of going and returning; etc. etc. (DEDR 3246)

2.3. Axe, hammer

A. Synonyms in Dravidian
This group of synonyms appears to be rather rich both in lexical variation
and in relatively representative distribution in the Dravidian languages – two
etyma have also a North Dravidian representation: Ta. *kuntāli* (DEDR 1722)
and Ta. *maḻu* (DEDR 4749).

Ta. *kuntāli, kuntāḷi*   pickaxe[26]
Ma. *kuntāli, kūntāli*   id.
Kurub. *kidli*   a spade
Ko. *kuda·y*   hoe
Ka. *guddali, gudli*   a kind of pickaxe, hoe
Koḍ. *guddali*   hoe with spade-like blade
Tu. *guddali, guddoli, guddoḷi*   a kind of pickaxe
Te. *guddali, guddili, guddela, guddēli, guddēlu*   a hoe
Nk. *kudaḷ*   spade
Go. *kudaṛ*   spade, axe
　　guddaṛ   spade, hoe
　　goodar   hoe
Konḍa *gudeli*   hoe-like instrument for digging
Malt. *qodali*   a spade   (DEDR 1722)[27]

Ta. *kuṭāri, kōṭāri, kōṭāli*   axe[28]
Ma. *kōṭāli, kōṭāḷi*   id.

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26) None of these is found in Old Tamil Sangam literature.
27) The DEDR refers to Ta. *kuttu* to puncture, pierce, bore, perforate, stab, sew, gore, insert
punctuation marks, dig (DEDR 1719), and
　　Skt. *kuddāla-* spade, hoe (Turner, CDIAL, No. 3286).
28) Only *kuṭāri* is found in Old Tamil Sangam literature (Sangam total **3×**).

Ka. *koḍali*   id.

Tu. *koḍari, kuḍari*   id.

Te. *goḍḍali, goḍḍeli, goḍḍēli, goḍḍēlu, goḍali*   id.

Kol. *golli, golī*   id.

Nk. *ghoḷi*   id.

Nk. (Ch.) *koḍli*   id.

Go. (M. Ko.) *goḍel*   id.

Konḍa *goṛel(i)*   id.

Pe. *kūṛel*   axe (large variety)

Kui *krāḍi* (? for *kṛāḍi*)   axe

Kuwi *kṛā'li, kṛa'li, gla'li*   large axe   (DEDR Ap. 32)[29]

Ta. *kaṇai*   arrow, wooden handle (of a hoe, a pickaxe, or other tool), curved
pole of a palanquin, shin[30]

    kaṇaiyam   club, post

    kaṇicci   battle-axe, pickaxe, goad

    kaṇai-kkāl   shin, main stem of a flower; *kaṇai-kkai* forearm[31]

Ma**.** *kaṇa*   small stick, shaft, hilt, handle, arrow, small bamboo branch,
bamboo

    kaṇayam   spear, club; *kaṇicci* battle-axe, hatchet

Ma**.** *kaṇa*   small stick, shaft, hilt, handle, arrow, small bamboo branch,
bamboo

    kaṇayam   spear, club

    kaṇicci   battle-axe, hatchet

    kaṇaṅkāl, kaṇakkāl   shinbone, calf of leg

    kaṇaṅkai   forearm

Ko. *kaṇkeyt, kaṇki·t*   sickle (i.e. handle + *katy* knife)

To. *kaṇ koty*   dagger-shaped knife burned with corpse (cf. 1204)

    kaṇ ob   knife used in child's hair-cutting ceremony (cf. 178)

Ka. *kaṇe, kaṇa, gaṇa*   stick, arrow

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29) The DEDR refers to Turner, CDIAL, No. 3244, *kuṭhāra-, kuṭhārī-* and to Burrow, BSOAS
35.541. Note that DEDR 1722 (s.v. Ta. *kuntāli, kuntāḷi* etc.) and DEDR Ap. 32 (s.v. Ta. *kuṭāri,
kōṭāri, kōṭāli* etc.) may appear to be two variants with the variation of the dental and cer-
ebral consonants (stop or liquid) within a broader (but acceptable) semantic range.

30) The word occurs in Old Tamil Sangam literature, but since it has several meanings, it can-
not be simply counted.

31) The general meaning of the word can further be applied to parts of the body, cf. also Malay-
alam and Kannada. Note also the variation of meanings in the other languages. The DEDR
further refers to Skt., Pali *kaṇaya-* a kind of spear or lance.

    kaṇakāl, gaṇakāl   shinbone
Tu. *kaṇe*   a slender bamboo branch, quill of a porcupine
    kaṇelụ   small branch of a tree, thick end of grass or straw
    gaṇè   pole, staff, arrow
Go. *kaṇī*   arrow
Konḍa *kaṇsi*   spade   (DEDR 1166)

Ta. *maḻu*   axe, battle-axe, red-hot iron for ordeals[32]
Ma. *maḻu*   mace, hatchet, red-hot iron for ordeals
Ko. *maṛt*   axe
To. *mošt*   axe
Ka. *marcu, maccu, maccu-katti*   billhook or straight knife used for cutting
                                 bushes
    maḍu   (Hav.) axe
Koḍ. *mattï*   axe with blade fastened through wooden handle
Tu. *maḍu*   axe, hatchet
Te. *maccukatti*   wood-knife, billhook
    maḍḍu-katti   id., (K. coll.) blunt knife
Pa. *maḍi*   large axe for splitting wood
Ga. *mari*   axe; Go. *mars, maras, maras, mar(a)su, maġ su,* etc. id.
Konḍa *marzu*   id.
Kur. *massā ṭongʼe*   a large kind of axe
Malt. *masu*   axe   (DEDR 4749)[33]

B. Altaic parallels

The Tamil word *maḻu* appears already in Sangam, though only a few times (see Note 32) and at the same time it has a relatively extensive representation in the continuum of Dravidian languages formally ranging from medial cerebral liquid, stop, dental liquid up to a sibilant. A similar formal variation may be observed in Altaic with some semantic extensions.

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32) Sangam total **6×:** Aka. 0,5; 220,5; Puṛa. 206,12; Kali. 85,3; Peru. 170; Matu. 455 (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).

33) This etymon displays a variation between liquids and sibilants in both Dravidian and Altaic, while in Dravidian the liquids are often cerebral (cf. e.g. Vacek 2002a, p. 277). Southworth (2005, Ap. A-G3) reconstructs as *maẓ-V (in agreement with Krishnamurthy
    Cf. DEDR 4748: Ta. *maḻi-* to shave
    DEDR 5363a: *vāru-* to trim, as a palmyra leaf to write on;
    besides
    Mo. *möcü-, möli-* to cut, trim

Ta. *maḻu*   axe, battle-axe   (DEDR 4749) (see above)

***

Mo. *balta*   big hammer, sledge hammer; axe
    ?*müze*   staff, stick

***

MT. *BOLŌ*   club, cudgel (Sol.) (MTD I,93)
        Olcha (*bŭlaŭ*   shaman's iron crook, crozier), Nan. (*bolo* id.)
    BALTA   mallet (Evenk. < Mo. or Yak.) (MTD I,71)
    ?*PĀŽÆ*   rake (MTD II,31)
        Ud. *pāžæ*   id.; Nan. *fasa, faca* (< Ma.) rake, harrow
        Ma. *pase*   rake
    ?*POŽĬRŬĶŬ*   instrument used to strip birch bark (Olcha) (MTD II,40)
    ?*PURTA*   knife (Evenk.) (MTD II,44; plus Komi, Udm.)

