

Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '10
3/1

Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '10

**Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics,
Religion and Culture
Volume 3, No. 1**



**Publication of Charles University in Prague
Faculty of Arts, Institute of South and Central Asia
Seminar of Mongolian Studies
Prague 2010**

ISSN 1803-5647

The publication of this volume was financially supported by
the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic as a part of the Research
Project No. MSM0021620825 “*Language as human activity, as its product and factor*”,
a project of the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague.

Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '10
Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture
Volume 3, No. 1 (2010)

© Editors

Editors-in-chief: Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová

Editorial Board:

Daniel Berounský (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)

Agata Bareja-Starzyńska (University of Warsaw, Poland)

Katia Buffetrille (École pratique des Hautes-Études, Paris, France)

J. Lubsangdorji (Charles University Prague, Czech Republic)

Marie-Dominique Even (Centre National des Recherches Scientifiques, Paris, France)

Tsevel Shagdarsurung (National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia)

Domiin Tömörtogoo (National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia)

Reviewed by Prof. Václav Blažek (Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic)
and Prof. Tsevel Shagdarsurung (National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia)

English correction: Dr. Mark Corner, formerly lecturer at Charles University in Prague,
presently HUB University, Brussels, Belgium

Institute of South and Central Asia, Seminar of Mongolian Studies
Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University in Prague
Celetná 20, 116 42 Praha 1, Czech Republic
<http://mongolistika.ff.cuni.cz/?page=home>

Publisher: Stanislav Juhaňák – TRITON
<http://www.triton-books.cz>
Vykáňská 5, 100 00 Praha 10
IČ 18433499

Praha (Prague) 2010

Cover Renata Brtnická
Typeset Studio Marvil
Printed by Sprint

Publication periodicity: twice a year
Registration number of MK ČR E 18436

ISSN 1803-5647

CONTENTS

ALENA OBERFALZEROVÁ

The use of iconopoeic words in spoken Mongolian

7–34

EVA OBRÁTILOVÁ

Personal names among Mongolian nomads

35–59

J. LUBSANGDORJI

The Secret History of the Mongols in the mirror of metaphors (3), Venus of the Khorchin Mongols and Etügen

61–104

PAVEL RYKIN

Towards the etymology of Middle Mongolian *Bodončar* ~ *Bodančar*

105–122

JAROSLAV VACEK

Verba dicendi and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic

5.1. Etyma with initial vowels (*i-*, *e-*, *u-*, *o-*, *a-*) and root-final stops, affricates, nasals and glides

123–158

Review Section

159

Svetlana Menkenovna Trofimova, *Grammatičeskie kategorii imennyh osnov v mongol'skih jazykah (Semantiko-funkcional'nyj aspekt)*. Izdatel'stvo kalmyckogo universiteta, Elista 2009, 282 pp. Paperback, ISBN 978-5-91458-038-1 – Reviewed by Rachel Mikos

161–162

Ц. Шагдарсүрэн, *Эх хэлээ эвдэхгүй юм сан... Монгол хэлний мөн чанар, онцлог, одоогийн байдал, олон нийтийн эх хэлний боловсрол, сөрөг үзэгдэл* [We should not spoil our mother tongue... (Essence of the Mongolian language, its special character, present-day condition, communal speech culture, negative phenomena)]. Монгол Улсын Их Сургууль, Улаанбаатар 2010, 324 pp.; ISBN 999295315-2 – Revied by J. Lubsangdorji

163–166

The use of iconopoeic words in spoken Mongolian

ALENA OBERFALZEROVÁ, Charles University in Prague

Summary: This paper discusses the subject dealt with in my previous paper. It describes systematically the group of words known as iconopoeia (words depicting images) and concentrates on the problem of their formation and meaning. Concrete examples show the active use of iconopoeia in spoken language as a modal means of expression. This topic is to be followed later by a discussion of two more groups – purely onomatopoeic words and words which depict both sound and image. The role of these words should also be shown in the historical context, of which one aspect is the oral tradition of the nomadic Mongols. This will best illustrate the use of onomatopoeia and iconopoeia in a natural context. Therefore the third part of this paper includes an example of a fairy tale, in which this means is used as an essential part of the construction of the narrative.

0. Introduction

This paper deals with iconopoeic words and documents their role in spoken Mongolian as the basic means of expressivity. In my previous paper (Oberfalzerová 2009) I dealt with the manner of their formation with respect to the determining vowels and consonants. Now I will carry on with the subject and will particularly concentrate on the use of iconopoeic words in everyday spoken language, and will document my analysis using a relatively large number of collected examples.

For Mongolian speakers iconopoeic words are comprehensible, but understanding their meaning and modality is rather difficult for a foreigner. The reason for this is that with iconopoeic words there is a process of metaphorisation of sounds which is perceived by feeling for language which has been developing since early childhood. Foreign Mongolists therefore resort to searching for their meaning in dictionaries, where, however, they only find the basic information about their forms, not about their expressivity.¹

1) For example Prof. V.I. Rassadin in his lecture in Prague in autumn 2010 voiced the opinion that iconopoeic words do not have expressivity. Cf. also (Rassadin 2008, p. 15.): “I nakonec, v mongol’skih jazykah predstavleno dovol’no mnogo slov, kotoryje ničego ne nazyvajut, ni

In bilingual dictionaries the meaning is rendered in a very general manner and broadly, the fact that these are *du'rsleh u'g* – depicting words is not mentioned, and thus their specific reference picture is not properly revealed. For example, with the iconopoeic words *taadgar*, *tagdgar*, *pagdgar* they always mention the same meaning 'low, of small growth, small' (*namhan*).² In addition to that the difficulty in understanding these words properly is also enhanced by the fact that in monolingual dictionaries iconopoeic words are often rendered by other iconopoeic words (cf. Norjin 1999, p. 2244). Perhaps it would be useful to find a way of explaining iconopoeic words by using non-iconopoeic words so that they may be more easily understood by everybody.

However, I do realise the considerable difficulty in the effort to grasp the exact image and at the same time expressivity. This is perhaps the reason why there is no summarising work which discusses iconopoeic and onomatopoeic words more deeply. Both indigenous and foreign authors only offer brief grammatical descriptions³ or their definition and specification of this group as a special word class.⁴ Therefore it is very important to clearly specify that a particular word is an iconopoeic or 'form-depicting' word (*du'rsleh u'g*), and to describe the image or sound by way of a concrete example. Finally it is important to describe briefly in ordinary words the modality or emotion with which the image or sound is accompanied. I try to mention with each and every listed iconopoeic word systematically all its forms and offer as many examples as possible in order to clarify the use of such words in spoken language. In this paper I will deal with the first group of depicting words, the iconopoeia.

na čto ne ukazyvajut, ne vpolnjajut služebnyh funkcij, ne vyražajut otnošenija k vyskazyvanniju i ne vyražajut nikakih čuvstv i emocij. Eti slova liš' peredajut sredstvami mongol'skich jazykov različnyje obrazy, kotoryje postupajut k čeloveku iz vnešnego mira."

- 2) Cf. *taadaih* = *taadgar* boloh, *taadgar* haragdah; *taadgar* = *yumnii* zohistoi hemz'enees namhan, bogino baidal (*Mongol helnii delgerengui tailbar toli* (5 boti) 2008, tom IV, p.1860); *taadaih* = *tagdaih* u'z (see *tagdaih*): *tagdaih* = 1) to be of a short build, not tall; 2) to be short (*Bol'soj akademičeskij mongol'sko-russkij slovar'*, 2001, tom III, p.176.).
- 3) For a brief discussion of authors who dealt with iconopoeic words, see Oberfalzerová 2009, pp. 31–32.
- 4) V.I. Rassadin (2008, p. 15) distinguishes depicting words as a separate word class which is further subdivided according to what the words depict: "Po sposobu vosprijatija čelovekom izobrazitel'nyje slova podrazdeljajutsja na 1) izobrazitel'nyje slova sluhovogo vosprijatija (zvukopodražatel'nyje); 2) izobrazitel'nyje slova zritel'nogo vosprijatija (obraznyje); iz. slova sensor'nogo (čuvstven'nogo) vosprijatija; slova obraznogo vosprijatija dejstvija. Takije slova tože objedinjajutsja v samostojatel'nyj klass izobrazitel'nyh slov."

1. Model of formation of *du'rsleh u'g*, morphological structure

I discussed the manner of forming iconopoeic words in my previous paper (Oberfalzerová 2009, pp. 45–49). Now I present a clearly defined and summarising description of the formation of the variants in a Table.

1.1. Formation of iconopoeic words (dead roots + stem-forming suffixes (determinatives) + affixes forming the stem of the word)

Abbreviations for depicting the structure of the roots:

V	vowel
VV	long vowel
CV	consonant + short vowel
CVV	consonant + long vowel
CVC	consonant + vowel + consonant

Dead roots	Primary stem-forming extensions ⁵ (determinatives)	Stem-forming suffixes	
		Synthetic form	Analytic form ⁶
V, VV, CV, CVV, VC, CVC	-da (-de, -do, -do'), -ta (-te, -to, -to') -va, -ha, -na, -z'a, -za, -la, -ma, -ra, -s'a -li, -gi, -hi, -z'i ...	-i (-ai/-ei/-oi/-ii) -lza -gana (-ga+na) <u>-tana</u> ⁷ <u>-gar</u> (-n, -gai/-hai, -aa, -aan, -aalai, -aarai -ii) ⁸	-s (+ hii-/ge-) -g/-ga/-go (+hii-/ge-)

Though the suffixes *-i* (-ai/-ei/-oi/-ii), *-lza*, *-gana* (ga+na), *-tana*; *-s* (+ hii-/ge-); *-g/-ga/-go* (+ hii-/ge-) very probably are able to take all verbal suffixes, in spoken language only a few suffixes are frequently used (see the examples of how iconopoeic words are used). Iconopoeic words with the suffixes of converbs are always used in a sentence as adverbials of manner determining the verbs before which they are placed. Iconopoeic verbal bases having the suffixes of verbal nouns (e.g. *oliison*, *aadaisan* etc.) and iconopoeic verbal bases having the suffixes of adjectives always appear in a sentence as attributes of nouns.

5) Due to vowel harmony the vowel may have up to four variants.

6) By repeating a word which in the analytic form has a suffix of multiple action (repetition of the movement) *-s*, *-g/-ga/-go*, the expressivity of the image is underlined (e.g. *olis olis hii-*, *oligo oligo hii-* and the like).

7) A rarely occurring suffix.

8) Rarely occurring suffixes.

1.2. Examples of models of iconopoeic words

Dead roots	Primary stem-forming extensions (determinatives)	Stem-forming suffixes	
		Synthetic form	Analytical form
o	oli	oli-, olii- olilzo- oligono- oligor	olis hii- oligo hii-/ge-
aa	aada	aadai- aadalza- aadgana- aadgar, aadgai	aadas hii- aadga hii-/ge-
oo	oodo	oodoi- oodolzo- oodgono- oodgor, oodon	oodos hii- oodgo hii-/ge-
ar	arza	arzai- arzalza- arzgana- arzgar, arzgai	arzas hii- /ge- arzga hii-/ge-
go	gozo	gozoi- gozolzo- gozgono- gozon, gozgor gozooroi	gozos hii-/ge- gozgo hii-/ge-
bu	buva	buvai- buvalza- buvgana- buvtana- buvr, buvgar	buvs hii-/ge- buvga hii-/ge-
see	seete	seetii- seetelze- seetgene- seeten, seetger	seetes hii-/ge- seeteg hii-/ge-
pee	peede	peedii- peedelze- peedgene- peedger	

Dead roots	Primary stem-forming extensions (determinatives)	Stem-forming suffixes	
		Synthetic form	Analytical form
bo'n	bo'ndo	bo'ndii- bo'ndolzo- bo'ndogno- bo'ndoo bo'ndoon bo'ndoolei bo'ndgor	bo'ndos hii-/ge- bo'ndog hii-/ge-

2. Use of specific iconopoeic words (iconopeia)

2.1.

oli	olii- < oli- olilzo- oligono- oligor	olis hii- oligo hii-/ge-
-----	---	-----------------------------

Image: the manner in which a tall person watches by way of stretching (craning) his neck or inclining his head sideways

Emotional charge, emotion: unaeasthetic, unpleasant emotion, displeasure.

Word phrases (collocations):

oliison/oligor hu'n (*oliison har/s'ar/ho'h/nogoon yum* – something black, behaving like that)

In connection with colour the contemptuous attitude is strengthened, it is very humiliating, pejorative; instead of the word “man” the phrase “black something” is used, e.g.

oliison ho'h temee – the colour of a moulted camel in summer, without hair, whose neck is projected upwards

oliiz'/olilzo' hara- – to look over somebody's shoulder (about a man with a long neck)

Examples:

oli-

Uher evreeree olidog. – Cow butts using its horns sideways slantingly upwards.

Uher belc'erees evree olisoor irvel ih daarsnii temteg. – When a cow is returning from pasture, butting by using its horns sideways, it is a sign that it feels very cold.

Zarim uher golduu z'iz'ig huuhdiig olih baidal baidag. – Some cattle butt especially small children (with their horns).

Bitgii uhriin has'aand oc', uher olič'ihno. – Do not enter the cattle fence, the cow will but you (with its horns).

The verb can also be used in the following phrase: *acaar o'vsiig oli-* 'to turn over a hay or grass stack with a pitchfork'. It is reminiscent of the movement of the cow butting with its horns slantingly upwards, however, it is not identical with *mo'rgo-*, which means 'butting straight, using the forehead'.

olii-

1. to turn suddenly sideways and upwards, like a horned head; the movement upwards is important

Ex.:

C'igeeree yavz' baisnaa genet baruun tiis' oliiz' yavlaa (Cevl 1966, p. 412). – We kept riding straight and all of a sudden we turned slantingly upwards.

Should the way turn downwards, the word could not be used. It would have to be replaced by the phrase *doliiz' uruudlaa*. The verb *dolii-* is used about a person, whose eyes keep turning down, e.g. as a consequence of illness. The phrase *nu'd ni dolir, doliison hu'n* 'a person whose eyes keep turning down', evokes an unpleasant feeling.

2. If this iconopoeic word **olii-** is used about a human being, it evokes an unpleasant emotion in listeners. For example *neg oliison s'ar hu'n* – 'meagre tall fair-haired person looking from above, poking out his head from above inquisitively'.

Ex.:

Minii az'il ruu oliiz' harsan. – He was stretching his neck (inclining his head) inquisitively at my work.

Yum bu'hen ruu oliigood baidag demii hun baigaa yum daa. – He is a terrible man, he keeps poking his nose into everything (lit., He keeps stretching his neck inquisitively and slantingly).

C'i bitgii nad ruu oliigood bai, o'riinhoo yumiig hiil! – Stop cribbing from me (stretching your neck towards me), do it yourself (mind your own business)!

Ohin hu'uhdiin hu'zuug sungaz' oliilgood olon cagirag hiideg, tiim undesten baina. – They stretch the neck of girls slantingly and hang on it many rings, hoops, they are such a nation.

In folklore there is a proverb, in which this iconopoeic word is used:

Onisogo helbel oliison sohor, ulger helbel o'liison sohor. – If you ask him a riddle, he only looks indolently (lit. he is a protruding blindness), when you tell a fairy tale, (again) he looks indolently.

It is said about a person who does not like folklore, who does not take part in the common traditional popular entertainment, or it can be used about

an insensitive person, who does not care, ridicules others, is relentless and obdurate.

oligor – adjective form, in the dictionary (Ceval 1966, p. 112, s.v.) it is explained only as *nu'd so'lor* (used only about eyes, in which the pupil is located above the centre or at the left or right upper side, the person must raise the lid or stretch the neck to be able to see) *bo'good o'ndor yoihgor* (explained by another *du'rsleh u'g*, which implies a slanting inclination of the body from the chest upwards).

The dictionary offers a slightly obsolete interpretation. In the colloquial language the word is not used in this sense, it is a ridiculing expression about a tall person with a long neck. Excessive tallness or too long a neck is perceived as something unaesthetic, it evokes directly an unpleasant impression. In connection with the colour of the human face *s'ar*, *har*, *ho'h hu'n*, *oligor* is always a humiliating expression, using this expression is always meant as a humiliation, it cannot be used about a person whom we like. In summer a camel walks along, without hair, blue, with an extended neck, it is unpleasant to see it: *oligor neg yum*, *temee*. It can be used about a human being or a camel. It can be a humiliating nickname.

olilzo- – movement of a thin object upwards and slantingly, repeated many times. For example if person cannot see properly over an obstacle or somebody, he keeps stretching and inclining in order to see.

Ex.:

Hu'nii bic'iz' baigaa yumruu olilzood baii muuhai s'u'u. Bitgii olilzood bai c'i! – It is terrible, when you stretch your neck and stare at a writing person. Stop stretching your neck!

The use of this word evokes an unpleasant feeling, a negative emotion. It can be used only about a human being, not about an animal, e.g. a cow (in that case only the phrase *olis hii-* is used).

oligono- – a repeated movement, permanently, without interruption and with a loud sound.

Ex.:

neg oligonoson zaluu – a young person who keeps moving restlessly, breaking ranks, unquiet, hectic

oligonoson hu'uhed – about a restless child who does not leave anything at rest, hyperactive

oligonoson z'uulc'id – unpleasantly hustling and bustling tourists

Zoc'id buudliin u'udend baahan oligonoson z'uulc'id baiz' baina, autobus huleez' baigaaa bololtoi. – At the door of the hotel tourists were hustling and busting, waiting for the bus.

(An unpleasant emotion which is evoked by both movement and the noise of improperly expressive behaviour.)

Dorz' gez' neg bi bi gez' oligonoson hu'n itgel tavisan. – The paper was read by one unpleasant who only repeatedly uttered the word 'me, me'.

(The expression again evokes an unpleasant emotion, it is used about a person who keeps boasting, drawing attention to himself, advertising himself. It cannot be used about an animal or anything else.)

Analytic forms:

olis hii-/ge- – to make once a quick movement slantingly upwards (about cattle)

Ex.:

Uher olis hiigeed neg heseg o'vsiig unagasan. – The cow butted its head upwards and pushed down a little grass.

Dorz' olis geed orood irlee. – Dorz' burst inside and was stretching out his neck.

(This is a negative statement with rich imagery.)

oligo hii-/ge- – almost the same as the previous phrase, only it takes a bit longer. It is not that abrupt, more quiet. Both expressions are negative, they evoke an unpleasant feeling.

Idiom:

oligono- – (about a human being) to behave in an uncivilised manner, capriciously, not within the law, as a delinquent, arrogantly and boorishly; it evokes a very unpleasant emotion.

Ex.:

Ene heden bairnii arvaad bandi niileed ambaaruudiin deever deegu'ur gu'iz' haraigaad tamhi tatacgaaz' oligonoldog baisan yum. Odoo o'sood laaztai pivo baricgaaz' oligonocgooh bolloo.

About ten boys from several flats used to join in running and jumping on the roofs of those garages, smoked cigarettes, and behaved so boorishly. Now they are grown up, they drink cans of beer and have stopped making mischief.⁹

9) From an interview with an old man in Ulanbator.

2.2.

aada	aadai- aadalsa- aadgana- aadgar, aadgai	aadas hii- aadga hii-/ge-
------	--	------------------------------

Image: low or short vertical object, however bulky, thick, e.g. about a block of wood, about a tree stump.

Emotional charge, emotion: it evokes something unpleasant and improper. About a human being, cattle, e.g. about a horse, sometimes also about an object which is improperly low or small. If it is used about a human being (his or her character, activity, or views) with whom the speaker does not agree or whom he does not like, it implies a light ridicule on the surface referring to his or her shortness and unpleasant movements.

Word phrases (collocations): the most frequent forms are *aadaigaad/aadaic'ihaad*, *aadaisan*; *aadalza-/aadgana-* (action repeated many times)

aadas hii-/aadga hii- (one movement of this shape).

In a clause it is used as an adverbial of manner.

The words *aadaisan*, *aadalzsan* /*aadganasan*, *aadgar* are used in the function of attribute.

Ex.:

aadaisan mori – an unusually short horse, with a small body, e.g. a pony, at the same time it is an unequivocally unpleasant sight

aadaisan mas'in – an unusually low car – a sports car and the like

The adjective form *aadgar* has the same meaning.

Examples:

aadai- to be improperly short and thickset, dwarfish

Ter *aadaigaad* zogsoz' baigaa hu'n c'ini manai zahiral. – The dwarfish-looking standing man (small stump) standing is our director.

Caadhi c'ini yuu geed *aadganaad* baigaa yum be? – What is it that the little stump behind you is saying?

Poni gez' neg *aadaisan* moridiig hu'uhded unuulz' mo'ngo oldog yum bilee. – He earns his livelihood by letting children ride on a wee horse called a pony.

Ene neg *aadaisan* er yuu yum be? Ter *aadgar* hu'n c'ini Oyuunaagiin naiz baihu'i yuu! – Who is the unpleasant dwarfish man? That dwarfish man is in fact Oyuunaa's friend!

aadgar – adjective form

Nogoon namiin darga aadgar Dorz'i songuulid neree devs'uulc'ihéz'. – The little stump Dorji is standing for election for the chairman of the Green Party.

(In this sentence the grudge against the person is perfectly clear.)

Ter c'ini aadgar c' gesen uhaantai hu'n s'ig baidag. – Even though he is a little stump, he appears to be a clever man.

Manai aadgar arai deeguur suudald suusan baina. – That little stump of ours has sat on quite high chairs (i.e. in high positions).

aadalza- – this verb describes the movements of a short or dwarfish person which evoke an unpleasant emotion. This word expresses a negative attitude towards the person it refers to.

Bataa geriinhee u'udend neg hu'ntei yariad aadalzaz' haragdana. – Bat appears at the door of his yurt moving his stunted body talking with somebody.

aadagana- – the verb refers to a higher frequency of movements, repeated many times or uninterrupted

No'gooh c'ini aadaganaad naas'aagaa hu'reed irlee. – The dwarfishly moving one has already come (to see us).

Here, as in many other cases, the image can be translated adequately only with a great difficulty. A paraphrase can only express the negative relation to the man whose improper appearance is underlined exactly because of this animosity. From a distance an unpleasantly short figure, which is what the speaker and his surroundings do not like, is seen approaching the speaker. The word depicts not only the image, but also the clearly negative emotion relating to that person.

Analytic form:

aadas hii- – (written language), one quick movement of a short man, of a squirt, a movement of one (short) second

aadga/aadgas hii-/ge- – (a colloquial form in combination with *ge-*) to get insulted, get angry (about a short man; 'to get dwarfishly offended'), whose activity is not pleasant for the speaker

Ex.:

Nadad uurlaad aadas hiigeed garaad yavc'laa. – Being angry with me, he immediately left dwarfishly quickly.

Darga minii u'giig sonsood uur ni hureed aadas geed bosood irsen. – When my director heard my words, he got angry and dwarfishly offended jumped up and came over.

Idiom:

There is also the word *aadgai/aazgai*, whose meaning is shifted to ‘anger, biliousness’ in the phrase *aadgai /aazgai ho’dlo-*. The whole idiom means ‘to see red, to get annoyed’, and also ‘to have a fit of envy, jealousy’, e.g. when something is snatched away from the speaker.

Ex.:

Yaagaad c’i hereggui u’g helc’ihsen be? Dulmaagiin duuldag duug ene Cecegee duulsand minii aazgai ho’dlood ter u’giig helc’ihsen yum bi.

Why did you say such improper words? Cecek sang the song usually sung by Dulma, and that made me see red (made my blood boil), that is why I said the words.

2.3.

arza	arzai- arzalza- arzgana- arzgar, arzgai	arzas hii-/ge- arzga hii-/ge-
------	--	----------------------------------

Image: hard, harsh material with small bump, tips, projections, e.g. with many chips, something with many parts, projections; swarming.

Emotional charge, emotion: evokes repulsive and unpleasant feelings, almost fear, shock; shuddering with disgust.

Word phrases (collocations): it is used about the spines of the hedgehog (*zaraanii us*), about the teeth of saw (*ho’roonii s’u’d*); the meaning is also transferred to pointed mountain tops, the image evokes an unpleasant feeling of something unknown:

arzaisan olon uul, arzgar/arzaisan had, but, s’arilz’ – projecting rocks, hills, shrubs, sagebrush (with tough blades)

It can also be used about neglected hands (*gar*) with dirty fingernails, about the hair (*u’s*) and beard (*sahal*), when the hair is not combed, or the hair grows and bristles, figuratively about the cheek when it is puffy and chubby, or wrinkled, about a rough face with a large mouth.

Examples:

arzai-, arzalza- – to become pointed, to project, jut out

Ex.:

Sahal c'ini arzaic'ihaz' hus! – Your beard is sticking out, shave (it)!

Zaraanii u's arzaiz' baina. – A hedgehog's hair (spines) sticks out.

Tedniih araa s'u'dee arzailgasan aimaar tom nohoitoi. – They have a terribly big dog, whose teeth stick out.

arzana- – repeated movement of an object with projections, bits sticking out, movement of a thorny object, e.g. the movement of a hedgehog

Ex.:

To'v talbai deer olon hu'n arzanaad neg eserguuciiin cuglaan bolz' baina. – At the main square there is a hustle and bustle of many people and a protest meeting is going on.

(Many people are popping up and move around as a motley group, it is not a pleasant impression, the situation is not pleasing.)

Sorgoolz'nii u'uren deer tu'men sorgoolz' arzanan bucalz' baiv. – At the anthill there are thousands of ants bustling about.

Tokiigiin metrod hu'n amitan sorgoolz' s'ig arzanaad hecuu yum bilee. – In the Tokyo metro people bustle about like ants and movement is really difficult.

arzaian – an attributive form, e.g. *arzaian caraitai hu'n* is a man with an unpleasant, beardy and harsh face; crumpled bumpy face of the homeless, pock-marked face and the like

Ex.:

Songuuliin daraa Dorz' guain carai ni arzaic'ihsan baina lee, garc' c'adsangu'i bololtoi. – After the elections Dorj's face fell, probably he did not pass.

This concerns the expression of a face in which disappointment is reflected, bitterness and displeasure, the meaning is shifted because of the negative charge of the iconopoetic word.

arzar – adjective, about anything evoking displeasure when looked at, e.g. teeth, hair, face, beard, hills, rocks (*s'ud, u's, carai, sahal, uuls, had*)

Ex.:

Zarim modnii holtos mas' arzar baidag. – The bark of some trees is very rough and rugged, prickly.

Arzar arzar hadan cohionuudtai evgui gazar baisan. – It was an unpleasant place, where the rock cliffs were 'bristling'.

(Repetition of the iconopoetic word underlines the unpleasant character of the place.)

arzgai¹⁰ – the meaning of the verb is close, but it appears mainly in nicknames of people, whose teeth are not straight but pointing in all directions or whose skin is rough and bumpy. It is always an unpleasant sight, e.g. *arzgai hu'n*¹¹ has uneven teeth, not in one straight line.

Ex.:

*Arzgai Yonoo*¹² – Harsh-Faced Yondon

Ex.:

Manai nutagt arzgai Yondon gegdsen neg er, arzgar Densmaa gegdsen neg avgai baidagsan. – I remember that in our region there was one man whose nickname was Bark-like (rough) Yondon and also one woman nicknamed Rough-faced Densmaa.

Analytic form:

arzas hii-/ge- – in an idiomatic phrase: *dotor arzas/arzaga hii-*, within everything bristles, getting nausea from s.th., to make s.b.'s blood boil; or figuratively 'to start trembling with fear' – e.g. *tolgoitoi u's arzas hii-* 'hair on the head standing on end'. There is a phrase *u's boso-* with the same meaning, only it is emotionally less intense.

Ex.:

Bi ter temceeniig haraad dotot arzaga hiic'ihsen. – When I was watching that match, everything was bristling inside me.

Mogoi melhii haraad dotot ni arzas hiideg hu'muus baidag. – There are people, who start trembling with fear when they see a snake or a frog.

10) The variant *arz'ii-*, *arz'gar*, *arz'iisan* and the like means something curly, undulating, it can be said e.g. about a black man's hair, about the hair of a lamb, about children with curls. But this phrase does not have an analytic form. For example from folklore we know a riddle: *Avdaraar du'uren arz'gar hurganii aris = hu'nii s'ud.* 'Box full of many curly things like lamb's hair' = human teeth. As against the variant *arzgar* and the like, the last mentioned forms refer to an interesting and pleasant thing. There is an even more pleasant variant *irz'ii-/irz'ger*, which also refers to teeth, but a child's teeth, a pleasant form, mostly the small growing teeth of a child.

11) The variant *orzo-i-/orso-i-* is stronger, it evokes a more unpleasant image: *orsgor s'udtei* – 'to have teeth projecting out of the mouth'; *orzoison had* 'a rock unpleasantly projecting in several directions'; this is mostly used about the growing teeth. For variants with other vowels and semantic change see the examples in Oberfalzerová 2009, pp. 34–40.

12) If a person is called *Yondon*, the name of older people must not be directly uttered. This is expressed by the phrase *hu'nii neriig ahailah*, (lit. to scare the person's name, which means to respect it by not uttering it), and then only the first syllable is preserved, e.g. the name Alena will be shortened to *Aayaa*.

Idioms:

u's arzai- – dirt is collecting in the hair and the hair becomes matted

biye/gedes arzai- – not to feel well, to have a feeling of a heavy stomach, to have an upset stomach

2.4.

oodo	oodoi- oodolzo- oodgono- oodgor, oodon	oodos hii- oodgo hii-/ge-
------	---	------------------------------

Image: a too short tail of a horse

Emotion: displeasure, unpleasant sight

Word phrases (collocations):

oodon (*oodoison*, *oodgor*) *su'ul*, *mori*, *deel*, *oroin nar* – short tail, horse with a short tail and its movements, improperly short deel (coat), short rays of the evening sun and the like

Examples:¹³

oodoilgo- – to fool about (a head of cattle), while the short tail being raised can be seen; this evokes a feeling of fear, man must be cautious, when big flies are swarming above the cattle, it would raise its tail and start running in a panic.

Ex.:

Neg byaruu su'ulee oodoilgood davhiad irev. Hu'ugee gadaa bitgii gargaarai, gadaa u'her oodognood. – One two-year old calf has come running madly. Do not take your sun out, outside a calf is fooling about with a raised tail.

oodolzo-; oodon – figuratively both words are used as nicknames for people

Ex.:

Mis'ig guai gez' morinii oodon su'ul s'ig ogcom oodolzson hoïdolgoonitei o'vgon manai nutagt bai-san yum. – In our region there was a Mr. Mis'ig with the nickname Oodon (Short-tailed-one), who used to move jerkily and rashly like a horse's rising short tail.
(When the nickname starts to be used also for relatives, then it loses its pejorative connotation and becomes a normal appellation.)

13) For more examples see also Oberfalzerová 2009, pp. 45, 50, 55.

2.5.

gozo	gozoi- gozolzo- gozgono- gozon, gozgor, gozooroi	gozos hii-/ge- gozgo hii-/ge-
------	---	----------------------------------

Image: to protrude, stick out, project upwards (about an object or an animal in an erect or vertical position)

Emotional charge: depending on the context, it mostly evokes interest, a pleasant feeling, amazement (about a human being it is always pejorative)

Word phrases (collocations):¹⁴

gozoi- – it is used about a marmot or a gopher sitting up on its hind legs, then about a chimney, a column, a pile, penis, a signpost and the like (*tarvaga*, *zuram*, *yandan*, *sòn*, *sòdoi*)

gozolzo-/gozolzuula- – to make gestures with the fingers pointing upwards or downwards, moving them unpleasantly (*gar huruu*), moving long sticks for beating wool in felt-making upwards and downwards (*savaa*), a pencil (*u'zeg harandaa*), a vertical line rising upwards and sinking downwards many times, e.g. *olon z'ad/buu gozolzuulsan cereg* 'an army with a swaggering lance, with guns moving up and down'

The attribute *gozgor* can be used about a sticking out hill (*uul*),¹⁵ a protruding tip of a hill top (*tolgoi*), a church, a tower, a building with a sticking out top (*oroitoi barilga*), a monument or statue (*ho'sòo*), a chimney (*yandan*) and the like.

Examples:

O'gloonii ba oroin narnaar tarvaga nu'hneese garc' gozoicgooz' hos'giroldono. Anc'id u'uniig "tarvaga gozoilh cagaar" gelcene. – In the morning and evening sun the marmots come out of their lairs and sit up on their hind legs and whistle. Hunters say this is "at the time of the marmot sitting up".

Ene neg gozgor oros hen yum be? Aa ene Lenin gegc' orosiin ho'sòo oò. – Who is that sticking out Russian? It is the statue of that Russian Lenin.

Utaa baagiulz' gozoison yandanguud ene hotod olon bii. – In this town there are many sticking out chimneys, from which the smoke is billowing up.

14) For more examples see also Oberfalzerová 2009, p. 36.

15) Though this word is an adjective, in Mongolian toponyms it is often used as a noun designating a high pointed conical mountain, e.g.: *Deed Gozgor* – Upper Spike (Sharp Peak)?, *Dood Gozgor* – Lower Spike, *Gozgoriin o'volzòo* – winter campground at Spike, *Gozgoriin o'tog* – dunghill at Spike, and the like.

"*Harandaagaa bitgii gozolzulaad bai*" *gez' eez' zagnav.* – "Do not play with the pencil (do not raise it and stick it out)," his mother scolded him.

Example from folklore (a fairy tale to make a baby fall asleep quickly):

Ert urid cagt neg hu'n Erdene-Zuu oroohor yavz' baiz'ee. Tegsen zamiin haz'uud neg yum gozoi-good l baih yum gene. Yavaad l baiz' gene, no'gooh c'ini gozoigood l baiz' gene. Yavaad l baiz' gene (olon udaa davtana), gozoigood l baiz' gene (olon udaa davtana), gozoigood l baiz' gene. Tegsen neg zuram godos geed nu'hendee orc'ihoz' gene ee.

Long ago one man went to the monastery called Erden-Zuu. All of a sudden something was sticking out beside the road. He went on and on, and that thing kept sticking out. And so he went on and on (it is repeated many times), and that thing kept sticking out and sticking out (it is repeated many times). And all of a sudden one gopher flapped its tail and vanished in its lair.

Gozooroi is the name of one type of gophers with a bigger body. They are registered in the Mongolian red book of endangered species, and it is prohibited to hunt them. In the Mongolian interlinear rendering of the Secret History of the Mongols there is a translation of the word *küčügür*, which is translated as mouse (*hulgana*; § 89, Cleaves 1982, p. 29). This translation is also followed by translations into European languages. According to J. Lubsangdoji (personal communication), this word should have been written as *yojuyur*, which should be understood as an iconopoeic word (*gozgor*) referring to gopher (*gozooroi*). Obviously this is a wrong Chinese transcription of the word as *küčügür*. This also results in cultural misinterpretation. In Mongolia, the idea that somebody is eating a mouse is inconceivable. Gophers are not eaten either, only one of them used to be eaten, but it is now on the list of protected species. Such misunderstandings continue also in other translations.

Idiom:

dur gozgono- an outburst of craving, great appetite, e.g. about gopher's meat, about cigarettes, alcohol and the like

Ex.:

Caadahi c'ini olon s'iltei yum haraad dur ni gozogonood baina, neg ayaga hiigeed o'g'ih! – The one behind sees the many bottles and his appetite is rising, pour one cup for him!

Gon biye gozon tolgoi – (lit., *gon* < *goni/gooni* old bachelor; *gozon* figuratively 'the only sticking out head') 'a loner, old bachelor, old spinster, a lone wolf'. A much used ironical expression in the spoken language, which depending on the context may express the regret.

2.6.

buva	buvai- buvalza- buvgana- buvtana- buvar, buvgar	buvs hii-/ge- buvga hii-/ge-
------	---	---------------------------------

Image: a) healthy chubby cheeks of a well-fed suckling; b) a bulging body of a small animal, e.g. a mouse

Emotional charge, emotion: pleasant, affectionate, provoking fondness

Word phrases (collocations):

buvaisan/buvgar hacar, hu'uhed, hulgana – chubby cheeks, a roly-poly child, a plump mouse

*buvalztal ho'ho*¹⁶ – movement of the mouth and cheeks of a hungry suckling sucking quickly and strongly

buvar buvar ho'ho – a slow movement of the cheeks of a slowly sucking suckling falling asleep

buvganaz' ide – movements of the cheeks of a toothless person, the movement of cheeks when pushing the mouthful to and fro with a closed mouth

amandaa buvtana – to mumble something inaudibly, to mumble into one's beard; this expresses an unpleasant emotion, anger

*buvgar/buvaisan sahal*¹⁷ – beard which together with the moustache forms a bulge projecting forward, they appear monolithic, thick and cut short

Examples:

buvai-, buvalza-

Hu'uhdiin tergend neg hu'uhed buvaigaad untaz' baina. Eez' ni tu'uniig o'vor deeree avahad ter hu'u buvalztal ho'hoz' garav. – In the pram a child is rolling into a ball and sleeping. His mother took him to her bosom and the boy started drinking greedily.

Analytic form:

buvs hii¹⁸

Hoyor hulgana gazar maltaad buvs buvs hiiz' baizee. – Two mice were digging in the earth and (making) **buvs buvs** (they were trembling like two little balls).

16) Compare the variant with a different vowel and a different meaning: *bavalztal ho'ho* – it can be used only about a calf, from whose mouth thick foam from milk is flowing when it is sucking.

17) Compare the variant *bavaisan/baygar sahal* – also a thick beard, but turning to the sides.

18) See further in the folk tale, part 3.

This group of iconopoeic words was probably formed from the sound *bub/bab*, which a Mongol perceives as a sound uttered by a sucking baby.

2.7.

seete	seetii- seetelze- seetgene- seeten, seetger	seetes hii-/ge- seeteg hii-/ge-
-------	--	------------------------------------

Image: external appearance of young girls – small figure, short hair or combed close to the head in twobuns, with narrow eyes directed a bit upwards; at the same time this iconopoeic word implies the character and movements of the girl, who is playful, mischievous, lively, clever and agile.

Emotion: pleasant, agreeable

Word phrases (collocations):

seetiisen/seetger ohin – playful girl between 3 and 18 years of age

seetegnez/seetelzez gu'isen ohid – girls running about merrily, in a lively manner and swiftly

bandi nartai seetelze-/seetgene- – to flirt with boys and tease them, to dally with them¹⁹

Idiom:

Seeten haya²⁰ – to make eyes, provoke, signal, to flirt (about adult women);

e.g. *er hu'n ruu seeten haya-* – to have a desire for a man, to strive after men

The idiom expresses a critical attitude towards such behaviour, displeasure.

Examples:

seetiisen

Pragiin vokzal deer Amarzayaa geed neg seetiisen ohin taniig ughtaad irne, tegehleer ni ene zahiaig o'gc'ihooerei. – A bright small girl – a little goblin called Amarzaya will come to meet you at Prague railway station, so kindly give her this letter.

seetgene-, seetelze-

Tomc'uuliin urduur bitgii seetgenez' gu'ildeed bai! U'u'd aldaz' bitgii seetelz ohin mini, nu'gel gedeg yum! – Do not be coquettish in front of adults. Do not move and frolic behind the door, my daughter, that is considered a sin.

19) About the coquetry of elderly women another iconopoeic word can be used – *aaligu'ite-*.

20) See also Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 110.

A change of the vowel also changes slightly the meaning of this iconopoeic word: *saatai-*, *saatgana-* – a person who is unpleasant to look at, something is not nice about him, disturbing

sootoi-, *sootolzo-*, *sootgor/sooton* – pricked up or attentive ears of a horse, dog or another animal. Figuratively this form is regularly used about a human being, who likes to snoop, likes to nose around in other people's things, pokes his nose into other people's affairs:

Hu'nii bic'iz' baigaa yum ruu bitgii sootolzo! – Do not snoop in to what people are writing! Do not poke your nose into other people's affairs!

2.8.

peede	peedii- peedelze- peedgene- peedger	
-------	--	--

Image: a human being whose body is relatively big, bulky or huge. Figuratively it refers to a human being who makes himself look important in front of others, gives himself airs and graces, looks down his nose at others, and the like.

Emotion: displeasure, irony, ridicule

Idiomatic word phrases (collocations):

peediisen/peedger hu'n – conceited person

peediiz' yavaa hu'n – a person who starts to be conceited

The pejorative meaning is underlined if instead of the word 'man' (*hu'n*) the word '(some)thing' (*yum*) is used:

peedger yumnuud – 'the conceited (some)things'

This phrase is used pejoratively about a greater number of people of high rank, e.g. members of the government, politicians, and the like. It expresses displeasure and refusal.

Examples:

peedelz-

Baaz'aa nomhon daruu l hu'uhed baisan, odoo bayaz'aad "muusain yunuudad bi u'zuuleed oġno" gez' peedelzsen zaluu bolson baina lee. – Baaz'aa was a modest and gentle boy, but now that he has become rich, he became a young man who looks down his nose at others and keeps repeating: "I will show the poor fellows (who I am)."

peedii-

Mongoliin ene tomc'uuliin dotor peediideggu'i hu'n baidag yum uu? – Is there anybody at all among those Mongolian big bosses, who does not despise (other people)?

peedger

Tom ih delgu'uriin kassc'in avgai ni hu'rtel duugarc' yadsan peedger zantai yum bilee. – Those people from the supermarket, up to the cashier, are all so conceited that they hardly speak a word (with you).

There are two more variants:

poodoison/poodgor hu'n – it refers to the body of a medium stature, but a bit plump or well-padded; it expresses light displeasure, but not too great

po'odiison/po'odgor o'vgon – it mostly refers to an old man with curved back, of short stature; an unpleasant sight

In this context there is the idiomatic expression *po'odiilgo-/bo'odiilgo-*, a euphemism about killing a man or an animal; it depicts an image of the curled up dead body and expresses a very regretful emotion; the word *ala-* 'to kill' is a taboo for human beings, e.g.

Zorigtig bo'odiilgoson hu'niig odoo hu'rtel olz' cadaagu'i baina. – So far they were unable to find the person who did away with Zorig.

The figurative meaning of the set of words derived from *peedii-* started to be used more commonly after 1990, particularly in the jargon of Ulanbator. Etymologically these words are derived from the iconopoeic words *pentii-*, *pendelze-*, *pendger*, which refer pejoratively to a human being with a great belly.

2.9.

bo'ndo	bo'ndii- bo'ndolzo- bo'ndogno- bo'ndoo bo'ndoon bo'ndoolei bo'ndgor	bo'ndos hii-/ge- bo'ndog hii-/ge-
--------	---	--------------------------------------

Image: an oval or round object (also the body or a human being or animal)

Emotion: pleasant, interesting, evoking the desire to fondle

Word phrases (collocations):

bo'ndiison/bo'ndgor tolgoi – it refers to the round bald little head of a child, to the hairless head of a young man (*zaluu*), to a ball (*bo'mbog*), and similarly round objects.

These words are used when addressing children affectionately – *bo'ndoo*, *bo'ndoon*, *bo'ndoolei*, *bo'ndog*.

Examples:

bo'ndii-

C'inii halaasand bo'ndiigood baigaa yum yuu ve? – What is it that is bulging in your pocket?
Zarim hu'nii c'ihnii orc'imd neg bo'ndiison yum urgadag, terniig c'ihnii ceceg gene. – Around the ears of some people prolonged roundish excrescences appear, they are called 'flowers of the ears'.

bo'ndolzo-, bo'ndogno-

Hu'u mini mo'lhoh geed bo'ndolzood baidag bolson. – My little son wanted to crawl and started to roll from one side to the other.

Huruuv' unahlaaraa hurdan morinoos hurdan bo'ndognood alga bol'ihdog yum. – My thimble falls down, rolls away more quickly than a quick horse and vanishes.

bo'ndgor

Zarim amitnii hooloid bas tiim bo'ndgor yum baidag, tu'uniig molcog gedeg. – On the neck of some animals (e.g. goats or colts) small prolonged roundish excrescences also appear, they are called (pendulant) swellings.

Minii bo'ndogoo eez'dee ir, bo'ndgoriigoo usand oruulaya. – My (little) ball, come to mother, I will bathe my roly-poly.

A change of vowel changes the meaning (shape) and also the emotion:

bandai-, bandagana-, bandgar – refer to a broad and strong object, but unpleasant

bondoi-, bondgono-, bondgor – refer to a round but small object, child and young person, with a pleasant emotion

*bundai-, bundgana-, bundgar*²¹ – refer to equally pleasant and likeable objects, but small

21) See also Oberfalzerová 2009, pp. 35–38.

3. Illustrative example from folklore

3.0.

Iconopoeia are very frequently used in folklore. They appear to be its basic artistic means of expression, which intensifies the emotional charge of the narrated story. In the following fairy tale the observation of the surroundings and its portrayal in speech is used as the basic means of expression, and can even protect a person. In this case, the mere ability to remember movements and sounds, which the figure of a simpleton perceives around himself, is carried through to an absurd degree to produce a comic situation. In spite of that the fairy tale reveals an ethno-pedagogical intention to highlight this ability to observe as the very basis of the ability to survive. This fairy tale, or rather realistic narrative, illustrates very clearly the different levels of quality in the manner of expression and interpretation of speech. I have selected the fairy tale also because of the typical and very symbolical perception of the expressions employed, in order to highlight the important role of human intuition and the ability to interpret omens.

3.1. Mongolian fairy tale

Carcaa Namz'il²²

Ert urid cagt Carcaa Namz'il gez' neg teneg hu'n baiz'ee. Hiided gurban z'iliin turs' nom zaalgasan bolovc' yuu c' sursangu'i, teneg heveer baisan tul neg o'dor bags' ni tu'und "nutagtaa buc" gez' helz'ee.

"Bags' mini, bi ganc c' maani helz' suraagu'i bolohoor ic'gevtter baina. Ta odoo nadad ganchan l nom helz' o'g, bi zamdaa uns'jaar yavaad zaaval suraya" gez'ee. Bags' ni "bi odoo c'amd yamar c' nom zaahgu'i. Harin c'i zamdaa tohioldson yum bu'gdiig az'iglan harz' togtoogood yavbal c'amd sainaas sain erdem bolno" gez'.

Ingeed Carcaa Namz'il yavz'ee. Yavaad l baiz', yavaad l baiz'. Tegtél neg tom har s'uvuu modon deer suugaad **uvaag-vaag** gez' duugarc' baina gene. Tu'uniig haraad bags'iin ni zahisan u'g sanagdaz' "Baraan s'uvuu **vaag-vaag**" gez' uns'jaar yavz'ee.

Tegz' yavtal urduur ni hoyor zeer davhiad o'ngorc' gene. Tu'uniig haraad "Hoyor zeer **z'ooron z'ooron**" geed l uns'aad yavz'ee. Caas' yavz' baital zamd ni hoyor hulgana nu'hnihee aman deer suuc'haad s'oroo maltaz' baiz' gene. "Hoyor hulgana gazar maltaad **buvs buvs**" geed l uns'aad yavz'.

