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On the Chinese transcription, Ming Glossary and on translations of the Secret History of the Mongols into European languages

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Summary: In the study of the SHM there is a conception of the language of the original of the SHM, to which its Chinese interlinear translation and the Chinese abridged translation belong. In this paper this conception is questioned, and it is demonstrated from concrete examples that it results in erroneous translations. We may mention several examples: Temüjin seized a mare from the Merkit ruler and presented it to his brotherly friend Jamuqa (§117); an important riding horse of Chingis Khan's commander Boorči had an arched back (§95); Mongolian Khans killed people by cooking them all in a kettle (§129); and the like. The author of the paper discloses and corrects a number of such errors and proposes new possibilities for translations, which should correctly reflect the facts described in the SHM.

1. Introduction

After the decline of Mongolian domination a great need arose for the Ming official representatives (officials) to learn the Mongolian language. The Emperor ordered the Cabinet of Wise Men in Literature to prepare and issue teaching materials for the Mongolian language (textbooks, readers, dictionaries). One of them was the SHM, which was called *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (The Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty) and became a widespread teaching aid of the Mongolian language for many Chinese. According to the research of the American scholar F.W. Cleaves (1982, p. LX), in the beginning the arrangement of the 'columns' in this book was as follows:

- 1) Mongolian original in the Uighur-Mongolian script
- 2) interlinear Chinese transcription of the Mongolian pronunciation of every word
- 3) interlinear Chinese translation after every word
- 4) after every paragraph abridged translation into Chinese

At a later stage the Uighur-Mongolian text was removed and only the last three parts were printed between 1368 and 1382. This copy is the so-called Chinese original of the SHM, and translators and scholars call it the "language of the

original”.¹ What is the opinion of specialists in Mongolian studies, who made significant contributions to the study of the SHM?

It may be interesting to note the opinions of various scholars on the individual component parts of the text as mentioned above.

On the Chinese transcription:

- “The Chinese transcription of the SHM has an unbelievably detailed system, the SHM is not a transcription of an oral original or oral reading of a person, but it is transcribed from the written original, it reflects and transmits the orthography of the pre-classical period.” (Sumyabaatar 1990, pp. 893–894)
- “The Chinese transcription of the SHM is not made on the basis of the original written Uighur-Mongolian original, but it is transcribed on the basis of the pronunciation of Mongolian of the second half of the 14th Cent.”²
- “The Mongolian text (*Niuca Tobca'an*) is not only the oldest Mongolian historical source, but also the oldest Mongolian literary document. Thus besides its contents it has special linguistic value. In addition – regardless of what is said below in the preliminary remark to Part VII – it is a unique work of transcription of a complete literary work from a foreign language into Chinese characters, and that is why it is of importance for the technique of transcription as well as for historical phonology.”³

1) Cf. the title page of the English translation by F.W. Cleaves (1982): *Done into English out of the Original Tongue*.

2) Gadamba (1990, p. 218). Besides that, Gaadamba repeatedly seriously criticized the erroneous transcriptions in the Chinese transcription, which result in incorrect meanings. For example: “non-serious erroneous transcriptions” (p. 247, com. No. 155); “more serious errors of the scribes making the transcription” (p. 276, com. No. 288); “erroneous transcription” (p. 324, com. No. 461); “result of an erroneous pronunciation also in writing what was read aloud” (p. 253, com. No. 181); “errors of incorrect pronunciation and incorrect listening” (p. 254, com. No. 185); “erroneous transcription according to erroneous pronunciation” (p. 256, com. No. 196); “errors of the writing scribes” (p. 260, com. No. 213); “many errors, arising due to the inclination to interchange the male and female vowels at random, and in that way change many male words into female words” (p. 249, com. No. 165; p. 264, com. No. 232, 234; p. 265, com. No. 237); etc.

3) Haenisch (1931, p. 5): ‘Der mongolische Text stellt nicht nur die älteste mongolische Geschichtsquelle dar, sondern auch das älteste mongolische Literaturwerk überhaupt, besitzt also neben seinem inhaltlichen auch einen besonderen sprachlichen Wert. Er ist zudem – unbeschadet dessen, was unten in der Vorbemerkung zu Teil VII gesagt wird – ein Unikum als Umschreibung eines vollständigen fremdsprachlichen Literaturwerkes mit chinesischen Zeichen, daher von Wichtigkeit für die Umschreibungstechnik wie für die Lautgeschichte.’