***

OT. *baltu:* (*balto:*)   an axe; in the early period more specifically 'a battle axe',
                    later more generally (Cl. 333)
    ?*bazǧa:n*   a blacksmith's hammer (Cl. 390; ?< bas- to press, crush, oppress, make
                a surprise attack, Cl. 370)

2.4. –5. Related etyma 'bow' – 'bow-string'

A. Synonyms in Dravidian

The lexemes with these two meanings listed below seem to belong together semantically and some of them also formally. The variation of meaning (bow – bowstring) seems to be acceptable under the conditions of language contact mentioned above. But for DEDR 5422, these etyma are distributed rather selectively in Dravidian and represent different etyma. In fact this complex of formal and semantic variations on the one hand and the number of irregularly distributed synonyms on the other seems to be a pertinent 'symptom' of the proposed high contact situation/situations in which these languages were developing. This applies particularly to the last three etyma below.

Kol. *gunti*   bow
Go. *gunti, gunṭi*   id.
    guncili   pellet-bow

Pe. *guṇci, guṇca*   id.
Kur. *guṛthā, gunthā*   id.
Malt. *guṇṛta*   id. (DEDR 1727)[34]

Ta. *cilai*   bow[35]
Ma. *cila*   id. (only Ta., Ma.)   (DEDR 2571)

Te. *alliya, alle*   bow-string
Pa. *alka*   id. (only Te., Pa.)   (DEDR 259)[36]

Ta. *āvam*   quiver, bow-string[37]
    āvanāḻi, āva-nāḻikai   quiver
Ma. *āva-nāḷi*   id. (only Ta., Ma.)   (DEDR 390)[38]

Ta. *kulai*   notch in a bow to keep the string in check; bow-string[39]
Ma. *kula*   noose of bow-string, end of bow or arrow
Ka. *gole*   notched extremity or horn of a bow (only Ta., Ma., Ka.)
        (DEDR 1812)

Ka. *tiru, tiruvu, tirpu, tirbu, tippu*   bow-string
Tu. *tiru, tebbu*   id. (only Ka., Tu.) (DEDR 3248)

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34) Southworth (2005, Ap. A-G3) reconstructs as *ku(n)t-.
35) Ta. *cilai* is attested in Sangam relatively frequently (Sangam total **55×**; cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.), but it can also mean 'rain-bow', besides 'roar' and a 'kind of tree' etc. (cf. VIS, SVS s.v.).
36) The DEDR refers to DEDR 260: Ta. *allu* to knit, build, weave; to interlace closely (plus Ka., Te., Kol., Nk., Ga., Go., Konḍa, Kui, Kuwi); with a stem extension in Pa. *alc-* to wind round (as snake or creeper round tree); *aḷṭ-* to be twined around.
    Cf. Mo. *eltüle-* to weave, knit; MT. *ILČA-* to weave (MTD I,311: 7 languages with derivatives, e.g. Neg. *ĭlca, ĭlcaktŭ* plait, tress, braid).
37) Ta. *āvam* appears twice in Sangam: Puṟa. 14,8 (quiver), Puṟa. 323,5 (war) (cf. VIS s.v. and Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).
38) The DEDR refers to the possibility of IA borrowing with a question mark: ? < Skt. *cāpa-*; Pkt. *cāva-* bow. On the other hand Mayrhofer (KEWA, s.v. *cāpa-*) refuses the possibility of Dravidian origin of the word proposed originally by Burrow and takes the word to be 'nicht sicher gedeutet'.
39) Ta. *kulai* is a homophone with a number of meanings and though it does appear in Sangam, its meaning is mainly 'bunch' (VIS s.v.) or 'bunch of flowers' (SVS s.v.). The meaning 'bow-string' is attested e.g. in Pati. 24,12, the meaning 'notch in a bow' is attested in *Piṅkalanikaṇṭu* (cf. TL s.v.).

Go. *panti, pant*   bow-string
Konḍa *ponti*   id.
Pe. *paṇti*   id.
Maṇḍ. *paṇte*   id.   (DEDR 3923)[40]

The following three etyma appear to be formally rather close if we take into consideration the previous similar variation found also in Dravidian, viz loss of initial labial and alternation of medial liquids (including cerebral liquids) with medial sibilants (e.g. cf. Vacek 2009a, pp. 230ff.). This is more evident in the case of the first two etyma (DEDR 5422 and 789), which are mutually 'complementary' with regard to their distribution in Dravidian. The last one (DEDR 5469) is also relatively close, but represents a formal and semantic variation with the Kui and Kuwi lexemes in DEDR 5422, which will have to be accounted for.

Ta. *vil*   bow[41]
    villaṉ, villavaṉ, villōṉ, villi   archer
Ma. *vil, villu*   bow; etc.
Ko. *vily*   bow
To. *pïs̱*   id.
Ka. *bil, billu*   id.
Koḍ. *billï*   id.
Tu. *billu, biru*   id.
Te. *vilu, villu* (pl. *viṇḍlu*)   id.; *vilukāḍu* bowman
Kol. *vil*   bow
Pa. *vil*   id.
Ga. *viṇḍ, viṇḍu* id.
Go. *vīl* (M.), *vil* (G. Mu. Ma. Ko.)   id.
Konḍa *vil*   id.
Pe. *vil* (pl. -*ku*)   id., bowlike instrument for carding cotton
Maṇḍ. *vil* (pl. -*ke*)   bow
Kui *viḍu, vilu*   id.
Kuwi *vellū, vellu, velu*   id.;

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40) With some reservations, DEDR 3923 could also have some relation to the last three etyma, possibly a result of contamination with DEDR 5422 – cf. Ga. *viṇḍ, viṇḍu* below.

41) Sangam total **130×:** Aka. 43×; Puṟa. 21×; Kuṟu. 10×; Naṟ. 10×; Pati. 10×; Aiṅk. 6×; Kali. 6×; Peru. 6×; Pari. 4×; Malai. 3×; Tiru. 2×; Mullai. 2×; Pari.-ti. 1×; Kuṟi, 1×; Ciṟu. 1×; Neṭu. 1×; Paṭṭi. 1×; Matu. 1×; Poru. 1×. Plus inflected forms: Sangam total **36×** (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).