Tegeed yavz' baital neg gahain mah ac'san hyatad hudaldaac'in dairaldz'ee. Carcaa Namz'il hyatad hel medehgu'i bolohoor gahain mah yamar u'netei ve gedgiig dohiogoor asuuz'ee. Hyatad hu'n hoyor garaa urags' sungan duguilaad, daraa ni aldaz', daraa ni erhii huruugaa **gozoilgood**, ecest ni c'igc'ii huruugaa **gozoilgoz'ee**. Ene ni, bu'duuneeree hu'nii tevert bagtamgu'i targan,

22) Cf. Gaadamba, Cerensodnom 1978, pp. 192–193.

urtaaraa ald – iim saihaan mah baina. Avbal sain, avahgu'i bol muu gesen dohio baisan bolovc' Carcaa Namz'il oilgosongu'i. Gevc' ter dohiog yag duuriaz' hiiz' c'addag bolood caas' yavz' gene.

Caas' yavz' baital neg haanii o'rgoo haragdz'ee. Carcaa Namz'il haaniid oc'iz' nutag us, hereg zorigoo yariz' suutal Carcaa Namz'iliig hiided gurvan z'il suusan hu'n gedgiig haan sonsood lav ih nomtoi, mergen tu'rgen hu'n baiz' taarna gez' bodz'ee. Tegeed hataniihaa hulgaid aldsan altan bo'gz'iig tu'ugeer oluulahaar s'iideed mergelz' o'gohiig guiz'ee. Carcaa Namz'il ih o'ls'c' yadarc' yavsan bolohoor neg sain cadaz' avaad u'heye gez' bodood mergelehiig zo'vs'oorc'ee.

Tegeed haand helsen ni: "Ta nadad neg ger bariulaad dotor ni tavan tansag zoog tavi. Bi tend gurvan honog suuz' mergelne. Do'rov deh o'driin o'gloo l ta gert orz' bo'gz'oo asuugaarai" gez'ee. Haan bu'h yumiig yosoor bolgoz' gene.

Carcaa Namz'il o'rgoo gert gedes garc' avaad, zaa odoo yaadag yum bilee ee? gez' bodoz' baital bags'iin zahisan u'g sanagdaz', zamdaa u'zsen yumaa bodood "Baraan s'uvuu **vaag-vaag**" gez' uns'aad hevtez' baiz'ee.

Ter oroi ni haan, Zu'un gariinhaa tu's'meliig duudaz' "mergen lamiin geriin gadaa oc'iz' c'agna, ter yuu hiiz' baigaag medez' ir!" gez'ee. Tu's'mel, "lamiin" geriin gadaa oc'iz' geriin daruulga c'uluun deer suugaad c'agnatal, "Baraan s'uvuu **vaag-vaag**" geed neg yum yariz' baina gene. Tu's'mel, ene lam namaig end irz' suusniig medeed namaig baraan s'uvuu gez' baina gez' bodood bus'uuhan bucaz' haandaa oc'iz' lamiin helsen u'g, o'oriinhoo bodliig helz'ee.

Margaas' ni haan, ter lam yuu hiiz' baigaag medez' ir geed hatan ohin hoyoroo yavuulz'ee. Hatan ohin hoyuul lamiin geriin hoyor talaar semhen getez' oc'ood c'agnahad lam "Hoyor zeer **z'ooron z'ooron**" geed neg yum helz' baisand ter hoyor, o'orsdiigoo helz' baina gez' bodood bus'uuhan bucaz' yuu bolsniig haandaa helz'ee.

Tegeed haan, Baruun gariin tu's'melee daguulaad o'oroo "lamiin" geriin gadaa oc'iz' c'agnaz'ee. "Lam" c'imeegu'i baina gene. Haan tu's'mel hoyor, ene lam u'neheer mergen yum bol bid hoyoriin irsniig medmeer l yum gez' gaihaad huruugaaraa gazar deer bic'ig bic'ilcen yarilcaz' baital "lamiin" duu genet c'anga sonsogdoz': "Hoyor hulgana gazar maltaad **buvs buvs**" geed yariz' ehelz' gene dee. Haan c' tu's'melee daguulaad sand mend bucz'ee.

Margaas' ni gurav dahi u'des' bolz'. Carcaa Namz'il c' sandarc' ehelz' gene. Zamdaa togtooson heden u'gee uns'c'ihsan. Odoo yaadag yum bilee ee? geed u'hehees sain arga u'gui gez' bodood, togoo du'uren tu'uhii guril usand zuuruulz', deerees ni gurvan s'anaga davs hiilgez' tu'uhii sorvog zutan ideed gedsee ho'olgoz' u'heheer s'iidez' gene.

Tegeed no'goo zutangaa idsen c'ini gedes ni du'ureed, togoon c'inee tom bolz'ee. Ami ni temceed, gedsee maa'zaad l: "**Cu'diisen** muu hog mini ee! C'i margaas' o'gloo naad **cu'dgeree** hagaluulaha medez' baina uu?" geed l gedsee **tas hiitel** algadaz', o'oriigoo zagnaad argaa barz' baiz' gene.

Yag ene u'yed, hatanii bo'gz'iig hulgailsan z'iremsen zarc hu'uhlen geriin gadaa c'agnaz' baisan tul deerh u'giig sonsood o'oriigoo helz' baina gez' bodood "mergen lamaas" o'rs'ool guihaar gert ni orz' hamag u'nenee helz' o'rs'ool guiz'ee.

Carcaa Namz'il ter hu'uhnees hatanii altan bo'gz'iig hu'leen avaad "C'amaig hulgailsan gez' bi hend c' helehgu'i. C'i harin hois'id hulgai bitgii hiigeerei" gez'ee.

Margaas' o'gloo ni haan bo'gz'oo asuuhaar irehed Carcaa Namz'il bo'gz'iig o'gc'ee. Haan ihed bayarlan, tu'uniig mergen lam baina gez' itgesen bolohoor, [tu'uniig] zergeldee hos'uuniihaa horin z'il nom byasalgaz' dayaan hiisen lam nartai nom hayalcahiig guiz'ee.

"Lam" c' itgegdsendee barigdaad argagu'i zo'vs'oorc' gene.

Haaniig daguulaad nom hayalcahaar no'goo Hos'uund oc'ihod ter Hos'uunii haan, erdemtei lam irne geed tusgai ger beltgec'ihsen baiz' gene. Mani teneg, ter gert orood idez' uugaad l suuz' baiz'. Tegel ter Hos'uunii hamgiin ih erdem nomtoi gurvan lam, nom hayalcahaar genet orood irz'ee.

Carcaa Namz'ild heleh c' u'g oldsongu'i, demii l no'goo hyatadaas sursan dohiogoo hiiz' u'zuulz' gene. Tegsen c'ini ter gurvan lam, neg c' u'g helelgu'i garaad yavc'ihz'ee. Haan ni "Zaa ta gurav,

caadahiigaa darav uu? Her nomtoi lam baina daa ter?” gesend ter gurvan lam helsen ni: “Haantan mini, ter c’ini bid metiin bandi nartai nom hayalcahaar hu’n bis’ yum baina. Bidniig oronguut l delhii yamar hemz’eetei ve? gez’ garaa duguilaad, aldhan biyeree du’uren nom sursan uu ta nar? gez’ aldaad l, medvel sain gez’ erhiigee, medehgu’i bol muu gez’ **c’igc’iigee gozoilgoloo**” gez’ee. Tegeed Carcaa Namz’iltai nom hayalcahiig hen c’ zu’rhelsengui. Tu’unii bu’reen yalalt bolz’ haantaigaa bucz’ee.

Tegeed udalgu’i Carcaa Namz’il oron nutagtaa bucah bolz’, haan c’ beleg seleg elbeg delbeg o’gc’ee. O’oriin ni nutgiin zah hu’rtel u’dez’ o’gohoor haan s’iidz’ee. Teneg er, belegt avsan ac’aa ho’sogoo ho’tlood yavahad haan ard ni u’ldeshiin s’eez’ suuz’ee. Namar cag yumsanz’. Haanii derged neg carcaa ireed buuhad haan bariz’ avah geed c’adsangu’i. Dahin buuhad ni dutuu bariz’ avaad aldc’ihaz’. Dahiad buuhad ni bariz’ avaad tu’uniig atgasan c’igeeree morindoo mordoz’ dāvhiiz’ ireed “lamaas” asuuz’ee: “Zaa lamtan mini, minii gart yuu baigaag mergelz’ aild” gez’ee.

Carcaa Namz’il yaah c’ argagu’i bolood bu’h u’nenee heleheer s’iideed: “Carcaa Namz’il negdeh udaagaa barigdsangu’i. Hoyor dahi udaagaa barag barigdah s’ahsan. Gurav dahi udaagaa odoo argagu’i barigdlaa. U’hee biz.” gehed haan: “Neeren l tiim dee lamtan mini. Bi yag l gurav dahi udaagaa arai gez’ barisan yum. Odoo u’hsen ni u’nen baina” geed o’nooh carcaagaa gar-gaz’ hayaz’ gene ee. Tegeed Carcaa Namz’il oron nutagtaa oc’iz’ u’nen cagaanaar amidarc’ amar saihan z’argaz’ee.

3.2. Translation

Grasshopper Namz’il²³

In days of old there lived a simpleton, whose name was Grasshopper Namz’il. Though he spent the whole of three years studying in a monastery school, he did not learn anything. And since he continued being just as empty-headed as before, one day his teacher told him: “You’d better return to your home.” “My dear teacher, I feel very ashamed that I was unable to learn even a single mantra. Please, tell me now just a single mantra,²⁴ and I will keep repeating it the whole way back, and will certainly learn it.” “I will not teach you any mantra now, but you should attentively observe and remember everything you may meet on the way. That will be the very best source of knowledge for you,” said the teacher.

Thus Grasshopper Namz’il left. And so he went on and on and on. And then a great black bird sitting on a tree kept croaking “**uvaag-vaag**”. Seeing the bird, he remembered the instruction of his teacher and went on repeating “A dark bird (utters) **uvaag-vaag**”. And as he went on, two antelopes crossed his path. When he saw this, he walked on repeating “Two antelopes (make) **z’ooron z’ooron**.”²⁵ And as he went on, there were two mice along his way sitting at the entrance to their hole and digging the soil. And he went on repeating “Two mice dig the earth and (make) **buvs buvs**.”²⁶

And so he went on and encountered a Chinese merchant with a load of pork. Because Grasshopper Namdz’il did not know Chinese, he asked about the price of the meat by way of gestures.

23) In this context, grasshopper is a nickname for a person and Namz’il is a Tibetan name, which means the King of the Skies. Here it is used ironically.

24) Here *nom*, literally ‘text’, the implication being a ‘mantra’.

25) A repeated movement of a slim vertical object up and down.

26) A repeated movement of a roundish thing which puffs up or trembles.

The Chinese joined his hands in front of himself, then stretched them out, then **stuck** his thumb up and in the end he **stuck out** his little finger. (This implied) that the meat of the pig was so fat that it would not be accommodated in the arms of one man, and so long like protruded arms (fathom) – it was such good meat. These gestures meant that it was good to buy it (the thumb stuck up) and bad not to buy it (the little finger stuck out). Grasshopper Namz'il did not understand but he was able to imitate the gestures exactly and went on.

As he went on, he saw the palace of one Khan. Grasshopper Namz'il visited the Khan and told him that he was on the way to his native country. When the Khan heard that Grasshopper Namz'il spent three years in a monastery, he thought that he surely must be a man of letters, wise and quick-witted. He decided to let him find a stolen golden ring of the queen, and so he asked him to divine where it was. Grasshopper Namz'il was hungry and tired after the trip and so he thought that he would at least eat his fill before his death and agreed to divine.

So he told the king: "Let a special yurt be erected and put five delicious meals there. I will divine there for three days. Come on the fourth day in the morning to my yurt and ask about the ring." The Khan carried everything out properly.

Grasshopper Namz'il nestled down in the palace-like yurt, filled his stomach, and started thinking what to do. Then he thought of the instruction of his teacher, remembered what he saw on the way, and lying down started repeating aloud: "A dark bird (utters) **uvaag-vaag**."

That evening the King called his official of the Left Hand (Country) and ordered him: "Go to the yurt of the wise Lama, find out what he is doing and come (and tell me)!" So the official went to the 'Lama's' yurt, sat down on the stone to which the yurt's rope was attached and listened. He heard him speak with somebody and overheard the word "A dark bird (utters) **uvaag-vaag**". The official thought that the Lama knew he had gone there and that he called him a dark bird. He quickly left and went to the King, told him what he had heard and what he thought about it.

The following day the King sent the queen with her daughter to find out what the Lama was doing. Both of them were quietly walking around the yurt and listening on two sides. They could hear the Lama saying something and then they could clearly distinguish "Two antelopes (are making) **z'ooron z'ooron**". They thought he was talking about the two of them, they returned quickly and told the Khan about what happened.

Then the King went to the Lama's yurt with his official of the Right Hand (Country) and listened (eavesdropped). But the "Lama" was silent. If he was a real prophet, he would have known about us. The King and the official started to write with their fingers in the dust, and all of a sudden the King could hear loud words: "Two mice dig the earth and (make) **buvs buvs**." Both of them returned, the King following the official in dismay.

The third evening arrived the following day. Grasshopper Namz'il started worrying. I have recited the words which I had learned on the way. What shall I do now, there is no other way out than to die. And so he ordered to mix flour with water in the kettle, then had three cups of salt put into it. He decided to fill his stomach with this raw (unboiled) porridge to make it bloated and then he would die.

And so he was eating until his stomach was bloated and looked like a bulging kettle. When fighting for his life, he started stroking his stomach: "You poor potbellied garbage! Do you know that tomorrow morning this potbelly/ **garbage** will burst!" he said, and **slapping** the stomach he kept scolding himself and moaning.

Just at that time a pregnant housemaid of the Queen, who had stolen the Queen's ring, was spying on the yurt. Hearing these words, she immediately thought this was about her. She entered the yurt, told the whole truth and beseeched the mercy of the "wise Lama".

Grasshopper Namz'il accepted the golden ring of the Queen and said: "I will tell nobody that you stole the ring. But you must not steal any more. Next morning, when the King came to ask

about the ring, the Lama handed over to him the golden ring. The King was very happy and recognised that he was a real wise man. Therefore he asked him to meet the Lamas from the neighbouring Khoshun (Banner), who had been fasting and meditating for twenty years, for a disputation.

There was nothing for the "Lama" to do but agree.

When they arrived with the Khan at the neighbouring Khoshun so that the "Lama" might participate in the disputation, the King of that Khoshun had a special yurt prepared, because he heard that a learned Lama was about to come. Our fool moved into the yurt and was drinking and eating there. All of a sudden three most learned Lamas of that Khoshun came to meet him in disputation.

Grasshopper Namz'il was unable to find any words and only gestured with his hand as he had learnt from the Chinese. And so the three Lamas left without saying a word. Their King asked them: "You must have beaten that one? How learned is he?" The three Lamas said: "Oh King, he is not a man who would dispute with pupils like us. When we entered, he asked what the size of the world is, and joined his hands in a circle in front of himself. Then by only spreading his arms he asked us whether we have acquired knowledge using the whole body. If we did, it is good, he raised his thumb. If we did not, it is bad, he raised his little finger." Then nobody had the courage to dispute with Grasshopper Namz'il. This was his complete victory and he returned to his king.

Soon after that Grasshopper Namz'il was on his way home and the King had given him many presents. The King also decided to accompany him to the very border of his native country. The fool was driving his canopied wagon with the presents and the King got delayed as he squatted to piss. It was autumn. A grasshopper descended next to him, the King wanted to catch it but did not manage. It landed again, he almost caught it but missed it again. When for a third time it landed, he caught it, squeezed it into his fist, then riding on horseback he caught up with the Lama and asked him: "Please, (respected) Lama, kindly divine what is in my hand."

Grasshopper Namz'il saw no other way and decided to tell the whole truth: "The first time Grasshopper Namz'il was not caught. The second time (he) was almost caught. Now the third time (he) has surely been caught. He must be dead, surely?" The Khan replied: "It is exactly so, my (respected) Lama. I really caught it the third time and now it is dead!" He showed the dead grasshopper and threw it away. Then Grasshopper Namz'il reached his native country, where he lived only in truth, peacefully and happily.

Conclusion

This paper discussed one group of depicting words, viz iconopoeia, which describe a concrete image of an object, of an animal or of a human being. Besides their various variant forms I have also discussed their modality and the emotions, which are inevitably linked with the use of such words. The use of these sometimes uneasily distinguishable words (or rather their meanings) has been documented in a number of examples from the living colloquial speech. Iconopoeia are a very popular means of expressivity and a very common means of expressing the attitude of the speaker to the described object.

It is especially in colloquial usage that by means of this intimate form of speech used with another person, the speaker achieves ridicule, humiliation, or an ironic or comic image. For example the activity or behaviour of a third

(absent) person, or his/her character, temperament, can be clearly criticized in this manner if the speaker does not like it.

In public an unpopular person can be humiliated by underlining his/her imperfect appearance. The object of ridicule can, for example, be the shape of the various body parts (nose, eyes, mouth, head etc.):

too big and bulging – *monhoi-/monholzo-/monhgono-/monhgor/monhor*

sharp nose – *s'önhoi-/s'önholzo-/s'önhogono-/s'önhgor/s'önhor*

small nose – *navs'ii-/navs'ilza-/navs'gana-*

almost flat, too small nose – *narmii-/narmilza-/narmigana-*

pug nose – *meetii-/meetelze-/meetgene-/meetger*

a small nose turned up (about a child) – *eeten/eetelz-/eetegene-*

colour of the eyes – green, *nogoi-/nogolzo-*

grey-white eyes (sickly), for which Mongols have a loathing – *ceher/cehii-/cehelze-*

big mouth – large gob – *zarvai-/zarvalza-/zarvagana-*

swollen mouth – *darvai-/darvalza-/darvagana-/darvagar*

big head getting broader from the temples upwards – *danhai-/danhalza-/danhagana-/danhar*

big chubby cheeks – *banhai-/banhalza-/banhagana-/banhar*

big face – *palii-/palilza-/paligana-/paligar*²⁷

small face – *z'ornoi-/z'ornolzo-/z'ornogono-/z'ornogor*

big belly – *cu'nhii-, cu'ntii-/cu'ntelze-/cu'ntgene-/cu'ntger*

big bottom – *tantai-/tantalza-/tantagana-/tantgar*

hanging-over skin folds of fatty flesh on the jowly cheeks, on the throat, on the belly – *s'alhai-/s'alhalza-/s'alhagana-, s'alhagar*

Similarly we could mention other forms and other parts of the body. The more unpleasant the sight, the stronger is the offence and humiliation achieved by foregrounding the fact. However, there are also pleasant and charming forms, which allow the expression of a loving relation to a person or child. Under certain circumstances the use of an iconopoeic word, though ridiculing, may create an intimate and family atmosphere between partners or close persons.

It is quite clear that iconopoeia, when used about a living creature are not just a neutral description of his/its forms. On the contrary, the use of iconopoeia always goes hand in hand with the relevant emotion, and such a detailed description and its emotional charge makes communication lively and personal.

By way of conclusion allow me to say that there are other subgroups of these special words. And therefore the above description should be followed by a description of the formation and use in spoken language of some other special groups of onomatopoeia. Beside simply onomatopoeic words, there are also words depicting both the image and the sound at the same time. And the use of these words in everyday speech is particularly interesting.

27) Iconopoeic words keep the archaic initial *p-, which was lost in Mongolian.

References

- BAZARRAGC'AA, M., 1987, *Mongol helnii avia selgeh yos* (Alternation of sounds in Mongolian). Ulaanbaatar.
- BOL'ŠOJ AKADEMIČESKIJ MONGOL'SKO-RUSSKIJ SLOVAR' V ČETYRJEH TOMAH (Great Academic Mongolian-Russian Dictionary in Four Volumes). Izdatel'stvo Moskva 'Academia', Moskva 2001.
- BYAMBASU'REN, P., 1970, Orc'in cagiin mongol helnii u'il u'giin hev, baidal. (Verbal voice and aspect in modern Mongolian). In: *Studia linguae et litterarum*, Tomus VIII, Hel zohioliin sudlal, Ulaanbaatar, pp. 201–300.
- CEVEL, Ya., 1966, *Mongol helnii tovc' tailbar toli* (A Concise Dictionary of Mongolian). Ulaanbaatar.
- CLEAVES, F. W., 1982, *The secret History of the Mongols*. Harvard University Press, Baltimore.
- GAADAMBA, S., CERENSODNOM, D., 1978, *Mongol ardiin aman zohioliin deez' bic'ig* (An Anthology of Mongolian Folk Oral Literature). Ulaanbaatar.
- HANGIN, G. (with KRUEGER, J. R.), 1986, *A Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Indiana University.
- KULLMAN, Rita, TSERENPIL, D., 1996, *Mongolian Grammar*. Hong Kong.
- KUZ'MENKOV, E., A., 1984, *Glagol v mongol'skom jazyke* (A Verb in Mongolian). Leningrad.
- LUBSANGDORJI, J., 2007 The Secret History of the Mongols in the mirror of metaphors (2). In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '07 sive Folia linguarum Orientis selecta (FLOS). Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics and Culture*. Vol. 1. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha, 2007, pp. 55–85.
- LUVSANVANDAN, S., 1968, *Orc'in cagiin mongol helnii bu'tec* (The Structure of Modern Mongolian). Ulaanbaatar.
- MONGOL HELNII DELGERENGUI TAILBAR TOLI (Great Monolingual Dictionary of the Mongolian Language). 5 Boti. Mongol ulsiin s'inz'leh uhaanii akademi hel zohioliin hu'reelen, Ulaanbaatar 2008.
- NORJIN, C., 1999, *Mongyol kelen-ü toli* (Dictionary of the Mongolian Language). Öbür mongyol-un Arad-un Keblel-ün Qoriy-a, Čiyulultu Qayaly-a qota, 3142 pp.
- OBERFALZEROVÁ, A., 2002, Formal Aspects of Metaphorical Speech. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '02, Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha, pp. 151–185.
- OBERFALZEROVÁ, A., 2003, The Use of Mongolian in the Perspective of Cultural Context. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '03, Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha, pp. 175–205.
- OBERFALZEROVÁ, A., 2005, Odoogiin mongol helnii du'rsleh u'g, tedgeeriin hereglee. (Iconopoeic words in modern Mongolian and their usage). In: *Acta Mongolica*, Vol. 5 (246), Ulaanbaatar, 2005, pp. 73–78.
- OBERFALZEROVÁ, A., 2006, *Metaphors and Nomads*. Triton, Praha.
- OBERFALZEROVÁ, A., 2009, Onomatopoeia and iconopoeia – as an expressive means in Mongolian. In: *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '09. Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Religion and Culture*. Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha, Vol. 2/1, 2009, pp. 29–60.
- RASSADIN, V. I., 2008, *Oč'ěrki po morfologii i slovoobrazovaniju mongolskikh yazykov*. Izd-vo KGU, Elista.

Personal names among Mongolian nomads

EVA OBRÁTILOVÁ, Charles University in Prague

Summary: The paper treats the semantic meanings of proper names among Mongolian nomads and describes traditional customs connected with the practise of name-giving in this nomadic cultural area. A name for a newborn child is not chosen accidentally but according to a wide range of habits and precautions which are meant to ensure good health and happiness in its future life. In the Mongolian cultural environment the awareness of the magical power of words is still alive and widespread among the people and this factor influences the motivation for the choice of a name for a newborn baby. The semantic meaning of a name contains a strong importance for the person who carries the name, which may also affect the child's future life in a positive or negative way. Therefore we can differentiate three main forms of motivation for proper names – beneficial, protective and taboo.

0. Introduction – Historical development of Mongolian personal names¹

The official form of Mongolian names – *ovog ner + ecgiin ner + oòriin ner* [family name + patronymic / matronymic + given personal name] – was determined by a government regulation in 1997 as the compulsory form of Mongolian personal names. This regulation is a follow-up to a Mongolian Parliament resolution and to an ordinance by the President of the Mongolian Republic from 1996 which introduced the renewed usage of Mongolian citizens' family names. Therefore, these resolutions comply with the article "On Culture" of the statute book called "The Laws of the Mongolian Republic" from 1996, which urges all Mongolian citizens to know their origin and to protect traditions as part of their national cultural heritage. These laws state that every Mongolian citizen has to establish their official genealogy and gradually add new information to it.

There are rules of how to proceed when finding out one's family name and how to choose one if it is not known in the family. In 1998 the Ministry of

1) The text is a part of the author's M.A. Thesis entitled 'Motivation of Designation in Proper Names and Toponymia of Mongolian Nomads (Concerning Certain Phenomena of their World-view Based on Semantical Analysis of Proper Names and Toponymia)', successfully defended at Charles University in Prague in March 2010.

Justice in cooperation with the History Department of the Academy of Science published a handbook for the use of Mongolian citizens, explaining the need for the renewal of family names and their cultural importance. It contains lists of family names of individual regions and it should assist individuals in selecting and determining their family names (Oc'ir, Seržee 1998). After 1996 many Mongolian inhabitants selected a family name of their own choice and according to taste without knowing what family line they belonged to. Although the introduction of the official use of family names was supposed to continue an ancient Mongolian tradition, current family names do not often reflect the people's true origin in the way that they did in the past.

An important source for learning about old Mongolian names is *The Secret History of the Mongols*, in which there are personal names of the Mongolian aristocracy as well as of the subject people and ordinary people. Traditionally, only the given name was used to name a person. If it was necessary to identify a person more closely, their given name, byname or nickname could be used. Some family names might have gradually developed from bynames and nicknames. Family affiliation was respected and it was passed on in an oral form from parents to children. Some Mongolians could name their family ancestors of several generations past. This tradition gradually began to decline during the Manchurian dominance (1691–1911) when family names started to be replaced by names derived from the names of the regional administrative units (*hos'uun*). The Manchurian administration introduced registers of inhabitants and tried to suppress the national awareness of the Mongolian aristocrats. Therefore, a system of names based on the inhabitants' affiliation with their *hos'uun* started to be used. If an individual was supposed to identify him- or herself, they used the name of their administrative unit (*hos'uun*) in the genitive and their given name after that. Instead of the name of their administrative unit some people used their father's name if he was a well-known or important person in the given region.

Family names were in use from the end of the 7th century to 1925, especially for official purposes. Even after the end of the Manchurian dominance (1911), during the time of the Autonomous Republic, people often continued to use the combination of the name of their administrative unit and their personal given name as a result of the suppressed tradition of using family names. After the formation of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924 and the introduction of the communist regime, a government regulation in 1925 introduced the use of surnames in the form of the father's name in the genitive, which was probably caused by the influence of the government's increasing orientation towards Russian culture. Affiliation with an aristocratic family

was denounced and people would not claim allegiance to their ancient family bonds for fear that they might be persecuted. Some documents and records in old chronicles and papers kept in archives, which focused on family members, were destroyed along with the registers of inhabitants. The oral tradition of passing on the knowledge of the origin of family members and genealogy ceased to exist. People who had the documents proving their origin often destroyed them for fear of persecution or they kept such information concealed.

The term *ovog ner* began to be connected with the patronymic and it was not until the end of the 1990s that it acquired its original meaning again. However, even today many Mongolians, when asked about their *ovog ner*, provide their patronymic and not their family name (Seržee 2007b).

1. Traditions and taboos connected with naming children

There are many customs connected with naming a child and names are traditionally not given immediately upon birth. The awareness of the necessity of protection, which is connected with high infant mortality in the difficult natural conditions and with the belief in babies being possibly threatened by evil forces, already occurs during pregnancy when it is forbidden to choose a name for the unborn baby and to call it by that name or to remind the evil forces of the infant's foreseeable birth in any other way.

When a baby is born, a gun may be fired, for instance, so as to scare away such forces as might want to harm it. After a child's birth two poles are driven into the ground in front of the yurt and a piece of string with strips of white fabric is stretched between them. The white colour symbolizes blessing and protection against evil spirits, who are thus prevented from approaching the infant. This arrangement is also a signal telling the passers-by not to enter the yurt for three days.² During this period the infant is still not named and several magical acts are performed which should ensure the greatest possible chance of the infant's survival and help the baby during illnesses and bad times in its future life. Immediately after birth, the umbilical cord is cut, tied with cattle and horse sinews – prepared beforehand – and saved. The unwashed infant is swathed in blue fabric³ and in sheepskin swaddling

2) Cf. Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 85 – other ways to make people aware of the presence of a newborn or sick child in a yurt.

3) The blue colour symbolizes eternity, permanence, and faithfulness (Žukovskaja 1996, p. 147).

clothes, sprinkled with koumyss or milk and put into a cradle (*o'lgii*)⁴. Cradles in which many babies have already lain are preferred. If the family owns a cradle in which a child has died, they borrow a cradle from another family – a cradle in which more children have thrived and later grew up well. A family affected by long-time childlessness often pays a high price for such a cradle. During the first three days after childbirth the placenta remains lying, wrapped in a clean cloth, next to the puerpera. After that it is buried near the yurt with grain under it and covered with colourful 'hadags' for the child to have a prosperous future life. If the family do not want another child, the placenta is given to the dogs (Taube, Taube 1983, pp. 117, 118).⁵

On the third day after the birth, *hu'uhdiin ugaalga* (child washing) takes place. In consideration of the baby's health, the suitability of this act and other circumstances (such as the weather, the accessibility of the yurt for the invited guests, etc.), this custom may be carried out a week, a month or even longer after the birth. *Hu'uhdiin ugaalga* takes place in a close family circle – even though other guests may be invited, too – in the infant's yurt. The washing act itself should be performed by a person who helped the mother to bring the child into the world. Such a person is called *avsan eh / eez'* (taking mother / mum) or *gazar eez'* (mother of place / land / country)⁶ and becomes very important for the child. He / she has a close and intimate relationship with the child, which could be compared with the social role and function of a midwife or the godfather or godmother in Czech culture. After entering the yurt, this

-
- 4) The word *o'lgii* means a hanging cradle used mainly while travelling, but it also denotes sheepskin swaddling clothes. In an interview, Luvsandorž' says that hanging cradles carved out of wood were used until the beginning of the twentieth century. Later, they ceased to be used and babies began to be swathed in *o'lgii*, which is primarily understood as sheepskin swaddling clothes. Etymologically, the roots of the words *ölügei* (*o'lgii* – cradle), *elgü-* (*o'lgö-* hang) and *öljei* (*o'lzii* – happiness) are related to an ancient Mongolian word – *ölžige*, which can also be found in the *Secret History of the Mongols* and whose meaning is not entirely clear. It probably denoted a canvas or, more likely, a felt roof, a shelter attached to the construction of a light wagon as protection against the rain and sun. References to it in the text are connected with the idea of a girl of a noble family being transported to her bridegroom's family, a ruler's wedding, the place of birth of followers, and a place of joy and happiness. It is also connected with the idea of a cradle and of a good and positive sign (Luvsandorž' 2007, pp. 77–81).
 - 5) However, Luvsandorž' thinks that this happens only very exceptionally. In most cases, the placenta is buried immediately after childbirth in the place where the child was born and the child is then very strongly connected with its *nutag* (place of birth).
 - 6) A person called *avsan eez'* (literally "taking mother") is somebody from the expectant mother's surroundings who has the most experience with childbirth. It is often the most experienced woman of the family or from the neighbourhood, quite frequently even the expectant father, who uses the term *avsan eez'* for himself as well.

person is seated in a place of honour opposite the door (*hoimor*) and treated to mutton loin with a fatty part of the back including the tail (*uuc*). He / she gives the newborn baby sheepskin swaddling clothes with three belts and washes it in black tea (Ariyaasu'ren 1991). Then the baby is put into mutton broth, which includes bones against rheumatism, salt against skin diseases, and grain, so that it has many offspring in the future. After that, the baby is also smeared with sheep fat (Taube, Taube 1983). Sometimes, the newborn baby is washed in a ritual mixture of milk and water from a local spring, river or well (*hyaram*), then in mutton broth. During the following days it is washed in black tea (sometimes salted) and later on with cheese whey (*s'ar su'u*) or curd whey (*s'ar us*) (Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 66). Then the *avsan eh* swathes it in the swaddling clothes and gives it a name. If a lama has been invited to the washing ceremony, he is asked to assess different signs, make a prophecy and give the child a name. After they arrive, the guests ask *Aduunii hu'n u'u, togoonii hu'n u'u* ? [Is it a horse person or a kettle person?], which is a metaphor they use to ask about the baby's sex. Each guest is then treated to food and drink, no matter whether they only give their blessing to the child or if they also give it a small present, which may be a toy made with their own hands or clothes sewn by them (Ariyaasu'ren 1991). The child may also be given its name by a respected elderly person or by an honoured family member – often a grandparent. Sometimes, a shaman is asked to do so.⁷

Judith Vinkovics (1985, p. 27) puts the naming ceremony in connection with the washing ceremony, which took place on a day between the third day and the first month after the birth. The day of the ceremony was determined by a lama-astrologist upon the father's request. The lama selected a favourable day according to the day and time of the child's birth. He used the information about the course of the birth and its circumstances to say whether the birth day was favourable for the child, who would participate in the ceremony and what books would be read from during it. For this purpose, the Tibetan books, *Vaidūrya dkar-po* and *Glañ-thabs* were used. They mention circumstances which predetermine a child's favourable destiny. It was considered a good sign and an indication of the child's thriving in the future if it was born naturally, if the umbilical cord was twisted around its chest when it was born, if it fell on its back after coming out of the womb, started crying immediately after birth, had a large crown of the head, its bones were strong, the top of its

7) Similar magical rituals, which were supposed to ensure the child's happy life, were also performed during the child's first washing in the area of the Czech Republic until the twentieth century. Cf. Navrátilová 2004, pp. 49–55.

head was not large, its hair stood out, its body was clean, it had protruding ears or shivered while drinking the breast milk intensively. If none of these signs occurred or if a feature of the child's appearance or the appearance of the parts of its body did not sufficiently correspond to the aforementioned descriptions, it was regarded as a bad sign and it was necessary to perform magical acts and make protective arrangements so that any negative influence on the child's destiny was averted. When a child was born with teeth already protruding, it was considered a particularly bad sign and it meant that the child had shamanic abilities (Vinkovics 1985, pp. 27, 28).

If the newborn baby was not well after the birth, if it was ill or if a child had previously died in the family and the parents wanted to mislead the evil forces that brought illness and death, the child remained unnamed for a longer time. In order to distract the attention of the evil forces even more, the newborn baby was put into a dog food bowl immediately after its birth, hidden in a cast-iron kettle or wrapped in an animal rumen and it was forbidden for people outside the family to enter the yurt for a month (Ariyaasu'ren 1991).⁸ A container with an upper opening was also considered a symbol of food, bounty and plentitude. A felt fox or dog, a metal mirror or a shell was placed near the newborn. Later on, wild animals' claws or arrowheads were attached to its clothes, especially to its cap. A bundle of owl's feathers was regarded as particularly powerful because an owl, as a nocturnal animal, keeps away the demons that are active at night as well. In order to confuse the evil forces, fur, for example a hare's fur, was hung above the child's bed (Taube, Taube 1983).

In verbal folk art, the act of giving a name is often mentioned in connection with the custom of *hu'uhdiin u's avah* (cutting the child's hair for the first time). Before boys are three and girls four years old,⁹ their hair must not be cut. The custom of the first hair-cutting takes place on a predetermined day. Each guest makes a wish, wishing the child a happy and prosperous life and

8) Compare with Navrátilová 2004, pp. 49–61. Besides other practices that should bring the child a favourable destiny and good health, A. Navrátilová (2004, p. 51) also describes the belief in a newborn's protruding teeth being a bad sign and the effort to remove them: "Immediately after the birth it was necessary to perform some other acts, many of which had an absolutely irrational and often even unhygienic character. For example, there was a very common habit of the midwife breathing into the child's mouth so that it learned to speak soon. It was also common to remove the teeth the baby already had upon its birth: If a girl had one tooth, the midwife would put a peg between its gums or pushed the tooth down with a piece of wood so that the girl did not become a moth. If she had two teeth, the midwife would break them out of the girl's mouth so that she did not become a witch."

9) A person's age is counted from the moment of conception. Upon the washing ceremony the child reaches one year of age.

cuts a wisp of the child's hair and puts it into a small pouch attached to the scissors. On that occasion they give the child a lamb, a foal, a *hadag* or a small present, as their situation allows. If the child becomes ill later, the pouch with its hair is put on the front part of its bed so that the illness is overcome by the power of all those who cut the hair (Taube, Taube 1983). Verbal folk art probably refers to an older tradition of naming the child only at the hair-cutting ceremony. The interviews with Luvsandorz' show that the act of naming a child does not necessarily need to be connected with another custom, such as the first washing or hair-cutting. At the beginning of the 20th century children were still often named only after a month or a longer time. The person asked to choose a suitable name for the child could be a lama, *avsan eh*, a family member or a respected person from the neighbourhood. In the past it was, for example, a *noyon* (local feudal lord) or another representative of the aimag authority. The meaning of the name should help the child, bring about a noble character in it, protect it and at the same time it should not be so positive and powerful as not to harm its bearer. The actual act of naming was mostly performed by the child's father, who whispered the name in its ear. According to the tradition the father or mother was supposed to whisper the name three times in a boy's right ear and in a girl's left ear.¹⁰

A similar custom can be seen in some places where the Buddhists perform the ritual of symbolic rebirth. One of these places is the *To'vhon hiid* monastery on the border of the somon of *Bat-O'ldzii* in the *O'vorhangai* aimag. The monastery was founded by Zanabazar,¹¹ who lived there, and close to it there is a sacred place with "Zanabazar's footprint". At this place among high rocks a shrine was reconstructed where Zanabazar created his art and contemplated. Its position corresponds to the idea of a nest on a rock on a hill. Near the monastery there are about five meditation caves and ovoos. The shape of one of the caves resembles female genitals, which is why it is called *Ehiin*

10) The interviewed Mongolians (Bat'imeg, Davaanyam, Hongorzul, Serz'ee) knew this custom but only a few of them adhered to it and if their family whispered the name in the child's ear, they would whisper it either in its left or right ear regardless of the child's sex. Very often they would simply say the name aloud. Sometimes this act was performed by the father or by an elderly person who selected the name. The interviewees did not know anything about the origin and meaning of the custom and thought that it was an old Mongolian tradition. Lygžima Chaloupková from the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Science adds that the custom of whispering the name in the newborn's ear – right ear with boys, left ear with girls – is also kept in the Republic of Buryatia.

11) O'ndor Gegeen Zanabazar (1635–1723), the first Mongolian Bogd Gegeen, founder of many monasteries, creator of the Soyombo font, an artist and a sculptor, who made a lot of cast golden Buddhist sculptures.

Umai [Mother's Womb]¹² (Grollová, Zikmundová 2001, p. 203). It is a small cave with a narrow crevice leading into it. The people who want to undergo the rebirth ritual must slip through the crevice, then enter the cave through a narrow passageway in the rock, turn around in quite a small space and then leave through the crevice again. After that their original name is whispered in their ear.¹³ Eliade (2004) gives evidence of and describes similar rituals performed by some Australian tribes, upon the completion of the Soma sacrifice, as well as other rituals in India, Bali, ancient Crete, and Borneo. The process of symbolically entering the belly of the Great Mother (Mother Earth), called *regressus ad uterum*, and reaching the embryonic stage and being born symbolically again may be focused on achieving different aims. In this case it is probably the effort to reach freedom or resume existence with new opportunities.¹⁴ It is not quite clear whether this custom is a remnant of a tradition connected with animist ideas and cults or whether it is a custom that took root in society during the time of the spread of Buddhism. This tradition can be currently seen in many places in Tibet, China, Buryatia, and Mongolia in connection with ritual purification. They are places with a narrow crevice in a rock, a small cave or a rock cleft. People go through such an opening inside and then return, which is often physically demanding. People who have undergone such a ritual believe that they have been reborn and have liberated themselves from the acts they performed in their previous life. Such places are called "womb caves".

2. Classification of personal names from a semantic point of view

With regard to the traditions followed in the act of naming children and with regard to the main motivation for selecting names – i.e. the fact that the name should have a positive meaning, which will be transferred to its bearer and influence his / her life or will protect its bearer against an unfavourable

12) The Mongolian Buddhist benefactors, Altai Sain Khan and Tushetu Khan, would pray at the ovoo near these caves (Grollová, Zikmundová 2001, p. 203).

13) Information from an interview with Veronika Zikmundová, who participated in the ritual personally.

14) Eliade (1965, p. 58) writes the following about the motive of the cave: "Another whole series of initiatory rites and myths, concerning caves and mountain crevasses as symbols of the womb of Mother Earth, could also be cited. I will merely say that caves played a role in prehistoric initiations, and that the primordial sacredness of the cave is still decipherable in its semantic modifications."

destiny or evil forces – the personal given names are divided into several large groups in this thesis.

2.1. GIVEN NAMES WITH POSITIVE MEANINGS

2.1.1. NAMES WITH POSITIVE BENEFICIAL MEANINGS

These are names whose meanings are supposed to bring positive personal qualities and a beautiful appearance, ensure good health, happiness, wealth, success at work or a peaceful and happy life occur very frequently. They are mostly parts of compound names (*Saihanbayar*, *Bayarsaihan*, *Saihan-ceceg*, *Azzargal*) and they include, for example: *Saihan* [Nice, Good], *O'lzii* [Bliss, Happiness], *Bayar* [Joy, Gaiety], *Zargal* [Good Luck], *Amgalan* [Peace, Wealth], *Enh* [Peace, Well-Being], *Mend* [Healthy, Well], *Taivan* [Stil, Serene, Placid, Quiet], *Bayan* [Rich, Wealthy], *O'tgon* [Dense, Thick, Lush, Luxuriant], *O'nor* [With many children], *Elbeg* [Ample, Abundant, Plenteous, Plentiful], *Du'uren* [Replete, Filled, Full, Replenished], *Nemeh* [Add, Increase, Positive], *O'soh* [Grow, Increase], *Delgereh* [Bloom, Blossom, Flourish, Spread] or *Arviz'in* [Grown, Increased in number].

The expressions *o'nor* and *o'tgon* can be found in the idiom *o'nor o'tgon ger* [literally: a growing, exuberant and numerous family], which is used to describe a family with a lot of healthy and thriving children, which is something truly valued in a nomadic society.

The desire for a long life is expressed in the following names: *Beh* [Firm, Strong, Resistant], *To'mor* [Iron], *Gan* [Steel], *Mo'nh* [Eternity, Perpetuity, Everlastingness, Infinity, Endlessness], *Bat* [Tough, Reinforced, Durable], *Suuri* [Base, Basis, Foundation].

The meaning of a successful and fulfilled life is expressed in names such as *Bu'ten* [Solid, Whole], *Du'uren* [Full, Full to the Brim], *To'golder* [Replete, Filled, Full, Perfect, Excellent], *Tegs'* [Straight, Plain, Flat], *Bu'temz'* [Successful].

Names such as *Orgil* [Peak, Top, Acme], *Badrah* [Flourish, Blossom, Bloom], *Undraa* [Fount, Source], *O'rnoh* [To be developed into] or *To'rmo'nh* [Eternal State, Perpetual Empire], *Gantug* [Steel Banner], *Tugbaatar* [The Hero of the Banner] and *Su'ldbaatar* [The Hero of Spiritual Power or of the Power of Life] may predetermine their bearer's reaching a good social status. Names related to statehood and power have occurred in Mongolia since ancient times and are still common nowadays.

2.1.2. NAMES THAT INFLUENCE THEIR BEARER'S GOOD CHARACTER

These are names whose meanings can influence their bearers and ensure their good and kind character, respectful behaviour towards their parents, and respect for elderly people. Such names include: *Asral* [Kind-hearted, Sympathetic, Kind], *Hic'eengui* [Hard-Working, Assiduous], *Elberelt* [Benevolent, Pious, Dutiful], *Enerelt* [Merciful, Kind], *Buyant* [Virtuous, Beneficent], *Ninz'in* [Kindness, Tenderness, Good-naturedness] and *Gemgui* [Guiltless, Innocent, Cleanhanded, Blameless].

A brave and courageous person's behaviour can be supported by such names as *Zorig* [Courage], *Lut* [Huge, Colossal], *Zolboo* [Cleverness, Brains, Sharpness], *Avarga* [Champion, Enormous, Tremendous], *Aldar* [Fame, Reputation, Name, Glory].

A person's clear mind may be ensured by the following names: *Saruul* [Clear, Light], *Tuyaa* [Blaze, Light], *Celmeg* [Clear, Clean] or *Ariun* [Clean].

Names derived from precious metals, semi-precious and precious stones, and materials of high value can also be included in this category. In traditional Mongolian natural healing, which is based on Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian folk medical procedures, certain stones and metals are regarded as medicinal. They can also strengthen the immune system and have a positive influence on internal bodily organs. This medicinal power can be transferred to a person through their name. In addition, these stones, pearls, and metals are also used as decorations and they often occur in female names and are supposed to bring women beauty and charm. These precious items include *alt* [gold], *mo'ngo* [silver], *s'u'r* [coral], *suvd* [pearl], *nomin* [lazurite], *lavai* [nacre], *zes* [copper], *gan* [steel] and *oyun* [turquoise]. Besides names such as *Altanhuyag* [Golden Armour], *Altanc'imeg* [Golden Ornament] and *Suud* [Pearl] there is also a name which means Nine Gems – *Yeso'nerdene*. Apart from these names there are other names derived from other precious stones and items, e.g. *Has'* [Nephrite], *Bolor* [Crystal], *Anar* [Garnet], *Almaas* [Diamond], *Molor* [Topaz] or *Udram* [Aventurine].

2.1.3. NAMES BASED ON DAYS OF BIRTH, CELESTIAL BODIES AND STARS

A personal name may include the name of a day, most frequently the day when its bearer was born. A person born on Friday (*baasan*) gets the same name – *Baasan* [Friday] or the day of the week is a part of a compound name. One-word Mongolian names of days as well as the names of stars and celestial bodies were mostly borrowed from Sanskrit or the Tibetan language. This

motivation for giving names is very different from the Czech cultural tradition, in which such names are mostly prohibited, which is why these Mongolian personal names are mentioned here even though they are derived from foreign language word roots. They include, for example, *Pu'rev* [Thursday] and other days of the week, *Colmon* [Venus], *Sansar* [Universe] and other names of stars and planets. Names of similar meanings were also created from Mongolian word roots: *Nar* [Sun], *Sar* [Moon], *Od* [Star], *Narmandah* [Sunset], *Naranceceg* [Sun Flower].