- “The below reconstruction of the text, which could not use other manuscripts, should be viewed as an experiment. The phonetic section offers only the material and leaves the rest to a specialist.”⁴

On the Ming interlinear translation:

- “The interlinear Chinese translation has an invaluable importance for a correct understanding of every word and for understanding the SHM. This is because the authors of theses interlinear translations mastered completely both the Mongolian and the Chinese language of that time, and besides that it must be taken into consideration that the translation of the SHM was made at a time, when only 100–150 years had passed since its composition.” (Čeringsodnam 1993, p. 19)
- “Unfortunately, this Glossary often mentions only one particular meaning for every word, sometimes not corresponding to the particular context.” (Kozin 1941, p. 12)
- “There is an opinion that the author of the interlinear Chinese translation could have been a speaker of a Turkic language. In fact he explained the words from the Mongolian language and many common Mongolian-Turkic words in agreement with the meaning in Turkic languages. That is why we support the Inner-Mongolian respected Professor Bayar, who is of the opinion that the translator and transcriber of the SHM was a person from ‘the Balga town of the Wester Country, called Cagan’. It seems that this idea is substantiated and correct.” (Gaadamba 1990, p. 261, com. No. 218)

On the abridged Chinese translation:

- “The Chinese abridged version was created before the interlinear translations.” (Mostaert 2010, p. 74, com. No. 90)⁵
- “The Chinese abridged translation is based on a different source of the Mongolian original than the one which was used for the transcription (from which the transcription was made)....” (Mostaert 2010, p. xviii)
- “...this translation is one of the significant means of control for ensuring a correct translation of the SHM.” (Mostaert 2010, p. xviii)

4) Haenisch (1931, p. 5): ‘Die hierunter gelieferte Textwiederherstellung, die nicht mit anderen Handschriften arbeiten konnte, will als ein Versuch betrachtet werden. ... Der phonetische Teil bietet nur Stoff und überläßt das Weitere dem Fachmann.’

5) This and the following quotations from Mostaert are translated from the Mongolian translation of his work (2010).

- “But the Chinese translation, as is now confirmed, represents a very abridged translation of the Mongolian original and besides that it is occasionally incorrect.” (N. Poppe, in the Preface to Kozin’s translation. In: Kozin 1941, p. 5)
- “The (translation) text ... was not prepared on the basis of the SHM, but it is obviously created on the basis of the J. In any case, it depends directly on the interlinear translation. This is indicated by the fact that where there are missing words in the former, there are also corresponding gaps in the translation text.”⁶

Two books are interesting in the history of the translations of the SHM: the first of them very much attracted the attention of Europeans. It is called “The Ancient Mongolian Narration about Chingis Khan” (*Старинное монгольское сказание о Чингисхане*) and was first published in 1866. It is a translation from Chinese into Russian by the Russian missionary Palladij Kaparov. The other one is the Mongolian translation of Cend-Gun *Yüan ulus-un niyuča teüke* (Secret History of the Yüan Empire, 1917). This translation was criticized by C. Damdinsüreng (1990, p. 14) on the grounds that it is “very short, in the SHM there are several hundreds of poems, but in this translation there is not even one, some of them are rendered into prose, but most of the poems were left out.” But in both cases it was an abridged Chinese translation.

2. Translations into European languages

Two scholars from Western Europe, French academician P. Pelliot and German professor E. Haenisch were engaged in a very important and complicated work – the transcription of the SHM, this remarkable creation, from the Chinese characters into the Latin script and the edition of a complete translation of the Mongolian original. Paul Pelliot managed to make a complete transcription and a French translation of the first six chapters, which was published only after his death. Erich Haenisch converted the Mongolian original into the Latin script, which is called the “Chinese original of the SHM” (Haenisch 1935), translated into German the Chinese interlinear

6) Haenisch (1931, p. 58): ‘(Der Übersetzungstext).....Er scheint aber nicht unmittelbar nach dem N.T., sondern nach J. hergestellt zu sein, zum mindesten unter ihrer Benutzung. Jedenfalls ist er vom J. abhängig. Darauf deutet einmal der Umstand, daß dort, wo bei ersterer einzelne Wörter fehlen, sich aber im Übersetzungstext entsprechende Lücken finden.’