Br. *bil*   id.   (DEDR 5422)[42]

Kur. *eṛeth*   long-bow
Malt. *eṛtu*   a bow
     eṛtyo   an archer   (DEDR 789)

Kui *vesa*   bowstring
Kuwi *vacca, vaca*, *wāca*   id. (DEDR 5469)

B. Altaic parallels

The Tamil word *vil* appears to be the best represented form in Dravidian (including Brahui) and in Sangam literature it has a very high frequency (see above). The variation within the three etyma (DEDR 5422, 5469 and 789) described above is also rather relevant for the comparison with the Altaic parallels, which in this case comprise only Manchu-Tungus.

Ta. *vil*   bow   (DEDR 5422) (see above)
Kur. *eṛeth*   long-bow   (DEDR 789) (see above)
Kui *vesa, vaca*   bowstring (DEDR 5469) (see above)

∗∗∗

Mongolian[43]

∗∗∗

MT. *BER*   bow (weapon) (MTD I,126)
        Evenk. *ber, berkēn*   id.; crossbow
        Oroch. *bei, beji*   bow (weapon; and also in music)
        Ud. *bei, buji, beji* bow (weapon)
        Olcha *buri*   bow; the town of Khabarovsk
        Orok. *buriye, burikke*   bow
        Ma. *beri*   bow
            beriŋya, beriŋge   an archer armed with a bow

     PAČA   bow (Evenk.) (MTD II,36)
     PISIŊA   releasing catch (in a crossbow) (Evenk.) (MTD II,39)

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42) Southworth (2005, Ap. A-G3) reconstructs as **vil,* a form identical with Tamil.
43) Classical Mongolian has *num* 'bow'; *sum* 'arrow'; *numiin köbci* 'bow-string'. However, there may be variant forms in other Mongolian languages. Mo. *num* can be correlated with MT. *NŌMA*, Even. *luŋū-* to shoot (from a bow); *nŭŋa, luŋā, luŋā* a bow (MTD I,604); *NĒMKĪ* bow for shooting (MTD I,620–21).

MISE   bow-string (weakened) (Ma.) (MTD I,539)

?*IL*   bow-string (Evenk., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Ma.) (MTD I,302)
        ibid.: *hurči* + var. (Sol., Olcha, Orok., Nan.)

2.6. Hook

A. Synonyms in Dravidian

The most frequently attested general word seems to be Ta. *kokki* etc. (DEDR 2032), though it is not found in the earliest Tamil Sangam texts. However, it is distributed systematically throughout the continuum of Dravidian languages. On the other hand, several more 'specialised' types of hooks are distributed only in a limited number of languages, though some may also be found in the Sangam texts (cf. below). Many of these words display a considerable semantic and formal fuzziness on the one hand, or (in Tamil) they may also be homophones of other lexemes with different meanings (e.g. Ta. *kāḷam*³ 1. trident; 2. impaling stake – which could probably be included within DEDR 1495; cf. Note 44). The last but one synonym (Ta. *vaṅki* etc.) appears to display a similar internal semantic dynamics to that of the last one (Ta. *kokki*) in terms of its close relation with the verbal base, though it is not attested equally broadly.

Ma. *kāḷam*   fishing hook to catch alligators
Ka. *gāḷa, gāṇa*   hook, fish-hook, fishing tackle, an angle
Tu. *gāḷa*   fish-hook
Te. *gālãmu*   fish-hook, an angle, a manyhooked instrument for finding and taking out anything fallen in a well
Nk. *gaḷ* (pl. -*śil*)   fish-hook
Pa. (S.) *gēlam*   id.
Go. *gālam*   id.   (DEDR 1495)[44]

Ta. *tūṇṭil*   fish-hook, fishing tackle, hook[45]

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44) The DEDR refers to Skt. *gala-* fishhook (Schmidt, *Nachträge*); Pali *gaḷa-*, Pkt. *gala-* id., Turner, *CDIAL*, No. 3971). Further cf. Ta. *kāḷam*³ 1. trident; 2. impaling stake (TL s.v.), which may belong here as well.

45) Sangam total **10×**: Aka. 36,6; Kali. 85,23; Naṛ. 199,7; 207,10; Puṛa. 399,15; Peru. 28; Malai. 456; inflected forms: *tūṇṭiliṇ* – Kuṛu. 54,4; Aiṅk. 278,3; *tūṇṭilil* – Paṭṭi. 80 (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).

Ma. *cūṇṭal, cūṇṭa*   fishing hook (only Ta., Ma.)   (DEDR 3379)[46]

Ta. *ceṭi*   a mechanism consisting of a standing post with a long sweep at its top on one end of which a person under a vow is suspended by a hook fastened into the integuments of his back and, raised high in the air, is swung round[47]

Ka. *siḍi*   an iron hook; the hook machine (as in Ta.)

Tu. *seḍi*   (as in Ta.)

Te. *siḍi*   a hook or goad; (B. also) the hook machine (as in Ta.)   (DEDR 2761)

Ta. *tuṟaṭṭi, tuṟaṭu*   iron crook, elephant goad, pole with iron hook to pluck fruits, entanglement

   coṟaṭu   a rod for plucking coconuts[48]

Ma. *tuṟaṭu*   a hook, crook

Ka. *toṟaḍu*   crook, hook, crooked instrument for taking down fruits from trees (cf. 3547 Ta. *tōṭṭi*)   (DEDR 3366)

Ta. *tōṭṭi*   elephant hook or goad, hook, clasp, sharp weapon planted in the ground to keep off enemies[49]

Ma. *tōṭṭi*   hook for driving an elephant, hook for plucking fruit

   tōṭṭuka   to pluck fruit with a tōṭṭi

Ka. *dōṭi, lōṭi*   pole with a hook for plucking fruit, gathering flowers

Tu. *dōṇṭi*   long pole with hook to pluck fruit

Te. *dōṭi*   long pole with hook for cutting off fruit from high trees

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46) The DEDR refers (with a question mark) to DEDR 3380:
   Ta. *tūṇṭu* to shoot, discharge, propel an arrow, command, direct, incite, goad, remind, suggest etc. (+ Ma., Ko., Ka., Koḍ., Tul, Te.) and
   Malto *cúṭe* to cast, throw; *cuṭare* to spirt.
   For the Malto word cf.
   Ka. *siḍi* to be scattered, fly about, be spattered as mud, etc., burst forth spontaneously as seed from overripe fruit etc.; Tu. *śeḍi, teḍi* sprinkling (DEDR 2758);
   Ta. *ciṟumu* to fling, throw (with a question mark s.v. Ko. *ci·rl* /to rain/ in a drizzle; Ka. *sīṟu* to be scattered, be sprinkled, fly about; etc.; DEDR 2640)
   and Altaic:
   Mo. *side-* 2. to throw, fling
   MT. *hIDA-* to throw (Even.; MTD II,323).
47) Not found in Old Tamil Sangam.
48) None of the Tamil words is found in Old Tamil Sangam.
49) Sangam total **16×**: Pati. 7×; Pari. 2×; Kali. 2×; Aka. 1×; Pari-ti. 1×; Puṟa. 1×; Matu. 1×. Plus inflected form *tōṭṭiyāl* (Puṟa. 14,3). It can also be a name of a mountain (cf. VIS s.v.; Puṟa. 150,25) (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.v.).