2.1.4. NAMES DERIVED FROM GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

A person's name may include the geographical name of the place where they were born or grew up or where their parents were born. These are mostly famous places known to numerous groups of people and they often appear in songs or works of literature. It is believed that the fame, beauty or wealth of the place will be transferred to the person's own qualities.

The Mongolians traditionally believe in the existence of the lords of the land and mountains – *ezen* and the lords of the waters – *lus*, who can regard a person with favour if they are worshipped and if sacrifices are offered to them properly (Vobořilová 2004). The name of a landscape feature which has its lord may ensure the lord's protection and favour. The lord of the place then watches over and protects the person. The *ezens and luses* (the lords of places and waters) of a particular place should protect a child against evil spirits and demons so that they do not bring down illnesses and misfortune upon it. The names of rivers and lakes are usually chosen for girls because according to folk beliefs a river or a lake is respected as a mother and a natural force with a female element. The names of mountains and mountain ranges mostly occur in male names. Even though the lords of the mountains can be both male and female, the mountains are usually connected with a male element. The names of mountains and mountain ranges used as given personal names or occurring in compound names include *Altai*, *Hangai*, *Otgontenger*, *Bulgan*, *Hentii*, *Hanz'argalant* and *Harhira*. The names of the lakes *Ho'vsgol* and *Hyargas*, *Bayannuur* and the names of the rivers *Mo'ron* and *Hovd*, *Onon*, *Orhon*, *Selenge*, *Tamir*, *Tuul*, *Herlen* and *C'uluut* are also frequently chosen for this purpose. The meaning of a personal name may directly express the fact that its bearer is connected to a landscape feature, e.g. *Hentiihu'u* [Hentii's son], *Hovdbaatar* [Hero of Hovd].

If a person is standing near a mountain or river, they should not utter their name, but use a substitute expression, so that they do not call the lord

of the place by his name and thus make him angry. The name of a mountain or river can be replaced by an expression describing the shape, colour or another quality of the landscape feature, or by a substitute name used by the local people. In some cases, even the name of a person identical to the geographical name should not be said out loud. These customs differ from place to place and it depends on the local tradition and the speaker's experience concerning in what communication and on what occasion he / she decides to abide by this prohibition.

2.1.5. PERSONAL NAMES CONTAINING NAMES OF JOBS

If a position or a job has been passed on from ancestors to offspring for generations, a child can be given a name that includes the name of a particular job. Also, if the parents want their child to do a particular job in the future, they can choose the name of the job as part of its personal name. These are usually traditional jobs connected to herding - *Aduuc'* [Horse Herder], *U'herc'in* [Cattle Herder], *Honic'in* [Shepherd], *Hurgac'in* [Lamb herder], *Malc'inhu'u* [Herder's son], *Toinhu'u* [Monk's son], *Lamhu'u* [Lama's son], *Anc'in* [Hunter], *Lam* [Lama] – hunting, life in a monastery or even some modern activities, such as *Z'uulc'in* [Traveller, Tourist], *Nisgegc'* [Pilot], *Cecegc'in* [Florist, Grower], *Idevht-en* [Activist], *Muz'aan* [Kliner, Carpenter], *Togooc'* [Chef], *S'u'ugc'* [Judge].

2.1.6. NAMES DERIVED FROM NAMES OF PLANTS AND ANIMALS

Names inspired by the names of plants, their parts or fruit are mostly chosen for girls because they are connected with beauty, sweet fragrance, and health. One of the most common names, one that is used in a lot of compound personal names, is *Ceceg* [Flower]. The names *Hongorzul* [Cornflower] and *Bad-am* [Lotus], *Berceceg* [Delphinium, Larkspur], *Alim* [Apple], *Yargai* [Cotoneaster], *Yargui* [Pasque-flower], *Taria* [Grain], *Songino* [Onion], *Gu'rgem* [Crocus], *Navc'* [Leaf], *Mo'og* [Mushroom] or *Arvai* [Bere] are less frequent.

The names of domestic animals mostly occur in protective names (see 2.2. Protective names), but a personal name more frequently consists of the name of a wild animal, whose strength, agility, courage or qualities are desirable for the person. Such names include *Nac'in* [Falcon], *Baavgai* [Bear], *Minz'* [Beaver], *Togos* [Peacock] and *Buga* [Deer]. The reason for choosing the name of an animal as a personal name can also be the animal's character trait, similarity in the shape of a part of the body, as well as other features and qualities, such as hair that resembles soft fur. Animal names often occur as nicknames.

2.1.7. NAMES REFLECTING THE WEATHER, SPECIAL BIRTH CIRCUMSTANCES OR HISTORICAL EVENTS

Some children can be given a name whose meaning is influenced by some circumstances of the birth, by the weather, the time of birth, natural conditions or the importance of a festive day.

A child born on January 1 may be called *S'inez'il* [New Year], a child born on the day of the sixtieth anniversary of the Revolution may be called *Zaranz'il* [Sixty Years] and a child born on the first day of the traditional New Year *S'iniinnegen* [(the) First (day of the) New (Year)].

A child called *Casanbaatar* [Snow Hero] was born in a snowdrift when his mother, *Pu'revhis'ig* [Thursday Shepherdess (traditional expression) / Blessed Thursday, Thursday Mercy], a shepherd's daughter, did not manage to return to her yurt and had to give birth outside on the snow in December (Seržee 1992, p. 49). Weather changes or celestial phenomena are reflected in such names as *U'urcaih* [Dawn], *Colmon* [Morning Star], *Saranmandah* [Moonrise], *U'des'* [Evening], *Casans'uurga* [Snowstorm, Blizzard], *S'uurganbaatar* [Hero of Blizzard], *Mo'ndor* [Hailstones] or *Aadarbo-roo* [Rainstorm, Downpour].

With a certain degree of assurance, the meanings of some names can be used to derive a person's approximate year of birth. People born at the end of WWII may have names such as *Yalalt* [Victory] or *Yalagc'baatar* [Hero of Victory], which are connected with the suppression of the fascist regime and with the victory at the end of the war in 1945. Names like *Nu'udel* [Nomadic Travelling / Migration] and *Uerbaatar* [Flood Hero] are related to the year of 1966 when there was a great flood in Ulaanbaatar and people moved out of the city in masses. Some children born in 1961 were named *Yura* [Yuri], *Gagarin* [Gagarin], *Puuz'in* [Spaceship] or *Ogtorguituyaa* [Space Light] because it was then (April 12, 1961) that the Soviet air force officer and astronaut, Yuri Gagarin, flew into space in the Vostok I spaceship and became the first human to orbit the Earth. When a Mongolian astronaut flew into space in 1981, some children were named *Odmaa* [Mother of Stars], *Oc'maa* [Mother of Sparks] or *Sansar* [Space].

2.1.8. NAMES OF FAMOUS HISTORICAL PERSONALITIES

After the revolution of 1921 the names of famous military leaders became fashionable and some children were named *Su'hbaatar*, *Manlaibaatar*, *Hatanbaatar*, *Magsardz'av*, *Hatanmagsar* (abbreviated from *Hatanbaatar*

Magsardzav). In the 1940s the influence of the Communist Party became stronger and children's names such as *Stalin*, *Z'ukov*, *Molotov*, *Suvorov* or *Pus'kin* appeared. The names of famous persons from Mongolian history, recorded in the *The Secret History of the Mongols*, were given to children for the whole time of the existence of the united Mongolian state and even during the times when Mongolia was dominated or occupied by a foreign country and they are over 800 years old. Among such names belong *Temu'uz'in*, *Goomaral*, *Temu'ulen*, *Su'veedei*, *Cagaadai* and *Muhlai*. The names of famous actors, artists, writers or the main characters of literary works are still used these days, e.g. *Saranho'hoo* (a drama by *Danzanravzaa*), *Geser* (the main character of the *Epic of Geser*), *Casc'ihor* (Geser's elder brother), *Oyuntu'lhuur* (the name of an important educative work of the 13th century), *Ho'hoonamz'il* (a hero from a Mongolian legend concerning the origin of *morinhuur*).

When the names of famous personalities or literary characters are used, it is obvious that they are supposed to transfer the successful person's skills and qualities to the child.

2.1.9. NAMES INSPIRED BY A PERSON'S APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER

Some names reflect their bearers' appearance or character. Such names are usually used as nicknames or bynames, but in the Mongolian cultural environment they are not perceived negatively. In the past these descriptive names were often used to describe people who had the same name. They can be used for addressing a child kindly, but if such a name is closely connected with a particular person and is used in a wide circle of people, it can remain in use even when the person becomes adult. However, in communication among children and classmates some of these names can be used as mocking names.

Names inspired by a child's appearance include *Harnu'den* [Black-Eyed], *Halzan* [Bald], *Buz'gar* or *Buz'gir* [Curly, Crinkly], *U'rc'ger* [Wrinkled, Rumpled, Crumpled], *Monhor* [Hooked, Aquiline], *Gozon* [Lanky, Tall, Gangling], *Do'rvolz'in* [Square]. Countless variations of names can be created from a single feature. There are variations of the names *Sombogor* [Pointed Nose] and *Sovgor* [Upturned Nose] with the same meaning: *Sombo*, *Sombon*, *Somboodoi*, *Sombogodoi*, *Somboldoi*, *Sovoldoi*, *Sovoohoi*, *Sovon*, *Sovoi*, *Sombolz*. The variations of *Sonhor* [Aquiline Nose] are *Sonhon*, *Sonhoodoi*, *Sonh* or *Sontgor*. A child's character is described by such names as *Do'lgoon* [Calm, Quiet, Kind], *Sorgog* [Vigilant, Sensitive] or *Orlio* [Loud-Mouthed].

Inspiration from the colour of the skin, face or hair is reflected in names like *Ulaan* [Red], *Cagaan* [White], *Sar* [Yellow], *Ho'h* [Azure, Blue], *Har* [Black],

Haliun [colour of a horse – may vary from yellowish white to yellow mixed with black, the colour of an otter], *Haltar* [Dirty / colour of a horse – Brown with yellowish speckles / colour of a fox – Silver], *Hongor* [Fallow (by a horse)] and *Buural* [Ash-grey, Dove-coloured]. Words for colours can also occur in names describing parts of the human body and internal organs, e.g. *Tohoi* [Elbow], *Hartolgoi* [Black Head], *Borduh* [Nut-brown Forehead], *Sagai* [Ankle] or *Hodood* [Stomach].

Besides the description of character, names can also simply describe family relationships. The word *hu'u* [son] is often used in compound names, e.g. *Hu'ubandi* [Son – Boy], *Hu'niiohin* [Daughter of a person], *Ehner* [Wife] or *Du'uhu'uhēn* [Younger Maiden].

A child's name can also frequently be used to describe the youngest or oldest even though such a name does not exactly correspond with reality. A first-born child can be given a name beginning with *anh-* [the first, initial], e.g. *Anhceceg* [First Flower], *Anhmanlai* [First Head], *Anhniibayar* [First Joy], or with *uugan* [the oldest, the first (in terms of age)], e.g. *Uuganbaatar* [The First Hero], *Uuganhu'u* [The First Son / Eldest Son], *Uuganbat* [The First Tough] či *Uuganceceg* [Eldest Flower]. If parents do not want to have more children and are convinced (or hope) that the child in question will be the youngest, they give it a name that contains the word *otgon-* [the youngest], e.g. *Otgonhu'u* [Youngest Son], *Otgongerel* [Youngest Light] or *Otgonzārgal* [Youngest Joy]. Children with such names quite often have younger siblings, but they do not get renamed and they keep their original name. The succession of siblings is also often expressed by the following names: *Ahmad* [Older / Oldest], *Tomoo* [Adult / Grown-Up], *Dundaa* [Middle], and *Z'izēe* [Tiny].

2.2. PROTECTIVE NAMES

As a result of difficult living conditions, hard natural conditions, poor availability of medical care, and other circumstances, there is high mortality rate among new-born and young children in Mongolia. A young child is really respected and protected in a Mongolian family. Up to three years of age the child is allowed to do almost anything and is thought to be able to see the fire deity (a sign of this is that the child smiles at fire) or other deities, which makes people think that it abounds in a godlike substance (Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 85). A young child has a pure “soul” and is extremely vulnerable, which is why different malicious deities and demons try to obtain and deceive it, cause illness

or death to it or harm it in other ways.¹⁵ If something bad happens to a child, if it does not thrive, is often ill or even dies, its parents impute such an event to their protecting the child insufficiently against evil forces. That is why they try to protect a young child not only by means of traditional acts and ritual prohibitions, but also by addressing and naming the child. If a child is given a name with a positive meaning, it is not called that name when it is young. Instead, substitute names or kind and diminutive words are used. As a result, the evil forces are confused because they cannot identify the child. If a child is often ill, the parents can consult a lama or a shaman and change its name to a protective name to confuse the evil spirits so that they cannot realize that there is a child near them (Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 87).

The protective names that should confuse demons include such names as that of an animal that might live near the yurt. The demon then thinks that the vulnerable child is this animal and does not pay attention to it. Such names include *Go'log* [Puppy], *Nohoi* [Dog], *Tugal* [Calf], *Hurga* [Lamb], *Uhna* [Goat], *Nohoihu'u* [Dog's Son], *Sarnohoi* [Yellow Dog], *Muunohoi* [Bad Dog], *Beltreg* [Wolf Cub] or *Temeememee* [Camel and similar animals].

Some names protect children in such a way that they deny their existence, e.g. *Terbis'* [Not That (child)], *Enebis'* [Not This (child)], *Hu'nbis'* [Not a Human], *Henc'bis'* [Nobody], *Oldohgu'i* [Not to be found]. Other names try to distract the evil forces by means of a word with a meaning that ascribes to the child an ugly appearance or negative personal qualities, e.g. *Muucarait* [Ugly / Ugly-Faced], *Muuhu'u* [Bad Son], *Orgodol* [Runaway, Deserter], *Gu'zeedorz'* [Dorž' of the Rumen / Rumen Dorz'], *Oroolon* [Zombie, Dead Person], *Ho'srii* [Lying in the Steppe / Laid Loosely in the Steppe (like bones or human remains)], *Tursaga* [Thin Skin from a Skinned Animal], *Homool* [Horse Dung], *Baast* [With Droppings / With Excrement], *Seesmaa* [Urine Mother], *S'ulam* [Shulam (a monster that lusts after human blood and can appear in the guise of a beautiful woman)]. The Mongols try to confuse demons and evil beings by pretending that there is already a harmful demon near the child. As a result the real demon thinks that he does not need to be in the particular place and leaves the child alone. To protect their child against an evil force that appears in the guise of a fox the parents try to make the child cry and laugh in turns, tease it by talking maliciously, and hang a picture of a fox or a pelt toy fox above its bed. If the demon comes and sees the picture of the fox, he thinks that there is already another demon harming the child and leaves. The names

15) For a detailed description of different negative forces and harmful demons see Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 76, 77.

of items in common use, trivial or unclean things are also used as substitute names that are supposed to conceal a child's presence, e.g. *Cò'dor* [Hobble], *Gadas* [Pole / Stake], *Emeel* [Saddle], *Argamz'* [Leather Strap], *Uyaa* [Rope].

A name derived from an item that has protective power can cause fear in negative forces and can keep them away from the child. Such names include *Su'h* [Axe], *Haic'* [Scissors / Pliers], *Alh* [Hammer], *Zevseg* [Weapon], *Bo-roohoi* [Truncheon, Cudgel], *Selem* [Sword, Cutlass], *Buu* [Rifle, Gun], *Huy-ag* [Harness], *Duulga* [Helmet / Helm], *Hadaac* [Nail], *Do's'* [Anvil], *Togoo* [Cauldron], *Tulga* [Trivet], *Sanaga* [Dipper, Ladle], *Haiv* [Caldron, Kettle], *Cooz'* [Lock, Padlock] and *Tu'lhuur* [Key]. These are things, weapons and tools connected with fire and iron, with protective magical power attributed to them.

If a child's appearance shows an unusual feature that might resemble a foreigner's features, the child can be given a name which denotes a foreign nationality or person. Such names are sometimes given to children who are not healthy so that the negative forces are confused and think that the child is a foreigner and not a Mongolian and give up their effort to harm the child. Names derived from other nationalities include *Solongos* [Korean], *Oros* [Russian], *To'vd* [Tibetan], *Hasag* [Kazakh] nebo *Hyatad* [Chinese]. The names of ethnic groups, such as *Buriad* [Buryat] and *Do'rvod* [Dörvöd], *Öld* [Ööld], *Torguut* [Torguut] or *Halh* [Khalha] can also be used as given names. There are also compound names, such as *Mongolhu'u* [Mongolian Son], *Oroshu'u* [Russian Son], *Orosmaa* [Russian Woman, Russian Mother] and *Orostogoo* [Russian Cauldron]. The last one contains the noun *togoo* [cauldron], an iron or metal thing, blackened by soot, feared by the demons and connected with the word *oros* [Russian], so the evil force is confused several times over. Such a strong protective name might refer to the fact that a child in the family died in the past or that the bearer of the name has become seriously ill or it might point to another serious reason for such a name.

In many cases the person keeps the protective name for their whole life, although they can choose another name in adulthood. Their faith in the name's protective power is so strong that the person does not risk attracting the attention of evil forces and does not change their name. Such a person is also often accustomed to their name and the people around them do not consider it pejorative even if the name has an unusual or indecent meaning.

2.3. TABOO NAMES

It can generally be stated that a person's given name can be any word or expression, if a particular situation requires or enables the use of such an expression as a given name. The suitability of a particular name is mostly judged by the child's parents or grandparents, a lama, a shaman, an *avsan eh* or a respected person from the family's surroundings or from the surroundings of the village.

As long as a child is young, it is addressed with substitute names or by a nickname so that it is protected against evil forces. Its given name, which is officially recorded in its birth certificate, may be used only after the child begins to attend school.

A child's name should not be chosen before it is born because the attention of evil forces might be drawn to its upcoming presence. An unsuitable name might also be chosen whose meaning might burden the child and cause trouble, illnesses and even death to it. In such a case a lama or a knowledgeable person suggests changing the name to a protective one or to a name that corresponds to the child's qualities so that it does not demand too much of the child.

A widespread and very well-known prohibition is "not to utter the father's and mother's name", because respect is shown to such persons and their names are honoured. To address one's parents, the words *eežee* [mum – in the vocative] and *aavaa* [dad – in the vocative] are used, and in communication with other people they are referred to as *eež'* [mum] and *aav* [dad]. The name of a parent is so honoured that one will not even utter it when addressing another person outside the family who has the same name as one's mother or father. Such a person is then called *hecu'u nertee* [you, the one with a difficult name] and in communication they are referred to as *hecu'u nert guai* [a gentleman / lady with a difficult name].

From these customs and prohibitions it is obvious that children are not given their parents' or grandparents' names as has been the custom in the Czech cultural environment since the biblical names from Israel became widespread in the 4th century. Therefore, other family members do not run the risk of breaking the taboo of "not uttering the father's and mother's name" or the name of a highly respected person when they want to address their siblings or children. However, the individual family members usually use words describing family relations to address each other, e.g. *egc'* [elder sister], *ah* [elder brother], *du'u* [younger sibling] and other substitute expressions. Parents can call their children *hu'u mini* [my son], *ohin mini* [my daughter].

Although children are not given the same name as their parents or grandparents, they can be given a compound name consisting of parts of the names of their parents or other relatives. For example, if the father's name is *To'morbaatar* [Iron Hero] and the mother's name *Naranceceg* [Sun Flower], their daughter may be named *To'morceceg* [Iron Flower] and their son *Naranbaatar* [Sun Hero]. Such a compound name is said to have the ability of uniting the family and supporting solidarity among its members. Children in a single family can also have names that contain a common part or meaning that is repeated in all the children's given names, or at least they can have names with similar meanings. It is believed that children with such names will help and support each other. In the family of our respondent, *Batc'imeg* (32), all of her siblings' names, including hers, are interrelated. Her parents had seven children in the following succession: son *Batbold* [Solid Steel], daughter *Batceceg* [Solid Flower], daughter *Batc'imeg* [Solid Ornament], son *Battogtoh* [Solid, Stable], son *Bayartogtoh* [The One That Solidifies Joy], daughter *Batgerel* [Solid Light], daughter *Batsu'ren* [Solid Protective Spirit], and son *Bat-tulga* [Solid Trivet]. The names of six of the children are related due to the common initial root of *bat-*, and their solidarity is intensified by the meaning of this root [solid, strong]. The fourth and fifth child are sons related to each other by the second part – *togtoh* [solidify, fix, get stabilized] – of their given names and through the meaning of their names they are connected with the other siblings.

Parents may give their children names that begin with the same sound or syllable, which should ensure good relationships and solidarity among the children. Among the Mongolian nomads from aristocratic or educated circles, this idea was spread centuries ago and is recorded in a work called *Jirüken-ü tolta* [The Inner Substance / The Aorta of the Heart], from the turn of the 14th century. The syllables and sounds of the Mongolian alphabet are divided into five groups according to "the five elements" (fire, earth, water, air, and wind) and perceived from the various Indian and Chinese points of view. The places of their creation in the human body and their connection to the inner organs are examined. This division is used for determining such syllables and sounds as are in a positive relationship to each other and those that are hostile towards each other. This relationship is also transmitted to persons, their acts and their work if the names of two persons who get in contact begin with syllables or sounds which are positive or negative to each other.

The ordinary Mongolian nomads became aware of some of these rules and were influenced by them when choosing their children's names. Nowadays, some of them are still convinced that children's names beginning with

the same vowel will ensure good relationships among the children and will bring the children happiness. Mr. *C'alhaa*'s (65) children are named in such a way that the meanings of their names are interrelated and correspond to the rule of "vowels in a positive relationship". The children's names are *Od-ontuyaa* [Star Shine], *Iderhu'u* [Young Son], *Oyuntuyaa* [Blaze of Reason], *Oyuna* [Reason / Skill], *Odbayar* [Star Joy] and *Odhu'u* [Son of a Star]. The first two names were chosen by a doctor in the hospital where Mr. *C'alhaa*'s wife gave birth and therefore their meanings do not correspond to each other. The other names were selected by the parents, so the meanings of the names they chose supported and interconnected the children.

Similarly, the names of children in our respondent, Mrs. *Mo'nhtuul*'s (33) family are interrelated – they are connected with the names of both parents and thus unite the whole family. The mother's name is *C'uluuntogoo* [Stone Cauldron], the father's name is *Batmo'nh* [Solid and Eternal] and the children's names are *Mo'nhc'uluun* [Eternal Stone], *Mo'nhtuul* [Eternal Tuul (name of a river)], *Batc'uluu* [Solid Stone], and *Mo'nhbat* [Eternal and Solid].

Substitute names are also used for other honoured and respected persons. Such persons are the members of respected families from the particular area or other famous or elderly people. The substitute names include the expressions *Baaz'aa*, *Booz'aa*, *Daaz'aa*, *Agaa*, *Az'aa*, *Ambaa* or *Baavaa*. The name *Baavaa* is usually used for the maternal grandmother and it is similar to the Czech "babi" or English "Granny". The elderly people in an area call each other by the whole form of their given names or by nicknames, if they know them. Our respondent, *Otgonhu'u*, says that her aunt (her mother's sister) is called *Bulgan* [Sable]. She is very old, so she is called *az'aa* and *ambaa* not only by the family members but also by other people. Only her peers call her by her real given name.

If two acquaintances or friends (who are not from the same family) with the same name meet, they do not call each other by that name, but use a substitute name – *amidai* [alive] derived from the same root, *ami*- [life].

The in-laws of full brothers and sisters are called respectfully by substitute names and according to the particular family relationships. The degree of such respect depends on each individual's personal feeling.

3. Conclusion and comparison with Czech personal names

A Mongolian personal name can be created from almost any expression whose meaning is in accordance with the intentions of the family members or other important persons who chose the name. The choice of a suitable name for a child is regarded as particularly important, because in Mongolian culture there is still a belief in the strong and magical power of words whose meanings may help children in their future life or, on the other hand, hinder their development and harm them, if such meanings are too demanding concerning the children's qualities and future opportunities.

The meanings of personal names indicate three great types of motivation that influence the individual (mostly a parent) who chooses the name. The basic motivation is the effort to influence the child's future life so that it is happy, healthy and lives in abundance. Girls' names may contain the desire for beautiful appearance, boys' names may express the desire for strength, courage and success. Generally, these names bear the meanings of good qualities and character and it is believed that these abilities will be transferred to the child. Therefore, some names are derived from the names of plants and animals to which good qualities are ascribed.

Another group of names is made up of descriptive names attempting to describe a person's exceptional feature of character or appearance so that he / she is easily identified. This is the way nicknames are mostly created, but a given name may also have such a meaning.

The last large group of meanings includes those that are supposed to protect and conceal children from evil forces that might cause illnesses, death or unfavourable development. Such names are derived from items of common use, from animals and even from repulsive items. It is believed that the evil forces will then be confused by such a name and will not realise that its bearer is a human being. Other names deny the very existence of their bearers, which is something that easily confuses evil demons. Protective names include such names as bear the meaning of an item or metal feared by the evil forces.

Although it may seem that this motivation for the choice of personal names is particular to the Mongolians, similar considerations were taken into account by the ancient Slavs. In Old Czech there are many examples of Slavic names connected with the protection of children, 'well-wishing' and protective names that were given to children in the times when people believed in the magical power of words and, therefore, the meanings of names as well. Svoboda (1964, pp. 43–45) says about the belief in the supernatural power of a personal name:

With a name, the characteristics and fate of the ancestors is transmitted to the offspring, by being given a name people obtain the protection of their ancestors. The use of names derived from the base words *děd* (grandfather) and *baba* (grandmother) for newborn children seems illogical, but it becomes quite clear when we realize the ancient primitive function of names that I have just mentioned. There are names which are supposed to ensure the ancestors' protection, the transmission of the ancestors' qualities to the children, the children's longevity, favourable destiny, and health. Therefore, the following can undoubtedly be included among ancient one-word names: *Dědoš*, *Dědác*, *Dědoň*, *Dědúš* [Grandpa], and *Baba* [Grandma]. By being given a name, the characteristic included in the meaning of the name is also transmitted to the child.

Svoboda gives the following names as examples: *Živko*, *Živan*, *Žirota* [“*život*” = life] – given to children so that they survive – and names such as *Stojan*, *Stan*, *Stani-* [(Long-)Standing One] or *Křěpek*, *Křěpen* [Sprightly] and *Bujan* [Lively] given to children so as to ensure their long life, health, and strength. Furthermore, Svoboda (1964, pp. 43–45) puts the following names into the group of protective names: *Hlúpata*, *Hlup* [Stupid], *Gnusa* [Ugly], *Mršata* [Bitch, Bastard], *Mrzena* [Wretch], *Nekrasa*, *Nelepa*, *Nelepec* [Ugly], *Potvor* [Freak] and says about protective names:

There are also ancient names which denote negative qualities, names that seem humiliating and pejorative, but for which the primitive people saw totally different reasons. They are protective names. An ugly name drives away demons in the same way as protective items. It does not make the demons envious either and therefore it does not encourage them to harm the child's health and life. Such ugly names were probably false, while the true names were carefully kept secret, so that they could not be abused and so that demons and illnesses were confused. Some names are explicitly threatening and intimidating: *Hrozněj* [Horrid], *Strašen* [Fright], *Zlen*, *Zleš*, *Zloba*, *Zloň* [Evil]. Fire, tar, axe, knife, shooting, and noise are also used as protection against demons.

Svoboda puts the following names into this category: *Pálek*, *Opale* [“*pálit*” = burn], *Dehet* [Tar], *Sekyra* [Axe], *Žár(a)* [Heat], *Křik* [Shout], *Křekota*, *Troskot*, *Vřěšč* [Screaming, Shouting, etc.] and mentions another group of names (Svoboda 1964, p. 45):

For fear of the abuse of a name, a child may probably simply be called “child” instead of its real name, which is kept secret. Hence these derivatives: *Dětoch*, *Dětoň* [derived from “*děti*” = children], *Čadek* [Child], *Děva*, *Děvek* [derived from “*děvče*” = girl], *Holák*, *Holáč*, *Holeš* [derived from “*holý*” = bald or “*holátko*” = nestling, baby], *Mladoň* (Young One), *Otrok* [Slave], *Otroče* [Little Slave]. The practices that are supposed to confuse the evil demons also include fake selling of a child. In other cases the child was claimed to be a foundling. This was done in a family where children had died – the child was concealed from the demons, whose attention and envy was distracted by the child being declared to be unloved. All these motives explain the following names: *Prodan*, *Prodala* [Sold], *Nemil*, *Nedrah* [Unloved], *Nemoj* [Not Mine]. A significant role was also played by animals and plants – through their names courage, the fighting spirit, vitality, and health were transmitted to their bearers, and the demon of a disease was confused

because he regarded a person named like an animal or plant as the real animal or plant: *Bobr* [Beaver], *Osel* [Donkey], *Býk* [Bull], *Kozel* [Goat], *Medvěd* [Bear], *Sobol* [Sable], *Vlkoň*, *Vlkoš*, *Vlčej* [Wolf], *Orel* [Eagle], *Slavík* [Nightingale], *Holub* [Pigeon], *Káňa* [Buzzard], *Sokol* [Falcon], *Havran* [Rook], *Straka* [Magpie], *Kalina* [Viburnum], *Klen* [Great Maple], *Květ*, *Květava*, *Květoň* [Blossom], *Vrban*, *Vrbata* [Willow Man], *Dubáč* [Oak Man], *Strom* [Tree], *Stromata* [Tree Man]. Magical and protective meaning is also carried by personal names derived from the names of metals, celestial bodies and phenomena: *Zlatoň*, *Zlat* ["zlato" = gold], *Zořena*, *Zořata* [Morning Light, Morning Star].

Svoboda also deals with dividing names according to the motivation for using them. His categories and examples of names are very similar to the examples that can be found in Mongolian vocabulary. The difference is that the Old Czech personal names contain archaic suffixes, whereas the Mongolian names are mostly in modern forms which correspond to the general nouns.

A significant difference in the use of personal names is that in the Mongolian cultural environment the awareness of the magical power of words is still alive and widespread among the people and it influences the motivation for the choice of a name for a newborn baby. In the Czech Republic this tradition is forgotten and it is, perhaps, only evidenced by the original given names, some of which are now only used as surnames.

By mentioning the connections between the act of naming a child and many customs that precede it I would like to point out the fact that in Mongolian culture a child is not given a name randomly, but in connection with a wide range of preceding arrangements and habits, which are supposed to ensure its protection, good health, and a happy future life. By selecting a suitable name, whose meaning protects the child and supports and determines its future life, these customs are supplemented and intensified.

Traditionally, there is not a strictly determined moment when a child should be named. It depends on the decision and customs in a particular family whether this ritual is performed along with other ceremonies or separately.

Transcription

For the transcription of personal names, titles of writings, terms and direct speech in Mongolian the simple transcription proposed by PhDr. Alena Oberfalzerová, Ph.D. is used (see Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 15).

Informants

Baasanceden (O'old Ic'innorovin): male, 68 years old, Arhangai aimag, O'lzii su'm
 C'alhaa (Dorz'su'rengiin): male, 65 years old, Hentii aimag, Bats'iret su'm
 Davaanyam (Cecegmaagiin): female, 37 years old, Hentii aimag, Bats'iret su'm
 Ariunz'argal (Taic'iud Gu'rsed): female, 40 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Batc'imeg (Altc'in Bayasgalani): female, 35 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Dashmaa (Enhtaivangiin): female, Ulaanbaatar,
 Dolgor (Cecegmaagiin): female, 34 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Mo'nhtuul (Batmo'nhni): female, 33 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Nandinbaatar (Zahiragc' Myagmariin): male, Ulaanbaatar
 Otgonhu'u (Cedendorz'iin): female, 37 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Pu'revsu'h (Urtanasan): male, 25 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Pu'revsu'ren (Nyada Z'argalsaihani): male, 30 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Saruulceceg (Besu'd Su'renhorloogiin): female, 38 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Serz'ee (Besu'd Z'ambaldorz'iin): male, 58 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Suvd (Gal Cendsu'rengiin): female, 58 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 Hongorzul (Cedensodnomiin): female, 34 years old, Ulaanbaatar
 PhDr. Lygžima Chaloupková

References

- ARIYAASU'REN, C., 1991, *Mongol yos zans'liin dund tailbar toli* (The Middle Explanatory Dictionary of Mongolian Customs). Hu'uhdiin hevleliin gazar, Ulaanbaatar.
- ELIADE, M., 1965, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation*. Harper & Row, Publishers, New York.
- GROLLOVÁ, I., ZIKMUNDOVÁ V., 2001, *Mongolové pravnucci Čingischána* (The Mongols the Great-grandchildren of Genghis Khan). Triton, Praha.
- LUVSANDORZ' Z., 2007, The Secret History of the Mongols in the Mirror of Metaphors (2). In: *Mongolica Pragensia '07, Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics and Culture*. Vol.1. Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha, pp. 55–85.
- MONGOLIAN ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Edited C' Ganhuyag. Project Monendic, Ulaanbaatar 2002.
- NAVŘÁTILOVÁ, A., 2004, *Narození a smrt v české lidové kultuře* (Birth and Death in the Czech Folk Culture). Vyšehrad, Praha.
- BERFALZEROVÁ, A., 2006, *Metaphors and Nomads*. Triton, Praha.
- OC'IR, T.A., SERZ'EE, B.Z., 1998, *Mongolc'uudin ovgiin lavlah* (Information about Mongolian Tribes). S'UA-iin Informatikiin Hu'reelen, Ulaanbaatar.

- SERZ'EE, B.Z., 1992, *Mongol hu'nii ner* (Mongolian Personal Names). S'UA-iin Hel zohiolin hu'reelen Erdem, Ulaanbaatar.
- SERZ'EE, B.Z., 2007a, *Mongol hu'nii neriin toli* (Dictionary of Mongolian Personal Names). MUIS, Ulaanbaatar.
- SERZ'EE, B.Z., 2007b, *Mongol ovgiin neriin uc'ir* (The Meaning of Mongolian Patronymic Names). MUIS, Ulaanbaatar.
- SVOBODA, J., 1964, *Staročeská osobní jména a naše příjmení* (The Old Czech Personal Names and our Surnames). ČSAV, Praha.
- TAJNÁ KRONIKA MONGOLŮ (The Secret History of the Mongols). Translated by Pavel Poucha. Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, Praha 1955.
- TAUBE, E., TAUBE, M., 1983, *Schamanen und Rhapsoden. Die geistige Kultur der alten Mongolei*. Koehler & Amelang (VOB), Leipzig.
- VINKOVICS, J., 1985, Name-giving among the Mongols. In: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* Tomus XXXIX (1). Budapest, pp. 25–37.
- VOBOŘILOVÁ, J., 2004, *Některé projevy uctívání přírody v chování a řeči mongolských nomádů* (Some manifestations of the cult of nature in the behaviour and language of Mongolian nomads). M.A. Thesis, Charles University, Prague.
- ŽUKOVSKAJA, N. L., 1996, *Kategorien und Symbolik in der traditionellen Kultur der Mongolen*. Reinhold Schletzer Verlag, Berlin.

The Secret History of the Mongols in the mirror of metaphors (3), Venus of the Khorchin Mongols and Etügen

J. LUBSANGDORJI, Charles University in Prague

Summary: This paper continues the discussion of *The Secret History of the Mongols* in the mirror of metaphors. In the course of the field work carried out by the members of the Seminar of Mongolian Studies of Charles University among the Khorchins, we found a figurine of Venus as it was known about twenty to twenty-four thousand years back. In my opinion we could link it with the old Mongolian name *Etügen*. Based on this premise I will try to explain the words *эх, этүгэн, нутаг*, which represent essential concepts of the culture and belief of the nomads from the very beginning of their history. In the SHM we can find a number of culturally significant words derived from them, like e.g. *eke, keke, ke'eli, e'ede, e'enegče; ötökü, ötög, ötögiüle'ül-*, for which I will offer an explanation of their origin, metaphorical meaning and role in Mongolian spiritual culture. I will also present my own interpretation of some very problematic words found in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (SHM), which have proved hard nut to crack both for its translators and for Mongolists of the past – e.g. *ötökü yeke qan* (§189), *ötöküs kebtégül* (§230), *ötög uysan-u qoina* (§154), *erkin egede* (§154), *egenegče qoimar* (§165) and the like.

0. Introduction

In the course of field work of the Czech expedition in summer 2008 our attention was drawn to a photograph of a figurine (see Fig. 1), very similar to the prehistoric figurines, which in European tradition are called Venuses. This special figurine was among a group of *ongons*,¹ which were kept by the Khorchin shaman Muunohoi (lit. 'Bad-dog') in Inner Mongolia. The shaman called this figurine *Догшин хатан* (Ferocious Queen) and included her among the ferocious *ongons*. This Venus figurine of the Khorchin Mongols is in no way different from the other female idols found throughout the archaeological sites of Eurasia. She has the same distinctly accentuated sex attributes, which refer to the fertility cult and worship of the feminine. These female idols are relics of the plastic arts of the early primitive societies and are dated up to twenty to twenty-four thousand years back.

1) *Ongon* – representation of the ancestors, a figurine worshipped in shamanism. Cf. Zikmundová 2008, p. 188.

We do not have to discuss these Venuses in greater detail; they are described in detail and accepted by archaeologists without any doubts.

What, however, is to be noticed, is the fact that one form of a figurine of Venus has been preserved on territory which is nowadays inhabited by the Khorchins – a territory of steppes and the mountain range of the Great Khingan² (Mo. *Ih Hyangan*, Chinese *Da Xing'an Ling*) – and which is considered to be the original territory of the Mongols. Since this important cult has been preserved for many centuries, we cannot resist the idea that it may also be documented elsewhere, that there may be some references or reports in the Mongolian language, in written or oral tradition.

On December 8th, 2008, in the small room of the Mongolian Seminar of Charles University, Dr. Veronika Zikmundová, a specialist in Manchu and Mongolian languages, was writing her paper on Khorchin shamanism. She had displayed a picture of many *ongons* of the shaman Muunohoi. When I looked at it, my attention was caught by a figurine of the ongon called Ferocious Queen. 'But this is Venus', I exclaimed, and I added that the figure of Mother Etügen, the Goddess of Ancient Mongols, had revealed herself to me. My colleague liked my words and she added that these pictures had found their real master.

The idea that figurine of the European Venus can be linked with the name of the Goddess *Etügen eke* (Mother *Etügen*), first occurred to me when the Venus from Brno was exhibited in Prague's National Museum in June 2008. The small figurine, just a little more than ten centimetres, was cautiously locked in a great iron safe and carried to the State Museum in a special police car with an escort. And this grand event was shown on Czech TV. The shape of the Venus figurine and the meaning of the word *Etügen eke* are interconnected with sexual symbolism (it is the shape itself in the case of the figurine, while with the name it is the meaning itself). Both are consistent with the fertility cults and worship of the feminine practised by these people from antiquity. At the time when I started to think about this seriously and was looking for possible confirmation of the idea, the Venus of the Khorchin Mongols appeared before my eyes.

2) The Huns originated on the forested hillsides of Yin Shan and only then did they move to the Mongolian steppe. – "Хунны сложились на лесистых склонах Иньшаня и потом лишь передвинулись в монгольские степи." (Gumil'ov 1988, p. 28). Yin Shan is the southern extension of the Great Hingan and at the same time a general name designating the East-Mongolian lowlands (author's note).

1. Venus

In the Czech dictionary of foreign words, Lat. **Venus** is explained by the following commentary:

1. *archaeol.*, a prehistoric ritual figurine as a symbol femininity and fertility (according to Venus, Roman Goddess of love and beauty)
2. *literary, expressive*, a beautiful woman³

According to the Russian dictionary **Venus** is explained as follows:

1. Goddess of love and beauty in Old Roman mythology; like Aphrodite in Old Greek mythology;
2. *astron.*, a planet,⁴ a shining star visible in the morning or evening, which is the second planet from the Sun in the solar system.⁵

The origin of the word is generally derived from the abstract concept “divine love” (*venia*) in Old Roman culture, which gradually took a human form in the specific Goddess of love. The figure of Venus in European culture occupied an important place in the shaping of love and state of being in love in the visual and graphic arts.

1.2. VENUS IN SCULPTURE

It is nowadays accepted by western science that about 40 thousand years back, when Western Europe was freed from the ice age, the migration of Homo sapiens to this region began. After the end of the glacial period the so-called New Stone Age started, which brought a significant transformation of the material culture of humanity, a progress in the manner of hewing stone and bone, and for the first time there appeared the ability to burn various clay vessels and figures. Thus arose the early European plastic arts. Admirable pieces of art have been preserved from this ancient period – murals or animal figures (mammoths, deer, bulls and the like), but also human figurines.

A special place among the products of plastic art of the New Stone Age is occupied by female figurines, which are dated by archaeologists to the time between 25 and 21 thousand years ago. They have been called Venuses of the Stone Age. In the opinion of some specialists, the figurines represent ancient

3) *ACADEMICKÝ SLOVNÍK CIZÍCH SLOV*. Academia, Praha 2001, p. 806.

4) In Mongolian folk speech the name of this planet is *Хомхой од* (Greedy Star), *Ховдог эмэгэйн од* or Old woman-star greedy for food. It is so greedy that if after the evening meal people do not wipe fat from their lips and go out of the yurt, this Greedy Woman-Star licks it from their lips. Practically the same name – *хомгой* / *хомхой* – is used for the cold sore on lips.

5) *СЛОВАРЬ ИНОСТРАННЫХ СЛОВ*. Москва 1988, p. 99.

human forms of deities or the female ancestors of family lineages, symbols of fertility. Some specialists think that these were portrayals of actual women, who used to organise the rites before leaving for the hunt, which were supposed to guarantee a good kill. Some Russian specialists consider them to have been some sort of witch or sorceress (*baba-yaga*).

Fragments of Venus figurines were first found in 1894 in Brassempouy in France, and then in 1908 in Central Europe (Willendorf in Austria), and in 1923 in Eastern Europe (Voroněž in Russia). To date the number of these figurines throughout the whole regions from Western Europe up to Siberia has reached several hundreds.

As for the characteristic features common to all the Venus figurines, we can say that for the most part they are quite remote from the real form of the human body, while some of the details are formally exaggerated: *the hips, the belly, extra large breasts, broad and strong waists, with prominent genitals, missing feet and either with no head at all or with no recognisable face*. Some of them are obviously *pregnant*, some already *in the process of giving birth*. According to some interpretations, the face was not of interest for prehistoric artists. What had to be represented can be deducted from the figurines themselves. By the artistic method of exaggeration the artists achieved neutral feelings in the sphere of actual sexuality. Such figurines were not real human bodies, but bodies of a goddess, and they were expected to inspire respect and awe. It is not much off the mark if we say that in old Mongolian this goddess was called *Eke Etügen* (Mother Earth) or *Ee Qajiraqan* (pair word: God). I presume that similar designations may also be found in many other languages.

2. Etügen (Этүгэн)

Some anthropologists underline that nowadays we may hardly know, what this “Ancestress – Female Creator” was called by prehistoric people. But we may find the answer if we investigate the ‘archives’ of languages. In Proto-Mongolian there was a form, from which the word for the “Ancestress” arose; **edüken eki* can be interpreted on the basis of the pair word *өдөөн эхлэгч* ‘the starter’ or *үүдхэгч* ‘initiator’ (i.e. originating initiator/ creator). It can be demonstrated from several facts that the original meaning of these two words refers to the sexual organs of a mother (at the time of flourishing matriarchy). This idea corresponds to the significance of the Venus figurines. The following expressions referring to the spiritual culture, which have been used in Mongolian up to now, are closely related to the above two words:

etügen/ötögön – earth, world, nature; *üteg/ötög* – female vulva; *ötgös* – wise old men; *udgan/niduyan* – a female shaman; *nutay* – homeland, native land; *eke* – mother; *ekes* – amniotic fluid, placenta; *egele* (ээл) – ‘protection’; and similarly a number of other undoubtedly related words.

2.1. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORD *ETÜGEN*

The word *Etügen* that has preserved the residue of the ritual meaning of the “origin” or “beginning” from Proto-Mongolian **edü-/etü-* > *etüken/etügen* (to begin, start, commence), was first discussed by Dorji Banzarov in 1846 as the “Goddess *Etügen* from times immemorial”.⁶ In 1929, B.Ja. Vladimircov wrote: “In the Mongolian Written language *etügen* ~ *itügen* means the Goddess of Earth, the Earth (a shamanistic term), while in Eastern Khalkha dialects it occurs in the form **Етүгүн** ‘the Earth, the Ruling-Earth’.”⁷

In modern Mongolian (Khalkha), two related words have been preserved: *өтгөн* (thick, dense, strong), *өтөг* (a layer of cattle dung, manure, humus). The former evokes a feeling of abundance and wealth (*элбэг баялаг*), the latter means ‘a protective/favourable (camp) site, a place with a higher level of protection’ (*ээлтэй бууц*⁸), and thus they possess a hidden relation to *etügen*.

Etymology:⁹

**edü-/etü-* (root of the word) + *-ke/ge* (affix forming a noun or also a causative verbal stem) + *-n* (old suffix of plural or also a noun forming suffix). The concrete meaning of this structure: *edüken/etügen* > *өдөгч*, *өдөөгч* (initiator, creator).