Glossary (Haenisch 1962) and subsequently translated into German the whole of the SHM (Haenisch 1948). All this was published as three separate books.

This great work was followed by translations of the SHM: a Russian translation by Academician S.A. Kozin (1941), an artistic translation into modern Mongolian by scholar and writer Damdinsüreng (1947) and a Czech translation by Pavel Poucha (1955). These older translations are still considered to be important.

In the course of the last fifty years, research into the SHM has expanded considerably. It was translated into all cultural languages (into some even 4–5 times), and a special trend appeared in international Mongolian studies – *research into the SHM*. From among the translations from this period the following ones are renowned: the English translation by F.W. Cleaves (1982) on account of its carefulness and thoroughness, the English translation by I. Rachewiltz (2006)⁷ on account of the very great extent of the literary research sources used, the French translation by M.-D. Even and R. Pop (1994)⁸ on account of the translations of proper names.⁹

Many translations into European languages keep improving – there is no doubt about that. But they keep repeating the same errors originating from one source. The number of errors in the translations amounts to a few hundred and the same errors can be seen in all the European translations. There is a question of why this is so – the answer is simple and clear. The translations into European languages are based on the Ming Glossary, i.e. the interlinear translation. All the Mongolian words of the original were translated on the basis of the Chinese gloss. I call it here the Ming interlinear translation (*мин хадмал*). We can ask why translators do not keep to the Mongolian original, and why they translate only the Ming interlinear translation. I think it can be explained by the following facts.

2.1. There is an erroneous conception of approaching the Ming interlinear translation and the abridged Chinese translation as if it was the language of

7) Extensive work in two volumes, 1349 + 60 pages, translation, research and commentary.

8) Translation, research and commentary, 349 pp. It is possible to find examples of translations not from the Chinese interlinear translation, but from the Mongolian original.

9) In this paper we will refer only to some of the translations, but the reader may consult a number of other translations, which were not discussed here and which could be discussed in future, e.g. Ligeti 1962 (Hungarian translation), Kałuzyński 1970 (Polish translation), Taube 1989 (German Translation), Fedotov 1991 (Bulgarian translation), or Ramirez Bellerín 2000 (Spanish translation) and some others (e.g. an Italian translation of Kozin's Russian version; Olsufieva 1973 plus several reprints).

the original ('Original Tongue') of the SHM. This opinion has persisted since the time of the discoverer of the SHM, Palladij Kafarov. After publishing the abridged Chinese translation into Russian, he made a courageous step – he transliterated the Mongolian original from the Chinese characters without knowing Mongolian himself, but he did not publish it. Obviously he believed he would be able to do everything on the basis of his knowledge of Chinese.

The Ming translators attached only one meaning to every Mongolian word. In some cases they made the correct choice, but in many cases they missed the meaning. It means that their chosen meaning did not fit the particular context. Often it appeared as if it was purposefully incorrect. For example: the word *jildü* (§13) – 'head together with the heart' (when cutting up the body of the animal) was given the meaning *half of the chest*; the phrase *qabar qaqas* (§280) – 'exact half (of anything)', was given the meaning *half of the nose*; furthermore the word *si'äljaqui* (§116), Khalkha *мөсөн шагай шагалцах* – 'to target with the puck' (a game on ice like ice hockey) – was translated as 'playing with bone stones' ('Knochensteinen'; Haenisch 1962, p. 138); the word *bögötür* – withers (of a horse) (§95), translated as the 'horse with an (upwards) hunched back' ('mit [nach oben] krummen Rücken'; Haenisch 1962, p. 16); the word *erüge* (§105) – 'the cover of the roof window of the yurt', metaphorically 'from clear heaven, all of a sudden', was given the meaning 'hole in the roof, window' ('Deckenluke'; Haenisch 1962, p. 46); and the like. Sometimes the Ming translators did not mind the contextual meaning, they simply attached one of the meanings, which was sufficient for their work, they did not care about the polysemia of words, about the shifted and figurative meanings, they were stumbling between homonyms and homophones.

The Chinese abridged translation is far too short and it repeated the incorrectness of the interlinear translation. Or is it correct to accept as an original such an insufficient work presented by the Ming translators, and to consider it to be an important historical and literary document?