Pa. *ṭōṭal*   bamboo rake
Kur. *ṭōṛnā*   to hook in
    ṭōṛō   a pole with an iron hook or branch curved down at one extremity
    tūṛsī   a variety of the native rake or *ṭōṛō*
    ṭōṛō   Bleses) a long stick with an iron hook (cf. 3366 Ta. *tuṛaṭṭi*)
        (DEDR 3547)

Ko. *mar*   iron hook with long wooden handle, used to loosen up straw that
       cattle are treading on threshing floor
Ka. *meṛekōlu* = Ko. *mar*   (DEDR 5083)[50]

Ta. *vaṅki*   a kind of armlet; a kind of iron hook or curved instrument[51]
Ka. *vaṅki, oṅki*   hook; gold armlet of a curved shape
Tu. *oggi, uggi*   handle, hook; *oṅki, vaṅki* (B-K.) a bracelet worn on the arms
Te. *vaṅkī*   curved ornament worn by women on the upper arm
    oṅkiya, oṅke   hook or peg fixed in a wall
Go. *vakonjee*   an elephant goad   (DEDR 5210)

Ta. *kokki*   hook, clasp (as of a necklace or ear-ring); hooked knife attached
       to a long bamboo[52]
    kokkarai   crookedness, deformity, rake[53]

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50) The DEDR adds words (partly with question marks) from other Dravidian languages. They
may in fact be semantically slightly remote:
? Ko. *mere* to wander, roam about
? Tu. *mijipuni, mijiluni* to be full of worms, affected with worms
Te. (K.) *meṛamu* to stir, move; cause to move, stir
Go. *mirrānā* (Tr.) to swarm (of insects in the rains)
mirstānā (Tr.) to scatter or splash earth or water over anyone, (lice) to swarm on one's head
(*Voc.* 2836)
mir- (ASu.) to be split; caus. *mirus-*   (DEDR 5083)
51) The word does not appear in Old Tamil Sangam. The *Tamil Lexicon* (s.v.) does not make
any textual references.
52) As was mentioned above, this word is not found in Old Tamil Sangam.
53) The DEDR also mentions (with a question-mark):
Ta. *kuraṅku* hook, clasp, link in jewellery
kuṛaṇṭu (kuṛaṇṭi-) to be crooked or bent (as horns, fingers, limbs, fruits), be convulsed, have
spasms, coil up (as a small reptile)
This item may be set aside as a different etymon. Could this form be related with DEDR
2136: Ta. *kulavu* to bend, curve; a bend, curve (+ Kui, Kur. Malt.)?
Further cf. Altaic :
Mo. *yudui-* to bend, incline, lower; to be bent downward, the hind part being lower than
the front; to droop; to set (the sun);

Ma. *kokka*   clasp, hook, crook (as for plucking fruits), neck-clasp
    kokkara   crooked, bent backwards
Ko. *kok-*   to become very bent with age
    koky   crook, hook; *koŋk* crooked
To. *kwïky*   crook, hook
Ka. *kokki, kokke*   crookedness, perverseness, a crook, bend, hook
    kogga, kokkari, koṅga, koṅgari   crookedness
    koṅki   a hook, fish-hook, angle
    koṅku   to be bent, get crooked, curved etc.
Koḍ. *kokke*   crook, hook, anything bent
    kokk-   to be bent
Te. *kokki, koṅki*   a hook
Kol. *gog-*   to bend over; *koŋkḍī, kokḍī* crookedly
Nk. *ghogg-*   to bend;
    koŋki   curved hoe
Nk. (Ch.) *koŋga, kohoŋga*   elbow[54]
Pa. *kokor-*   to be bent, curved; *kokta*   crooked, zigzag
    kokṛ-, kokṛayt-   to contract (arm, etc.)
Go. *kikoṛ kokoṛ*   zigzag (Mu.)
    kokki   hoe (A.)
    kōkōcī   large wooden fork or hook used for hanging ploughs on (Tr.)
    gongoṛ keser   sickle (Ko.)
Konḍa *koŋva*   a hook fixed on a wall used as a hanger
Pe. *goŋ(g)– (goŋt-)*   to be bent; *gok- (-t-)* to bend, twist

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    xotui- to be(come) concave; to cave in; to sag
    küteger bent
    γulzai- to bend, become crooked, twisted or turned out of shape
    γulzii- to be bent down at the end (as branches of a tree); to hang one's head etc.
    MT. *KĒTARĀ* curved, crooked (Evenk.) (MTD I,389)
    KOTOKON concave (5 languages) (MTD I,418)
54) Cf. Kuwi *kaṅgaṇi* below. For a more systematic relation between another verbal base meaning 'to bend' etc. and the 'bending' body parts in both Altaic and Dravidian, cf.
    Ka. *toṅku* to stoop   (DEDR 2054a)
    Mo. *tongyui-* to stoop, bend; to bend or incline the head; to bow
    MT. *TOŊKOJ-* to incline   (MTD II,197)
    OT. *töŋit-* to bow down, bend down, move downwards (Cl. 517)
    vs.
    Kol. *toŋge* knee   (DEDR 2983)
    Mo. *toxui, toxai* elbow, cubit
    MT. *TUGUNUKE* ankle   (MTD II,153)
    Etc. (in greater detail cf. Vacek 2007b).

Kui *kongoni, kongoṛi, kengeri, kingiṛi, kengoni* bent, curved, crooked, zigzag
Kuwi *koṅkaṭā*   crooked, bent (Mah.)
    koṅgoṇi   crooked; *gōṅkoṭi*   bent, crooked (Isr.)
    kaṅgaṇi   elbow (Mah.); *kongoni*   arm (S.)
Kur. *xōŋghnā*   to bend (tr.; forward, backward, or to and fro), curve, deflect,
         force down someone's head or back
   koŋkō, koŋkṛō   shaped like a hook, curved, winding
   keŋkrnā   to be crooked, curviform
   keŋkṛō, keŋkō-beŋkō   crooked, curved or shaped like a hook
Malt. *qonqe*   to indent, notch, bend the knees slightly in dancing, form the
        ridge of a thatched roof
   kokre   to stoop down
   kokro   bent, curly   (DEDR 2032)[55]

B. Altaic parallels

The following etymological nest is rather complex. The 'hook' is one conspicuous realisation of the more general meaning 'to be bent, crooked' etc., which is also represented in all the attested groups of languages (Mongolian etc.). The meanings may include other bent objects (hoe) or even parts of the body (elbow).[56]

Ta. *kokki*   hook (DEDR 2032) (see above)

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Mo. *γox-a*   crook, hook; fishhook
   gögi   hook, fishhook
   geüge, geügi, gügegi   hook, fishhook
   geki-, gekü-   to nod one's head (in affirmation or when signalling
        somebody)
   gekis ki-   (lit., 'to do a nod') to bow or nod one's head; to greet, salute
   xokiyar   crooked, bent; winding
   γayui-   to lean forward, project
   xaxxul, xaxuuli   fishing rod; fishhook; bait; bribe

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MT. *GOKO*   hook (7 MT. languages)   (MTD I,158)

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55) DEDR 2032 is listed only selectively.
56) The following parallel etyma were mentioned in a shorter form in Vacek 2002a, pp. 48–9.