- 6) Dorji Banzarov writes the following: They (the Mongols) started to worship the Goddess *Etügen* from times immemorial, probably at the time they started to attribute the quality of a deity to the skies. According to the Chinese chronicles both Hunnu and Tugyu made sacrifices to the earth. From the travel books of the European travellers it can be seen that at the time of the Chingis monarchy the Mongols payed homage to the Earth as a Goddess and that they considered it to be one of the principal deities. – “Они (монголы) начали поклоняться богине Этуген с незапамятных времен, вероятно в одно время, как стали небу приписывать качества божества. По китайским летописям, хунну и тугю приносили жертвы земле. Из записок европейских путешественников видно, что ей воздавали божеские почести монголы во времена чингисовой монархии и что они ее почитали одним из главнейших божеств.” (Доржи Банзаров, 1955, p. 65).
- 7) “Монг.-письм. *etügen* ~ *itügen* «богиня земли, Земля (шаманский термин)», *Халх, Вост.* Етүгүн «Земля, земля-владычица.” (Владимирцов 1989, p. 154)
- 8) Note the meaning of *бууц* 2. manure, dung (Hangin 1986, s.v.).
- 9) Concerning this etymology B.Ja. Vladimircov (2005, p. 842) writes: It is possible to take Mo. *ötügen* to be etymologically close to the word *ötüg* “sediment, a place with a sediment”; both *ötügen* and *ötüg* are nominally derived from **ötü-*, cf. written Mongolian *ötü-* “to

Most ancient meaning: female (mother) vulva¹⁰

Original figurative meaning:

- a) instigator, provoker, agitator, evoker (өдөгч/өдөөгч),
- b) beginning, origin, genesis, creator (эхлэгч, үүсгэгч)

Further derived metaphorical meanings:

1. a) mother, mummy (эх/ээж) > b) ritual Mother, cult of Mother (эх шүтээн) > c) worshipping the Mother Earth, the world (газар шүтээн, газар дэлхий)
2. female shaman (үдган) > shamanistic deity (бөө удганы Тэнгэр)
3. pure, saintly ancestors; holy, saintly person (ариун, гэгээн дээдэс; богд)
4. the highest personality, the highest substance: essence, the best part of s.th., offering (эрхэм дээд бодгали, эрхэм дээд юм: охь дээж, өргөл)
5. ancestors, experienced and wise people, respectable old people (өвөг дээдэс, мэдлэг туршилгатаан, хүндэт ахмад)

2.2. CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL COMMENTS

2.2.1. The primary meaning of this word may have been exactly the female genital organ (cf. *үтэз*). In the figurative meaning the word first meant something being born, an expectant mother or a mother who once gave birth (*төрөгч, төрөгч эх*). By another shift of meaning it meant the cult of the Mother, the souls of the female ancestors, the divine ancestress (*шүтээн эх, онгод эх, бурхан эх*). It was the period of matriarchy. We can say that the Venus figurine found on the territory of the Khorchins comes exactly from the time of *Этүгэн*.

rot, develop maggots". – "Можно думать, что монг. *ötügen* этимологически близко со словом *ötüg* «назем, место с наземом»; как *ötügen*, так и *ötüg* являются номинальными образованиями от **ötü-*, ср. монг. -письм. *ötü-* «заводится гниль, зарождаются черви»."

In my opinion, the following words in written Mo. *ötü*, Kh. *өмө* 'worms, maggots', and written Mo. *ötü*- Kh. *өмө* 'to develop maggots', are related to the Old Mongolian root *edü-* / *etü-* 'to start, create' (эхэлэ-, үүсгэ-). Therefore in the thought of the ancients the word *өм* 'worm' was understood as the mother of insects.

- 10) Cf. also the proposal of Banzarov (1955, p. 269, note 82): The semantic relation of *ötögen* "earth, earth deity" with *ötüg* 'sediment, a place with a sediment', ... and also with the Mongolian meaning "vulva" is interesting. – «Интересна семантическая связь *ötögen* „земля, божество земли" с *ötüg* „назем, место с наземом", ... а также с монгольским назначением vulva».

2.2.2. Later came the period when in religious belief dualism came to the forefront and the cult in the form of female ancestors (figurines) was almost forgotten. However, it survived and preserved the meaning of words like female deity *Etügen* ~ *Ötügen* ‘the Earth, Goddess of Earth, the deity of Earth’ (Vladimircov 1989, p. 154). The form of the old figurines of *Etügen*-s (Venuses) was kept in the plastic arts and started to be called using shamanistic terms *бөөгийн онгод* or *буумал*¹¹ in places where the shamanistic belief had been preserved, and in the form of *тэнгэрийн сум*¹² (arrows /sent/ from heaven) in regions where it had already been forgotten.

The dualistic belief in female and male principles appears later in the words *Etügen*, a synonym of Earth (*Газар*), the female power, and *Tenger*, Heaven, as the male power. This may be documented in the Secret History of the Mongols, a literary monument of the middle period of development of the Mongolian language, where *etügen* occurs with two meanings: a) cult, or b) earth, world.¹³ For example:

- *erketü tengiri-de nereidcū, eke etügen-e kürgežü* – ‘Being named by powerful Heaven, Effecting [this] by Mother Earth’ (§113, Cleaves 1982, p. 47)
- *ündür etügen-dür* – ‘in a high place’ (§201, Cleaves 1982, p.140)
- *dair etügen* – ‘the brown Earth’ (§275, Cleaves 1982, p.181)

2.2.3. ÖTÜKEN YİŞ

In the Old Turkic Orkhon runic inscriptions there is also the word *Ötüken*. According to the oldest dictionary of the Turkic languages from the 11th century by Mahmud al-Kashgari, this designates “a place in the Tatar steppes”

11) For *онгон/онгод*, *буумал* cf. Even (1992, pp. 430 and 435) and Zikmundová (2008, pp. 154 and 179).

12) Cf. also *тэнгэрийн сум*, ‘missile from heaven’ (Luvsandordž, Vacek 1990, p. 144). Mongolian myths also refer to other objects falling from the sky – e.g. a stone with writing (cf. Lub-sangdorji, Vacek 1997).

13) Regarding this, Vladimircov (2005, p. 842) writes: “It is possible to reach the conclusion that with the Mongols *ötügen* ~ *etügen* designated ‘the deity of the Earth’ and ‘the Earth itself was perceived as divine’; cf. the noteworthy expression encountered in Mongolian books devoted to the fire cult: *gal-tengri gal-luya ilyal-ügei* ‘there is no difference between the fire and the fire-Tengri (the celestial, the genius) ~ the Genius of Fire’ – Можно сделать вывод, что *ötügen* ~ *etügen* у монголов обозначало «божество земли» и «земля, сама земля, рассматриваемая как божественная»; ср. замечательное выражение, встречающееся в монгольских книжках, посвященных культу огня: *gal-tengri gal-luya ilyal-ügei* «нет различия между огнем и огнем-тэнгрием (небожителем, гением) ~ Гением Огня.»

(Vladimircov 2005, p. 844). According to the interpretation of Russian Turkologists the word is the proper name of a place where there are forested mountains and where the Khan's palace, the centre of Turkish Khanat, is located. Vladimircov devoted a paper to the interpretation of the words *Ötüken yış*, where he confirms that the word refers to a specific forested mountain range in Central Mongolia (Vladimircov 1989, p. 154). But then he links the word with Mo. *etügen* / *ötügen* (Vladimircov 2005, p. 844). Since the centre of Turkish Khanat was located in the Orkhon river valley, the phrase *Ötüken yış* could refer to a place where the river rises in the forested mountains and could have been an old Mongolian local name *Ötüken* (the present name is Hangaihan – the Hangai mountains, Hangain Davaa – the Hangai Pass). Expressions which appear frequently in Mongolian oral literature and refer to worship, like *наян нэгэн этүгүдийн эзэд* – “Eighty-one rulers of the Earth” (*етүгүд* – plural < *етүгүн*; Vladimircov 2005, p. 842), *Арван гурван Алтай нутаг* – “the homeland of Thirteen Altai Peaks”, *Хорин дөрвөн Хангай нутаг*¹⁴ – “the homeland of Twenty-Four Hangai Peaks”, are closely related to the old expression *Etügen Eke*.

The word *Etügen* was borrowed by early Turkic people no later than 6th century A.D., when the Türk Khanat was formed on the territory of Mongolia. There is even an earlier possibility that this word penetrated the Turkic languages through mixed ethnic groups speaking Mongolian and Turkic already at the time of the Hun Empire in the 1st century A.D. In my opinion, the time when the word *Etügen* lost the meaning of a concrete figurine and acquired a general meaning of Earth cult falls within the period before the Christian Era.

2.2.4. ODQAN TNGRI (ОТГОН ТЭНГЭР)

This is the name of the highest peak with eternal snow of the Hangai Mountain Range, worshipped from time immemorial. There is an interpretation of the word *Отгон* as a combination of two words – Tur. *ot* (fire) and Mo. *qan* (ruler). Thus the meaning would be the ‘ruler of fire’ (*галын эзэн*; i.e. keeper of the family hearth; metaphorically ‘successor’).¹⁵ This interpretation (*отгон*

14) Cf. the epic *Алтай хайлах* (Гадамба, Цэрэнсодном 1978, p. 257).

15) Vladimircov (2005, p. 843) gives the following explanation: “*Odxan-tengri ayula* > Kh. Одхонг-тенггер “Othon-tengri – younger celestial – the name of a mountain in Central Khalkha in Hangai”, *odxan* < *od-xan* “fire-ruler”, this was the name of the younger sons who succeeded to the demesne of their fathers and appeared to be the protectors of the

хүү, *омгон охин*) can be accepted concerning the children, but not concerning a worshipped holy mountain. This is because the highest and oldest, and also wisest, of Eighty-eight rulers cannot be referred to by the name used for the youngest child (*омгон хүү*), but rather by a name referring to the parent (*эх /эцэг*), to the ancestress and the like. This would much better correspond to the thought of the ancients. It is therefore more probable that the name *Омгонтэнгэр* is derived from *Etüken / Ötüken + qan > Ötükenqan + Teng-geri > Odqantgri*.

2.3. DEVELOPMENT OF THE VERB ROOT *EDÜ-*

In Proto-Mongolian there were the verbs **edü-* / **etü-*. Their basic meaning was *эхэлэ-* ‘to begin’, *үүсгэ-* ‘to begin, create, arise; to give birth, create’; in a figurative sense *өдө-* / *өдөө-* ‘to instigate, evoke, provoke; incite’.

In modern Mongolian languages and dialects a number of other verbs were formed on the basis of this root, such as for example *өдө*, *өмө*, *үмэ*, *үдү*, *оду*, *омо*... Let us consider an example on the basis of the study of historical phonology.

2.3.1. Linguistically the phonetic development from the Proto-Mongolian sequence *e + C + ü* (**edü-* / **etü-*) can be explained on the basis of assimilation (regressive and progressive) and dissimilation. E.g. let us consider the word *edür*.¹⁶

- **edür > edür* (AMo.) > *ödür / üdür* (MMo.) ‘day’;
- *ödür / üdür* (MMo.) > *ödör* (Kha.), *üdür* (Bur.), *ödür* (Oir.), *ödër* (Kalm.), *üder* (Bao’an/Paoan/Bonan), *odor* (Yugur), *udur* (Daur/Dagur), *udu* (Dongxiang) ‘day’

2.3.2. Vladimircov gives the following explanation: “With the help of *e* in Written Mongolian a special vowel arose which existed in Old Mongolian, between *e* and *ö*; very probably this was a non-labialised *ö*, i.e. *ö* pronounced with a minimum movement of the lips; this sound was met with in words in which it preceded some labial phoneme, consonant or vowel. This is above all

home hearth.” – *Odxan-tengri ayula* > халх. Одохонг-тенггер «Отхон-тенгри – младший небожитель – название горы в Центральной Халхе в Хангае», *odxan* < *od-xan* «огонь-хан», так назывались младшие сыновья, наследовавшие уделы своих отцов и являвшиеся хранителями домашнего очага.

16) The following example (*edür*) was taken from the list of examples provided by Tömörtogoo (1992, p. 181).

confirmed by the fact that in Written Mongolian *e* alternates with *ö*, e.g. *dörben* ~ *derben* ‘four’, *edü* ~ *ödü* ‘feather’, *sedüb* ~ *södüb* ‘subject, theme’, Bayat *öwгн* ~ *ewгн* | Written Mo. *ebügen* ‘old man’; Bayad, Zakhchin *емгн* ~ *ömгн* (Arab Philologist *ömgön*) | Written Mo. *emegen* ‘old woman’; ...”¹⁷

2.4. THE DERIVED STEMS STILL PRESERVE THE ORIGINAL MEANING OF THE VERB ROOT *EDÜ*-

- Cl.Mo. *edü*- (Kh. *өдө-*) ‘to begin, start, commence’¹⁸
- Cl.Mo. *edüge*- (Kh. *өдөө-*) ‘to instigate, provoke, incite; to lure, allure’
- Cl.Mo. *edügül*- (Kh. *өдүүл-*) ‘to begin, start, lay and foundation, produce, originate, devise, commit; to induce, prompt’
- Cl.Mo. *edügegči*- (Kh. *өдөөгч-*) ‘instigator, provoker’
- Cl.Mo. *edügel* (Kh. *өдөөл*) ‘lure, enticement; temptation’
- Cl.Mo. *edügülbüri*, *edügülge* (Kh. *өдөөлбөр*, *өдөөлгө*) ‘origin, beginning, extraction, descent, anything produced or, erected; product, produce, yield’

2.5. METAPHORICAL CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS RESULTING FROM A SHIFT OF THE MEANING OF THE VERB ROOT *EDÜ*-

2.5.1. ӨТӨГ 1.

Kh. *γмэг* (~ *γmuz*, *өмөг*) < Cl.Mo. *ötügü/ütügü*,¹⁹ *ötüg/ütüg* ‘female genital organ’ (БамПЦ 2001, III, p. 428) (metaphor. meaning)

Etymology:

< **edüge* / **etiüge* ‘өдөгч/өдөөгч / ‘provoker, provoking, instigator’ < **edüge*- / **etiüge*- ‘to instigate, provoke’ < **edü*-

17) “При помощи *e* монг.-письм. обозначался какой-то гласный, существовавший в старом монгольском языке, средний между *e* и *ö*; по всей вероятности это было нелабиализованное *ö*, т. е. *ö* произносимое с минимальной губной работой; встречался этот звук в словах, в которых он предшествовал какой-либо губной фонеме, гласной или согласной. Подтверждается это во первых тем, что в монг.-письм. *e* чередуется с *ö*, напр.: *dörben* ~ *derben* «четыре», *edü* ~ *ödü* «перо (птичье)», *sedüb* ~ *södüb* «задание, задача», *Baum.* *өwгн* ~ *ewгн* | монг.-письм. *ebügen* «старик»; *Baum.*, *Захач.* *емгн* ~ *ömгн* (Араб-Ф. *ömgön*) | монг.-письм. *emegen* «старуха»; ... (Vladimircov 1989, p. 151).

18) For the English translations of the following examples cf. Lessing 1960, pp. 294–295, s.vv.

19) Cf. Norjin (1999, p. 677): *emegtei kümün-ü belge erketen-ü büdügülig nereyidel* (vulgar term for the female genital organ).

Comment:

This is a rarely used word in local dialects.²⁰ It is a remainder of the original term, which was used in Old Mongolian for female genitals – *өдөгч/өдөөгч* (arousing towards oneself, instigator).

The male genitals were designated by the term *халдага(н)*²¹ ‘penis’ (Lessing, p. 919, s.v.) < Cl.Mo. *qalda-* (Kh. *халда-*) ‘to touch; to approach, come near; to attack, encroach, violate, abuse; to be infected or contaminated with’ (Lessing, p. 918, s.v.).

2.5.2. ӨТӨГ 2.

Kh. *өтөг* (~ *үмэг*) < Cl.Mo. *ötege/ütege* (БAMPC 2001, III, p. 427) / *ötügü, ötüge* (Цэвэл 1966, p. 448, s.v.) ‘bear’

Etymology and meaning of the word:

In the Darhad dialect the term for a she-bear *өтөг баавгай* has been preserved, which has already been lost in other modern Mongolian languages. But the word *үмэг* < **edü-* can be reconstructed.

Comment:

This word was preserved in the ‘archives’ of the Mongolian language as a survival of the belief of the ancients in Mother Creator (whose symbol is the female genital organ *үмэг*). For the ancient people the bear represented a totem animal, because it granted them its own dwelling (cave), and thus it won their respect and deification in the form of a Mother. According to the rules of totemism, the she-bear became a worshipped ancestor first for a certain group of people, later for the whole family/tribe, and therefore it started to be symbolically named according to its genital organ *өтөг/үмэг*. This is confirmed by some facts preserved in the folklore of the Mongolian ethnic groups:

20) In their shamanistic texts – calling the ongon Avgaldaj (*Авгалдай*) – Horin Buriads praise his/her genital organ in these words: ‘You have testicles of the size of a bag, you have a penis the size of *uurga* (long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses), you have a vagina like a crevice in the earth, your pubic hair is like the long hair of a boar.’ – *Уутын чинээ халдагатай, Уургын чинээ озгойтой, Газарын гав үтэгтэй, Гахайн ширхэг сүүрлигтэй* (умдагийн үс) (cf. Gantogtoh 2007, p. 229).

21) I remember how at one of his lectures, the well-known Mongolian linguist Academician B. Rinchen explained both etymologies with a smile: ‘After attracting it provocatively, it of course enters attacking!’ (*өдөөн дууддаг юм нь байгаа хойно, халдан ордог юм нь байлгүй яахав даа!*).

- “Actually the bear used to be a man, and that is why he walks upright on his hind legs like man and knows human speech. A hunter would never hunt a pregnant she-bear or a she-bear with the young. It is said that the bear gives birth very easily. That is why hunters keep the paw of she-bears, which is supposed to help a woman in labour.
- It is said that the bear very much resembles man and one such feature is the great similarity of the *c’ulic’* (чульч²²) of the she-bear with the female genital organ. That may be the reason why, when killing a she-bear, a young man should not be present and he is also not asked to flay its skin. It is said that when a young man sees the she-bear’s *c’ulic’*, he cannot help laughing and by laughing aloud would grow hard and he would die.²³ This is called Jigmid’s illness.”²⁴
(Цэрэнсодном 1989, pp. 99–100)

“When the constellation of the Seven Burhans/the Great Bear comes out, the bear and the she-bear copulate.”²⁵

2.5.3. ӨТӨГ 3., ӨТӨГС

Kh. *өтөг*, Cl.Mo. *ötegü* ‘old man; senior’, (Lessing 1960, p. 646);

Kh. *өтөгс*, Cl.Mo. *ötegüs/ötügüs* ‘seniors, elders, chieftains’ (Lessing 1960, pp. 646, 647)

◇ *өтөг боол*, Cl.Mo. *ötegü boyol* ‘hereditary slave’²⁶ (БАМПС 2001, III, p.47)

Etymology and meaning of the word:

- *этугэн*, metaphorical meaning 5: *etügen* + *s* (plural suffix) = *etüges* > *ötügüs*
- *ötügüs* > *ötügu* ‘famous from old times, a personality about whose fame everybody knows; ‘highly noble, majesty’, ‘protector’, ‘great teacher’

The meaning of the latter word is close to some meanings of the English word *Lord*.

Text (Middle Mongolian, SHM §189):

Wan-Qan *erten-ü ötögü jeke qan bülege. Terigü in-ü abčiradqun mün bögesü taija bida...Tede ... ötökü jeke erten-ü Wan-Qan-i...ajuyulžu daižiyulžu ükügülbe.* (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 456, §189, line 2, line 23)

22) Cl.Mo. *julči/zulci* – caul enveloping the fetus of animals at birth (Lessing 1960, p. 1078, s.v.). In this text this word is probably a euphemism used for the genital organ of the bear.

23) In modern Mongolian there are idioms like *элэг хөшиу-* (to split one’s sides with laughter; Lessing 1960, p. 492, s.v. *kösi-* 3. to harden, stiffen, etc.), *элэг хатан инээ-* (to laugh a belly laugh; Lessing 1960, p. 309, s.v. *elige liver: elige xatan injekü*); the phrases *элэг хөшиж үхэ-* / *элэг хатаж үхэ-* mean to laugh excessively, to be dying from laughter.

24) The meaning of the name of the illness is not clear. It is probably a human name.

25) Долоон Бурхан од гарахад өтөг баавгай (окин), эр баавгай хоёрын ороо уулзалт болдог (from an interview with a Darhat woman H’ Darisu’ren; Цэрэнсодном 1989, p. 214).

26) This is a term of 13th century “nomadic feudalism”.

My proposed translation:

Vang Khan is an ancient saint (*bogd*), a great Khan. Bring his head, if it is really him, we will make an offering (to it). ... They (the Mongols) ... have frightened, expelled and killed ... this great ancient saint Van Khan.²⁷

Russian translation:

Ван-хан ведь был древнего ханского рода. Пусть привезут сюда его голову. Если его действительно он, мы принесем ей жертву... они будто бы пугали... древлеславного великого государя Ван-хана своим возмущением довели его до смерти. (Козин 1942, p. 142)

Czech translation:

Ong-chan byl dříve velkým chánem. Přineste sem jeho hlavu! Je-li to vskutku on, budeme mu obětovat! ... Tito lidé starého a velkého Ong-chana...postrašili, pobili a do smrti vehnali.²⁸ (Poucha 1955, pp. 121, 122)

English translation:

Ong Qan was an aged, great qan of old. Fetch [ye] his head. If it truly be [his], we shall sacrifice [unto it]... Those people ...made the aged, great Ong Qan of old to be afraid, made [him] to revolt, and made [him] to die. (Cleaves 1982, pp. 116, 117)

French translation:

Le Roi Ong était un vieux et grand roi d'autrefois. Apportez sa tête : si c'est bien lui, nous lui sacrifierons. ... Ce peuple a effrayé avec ses carquois le grand et vieux Roi Ong d'autrefois. Il l'a contraint à fuir devant lui et a causé sa mort. (Even, Pop 1994, pp. 147, 148)

Examples of the use of the word *ötöküs* (*өмзөс / өмөцс*):

a) *kesigüd-ün ötöküs* (MHT §227, line 21,22) – commanders of the units (of personal protection of Chinggis Khan)

Russian translation: старейшины очередей, дежурные старейшины (Козин1942, p. 170)

Czech translation: Velitelé oddílů (lit. 'commanders of the units'; Poucha 1955, p. 169)

English translation: Elders of the companies (Cleaves 1982, p.165).

French translation: les vétérans en charge (Even, Pop 1994, p. 192)²⁹

b) *ötöküs kebtegül*: *min-ü ölzeiten kebtegül min-ü ötöküs kebtegül kegedün* (SHM §230, line 16)

27) Ван хан, эртний богд их хаан билээ. Толгойгий нь авчиратгун, мөн бол бид тахья. ... Тэд...богд их, эртний Ван хааныг...айлгаж, зугтаалгаж үхүүлэв.

28) Lit.: Ong-Qan was earlier a great qan.....These people ... intimidated ...the old and great Ong-Qan....

29) In their comment on *ötügüs* in this phrase, Even, Pop (1994, p. 294, note 25) underline that before developing the meaning 'chef', the word refers to aged persons or elders (les hommes âgés, les anciens) and that it is the veterans that the recruits should obey.

Comment on b:

In this text the words *ölzeiten*, *ötöküs* express the modality of great or even exaggerated respect, almost deification and adoration. As against the former word, the latter word *ötöküs* expresses a much higher degree of respect. In Khalkha the phrase *min-ü ölzeiten kebtegül* would be миний өлзийтөн хэвтүүл = миний ачтан хэвтүүл = ‘my auspicious (night) guards’. Chinggis Khan uses these laudatory words about his night guard, personal night watchmen. If these words are translated as “my happy guards” (in Khalkha миний жаргалтай хэвтүүл), it is misleading and unfortunate.

My proposed translation:

My night watchmen, who guard my good luck (welfare), should be called “protector-guards/saviour guards!”³⁰

Russian translation:

О благовещий ты мой, Кебтеүл!

Славьте же старую стражей ее! (Kozin 1941, pp. 172)

Благословенная стража моя!

Называйте ж ее старую стражей. (literal translation; Kozin 1941, p. 173)

Czech translation:

Moji šťastní noční strážcové, vy, starou stráž! se jmenujtež!³¹ (Poucha 1955, p.174)

English translation:

My happy nightguards, [Henceforth,] call [ye yourselves] the ‘elder nightguards’. (Cleaves 1982, p. 169)

French translation:

Appelez désormais “gardes vétérans” mes bénéfiques gardes de nuit. (Even, Pop 1994, p. 198)

30) Миний [надад] өлзийгөө өгсөн (*ölzeiten*) хэвтүүлийг минь ивээгч/аврагч/ хэвтүүл гэгтүн.

31) Lit.: My happy nightguards, you should be called ‘old guards’!

2.5.4. **ӨТӨГ 4.**

Kh. *өмөг*, Cl.Mo. *ötüg* ‘manure, dung, humus; fertilizer; fine manure dust which covers places where cattle were kept’ (Lessing 1960, p. 646, s.v. *ötüg*)

Etymology and meaning of the word:

Original metaphorical meaning: a sacred place, where Mother *etügen* used to stay (Kh. *эх этүгэний бууц*); a sacred place, where many ancestors of the Mother used to stay (Kh. *ээжийн / өвгөд дээдэсийн үе дамжсан бууц*).

In present-day Mongolian the metaphorical meaning of the word *Этүгэн* (cf. above meanings 1. and 5.) is preserved in the pair word (*horsoo*) *өтөг бууц* (dwelling of Mother’s respected ancestors (Kh. *өтөгийн/өтөгөсийн бууц*)).

Later, after people became herdsmen, manure and dust kept collecting for many years and formed thick layers. Thus the word *өтөг* has two meanings now: ‘a dwelling of respected ancestors’ (Kh. *өвгөд дээдсийн бууц*), and ‘a place where layers of dry dung of sheep and goats had accumulated’.

2.5.4.1. **ХӨХ ӨТӨГ (LIT. BLUE DRY DUNG)**

Mongolian nomads have a proverb: *хөх өтөг хүүхдэд ээлтэй* – “blue dry dung of sheep and goats provides protection to children”.

Хөх өмөг are droppings of sheep and goats accumulated in the course of many years, whose colour becomes blue. This dry blue dung is spread under a mother in labour. She gives birth kneeling on a layer of blue dry dung, hands reclining against the basket for *argal* (dry droppings of cattle). Nomads believe that the *arag* (basket for collecting dry dung) is a vessel, whose fate it is to suffer (it carries a heavy load), and therefore it relieves the labour pains of the mother, it chases away or removes the pains (Kh. *зайлуулна*). Blue dry dung, *хөх өмөг*, is believed to protect the health of the newborn. The dung has been long exposed to sun and wind, and that may be the reason why it is considered to be pure. But it is particularly against evil forces that it protects the child, perhaps because it is symbolically connected with a dwelling place of the ancestress Etügen and her successors. Another earlier habit may also be related to this, viz to make a hole in the yurt at the place of birth and bury the placenta of the child there. This habit is a symbol of the connection of the child with his ancestress Earth (Etügen), from whom he receives protection.

2.5.5. ӨТӨГ 5.

Etymology and meaning of the word ӨТҮГЭН, metaphorical meaning 4.

a) bringing offerings and gifts (Kh. *тайлга тахилгын өргөл*): e.g. Kh. *өтөг*, Cl.Мо. *ödke* ‘offering, sacrifice’; *morin ödke* ‘horse used in sacrifice made to Chinggis Khan’ (Lessing 1960, p. 629, s.v. *ödke*)

b) ritual meals and drinks at a ceremonial table (mutton, milk products, vodka, kumiss, and also small bits of these)

In modern Khalkha dialect these meanings were forgotten, only *өтөг* remained with the meaning of a deliberately left over bit of kumiss at the bottom of the special vessel for kumiss (Kh. *айраг тунасан өтгөн, нитгэл* – a scum, a thick /layer/ of settled³² kumiss).

The Manchu emperor established the rules and laws (Kh. *Дээрээс тогтоосон ёс журам*)³³ concerning the traditional rite of bringing offerings of meals to the *Tengris* (for example to the Thirteen *Ataa Tengris*) and Ongons (for example Chinggis Khan’s Ongon) twice a year, and it was in using the word *өтөг* that this offering was referred to. The offering at the winter festival of Chinggis Khan’s birthday (*tasam-a talbiqū*) included “one mare, nine whole sheep (*хонин өтөг*), nine *hems* (*хэм*)³⁴ milk vodka” (Nyambuu 1992, p. 150).

In the texts of Middle Mongolian the word *өтөг* occurs as a set expression for proposing toasts, the so-called *өрөөлийн хундага өргөх* (lit. ‘to raise the goblet of ritual felicitation’; further cf. the ethnographic comment in the following section 2.4.5.1).

2.5.5.1. ӨТӨГ УГСАНЫ ХОЙНО (AFTER THE CEREMONIAL TOAST WITH ALCOHOL) (ETHNOGRAPHIC COMMENT)

In the SHM there is a phrase *ötög uysan-u qoina* (§154, line 23, Sumyaabaatar 1990, p. 323). In the Chinese interlinear translation *ötög uy-* appears as *ariki oγuγulqi* (Kh. *архи оруулах*) ‘to bring in vodka’ (Čeringsodnam 1993, p. 374, note 255). However, translators considered the verb root *uy-* to mean

32) Hanging (1986, p. 421) gives the following meanings of *өтгөн*: thick; dense; strong; (*euph.*) excrement.

33) In 1295 in the Great Mongolian Empire founded the Ministry of Sacrifice (*Тайлгын яам*), which was in charge of bringing offerings to the Ongon of Chinggis Khan, to the Tengri-s and other Ongons and cults. Cf. Nyambuu 1992, pp. 26–28 and pp. 103–104.

34) The meaning of the word *хэм* is not clear. It is probably a designation of a vessel for milk vodka.

yy- (Cl Mo. *uuyu-*) ‘to drink’. And this also appeared in translations into other languages –

Russian translation: после того как выпита чара-оток (Козин 1942, p. 124)

Czech translation: ‘Teprve až nápoj vypit (‘only after the drink had been drunk’; Poucha 1955, p. 87)

English translation: after we shall have drunk the *ötög* [this word is glossed: “wine which is offered”] (Cleaves 1982, p. 83)

French translation: après qu’on aura bu le koumys cérémoniel (Even, Pop 1994, p. 115)

In my opinion the phrase *ötög uy-/oy-* is an idiom. Though the verb *uy-/oy-* is nowadays forgotten, it still exists in words like:

Kh. *yz tata-* ~ *yzpa-* ‘to pull or jerk’; *yxacxuy-* ‘to dash forward, jump up from one’s place’; *ozom/ozuom* ‘abyss, steep slope, abrupt[ly]

Cl.Mo. *oysi-* ‘to bulge up’, *oysyda-* ‘to be thrown out’

And in other cases, where the meaning of the verb roots *yz*, *yx*, *yz*, *oy* appears in the sense ‘single quick action/movement’.

Therefore the idiom *ötög uy-/oy-* means literally *өтөг саца-/өргө-* ‘to spray / sacrifice/ the best and choicest part of alcohol’ (*өтөг* = архины дээж); metaphorically it means “to raise the ceremonial goblets” (*ерөөлийн буюу ёсны хундага өргө-*). Therefore the Chinese interlinear version is substantiated.

2.5.6. ӨТӨГЛҮҮЛ-

The substantive *өтөг* (cf. *өтөг* 3, *өтөг* 4, *өтөг* 5) is a basis for further verbal derivation. The verb *өтөглө-* (causative *өтөглүүл-*) has the metaphorical meaning ‘to grant a person a special privilege’. The verbal noun from the verb *өтөглө-* is *ötökülekün* (*өтөглөхүүн*), which also occurs in the SHM (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 646, §227, line 2). There is an agreement about its meaning being ‘leader’ or ‘elders’.

In the orders³⁵ of the Khans of Yuan Empire the expression *сэнишинүүдийг өтөглөж*» [*sên-shi-ni-di* “eo-t’eo-gu-le-ju”³⁶ (Жанчив 2002, p. 23)] occurs three times (cf. above *өтөглө-* < *өтөг* 3) – ‘The Tao priests should be granted a special privilege’.

In the SHM (§187, line 5; §189, line 6; §219, line 17) there is the verb *ötöglegülzū*, Cl.Mo. *ötüglegüljü*. In my opinion the meaning of this verb is derived from the meaning of *өтөг* 4 and in modern Mongolian we find the

35) The order of Khan Mangal (1276), written in quadratic script (PH’AGS-PA SCRIPT). Further the order of Khan Buyant (1314).

36) Cf. Poppe (1957, p. 128): *öt’ögule(ju)* to head, be at the head of, be the senior || Mo. *ötegüle-*.

expressions *өтөглүүл- / өтөглөгдө-* ‘allow oneself to be worthy of worshipping’ (*өөртөө тавиг тайлга хийлгэ-*).

In the SHM there is an expression *qorcilayulžu ötöglegülzü... žiryadqun* (Sumyabaatar 1990, §187, p. 447, lines 5–6), which can be translated as “You two get protected by bowmen and get worshipped by flowers, and thus enjoy happiness.”³⁷ These words, by which he grants special privileges, were said by Chinggis Khan to two horse herders, who saved his life.

2.5.7. ӨДГӨӨ

This word has lost the original meaning of *этүгэн* (*өтөг...*). Its meaning is completely different from the meaning of the original word and of the other derived words and became an ordinary word in daily use. In Classical Mongolian *edüge* is pronounced [эдэвгээ, өдгөө, одоо]. In 1925, B. Ya. Vladimircov noted that when illiterate Mongols wanted to address a meeting, they would start with the words from the written language *эдэвгээ миний бие болбоос* – “as for my today’s body”, i.e. ‘as for me’, ‘as far as I am concerned’ (Kh. *заа би бол*). Even today many people would start their speech with the words *одоо бол/ одоо* (‘now then’), which come to their lips spontaneously, often at the beginning of every sentence. However, the meaning of the word *этүгэн* (*өтөг...*) is no longer recognised. The word was only unconsciously accepted through frequent repetition for many centuries, and in the old times it really occurred at the beginning of a speech. An explanation of the etymology of the words *өдгөө* and *этүгэн* (*etiügen: itiügen – edüge*) can be found in an article by B. Vladimircov (1989, p. 155).

37) **English** rendering (Cleaves 1982, p.114, §187): “[With my] suffering [you] to carry quivers and suffering [you] to drink *ötög*.”

In **Czech** (Poucha 1955, p. 119, §187): “Dávám vám oběma právo nosit toulec a pít z poháru.” – ‘I grant you both the right to carry the quiver and to drink from a goblet.’

In **Russian**: “И пусть пользуются свободным дарханством, повелевая своим подданным носить свой сайдак и порвозглашать чару на пирах.” (Kozin 1941, p. 141, §187)

French translation: ‘... autorisés à porter le carquois et à boire le koumys cérémoniel’ (Even, Pop 1994, p. 145)

The translators repeat this incorrect translation also in § 219.

But in §189, the phrase (*Бан хааны толгойз*) *ötöglegülzü* is translated correctly: “making [one] present the *ötög*” (Cleaves 1982, p. 116); “стали совершать пред нею жертвоприношению” (Kozin 1942, p. 142).

3. The origin and development of the word *эх*

In modern Mongolian (Khalkha) the word *эх* has two meanings: a) mother (*ээж*), b) beginning; in Cl.Mo. *eki* (beginning), *eke* (mother). Besides the above-mentioned two meanings, in the written documents of Middle Mongolian we can also find the pair words (*hors'oo u'g*) *eke etügen* 'Mother-Earth' (SHM §113) and *etügen eke* 'motherly Earth' (SHM §255).

The primary meaning of the word *eke* was further shifted or metaphorised and thus a great number of derived words arose, and the development of the word *etügen* underwent a similar process.

Etymology and meaning of the word:

a) From historical phonology we know that modern words beginning in a vowel originally had initial consonants ***p**, ***k**, ***t**. For example:

AMo. **peki*(n) 'head' > Ma. *fexi* 'brain, memory', cf. Mu. *hekin* 'head', Cl.Mo. *eki*(n), 'head, beginning', Kh. *эх* 'beginning' (Poppe 1999, p. 8)

Accordingly the development of the word *эх* was as follows:

**peki > *beki > *keki / keke > heki / heke > 'eki / 'eke > эх*

b) The word *eke* (mother) had obviously developed from the word *eki* (beginning). However, the original meaning of the word is an enigma. If we take Freud into consideration (cf. below), the original meaning of the words *eke > eki* will be the same as that of the word *etüge(n)*, i.e. probably the name of the female vulva. This assumption may be supported by the existence of a phrase in modern colloquial Mongolian *ацын эх*.³⁸ The word *ац* literally means 'branching', 'bifurcation', Kh. *салаа* 'fork, bifurcated branch of a tree'; one of its figurative meanings is 'pubic region', *салтаа* 'crotch between the legs, perineum (anat.)'; + *-ын* (genitive suffix). Then the word *эх* means a) *эхлэл* 'beginning', but figuratively also b) *толгой*, *түрүү* 'head, top'. And since the body bifurcates in its lower part, the word can also apply to the 'beginning' of the body's bifurcation, to the bifurcating spot itself, and thus it can simply mean *vulva*.

38) This expression is used as a term of abuse, in which case it has the same modality. It is used in the sense "you cannot manage", "you cannot do it": *Ацынхаа эхээр хийнэ дээ чи! Ацын чинь эх!* Lit. "You do it with the beginning of your crotch! The beginning of your crotch!" Such a phrase is mostly said by older people to small girls, though nowadays they do not know the literal meaning any more.

3.1. KEKE

The etymology of the word *eke* can be more profoundly understood in comparison with the word **keke** used in SHM:

– *keḡeli niḡeten* (Kh. хээл нэгтэн)

– *keke* үгүчэтан (Kh. хэхэ гаництан; Sumyaabaatar 1990, p. 197, §121, lines 2–3)

English translation:

The [mother's] belly [was] one [and the same]
[and of whom]

The water of the mother's womb [was] an only [one]. (Cleaves 1982, p. 53)

Czech translation:

z jednoho života,

z jedné plodové vody³⁹ (Poucha 1955, p. 57)

Russian translation:

Чрево одно

И сорочка одна. (Kozin 1942, p. 107)

French translation:

Nous sommes d'un même utérus,

Nous sommes d'un seul placenta. (Even, Pop 1994, p. 85)⁴⁰

These translations of the word *keke* were made on the basis of the interlinear version of the Chinese translation by Čeringsodnam (1993, p. 339, note 175) *qoyituki-yin singgen*, i.e. amniotic fluid, lit. 'the wateriness, thinness of the last one' (i.e. placenta). Čeringsodnam finds confirmation in the fact that in the dialects of the old Bargas and of the Naimans the word *keke* means *kekei*, *keki* (хэхэй, хэхий), to which corresponds Kh. эхэс – placenta (Čeringsodnam, *ibid.*). Š. Gaadamba is of the opinion that the word *keke* is an old pronunciation of the modern word *эх* and that the above-mentioned SHM phrase is a proverb passed on from the time of the matriarchy: "people of one lineage, relatives" (нэг овог төрөлд хамаатай, төрөл садан; Gaadamba 1976, p. 159).

In many passages in the SHM the word *эх* (mother) occurs in the written form *eke* and only in one case can we find the form *keke* (§121). In my opinion the reason for this is that in a discussion with Temüjin, the nojon *Qorči* wanted his words to be trustworthy and therefore he used (in fact quoted)

39) Lit.: 'From one life (= belly), from one amniotic fluid.'

40) Even, Pop (1994, p. 270, note 59) mention that the word *keke* is not attested elsewhere and that it has preserved the meaning 'placenta'. They also refer to the Chinese interlinear gloss *pao Chiang* (amniotic fluid).

the words of the ancestors (*omogoc үгсүйэ*).⁴¹ Note the alliteration of the initial syllable *ke* with the words *kegeli* and *keke* in this very poetic and expressive phrase; that was obviously another reason why the author used the latter word and not the words *eke* or *ekes*, which were in common use at that time. This idiom is one of many examples of the so-called oral texts,⁴² which come from the early nomadic tradition, many centuries older than the 13th century, and which appear frequently in the SHM.

It is very interesting to note which various other meanings have developed from the old stems of these two words **keke* > *eke*, and what metaphors were formed on their basis. In my opinion they include the following:

A. The primary concrete meaning of the word **keke/gege* was probably 'fissure, crevice, space gap, opening, hole' (*зай завсар, нүх*). This assumption is based on expressions occurring in a Mongolian myth, according to which the ancestor mother of the Mongols Alangoo became pregnant with Tenger (with the Sky). Here the word *gege* (*гэгэ*) is used in the phrase *erüke totuy-a-yin gege-ber* (by the gaps, holes in the ceiling opening of the yurt and those of the door lintel – *өрх томгын гэгэ-гэгэр*).

The pronunciation of the word *keke* was forgotten and changed to *gege* (gaps, holes, through which a faint light penetrates), which occurs in the following passage of the SHM:

41) *Ötöküs üges* (SHM §78, 260) – lit. 'words of the old men' (*хөгшидийн үгс*), in a metaphorical meaning 'words having a living soul' (*сүлдэрт үгс*) – very strong words, which are supposed to affect the psychological state of the listener; usually truths uttered by the wisest ancestors, which have been handed down for centuries (*өвгөд дээдэсээс заяасан үг хэллэг*).

42) Cf. Козин (1942, p. 50): Изучая эти «устные письма» в составе «Сокровенного сказания» или параллельных ему записей Рашид-Эддина, мы приходим к заключению, что они принадлежат к специфически-кочевым жанрам монгольского народного творчества, различные элементы которого проникают всю ткань «Сокровенного сказания», как и позднейшей монгольской летописи, унаследовавшей все основные черты этой начальной монгольской хроники. Устные письма эти представляют такое же устное народное творчество, как и включенные в памятник многочисленные пословицы, поговорки, изречения и гномы, лирические народные песни, отрывки исторических песен, былины, фрагменты эпических циклов и т. п. ...

Это-то устно-литературный сверхдиалект *койн* и берется главным творящим элементом в основу письменного монгольского языка, а из письменных форм, при ограниченности и малой сохранности и подвижности их, снова возвращается в устную среду для того, чтобы отсюда снова отлиться в письменные памятники.

Text:

*Sinid büri čegen šira kügün ger-ün erüge dotoya-jin **gege**ger orožu keğeli min-u bilizü gegegen in-ü keğeli-dür min-u šingekü bülege. Tarurun naran sara-jin kili-je šira noyai metü sičabalžan yarqu bülege...* (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 23–24, §21, lines 1–4)

English translation:

Every night, and bright yellow man entered by **the light of the hole at the top or [by that] of the door top of the tent** and rubbed my belly. His light was wont to sink into my belly. When he went out, like a yellow dog he was wont to crawl out by the beams of the sun or moon. (Cleaves 1982, p. 4)

Czech translation:

strešním otvorem (lit., 'through the roof's opening'; Poucha 1955, p.13)

Russian translation:

через дымник юрты (Kozin 1942, p. 81)

French translation:

... entrait par la clarté filtrant par l'ouverture à fumée ou le linteau de la yourte (Even, Pop 1994, p. 43)⁴³

B. The expression *erüke totuy-a-yin gege* means small gaps, holes at the edge of the ceiling opening and above the door, when in the summer months they are not perfectly covered by a blanket.

We may compare further meanings derived from the old and original meaning:

gege(n) / *gegege(n)* 'daylight; morning dawn; light; splendor, brightness; heart, mind (honorific); bright, brilliant, serene'

gegebči 'window'

gege- 'to abandon, give up, leave, reject; to lose'

gegere- / *gegegere-* 'to dawn grow light; to become enlightened or cultured' (Lessing 1960, p. 373–4, s.vv.)

43) In their note on this description of the yurt, Even, Pop (1994, p. 256, note 41) recount the early reports of Plano Carpini and Rubruk.

3.2. WORDS DERIVED FROM THE STEMS *BEKI > KEKE > EKE

3.2.1. ГЭГЭЙ

This word is explained as follows by Vangjil (1987, p. 427):

«gegei» *kemegči keüked-i törün yaryaqu-du urida yarču qayaran usu yarday yayum-a-yi kelen-e. Jarim yajar basa «ikes» gen-e* – ‘The word *gegei* means that when a child is born, the amniotic fluid comes first. In some places there is also the term «ikes» (placenta)’.

Variants of this word can be found in the dialect of the Old Bargas – «*kekei*», and in the dialect of the Naimans – «*keki*» (Čeringsodnam 1993, p. 339, note 175; cf. also above).

3.2.2. ХЭЭЛ

A. Middle Mongolian *kegeli* (in the SHM in Chinese transcription *k'élǐ*), Cl.Mo. *kegeli*, means ‘the belly’ (зэдэс). In metaphorical sense it refers to the womb of the human mother (Kh. *эхийн умай, сав, хүүхэн хэвтэш*; Ceval 1966, p. 754, s.v. *хээл*).

B. Kh. *хээл*, Cl.Mo. *kegel* means literally ‘the belly of an animal’ (зэдэс), in metaphorical sense ‘pregnant female animal’.

C. Kh. *хэвэл / хэвлий*, Cl.Mo. *kebeli* < *kegeli*; literally ‘belly’ (зэдэс); metaphorically it means: a) Mons Veneris, the surrounding of the pubic bone, lower part of the belly (умдаг); b) womb of human mother (*эхийн умай, сав, хүүхэн хэвтэш*).⁴⁴

In old dictionaries (e.g. from 18th cent.) the latter expression is explained as follows:

Ayuuliqai-ača doruysi-yi anu kebeli kememüi. Küisün-ü dooradu-yi bay-a kebeli kememüi – *Ke-beli* is called the region of the front part below the central rib triangle. *Bay-a kebeli* is called the region below the belly button. (QORIN NIGETÜ 1979, p. 344)

Bay-a kebeli basa umaday kememüi. – *Bay-a kebeli* is also called *umaday*⁴⁵ (TABUN KEL-EN-Ü TOLI 1957, I, p. 1295)

44) Cf. Ceval 1966, p. 755, s.v. *хэвэл*: 1. амьтны аюулхайгаас дооихи газар; 2. хүүхэд ориших сав.

45) Cf. also Lessing (1960, p. 874, s.v. *umaday*): scrotum with testicles; lower part of the belly.

In my opinion the metaphorical meaning of the following phrase in the SHM,

§121

keḡeli niḡeten

keke γayčatan

can be rendered into modern Mongolian as follows:

умай нэгтэн, үтрээ ганцтан – ‘having one womb, having the same vagina’

It can be interpreted in the sense:

нэг эхийн саванд хүн болж нэг үүдээр гарсан – ‘having become human in one mother’s vessel (i.e. womb), leaving by one door’

And there is a sentence in §21:

Sünid büri ėegen šira küḡün ger-ün erüḡe dotoya-jin geḡeḡer orožu keḡeli min-u bilizü geḡeḡen in-ü keḡeli-dür min-u šingekü bülege.

I propose the following translation:

Every night a light yellow man would enter through the crevices around the opening in the ceiling (*o’rh*) and by the holes above the lintel and when he was stroking my belly and Mons Veneris, his light would penetrate into my womb.⁴⁶

3.2.3. ГЭЭГЭЭ

Cl.Mo. *gege* is an obsolete word: ‘daughters of noblemen’ (*хаад ноёдын охин*; Ceval 1966, p. 172, s.v. *зээгээ*); Manchu *xexe* ‘woman, wife; princess’.

3.2.4. ИХЭС

Kh. *ихэс*, Cl.Mo. *ikes* ‘caul, amnion, placenta’

Etymology: **kekes* > *ekes* < *eke*+s (plural suffix)

46) Сөнө бүр цэгээн шар хүн, гэрийн өрх тотогын нүхээр орж ирээд хэвэлий умдагий минь илэхэд гэгээ нь саванд минь шингэдэг билээ.