2.2. The Mongolian original of the SHM was written in the year 1228 (the first ten chapters) and in the year 1240 (the last two chapters). Its language was very archaic, it had been passed on at least for five hundred years, and specialists in Mongolian call it the 'oral written' language. In a great majority of cases it had a number of forgotten or obsolete words and terms difficult to understand. And in the Chinese sign transcription many of these words were read incorrectly and transliterated in a deformed manner. But all of them were provided with a Chinese gloss by the Ming translators. And since the Glossary words were taken from spoken Chinese, they were comprehensible

and simple, which was also the intention of the foreign translators.¹⁰ The Ming interlinear translation is often correct, but also often incorrect. Why did such a number of mistakes and inaccuracies appear in the Ming interlinear translation? The answer requires a complex approach to the study of this phenomenon.

2.2.1. It is necessary to look for the main problem in the Mongolian writing system of the original. The original of the SHM was written in the Uighur-Mongolian script, which was polyphonic. Two different phonemes, for example *-q/γ*, *d/t*, *j/y*, *o/u*, *ö/ü* were written only using one sign. And in some cases even such different phonemes as *a/e* or *s/č* were also written using one grapheme. And we must also note that there was no special marking of proper names (for example by ‘capitals’) and in the original of the SHM no diacritics were used. Besides that the Mongolian manuscript was written by a ‘bamboo pen’, and thus in the course of time at many places the letters were no longer easy to decipher and could be incorrectly read and consequently erroneously transliterated in further copies. The manuscript must have been damaged in the course of the years, which only increased the number of illegible passages and also necessarily affected the subsequent transcriptions, including those into Chinese signs. That explains why both in the Chinese transcription and in the Chinese interlinear Glossary so many mistakes could arise.

2.2.2. Besides problems with orthography, there are obviously also many errors arising in connection with pronunciation. It also follows from the criticism of Bayar and Gaadamba (cf. Gadamba 1990, p. 261, com. No. 218) that the style of pronunciation is Turkic: “the meanings of a great number of words are in fact clarified on the basis of Turkic languages”. For example, in the Uighur-Mongolian script there was the word *yakin* (yak), which is used in the Chinese transcription in the form *yekin*, while there was no such word in Mongolian. Then the word *inaru* (before some time, until) transcribed as *inerü* (§70, this word did not exist in Mongolian either), to which was attached a completely inappropriate interlinear gloss: ‘to prepare food, to offer an offering’. In this manner an ordinary and comprehensible word *inaru* turned into an incomprehensible word *inerü*, and scholars found themselves

10) For example, Mostaert (2010, p. 179) squarely wrote about the Mongolian word *abid*: “the Chinese interlinear translation offers the meaning ‘entrails’, which is correct and confirmed and easily comprehensible.”

in a difficult position and considered this word to be a special ritual term and provided it with many pages of commentaries.

As a consequence of the historical influence of Turkic languages, in some modern Mongolian dialects, e.g. in the Bayat dialect, the Mongolian word *Idam* (human name) as it is written in the classical script, is pronounced *Idem* (in Bayat), while in Khalkha it is pronounced *Yadam*. Or the word *декан* borrowed from Russian is pronounced *декән* in Khalkha, *декён* in Bayat. It is obvious that among those who made the transcription was somebody belonging to such dialects.

Let us quote E. Haenisch (1931, p. 5), who wrote about the text of the Mongolian original of the SHM: "We would expect that for someone knowing both languages, reconstructing the Mongolian original on the basis of the interlinear version and the Chinese translation, though abridged, would present little difficulty. This is also exactly what Brettschneider said. I cannot support this opinion. Though the text is mostly easy, in many passages there are still considerable difficulties, because they are partly written in the form of the old language, which can be verified neither in grammars nor in dictionaries. On the other hand some mistakes and omissions come from copyists not knowing the language."¹¹

The aim of the preserved "original" of the SHM (i.e. transcription of Mongolian into Chinese characters and interlinear glosses in Chinese) was to prepare a handbook for teaching colloquial Mongolian to be used by Chinese officials of the Ming Empire. Since for China under the Ming dynasty Mongolian was very important, the Emperor issued an order to establish a special committee, which would create this handbook and transliterate every word of the text from Mongolian according to the pronunciation of the then living colloquial language of the 14th century. The committee was expected to provide a literal Chinese translation of every word. That translation, however, did not correspond to the actually used Mongolian and very often it only mechanically reflected the basic "dictionary" meanings of the words, not their actual metaphorical meanings, which they had in the particular context in a very idiomatic Mongolian language.