Evenk. *goko*   hook; *goko-*   to attach by a hook
Orok. *γoqqo, γoqo*   hook; *γoqqola-, γoqola-*   to attach by a hook
etc.

GAŊGU   hook   (MTD I,140)
Oroch. *gaŋgu*   hook (adjusted to remove kettles from the fireplace)
Olcha *ġaŋġŭ*   id.

KAKŌLI   little hook (Evenk. < Mo.)   (MTD I,363)

ĠAẊU   inclined, sloping, protruding (Ma.)   (MTD I,137)

GUGDUMIEN-   to bend, bow (to examine something in the distance)
(Nan.)   (MTD I,167)

3. Conclusions

The few examples given above further confirm the findings of previous lexical studies (cf. the References below), including the *characteristic features* of the material parallels – irregularities and variations. There is also the important question of *distribution* of the relevant lexemes and their synonyms in Dravidian and the consequences this may have for the temporal succession of the various 'layers' in Dravidian, possibly also in correlation with the distribution in Altaic. A similar situation can be seen in Altaic – not all the words are represented in the individual 'branches', and in some cases it is the Manchu-Tungus which is represented relatively well. However, there are a considerable number of lacunae.[57]

From this observation there follows the *implication* that there is a sandwich-like situation in Dravidian, which contains at least two layers – the **'original (pre-Altaic) Dravidian'** and the **Altaic 'superstratum'.** The latter is represented relatively widely and is to be defined by way of comparison with the Altaic languages, particularly in *lexicon* – supported also by a number of various synonyms in Dravidian (including also borrowings from Indo-Aryan).[58] In fact in this context the Altaic parallels are something like 'reference points', which help to identify one of the layers in Dravidian. The mutual relation of these two layers, their extent or percentage within the whole

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57) This will also have to be considered in the context of comparative Altaic studies, in particular the relation between Turkic and Mongolian (cf. Schönig 2003, Rassadin, 2007, 2008). It can be presumed that the answers will also be found in the sphere of sociolinguistics, contact between languages etc.

58) On the other hand, as concerns foreign borrowings in Indo-Aryan, even those lexemes represented in Dravidian need not come from Dravidian but from a pre-Dravidian layer. For that cf. also Witzel (1999) and his study of the Munda borrowings in the *Ṛgveda*.

system of Dravidian, would have to be further analysed and specified both statistically (particularly with regard to the lexicon) and structurally (the grammatical system and its subsystems). This perhaps would then help to answer the question of whether we should consider the relationship with Altaic to be closer than that with the other 'candidates' and to what extent we could speak about a 'macro-family' – a term, which I occasionally used to describe this special situation of a relatively considerable presence of Altaic elements in Dravidian in some of my earlier papers (e.g. Vacek 2007d). And it would have to be considered to what extent the 'established' linguistic terminology used for the classification of language families, branches of families etc. is a really satisfactory way of referring to such a complicated situation.

The question of more layers in Dravidian is very important. As was pointed out above, two basic word classes are missing among the Dravidian and Altaic parallels – numerals and personal pronouns. In this context it should be considered very seriously whether these parts of speech are not related to the 'pre-Altaic' level of Dravidian, which could have had connections (among other things) with Munda and also South East Asia. V. Blažek (2006, 2007) has pointed out that actually these two parts of speech have parallels in Australian languages.[59] A different question would be the possible connection between Dravidian India and Africa.[60]

We should also ask about the implications these results have for the history of the Indian linguistic area – the development of the relevant languages in time and space. The analysis of the borrowings in the *Ṛgveda* (Witzel 1999 on the basis of previous studies, esp. Kuiper 1991) has shown that there are

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59) E.g. concerning the first four numerals, Blažek (2007, pp. 203–5 with further references) speaks of 'a hypothetical possibility to identify here a substratum influence of the Australian-like type'. E.g.
      Dravidian 'one': *oru + C- / *ōr + V- (Zvelebil 1977, p. 34; DEDR 990a) **vs.** Karanya *uru*, Pitta-Pitta *ururu,* Karuwali *orru,* Wongkumara *warra* (various groups of Pama-Nyungan).
      Dravidian 'two': *iru + C- / *īr + V- (Zvelebil 1977, p. 34; DEDR 474) **vs.** Wailpi *yierlina*, Kaurna *illa.*
      Dravidian 'three': *muv + C- / *mū + V- (Zvelebil 1977, 34–35; DEDR 5052) **vs.** Natingero dialect of Kalamai *mow,* Wardand *mow*, Warrango *mowe*, Ngokgurring *mow*, Nyakinyaki *mow* (all of the Nyunga subgroup of Pama-Nyungan).
      Blažek (2006, p. 276–7) further identifies some Dravidian personal and interrogative pronouns as having close similarities in Australian languages. Similarly we could point to Maithili, where according to De Vreese (1968) it is possible to identify the influence of the Munda pronoun system. Concerning the mutual 'permeability' of the grammatical systems of languages in contact within a linguistic area, there is the example of Nahali (cf. Kuiper 1962), which displays elements of three language families (cf. also Vacek 1998b).
60) Some inspiration may also be drawn from studies in onomastics, e.g. Balakrishnan 2005.

a great number of Munda borrowings and a negligible number of Dravidian borrowings in the *Ṛgveda* (the earliest text, cca. 1700–1000 B.C. in the North-West of India). On the other hand, the later Vedic texts – the *Atharvaveda* and particularly the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* – are more profusely influenced by Dravidian borrowings.

On that basis Witzel (1999, p. 21) concluded that at the beginning of the Indo-Aryan immigration to India, the Indo-Aryans encountered the Mundas in the Punjab, but not the Dravidians.[61] It is obviously in this context that on his map of pre-Indo-Aryan substratum languages, Southworth (2005, p. 65) actually places the 'Former Munda or Austro-Asiatic Areas' over the whole territory of North India from Bengal to the Indus. He reserves the Western coast on both sides of the Kathiawar for the 'Former Dravidian Areas'. However, the question remains from which direction the early Dravidian languages could have come. In the light of the Dravidian and Altaic parallels, it probably was not 'middle and later RV immigration of Drav. speakers from Sindh' as Witzel (1999, p. 21; web version, p. 24) assumes.