3.2.5. ЭХ

Basic meaning of the word **eke** in Middle Mongolian:

a) mother, mum; b) venerated, respected mother

Figurative meanings:

a) a deity, idol: protector, patron (*ээлтэн, ивээлтэн / ивээгч*); for example: *Eke Onan* ‘Mother Onan’ (SHM §75); *Eke Etügen* ‘Mother Earth’ (SHM § 113)

b) the earth, the world; for example: *Ötögen eke ayui bei* ‘our world is spacious’ (SHM § 255)

We can give another interesting example of the last mentioned meaning (**b**) in SHM § 238: When the Uigur Khan İduq⁴⁷ Qut learnt about the famous name of Chinggis Khan, he did not hesitate for a moment and decided to be his vassal. He sent his envoys to him with this ceremonial speech:

Egülen arilžu

Eke naran üžegsen metü

Mölsün arilžu

Müren usun oluysan metü

Čingis Qaγan-u nere aldar sonosču maši bajasba (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 677, §238, lines 3–5).

Each of the four verses of the poem consists of a subject and a predicate (structure: “subject + predicate”). At the beginning of each line there are the following subjects: *egülen, eke, mölsün, mören*.

The metaphorical meaning of the word **eke** is ‘earth’ (*газар дэлхий*), the metaphorical meaning of the word **mören** is ‘riverbed’ (*голын голдрил, сав*). Therefore these four verses can be translated into Modern Mongolian as follows:

Үүл арилж

Газар, нарыг үзсэн мэт

Мөс хайлж

Голдрил, усыг олсон мэт

Like – after the clouds disappeared –

The Earth saw the Sun,

Like – after ice melted –

The riverbed found water,

I rejoiced very much, when I heard the famous name of Chinggis Khan.

47) In my opinion the Uigur word *İtuq* is etymologically derived from *Etüken/Iduyan*.

In place of the word 'Earth' (*Газар*), the words 'the World' (*Дэлхий*), 'Mother Earth' (*Этүгэн эх*) could have been used.

English translation:

[Even] as having seen Mother Sun,
When the clouds become clear;
[Even] as having found the water of the river,
When the ice becometh clear,
I greatly rejoiced, when I heard the name and the fame of Činggis Qa'an. (Cleaves 1982, p. 172)

Czech translation:

Je to,
jako když mraky se protrhnou,
matku slunce zase je viděti,
jako když ledy se protrhnou,
voda říční zas najde se.
S velkou radostí doslechl jsem se o jménu a slávě Činggis chahanově.⁴⁸ (Poucha 1955, p. 177)

Russian translation:

С великой радостью слышу о славе Чингис-ханова имени! Так
ликуем мы, когда рассеются тучи от себя мать всего – солнце.
Так радуемся мы, когда пройдет лед откроются вновь воды реки. (Kozin 1942, p. 174).

French translation:

Quand j'ai ouï la grande renommée de l'Empereur Cinggis, je me suis fort réjoui,
Comme de voir Mère soleil
Quand se dissipent les nuages,
Comme de découvrir l'eau de la rivière
Lorsque disparaît la glace. (Even, Pop 1994, p. 200)

48) Lit.:

'It is,
Like the clouds breaking up,
Mother sun can again be seen,
Like ice (cover) breaking up,
River's water can again be found.
It was with great pleasure that I heard about the name and fame of Chinggis Qan.'

3.2.6. ЭЭД

Etymology of the word:

*Eke > *ebe > ege > ehe > e'e > ee (Kh. Ээ).

Structure of the word:

ee + d ~ de (plural suffix), i.e. ээд, protectors

MMo. *e'ede* ~ *e'gede* (SHM § 105, 109), in Cl.Mo. *egede*, *eged* (Lu. Altan tobči, p. 26 b: *ege te*, p. 27 b: *ege de*)

Basic meaning: 'protectors, patrons' (ээлтэн, ээлээ өгөгч, ивээгч, ээгч)

Metaphorical meaning: 'protecting deity, deity, (highly respected) saviour, loving protector' (сахуус, шүтээн, хайрхан, богд)

In the modern language the stem of this word occurs in the form of the verb ээ- (*ege*) 'to warm, to bask in the sun'. In old Mongolian it was a noun *e'e* ~ *e'ge* [ē].

In the Chinese original of the SHM, this word is transcribed as *éetié* (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 154, § 105, line 28, line 30; p. 164; § 109, line 3, line 5), and rendered in the Chinese interlinear translation in the sense 'the main/central column of the tent' (*майхны гол тулгуур*; Gaadamba 1976, p. 276, note 370).

The word ээд cannot be found in modern Mongolian languages and dialects or dictionaries, therefore translators of the SHM stick to the Chinese translation. But for C. Damdinsüren, this word was not understood and was translated incorrectly by other translators variously as: the central column of the tent, an important part for the construction of the yurt, the main door, the window, the skeleton of the yurt.

Far more important than the interlinear translation is the Chinese transcription of this word. If we analyse the word ээд thoroughly, we can decipher the forgotten meaning. For example:

a) the word Ee (Ээ) occurs in the phrase designating the creator; according to Dulm-a (1999, p. 191), in the mythology of the Buriads the creator of the world Tenger is called *Ee* – *Qayiraqan* (Ээ – Хайрхан), *Egegen yeke burqan* (Ээн их бурхан).

Ээ in the expression Ээ – Хайрхан is thought to be an interjection, because in modern Mongolian it does not have any other meaning of its own. However, its etymology is different, it was a special word with the meaning

Хайрхан (a deity; lit. 'king of stones'⁴⁹). In modern colloquial Mongolian we can find this word in phrases like *Ээ бурхан минь!* (Oh, my God!), or *Ээ зайлуул!* (Oh, push away /the danger/ from us!) and the like.

Thus in the SHM the word *E'ede* (Ээд) obviously has the meaning *Хайрханууд*.

b) Though in modern Mongolian this interesting word has been forgotten, its stem and meaning is preserved in many related words:

Kh. *эж* (Cl.Mo. *iji*) 'mama (familiar term)' (Lessing 1960, p. 377, s.v. *ezi*)

Kh. *э-* (Cl.Mo. *ege-*) 'to warm, to dry in the sun' (Lessing 1960, p. 296, s.v. *ege-2*.)

Kh. *ээл* (Cl.Mo. *egeli*) 'happiness, ээлтэй 'bringing happiness' (Luvsandendev 1957, p. 684, s.v.)

Kh. *ээг* (Cl.Mo. *egeg*) 'place exposed to the sun, but protected from the wind; covered or sheltered place' (Lessing 1960, p. 297, s.v. *egeg*)

Kh. *эээрэл* 'wish; hope, expectation' (Luvsandendev 1957, p. 666, s.v.)

Kh. *эээ л* (Cl.Mo. *egele, egege le*) = *золтой л* 'fortunately, luckily!'⁵⁰

Kh. *эээ* (Cl.Mo. *eg-e*) – interjection when a person falls or hits some object (Cevell 1966, p. 869, s.v.). This interjection means 'Oh, God!' and until now it is uttered throughout the Khalkha region in these variants: *ээ!*, *ээ-эээ!*, *ээ-ээээ!*, *эээ-ээ!*, *ээ-ээ!*

In the SHM the word *ээ* (ээд) is a general designation of all the deities worshipped by the Merkits at that time, which were displayed in the yurt or were placed outside in the *čingeleg* (large mobile trunk for precious objects, idols and figurines of the *ongon*-s). From historical and ethnographic records we learn that the *ээд* were decorated figurines and idols of the deities worshipped by ancient Mongols, which were manufactured from various materials (silk, felt, wood, bronze etc.). From the records of Western travellers,⁵¹ who visited the Mongols in the 13th century, we learn for example what the Mongols were displaying:

- the protector of the man (*ege, e'e*) was hung on the wall at the north-western side of the yurt
- the protector of the woman was hung on the wall at the north-eastern side of the yurt
- the protector of the whole family was hung on the northern wall

49) Note the meaning given e.g. by Lessing (s.v. *xairaxan*): adj., n., and interj. – merciful, gracious; sacred mountain; a formula introducing or concluding a prayer; also used as an interj. of surprise, astonishment, indignation, etc.

50) Note the different meaning given by Lessing (s.v. *egele*): exactly; just like, almost, barely.

51) **Giovanni da Pian del Carpine**, or **John of Plano Carpini**, *Ystoria Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus* (History of the Mongols whom we call Tartars); **William of Rubruck**, *The Journey of William of Rubruk to the Eastern Parts* (London, 1900); *Дорно этгээдэд зорчсон минь* (Улаанбаатар 1988).

- the protectors of the abundance of livestock (*jayayaāci*) were hung in two forms:
 - that of the husband in the form of the mare's udder at the western junction between the door of the yurt and the latticework half a metre away from the door
 - that of the wife in the form of the cow's udder at the eastern junction between the door of the yurt and the latticework half a metre away from the door
 - the protectors of dead ancestors were deposited outside, in the special mobile trunk

Text in the SHM:

*Tere kökideg Toytaṡa-jin erüge degere in-ü oruṡu*⁵²

Erkin egede inü

Embürü daṡariṡu

Eme kögün inü

Ečültele qaṡuluṡa;

Qutuṡ egede inü

Qaṡuru daṡariṡu

Qotola ulus-i inü

Qoṡosun boltala qaṡuluṡa. (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 154, §105,28; 30)

Comment on some expressions:

- *embürü daṡari-* (Kh. *өмбөр дайра-*); though the word *embürü* / *өмбөр* is lost nowadays, Mongolian native speakers will understand it very easily from

52) The idiom *Erüge[erüke] degere in-ü oru-* (Kh. *өрх дээр нь оро-*), which is, in linguistic terms, a deformation of an idiomatic expression, has the metaphorical meaning *зэв гэнэт дайра-* 'to attack (the enemy) all of a sudden'; *ях ийхийн зуурзгүй дайра-* 'to attack surprisingly'; *хүй хүй шиг дайран оро-* 'to take hold (of the enemy) like a tornado'; S. Kozin's free translation into Russian (*Бурей внезапно грянем*) is relevant, but his literal translation in the commentary (*обрушившись на него прямо через дымовое отверстие*) is mistaken, and the same applies to the Czech translation of P. Poucha (1955, p. 47: '*do otvoru pro dým vlezeme*'; lit. 'we will crawl into the smoke opening), to the English translation of F. Cleaves (1982, p. 43: '*entering [as one might say] upon the hole at the top of his tent*'), to the English translation of Urgunge Onon (1993, p. 30: '*we shall drop through your smoke-hole*') and to the French translation (Even, Pop 1994, p. 77: '*Tombons sur le feutre de l'ouverture à fumée*'). For a native speaker of Mongolian such a translation appears funny. The translators very probably relied on the basic meaning of the verb *oru-* (Kh. *оро-*) 'to enter'. But in its figurative meaning the verb *ору-/оро-* means 'to descend from above' (*бауи-/буу-*). For example the rain 'descends' – *хур оро-/хур буу-*. That is also why the new Mongolian translation of D. Cerensodnom *erüken deger-e ni bauciṡu /өрхөн дээр нь бууж* is correct. It would be better, instead of the literal (slavish) translation into European languages, to translate the idiom *erüge[erüke] degere in-ü oru-* in the sense of *цэлмэг тэнгэрийн аянга бол* 'like a bolt from the blue', or Czech '*jako rána z čistého nebe*' and the like.

the pair word (*hors'oo*) *өмбөрч бөмбөр*- 'to roll'. Then the text passage should be translated as follows: 'let us attack their worshipped idols and make them roll (kick them to pieces) [by the feet of our soldiers]'.⁵³

– *Eme kögün inü ečültele qaγuluj* (Kh. эхнэр хүүхэдий нь эцэслэтэл хуулъя): The pair word (*hors'oo*) *eme kögün* means “women and children”.

Though the old metaphorical meaning of the word *qaγuluj* (хуулъя) has been forgotten, its basis is evident in Kh. *хуу* (colloquial Mo.: all, everything, entire).

Thus the etymology of the word *qaγul*⁵⁴ – /*хуул*– is *хуу*– (stem of an extinct verb) + *л*– (suffix of a repeated action). And the word *хуулъя* was formed according to the pattern Kh. *цүү* > *цуул*– > *цуулъя* ‘to tear into strips, equal strips’, *цоо* > *цоол*– > *цоолъя* ‘to pierce’ and the like. Its meaning in modern Khalkha is very expressive and it means the same as Kh. *хуу хамъя* ‘let us rake up everything’; *хуу авчиръя* ‘let us bring all of them’; *хуу хураан авъя* ‘let us take hold of all of them at one go’. The phrase can thus be understood as follows – ‘Let us make all of their women and children our slaves and servants’ (Тэдний эхнэрүүд ба хүүхэдийг бид хуу өөрийн боол зарц болгоё). It was not a habit to kill or liquidate the women and children of enemies.

My proposed translation:

Тэр хөвсрөг (хөхидөг) Тогтоогийн өрх дээр нь орж

Having hit the bragging Togtoo like a bolt from the blue,
their worshipped idols [obj.]

Эрхим сахиусы нь

having made roll,

Өмбөр дайрч

their women and children [obj.]

Эхнэр хүүхэдий нь

Эцэс болтол хуу хамъя.

let us take over completely

Хутаг сахиусы нь

their protecting idols [obj.]

Хугар дайрч

let us disperse

Хотол улсы нь

his entire land [obj.]

Хоосортол хуу хамъя.

let us take hold of them, down to the very last.

53) ‘Тэдний эрхим шүтээнүүдийг [бидний цэрэгүүдийн хөлөөр] өмбөрч бөмбөртөл (хөлөөр хөглөртөл) дайръя.’

54) In the transcriptions of the SHM in the latin script the words *qaγuluja* (Širatori Kurakiči) and *hawuluja* (Igor de Rachewilcz) come from an old causative form of the verb *a-* (Lessing 1960, p.16, *ayul*): **a-* + *ül*– > *aqül*– / *ayül*– / *ahül*– / *a'ül*– / *ül*– ; *aqül*– > *qül*–. Though the old meaning of the word is already dead, we can follow it in the still existing word *агуулах* “to contain, possess” with the following close meanings: *өөртөө агуулах* “to appropriate”, *өөртөө авах* “to keep, appropriate”, *өөрийн болгох* “to make one’s own”, *эзлэн авах* “to occupy, appropriate”. Besides that there are two more words in which the original meaning is preserved – *уулга* (an army, which captures the enemy by way of robbery, a predatory army), and the verb *уулгала-* (to attack all of a sudden, unexpectedly).

English translation :

Of that Toyto'a which trembleth,
 Entering [as one might say] upon the hole at the top of his tent
 Smiting his weighty tent frame
 In such and way that it shall fall down flat,
 We shall destroy
 Until his wives and sons be extinguished.
 Smiting his door frame, which [for him] is and god which bringeth happiness,
 In such and way that it shall break to pieces,
 We shall wholly destroy his people,
 Until there be [only] emptiness [there]. (Cleaves 1982, p. 43)

Czech translation:

U toho bázlivého Tochtoy
 do otvoru pro dým vlezeme,
hlavní sloup jeho stanu
 porazíme, až upadne,
 ženy a děti jeho
 zcela vyhubíme!
 Svatý jeho hlavní sloup
 přelomíme,
 veškerý jeho lid mu
 vezmeme a bude tam prázdno!⁵⁵ (Poucha 1955, p. 47–48)

Russian translation:

На Тохтоа, на зачинщика, труса,
 Бурей внезапно грянем.
 В прах обратим и высоких и знатных,
 Жен и детей полоним.
 Мы их святыни растопчем ногами,
 Целым народам в полон уведем. (Kozin 1942, p. 100)

У того беспечного Тогтогоя, обрушившись на него прямо через дымовое отверстие, на самое почетное у него налетим и в прах сокрушим. Женщин и детей в полон всех заберем; самое святое у него ногами потопчем, весь народ до конца истребим. (literal translation; Kozin 1942, p. 101)

French translation:

Tombons sur le feutre de l'ouverture à fumée
 De ce tremblant de Fixe,
 Écrasons, fracassé, son linteau vénéré,
 Détruisons femmes et fils
 Jusqu'au dernier d'entre eux !
 Écrasons, brisé en deux, son seuil sacré,

55) Poucha translates *эгедэ* as 'hlavní sloup' = 'the main column'.

Détruisons son peuple tout entier
Jusqu'à ce qu'il n'en reste plus ! (Even, Pop 1994, p. 77)⁵⁶

3.2.7. ЭЭНЭГЧ ХОЙМОР (WARMING HOIMOR; OFFERING MOTHERLY WARMTH)

In Middle Mongolian this expression existed. In the Chinese transcription of the SHM the word Ээнэгч was transcribed as *ééniēk'(è)chě* (in Shiratori's Latin transliteration it is *ēgenegče*, Rachewiltz spells the word as *e'enegce*). The interlinear Chinese translation interprets its meaning as 'main, important' (гол/чухал). Thus the phrase could be understood to mean roughly (though not exactly) "important *hoimor*" (гол/чухал хоймор).

Etymology of the word:

e'ē (*e'ge*) 'favour, protection' + *-ne* (verb forming suffix) + *-gčē/gčī* (suffix of verbal noun)

Meaning of the word: benefit, help, protection, one providing warm support and protection (ээлт, ивээгч, ээл ивээлийг өгөгч).

Phrase: *ēgenegče qoimar* 'warming (up) *hoimor*' (ээнэгч хоймор).

Meaning of the phrase:

The *hoimor* is the residence of the protectors providing benefit and help (idols of ongons and deities). In Cl.Mo. the verb stem *egene-* (to warm /u/, Kh. ээнэ-) was not used any more, but its original meaning can be reconstructed from words of which it formed the basis, like ээнэг (ability to become accustomed, to be adaptable),⁵⁷ ээнэгши- (to get adapted well, become accustomed), which are in active use to this day.

Text from SHM:

Bidan-u uruy an-dur oduyasu alajun-a baižu ēgenegče qoimar qaraqū ažuju. An-u uruy bidan-dur iregesü qoimar-a sayužu alajun-a qaran ažuju (Sumiyabaatar 1990, p. 348, §165, lines 5–8).

56) In a note, Even and Pop (1994, p. 268, note 7) discuss the term *eged* and put a question-mark against the meaning 'mothers' (eked, "mères"?). They quote the Chinese gloss, according to which it means "charpente, de cadre" (= frame, framework), and therefore they translate as 'linteau' (= lintel) and 'seuil' (= doorstep), two important parts of the door of the yurt.

57) Монгол хэлний хэл зүйн толь бичиг, II. Хөххот 2006, p. 1308.

I propose the following translation:

When our daughter comes to them, she will be allowed to stay at the door (like a maid) and only see the warming (up) *hoimor*. When their daughter comes to us, she will be allowed to sit at the *hoimor* (like a noble woman) and look at the door.⁵⁸

Etymological Comment:

alayun ~ *ala'un* (алуун) < *ala* (crotch; алцаа, салтаа) + *-yun /'un* (noun forming suffix)

Meaning of the word: The meaning of this word is 'a place, sector, reminiscent of the space of the crotch', it refers to the section of the yurt between the door and the hearth up to the main columns. This space looks like the space between the legs of a reclining body or of lying trousers.⁵⁹ Metaphorically it refers to an unclean place, a space determined for the servants and persons of a low social standard to sit. On the other hand the word *хоймор* (*qoimar* / *qoyimar*) refers to a clean, holy place (opposite the door, northern sector of the yurt) in the space where the walls and the roof poles meet, reserved for the worshipped idols providing protection and motherly warmth, a place reserved for the master of the yurt and for important guests.

The meaning of the word *алуун* has been completely forgotten in modern Mongolian. However, it may be revealed through the etymologically related word *алхуун* (< *алха*- to walk) + *-уун* (noun forming suffix) → space of walking (entering) (*алхах орон зай*).

Basic meaning of the word *алхуун*: 'a place, where one walks' (*алхах*),⁶⁰ 'a place, onto which one steps'.

Metaphorical meaning: a place soiled by feet, unclean place; place for servants and persons of low social status (pubic region). Thus the allegorical meaning of the above text is: 'Should our girl become their bride, she would be hated (despised) like a maid, should their daughter become our bride, she would be revered as the lady of the house.'⁶¹

58) Манай охин, тэднийд очвол алхуунд байж ээлт хойморыг харах болно. Тэдний охин, манайд ирвэл хоймор сууж алхууныг харах болно.

59) Cf. the explanation of the meaning of the word АЛ II by Ceval (1966, p. 28): 1. хүний салтаа; 2. өмдний салтаа; 3. (coll.) хүний бэлэг эрхтэн.

60) Cf. Īeringsodnam (1993, p. 383, note 278): Үүдний ар юумуу алхаж орох газарыг өгүүлсэн байж болох юм.

61) Манай охин тэдний бэр болбол зарц шиг ад үзэгдэнэ, тэдний охин манай бэр болбол эзэн шиг хүндлэгдэнэ.

In the SHM the word also occurs in the following text (§214): *tende saju kegegedežü höreneži iseri-jin alayun-a üzügür-e sajužu бүкүү-дүр* – “He was told: ‘sit there’ and when he sat on the floor, where people walked, in front of the lower edge of the bed at the western side” ... (Тэнд суу гэгдэж, баруун орны алхууны үзүүрт (орны хөлд) сууж байхад). Context: the enemy from the Tatar tribe Hargil-Šar entered the yurt of Chinggis Khan’s Mother and said he was hungry. She ordered him to sit in the ‘respectless’ area just by the margin of the bed at the western side of the yurt near the door.

English translation:

If a kinswoman of us went unto them, she would stand at the door and would only look upon the back [of the tent]. If a kinswoman of them came unto us, she would sit at the back [of the tent] and look upon the door, ... (Cleaves 1982, p. 89)

Cleaves comments:

By this Senggüm means that, if his younger sister Ča’ur Beki were to marry Jočí, she would be treated as a servant who sits just inside the door facing the place of honor at the back of the tent, but that, if Qojin Beki were to marry his son Tusaqa, she would be treated as a lady who sits in the place of honor at the back of the tent facing the door. (Cleaves 1982, p. 89–90, note 52)

Czech translation:

Přijde-li některá z našeho rodu k nim, stojí u dveří a dívá se upřeně na hlavní stranu. Když však některá z jejich rodu od nich přijde k nám, sedí na hlavní straně a dívá se k dveřím. (Poucha 1955, pp. 91–92)⁶²

Russian translation:

Ведь нашей-то родне придется, пожалуй, сидет у вас около порога, да только невзначай поглядывать в передний угол. А ваша родня должна у нас сидеть в переднем углу да глядеть в сторону порога. (Козин 1942, p. 127)

French translation:

Si une personne de notre lignée allait chez eux, elle devrait se tenir debout à l’entrée de la tente, les yeux tournés vers la place d’honneur. Si une personne de leur lignée venait chez nous, elle serait assise à la place d’honneur, les yeux tournés vers l’entrée ! (Even, Pop 1994, p. 120)⁶³

62) Poucha’s rendering generally agrees with the English or Russian translations.

63) In a note (p. 281, note 61) Even and Pop explain the situation in the yurt with regard to the north-south axis and the ‘honorable’ northern section as against the southern part around the door.

Special comment

In the Chinese transcription of the SHM the Middle Mongolian long vowels were doubled, so the words *é é tié* (ээдэ /ээд), *é é niē k'(è) ch'è* (ээнэгчи /ээнэгч) are very difficult to understand. Therefore some scholars have tried to reconstruct the spelling of these words in the original Uigur-Mongolian text of the SHM. For example, they reconstruct the former word as *ekede/eked*, *egüde* and from that they derive their various interpretations. The latter word is reconstructed as *egenegče*, and because it is unintelligible, it is assumed to be the word *egenegte* (Kh. эгнэгт⁶⁴) 'already; completely; always, forever, eternally'. Some interpretations go even further and reconstruct the classical spelling from the modern Cyrillic version as *egnegte* (Kh. эгнэгт; cf. Gadamba 1990, p. 90, line 1798).

The SHM words *erkin egede*, *egenegče qoimar* were transliterated by Lubsangdanjin (17th cent.) as *erkin ege de*, *egegte qoyimar* (Lu.Altan tobci 1990, pp. 27, 58), because he read them as [эрхин ээд, ээгт хоймар]. It is possible to read these words in this way even today.

3.2.8. БЭХ (< BEKI)

In the SHM this word occurred after a personal name. In the Chinese interlinear translation the word is in one instance considered to be a name of a man (§49), while in other cases it is explained as a nobility title (§216). This word is derived from the Turkic word *beg* 'ruler, leader, prince, gentleman' ('правитель, вождь, князь, господин'; Nadeljajev et alia, 1969, p. 91).

Proto-Mongolian **beki* ~ **keki* ~ *eki~eke* (эхэн, эх) meant 'beginning, mother', and also 'head' (Poppe 1999, p. 8). In Yakut there is the word *бехи*, which means "tall, older" (Čerinsodnam 1993, p. 291, note 43). For ancient society, this Proto-Mongolian word **pekin* > **bekin* was culturally important like the word *etüken*. The Turkic word *beg* could therefore be derived precisely from this word.

Thus in Middle Mongolian (SHM) the word *beki* does not mean any noble title, but with a male personal name it means 'prince', and with a female personal name it means 'princess'. These words have probably preserved one of the original meanings of the word **peki/beki* – 'the most respected and important woman, godly mother' (эрхэм дээд эмэгтэй, тэнгэрлэг эмэгтэй).

64) Kh. эгнэгт is spelled in Cl.Mo. as *engnegte*. Some 'reconstructions', however, propose implausible forms like *egenegte*, *egnegte*.

From twelve instances of personal names in the SHM, the epithet *beki* (бэх) occurred five times with names of women. For example:

Sača beki, §122,130 (prince Sača); *Toytōa beki*, §109, 157, 177 (prince Togtoo)
Alaqa beki, §239 (princess Alaqa); *Ča'ur beki*, §165 (princess Chaur); *Qojin beki*, §165 (princess Qojin); *Ibaya beki*, §186, 208 (princess Ibaga); *Sorqaytani beki*, §186 (princess Sorqagtani)

3.2.8.1. BEKI MÖR

In the SHM (§216) there is a story of an old man called *Üsün* who talked respectfully to Chinggis Khan about what he had seen with his own eyes, what he had heard and what he himself had found out, and gave him advice. Chinggis Khan greatly appreciated this and said: "In Mongolian noble tradition there is the right to install somebody as a *Beki* (to make him an adviser)." And he installed *Üsün* as a *Beki*, clad him in a white robe (*deel*), gave him the right to ride a white horse and the right to sit in a respectable place, and ordered that he should be revered.

The early meaning of the word *Beki* was a) 'head', b) 'beginning, origin', c) 'mother, mummy'. The basic meaning of the word *Mör* was 'way, path (also metaphorically), trace, trail', its metaphorical meaning was 'guidance, instruction, investigation, interrogation'. The old phrase *Mör beki* (mother showing the way > guide on the way, guide) was probably established at the time of nomadic feudalism as a fixed phrase, while the term *Beki mör / Mör beki* was used for the 'teacher showing the way; a teacher, adviser (of the Khan)'. On the order of the Khan this old man was raised very high and it is particularly mentioned that he should be presented offerings, so it is in no way a noble title, but represents induction into the role of state teacher or high adviser. Though some translators have not translated this term, they have at least added a commentary, e.g. "He became the court astrologer." (Stal se dvorním astrologem; Poucha 1955, p. 249, note 63).

SHM text:

beki Usun ebügen boltuyai (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 616, §216, line 7–8).

My proposed translation:

Let the old man *Üsün* become the State Teacher – *Beki*!⁶⁵

English translation:

Old Man *Üsün* become a *beki* (Cleaves 1982, p. 158)

65) Үсүн өвгөн Улсын Бэхи багштан болтугай!

Czech translation:

Starý necht' se stane bekim! (Poucha 1955, p. 163; lit.: 'Let the old one become beki!')

Russian translation:

Пусть же примет сан беки – старец Усун (Козин 1942, p. 166)

French translation:

Que Üsün-le-Vieux soit Bey. (Even, Pop 1994, p. 186)

4. Hyrar (Homeland)

The nomadic Mongols consider their homeland to be a 'deity'. For them it represents parents, children, brothers and sisters, friends and their loves. In oral folk works, in all its genres, particularly in the 'long and short songs', **нутаг**⁶⁶ is the main topic. There is a pair word *эх нутаг*, which subconsciously evokes a connection to the old expression *эх этүгэн*.

Etymology of the word:

In order to determine the etymology of Kh. *нутаг*, Cl.Mo. *nutuy*, it is necessary to deal with two groups of words used in Mongolian shamanism. Both of these groups of words originate from the prehistoric word *etiiken*.

a) One group of words refers to the inhabitants of the skies – *tengeri-s* – written in many ways: *Натигай*⁶⁷ – *насигай-нэтигэй-нэтүгэй-нэтүгэн-этүгэн* and the like (Гадамба 1990, pp. 394–395, note 646)

b) Another group of words refers to 'female shaman; midwife'⁶⁸ and appears frequently in shamanistic texts: **niduyan-niduyan* – **iduyan-iduyan-udayan-uduyan*

66) For more about how Mongols understand the expression *нутаг* from the point of view of the ethnography of communication, see the paper by Alena Oberfalzerová 2008, pp. 9–43.

67) The main deity of the Mongols was called *Natigai* (according to Marko Polo), *Načiyai eke* (Bodhicaryāvatara-yin tayilburi, by Čos-kyi-odser, in 1312), *Itoya* (Plano Carpini) and the like. In the 19th century this term was commented upon by Dorji Banzarov, and according to him this is a garbled form of the word Etügen, the deity of Earth: "Itoya is nothing else but Itugen, Etugen or Etuge – the Goddess of the Earth of the Mongols, ... Natiyai can be a garbled Itoya." Cf. Dorji Banzarov (1955, pp. 65–66): "Итого есть не что иное, как Итутэн, Этүгэн или Этүгэ – богиня земли у монголов. ... Natiyai может быть испорченный Itoya."

The invocation of the deity Načigaj ("Načigajin duudlaga / Invocation de Načigaj") occurs with North Mongolian shamans in the form of a poem of 50 stanzas, which was transcribed, translated into French and commented upon by Marie Even (1988–1989, pp. 232–235).

68) Cf. *uduyan* 1. (Lessing 1960, p. 861).

From the semantic relation of both these groups of words we can conclude that the word *hymaz* was an expression both for the 'land', and for the worshipped deity.

Formerly there was a phrase *Nituyan eke*, *Nutuyun eke*, from which the word *nutuy* arose later.

5. Conclusion

Is it not problematic and risky to connect the most respectful and most important words in the culture and history of Mongolian-speaking ethnic groups with symbols of the sex organs? How can this be reconciled with the fact that this real connection has been shown more and more clearly in the course of my research? After reading the text, some may think that it is a matter of Freudianism, but what exactly is Freudianism? In the words of a simplifying dictionary presentation,

"Freudianism – a teaching of the Austrian psychiatrist and psychologist S. Freud (1856–1939), linking phenomena relating to the culture, social life and behaviour of people to the way in which the primary, unconscious vital inclinations (especially sexual) manifest themselves, belittling the importance of reasonable activity and ignoring the decisive role of the social conditions of the life of the people."⁶⁹

This quotation is along the lines of communist propaganda, of course.

But Sigmund Freud is very clear about the fact that it is impossible to neglect sexual associations, which created the treasures of the spiritual culture of humanity, when he says (e.g. Freud 1974, p. 47):

... these same sexual impulses also make contributions that must not be underestimated to the highest cultural, artistic and social creations of the human spirit.

To support this view, Sigmund Freud (1974, p. 201–202) referred to the work of the linguist Hans Sperber (1912) who maintained that *sexuality* or sexual activity is the most logical – perhaps the main – source of *language*. Freud (ibid.) underlines that according to Sperber,

...sexual needs have played the biggest part in the origin and development of speech. According to him, the original sounds of speech served for communication and summoned the speaker's sexual partner; the further development of linguistic roots accompanied the working activities

69) Фрейдизм – учение австрийского психиатра и психолога З. Фрейда (1856 – 1939), сводившее явления культуры, социальную жизнь, поведение людей к формам проявления первичных, бессознательных жизненных влечений (особенно половых), умаляющее значение разумной деятельности и игнорирующее решающую роль социальных условий жизни людей. (Словарь иностранных слов, 1988, p. 541).

of primal man. ... In this way a sexual interest became attached to work. Primal man made work acceptable, as it were, by treating it as an equivalent and substitute for sexual activity. The words enunciated during work in common thus had two meanings; they denoted sexual acts as well as the working activity equated with them. As time went on, the words became detached from the sexual meaning and fixed to the work. In later generations the same thing happened with new words, which had a sexual meaning and were applied to new forms of work. In this way a number of verbal roots would have been formed, all of which were of sexual origin and had subsequently lost their sexual meaning.

The cultural expressions discussed in this paper appear to be specific examples supporting this view. And so they obviously cannot be considered problematic or risky. I have discussed the theme of expressions used in connection with the nature-related-cults of the native place of Mongolian-speaking nomadic ethnic groups, and I would like to mention a few more similar expressions. In nomadic culture the phrase нутаг хангай (nature) is rather important. What is important within нутаг хангай, are the mountains and mountain crests (уул нуруу). That is why three such great mountains became very significant in the culture and history of the Mongols and it is possible to call them ээж (эх этүгэн) уул – Mountain Mothers:

Алтай, Алтай Хан (King Altai), Арван гурван Алтай (Thirteen Tops of Altai). The original base of the words has been preserved until today: CLMo. *ala* > Kh. *ал* 'joint of the thighs, groin, crotch; pubic region; genitals'⁷⁰ (Lessing 1960, p. 26, s.v. *ala/nl* 2.). The metaphorical meaning of this word шүтээн ээж 'godly mother' disappeared long ago, but it occurs, e.g., in the name of the ancestress of the Mongols in the SHM: *Alan Eke* (§76), *Alan Го̋яа** (§ 8, 10, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23). Furthermore, there are words derived from the same root (with the same etymology):

а) Kh.: *алцаа* 'crotch of legs, scissors'; *алцай-* 'for the legs to be spread apart'; *алха-* 'to step, walk'; *алавхий-* 'to jump onto a horse'; *алдар* 'fame, renown, reputation, popularity'; *алам* 'hole, crevice, or crack in the earth'; *ала-* 'to kill, murder; to butcher'

б)⁷¹ Kh. *хала-* 'to be[come] or feel warm or hot'; MMo. *qala'un/qalayun* 'genital organ of the mother, mother's womb';⁷² Kh. *халда-* 'to touch; to approach, come near; to attack, encroach, to

70) In Khalkha dialects the word *ал* mostly refers to the female genital organ. Dictionaries sometimes do not distinguish the male and female vulva and the word *ал* is used for both sexes.

71) This group of words is an example of the changes affecting initial voiceless labials in Altaic, viz initial voiceless labials changing to velars and ultimately disappearing in Mongolian, e.g. in Proto-Mongolian there was the consonant **p* > *q/k* (Tömörtogoo 1992, p. 153–154). This is also why the proto-form of the word *ал* must have been *qala* ~ *bala*. Until today in the speech of Khalkha women there is an exclamation [*уулгамчлах* to utter or shout vulgar words involuntarily; to imitate others' words or acts involuntarily (affected by jumping disease)] (Lessing 1960, p. 890): *халдага балдага*, a pair word, which means 'penis' and women utter it in a situation of a sudden fright. However, they do not know its original meaning any more. However, the question of the development of the initial labials and velars is more complex and some scholars may be of a different opinion (cf. e.g. Starostin et alia, 2003, pp. 25ff. and s.vv.). This is a question certainly deserving a further study.

72) This word in the Chinese interlinear translation of the SHM §78 and §260 is explained in this way by Gadamba (1990, p. 271, note 264).

invade, intrude, violate, abuse'; ММо. Qaldun, Qaldun-burqan, Burqan-qaldun (name of a sacred mountain, SHM § 103); Kh. *халдага* 'penis'

Хангай, Хангай Хан (King Hangai), Хорин дөрвөн Хангай (Twenty Four Hangai Hill-tops). The etymological basis is the root Cl.Мо. *qan-*, Kh. *хана-* 'to content oneself, be content, satisfied; to be satiated, be full'; 'to satisfy, fulfil; to provide, supply with'.

Causative form of this verb: *qangua-* / *ханга-* 'to satisfy, fulfil; to provide, supply with'.

In folk speech these two words, *хана-* and *ханга-*, are used of sexual activity (metaphorically *дэр нэгтгэх*, lit. 'to unify the pillow') as expressions for having an orgasm. Speaking about this activity openly is rude (taboo), therefore we find a hidden base in the dictionary: *ханах* – 'to obtain the wish fully, to fulfil the craving, to possess; to satisfy the mind, to satisfy a wish' (Cev-el 1966, p. 657, s.v.). Both B. Vladimircov and B. Rinčen agree in explaining the meaning of the name of the Хангай Mountains as 'satisfier of all wishes; the one who satisfies all wishes'.

Words derived from the same root: Khalkha: *ханал* 'satisfaction, contentment, satiety'; *хан*⁷³ 'khan, king, chief'; *хандгай* 'elk'; *ханхай* 'large, spacious; empty'; *ханхай-* 'to spread out, expand, to be empty or unoccupied'; *хань* 'friend; companion, partner; husband, wife'; *ханал* 'greed, covetousness, strong desire, passion'.

Хөгнө Хан is an old name of one of the twenty-four worshipped Hangai hill ranges. There is a popular explanation of its etymology: the Oirat King Galdan Bošugtu⁷⁴ invaded the local monastery with his army and linked all the Lamas there by a rope around their necks into a long row (*хөгнө-*) and killed them. That is reportedly why the mountain started to be called *Хөгнө Хан* (cf. *хөгнө* – rope with ends attached to a stake driven into the ground to which lambs and kids are tied; rope to tie the neck of a sheep during milking; *хөгнөд хөгнө-* – to tie a lamb).

In my opinion the etymology of the word *хөгнө* goes back to Old Mongolian *kökün*, Kh. *хөх(өн)* 'female breast, nipples; udder'. The first word was probably linked with the image of a mountain as the breast of the mother, providing pure milk.

Хинган / Хянган, Хянган даваа (Hyangan Pass). The etymology of the word goes back to Proto-Mongolian **kekin*, where the initial consonant *k-* is dropped according to the model: **kekin qan* > *hekin qan* > *ekin qan* > *kin qan* > *kingyan*. The ancient metaphorical meaning of the word was "Mother Queen (Mountain)" *ээж хан уул*. On the etymology of the word and explanation of its meaning cf. above Sections 3.1, 3.2.

It must be added that the morpheme *ган* of word *Хинган* originates from Proto-Mongolian verb *qan-* (cf. the etymology of the word *Хангай*), and there must have been a noun *qan* with the same meaning. The word *хан (qan)* occurs in a great number of mountain names in the regions in which Mongolian

73) Some would believe that the word *Хан* 'khan, king, chief' is of Chinese origin. But this word occurs in such a great number of geographical names and also in the names of *ongon*-s and protectors, that it points to the time of matriarchy (cf. *Galayiqan eke, Qan yajar usun, Buryutu qan, Ee qayiraqan*; Dulm-a 1999, pp. 56, 76, 191).

74) Galdan Bošugtu – Oirat King in 17th century, who according to the strategy of the Fifth Tibetan Dalai Lama invaded Eastern Mongolia in order to destroy the red sect of Mongolian lamaism.

ethnic groups historically have resided, and where it is invariably added either before or after the name.

To finish this essay we may underline the following. The etymologies and the meanings of the Mongolian mountain names have been attracting the attention of scholars who often mention them in their works. These comments are of three different types. One includes works dealing with folk legends about the origin of the mountains. For example, there is the one we have mentioned above on *Хөхнө Хан*. Another approach focuses on the names, which were borrowed from other languages, e.g. the name of the *Altai* mountains, which is derived from the Persian word *alta* 'gold'. There are also works which apply the linguistic approach to the etymologies of the names and their meanings. For example, the name of the *Hangai* mountains is derived from the verb *qangya*- 'to satisfy, to provide'.

Such approaches are not incorrect, but they appear to be relatively superficial. If we are supposed to study the origin of the local names on territories inhabited by nomads, it is necessary to study the specific manner of thought of the ancient people. This concerns particularly the deification of the mountains in which they were living. If we think about the reason for this, it is because the mountainous landscape is the basis, the milieu, within which the nomadic civilisation could originate and develop. We hope that this idea may become a point of departure for a deeper study, which can bring correct and significant results in the study of the etymologies and meanings of the local names generated by nomads.

References

- AKADEMICÝ SLOVNÍK CIZÍCH SLOV (Academic Dictionary of Borrowings). ACADEMIA, PRAHA 2001.
- CLEAVES, F.W., 1982, *The Secret History of the Mongols*. For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with an Exegetical Commentary. Volume I (translation), Published for the Harvard – Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England, 277 pp.
- ČERINGSODNAM, D., 1993, *Mongyol-un Niyuča Tobčiyān-u orčiyul-y-a tayilburi*. Ündüsüten-ü Keblel-ün Qoriy-a, Begejing, 545 pp.
- DAMDINSÜRÜNG, Če., 1959, *Mongyol-un uran jokiyal-un degeji JAFUN BILIG orusibai*. Corpus scriptiorum Mongolorum Instituti Linguae et Litterarum Comiteti Scientiarum et Educationis Altae Reipublicae Populi Mongoli, Tomus XIV, Ulaanbayatur qota, 599 pp.
- DULM-A, S., 1999, *Mongyol domoy jüi-yin düri*. Bükü ulus-un dededü surayuli-yin lablaqu material. Öbür Mongyol-un Soyol-un Keblel-ün Qoriy-a, Öbür Mongyol, 295 pp.
- EVEN, M.-D., 1988–1989, *Chants de chamanes mongols*. In: *Etudes mongoles et sibériennes*. Cahier 19–20, 1988–1989. Paris, 429 pp.

- EVEN, M.-D., POP, R., 1994, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*. Gallimard, UNESCO, Paris, 350 pp.
- FREUD, S., 1974, *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*. Transl. by J. Strachey. Ed. by J. Strachey and A. Richards. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England (first published 1962).
- ГАДАМБА, Ш., 1990, *Mongyol-un Niyuča Tobčiyān*. Ulus-un Keblel-ün Ğajar, Ulayan-bayatur, 421 pp.
- HAENISCH, E., 1948(2), *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 196 pp.
- HANGIN, Gombojab et alia, 1986, *A Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University.
- LESSING F.D., 1960, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1217 pp.
- LU. ALTAN TOBČI. *Altan tobči* – “The Golden Summary which relates briefly the deeds of civil governing established by ancient emperors” (The Mongol chronicle of the 17th century). Ulus-un keblel, Ulayanbayatur 1990, 177 pp.
- LUBSANGDORJI, J., 2006, The Secret History of the Mongols in the mirror of metaphors. In: *Mongolica Pragensia* '06, *Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha, pp. 141–161.
- LUBSANGDORJI, J., 2007, The Secret History of the Mongols in the mirror of metaphors (2). In: *Mongolica Pragensia* '07 sive *Folia linguarum Orientis selecta (FLOS)*. *Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics and Culture*. Volume 1. Charles University in Prague, pp. 55–85.
- LUBSANGDORJI, J., 2008, Diacritic marks in the Mongolian script and the ‘darkness of confusion of letters’. In: *MONGOLO-TIBETICA PRAGENSIA* '08, 1/1, pp. 45–98.
- LUVSANDORŽ, Dž., VACEK, J., 1990, *Otázky a odpovědi. Texty pro rozvíjení dialogu v mongolštině* (Questions and Answers. Texts to Develop Dialogue in Mongolian). SPN, Praha, 247 pp.
- LUBSANGDORJI, J., VACEK, J., 1997, *Čilayun-u bičig, A Mongolian Prophetic Text*. Edited, translated and commented upon by J. Lubsangdorji and J. Vacek. *Studia Orientalia Pragensia* XX. Charles University, Prague 1997, 87 pp.
- NORJIN, C., 1999, *Mongyol kelen-ü toli*. Öbür Mongyol-un Arad-un Keblel-ün Qoriy-a, Čiyulultu qayaly-a qota, 3142 pp.
- OBERFALZEROVÁ, A., 2008, Fear and contentment as experienced by the Mongolian nomads. Nutag. In: *MONGOLO-TIBETICA PRAGENSIA* '08, 1/1, pp. 9–43.
- POPPE, N., 1957, *The Mongolian Monuments in HP'AGS-PA SCRIPT*. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
- POPPE, N., 1999, *Ancient Mongolian*. In: *ЭРТНИЙ МОНГОЛ ХЭЛНИЙ СУДЛАЛ*, Монголын судлалын сонгомол өгүүлэлийн эрхи – I хэлмэли, II дэвтэр (Study of the Ancient Mongolian), Selected materials for Mongol Studies, Series I: Mongolian language and scripts, Volume 2), Монгол Улсын Их Сургууль, Монгол Судлалын Сургууль, Улаанбаатар, 126 pp.
- POUCHA, P., 1955, *Tajná Kronika Mongolů* (Secret History of the Mongols). Státní nakladatelství, Praha, 279 pp.
- QORIN NIGETÜ TAYILBURI TOLI. Öbür mongyol-un mongyol kele udq-a jokiyal teüke sudul-qu yajar emkilebe, Kökeqota 1979, 853 pp.
- RACHEWILTZ, I.-D., 1972, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*. Indiana University, Bloomington, 347 pp.
- STAROSTIN, S., DYBO, A., MUDRAK, O., 2003, *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 8/1–3. Brill, Leiden, Boston.
- SUMYABAATAR, B., 1990, *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Transcription. Улсын Хэвлэлийн Газар, Ulaanbaatar, 965 pp.
- TABUN KELEN-Ü TOLI. Tabun jüil-ün üsüg-iyer qabsuraysan manju ügen-ü toli bičig. T. I, II, III. Ündüsüten-ü Keblel-ün Qoriy-a, Begejin 1957, 4673 + 71 pp.

- URGUNGЕ, ONON, 1993, *CHINGGIS KHAN. The Golden History of the Mongols*. The Folio Society, London, 188 pp.
- VANGJIL, B., 1987, *Köke tülkigür. Erten-ü üges-ün tayilburi toil*. Öbür Mongyol-un Suryan Kümüjil-ün Keblel-ün Qoriy-a, Kökeqota, 696 pp.
- ZIKMUNODVÁ, V., 2008, Walking on the edges of swords: Notes on analogies in shaman rituals of the Khorchin Mongols and the Jungarian Sibes. In: *MONGOLO-TIBETICA PRAGENSIA* '08, 1/2, pp.149–188.