We have to ask who the original Dravidians were, whether they came at a later time (and when approximately), or whether they were one of the different groups of *Mlecchas* (cf. Parasher 1991) who interacted in ancient India and were referred to in the old texts as separate ethnic groups, partly because of different speech and partly also because of a different culture. We would obviously have to speak about two layers and decide whether we would reserve the term Dravidian for the earlier or later population, and how to designate the other layer.

When looking for the answers to these questions, we should not forget that archaeology may also be of help, if we are able to analyse and interpret the available data. In relation to Indo-Aryan this was partly done by Parpola (1999). Southworth (2005b) has studied the problem of the relation between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. Regarding the immigration of groups of people to Northern India in the prehistoric past, Sjoberg (2005, p. 73) expressed the idea that the incoming Aryans did not have to come in the form of massive

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61) Witzel (1999, p. 21, web version p. 23) writes: 'This result is important for the time of the immigration of speakers of Dravidian into the Panjab and it specifically underlines that the Indo-Aryans *did not at once* get into contact with speakers of Drav. but only much later, when the tribes speaking IA were already living in the Panjab and on the Sarasvatī and Yamunā. Apparently, Dravidian speakers began influencing the Panjab *only at this moment in time* (cf. Allchin 1995: 31 sqq., see above). *Consequently, all linguistic and cultural deliberations based on the early presence of the Drav. in the area of speakers of IA, are void* or they have to be reinvestigated.'

invasions. This seems to be quite acceptable, because it is not so much the number of newcomers, but their technological and social status (military, political etc.), which is decisive for their impact (including linguistic impact) on the newly 'inhabited' (not necessarily 'invaded') area.

With regard to the Dravidian and Altaic parallels, the question of India's relations with Central Asia in the past is essential. One relevant aspect of these relations was studied by A. Parpola (1999), who proposed the 'historical correlation' of the various Old Indo-Aryan dialects and the corresponding archaeological periods. We should ask whether this sphere of study could also be relevant for the Dravidian and Altaic relationship and, as I have proposed recently, whether among the early arrivals to India from Central Asia, some groups could have been speaking a language different from Indo-Aryan.[62]

This is a hypothesis which would have to be verified through using more material and not only of a linguistic type. It will require a thorough study of the archaeological data which should be correlated with the linguistic data. And no doubt there are also correlations in the sphere of material culture and social structure. Some of these questions were discussed by Deshpande (1995), who asked about linguistic, cultural and biological identities (p. 78f.), while at the same time pointing to disciplinary limitations and the need for caution (pp. 80–81).

Thus to conclude we may sum up a few points:

A. There is the necessity above all of careful *heuristics* which will provide a solid basis for further considerations.

This would have to be based on a thorough analysis of the lexicon, classification according to morphological and semantic criteria: verbs, nouns; basic vocabulary, kinship terms, body, nature, material culture; specific activities etc. We should be able to collect as much information as possible about the *history* of the individual lexemes (if indeed this is possible in all details), whether and from which language they were borrowed and when (in this respect I agree with Ts. Shagdarsürüng 2005, p. 180ff.). The obvious problem

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62) I cannot but repeat the question, which I asked recently, whether the form of dwelling of the early Iron Age megalithic people could be relevant in this context? 'These dwellings recall the yurts of the Central and East Asian nomads.' (Parpola, ibid., par. 4.4). The timing of the megaliths (1100–800 B.C.) would coincide with the increased number of 'Dravidian' borrowings, particularly in the texts of the later *Vedas* and *Brāhmaṇas* (1st quarter of the 1st Millennium B.C.). As for the South Indian megaliths, Parpola (1973) argued for their Indo-Aryan origin.

in this case is the fact that we often have to do with languages with no written materials or historical records from prehistoric times, when this contact should have occurred.

B. We should be able to develop a sufficiently *flexible system,* a structural framework to accommodate and classify the results of the required heuristic work.

Such a system should at the same time be able to accommodate the mixture of systematic (regular) and unsystematic (irregular) elements (lexical and phonetic) and allow for their interpretation. We should also not forget about the fluid operation of *borrowing* and *re-borrowing*[63] and particularly of *folk etymology* which facilitates the integration of foreign lexemes by interpreting borrowed words against the background of the formal and semantic structure of the receiving language.[64] However, this does not mean that our system of thought should be less rigorous. On the contrary, we should also be able to think in terms of *fuzzy sets,* if we may borrow this term from mathematics. I can only agree with G. Doerfer (1973), who actually refuses any comparison beyond the established language families and calls it deridingly 'omnicomparatismus': 'The young grammarians are dead. Long live the young grammarians of the future!'[65]

C. We must be open to further *alternative explanations* – not only contact, but massive borrowing or even elements of creolisation.

The Dravidian and Altaic relation is not a unique case. There are analogies not only in India (cf. Chaudhary 2009) but also in other parts of the world – England (influence of French), South America (contact with local languages), etc. In other words, accepting the sociolinguistic background also

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63) With languages having a well documented history it is relatively easy to obtain the relevant information. Cf. e.g. the English words *guard / ward*, both of Germanic origin, whose modern meaning does not necessarily point to a common origin. But the first one (*guard*) was filtered (or rather preserved in a more archaic form) through a process of borrowing by French and then from French into English, while the latter (*ward*) underwent a regular development from the early Germanic form into English.

64) One of the very typical examples is the name of the German capital Berlin which reportedly goes back to the Slavonic word *brlina* describing a landscape type represented by countryside with lakes etc. Folk-etymologically, however, it is perceived as if connected with the word for 'bear' and the city duly adopted the bear as a symbol on its coat of arms! For some more examples of folk etymologies cf. Vacek 1995, Note 2.

65) 'Die Junggrammatiker sind tot. Es leben die Junggrammatiker der Zukunft!' (Doerfer 1973, p. 122).

where the development of languages in the past is concerned, requires something like a *shift of the paradigm*, and ability to admit that there is a whole scale of possible results of language contact which affects the development of individual languages (cf. e.g. Thomason, Kaufman 1988; Stadnik 2005). The degree of mixture/admixture depends on the actual conditions of the contact (social status of the participants, intimacy, duration etc.). As Trudgill (1989, p. 227) put it discussing the role of contact in linguistic change: '…varieties do not actually simply fall into the two categories of high contact and low contact. The **reality is a continuum** (underlined by the present author) from high to low contact, with the further complications that degree of contact may change through time, and that contact can be of many different types.' And what is more important, the contact influences both the 'speed of change' and the 'type of change'. In other words, there is hardly any universal recipe.

As mentioned above, the Altaic data (also relatively late, but for Old Turkic and Old Mongolian) can serve as a *reference point* for the adaptation processes on Indian soil, resulting in the numerous parallels in Dravidian.[66]

Therefore, we should be very careful in 'tasting' the various pieces of scattered knowledge, and testing various ways of putting them together into mosaics of possible historical developments. While savouring the various 'combinations', we should also be able to recognise in time the possible bitter implications of these facts and be able to test their accuracy, authenticity and veracity.