- БАМРС. Большой Академический Монгольско-русский словарь в четырех томах. Академия, Москва 2001.
- BANZAROV, Dorži, 1955, *СОБРАНИЕ СОЧИНЕНИЙ*. Подготовка к печати и примечания Г.Н. Румянцева. Издательство Академии Наук СССР, Москва, 348 pp.
- Владимирцов, Б.Я., 1989, *Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхаского наречия*. Издание 2-е. НАУКА, Москва, 437 pp.
- Владимирцов, Б.Я., 2005, По поводу древнетюркского *Ötüken yış*. In: *РАБОТЫ ПО МОНГОЛЬСКОМУ ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЮ*. “Восточная литература” РАН, Москва, р. 841–844.
- Гадамба, Ш., 1976, *Нууц товчооны нууцсаас*. Ардын Боловсролын Яамны хэвлэл, Улаанбаатар, 171 pp.
- Гадамба, Ш., Цэрэнсодном, Д., 1978, *Монгол ардын аман зохиолын дээж бичиг*. БНМАУ-ын Шинжлэх Ухааны Академийн Хэл Зохиолын Хүрээлэн, Улаанбаатар, 303 pp.
- Гантогтох, Г., 2007, *Монгол зан үйлийн аман яруу найргийн уламжлал*. “АДМОН” компанид эхийг бэлтгэж хэвлэв, Улаанбаатар, 243 pp.
- Гумилёв, Л., 1988, Этносы в ландшафтах (Ethnic groups in landscapes), *С. i P, Znanije*, №10, pp. 1–70.
- Жанчив, Ё., 2002, *Дөрвөлжин үсгийн монгол дурсгал* (эх, галиг, хөрвүүлэг, үгсийн хэлхээ, номзүй) (The Mongolian monuments in Hraags-ra script. Texts, transliterations, glossary and bibliography). Монгол Улсын Их Сургууль, Монгол Судлалын Төв, Улаанбаатар, 195 pp.
- Козин, С.А., 1941, *Сокровенное Сказание Монголов*. Введение в изучение памятника, перевод, тексты, глоссарии. Академия Наук СССР, Институт Востоковедения, М.-Л., 619 pp.
- Лувсандэндэв, А., 1957, *Монгол орос толь*. Государственное издательство Иностраных и национальных словарей, Москва, 715 pp.
- МОНГОЛ ХЭЛНИЙ ХЭЛЗҮЙН ТОЛЬ БИЧИГ*, I, II. Монгол Улсын Их Сургууль, Монгол Судлалын Төв, Хөххот 2006.
- Наделяев, В.М. и др. 1969, *Древнетюркский словарь*. Академия Наук СССР. Институт Языкознания, Ленинград, 676 pp.
- Нямбуу, Х., 1992, *Хүндлэхийн дээд Хөх Монголын төрийн ёсон*. Өндөрхаан, 155 pp.
- СЛОВАРЬ ИНОСТРАННЫХ СЛОВ* (Dictionary of loanwords). Издательство Русский язык, Москва 1988, 606 pp.
- Төмөртоого, Д., 1992, *Монгол хэлний түүхэн хэлзүйн үндэс 1*. Монгол хэлний түүхэн авиа зүй. Улаанбаатар, 219 pp.
- Цэвэл, Я., 1966, *Монгол хэлний товч тайлбар толь*. БНМАУ-ын Шинжлэх Ухааны Академийн Хэл Зохиолын Хүрээлэн, Улаанбаатар, 911 pp.
- Цэрэнсодном, Д., 1989, *Монгол ардын домог үлгэр*. БНМАУ-ын Шинжлэх Ухааны Академийн Хэл Зохиолын Хүрээлэн, Улаанбаатар, 239 pp.

Abbreviations

AMo. – Ancient Mongolian

Bur. – Buriat (буриад)

Cl.Mo. – Classical Mongolian

Kalm. – Kalmyk

Kh. – Khalkha

Ma. – Manchu

MMo. – Middle Mongolian

Mu. – Muqaddimat al-adab

Oir. – Oirat (Oirat dialect)

SHM – Secret History of the Mongols (Монголын Нууц Товчоо)

Араб-Ф. – Arab Philologue

Баит. – (Баитский говор = Bayad dialect)

Захач. – (Захачинский говор = Zakhchin dialect)



Figure 1

Figurine of Venus, called *Хатан буумал* (Descended Queen, Queen's Avatar), which is kept and worshipped as a protecting deity by Khorchin shaman Muunohoi (Муунохой).⁷⁵
(Photo V. Zikmundová)

75) For a similarly articulate figurine of Venus from Moravany nad Váhom, Slovakia, an archaeological finding from about 24 thousand years ago, cf. e.g.

http://uk.ask.com/wiki/Venus_of_Moravany

<http://www.donsmaps.com/moravanyvenus.html>

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Moravianska_venusa.jpg

Further cf. also some other Venus figurines:

<http://www.visual-arts-cork.com/prehistoric/venus-figurines.htm>

Towards the etymology of Middle Mongolian *Bodončar* ~ *Bodančar*

PAVEL RYKIN, Institute of Linguistic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences,
St. Petersburg

Summary: The author provides an etymology for Middle Mongolian *Bodončar* ~ *Bodančar* which was the name of the famous ancestor of Genghis Khan. The morphological structure of the name is analyzed, its derivation is discussed, linguistic parallels from Written Mongolian and the living Mongolic languages are considered in detail. Based on the analysis of all kinds of data available, the author comes to the conclusion that MMo. *Bodončar* ~ *Bodančar* is derived from **boda.nčar* ‘ancestor, forefather’.

Among the direct ancestors of Genghis Khan, mentioned in the genealogical part of the “Secret History of the Mongols” (SHM), the famous *Bodončar* is found – the youngest of three “sons of Heaven” (*tenggiri-yin kö’üt*), born by Alan-qo’a from a bright yellow man (*čeügen šira gü’ün*) who appeared to be a messenger of Heaven. The name *Bodončar* (孛端察兒 in the Chinese transcription; 孛 MM /po/;¹ 端 MM /tuan/, AM /ton/ [ZY 130], /don/ [MG 115]; 察 MM /tɕ’a/, AM /tʃ’a/ [ZY 154]; 兒 MM /ər/, AM /ʒi/ [ZY 89], /ži/ [MG 106]²) ~ *Bodančar*³ occurs in the SHM (§§ 17 ff.) and in some later Mongolian chronicles, as well as in a number of other sources on the early history of the Mongols. There are two basic points of view on its possible etymology (see e.g. Rybatzki 2006, pp. 196b–197a). The first belongs to P. Poucha, who believed that *Bodončar* is derived from *bodo(n)* ‘ein Stück Vieh’ + the suffix .čAr (Poucha 1956, pp. 42, 87). The originator of the second point of view is N. Poppe, who supposed the name *Bodončar* to be derived from WMo. *bodong* ‘boar’

1) AM reading of this character is not known (it is reconstructed by S. Hattori as /pau/ [Hattori 1973, p. 40], but it is found neither in ZY nor in MG), but the latter usually renders the MMo. syllable *bo* in the SHM and in other Sino-Mongolian monuments (Lewicki 1949, p. 46, No. 386; Bayar 1998, pp. 25–26).

2) The character 兒 was normally used for rendering MMo. *-r* in Chinese transcriptions of medieval Mongolian texts (see e.g. Lewicki 1949).

3) The form *Bodančar* is found in some Mongolian chronicles of the 17th–18th centuries (see e.g. Ulaya 2005, pp. 224 ff.; Altan Tobči 1999, pp. 31 ff.), as well as in the work by Rašid al-Dīn (*būdñjār*) (Rašid-ad-dīn 1951 1/2, p. 64). It appears to be the most important from the historical point of view. On the transition *a > o* and other assimilative shifts in the field of Mongolian vocalism see (Poppe 1951).

with the same suffix $\check{c}Ar \sim .n\check{c}Ar$ (Poppe 1975, p. 161). Without questioning the morphemic structure of the name, I would like to propose another etymology which I consider to be more consistent with its use in the SHM.

In Kalmuck the word *bodntsr* 'Vorfahr, Ururgroßvater' < **bodančar* (Ramstedt 1935, p. 48b; Muniev 1977, p. 104a; Pjurbeev 1996, p. 142) occurs, a term which is unknown to other Mongolic languages. I think that it is of vital importance for the etymology of the MMo. *Bodončar* ~ *Bodančar*. This word is a part of a large group of Mongolian kinship terms, derived from noun bases by means of the suffix $\check{c}A(r\sim g) \sim .n\check{c}A(r\sim g)$. In the material of WMo., Kalm., Bur., and Kh. 43 kinship terms with this suffix were distinguished, of which 8 are found in WMo., 21 in Kalm., 6 in Bur. and 8 in Kh.⁴ For convenience they are summarized below in Table 1.

-
- 4) The lack of a comparative vocabulary of the Mongolic languages does not allow us to draw any definitive conclusions, but as far as can be seen from our materials, there are no kinship terms with the suffix $\check{c}A(r\sim g) \sim .n\check{c}A(r\sim g)$ in other Mongolic languages. An exception might be Ordos if it is considered not as a dialect of Mongol proper, but as a separate Mongolic language, following S. Georg (2003) whose opinion on this matter I do not share. According to S. Godziński (1970, p. 151), the suffix $\check{c}a$ in Dongxiang (Santa) and Baoan (Bonan) might go back to $\check{c}Ar$, but this assumption requires additional validation due to the extremely limited distribution of this suffix in both languages. – It is worth noting that by examining isoglosses of a number of language phenomena, V. Rybatzki has combined Buryat, Khalkha-Mongol, and Oirat (including Kalmuck) into one taxonomic subgroup whose members share from 32 to 45 per cent of isoglosses in common (Rybatzki 2003, p. 388). Even if we admit that all the existing linguistic classifications are very subjective, it is impossible to completely ignore the observation made by V. Rybatzki. Developing it further, we would be justified in supposing that kinship terms with the suffix $\check{c}A(r\sim g) \sim .n\check{c}A(r\sim g)$ could go back not to Common Mongolian, but to an intermediate proto-language from which Bur., Kalm. and Kh. seemed to develop. However, in the absence of additional sound arguments for the existence of such a proto-language, we refrain from this far-reaching statement which is also at variance with WMo. parallels for the terms of kinship concerned.

Table 1. Kinship Terms with the Suffix .čA(r~g) ~ nčA(r~g) in the Mongolic Languages

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
—	<i>bod.nsr</i> , ⁵ 'ancestor, forefather; great-great-grandfather' ⁶	—	—
—	<i>tol.nstog</i> ~ <i>tel.nstog</i> 'great-great-great-grandfather / great-great-great-grandmother on the paternal side', ⁷ 'ancestors in the pater- nal line of the 6 th ascending generation' ⁸	—	—
—	<i>sal.nstog</i> ~ <i>sol.nstog</i> 'great-great-great-grandfather / great-great-great-grandmother on the pa- ternal side', ⁹ 'ancestor (in the fifth genera- tion)', ¹⁰ 'ancestors in the paternal line of the 5 th ascending generation' ¹¹	—	—
<i>qulu.nča</i> (<i>ebüge, emge</i>) 'great-great-grand- father; great-great-grandmother' ¹²	—	—	—

5) Ramstedt 1935, p. 48b.

6) 'predok, praščur; prapraded' (Muniey 1977, p. 104a; Pjurbeev 1996, p. 142).

7) 'praprapraded / prapraprababuška so storony otca' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).

8) 'predki po linii otca v +6 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 213).

9) 'praprapraded / prapraprababuška so storony otca' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 61).

10) 'predok (v *pjatom pokolenii*)' (Muniey 1977, p. 437b; Pjurbeev 1996, p. 147).

11) 'predki po linii otca v +5 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 213).

12) Lessing 1960, p. 985a; cf. Kowalewski 1846, pp. 9276-928a.

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
–	<i>χul.ntsog</i> 'forebear'; ¹³ 'great-great-grandfather / great-great-grandmother on the paternal side'; ¹⁴ 'ancestors in the paternal line of the 4 th ascending generation' ¹⁵	<i>guli.nsaq</i> 1. 'great-grandfather's father'; ¹⁶ 2. 'ancestor; the fifth generation (<i>in the descending line</i>)' ¹⁷	–
<i>xuli.nsaq</i> comb. with <i>eli.nseg</i> ¹⁸	<i>xula.nc</i> , <i>xula.ncag</i> 'great-great-grandparent' ¹⁹	–	–
<i>eli.nseg</i> , <i>eliü.nseg</i> , <i>eliü.nce</i> , <i>ele.čeg</i> 'great-grandfather; great-grandmother' ²⁰	<i>el.ntsag</i> , ²¹ 'ancestors, forefathers'; ²² 'great-grandfather / great-grandmother on the paternal side' ²³	–	–
<i>el.ntsar</i> , syn. <i>el.ntsag</i> ; ²⁴ 'ancestors of the 4 th ascending generation' ²⁵	<i>eli.nseg</i> 'great-grandfather; ancestor; ancestors; forefather' ²⁶	<i>ele.nc</i> , <i>ele.nceg</i> 'forebear' ²⁷	–
<i>bölö.nčer</i> 1. 'offspring of <i>bölö</i> (= of a first maternal cousin. – <i>the author</i>)' ²⁸ ; 2. in the collocation <i>bölö.nčer jige.nčer</i> 'cousin germain, beau-frère' ²⁹	<i>böl.ntsag</i> 1. 'grandchildren of two sisters'; ³⁰ 2. 'third cousin'; ³¹ 'third female cousins' ³²	–	–

- 13) 'praroditel' (Muniev 1977, p. 608b).
 14) 'prapraded / praprabuška so storony otca' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 61).
 15) 'predki po linii otca v +4 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 213).
 16) 'otec pradeda' (Hangalov 1958, p. 195).
 17) 'potomok; piateo pokolenie (*po mishodjaščej linii*)' (Čeremisov 1973, p. 160a).
 18) Čeremisov 1973, p. 600b.
 19) 'prapraroditel' (Pjurbeev 2002/4, p. 163a; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 562b).
 20) Lessing 1960, p. 311a; cf. Kowalewski 1844, pp. 206a, 207b, 208a.
 21) Ramstedt 1935, p. 120a.
 22) 'predki, pradedy' (Pjurbeev 1996, p. 149).
 23) 'praded / prababuška so storony otca' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 61).
 24) Ramstedt 1935, p. 120a.
 25) 'predki v +4 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 213).
 26) 'predci; predok; predki; praščur' (Čeremisov 1973, p. 762a; Hanga-
 lov 1958, p. 195).
 27) 'praroditel' (Pjurbeev 2002/4, p. 408a; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 670b).
 28) Lessing 1960, p. 147b.
 29) Kowalewski 1846, p. 12366.
 30) 'vnuki dvouh sester' (Muniev 1977, p. 114a).
 31) 'čtetverojuodnyj brat' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 217).
 32) 'čtetverojuodnye sestry' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 63).

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
<i>böl.nsr</i> 'enkel zweier schwwestern'; ³³ 'children of the first male cousins (<i>in the paternal line</i>); children of the first female cousins (<i>in the maternal line</i>)'; ³⁴ 2. 'fourth male cousin'; ³⁵ 'daughters of the third female cousins'; ³⁶	–	–	–
<i>böl.tsə</i> 'second male cousin'; ³⁷ 'second female cousins'; ³⁸	–	–	–
<i>böl.tsə</i> 'fifth male cousin'; ³⁹ 'daughters of the fourth female cousins'; ⁴⁰	–	–	–
<i>böl.tsr</i> 'sixth male cousin'; ⁴¹ 'daughters of the fifth female cousins'; ⁴²	<i>bülölin.sr</i> , <i>bülö.nsr</i> , <i>büle.nsr</i> 'children of the first male (or female) cousins (<i>in the maternal line</i>)'; ⁴³ 'sisters' children's children, second male / female cousins in the maternal line' ⁴⁴	<i>büle.ncer</i> 'second cousins once removed; grandchildren of two sisters' ⁴⁵	–

33) Ramstedt 1935, p. 56a.

34) 'dětí dvojurudnyh brat'ev (*po otcovskoj linii*); dětí dvojurudnyh sester (*po materinskoj linii*)' (Muniev 1977, p. 114a).

35) 'pjatjurudnyj brat' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 217).

36) 'dočeri četverojurudnyh sester' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 63).

37) 'trojurudnyj brat' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 217).

38) 'trojurudnye sestry' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 63).

39) 'šestjurudnyj brat' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 217).

40) 'dočeri pjatjurudnyh sester' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 63).

41) 'semijurudnyj brat' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 217).

42) 'dočeri šestjurudnyh sester' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 63).

43) 'dětí dvojurudnyh brat'ev (*ili sester*) (*po materinskoj linii*)' (Čeremisov 1973, p. 122b).

44) 'dětí detej sester, trojurudnye brat'ja / sestry po materinskoj linii' (Namžilon 1987, p. 82).

45) 'trojurudnye plenjanniki; vnuki duh sester' (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 303b).

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
<i>iye.nčir</i> 1. 'children of brother's son'; ⁴⁶ 2. in the collocation <i>iye.nčir aqa degüü</i> 'cousin issu de germain' ⁴⁷	<i>ij.ntsir</i> 'vetterkinder' ⁴⁸ 'second male and female cousins'; ⁴⁹ 'second cousin' ⁵⁰	<i>iije.nser</i> 'second male cousins in the paternal line' ⁵¹	<i>iije.ncer</i> 'in the colloca- tions <i>iije.ncer ax dā</i> 'first male cousins' grandchil- dren towards each oth- er'; <i>iije.ncer xōwūn</i> 'sec- ond male cousin once removed' ⁵²
–	<i>bel.ntsag</i> 'second female cousins (in the maternal line)' ⁵³	–	–
<i>bel.ntsir</i> 'second female cousins' children (in the maternal line) ⁵⁴	–	–	–

46) Lessing 1960, p. 1002b.

47) Kowalewski 1844, p. 553a.

48) Ramstedt 1935, p. 456a.

49) 'trojurodnje bratja i sestry' (Pjurbeev 1996, p. 147).

50) 'trojurodnj' (Muniev 1977, p. 547b).

51) 'trojurodnje bratja po otcovskoj linii' (Namžilon 1987, p. 80).

52) 'trojurodnj'; *iije.ncer ax dā* 'vnuki dvojurodnyh bratjev po otnošeniju drug druga, *iije.ncer xōwūn* 'trojurodnj plemjannik' (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 392a).

53) 'trojurodnje sestry (po materinskoj linii)' (Muniev 1977, p. 95a).

54) 'deti trojurodnnyh sester (po materinskoj linii)' (Muniev 1977, p. 95a).

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
<i>jige.nčer</i> 'one's daughter's grandson', ⁵⁵ 'arrière-petit-fils du côté de la fille' ⁵⁶	<i>zē.nisr</i> 1. 'sohn od. tochter eines schwesterkinds od. tochterkinds', ⁵⁷ 'great-grandson, great-granddaughter (<i>in the daughter's line</i>), grandchildren (<i>in the female line</i>)', ⁵⁸ 2. 'offspring in the female line of the 4 th descending generation', ⁵⁹ 'great-great-granddaughters through the daughter' ⁶⁰	–	–
<i>zē.nisə</i> in the collocation <i>zē.nisə kīkūD</i> 'great-granddaughters through the daughter' ⁶¹	–	–	–
<i>zē.tsə</i> 1. 'offspring in the female line of the 4 th descending generation', ⁶² 'great-great-granddaughters through the daughter', ⁶³ 2. 'offspring in the female line of the 5 th descending generation' ⁶⁴	–	–	–

55) Lessing 1960, p. 1052a.

56) Kowalewski 1849, p. 2352a.

57) Ramstedt 1935, p. 474b.

58) 'pravnuč, pravnučka (*po linii dočeri*), vnučata (*po ženskoj linii*)' (Muniev 1977, p. 246a).

59) 'potomki po ženskoj linii v –4 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 214).

60) 'prapравнуčki po dočeri' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).

61) 'правнуčki po dočeri' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).

62) 'potomki po ženskoj linii v –4 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 214).

63) 'prapравнуčki po dočeri' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).

64) 'potomki po ženskoj linii v –5 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 214).

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
<i>zē.ṣṣr</i> 'offspring in the female line of the 6 th descending generation,' ⁶⁵ 'great-great-granddaughters through the daughter' ⁶⁶	<i>zēle.ṣṣer</i> , <i>zē.ṣṣer</i> 1. 'great-grandson, great-granddaughter (<i>through the grand-son</i>)', ⁶⁷ 2. 'second male / female cousins in the maternal line' ⁶⁸	<i>jē.ṣṣer</i> 'great-grandson, great-granddaughter (<i>through the daughter</i>)' ⁶⁹	–
<i>yučī.nčār</i> 1. 'le grand-père du trisaïeul'; ⁷⁰ 2. 'son of the <i>yučī</i> ' (= 'great-great-grand-son. – <i>the author</i> ') ⁷¹	<i>guš.ṣṣr</i> 1. <i>guš.ṣṣr</i> (= 'great-great-grand-son. – <i>the author</i> ') ⁷² 2. 'great-great-grand-son's son' ⁷³	<i>guš.ṣṣar</i> 'great-grand-son (<i>through the son</i>)' ⁷⁴	<i>guči.nčar</i> 'great-great-grand-son's son; great-great-great-grand-son' ⁷⁵
<i>jīči.nčēr</i> 1. 'great great-grandson'; ⁷⁶ 2. 'descendant à la quatrième génération' ⁷⁷	<i>džīš.ṣṣr</i> 1. 'der sohn des enkels mit seinen kindern, die enkelsenkel'; ⁷⁸ great-grand-children, the son's grandchildren'; ⁷⁹ 2. 'great-great-grandson with his children' ⁸⁰	–	<i>jīči.nčēr</i> 'great-great-grandson'; ⁸¹ 'great-great-grandson (<i>son of the gučincār, the fourth generation of grandsons</i>)' ⁸²

65) 'potomki po ženskoj linii v –6 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 214).

66) 'praprapravnučki po dočeri' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).

67) 'pravnučik, pravnučka (*po vnuku*)' (Čeremisov 1973, p. 275b).

68) 'trojurodnje bratja / sestry po materinskoj linii' (Namžilon 1987, p. 82).

69) 'pravnučik, pravnučka (*po dočeri*)' (Pjurbeev 2001/2, p. 257b; Luvsandev 1957, p. 215b).

70) Kowalewski 1846, p. 10356.

71) Lessing 1960, p. 364b.

72) Ramstedt 1935, p. 156b.

73) 'syn prappravnuka' (Muniev 1977, p. 171b).

74) 'pravnučik (*po synu*)' (Čeremisov 1973, p. 162b).

75) 'syn prappravnuka; prappravnučik' (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 465b; Luvsandev 1957, p. 128b).

76) Lessing 1960, p. 1049a.

77) Kowalewski 1849, p. 2351a.

78) Ramstedt 1935, p. 113b.

79) 'pravnučiki, vnuki syna' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 214).

80) 'pravnučik so svoimi deťmi' (Muniev 1977, p. 231b).

81) 'prappravnučik' (Luvsandev 1957, p. 181b).

82) 'prappravnučik (*syn gučincara, četvertoe koleno vnukov*)' (Pjurbeev 2001/2, p. 180b).

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
<i>udum.čir</i> 'arrière-petit-fils', ⁸³ 'male descendant in the ninth generation' ⁸⁴	<i>udm.tsr</i> 'nachkommenschaft, kinder und enkel' ⁸⁵	–	<i>udam.car</i> 'remote descendant, grandson in the eighth generation' ⁸⁶

83) Kowalewski 1844, p. 387a.

84) Lessing 1960, p. 861b. – N. Poppe, without specifying his source, also mentions among WMo. kinship terms the form *döčin.čér* 'great-great-grandson's great-grandson' (Poppe 1927b, pp. 108–109). Since this form is unknown to our dictionaries and does not occur in the living Mongolic languages, I did not take it into consideration.

85) Ramstedt 1935, p. 446a.

86) 'ötdalennyj potomok, vnuk v vošmom kolene' (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 308b).

As it is evident from Table 1, all the above-mentioned forms are designations of the remote degrees of lineal and collateral kinship, many of the terms (30) occurring in all four languages with identical or very similar meanings. Of the 43 terms included in Table 1, only 13 have no counterparts in other Mongolic languages, being used exclusively in Kalmuck: *tol.ntsog* ~ *tel.ntsog*, *zē.tsr*. This curious phenomenon may be due to the fact that Kalmuck has retained a substantial number of archaic forms which have disappeared in other areas of the Mongolian linguistic world, so that “even in the vocabulary of other Mongol peoples ... not all Kalmuck kinship terms have appropriate correspondences” (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 67).

Let us briefly dwell on the derivational suffix *.čAr* ~ *.nčAr* (Kalm. *.ntsr*), which is a part of the morphological structure of MMo. *Bodončar* ~ *Bodančar*. The functions of this suffix are discussed in detail in various grammars and special works (see e.g. Poppe 1927a, § 19.4), so here I will present them in a summarized form. The productive suffix *.čAr* ~ *.nčAr* (as well as its variants *.čAG* ~ *.nčAG*) forms nouns with the following meanings:

- 1) diminutive (e.g. WMo. *činu.čar* ~ *činu.nčar* ‘jackal’ < *činu-a* ‘wolf’; Kh. *olon.cor* ‘belly-band’ < *olon* ~ *olom* ‘saddle-girth’; Kh. *ata.ncar* ‘young or small camel gelding’ < *at* ‘camel gelding’);
- 2) pejorative (e.g. Bur. *basaga.sar* a contemptuous expression for a girl < *basaga* ‘girl’; Kh. *öwgö.cör* a contemptuous expression for an old man < *öw-gön* ‘old man’);
- 3) partial degree of a feature (e.g. Kalm. *χar^a.tsr* ‘blackish’ < *χar^a* ‘black’; Kalm. *sul.tsr* ‘rather weak’ < *sul^a* ‘weak’; Kh. *jūwan.car* ‘ellipsoid’ < *jūwan* ‘oval, ellipse’)⁸⁷;
- 4) fondness of or propensity towards something (e.g. WMo. *qoyula.nčar* ‘gluttonous’ < *qoyula* ‘food’; Kh. *arxi.ncar* ‘drunkard’ < *arxi* ‘brandy’; Bur. *üge.nser* ‘talkative’ < *üge* ‘word’);
- 5) manner (e.g. WMo. *busu.čar* ~ *busu.čir* ‘otherwise, in another manner’ < *busu* ‘another’).

Moreover, in some grammars and general works (see e.g. Poppe 1974) a further meaning is found, namely:

- 6) (remote) degrees of kinship

It is the latter meaning that is the most interesting for us here. In my view, the definition given in the literature is generally true, but at the same time it is subject to some specification. This can be made on the basis of data included

87) For the meaning of the partial degree of a feature as applied to colour names see (Khabtagaeva 2001, § 3. 2. 2.1), where it is named diminutive.

Tab. 2. The Derivation of the Mongolian Kinship Terms with the Suffix .čA(r-g) ~ .nčA(r-g)

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
–	<i>sol.ntsog</i> ~ <i>sol.ntsog</i> < <i>salto</i> 'great-grand-great-grandson', ¹⁸⁸ offspring in the male line of the 6 th descending generation ¹⁸⁹	–	–
<i>bölä.nčer</i> < <i>bölä</i> < <i>böle</i> 1. 'cousins (of children of two sisters only)'; ⁹⁰ 2. in the collocations <i>bölä ačī</i> 'petit fils au troisième degré', <i>bölä jige uruy</i> 'cousin issu de germain, parent par les femmes' ⁹¹	<i>böl.ntsag</i> , <i>böl.nitr</i> , <i>böl.ntsā</i> , <i>böl.tsa</i> , <i>böl.tsr</i> < <i>bölä</i> , ⁹² 'first male cousins (sons of two sisters)'; ⁹³ 'first female cousins'; ⁹⁴ 'first male cousin through the mother, son of the mother's brother or sister' ⁹⁵	<i>biülin.ser</i> < <i>biülin</i> ⁹⁶ 'first male cousin, first female cousin (in the maternal line)' ⁹⁷ <i>biile.nser</i> , <i>biülin.nse</i> ⁹⁸ < <i>biile</i> 'first male cousin, first female cousin (in the maternal line)' ⁹⁹ 'first cousins in the maternal line', 'children of the sisters, first male and female cousins in the maternal line' ¹⁰⁰	<i>biile.ncer</i> < <i>biil</i> 'first male cousin through the mother, mother's sister's son, first female cousin (through the mother)'; ¹⁰¹ children of the sisters' ¹⁰¹

88) 'prapraprapravnuč' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).

89) 'potomki po mužskoj linii v –6 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 214).

90) Lessing 1960, p. 147a.

91) Kowalewski 1846, p. 1236b.

92) Ramstedt 1935, p. 55b.

93) 'dvojurodnye bratja (synovija dvuh sester)' (Muniev 1977, p. 114a).

94) 'dvojurodnye sestry' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).

95) 'dvojurodnyj brat po materi, syn brata ili sestry materi' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 215).

96) Bur. *Äli*, not mentioned among the derivational suffixes by Sanžeev 1962, corresponds to WMo. *.Gali* which forms nouns designating names of degrees of kinship (see Poppe 1974, § 118; Dondukov 1993, p. 41, § 10). For *.n*, which is often a part of compound suffixes of word formation, see (Poppe 1927a, § 5). So, the form *biülin* is derived from *biile*.

97) 'dvojurodnyj brat, dvojurodnaja sestra (po materinskoj linii)' (Čeremisov 1973, p. 122b).

98) The suffix *.Ä*, which occurs in the morphological structure of the word *biülin.nser* < **bölö.ge.nčer*, is unknown to grammars of the Mongolic languages as a means of denominal (not deverbal!) word formation. It corresponds to WMo. **GA*, which seems to be a part of the above-mentioned suffix *.Gali* (see Note 96) and to perform the same function.

99) 'dvojurodnyj brat, dvojurodnaja sestra (po materinskoj linii)' (Čeremisov 1973, p. 122b).

100) 'dvojurodnaja rodnja po materinskoj linii', 'deti sester, dvojurodnye bratja i sestry po materinskoj linii' (Namžilon 1987, p. 66, 82).

101) 'dvojurodnyj brat po materi, syn sestry materi, dvojurodnaja sestra (po materi); deti sester' (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 302a; cf. Luvsandendev 1957, p. 94a).

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
–	<i>ijū.ntsɿr</i> < <i>ijə</i> 'first cousin', ¹⁰² cf. <i>ijū. nər</i> (<i>ijə</i> + pl. suffix <i>.nər</i>) 'die vettern', ¹⁰³ 'first male and female cousins (in the paternal line)', ¹⁰⁴	–	<i>ijē. ncer</i> < <i>ijē</i> in the collocations <i>xōwǰūn ijē</i> 'first cousins' degree, generation, i. e. father's brothers' or sisters' children, descendants in the junior collateral line, first cousins' degree, brothers' children'; <i>ijē ax</i> 'first male cousin'; <i>ijē xajā</i> 'kin' ¹⁰⁵
<i>jige. ncer</i> < <i>jige</i> (< OT <i>jegün</i> 'nephew' ¹⁰⁶) child of one's daughter or sister; child of any of one's female descendants, ¹⁰⁷ 'petit-fils du côté de la mère' ¹⁰⁸	<i>zē.ntsɿr</i> , <i>zē.ntsə</i> , <i>zē.ksə</i> , <i>zē.tsɿr</i> < <i>zē</i> 1. 'kind der jüngeren schwester od. der tochter, enkel weiblicherseits', ¹⁰⁹ 'grandson, granddaug-ter (in the daughter's line)', ¹¹⁰ , 2. 'nephew, niece (in the maternal line)', ¹¹¹ 'nephew, niece (mother's sisters' children)', ¹¹²	<i>zēle. nser</i> , ¹¹³ <i>zē. nser</i> < <i>zē</i> 1. 'grandson or grand-daughter through the daughter', ¹¹⁴ 2. 'nephew, niece in the maternal line' ¹¹⁵	<i>jē. ncer</i> < <i>jē</i> 1. 'grandson, grand-daughter (through the daughter)', ¹¹⁶ 2. 'nephew, niece (in the maternal line)', ¹¹⁷

102) 'dvojurodnij' (Muniev 1977, p. 547a).

103) Ramstedt 1935, p. 456a.

104) 'dvojurodnje bratja i sestry (po otcovskoj linii)' (Pjurbeev 1996, p. 147).

105) *xōwǰūn ijē* 'dvojurodnoe rodstvo, koleno, t. e. deti bratjev i sester otca, potomki mladšwej bokovoj linii, dvojurodnoe rodstvo, deti bratjev'; *ijē ax* 'dvojurodnij brat'; *ijē xajā* 'rodnja' (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 391a-b).

106) 'plemjannik' (OTD 252b).

107) Lessing 1960, p. 1051b.

108) Kowalewski 1849, p. 2352a.

109) Ramstedt 1935, p. 474a.

110) 'vnuk, vnučka (po linii dočeri)' (Muniev 1977, p. 245a-b, cf. Pjurbeev 1996, p. 144).

111) 'plemjannik, plemjannica (po materinskoj linii)' (Muniev 1977, p. 245a-b).

112) 'plemjannik, plemjannica (deti sester materi)' (Pjurbeev 1996, p. 144).

113) The word *zēle. nser* < **jige. li. ncer* contains the suffix **li*, which is unknown to grammars as a means of denominal (not deverbal!) word-formation. It also seems to be a part of WMo. *.Gali*.

114) 'vnuk ili vnučka po dočeri' (Namžilon 1987, p. 82; cf. Čeremisov 1973, p. 275a).

115) 'plemjannik, plemjannica po materinskoj linii' (Namžilon 1987, p. 82; cf. Čeremisov 1973, p. 275a).

116) 'vnuk, vnučka (po dočeri)' (Pjurbeev 2001/2, p. 257a; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 214b).

117) 'plemjannik, plemjannica (po materinskoj linii)' (Pjurbeev 2001/2, p. 257a; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 214b).

Written Mongolian	Kalmuck	Buryat	Khalkha
<i>γučī.nčar</i> < <i>γučī</i> < * <i>γučī</i> 1. 'great-grandson' ¹¹⁸ , 2. 'arrière-petit-fils, les descendants de la troisième génération' ¹¹⁹	<i>gučš.nsr</i> < <i>gučši</i> 1. 'enkelsohn; blutsverwandschaft in dritter linie', 'grandson's son, great-grandson, blood relationship in the fifth line'; ¹²¹ 2. 'great-grandsons in the fifth generation', ¹²² 'offspring in the male line of the 5 th descending generation' ¹²³	<i>guša.nsar</i> < <i>guša</i> 'great-grandson', ¹²⁴ 'great-granddaughter through the son' ¹²⁵	<i>guči.ncar</i> < <i>guč</i> 'great-great-grandson' ¹²⁶
<i>jiči.nčer</i> < <i>jiči</i> 'great-grandson', ¹²⁷ 'un arrière-petit-fils' ¹²⁸	<i>džiš.nsr</i> < <i>džiši</i> 1. 'enkelkind, der sohn des enkels'; ¹²⁹ 2. 'great-great-grandson, great-great-granddaughter' ¹³⁰	–	<i>jiči.ncer</i> < <i>jič</i> 'great-grandson' ¹³¹
<i>udum.čir</i> < <i>udum</i> 'descendant, scion', ¹³² 'parenté; parent, d'une même famille, d'un même nom' ¹³³	<i>udm.isr</i> < <i>udm</i> 'nachkommenschaft, kinder und enkel' ¹³⁴	–	<i>udam.car</i> < <i>udam</i> 'offspring, descendant' ¹³⁵

118) Lessing 1960, p. 364a.

119) Kowalewski 1846, p. 1035a.

120) Ramstedt 1935, p. 156b.

121) 'syn vnuka, pravnuak, krovnoe rodstvo po pjatoj linii' (Muniev 1977, p. 171b).

122) 'pravnuki v pjatom pokolenii' (Pjurbeev 1996, p. 143).

123) 'potomki po mužskoj linii v –5 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 214).

124) 'pravnuak' (Čeremisov 1973, p. 162a).

125) 'pravnuak, pravnučka po synu' (Namžilon 1987, p. 73).

126) 'pravnuak' (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 465b; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 128b).

127) Lessing 1960, p. 1049a.

128) Kowalewski 1849, p. 2351a.

129) Ramstedt 1935, p. 113b.

130) 'pravnuak, pravpravnučka' (Muniev 1977, p. 231b).

131) 'pravnuak' (Pjurbeev 2001/2, p. 180b).

132) Lessing 1960, p. 861b.

133) Kowalewski 1844, p. 387a.

134) Ramstedt 1935, p. 446a.

135) 'potomstvo, potomok' (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 308a; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 448b).

in Table 2 below, which depicts the nature of the semantic relationships between derivatives and their underlying stems (where the latter are known).

From Table 2 it is apparent that the vast majority of forms with the suffix $\check{c}A(r\sim g) \sim n\check{c}A(r\sim g)$ have a common meaning structure which can be presented as ‘child of he who is designated by the underlying stem’, or, schematically, as

$$X.\check{c}A(r\sim g) \sim X.n\check{c}A(r\sim g) = \text{‘X’s child’}.$$

Of course, some exceptions to this rule should be mentioned here. Thus, it does not apply to the following derivational pairs: WMo. *udum.čir* < *udum*, Kalm. *sal.ntsəg* ~ *sol.ntsəg* < *salv* whose semantic relations are of a more complex nature. Furthermore, in Kalmuck the suffix considered is regularly used as a means of semantic differentiation by generations (cf. *böl.ntsə*, *böl.tsə* and *böl.tsr*; *bel.ntsəg* and *bel.nts*), which in itself can be a relatively late local phenomenon.¹³⁶ However, the limited number of these exceptions and, most importantly, the lack of a common system beyond them, makes it highly probable that once they also had to obey the rule established by us in this paper.

From what has been said the conclusion follows that MMo. *Bodončar* < **boda.nčar* must have had the same morphological structure. The stem *bodo* < *boda* can hardly be related to WMo. *bodo* < *boda* ‘ein Stück Vieh’ (as was suggested by P. Poucha) or to WMo. *boda* ‘substance, matter; object’ < OT *bod* ‘body, trunk; stature, figure’.¹³⁷ It is likely that we are dealing with the homonymous stem **bodo* < **boda*, which designated one of the remote ascendant degrees of kinship, but lost its status as an autonomous lexical unit by the time of the earliest MMo. monuments, surviving in a petrified form only as a part of the derivative lexeme **boda.nčar*. To these petrified stems seem to belong also **qulu* > WMo. *qulu.nča*, **eliü* > WMo. *eliü.nčeg* ~ *eliü.nče* etc. Unfortunately, Middle Mongolian terms for relatives in the ascending line are known not farther than the fourth generation, for which the words *yolinmuču[q]* ‘great-great-grandfather’¹³⁸ and *boroqai* ‘id.’¹³⁹ were used (see Rykin 2009). But it is reasonable to assume that once there were more special

136) Cf. the conclusion reached by N. V. Bikbulatov, that one of the most ancient features of kinship systems of the Uralo-Altaic peoples was generation-merging, under which the division of the members of one and the same generation into the elder and the younger ones took place, whereas the classification of relatives by the generational principle alone is a later innovation (Bikbulatov 1981, pp. 63–70).

137) For this etymology see (Rybatzki 2006, pp. 196b–197a).

138) Apparently, one of the phonetic variants of the word **qulu.nča* ~ **qulu.nčay* with the initial consonant’s voicing.

139) This is presumably a taboo word: *boroqai* < *boro* ‘grey’ + the suffix. *QAI* (for the latter see Poppe 1927).

terms in the Mongolian kinship system, which did not survive in Middle Mongolian and in modern Mongolic languages. In support of this assumption it is appropriate to quote the following statement by Rašīd al-Dīn:

The grandfather of Čingiz-qan is Bartan-bahadur, in Mongolian he is named *ebüge*. The great-grandfather of Čingiz-qan is Qabul-qan, in Mongolian he is named *elinčig*. The great-great-grandfather of Čingiz-qan is Tumbine-qaan, in Mongolian he is named *budutuu* (?). The fifth ancestor of Čingiz-qan is Baisunkur, in Mongolian he is named *buda-ukur*. The sixth ancestor of Čingiz-qan is Qaidu-qan, in Mongolian he is named *jurki* (?). The seventh ancestor of Čingiz-qan is Dutum-Menen, in Mongolian he is named *dutaqun*. The eighth ancestor of Čingiz-qan is Činkiz-qan Bodančar, farther than the seventh [generation] the special terms are lacking, but all [together] they are named *ečigin-ebugen*.¹⁴⁰

The designations of the remote ancestors of Genghis Khan from Tumbine-qaan onwards, which are mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn, present great difficulties for interpretation. For example, G. Doerfer gives the following readings for them: ? *bōdātū* (instead of *budutuu*), ? *bōdā kūr* (instead of *buda-ukur*) and *bōraqai* (instead of *jurki*) (Doerfer 1963, pp. 217–219). If these readings are right, the stem **bōdā* in the first two words can be related to Mongolian **boda* as meaning an ascending degree of kinship, followed by some morphological elements or autonomous words which have not yet been identified.

To summarize, MMo. *Bodončar* ~ *Bodančar* is derived from **boda.nčar* ‘ancestor, forefather’. Taking into account the fact that Bodončar was the first direct ancestor of Genghis Khan, such a name, I think, was in full conformity with the role of its bearer in the genealogy of the founder of the Mongol empire and in the historical framework of the author (or the authors) of the *Secret History of the Mongols*.

140) Ded Čingiz-hana – Bartan-bahadur, a po-mongol'ski ego nazyvajut ebuge. Praded Čingiz-hana – Kabul-han, a po-mongol'ski ego nazyvajut elinčig. Prapraded Čingiz-hana – Tumbine-kaan, a po-mongol'ski ego nazyvajut budutuu (?). Pjatyj predok Čingiz-hana – Baisunkur, a po-mongol'ski ego nazyvajut buda-ukur. Šestoj predok Čingiz-hana – Kajdu-han, a po-mongol'ski ego nazyvajut jurki (?). Sed'moj predok Čingiz-hana – Dutum-Menen, a po-mongol'ski ego nazyvajut dutakun. Vos'moj predok Čingiz-hana – Činkiz-han Bodančar, dal'se čem do sed'mogo [kolena] special'nyh terminov net, vseh že [vmeste] nazyvajut ečigin-ebugen (Rašid-ad-din 1951 1/2, p. 64).

Abbreviations

AM – Ancient Mandarin

Bur. – Buryat

Kalm. – Kalmuck

Kh. – Khalkha

MG – the dictionary 蒙古子韻 *Menggu ziyun* by Zhu Zongwen (1308) (Luo Changpei, Cai Meibiao 1959, pp. 93–127).

MM – Modern Mandarin

MMo. – Middle Mongolian

OT – Old Turkic

SHM – *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Pankratov 1962; Rachewiltz 1972).

WMo. – Written Mongolian

ZY – the dictionary 中原音韻 *Zhongyuan yinyun* by Zhou Deqing (1324) (Yang Naisi 1981)

References

- ALTAN TOBČI (The Golden Summary). Öbör Mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a, Kökeqota 1999.
- BAYAR, 1998, Zhuyin zidian (Phonetic Dictionary of Characters). In: Bayar, *Mongyol-un niyuča tobčiyān: Ded* (The Secret History of the Mongols). Vol. 2. Kökeqota, pp. 1–233.
- BIKBULATOV, N.V., 1981, *Baškirkaja sistema rodstva* (Bashkir System of Kinship). Nauka, Moskva.
- ČEREMISOV, K. M., 1973, *Burjatsko-russkij slovar'* (Buryat-Russian Dictionary). Sovetskaja enciklopedija, Moskva.
- DOERFER, G., 1963, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*. Bd. 1. Steiner, Wiesbaden.
- DONDUKOV, U.-Ž. Š., 1993, *Slovoobrazovanie mongoľskih jazykov* (Word Formation in Mongolian Languages). Ulan-Ude.
- DREVNETJURKSKIJ SLOVAR' (Old Turkic Dictionary). Leningrad 1969 [abbreviated as OTD]
- GEORG, S., 2003, Ordos. In: *The Mongolic Languages*. Routledge Language Family Series 5. London, New York, pp. 193–209.
- GODZIŃSKI, S., 1970, Observations sur quelques suffixes formant les noms en mongol contemporain. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 33, 2, pp. 145–159.
- GODZIŃSKI, S., 1985, *Język średniomongolski: Słowotwórstwo. Odmiana wyrazów. Składnia* (Middle Mongolian: Word Formation. Inflection. Syntax). Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa.
- HANGALOV, M.N., 1958, Juridičeskie obyčai u burjat (Juridical Habits of the Buryats). In: *Sobranie sočinenij*. T. 1. Ulan-Ude, pp. 153–199.
- HATTORI, Sh., 1973, The Chinese dialect on which the transcription of the *Yüan-ch'ao Mi-shih* was based. *Acta Asiatica* 24, pp. 35–44.
- KHABTAGAEVA, B., 2001, Colour Names and their Suffixes: A Study on the History of Mongolian Word Formation. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54, 1, pp. 85–165.
- KORSUNKIEV, C.K., 1977, O terminah rodstva u kalmykov (About Kinship Terms of the Kalmucks). In: *Kul'tura i byt kalmykov (Etnograficheskie issledovanija)*. Elista, pp. 59–71.

- KOTWICZ, W., 1929, *Opyt grammatiki kalmyckogo razgovornogo jazyka* (Attempt at a Grammar of the Kalmuck Colloquial Language). 2nd ed. Izdanie Kalmyckoj komissii kul'turnyh rabotnikov v Čehoslovackoj Respublike, Rževnice u Pragi.
- KOWALEWSKI, J. E., 1844–1849, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*. T. 1–3. Universitetskaja tipografija, Kazan.
- LESSING, F.D., 1960, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles.
- LEWICKI, M., 1949, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV^e siècle: Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389*. Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego. Ser. A, No. 29. Wydawnictwa Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, Wrocław.
- LUO CHANGPEI, CAI MEIBIAO, 1959, *Basibazi yu yuandai hanyu* (Ziliao huibian) (The hP'agspa Script and the Chinese Language under the Yüan; Collection of Materials). Kexue chubanshe, Beijing.
- LUVSANDEDEV, A. (ed.), 1957, *Mongol'sko-russkij slovar'* (Mongolian-Russian Dictionary). Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannyh i nacional'nyh slovarej, Moskva.
- MUNIEV, B.D. (ed.), 1977, *Kalmycko-russkij slovar'* (Kalmuck-Russian Dictionary). Russkij jazyk, Moskva.
- NAMŽILON, C.N., 1987, Terminologija rodstva v govore selenginskih burjat (The Kinship Terminology in the Dialect of Selenga Buryats). In: *Dialektnaja leksika v mongol'skih jazykah*. Ulan-Ude, pp. 60–85.
- OMAKAEVA, E.U., BURYKIN, A. A., Sistema terminov rodstva i svojstva kalmykov (System of the Kinship and Affinity Terms of the Kalmucks). In: *Algebra rodstva* 4. Sankt-Peterburg 1999, pp. 212–221.
- PANKRATOV, B.I., 1962, *Yuan'-čao bi-si* (Sekretnaja istorija mongolov): 15 czjuanej (Secret History of the Mongols: 15 Volumes). 1. Pamjatniki literatury narodov Vostoka: Teksty. Bol'saja serija 8. Izdatel'stvo vostočnoj literatury, Moskva.
- PJURBEEV, G.C., 1996, *Tolkovyj slovar' tradicionnogo byta kalmykov* (Defining Dictionary of the Kalmuck Traditional Mode of Life). Kalmyckoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo, Elista.
- PJURBEEV, G.C. (ed.), 2001–2002, *Bol'soj akademičeskij mongol'sko-russkij slovar'* (Great Mongolian-Russian Dictionary). T. 1–4. Academia, Moskva.
- POPPE, N., 1927a, Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mongolischen. *Keleti Szemle* 20, pp. 89–126.
- POPPE, N., 1927b, Mongol'skie čislitel'nye (Mongolian Numerals). In: *Jazykovednye problemy po čislitel'ny'm*. 1. Leningrad, pp. 97–119.
- POPPE, N., 1938, *Grammatika burjat-mongol'skogo jazyka* (A Grammar of the Buryat-Mongolian Language). Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, Leningrad.
- POPPE, N., 1951, Remarks on the Vocalism of the Second Syllable in Mongolian. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14, 1/2, pp. 189–207.
- POPPE, N., 1974, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. 3rd printing. Porta Linguarum Orientalium. Neue Serie 1. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
- POPPE, N., 1975, On Some Proper Names in the Secret History. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 47, pp. 161–167.
- POUCHA, P., 1956, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal: Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Erklärung*. Verlag der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Prag.
- QASBAJAN-A, 1996, *Dumdadu jayun-u mongyol kelen-ü sudulul* (The Study of Middle Mongolian). Öbör Mongyol-un suryan kümüjil-ün keblel-ün qoriy-a, Kökeqota.

- RACHEWILTZ, I. de, 1972, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*. Indiana University publications: Uralic and Altaic Series 121. Indiana University, Bloomington.
- RAMSTEDT, G.J., 1935, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*. Lexica Societatis Fennou-Ugricae 3. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- RAŠID-AD-DIN, *Sbornik letopisej* (A Collection of Chronicles). Edited by A.A. Semenov. T. 1, kn. 1–2. Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva, Leningrad 1951.
- RYBATZKI, V., 2003, Intra-Mongolic taxonomy. In: *The Mongolic Languages*. Routledge Language Family Series 5. London; New York, pp. 364–390.
- RYBATZKI, V., 2006, *Die Personennamen und Titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente: Eine lexikalische Untersuchung*. Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies 8. Yliopistopaino Oy, Helsinki.
- RYKIN, P.O., 2009, Semantičeskij analiz terminov rodstva i svojstva v srednemongol'skomazyke (Semantic Analysis of the Kinship and Affinity Terms in Middle Mongolian). In: *Voprosy filologii. Uralo-altajskie issledovanija* 1(1), pp. 80–91.
- SANŽEEV, G.C. (ed.), 1962, *Grammatika burjatskogo jazyka: Fonetika i morfologija* (A Grammar of the Buryat Language: Phonetics and Morphology). Izdatel'stvo vostočnoj literatury, Moskva.
- SANŽEEV, G.C. (ed.), 1983, *Grammatika kalmyckogo jazyka: Fonetika i morfologija* (A Grammar of the Kalmuck Language: Phonetics and Morphology). Kalmyckoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo, Elista.
- SEČENČOYTU, 1988, *Mongjol üges-ün iḡayur-un toli* (The Root Dictionary of the Mongolian Vocabulary). Öbör Mongjol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a, Kökeqota.
- ULAYAN, 2005, *"Erdeni-yin tobči"-yin sudulul* (The Study of the "Precious Summary"). Liyoon-ing-un ündüsüten-ü keblel-ün qoriy-a, Šenyang.
- YANG NAISI, 1981, *Zhongyuan yinyun yinxi* (The Phonemic System of the *Zhongyuan yinyun*). Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, Beijing.

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

5.1. Etyma with initial vowels (*i-*, *e-*, *u-*, *o-*, *a-*) and root-final stops, affricates, nasals and glides

JAROSLAV VACEK, Charles University in Prague

Summary: The paper deals with the first part of the last formal group in the series presenting the material collection of *verba dicendi* arranged according to their formal phonetic structure (starting with Vacek 2003ff.). The present subject is verb roots beginning with vowels (*i-*, *e-*, *u-*, *o-*, *a-*) and finishing with stops, affricates, nasals or glides, excepting liquids and retroflex stops. The paper is structured in a similar way to the previous papers and collects material parallels from individual Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, Turkic and Dravidian languages. Besides *verba dicendi* in the narrow sense of the word, the paper also includes formally similar roots representing the semantic extensions of the *verba dicendi*, verbs describing various noises, and also the onomatopoeic expressions with the same formal structure of the VC- root.

o. This is the last but one paper in the ‘*verba dicendi*’ series, which is mainly designed to collect and classify systematically the ‘material’ basis of this semantic subgroup. The paper sums up the possible formal and semantic parallels between Dravidian and Altaic in roots/stems beginning with vowels and finishing with stops, affricates, nasals and glides: VC(V)- / VCC(V)- / VNC(V)- etc. A number of these lexemes are obviously onomatopoeic on both sides,¹ but some appear to be genuinely ‘lexical’ parallels, which are rather interesting and may be considered for further investigation of the common lexical stock of both language families.

Some of the words beginning with the vowels listed below have already been mentioned in my earlier paper (Vacek 1994). However, this group of lexemes is rather complex and therefore is presented here in a systematic

1) In this respect onomatopoeia may reflect a universal language property, though in many cases this ‘universal’ may be specific to this whole group of languages, and therefore the possible implications of the existence of these parallels should be considered in future. For example, the specific character of various examples of onomatopoeia (and also iconopoeia) in Mongolian is the subject of Alena Oberfalzerová’s recent research (e.g. Oberfalzerová 2009 and the present volume, above p. 7ff.). A similar feature is also to be seen in Dravidian. By way of examples, for Tamil see Gnanasundaram (1985), for Telugu see Bhaskararao (1977), and for the Indian linguistic area see Emeneau (1969). The implications for comparative studies of this feature may require careful investigation in future and may be a rewarding research subject.

manner. Incidentally, it should be borne in mind that some of the initial vowels may have resulted from a loss of an initial consonant, e.g. initial voiceless labial stops in Mongolian (cf. e.g. Poppe 1955, pp. 96ff.; 1960, pp. 10ff.);² in Dravidian initial labials may also vary with zero (e.g. in Kannada; cf. Zvelebil 1970, pp. 85–86; and also in Kurumba, cf. P.S. Subrahmanyam 2008, p. 169).³ In this context there is a question of whether perhaps Old Tamil in particular may have preserved a more archaic state in having initial voiceless stops. With respect to the lost initial labials in Mongolian, this may be a reflection of the early forms of a Proto-Altaic language feature brought to Indian soil in the late prehistoric period and conserved in the process of the language contact there.⁴

-
- 2) This transitional sound was *h-* in Middle Mongolian, while e.g. Monguor still preserved *f-*. In MT. the variation was *f-*, *p-*, and *h-* (Evenki; Poppe 1960, p. 10), or *x-*, *h-* (e.g. Oroch, Ud., Evenki, Lamut; cf. Benzing 1955, p. 33). Some of the MT examples mentioned below may reflect this history by having an initial *h-*. For a survey of controversial interpretations of the Altaic **p-* cf. Krippes 1992, Chapter 1.
- 3) But the phenomenon may be more complex. Cf. e.g. the following etyma in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary:
- DEDR 215: Ta. *ari* rice, paddy, ear of paddy etc. – vs. DEDR 5265: Ta. *vari* paddy etc.
- DEDR 216: Ta. *ari* tax, duty etc. – vs. DEDR 5266: Ta. *vari* tax, impost, duty, toll, contribution (cf. Mo. *ōri* 1. debt, indebtedness, obligation (as for a possible Altaic **p-*, the lexeme could be found neither in Cincius 1984, nor in Krippes 1992)
- DEDR 234: Ta. *al-* to be not so-and-so etc. – vs. DEDR 4743: Kur. *mal-* not; *malnā* not to be (so)
- DEDR 247: Ta. *alar-* to blossom, open up etc.; full-blown flower etc. – vs. DEDR 4739: Ta. *malar-* to open as a flower, bloom, be expanded, extended or spread etc.; full-blown flower, blossom
- DEDR 967: Te. *oḍikamu* prettiness, beauty, elegance etc. – vs. DEDR 5223: Ta. *vaṭi-* to become beautiful; to refine, perfect etc.
- 4) This would not rule out the above variation in Dravidian (cf. Note 3 above), while there are some other parallels, which seem to be straightforward, e.g.
- Ta. *pala* many (DEDR 3987) vs. Mo. *olan* many
- Ta. *ponku* to boil up (DEDR 4469a) vs. Mo. *ongyu-* to burn (inside), feel heat;
- But note also Mo. *būngne-* to become stuffy or sultry; *būgcim* stifling, sticky smothering;
- MT. *UNYUSI-* to get warm (MTD II, 278)
- Kol. *purug* basket (DEDR 4289) vs. Mo. *aruy* 1. a loosely woven basket or dosser (from wicker) for collecting aryal
- Further cf.
- Ma. *uruppa* large bag chiefly for clothes (DEDR 716)
- MT. *FARAŃTA* latticed (MTD II, 299; referring to Mo. *aruy*) and
- *p'arug* wicker basket (Cincius 1984, p. 34, No. 19)
- Concerning the 'historically anchored' language contact on Indian soil proposed above, cf. Vacek 2009a, 2009f, 2010b.

The Manchu-Tungus may occasionally have a variant form with a prepalatalised initial front vowel in one or two languages, e.g. in Manchu *jeke-* (below s.v. *IKĒ-*), Nan. *jegdeči-* (below s.v. *IKEGDI-*), or there may also be a whole etymon (cf. *JĒKE-* below). Occasionally this variation is also attested in Turkic (cf. *JĪLLA-* besides *igla:-* or *JĪR* besides *ĪR* below). This could be a parallel feature with a similar phenomenon, e.g. in Tamil. Note that in South Dravidian, initial *e-*, *ē-* are pronounced with a palatal glide [j-]. However, there are also lexemes with initial *ja-* in Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus, which have also been listed below.⁵ Some of the MT. initial *j-* occurrences mentioned below appear to be variants of initial palatal nasal (*ñ-*),⁶ or even a liquid (*l'-*) or palatal fricative (*ž-*).

The structure of the paper is similar to that of previous papers. The lexemes are classified according to the various root-final consonants, starting from velars and finishing with labials. Root-final liquids and retroflex stops (No. 6) will be dealt with later. The initial vowels vary from front to back vowels (*i-*, *e-*, *u-*, *o-*, *a-*) with various language-specific variants (*ü-*, *ö-* etc.). The individual forms are arranged in the following formal subgroups:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| 1 Initial vowels plus velars | <i>V- + - k/g/ŋ/ŋg</i> | (p. 125) |
| 2 Initial vowels plus palatals | <i>V- + c/s/š/z/ž/ñc</i> | (p. 137) |
| 3 Initial vowels plus i/y | <i>V- + - i/y</i> | (p. 140) |
| 4 Initial vowels plus dentals | <i>V- + t/d/n/nt</i> | (p. 144) |
| 5 Initial vowels plus labials | <i>V- + p/b/v/m/mb</i> | (p. 150) |
| 6 Initial vowels plus liquids | <i>V- + l / ! / ʈ</i> | |

1. Initial vowels plus velars *V- + - k/g/ŋ/ŋg*

(A) *Front vowels i, e*

Ta. *ī*⁴ interjection, an exclamation expressive of wonder (TL s.v.)

Ta. *ē*⁵ interjection, 1. an exclamation inviting attention; 2. an exclamation of contempt (TL s.v.)

5) Note that in Dravidian there is also a variation of initial *y-* with zero. Zvelebil (1970, p. 159) speaks about 'lost initial *y-' except in Old Tamil: Ta. *yāru*, *āru*; Ma. *āru*, etc., etc. 'river' (DEDR 5159). Cf. also P.S. Subrahmanyam 2008, pp. 86, 145–6.

6) This may also be observed in Mongolian; but cf. also South Dravidian Ta. *yāṇ* / *nāṇ*, Ma. *nāṇ*, Ka. *ān*, *nān* – 1st pers. sg. pron. (DEDR 5160). Further see Zvelebil 1970, p. 137 and P.S. Subrahmanyam 2008, pp. 144–5.

Ta. *ēe* interjection

1. see *ē*⁵ 1.; 2. see *ē*⁵ 2.
3. an exclamation of pity (TL s.v.)

Pe. *ē*² particle used with vocative (*ē kogle* 'oh, woman!') (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1970, p. 197)

Ta. *iku*⁻² tr. 6. to beat, as a drum
 7. to play, as on an instrument
 8. to call, invite
 it. to produce a sound, as a drum (TL s.v.)

?Ta. *ikuḷ*² thunderbolt (TL s.v.)
*ikuḷi*² id. (TL s.v.)

Ma. *ekkaḷikka* to hiccough
ekkiḷ, ekkiṭṭa, ikkiḷ, ikkiṭṭam hiccough, last breath

To. *iṣkur faṭ-* to hiccough

Ka. *ekku* (*usura ekku*) (Hav.) to breathe as a child after crying loudly
ekḍu to hiccough
ekkiḍike hiccough (Gowda)
ēgḍike id. (Kumt.; U.P.U.)

Tu. *ekkade, ekkale* hiccough, gasping

Kor. *ikḷu* (T.), *ikkiḍi* (M.) hiccough

Te. *ekkili, ekku* hiccough

Go. (A.) *ekṭi*, (Tr.) *aṭkī* id.; (Koya Su.) *ekku* to belch

Br. *hikking* to hiccough (or IA; cf. 419) (DEDR 772)

Te. *inkuva* a sigh

Go. *inka* a belch (Ma.)

inkawata hiccough (LuS.)

Kur. *iṭṭkhṇā* to cough

Malt. *inqe* id.

inqrése to force phlegm from the throat, hawk

inq-púce hiccough

Br. *hikking* to hiccough (or probably IA; see Turner, CDIAL, Nos. 14074,⁷ 14075⁸) (DEDR 419)

Ta. *ēñku* (*ēñki*-) to sound, scream as a peacock, weep, wail

ēñkal shout, screaming as of a peacock, weeping

? *ēe* Sāmaveda (or with 470 Ta. *iyampu*)

Ko. *e·kalc-* (*e·kalc-*) to shout to someone from a distance

To. *ō·x-* (*ō·xy-*) to scream (peacock or diviner)

ō·xm (obl. *ō·xt-*) scream of a peacock or a diviner

Koḍ. *e·ng-* (*e·ngi-*) to lengthen note (in singing, crowing)

Te. *ēgu* to sound (Merolu)

[*ēncu* to make sound (Merolu)]

[Go. *yēcānā* (Tr.), *yēcānā* (Ph.) to play a flute or any wind instrument] (DEDR 879)⁹

7) CDIAL, No. 14074: *hikkati* 'hiccoughs, sobs' Pat.; Dameli (Dardic language) *hik-* 'to hiccough' etc.

MW has: Skt. *hikk-*, *hikkati* 'to hiccough, sob, make a spasmodic sound in the throat (Pat., Suśr. etc.).

KEWA (s.v. *hikkati*) considers the etymon onomatopoeic and refers to the 'elementare Ähnlichkeit' with Engl. *hiccough*. Further it also refers to Brahui *hikk-*, which, however, may come from IA.

EWA does not mention the word.

8) CDIAL, No. 14075: *hikkā-* f. 'hiccough' Suśr.; Pa., Pkt. *hikkā-* f. 'hiccough', etc.

MW has: Skt. *hikkā-* f. 'hiccough' (cf. *hekkā*), sob, a spasmodic sound in the throat (Suśr., R. etc.); an owl (L.).

9) The medial palatals are properly mentioned below in Section 2.

Note the Tamil etc. homophone with a medial velar s.v. DEDE 878:

Ta. *ēñku* to pine, languish, long for etc.

Ma. *ēkkam* grief, anxiety; plus Ko., Te., and

Kur. *ēxnā* to be dissatisfied, want more

Malt. *ége* to be dissatisfied

Plus a variant with a medial palatal:

Ta. *ēcaṛu* to long for, desire; be troubled (DEDE 878)

Kuwi *īsu ā-* to covet (Israel, p. 337 s.v.)

Both etyma, medial velar and palatal, also have possible Altaic parallels:

Mo. *engse-* to desire ardently, to importune

egere- 1. to seek, search; to demand; to wish strongly, need urgently; to expect, hope

ōnggei- b. to watch for an opportunity; to encroach

and in addition:

ica- to hope for, expect

Mo. *egesig* musical note or tone; euphony, melody, song; modulation of voice; pronunciation; vowel

egere- 3. to stutter, stammer; choke one's crying or sobbing (cf. DEDR 772, Ma. *ekkaḷikka*; above)

ögüle- viz *ügüle-* below

?*iy may ki* to have a petty quarrel

MT. *Ī-* II to sound (MTD I,293–4)

Evenk. *ī-*, *iy-*, *hī-* to sound, be heard (about a sound)

īy, *īyēn*, *īk* sound, noise

īyit-/č-, *hiyit-/č-* to sound; to be noisy (var. *īvut-/č-*)

Even. *ī-*, *ī-h-ni-*, *īc-ni-*, *ī-n-ni-* to sound, be heard, resound

ig, *ihun* 1. sound, noise; rumour, news; gossip; rustle; 2. noisy (var. *iv*) etc. Neg., Ud.

IKĒ- to sing (MTD I,301)

Evenk. *ikē-* (*ikegže-*) to sing; to dance the Evenki dance with a song; to cheer

ikēvkē singing (of the narrator at the time of the narration)

ikēlēn, *ikēmne*, *ikēmni* singer; leader (of choir)

ikēt-/č- (obs.) to perform the shamanistic ritual (in spring) etc.

Even. *ikē* song, melody; verse, poem

ikē-, *ikēn-* to sing; to squeak (about the squirrel) etc.

Ud. *jexe* song; *jexe-* to sing; *jexele* singer

Ma. *jeke-* to sing (obscene songs); to use foul language etc. Neg., Oroch.

IKEGDI- to hiccough (Evenk., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha., Orork., Nan.) (MTD I,302)

Evenk. *ikegdī*, *ikegde* hiccough; hiccoughping

ikegdī-, *ikegde-*, *igegdī-* to hiccough; to whistle

Neg. *ihegdit-č-*, *ikegdet-/č-* to hiccough

[*hik* onom. the sound of hiccough]

Ud. *ikō-* to choke

etc. Even., Oroch.

Olcha *jegdeči-/u-* to hiccough

Orok. (*j*)*egde-* to hiccough

Nan. *jegdeči-* to hiccough

ĪXĪAŅK- *ĪXĪAŅK* onom. sound 'kha-kha' (MTD I,299)

Nan. *īxīaŋk-īxīaŋk* 'kha-kha' (coughing slightly)

īxīnaži- to groan, moan

JĒKE- to shout (MTD I,353)Evenk. *jēke-*, *jēku-* to shout*jēkel-* to cry out, utter a cry*jēken* shouting; whistle*jēku*, *jēk* a person exaggerating the feeling of pain; cry-babyEven. *iksin-* to utter a cry[*l'ik-*, *n'ik-* to shout*l'ikmātti* loud, flashy]Neg. *ikčín* shouting*ikčisin-* to utter a cry, to cry out**EGIVČLEN-** to resound, reverberate (Evenk.) (MTD II,437)**EGĒ** onom. oho! (MTD II,437)Evenk. *eyē* oho! (appeal)Sol. *eyē* O.K.! (interjection)**EGERĪ-** to moan, sigh (Evenk., Even.) (MTD II,437)Evenk. *eyerī-* to moan (from pain), var. *everī-**eyerikte-* to writhe (moaning from pain)Even. *eyər-*, *eyer-*, *əyər-* to moan, sigh; to bustle, fuss**ĒXIR** knock-knock (Sol.) (MTD II,443)**INIL-** to neigh (MTD I,321)Evenk. *inil-*, [*hiñil-*] to neighSol. *injele-* to neighNan. *ingiri-*, *ingilī-*, *jengiri-* to neigh*ingirilo-* to utter a neighMa. [*ilča-*,] *inča-* to neigh**ENTĪ** snort snorting (MTD II,457–8)Evenk. *entī* snort (about male deer in autumn)*entī-* to snort (about male deer in autumn)

etc. Neg., Orok.

hĒĒĒ- to sing (MTD II,360)¹⁰Evenk. *heye-*, *hēyē-* to sing(h)*eyevun* 1. song; 2. idle talk [var. *hayāvun*, *hošovun*]*hēyēlēn* improvising singer (of Evenki songs for round dance)

10) Cf. *haTĀ-* to sing (MTD II,308) below; further cf. Note 2 above.

hEŃKE I sound (MTD II,321)Evenk. *heŃke* sound; word, speech, talk; singing (of birds); croaking (of frogs)*heŃke*- to chirp (birds); to croak*heŃket*-/č-, [*haŃkat*-/č-, *huŃket*-/č-,] *hemket*-/č-, *eŃket*-/č- to speak, pronounce;
to narrate; to ask; to call; to grumble, scold*hĚNTA* echo (MTD II,321)Evenk. *hĚnta*- to echo, reverberate*JENPEN*- to make noise (MTD I,355)Ud. *jeŃpen*-, *jeŃgpene*-, [*jaŃgpana*-] to make noise, shout*jeŃpenel*- to make a noise, to utter a cry*jeŃpenenē* noisily(Further cf. *jaŃgu*-, *jaŃpa*- below)

OT. *iġla*:- to weep (Cl. 85)**iġ* weeping, sobbing (Cl. 75)¹¹*JĪĪLA*- to weep (OTD s.v.)*ik* (onom.) hiccough (Cl. 75)*iŃra*:- to whine, scream, bellow (Cl. 189, s.v. *aŃra*:-)*EŃRÄ*- to roar, to moan (OTD, s.v.)Xwar. *iŃre*- to lament (Cl. 189, s.v. *aŃra*:-)Kip. *iŃle*- onom. to moan, groan (Cl. 186, s.v. *aŃla*:-)Yak. *iŃärsii*-, *iŃässii*- to neigh (s.v. *iŃIL*- to neigh; MTD I,321)

11) Clauson reconstructs this root as the base of *iġla*:-, not noted in the early period, but surviving in NE Šor. *ɿ*, Khak., Tuv. *ɿ*: and NC Kir. *ɿy*.

(B) Back vowels *u, o*

Ta. *ō*⁴ interj. 1. Oh! (expressing superiority or inferiority); 2. Alas! Ah! (expressing bereavement); 3. Ha! (expressing joy); 4. Oho! (expressing wonder); 5. O! (expressing recollection); 6. Halloa! (calling attention) (TL s.v.)

Konḍa *ō*¹ interj. (said at the beginning of a story)

*ō*² pre-vocative (before kinship terms) (Krishnamurti 1969, p. 358)

Kuwi *ō* pre-voc. used before kinship terms (*ō āba* 'O! Father'; Israel 1979, p. 342)

Konḍa *ōho* interj. Alas! Oh! See! (Krishnamurti 1969, p. 358)

Pe. *oho*¹ exclamation (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1970, p. 198)

Ka. *uggu* repeatedly to utter unmeaning sounds, stammer; n. stammering
uggaḍis to utter repeatedly, cry out, repeat certain meaningless sounds
 so as to harmonize with dance or music

uggaḍa, uggaḍaṇe repeated sounds, noise, clamour, repetition of certain meaningless sounds uttered to harmonize with dance or music

Tu. *ugguni* to stammer

Te. *uggaḍincu, uggaḷincu* to utter; sound, produce sound (DEDR 571)¹²

?Br. *hōḡḥing* (also stem *hō-*) to weep (s.v. Ta. *oli* to sound, roar; DEDR 996)

Mo. *üge(n)* word, utterance; phrase; language, speech

ügender talkative, loquacious, voluble, garrulous

ügle- to shout during a battue

ügüle-, ögüle- to speak, say (lit. style)¹³

12) Cf. Ta. *pukal-* to say, state, sound; word, mode of singing; etc. Ma., Ka., Pa., Ga. (DEDR 4233) and also:

Mo. *üge(n)* word, utterance, etc.; *ügüle-/ ögüle-* to speak, say (lit. style); *ügele-* to nag, grumble; *ügle-* to shout during a battue (below), and the following Mo., MT., and OT. lexemes.

13) Ta. *pukal-* and Mo. *ügüle-* were compared by me earlier (Vacek 1983, p. 14, No. 120; and also 2006d, Note 10). The parallel between Ta. *pukal-* and Mo. *ügüle-* is possible with reference to the fact that the initial **p-* was lost in many Mongolian etyma (this word, however, is not found in Cincius 1984). For the loss of initial labial in Kannada (Ka. *uggu*), cf. e.g. P. S. Subrahmanyam 1983, p. 371f.; Zvelebil 1970, p. 85f.).

It is also possible that some of the Dravidian etyma in this formal group may have a trace of an initial labial, e.g. cf. Ta. *akavu* (see below) – besides Ta. *vakuḷi, vakuṇi* to sound; Ka. *baguḷ(u)*, etc. barking, crying out; etc. (only Ta., Ka., Tu, possibly To.; DEDR 5204; cf. below).

ukila- (see also *uila-*) to cry, sob, weep
ukilal crying, weeping, sobbing, lamenting

MT. *UKČEN-* to talk, converse (MTD II,256–257)
 Even. *ukčēn-* to talk, converse
ukčēnek discussion, conversation; narration; story
ukčēnmej talk, discussion¹⁴
 etc.

UFUN I story (MTD II,247)
 Evenk. *uyun, hūyun* [variants *ovun, hūvūn*] story
uyun- to narrate (stories) in the form of recitatives

UKTU weeping (MTD II,254)
 Ma. *uktu* weeping, sobbing; grief, worry¹⁵

UNKĪ- to weep (Evenk.) (MTD II,279)¹⁶
 Evenk. *unķī* to weep (about a baby)
 Even. *ūŋlǎ- ūŋlǎ* onom. imitation of the crying of a suckling infant

OGʻBT-/Č- to sing (MTD II,5)
 Even. *oγʻt-/č-, oγʻt-/č-* (folklore) to sing (the tune produced by the singer); to sing
 about, glorify
oγos singer
oγʻlkan singer (singing his own tune)
oγʻn (folklore) tune, melody

UNʻA- to sing (MTD II,278)
 Evenk. *unʻa-* to sing
unʻavun voice

OQOQO- to hoot (about the owl) (Evenk.) (MTD II,11)

?*UKSE* splash (of water from the oars) (Evenk.) (MTD II,254)

Ma. *uŋ* onom. a bell, sound of the bell (s.v. *Ī-* II to sound; MTD I,293–4)

14) Note the suffix *-mej*, which appears to be identical with e.g. Ta. *-mai* [mei].

15) MTD further refers to Mo. *uila-*, *ukila-* to cry, sob, weep (cf. above).

16) Cf. Vacek 2004b, par. 26b, where *UNKĪ* was mentioned with a question mark in the context of words meaning 'to grieve, worry' etc., but the etymon undoubtedly belongs to the above-mentioned formal and semantic context.

OT. *okɪ*:- originally ‘to call out aloud’, hence ‘to summon’, ‘to recite or read aloud’, and finally simply ‘to read’ (Cl. 79)

OQĪ- I to call (OTD s.v.)

OQRA- to neigh (a horse) (OTD s.v.)

Chag. etc. *ökür* weinen, jammern, heulen (Räs. 370b)

Kaz. etc. *öksö* laut weinen, schluchzen, brummern (von Bären) (Räs. 370a)

(C) *The vowel a*

Ta. *ā* interj. expr. pity, regret; wonder, admiration; contempt

Ma. *ā* ah!

Ka. *aḥ* interj. expr. astonishment or admiration, (also *akh*) contempt or unconcern

ā, āḥ interj. of surprise or pain

Tu. *ah, aha* ah! eh! (DEDR 332)

Pe. *aha* exclamation with vocative (Burrow, Bhattacharya 1970, p. 194)

Kuwi *āha* interj. alas; what a pity (Israel 1979, p. 335)

Ta. *akavu* (*akavi*-) to utter a sound as a peacock, sing, dance as a peacock, call, summon

akavar bards who arouse the king in the morning

akaval calling, addressing, screech of a peacock, high tone, n. of a metre

akavalaṇ bard of the Pāṇar caste

akavunar dancers, singers

Ma. *akaval* screech of a peacock, name of a metre in Tamil

akaruka, akiruka to roar, bellow, children to cry

akaral, akiral, akircca roaring, bellowing (DEDR 10)

?Ko. *ag-* (*aṛt-*) to weep, cry

agl, akl act of lamenting (s.v. Ta. *alu-* to cry, weep, lament; DEDR 282)

Ta. *ākuḷi* a kind of small drum

Ma. *ākuḷi, ākati* id. (DEDR 337)

Ta. *aṅkalāy* to lament, grieve, sorrow, be envious, covet

aṅkalāyppu disquiet, mental worry

Ma. *aṅkalāyḱka* to lament, grieve

aṅkalāppu anxiety, worry, disquiet

[Ko. *aṅla-pm* desire, liking]

Ka. *aṅgal* to grieve, be afflicted

aṅgalārcu, aṅgalācu to cry from grief, grieve, sorrow

aṅgalāpu lamentation, grief

[Tu. *aṅgalappu, aṅgalāpa* covetousness

aṅgu greed

aṅgidpini to be greedy, covetous

aṅgipuni to wish, be greedy of

aṅgele a greedy person, glutton

aṅṅanyuni to be greedy of, covet]

Te. *aṅgalārucu* to grieve, lament, cry out from fear, grief, or pain

aṅgada misfortune, trouble; mental agony, anxiety

Kur. *aṅglṅā, aṅglā'ānā* to weep loudly (DEDR 31)¹⁷

Konḁa *āṅkaris-* to roar as tiger; [look fierce] (Krishnamurti 1969, p. 350)

Some of the Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus lexemes have initial *j-*. In particular, the initial *ja-* in MT. may alternate with initial *i-*, which is reminiscent of a similar shift, though not regular(!), between Classical Mongolian and Khalkha (*ila-* to conquer, defeat etc., Kh. *jala-* id.)

Mo. *aydana-* to burst out laughing, roar with laughter

?*janggina-* to emit a sharp, high-pitched sound; [to ache]

janggija-a 2. sharp, high-pitched sound¹⁸

17) This etymon is obviously semantically broad, besides the aspect of 'sound' or rather 'noise' of weeping, its meaning also includes 'grieving'. However, the Kota ('desire') and Tulu ('to covet' etc.) lexemes may be semantically too remote and may not belong to this etymon.

Such variation of meanings may also be attested with other formally close roots, see also Note 35 below and cf. e.g.

Mo. *engsel-* a. to be troubled, upset, or disturbed, b. to crave, desire strongly

18) The homophone is obviously a different lexeme: *janggija-a* 1. packsaddle, saddle without cushion (= *janggircay* 1.).

ax-a 1 interj. Oh! Alas!

Kh. *янгуа* *ḍyy* sound (unpleasant, high)

янгуна- to utter a sound (unpleasant, high) (MTD I,342; s.v. *JANGU-* to make noise)

MT. *AGŌ-* mumble (about a suckling) (Nan.) (MTD I,13)

AGDĪ thunder (MTD I,12)

Evenk. *agdī* id. (similarly Sol., Even., Neg., Oroch., Ud., Olcha, Orok.)

Nan. *ayži* id.

Ma. *akža-* to rattle, thunder

AḲANDA noisily (Nan.) (MTD I,24)

AXIR knock- knock (MTD I,25)

Sol. *axir, ėxir* (onom.) knock-knock

AḲURA- to shout (MTD I,26)

Ma. *axura-* to shout (to expel the animal from the den by shouting)

Evenk. *ayūl, ayūn, [avūl]* to make a lot of noise, to say something emphatically

ayūn noise, shouting (MTD I,10; s.v. *AVŪL-* II make a lot of noise)

AṆ II shouting (MTD I,45)

Ma. *aṇ, aṇ aṇ seme* 1. shouting, roar (of donkeys, camels); 2. shouting (of quarrelling people)

hAḠĀ- to sing (MTD II,308)¹⁹

Evenk. *ayačinan* autumn hunter's festival

hayā- to sing

hayāvun 1. song; 2. idle talk (var. *āvūn-* etc. see below)

hayalan singer, master of singing

JĀKE- to speak (MTD I,339)

Evenk. *jāke-, jako-* to speak

19) Cf. *hĒĒĒ-* to sing (MTD II,360) above.

JANĠU- to make noise (MTD I,342)Evenk. *inḡukēkūn* grom, groxot*jaḡgu-*, *inḡū-*, *iḡnū-*, *jaḡu-*, *jaḡḡu-*, [*juḡḡu-*] 1. to make noise, to rattle; 2. to re-sound (about voice); 3. to be heard (about sounds)*jaḡḡulī-*, *jaḡulī-* 1. to make noise, to ring, to jingle; 2. to break s.t. with ringing
jaḡḡuči, *jaḡḡūči*, *inḡuči* noisy, ringing
etc. etc.[Even. *nāḡḡḡḡḡḡ* ringing, rattle, clang*nāḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, *nāḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, *nāḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, *nāḡḡḡḡḡḡ* to ring, to jingle, to tinkle, to clang]Oroch. *iḡuri bābu* a noisy heroUd. *iḡuteli*, [*juḡuteli*] to rattle, to rumble (in a distance)*iḡueli*, [*juḡueli*] rattling, rumbleOlcha *iḡur iḡur* rattling, rumbling (about remote noises of low tone, gun shot)*iḡuren-* to rattleNan. *iḡur-iḡur*, *iḡuer-iḡuer*, [*niḡur-niḡur*] rattling, rumbling (remote low noise)*iḡurī* thunder, rumble*iḡuri-*, [*niḡuri-*] to rattle, to rumbleMa. *jaḡḡar seme* loudly, clearly (about voice)**JANĠUNĠALA-** to sing (MTD I,342)Ma. *jaḡḡunḡala-* to sing (in harmony)**?JANPA** shaman's belt (MTD I,342)²⁰Oroch. *jaḡpa* shamans' belt (obsolete)Olcha *jaḡpā* metal pendants on the back of shaman's belt**?JA^hI** noise (MTD I,338)Ud. *ja^hi* noise*ja^hida-*, [*jaḡda-*, *jeḡdi-*] to make noise

OT. aḡzan- to utter (Cl. 98) (< aḡiz mouth?)**ATZAN-** 1. to speak, to pronounce; 2. to read aloud (OTD s.v.)**ATĠLA-** to weep, to be distressed (OTD s.v.)*aḡila-* (< **aḡi:*) onom. to bray (Cl. 186)*aḡra-* / [*iḡra-*] to whine, scream, bellow (Cl. 189) (cf. DEDR 31)

20) The connection seems to concern the 'function' of the metal pendants on the belt, which ring while the shaman dances rhythmically.

ANĪLA- to roar, to bellow (about ass) (OTD s.v.)

jan̄yīr-, jan̄yur- to sound, to ring

jan̄yu, jan̄qu noise, rustle, echo

jan̄qula- to sound, to utter sounds

jan̄ra- to utter sound, to pronounce (MTD I,342; s.v. *JAN̄GU-* to make noise; cf. also OTD s.vv.)

yan̄ra:- to make a sound of some sort (Cl. 952)

2. Initial vowels plus palatals *V-* + *c/s/š/z/ž/ñc*

(A) *Front vowels i, e*

Ta. *icai* to sound, sound as a musical instrument, express, signify, play as on a lute; n. sound, noise, word, fame, song, music]

? *ēe* Sāmaveda (or with 879 Ta. *ēñku*)

Ma. *ica, iśa* song, music

iśampuka to say, speak, utter

Ka. *ese* to sound (PBh.)

?Kui *ēsa* to sing, chant, recite, read aloud, relate, tell, say; n. act of singing, relating, telling (s.v. Ta. *iyampu* to sound, say; DEDR 470)

Ta. *ī*⁴ an exclamation expressive of wonder (TL s.v.)

Ta. *īci* fie!, excl. expressive of disgust or loathing

To. *üš* excl. of dislike

Ka. *is, issi* interj. of disgust

Tu. *is̄u, isi* interj. expr. disgust

Te. *isirō, isī, issirō, issī* fie! (denotes contempt, dislike, disapprobation)

Malt. *ispōri* fie! fie! (DEDR 424)

Ta. *ici* to laugh; laughter

icippu laughter (s.v. Ta. *ili* to laugh; DEDR 511b)²¹

Te. *encu* to make sound (Merolu)

Go. *yēcānā* (Tr.), *yēcānā* (Ph.) to play a flute or any wind instrument
(DEDR 879, s.v. Ta. *ēnku* to sound)

Mo. *esi* 2. interj. expressing compassion, displeasure, or disdain

iskire-, *iskerü-* to whistle²²

iskerege the act or sound of whistling

MT. *ĪSTA-* to scold, abuse (MTD I,331)

Even. *īsta* [< Yak.] to scold, abuse

ESUK'E- to abuse, scold (MTD I,468)

Ma. *esuk'e-*, *esung'e-* to abuse, scold, shout at s.o.; to roar (animal)

For variants of *ĪČ-* to growl (MTD I,332–3) cf. below s.v. MT. *ĪT-/Č-*

OT. *ışkır-*, *eşkir-* to whistle, hiss (Cl. 260; var. *üşkür-*)

Yak. *ūistā-* to scold, abuse (s.v. *ĪSTA-*; MTD I,331)

21) The word is question-marked in the DEDR. The TL s.v. derives it from *ili-*. Obviously it should be a part of a different, though related etymon. Therefore I separate it as DEDR 511b. Cf.

Mo. *ōzi-* 'to be lewd; to be troublesome, irksome; to be rude; to gloat over the misfortune of others'

elegle- to poke fun or laugh at, ridicule, satirize

Kur. *alkhnā* to laugh, laugh at, mock, seduce; etc. (DEDR 254)

See further the next part of this paper with root-final liquids (Vacek 2011 in preparation).

22) Cf. also the variant with initial *s-*: *siskir-* id.

(B) Back vowels *u, o*

Ta. *ōcai* sound, fame

[*ōtai* sound, noise, clamour, din]

ōcam (Tinn.) (= standard Ta. **ōccam*) sound

Ma. *ōśa* sound, noise

occa id., name, fame

Ko. *o-j* noise whose origin is not seen (DEDR 1036)

Ka. *osage* speech, report, news

usir, usur(u) to utter, speak, say, tell

Tu. *osage, osaya, osaye* news; the ceremony of sending a messenger to a girl's husband or parents with the news of her attaining puberty

Kuwi. *oc- (-it-)* to pronounce, guess (Isr.)

oconi riddle (cf. 631 Te. *ubusu, ūsu*) (DEDR 937)

Mo. *ōci-, oci-* 3. to say, answer, testify; to pray, to offer (Buddhists)

ōsū- to pray after the evening sacrifice when the lamps are extinguished.

MT. *UČŪN'* song (MTD II, 297)

Sol. *učūn'* song

Ma. *učule-* to sing

učulen, učun singing; song, verses

učulesi singer

OT. *üşkür-* to whistle, hiss (Cl. 260; var. *ışkır-, eşkir-*)

(C) The vowel *a*

Ta. *acai*⁻² 7. to say

acaippu 1. speech; 2. arrogance

Kuwi *āspi-* to call one in a distance by shouting (Israel 1979, p. 335)

?Ta. *acai*³ 1. expletive; 2. metrical syllable, of which there are two (*nēr, nirai*)
(TL s.vv.)

?*acai-c-col* expletive particle as *yā, kā, pīra* (*iṭai-c-col*) (TL s.v.)

This form with initial *a-* does not seem to be represented in the Altaic languages.

3. Initial vowels plus *i/y* *V-* + *- i/y*

(A) *Front vowels i, e*

The following Dravidian root seems to be related to the medial *-c-*:

Ta. *iyampu* to sound, say, utter

iyakku to cause to sound

iyakkam a musical composition, pitch (of three kinds)

iyam sound, word, musical instrument

iyantai an ancient melody type

iyavaṇ drummer

? *ēe* Sāmaveda (or with 879 Ta. *ēñku*)

Ma. *iyampuka* to sound

[Br. *hīt* talk, conversation, promise, matter (talked about)

hīt kanning to talk, discuss, say things about one

hītmit conversation, gossip] (DEDR 470; Ta., Ma., Ka., and Kui variants with medial *-c-*,
-ś-, -s- cf. above)

?Ta. *ēyil* song, music (TL s.v.; < *elil*)

Ta. *ē-y-ē* an exclamation expressive of ridicule (TL s.v.)

?Ta. *ē-y-eṇal* onom. expr. of rapidity as uttering the sound *ē* (TL s.v.)

To. *eya·* excl. of surprise

Kuwi (S.) *iyaliyō, iyalesa* alas! (s.v. Ta. *aiya*; DEDR 196b)

Kuwi *iyare* voc. address form used towards mother (Israel 1979, p. 337)

Mo. *eigle-* to wail, lament
ei interj. expressive of compassion, sorrow, fright, or disgust
ei xai expression of crying, moaning
öi interj. Hello! I say! Look here!

MT. *EJ I* interj. used in addressing a friend (Even.) (MTD II,439)

Ma. *ej* interj. used in addressing a person of a lower status (s.v. MT. *EJ II* yes; MTD II,439)

Turkic does not seem to have a representation of this form.

(B) *Back vowels u, o*

Ta. *öy* hallo!
Ka. *öyi* interj. used in calling
Tu. *öyi* interj. used in hailing
Te. *öyi, öyī* excl. in calling (DEDR 1058)

Mo. *uila-* to cry, sob, weep²³

MT. *ŌJ* exclamation (MTD II,8)
Evenk. *ōj: ōj! ōj! ōj!* Exclamation at young deer during migration so that they may not
go astray
Neg., Ma. *oj* call, hail

Olcha *ujsi-* to be noisy (e.g. about a steamship)
Orok. *ui, uji, ujsi* sound; *ui-, uj-* to be noisy, to rattle
Nan. *hujsi-, hujsigu-* to sound, to ring, to be noisy (s.v. *Ī-II* to sound; MTD I,293–4)

OT. does not seem to have this form.

23) Cf. also *ukila-* above; further cf. Kh. *buila-* to shout, cry, bellow (of camels) – Vacek 2006d, p. 176.

(C) The vowel a

- Ta. *aiya* excl. of wonder; excl. of pity, concern
aiyakō excl. of pity, sorrow
ai wonder, astonishment
aiy-enal uttering ai expressive of wonder, of distress or mental suffering, of assent
aiyaiyō excl. of pity or grief
aiyō excl. of wonder; excl. of pity, concern; excl. of poignant grief
Ma. *ayyā* interj. of derision
ayyō, ayyayyō interj. of pain, grief
Ko. *aya·* excl. of surprise or grief
aya·ava· excl. of grief
[To. *eya·* excl. of surprise]
Ka. *ayyō, ayyayyō, ayyayyē* interj. expr. grief; interj. expr. astonishment; interj. expr. compassion
Tu. *ayyō, ayyayyō* interj. of grief, annoyance, pain
Te. *ayyo, ayyō, ayyayō, ayyayyō, ayayō* interj. denoting sorrow, lamentation, pity, pain, etc.
Kui *āige, āigo, āigōna, āike, āiko, āikōna* interj. indicating annoyance, impatience, or disgust
[Kuwi (S.) *iyaliyō, iyalesa* alas!]
Kur. *ayō, ayō ge* excl. of pain or surprise
Malt. *aya, ayyi, ayyu* O my! (wonder, joy, woe)
ay(y)oke, ay(y)okaboke alas! (Cf. 364 Ta. *āy* 'mother' / Cf. Skt. *aye* excl. of surprise, recollection, fear (esp. used in dramas) (DEDR 196b))

Ta. *āy*⁵ an exclamation expressive of disgust (TL s.v.; also 'excrement')

Kuwi *ayale bapare* interj. expression of wonder (Israel 1979, p. 333)

- Mo. *ai* 1. interjection expressing pity, sympathy, worry, fear: Ah! Oh!
ai 2. sound, noise
aj-a 1. Oh! Alas!
aj-a 2. sound, tune, melody; pronunciation
ajas 1. (pl. of *aj-a* 2.) sound (especially sound of the voice); pronunciation, accent, rhythm, melody, tone, tune
ajala- 2. to hum, chant

ailad- c. to say
ailadxa- to speak respectfully, report to or memorialize a superior or the emperor

MT. *AJDAN* noise (MTD I,₂₁)²⁴

Evenk. *ajdan*, *ajadar* noise, din (at the time of birds' flight)

adar- to make noise (about flying birds); to shout

Even. *ajdān* [< Yak.] noise, shouting

ajdār- to make noise

JAJA- to sing (about a shaman) (MTD I,₃₃₈)

Evenk. *jaja-*, *jajā-* 1. to sing (about a shaman, to sing (at the time of shaman's singing); 2. to lament (at the time of a hysterical fit)

jaja shaman

[Even. *nāja* song (of the shaman)

nāja-, *nājīn-* to sing (at the time of shaman's singing)

nājīn, *nājan* singing (of the shaman)]

Neg. *jaja-* to sing (in general and especially about the shaman)

Oroch. *jaja-* to sing (about the shaman)

Ud. *jeæ-* to sing, conjure (a shaman, over a sick person)

Olcha *jaja(n)-* song

jaja-/i-, *jāja-* to sing

jajala- to sing and perform the shaman's ritual (obsolete)

Orok. *jāja* song

jāja-/i- 1. to sing (ritual songs; obsolete), to sing (a shaman); 2. to sing, to hum; 3. to bawl (about a drunk person)

jājala, *jājanjo* singer

Nan. *jaja-*, *jai-* to sing and perform the shaman's ritual, to sing (ritual songs) (obsolete)

Ma. *jajada-* to bur, to lisp

OT. *ay-* 1. to speak; 2. to say, declare, prescribe; 3. to say with the words in *oratio recta* (Cl. 266)

AJ- 1. to speak, narrate; explain, to comment; 2. to call; 3. to point out, to order, be in command (OTD s.v.)

AJ VI exclamation Oh!, Ah! (OTD s.v.)

aj aj Oh! Oh!; Ah! Ah!

OT. *AJVA* exclamation of disgust, indignation (OTD s.v.)

24) In some languages this root serves for the derivation of 'motivated' names of some animals, like *wild boar* or *hog*.

aykır- to shout and the like (Cl. 271)
AJQĪR- to shout, welcome by shouting (OTD s.v.)