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66) The Altaic languages, too, seem to be affected by a similar process of contact and borrowing – which actually makes some linguists doubt that there is an Altaic family. However, there seem to be some basic isoglosses uniting the Altaic languages proposed by Poppe, particularly in phonology. But this is a topic for a separate discussion.

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Personal Memories of our Bagsh J. Lubsangdorji

Beginnings – the first twenty years

When I first met with Prof. J. Luvsandorj in Ulaanbaatar in 1975, neither of us could anticipate that this was a crucial moment in our lives, a beginning of a long journey ahead, which was rather decisive for the further academic career of both of us and which developed into a life-long friendship reaching across the geographical, linguistic and cultural barriers between a small Central European and a Central Asian country, both having long and troubled histories. And it was just a few weeks after that first meeting that I understood what a lucky 'coincidence' it was to have met Prof. Lubsandorji.

On that rather frosty early Monday morning at the beginning of October it was a typically Mongolian sunny day. Its deep blue skies (*ho'h tenger*) reminded me rather of a summer at the seaside in Bulgaria, although that image was disturbed by the falling yellow leaves of the birch trees lining the streets. It was only later that autumn that I was to learn that the frost could be much more severe and penetrating and that it was to be no joke. At that moment, however, some especially tough young students would walk from the nearby hostels without overcoats just to prove how healthy they were.

Mr. Otgoncagaan, the official of the Foreign Department of the Rector's Office of the Mongolian State University in Ulaanbaatar, brought me to the third floor of the 2nd University Building to meet Assoc. Prof. J. Lubsangdorji, Head of the Department of Mongolian Studies for foreign students. Since I had arrived on the previous Saturday, I had the weekend to myself to look round, to see the city and particularly the Gandan Monastery. I had had time to walk round the broad avenues and narrower streets of the city and had an inkling of the poetic yurt suburbs around the city. I also had a chance to listen to the sounds of the language, which at that time was completely strange to me and I found it rather difficult to distinguish two sounds following each other, not to speak of whole words. So I could not help wondering how this adventure would develop further.

I can still see Prof. Lubsangdorji's quiet smile and kind welcome. He offered me a seat and we started discussing the purpose of my coming to Mongolia.

I explained that I had no previous knowledge of Mongolian, but wanted to learn it and was expected to start teaching it at Charles University a year later. I explained that I had previous linguistic experience with Indian languages and also a background in the Prague School in Linguistics, training in phonetics etc. I had interrupted Indian studies and the teaching of Sanskrit and Tamil in Prague (I hoped only for a short time, which turned out to be almost fifteen years) to learn Mongolian in Mongolia. He nodded seriously though he could not completely hide his doubts whether it would be feasible to achieve the task in such a short time. But he asked encouragingly what lessons I would propose to attend.

I asked for systematic and practical phonetics, descriptive grammar and practical conversational courses. They were so kind as to arrange these courses for me alone because at my age (well over thirty and only a few years younger than Prof. Lubsandorji himself), and with the special task ahead of me, I could not fit into any of the regular courses. And Prof. Lubsangdorji took the course in phonetics, so from then on we used to meet twice a week and we soon discovered that we shared some more interests, like Buddhism and traditional culture in general. He soon introduced me to Prof. Choi. Lubsangjab, the then Dean of the Faculty, an expert not only in classical Mongolian and Mongolian linguistics, but also Chinese. Prof Lubsanjab was then the first Mongolian teacher in Prague and spent several years there.

My work with Prof. Lubsangdorji went smoothly. It was an exciting experience to adapt my ear to the strange qualities of consonants but especially vowels, and not only to be able to 'hear' (which in some cases was a real problem), but to reproduce them as correctly as possible. And I must say in that respect Prof. Lubsangdorji was an untiring and patient teacher. Within five or six weeks he switched from Russian to Mongolian and would speak slowly and distinctly and would patiently listen to my slow and simple Mongolian. I must confess, however, that knowing Tamil facilitated my learning Mongolian because the syntactic structure and function of the grammatical elements are practically identical. And very soon I started stumbling over words so close to Tamil in form and meaning that it provoked my curiosity in a new direction, but that would be a different story.

However, I would not have been able to learn the language without the patient support of Prof. Lubsandorji. Sometimes we would walk through the City and discuss not only phonetics or linguistics, but many other topics of interest. We also understood, without having to say it aloud, that we shared the same view of the political system around us, though politics was never our major topic. If I needed a new word, I would say it in Russian, he would say

it in Mongolian, I would repeat it several times and that would be it. In fact I still remember at which corners in Ulaanbaatar I learned some specific new words while walking with Prof. Lubsangdorji. What, however, was perhaps even more important, was what our regular, almost daily, contacts revealed, and we had to slowly realise that there were substantial differences not only in the linguistic idioms but also in the social style used in everyday communication. And Prof. Lubsangdorji was very much aware of the differences and patiently guided me in between the various stumbling blocks and introduced me to the everyday practice of a different cultural communication. It was an amazing practical experience in 'language and also cultural contact', but professionally supervised so as not to result in any form of 'mixed' language.

And then it turned out almost naturally that we 'found ourselves' preparing 'teaching material', first a few practical texts starting from elementary situations and then continued by adding various types of exercises, phonetic, morphological, but especially various syntactic exercises in the form of sentence patterns, most frequently arranged in mini-dialogues of question and answer. And though I had to leave after six months, we had already completed the first draft of the text. After a short pause I returned to Ulaanbaatar in July 1976 and we continued working throughout the summer holidays and finalised the first text, which we then simultaneously tested during the next academic year in Prague and Ulaanbaatar. And in the course of another year we could already consider publishing the text for use in teaching the colloquial language to foreign students.[1]

To both of us this appeared to be a natural course of work and we simply harmonised our work in this area. But it was after the International Conference of Mongolian Studies which took place in Ulaanbaatar at the beginning of September 1976, that I realised what respect Prof. Lubsangdorji commanded among foreign students and how exceptional he was. On the way back home I happened to sit on the airplane with a colleague from Europe and among other things she just remarked, possibly with a bit of healthy envy: 'Of course, it is easy for you to work if you work with Lubsandorji!'

We went on writing several more textbooks, but since Prof. Lubsandorji was not in the very best books of the Communist regime, it was not easy to have him here in Prague from the very beginning, which did not really

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1) The book was first published in 1979 and was then used simultaneously in Prague and Ulaanbaatar and also in some other centres of Mongolian studies. An updated and revised English version appeared in 2004. Incidentally, the original version of the textbook was pirated and published under the names of two different 'authors' in English in UB in 1997 without our permission.

make our work easy. We succeeded only later and he could arrive to teach in Prague only in 1987.

But let me make it clear that we did not only 'work'. We shared interests in nature and traditional culture, and also in the historical monuments of Mongolia. This was for me especially important because I had a traditional training in Indian studies, but not in Mongolian studies, which I approached as a linguist with a concrete task. And thus for several years to come, when I continued visiting Mongolia for several months in summer, Prof. Lubsandorji would organise one weekly excursion every year to various parts of Mongolia, not only the Central parts, but also the Western Aymags and Southern Gobi. This was extremely enriching because he has a thorough command of the history of Mongolia and of its thought and this gave me further inspiration in the field.

I met several other excellent teachers and colleagues in Mongolia with whom we also did joint work and understood each other well, but meeting J. Lubsangdorji was a meeting of destiny. It brought about many more results also in the course of his further teaching and working in Prague, particularly after 1990, when I could resume Indian studies and our co-operation became less regular, though it has continued to the present day. That correlates nicely with one of the three essential Buddhist premises, viz that this Universe (including all its component parts) is *anitya,* unstable and permanently changing, in a state of universal flux. We are here only to receive and implement some of the results or 'fruits' of our work or *karma* (*u'iliin u'r*) and we can only hope that that work is not harmful to anybody (including ourselves). Thus after 1990, Prof. Lubsangdorji had more time for our students and younger colleagues with whom he developed new topics and to whom he introduced field work in the Mongolian countryside. We are very grateful to him for fulfilling this demanding *karma*.

Jaroslav Vacek

Teaching in Prague and fieldwork

Bagsh was not my teacher of Mongolian when I was a student. We first met as colleagues when in 1992 I joined the Institute of the Far East of Charles University, where Bagsh had already been teaching for five years. Though we had met a couple of times in Mongolia during my study stay there, I started to meet Prof. Lubsangdorji more often only after 1992. He made an impression of being an unapproachable and strict person, which was in contradiction with my open nature, and that may have been the reason why, perhaps unwittingly, I did not seek any tense encounters with him. After I sought his advice in my translation of Mongolian myths, I started admiring his deep ethnographical knowledge. I always learned many new facts about the nomadic culture through which he was guiding me in a fascinating manner and with ease.

It was then that I began wondering about the long pauses which Bagsh would make during our consultations and which provoked in me a feeling of embarrassing silence. Then I would try to say something to overcome the silence but that would make the situation even worse. At that time I was not aware of the fact that this is fine manners and a way of showing respect. We were just confronted with different rules in communicative behaviour, which later induced us to investigate in greater detail the communication among nomads, and which subsequently resulted in the discovery that the nomads have a distinctive metaphorical speech, full of cultural secrets, which thanks to Bagsh I started to uncover. I remember our cultural sparring at one such moment of embarrassing silence, when I made a decision that I would also keep silent. The atmosphere was so tense that it could have been cut with a knife, but I vowed that I would not be the first to speak. I experienced an infinitely long five minutes of silence before Bagsh finally asked what we were going to do.

Our co-operation assumed a completely new dimension at the time of my doctoral studies, when I obtained a Sasakawa project grant for field research to study dreams in Mongolia. At that time I asked Bagsh whether he could help me with the formulation of about fifty questions, whose implication was rather strange for Bagsh. It was then that I started to present my ideas about the need of a nation so deeply bound with nature to find a way to the collective uncounscious, and I started to make Bagsh acquainted more closely with my second profession as a psychotherapist, with Jung's ideas and psychotherapeutic concepts. This finally sparked off the curiosity which transcended even our cultural and other communication habits and we started sharing an interest in each other's work.

In 1999 Bagsh agreed that we would make the next field trip together, to see his and his wife's birthplace for the first time after twenty years, where he would be in a well-known and easy milieu. It was during that summer that our deeper and long-standing co-operation started, which continues to the present day. For the last ten years we have been spending summers in an authentic nomadic milieu in the countryside and during that period we have accumulated not only extensive experience in the ethnography of communication, in field work in the Mongolian countryside, but also in the style of our co-operation, in the ability to interconnect our perceptions of the Mongolian culture and language – from the point of view of a native speaker and a linguist, and from the point of view of a foreigner, a specialist in Mongolian studies and a psychotherapist.

During our travels both of us have experienced strenuous moments and misunderstandings, which arose from our culturally different interpretations of various situations. I will never forget a party in a tightly closed yurt, where a feast of boiled sheep was organised in our honour. I tasted one piece of offal after another, but I informed Bagsh confidentially that the only thing I could not swallow was the sheep's fat tail. To my horror he himself cut a great mouthful and forced me to swallow it. But before the eyes of all the others present it was not possible to refuse, so I swallowed it so grudgingly and with such a great disgust that my eyes filled with tears. Later Bagsh realised that I felt deeply touched. But years later I forced him to swallow a boiled snail; he refused until ultimately he agreed to pay off his debt and managed to swallow it with a shudder.

Very fruitful misunderstandings arose when we were analysing the recorded interviews from our field work in 2002. I asked never-ending questions concerning why certain substitute expressions are used in a specific situation, why the colloquial idiom of the people in the countryside is different from what we had learned and so on. It was often very complicated for him to answer, but gradually the whole system of speech and communication unfolded before our eyes, full of metaphors and substitute expressions, a communication which is firmly linked with the beliefs and superstitions of the nomads. I remember that at one moment of weakness, Bagsh declared that he was unable to explain it to me, because I was not a Mongol. After I argued that if there is a will there's a way, and that everything in the world can be explained, both of us were able to continue our work – but only the next day.

Many months jointly spent in summer taught us to be open to the dissimilarity between our cultures, and our tolerance would deepen thanks to better mutual insights into our cultures. In spite of legitimate misunderstandings,

or perhaps exactly because of them, our friendship based on full confidence and respect was getting deeper. We have experienced together numerous adventures on our journeys, driving around at night in unknown regions and enduring the hardships of broken cars and punctured tyres, waiting for help for never ending hours and solving problems with drivers. Last year we got stuck in an uninhabited desolate region of Hovd with a car which was of no use whatever, where a single Mongol a day would pass by on horseback. After hours of vain effort to repair the car, our driver set out for a trip of many kilometres in sultry heat to look for help and we found ourselves in an utterly desperate situation. At such a moment Bagsh would always be unbelievably cool, patient and supportive. We were throwing stones to predict in how many hours we would be rescued. Both of us came to six hours and that was what really happened.

In the last two years we have been working on a book of Prof. J. Lubsandorji's memories, which are unique narrations of Bagsh about his childhood and upbringing in the countryside. The very traditional nomadic milieu comes alive through intimate memories of the difficult times of the 1940s and 1950s, of years of discovering the possibilities of education in contrast to the fixed nomadic traditions and hard toil. I value the co-operation with Bagsh greatly. His consciously worked out experience of the traditional nomadic milieu and his professional erudition is an unparalleled combination, which enriches us all immensely. I hope that the good sign of this year – meeting two wolves – will be fulfilled and I wish Bagsh many more fruitful years and personal happiness with my whole heart.

Alena Oberfalzerová