Yak. *aidān* noise, shouting (s.v. *AJDAN*; MTD I,21)

4. Initial vowels plus dentals V- + t/d/n/nt

(A) Front vowels *i, e*

Ta. *inaī* to lament, cry, grieve; to torment
inaivu crying in distress, pain of mind
 Ma. *eneyuka* to moan, groan, lament, cry, sob
enaccal crying, weeping (DEDR 532)

Ta. *eñ* to say, utter, express
eñkai saying
eñpi to make one establish or prove (as a statement)
 Ma. *ennuka* to sound, say, think (defective); to sound thus, appear thus, be such (aux. vb.)
 Ko. *in-* (*iḍ-*), *-n-* (*-ḍ-*) to say (so-and-so), be said to be (so-and-so)
 To. *in-* (*iḍ-*) to say (so-and-so)
 Ka. *en* (*end-*), *ennu*, [*an* (and-), *annu*] to say, speak, call, name
enisu, *ennisu*, *enasu*, [*anasu*, *anisu*, *annisu*] to cause to say, cause oneself to say, cause to be called, cause oneself to be called, be called, be spoken of
enuha, *ennike*, *ennuvike*, [*annuvike*] saying, calling, naming
embu, *imbu* a saying, a word
 Koḍ. **enn-* (*emb-*, *end-*) to say (so-and-so)
 Tu. [*anpini*,] *inpini* to say, speak
endruni to say fully
 [Te. *anu* to say, utter, speak; *adj.* named, called
anipincu to seem, look, appear, be considered; pretend, cause to believe, cause to be said
anukonu to think, believe, suppose, say to oneself]
envānru (7th cent.; inscr., p. 354) he who is called
 Kol. *en-* (*ent-*), *in-* (SR.) to say (so-and-so), be said to be (so-and-so)
 Nk. *en-* (*ent-*) to say
 Nk. (Ch.) *en-* (*enḍ-*) id.
 Pa. *en-* (*end-*, *ett-*) to say (so-and-so)

Ga. *in-* (S.) id.

Go. *indānā* (*inj-*) (Tr.) to say, call

ind- (*itt-*) (A. Y. Mu.), *in-* (*-t-*) (Ma.) to say

Koṇḍa *in-* (*iR-*) id.

Pe. *in-* (*ic-*) id.

Mand. *in-* (*ic-*) id.

Kui *inba* (*is-*) to say, be articulate; n. saying, speaking, articulation

ispa (*ist-*) to cause to say, make articulate

Kuwi *injali* (F.), *innai* (S.), *in-* (*icc-*) (Su.) to say

inmbu (Isr.) saying

[Kur. *ānnā* to say, tell, salute as, point out, designate

ānta'ānā to make say, get one to designate or show

Malt. *āne* to think, say, or do thus (cf. *ine*, s.v. 410(a) Ta. *i*)] (DEDR 868; for the forms with initial *a-* see below)

Mo. *enel-* b. to grieve, lament, be distressed (cf. above Ta. *inai*, DEDR 532)

incaya- to neigh

MT. *ĪT-/Č-* to growl (MTD I,332-3)

Evenk. *it-/č-* to growl, grumble (animals); to bare one's teeth (animals)

ičil- to growl, grumble (all of a sudden; animals)

Even. *it-/č-* to growl, grumble (dog); [to pierce by a sharp object]

ičik, *ičək*, *iček*, *ičək* 1. angry (dog); furious; 2. biting (dog); thorn

Neg. *it-/č-* to growl, grumble (a dog, a bear)

itmēt-/č- to growl, grumble at each other (dogs)

INE- II to shout (Evenk.) (MTD I,319)

ETIN thunder (MTD II,469)

Evenk. *etiŋ* [< Yak.] thunder

ĒT̄BR- to weep (MTD II,471)

Even. *ētor-*, *ēter-*, *ēted-* to weep (loudly), to sob

ētoron, *ēteren*, *ētoronmej*, *ētoronmeji* n. weeping, sobbing²⁵

IN'AMMU- to weep, to shed tears (MTD I,319)

25) Note the suffix *-mej* in the last two words, which is practically identical with Ta. *-mai* [mei].

?*INNI* tongue (MTD I,316)

Evenk. *inni, ilji, inji, in'ji, iji* tongue (anat.)

Sol. *iji, ingyé, [iringi]* etc. tongue (anat.)

Even. *ienjə, ienjə* etc. tongue (anat.)

ienjəj bəə- to give a word, promise

ienjəmtə, ienjəmtə etc. 1. having bad articulation, lisping; 2. stammerer

ienjəmtə-, ienjəmtə- etc. 1. to lisp, to stammer; 2. to speak with an accent

etc. Neg., Oroch., Ud.

Olcha, Orok., Nan. have an initial *s-*

[Ma. *ilengu* tongue (anat.);]

OT. *öt-* to sing (of a bird, also of other animals); to emit some kind of sound (Cl. 39)

ÖT- II to sing, utter sounds (OTD s.v.)

IT-, ET- II to sing (OTD s.vv.)

inçik groaning (Cl. 174)

inçikla:- to groan (denom from *inçik*) (Cl. 175)

Yak. *ätij* thunder

ätijnän- to thunder (s.v. *ETIJ*, MTD II,469)

(B) Back vowels *u, o*

Ta. *utavu*⁻¹ 4. to report, tell, inform

utappu- 1. to scold, reprove; 2. to reject with an exclamation of disdain, rebuff; 3. to move about in the mouth, mumble

utampu- 1. to scold, reprove, rebuke; 2. to fighten (TL s.vv.)

Ta. *ötu* to read, recite, utter mantras, repeat prayers, speak, declare

ötuvi to teach the Vedas, instruct

ötal reciting (as the Veda)

öti learning, learned person

öttu reciting, uttering (as a mantra), the Veda

Ma. *ötuka* to recite, read, say

ötikka to teach

öttu reading (chiefly of scriptures), using formulas

Ko. *o-d-* to read, pronounce (charms), learn
o-t a charm

To. *wi-θ-* to read
wi-t incantation

Ka. *ōdu* to utter, read, recite, study, say; n. reading, etc.
ōdisu to cause to read, instruct in the śāstras
ōdike, ōduvike reading
ōtu, ōta reading, that has been read or studied, the Veda

Koḍ. *o-d* to read

Tu. *ōduni* to read
ōdāvuni to cause to read, teach how to read
ōdige, ōdu reading (DEDR 1052)

Ta. *ōtai* sound, noise, clamour, din (DEDR 1036; s.v. *ōcai* sound)²⁶

In some etyma there is a variation of the initial vowel with and without an initial labial and though broadly speaking it is one etymon, it may be viewed as having two variants, one preserving the former initial consonant:

Ka. *odarū* to sound, cry aloud, shout, shriek, howl

Te. *odarū* to prattle, prate, abuse (DEDR 5244b)²⁷

Mongolian does not seem to have a representation of this form.

26) Note that in some of the medial dental stops there is a relation with medial sibilants. In my earlier paper (Vacek 1994, Section 1) these two were also seen as etymologically connected.

27) Cf. the other examples in the same etymon with initial labial:

Ta. *vataru-* to chatter, prate, be talkative, lisp, abuse

Tu. *badaritana* defamation

Te. *vadaru, vaduru* to prattle, prate, babble, chatter, jabber
vadarūbōtu prattler, babbler (DEDR 5244a)

The following Kannada example, however, may either be an extension of the basic meaning, or it may be a case of the mutual semantic approximation of the same, almost homophonic forms:

Ka. *padaru* to speak unadvisedly, talk nonsense (DEDR 3910, s.v. Ta. *pataru* to be flurried, confused etc.)

Cf. also Mo. *badana-* to babble, grumble.

Some of these forms have already been listed in my earlier paper (1994, Section 9).

MT. *OTUTKA*- to shout (Evenk.) (MTD II,29)

OT. *ün/ü:n*- originally 'the sound of the human voice', hence more generally 'sound' (Cl. 165)

(C) *The vowel a*

Ta. *ataḷi* noise, tumult

Ma. *ataḷi* id.

Ka. *atala*, *attala* tumult

Te. *atalakutalamu* disorderly confusion, disturbance

adavadalu confusion (cf. 357 Ta. *ātāḷi*) (DEDR 135)

Ta. *atir* resound (as thunder), reverberate, sound (as a drum), roar (as beasts); to alarm by shouting, intimidate, rebuke, thunder, roar (as the sea)

atircci loud noise or report, roaring

atirppu echo

atirvu tremolo (DEDR 137a-b: s.v. Ta. *atir* to shake, quake)²⁸

28) I propose to separate one part of the Tamil etyma in DEDR 137a into DEDR 137a-b (to resound etc.), leaving the rest as a separate etymon DEDR 137a-a: to shake, tremble etc. There may, however, be some relation between the two meanings, as we have often seen before. A lexeme designating a 'movement' may also refer to the relevant 'noise' accompanying it. Just for comparison below is the DEDR 137a-a part of the etymon:

Ta. *atir* to shake, quake, tremble (as by an earthquake, the fall of a tree, the rolling of chariots), be startled, alarmed;

atircci quaking, shaking, trembling

atirppu trembling

atirvu shaking, trembling

Ma. *atiruka* to fear, tremble

Ka. *adir*, *adaru*, *aduru*, *adru* to tremble, shake, shiver, fear; n. trembling, tremor

adirpu trembling, fear

adalu = *adir* vb.; *adaru*, *adaru* to make tremble, shake

adaṭu to tremble, shake

Tu. *aduruni*, *adaruni*, *aduruni* to tremble, quake

adurāvuni to shake, agitate

adurāṭa shaking, trembling

adurupaduru shaking and trembling

adarpuni to cause to tremble, admonish, rebuke

addalipuni to rebuke, frighten

Ta. *ataṭṭu* to rebuke authoritatively, frighten with a vehement or sudden noise; n. rebuke, ranting

atampu to speak intemperately, rebuke

atakaṭi menace, threat, hectoring

Ma. *ataṭṭuka* to rebuke, reprimand, frighten with sudden noise

Ka. *adaṭu* to scold, reprimand, menace

adapu to speak intemperately, reprove (DEDR 137b)

Ta. *ātāḷi* noise, bustle, roar, agitation, boasting

Ma. *ātāḷi* noise, bustle, uproar

ātuḷi noise, buzz (cf. 135 Ta. *ataḷi*) (DEDR 357)

Ka. *an* (and-), *annu*, [*en* (end-), *ennu*] to say, speak, call, name

anasu, *anisu*, *annisu*, [*enisu*, *ennisu*, *enasu*] to cause to say, cause oneself to say, cause to be called, cause oneself to be called, be called, be spoken of

annuvike, [*enuha*, *ennike*, *ennuvike*] saying, calling, naming

Tu. *anpini*, [*inpini*] to say, speak

Te. *anu* to say, utter, speak; *adj.* named, called

anipincu to seem, look, appear, be considered; pretend, cause to believe, cause to be said

anukonu to think, believe, suppose, say to oneself

Kur. *ānā* to say, tell, salute as, point out, designate

ānta'ānā to make say, get one to designate or show

[Malt. *āne* to think, say, or do thus (cf. *īne*, s.v. 410(a) Ta. *i*)]²⁹ (DEDR 868; s.v. Ta. *eṇ* to say)

Te. *adaru* to tremble, shake, quake, shiver; n. trembling, shaking, tremor

adalu to start, be alarmed or afraid

adalincu, *adalucu*, *adalupu*, *adalpu* to frighten, rebuke, reproach

adalupu, *adalpu* frightening, rebuke

adiri-paḍu to start, be alarmed

adiri-pāṭu a start, alarm; adv. suddenly, unexpectedly

Ga. *adrap-* to shake (tr.)

Malt. *adyare* to be agitated (cf. 37, Ta. *acaṅku*)

- 29) Though the Malto form appears to be in partial agreement with the other lexemes in this 'speaking' subgroup, its meaning seems to be similar to DEDR 410a, viz Malt. *īne* to do thus. This may imply a systematic opposition between *i-* and *a-* (close and remote deixis), which, however, does not seem to be clearly expressed by the above-mentioned meanings of the two Malto verbs. Note that there is a similar formation of substitute verbs (*verba vicaria*, also called 'pro-verbs' or 'dummy verbs') likewise based on the two opposite deictic roots (referring to close **i-* and remote **te-* objects) in Mongolian: *inggi-* to do thus, in this manner as opposed to *tege-* 2. to do so, thus, or that way).

Kuwi *ana ana in-* to say ouch ouch (Israel 1979, p. 332)

Mo. *anir* noise, sound; echo, rumour (cf. the Telugu, Kurukh and Malto forms above
in DEDR 868, s.v. Ta. *en-*)

anirla- to produce a sound, make noise; to echo

Manchu-Tungus does not seem to have this form.

OT. *ata:-* (*a:da:-*) to call out (someone's) name; to call out to (someone); to
call someone (Cl. 42)

a:tan- (*a:dan-*) to be named, called; to be famous (Cl. 61)

5. Initial vowels plus labials V- + *p/b/v/m/mb*

(A) *Front vowels i, e*

Ta. *imir* to sound, hum

imiḷ to sound, buzz; to sound, hum; n. sound, hum, roar

Ma. *imaruka* to groan (DEDR 466)

Ta. *imm-eṇal* 2. onom. expr. of humming, rustling, pattering

Ta. *ēppam* belch

Ma. *ēmpal* id.

ēmpakkam, ēmpaḷam belching; (Tiyya) *ēmpiḷa* a belch (DEDR 897)

Mo. *imege* (= *cimege*) sound, noise; hubbub; rumour, news, report

ibir in: *ibir sibir* jabber, murmur, indistinct whisper³⁰

30) Cf. *sibsi-* 1. to speak in a low voice; to pray in a whisper; to conjure.

MT. *ĒVTE-* to neigh (Evenk., Even.) (MTD II,435)

Evenk. *ēvte-* to neigh; [var. *ōvta-*]

Even. *ēvre-* to be hoarse, to speak in a hoarse voice

ēvti- to shout, cry; to snort (a horse); to low

ēvtil- to utter a cry; to utter a snort; to utter a low

EVURE voice (Orok.) (MTD II,436)³¹

EMEKEJ oh! (MTD II,436)

Ma. interj. *emekej* oh! terrible!

?*IMČI* a drum (MTD I,314)

Ma. *imči, imčin* (ethnogr.) a drum (for one hand)

imčiša- to drum

JEPER-JEPER onom. imitation of pitter pattering drops (MTD I,355)³²

Neg. *jeper-jeper* onom. imitation of drops as rain starts to fall)

Plus the labial variants of medial velars (cf. above).

Evenk. *īvut-/č-* to sound; to be noisy (var. *iyit-/č-*, *hiyit-/č-*)

Even. *iv* 1. sound, noise; rumour, news; gossip; rustle; 2. noisy (var. *ig, ihin*)

(s.v. MT. *Ī*– II to sound; MTD I,293–4)

Evenk. *everī-* to moan (from pain), var. *eyerī-* (s.v. *ETERĪ-* to moan, sigh;

MT II,437)

OT. does not seem to have this form.

(B) Back vowels *u, o*

Te. *ubusu; ūsu* (K.) leisure; chat, talk

ūsul-āḍukonu (Visākha dialect) to chat

31) Cf. also MT. *ĒVĪ-* to play (MTD II,434), which also has some meanings like ‘to play a musical instrument’, ‘to sing and dance the Evenki national dance’ and the like. But the basic meaning seems to be related to ‘dancing, jumping’ etc.

32) But cf. *EPO* II wet (MTD II,459).

Pa. *ūb-* to speak, converse

ūbal a saying

ūbkuḍ conversation, a saying (Cf. 937 Ka. *osage, usir*) (DEDR 631)

Ta. *ōmal* 1. rumour; bruit; 2. reputation (TL s.v.; cf. *ampal*)

Ta. *ommal* (< *ōmal*) rumour (TL s.v.)

Ta. *omm-eṇal* an onom. expr. of the sound of a ball that is tossed about (TL s.v.)

Mo. does not seem to have this form.

MT. *O A* interj. babble of a suckling (Ma.) (MTD II,4)

UMTE- to low, moo (Even.) (MTD II,268)³³

(C) *The vowel a*

Ta. *amaḷi* tumult, uproar, bustle, press of business

amalai noise, din³⁴

Ma. *amaḷi* tumult, affray, cry, wail

amaḷikka to be troubled

aviḷi tumult

Ka. *amakkala* tumult (DEDR 166)

Ta. *avali* [to suffer, be distressed] lament, weep, be flurried

āvali to weep, cry, lament, grieve (s.v. Ta. *avalam* suffering, pain, distress; DEDR 265)³⁵

33) Cf. also a Manchu-Tungus form with an initial labial (for greater detail see Vacek 2006d, p. 186):

BUBGI- to growl (MTD I,99)

BOBIRĀ- to growl (MTD I,86)

34) Ta. *amaḷi* appears 3× in the oldest Tamil Sangam literature; *amalai* appears 12× (cf. Lehmann, Malten 1992, s.vv.).

35) A similar semantic diffusion can be also seen with other roots, while sometimes they are divided into two DEDR etyma, e.g. Ta. *ēṅku* to pine, languish etc. (DEDR 878 with a number of variants) and Ta. *ēṅku* to sound, scream, weep (DEDR 879); or the semantic range is

Ta. *ampal* 1. (Akap.) private talk between people concerning love intrigues of others, distinct from *alar*; 2. calumny (TL s.v.)

Mo. *amancar* talkative, loquacious, voluble, garrulous
amarxay talkative, gossipy

abij-a(n) sound, tone, voice; noise
abir onom expressive of whisper

?*amtai* having an opening or mouth; talkative, eloquent

?*jabsi-* to bark; to gabble; to make no secret of one's intentions; to speak frankly
jabsiyur babblers; talkative; frank

MT. *AVŪL- II* make a lot of noise (MTD I,₁₀)³⁶

Evenk. *avūl*, [*ayūl*, *ayūn*] to make a lot of noise, to say something emphatically
 [*ayūn* noise, shouting]
 Even. *avūr*, *avər* gossip; crazy
avūr- to talk, chatter; to talk nonsense; to become crazy
 Orok. *abūra-* to scold, abuse
 Ma. *abura-* to provoke to fight

JAVIDA- to tinkle (MTD I,₃₃₇)

Evenk. *jabilī-*, [*žabilī-*] to break (s.th. fragile, from glass)
javdar pednants (on shaman's dress)
javida-, *javda-* to tinkle, to jingle
javidan, *javdan* tinkling, jingling, ringing
javilbu-, *javildi-* 1. to bang down, to keep banging (with tinklets on a sack with salt to call the deer); 2. to rattle, to knock (monotonously)
javilbukā, *javikta* sack with tinklets (containing salt for the deer)
javina-, *javuna-*, *jayana-*, *jayuna-* 1. to murmur; 2. to splash (about fish)
javis onom. chirr! (imitation of the soaring of a bird)

found in one DEDR etymon: Ta. *ānkalāy* to lament, grieve, sorrow, be envious (DEDR 31). Cf. also Note 17 above.

36) In this case the MTD (ibid.) refers to Yak. *abar-* to be very angry; *abarыты* anger. This may be another case of formally close etyma, which may be viewed as semantically related or at least mutually 'quasi-conditioning', cf. Mo. *ayur* 1.b. anger.

JĀPUNE- to gurgle (MTD I,343)

Evenk. *jāpune-*, *jāptune-* to gurgle, to murmur

Oroch. *japču* tinklets (from bones of animals, hanging in the cradle)

japčulā- to keep knocking (about bones hanging in the cradle)

Ud. *japčugu* tinklets (from bones of animals, hanging in the cradle)

Evenk. *āvün-*, *aāvun-*, *haavun*, *hāvün-* 1. a song; 2. idle talk
(s.v. *hATĀ-* to sing; MTD II,308)

OT. *ABA V* exclamation of disgust, indignation (OTD s.v.)

Chuv. *AVĀT* 1. to sing (about a cock, cuckoo etc.); 2. to rattle (thunder)

6. Conclusion

This paper has offered a systematic survey of the above-defined formal group of verbs with the general meaning of to 'speak' and to utter or to make various sounds and noises. Also included were onomatopoetic expressions of the same structure. There are, however, some lacunae in the material. Not all the vowel-consonant combinations are found in the roots of some of the language groups.

In many cases the initial vowels appear to be the result of a loss of the initial consonants in the language groups concerned, and it was therefore interesting to refer to some of these possibilities. The fact that the parallels display a similar variability (with and without the initial consonants) in some of the above etyma in different language groups, may also be very important for further consideration. In particular it will affect the general conclusions on the type of relationship between Dravidian and Altaic, and the historical implications of these parallels in terms of early contact. This topic was discussed in my recent papers (cf. Vacek 2009a, 2009f, 2010b; and also Zvelebil 1990, 1991; to be particularly noted are also the papers by Uma Maheshwar Rao 2000, 2005) and need not be dealt with here in greater detail.

References

- BENZING, J., 1955, *Die tungusischen Sprachen. Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. *Abhandlungen der gesites-und social-wissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1955, Nr. 11. In Kommission bey Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden.
- BHASKARARAO, Peri, 1977, *Reduplication and Onomatopoeia in Telugu*. Deccan College, Pune.
- BURROW, T., BHATTACHARYA, S., 1970, *The Pengo Language*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- BURROW, T., EMENEAU, M. B., 1984(2), *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Clarendon Press, Oxford. [abbreviated as DEDR]
- CINCIUS, V. I., 1984, *Etimologii altajskih leksem s anlautnymi pridyxatel'nyymi smyčnymi gubno-gubnym *p" i zadnejazyčnym *k"* (The etymologies of the Altaic lexemes with initial aspirated occlusives – labial *p" and velar *k"). In: *Altajskie etimologii*. "Nauka", Leningrad, pp. 17–129.
- CLAUSON, G., 1972, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Clarendon Press, Oxford. [abbreviated as CL]
- DREVNĚTJURSKIJ SLOVAR' [Old Turkic Dictionary]. Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', Leningrad 1969. [abbreviated as OTD]
- EGOROV, V. G., 1964, *Etimologičeskij slovar' čuvaškogo jazyka* [An Etymological Dictionary of the Chuvash Language]. Čuvaškoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo, Čeboksary.
- EMENEAU, M.B., 1969, Onomatopoeics in the Indian linguistic area. *Language* 45, pp. 274–99.
- GNANASUNDARAM, V., 1985, *Onomatopoeia in Tamil*. Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar.
- HANGIN, G., 1986, *A modern Mongolian-English dictionary*. Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.
- ISRAEL, M., 1979, *Grammar of the Kuvi Language*. Dravidian Linguistics Association, Trivandrum.
- KRIPPES, K.A., 1992, *The Reconstruction of Proto-Mongolian *p-*. PhD. Thesis. Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies, Indiana University, 193 pp. (ms.)
- KRISHNAMURTI, BH., 1969, *Koṇḍa or Kübi. A Dravidian Language*. Tribal Culture Research & Training Institute, Hyderabad.
- LEHMANN, TH., MALTEN, TH., 1992, *A Word Index of Old Tamil Cankam Literature*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.
- LESSING, F. D., 1960, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- OBERFALZEROVÁ, A., 2009, Onomatopoeia and iconopoeia – as an expressive means in Mongolian. In: *MONGOLO-TIBETICA PRAGENSIA '09, Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture*. Vol. 2/1, 2009. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha, pp. 29–60.
- POPPE, N., 1955, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki.
- POPPE, N., 1960, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen. Teil 1, Vergleichende Lautlehre*. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.
- RÄSÄNEN, M., 1969, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki. [abbreviated as Räs.]
- SRAVNITEL'NYJ SLOVAR' TUNGUSO-MAN'ČŽURSKIJ JAZYKOV [A Comparative Dictionary of the Manchu-Tungus Languages]. Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', Leningrad 1975–1977. [abbreviated as MTD]
- STAROSTIN, S., DYBO, A., MUDRAK, O., 2003, *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*. *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 8/1–3. Brill, Leiden, Boston.

- SUBRAHMANYAM, P.S., 1968, *A Descriptive Grammar of Gondi*. Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.
- SUBRAHMANYAM, P.S., 2008, *Dravidian Comparative Grammar – I*. Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
- UMA MAHESHWAR RAO, G., 2000, Dravidian and Mongolian cognates and correspondences: Evidence for genetic relationship. *IJDL*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, pp. 57–80.
- UMA MAHESHWAR RAO, G., 2005, Dravidian and Mongolian genetic relationship: A case for reconsideration. Prof. M.B. Emeneau Centenary International Conference on South-Asian Linguistics. January 1–4, 2005. Central Institute of Indian Languages, Manas Gangotri, Mysore. See http://www.ciiil.org/Main/Announcement/MBE_Programme/paper/paper17.htm
- VACEK, J., 1993, Lexical Parallels in the Dravidian and Mongolian Comparison. *Archív Orientální* 61, 401–411.
- VACEK, J., 1994, To say, To speak, To prattle, To shout in Dravidian and Mongolian. *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies* (Pondicherry) 4, 1, 1994, 1–17.
- VACEK, J., 1996a, Dravidian and Mongolian: Summary of results. *Archív Orientální* 64, 31–46.
- VACEK, J., 1996b, 'To grow, to rise, to be great' in Dravidian and Altaic, 1. Stems with initial vowels. *Archív Orientální* 64, 295–334.
- VACEK, J., 1998, Tamil Etymological Notes 1. *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies* (Pondicherry) 8, 2, 133–145. [TEN 1]
- VACEK, J., 2000, Tamil Etymological Notes 2. *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies* (Pondicherry) 10, 1, 19–42. [TEN 2]
- VACEK, J., 2001a, Dravidian and Altaic 'hot – fire – heat' (DEDR 1458 and the related etyma with initial *k-/g-*). In: 'Gramaticus' (Adolfu Erhartovi k 75. narozeninám), Brno 2001, pp. 175–200.
- VACEK, J., 2001b, Dravidian and Altaic 'fire – glow – light' (*tVL-, dVL-, nVL-; VL-*). In: *Tohfa-e-Dil. Festschrift Helmut Nespital*. Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen. Reinbek 2001, Bd. 1, pp. 561–576.
- VACEK, J., 2002a, Dravidian and Altaic 'Water – Viscosity – Cold'. *An Etymological and Typological Model*. Charles University, The Karolinum Press, Prague, 359 pp.
- VACEK, J., 2002b, Emphasizing and interrogative enclitic particles in Dravidian and Altaic. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '02. Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha 2002, pp. 151–185.
- VACEK, J., 2002c, Dravidian and Altaic "deer – antelope – bull". *Indologica Taurinensia* XVIII, pp. 251–266.
- VACEK, J., 2003, *Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic (Etyma with initial sibilants of affricates). In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '03. Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha 2003, pp. 175–205.
- VACEK, J., 2004a, Dravidian and Altaic "sheep – deer – cattle". In: *South-Indian Horizons (Felicitation Volume for François Gros on the occasion of his 70th birthday)*. Edited by Jean-Luc Chevillard (Editor) and Eva Wilden (Associate Editor) with the collaboration of A. Murugaiyan. Institut Français de Pondichéry, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris 2003, pp. 333–345.
- VACEK, J., 2004b, Dravidian and Altaic – In search of a new paradigm. *Archív Orientální*, Vol. 72, pp. 384–453. Reprinted in: *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* (Trivandrum, India), Vol. XXXV, No.1, January 2006, pp. 29–96.
- VACEK, J., 2004c, *Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 2. 1. Etyma with initial velars. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '04. Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha, pp. 195–230.

- VACEK, J., 2005a, Dravidian and Altaic 'to break, to beat, to crush, to rub' (Ta. *kavi* – Mo. *xabir- / xayar-* – MT. KAPU- / KAVṬL- / KAṆṬARĀ- – OT. *kam-* / *kak-*). *Archiv Orientální*, Vol. 73, pp. 325–334.
- VACEK, J., 2005b, *Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 2. 2. Etyma with initial velars and final liquids. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '05. Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha 2005, pp. 171–197.
- VACEK, J., 2005c, Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body 1. Breast. In: *Acta Mongolica*, Vol. 5 (246). Dedicated to the 100th Birthday of Professor Yo'nsiebu' Biyambyn Rinc'en (1905–1977). Ulaanbatar 2005, pp. 65–70.
- VACEK, J., 2006a, Dravidian and Altaic – In search of a new paradigm. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* (Trivandrum, India), Vol. XXXV, No.1, January 2006, pp. 29–96. (Reprint of Vacek 2004b)
- VACEK, J., 2006b, Dravidian and Altaic 'to bow, bend, stoop, incline, curve' 1. (C)VC- roots with initial labials and medial velars or labials. *Archiv Orientální*, Vol. 74, pp. 183–202.
- VACEK, J., 2006c, Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body 2. Hair, feather. In: *Acta Mongolica*, Vol. 6 (267). Dedicated to the 90th Birthday of professor Denis Sinor. Edited by Ts. Shagdarsuren. Centre for Mongol Studies, National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar 2006, pp. 79–82.
- VACEK, J., 2006d, *Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 3. 1. Etyma with initial labials (*p-*, *b-*, *f-*, *v-*, *m-*). In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '06. Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha 2006, pp. 163–190.
- VACEK, J., 2007a, Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body 3. Heart, chest, inside, mind, thought. In: *Mongolian Studies*, Vol. 22, (Seoul, The Korean Association for Mongolian Studies), pp. 27–45.
- VACEK, J., 2007b, Dravidian and Altaic 'to bend / to bow – elbow / knee / ankle'. Initial dental stop or nasal, medial velar or labial. *Archiv Orientální* 75, No. 3, pp. 395–410.
- VACEK, J., 2007c, *Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 3. 2. Etyma with initial labials (*p-*, *b-*, *f-*, *v-*, *m-*) and root-final liquids and retroflex stops. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '07. Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics and Culture*. Vol. 1, 2007. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha, pp. 87–113.
- VACEK, J., 2007d, Dravidian and Altaic – a new macrofamily on the horizon? In: *MONGOLICA, An International Annual of Mongol Studies*, Vol. 20 (41), 2007, pp. 429–443. A special issue containing the papers of The 9th International Congress of Mongolists convened under the patronage of N. Enkhbayar, President of Mongolia (8–12 August, 2006, Ulaanbaatar) Ulaanbaatar, Secretariat of the International Association for Mongol Studies.
- VACEK, J., 2008a, *Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 4. 1. Etyma with initial dentals (*t-*, *d-*, *n-*). In: *MONGOLO-TIBETICA PRAGENSIA '08. Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture*. Vol. 1/1. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha 2008, pp. 99–133.
- VACEK, J., 2008b, Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body 4. Liver, spleen. In: *Acta Mongolica*, Vol. 8 (306). Dedicated to the 70th Birthday of Professor D. Tumurtogoo. Ulaanbaatar 2008, pp. 7–14.
- VACEK, J., 2009a, Dravidian and Altaic – problems and solutions. In: *Oriental Studies. Proceedings of the International Conference of Oriental Studies. 55 years of the Committee of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1952–2007)*, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 62, 2009, 1, pp. 224–235.
- VACEK, J., 2009b, Dravidian and Altaic 'to bend' – Ta. *kavi-* / *kaviḷ-*, Mo. *kebüi-* / *köbüre-*, MT. KAMPĪ- / *KEBILE-*. In: *MONGOL STUDIES* (Research Papers), Volume XXX (318). Editors-in-chief D. Zayabaatar, M. Uuganbayar. School of Mongolian Language and Culture, National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 2009, pp. 157–168.

- VACEK, J., 2009c, Dravidijskij i altajskij – jazyki drevnih intensivnyh kontaktov. (Dravidian and Altaic – ancient high contact languages). In: *Problemy mongolovednyh i altaističeskikh issledovanij*. Materialy meždunarodnoj konferencii, posvjaščennoj 70-letiju professora V.I. Rasadina. Elista 2009, pp. 50–58.
- VACEK, J., 2009d, Vacek, Dravidian and Altaic 'to wave / to tremble – arm / shoulder-(blade) / wing'. In: *Acta Mongolica*, Vol. 9 (320). Dedicated to the 80th Birthday of Professor Rachelwitz. Ulaanbaatar 2009, pp. 7–14.
- VACEK, J., 2009e, *Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 4. 2. Etyma with initial dentals (*t-, d-, n-*) and root-final liquids and retroflex stops. In: *MONGOLO-TIBETICA PRAGENSIA '09. Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture*. Vol. 2/1, 2009. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha, pp. 123–143.
- VACEK, J., 2009f, Dravidian and Altaic – two layers in Dravidian due to ancient high contact? In: *MONGOLO-TIBETICA PRAGENSIA '09. Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture*. Vol. 2/2, 2009. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha, pp. 77–109.
- VACEK, J., 2010a, Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body 5. 'Extremities' – head, finger, foot/leg. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 63,1, pp. 271–283.
- VACEK, J., 2010b, Dravidian and Altaic – ancient high contact languages? *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistic* (International School of Dravidian Linguistics, University of Trivandrum), Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 117–138.
- VACEK, J., 2010c, Dravidian and Altaic – a new beginning. Paper read at the World Classical Tamil Conference in Coimbatore. June 2010, in print.
- VACEK, J., LUBSANGDORJI, J., 1992, New Mongolian Nivh (Ghiliak) Lexical Parallels (with references to Dravidian). *Archív Orientální* 60,4, pp. 409–430.
- VACEK, J. & J. LUBSANGDORJI, 1994, Dravidian-Mongolian-Chuvash kinship terms. *Archív Orientální* 62,401–414.
- ZVELEBIL, Kamil V., 1970, *Comparative Dravidian Phonology*, Mouton, The Hague, Paris.
- ZVELEBIL, Kamil V., 1990, *Dravidian Linguistics, An Introduction*. Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, Pondicherry.
- ZVELEBIL, Kamil V., 1991, Long-Range Language Comparison in New Models of Language Development: The Case of Dravidian. *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies* 1,1,21–31.

Internet resources

Classical Mongolian: <http://www.linguamongolia.co.uk/dict1.html>

Review Section

Svetlana Menkenovna Trofimova, *Grammatičeskie kategorii imennyh osnov v mongol'skikh jazykah (Semantiko-funkcional'nyj aspekt)*. Izdatel'stvo kalmyckogo universiteta, Elista 2009, 282 pp. Paperback, ISBN 978-5-91458-038-1 – Reviewed by Rachel Mikos

The volume under consideration, 'Grammatical Categories of Noun Stems in the Mongolian Languages (Semantic-Functional Aspect)', represents a highly significant achievement in Central Asian linguistics. Based on her own research, the author, S.M. Trofimova attempts to provide an answer to what she terms the 'question insufficiently addressed in Mongolian linguistics' (p. 10) of the grammatical categories assigned to the noun 'from a well-rounded analysis of the morphological phenomena of the Mongolian languages and an overview of the semantic and functional specifics of the formal indicators according to the manifestation of their type of grammatical categories' (ibid.).

Essentially, the aim of the new approach that Trofimova is proposing towards the question of noun categories in Mongolian and related languages is, as she states in her introduction, not merely to propose theoretical innovations or even to test them against collected data: of crucial importance is the idea that a view of the language as a 'functional system' requires a dissociation from the 'methods traditional for Mongolian linguistics, with their structural-morphological approach tied to traditions of erudition in European languages – languages of a different, inflectional ordering' (ibid.).

The volume is divided into four main chapters. The first, the very longest (187 pages), bears the title 'The System of Grammatical Categories of Substantive Nouns in Mongolian Languages – The Semantic-Functional Aspect'. This chapter treats the following subjects: the noun as a part of speech in Mongolian languages, the morphological structure of substantives, the category of gender of nouns in Mongolian (pertaining to Middle Mongolian), the category of number, the category of possession and finally the longest section: the category of declension in Mongolian languages. One particularly interesting topic that the author places under discussion – a phenomenon that is indeed unusual in terms of standard Indo-European grammatical categories – is that of double case endings (*dvojnoe sklonenie*). Trofimova provides many examples drawn from the spoken language, some of which combine the sociative and instrumental cases (*as'ig-tai-gaar*), the sociative and accusative cases (*su'j'ig-tei-g*), or the sociative and ablative cases (*az'il-tai-gaas*).

In the second chapter, the author addresses the question of adjectival nouns in Mongolian languages. As Poppe and other scholars have pointed out, in the Altaic language family in general, the division between nouns and adjectives is not always as strictly defined as in other linguistic groups. As might be expected in a language that is agglutinative, the Mongolian languages have at their disposal a rich array of desubstantive-forming suffixes, for example, Mongolian-Buryat, *modon* ('wood, tree'), Mongolian *modorhog*, Buryat *modorhuu* ('wooded, forested land').

In the third chapter, the author turns to the question of numerals in Mongolian languages. In this respect as well, there are a number of categories that – as the author demonstrates with an impressive range of examples – need to be addressed autonomously from the traditional, often Latin-based terminology that certain previous scholars have invoked. For example, Trofimova identifies quantitative numerals, ordinal numerals, collective numerals (for example, *arvuul*, the ten of us / the ten of them), partial numerals (for example, Mongolian *dor'vood*, Kalmyk *dor'ved*, Buryat *du'rbood* – 'over four').

In the fourth (and the final independent) chapter, Trofimova addresses the question of the grammatical categories of definiteness and indefiniteness. She opens with a general discussion of the development of the topic in Russian linguistics; as she notes, in Mongolian languages there is no system of marking definite and indefinite nouns in the manner of Indo-European languages (p. 234): though the categories of 'definite' and 'indefinite' certainly exist, they are expressed in other ways. The sources examined for this linguistic data include historic documents, such as the *Altan Tobc'i* ('The Golden Summary'), in which the word *nigen* ('one') functions as an indefinite article. Likewise, the author also draws attention to the presence or absence of the accusative case endings to indicate definiteness or indefiniteness, for example Mongolian *nom uns'iv* ('he/she read a book'), *nom-ig uns'iv* (he/she read the book).

The conclusion of Trofimova's study then briefly recapitulates her findings regarding the separate categories (declension, plurality, possession, and the general question of the substantive, adjectival nouns, numerical nouns, and the question of definiteness and indefiniteness). As she notes, the semantic-functional approach employed allows for a wider understanding of lexical, morphological and etymological units within the wider framework of functions. It is, as she concludes, the high degree of similarity between the items assigned to the categories, which makes functional rather than formal classificatory methods preferable.

Ц. Шагдарсүрэн, *Эх хэлээ эвдэхгүй юм сан... Монгол хэлний мөн чанар, онцлог, одоогийн байдал, олон нийтийн эх хэлний боловсрол, сөрөг үзэгдэл* [We should not spoil our mother tongue... (Essence of the Mongolian language, its special character, present-day condition, communal speech culture, negative phenomena)]. Монгол Улсын Их Сургууль, Улаанбаатар 2010, 324 pp.; ISBN 999295315-2 – Revised by J. Lubsangdorji

This book is a work of Ts. Shagdarsureng, professor of the Mongolian State University. The author is a modern Mongolian linguist, one of the pupils of the world-famous Mongolian linguist B. Rinchen, who tries to give expression to his feeling of responsibility for the culture of speech of present-day Mongolian mother tongue speakers. And in fact the text makes for interesting and thought-provoking reading.

The book is divided into two parts.

In the **first part, The Mongolian language, its substance and present condition**, the author discusses the subject with regard to various special topics, e.g. new requirements for the knowledge of the culture of speech of a community; the place of Mongolian among the languages of the world; some characteristic features distinguishing Mongolian from other languages of the world; the relation of language and thought; the essence of orthography and orthoepy; the meaning of words and shifts in meaning; the essence of terminology; written language and the so-called literary language; restoration of forgotten words and suffixes; ways of writing Mongolian in the Latin script. He also asks who is protecting the language and who is spoiling it. Last but not least he also discusses the question of how the Mongolian script can be a support in developing a feeling for language from birth.

The author rightly criticizes the teaching programs of Mongolian in the system of school education in Mongolia, in which much attention has been devoted to grammar and theory, while the practical use of language has been relatively neglected. For the last 40–50 years, this type of teaching has been doing much damage to the speech culture of the mother tongue. The author also discusses the question of switching from the teaching method of ‘syntactic analyses’ to a new method – writing ‘essays’.

The **second part, On the negative phenomena to be encountered in contemporary Mongolian language**, deals with topics like selection of (wrong) words; failure in logical links or absurdities in talking and writing; disruption

of the meaning due to literal translations; mistakes caused by misunderstanding the meaning of suffixes or arising due to lack of knowledge; mistakes caused by irregular word order; spoiling the meaning by the excessive use of some suffixes (-лм); excessive use of passive-reflexive forms; lack of rules for writing and speaking; stylistic mistakes; excessive and incorrect use of foreign (English) words.

In this part the author offers a number of examples of widespread mistakes in the speech culture of present-day Mongols, specifies the reasons for the mistakes and also the manner of correcting them.

Besides that, in this part the author also discusses questions related to social anthropological and sociolinguistic research in Mongolian, particularly relating to the problem of a tendency to imitate (the foreign), the different forms of thought of different nations, the ethics of language awareness and self-advertising, office speech (red-tape) and emotional exaggeration.

Prof. Shagdarsureng underlines the fact (p. 15) that among the Mongols there is a feeling of a high and empty aloofness expressed by the phrase *'Surely, I am a Mongol, how could I not know my Mongolian'* (Би монгол хүн юм чинь монгол хэлээ мэдэхгүй яах юм бэ). The idea of the 'know-it-all' (мэдэмхийрэл) seems to be widespread in the country and the Mongolian community seems to completely indulge in it.

One example of mistakes made by the Mongolian 'know-it-all' (pp. 160–161): In one Mongolian folk song there was a line *эр бор харцага шигүүргэндээ хүчтэй*, which means 'male grey hawk is strong in its grip'. The obsolete word *шигүүргэ* (grip, snatching) was not understood by a 'know-it-all' collector and replaced by the word *жигүүргэ* (wing). And ever since this verse has been sung incorrectly with the meaning 'male grey hawk is strong in its wings' (*эр бор харцага жигүүргэндээ хүчтэй*).

Another example (pp. 161–162): In the heroic epics feminine beauty was described by the phrase *зэрэ мэтү гэгээтэй* (shining, bright like a light, torch). The ancient word *зэрэ* 'light, torch, lamp' was misunderstood by a collecting folklorist and the 'mistake', as he understood it (an extra – э in the end of the word *зэрэ*), was corrected to *зэр* 'yurt' and the whole phrase was changed to *зэр нэвт гэгээтэй* (shining through the yurt).

The examples of imitating what is foreign, about which the author is very critical, are also interesting. For example, at the end of Mongolian films in Mongolian language the English expression *'The End'* appears. The front page of an invitation sheet, which otherwise is in Mongolian, has just one word in English: *Invitation*. These examples seem to betray the fact that there is a feeling of being a colony, which has penetrated deep 'into the blood' (p. 285). The author also points out that there seems to be a complex of a special form of self-advertising by using foreign words. As if the use of foreign words at serious moments – *Tibetan* words at the time of Lamaism, *Russian*

words at the time of Soviet supremacy, and *English* words at the time of 'globalisation' – would create the image of a highly educated person. And this is not only a phenomenon of 'imitation' as such, but particularly also of the red tape of bureaucrats.

The author also expresses a warning in the following words (pp. 10–11): "We neglect the question of our mother tongue which is also related to the future of our country as an independent state. This, however, has one positive aspect, in that dealing with this question does not require much money. The development would be facilitated just by issuing a bill or a decree supporting the social functions and social rights (social status) of the Mongolian language and implementing them in life."

Thus Prof. Ts. Shagdarsurung points out concrete facts and examples of the worsening position of present-day Mongolian and is openly very critical about it. Some readers may not like his harsh words. But is a criticism of a scholar 'harsh words'? The answer may be seen in the following statement of a Mongolian newspaper:

With the participation of the best scholars of our state, the government has prepared a *Document of a complex policy of state development* and passed it on to the President ... This Document had a paragraph which mentioned the possibility of "conducting office work in English"... (cf. *Өглөө орой сонин*, January 15, 2008, <[www. sonin. mn](http://www.sonin.mn)>).

Let us see some interesting views of the author concerning the culture of speech of the Mongols and the possibilities of improving it.

- What results have been achieved by replacing the Mongolian script by the Cyrillic script?

Mongols set about losing the feeling for their mother tongue and a single Mongolian nation which had a single script was divided into *Inner Mongols*, *Buriads*, *Kalmyks* – thus opening the door to a loss of unity and growth of separation. (p. 189)

If we renew the Mongolian script in the present – as long as it is not late to do so, this will open the possibility of reviving a forgotten linguistic feeling for the mother tongue, though it may only be partial. (p. 190)

After giving up the Mongolian script, Mongols were severed from the cultural heritage of a thousand years. The new Cyrillic orthography (*шинэ үсгийн дүрэм*) did not respect the characteristics of the Mongolian language, many short vowels which made the language melodious were no more spelled out and thus for a foreigner, present-day Mongolian sounds harsh and full of rattling sounds. (p. 81)

- When improving and developing the orthography of Mongolian Cyrillic in agreement with the characteristic features of the Mongolian language, the short vowels which are not spelled out now should be restored. (p. 188)

- Mongolian interpreters have one erroneous concept. They think that if a term is a noun in a foreign language (e.g. Russian), it must be translated by a noun. This is why the number of nouns

derived from verbs by the suffix *-лт* has increased. Due to that there are a great number of various noun phrases tearing your ears: *өглөөний цай уулт* (drinking of the morning tea, breakfast), *өдрийн унталт* (day sleep), *өтгөн хаталт* (lit. drying up of the stool = constipation), *цус гаралт* (lit. blood outflow = bleeding).

The author proposes to remedy this by way of Prof. Sh. Luvsandvandan's suggestion to translate such terms by a different type of verbal noun, which will be neither unidiomatic nor offensive, e.g. Russian *мышление* (thought, thinking) can be rendered by *сэтгэхүй*, a verbal noun derived from the verb *сэтгэ-* (to think). (p. 35)

However, we may also have doubts about some of the arguments. Just one critical remark. Perhaps some of the criticized phrases may still be acceptable, like e.g. *арван тугалтай үнээ* ('ten cows with calves', lit. 'ten calf-with cows'), *үнээгүй нүдний шил* (lit. 'free eye glasses'), while if the position of the attribute is changed, the result is unacceptable: *тугалтай арван үнээ* (lit. 'calf-with ten cows'), *нүдний үнээгүй шил* (lit. 'eyes' free glasses').

In the end it should be underlined that this work of Prof. Ts. Shagdarsurung openly discusses serious problems affecting the internal life of present-day Mongolian. Therefore it is an important book not only for mother-tongue speakers, but also for foreign scholars studying Mongolian language and culture. Though the book is primarily meant for the present-day Mongolian public, it may also be enlightening for specialists in Mongolian abroad, who will be welcome to express their opinion on the described phenomena and perhaps also offer support.