11) "Man sollte meinen, daß mit Hilfe der Interlinearversion und der, wenn auch gekürzten, Übersetzung die Wiederherstellung des Originals einem Kenner beider Sprachen wenig Schwierigkeiten böte. So hat sich auch wörtlich Brettschneider geäußert. Ich kann dieses Urteil nicht unterschreiben. Während der Text i. A. leicht läuft, finden sich doch an manchen Stellen ganz beträchtliche Schwierigkeiten, die teils in der altertümlichen, durch Grammatiken und Wörterbücher nicht erfaßbaren Form liegen, teils in den unter der Hand sprachunkundiger Kopisten entstandenen Schreibfehlern und Lücken."

2.2.3. In a language, which is first of all a means of communication, one word usually has many meanings; in various phrases individual expressions can obtain further figurative meanings; to increase the emotional effect there are many figures used in speech – idioms, special phrases, special syntactical structures or modal patterns, whose meaning is often rather remote from the original lexical meaning of the word, as in the case of words used in various figures of speech (metaphors, metonymy, synecdoche and the like). And since the SHM is a literary piece of art, it is replete with similar forms of expression. In fact these are the main characteristic features of the so-called ‘oral written’ language of the nomads. Unfortunately, most of these rather expressive means remained undiscovered by the Ming interlinear literal translation.

One example: the Mongolian expression *qabar qaqaq aldaltan* (lit., ‘nose half criminals’, §280) has a metaphorical meaning “you will share the punishment for the transgression half and half (i.e. fifty-fifty),”¹² if there are two persons involved. The metaphorical meaning of the Mongolian word *qabar* (nose) is “half”, “equal share”, because the nose divides the face into two equal parts. Here this image is therefore used as an artistic device. For example: *qabar čayarsun* (lit., ‘nose paper’) means ‘a double sheet in the copybook’; *qabar qasiyan* (lit., ‘nose enclosure’) means ‘the neighbouring enclosure beyond a common wall’; *qabar dabayan* (lit., ‘nose mountain pass’) means ‘a way without trees leading towards a mountain pass and dividing forested mountains’. However, the Ming gloss mentions the words *qabar* as ‘nose’,¹³ *qaqaq* as ‘apart, separate’,¹⁴ *aldaltan* as ‘(property) punishment’¹⁵ and *qabar qaqaq aldaltan* as ‘they have implemented the punishment: cut away the nose.’¹⁶ Generally the Chinese translation, or rather interpretation was: ‘They were punished with a fine – by cutting half of their noses’. In the translations into European languages we can find a similar interpretation.

Russian translation: *тот заплатитя половиною носа* (Kozin 1941, p. 198)

German translation: ... *they should be punished by a fine on their property like for cutting a nose...*¹⁷

12) Ogodej Khan founded a post route and, when appointing two nojons Aračan and Toqučar as the chiefs, he issued this order to them.

13) Haenisch (1962, p. 54): ‘Nase’.

14) Haenisch (1962, p. 56): ‘auseinander, getrennt’.

15) Haenisch (1962, p. 4): ‘(Vermögens-) Strafe’.

16) Haenisch (1962, p. 4): ‘sie haben die Strafe verwirkt: Nase abgeschnitten’.

17) Haenisch (1948, p. 147): ‘sollen sie mit einer Vermögenstrafe belegt werden, wie für Abschlagen der Nase.’

Czech translation: ..., let them be punished by a fine on their property like for cutting a nose!¹⁸
 English translations: Let them be condemned to [what is called] 'cleavage [following and straight line passing along] the nose'. (Cleaves 1982, p. 227)
 He shall be guilty and liable to "splitting in half along the nose." (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 217)
 I will split the thief down the line of his nose and prove him guilty. (Onon 1993, p. 166)

And there are hundred of examples of such nonsensical translations. In this case the French translation avoided this mistake by following the shortened Chinese translation, however, it was not exactly correct either.

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

I do not mean to depreciate the European translations with this example. My criticism only points to the fact that these are not translations of the Mongolian original, but of the Ming interlinear Glossary.

2.2.4. Besides the language deficiencies of Ming translators, it is also necessary to point out their insufficient knowledge of the nomadic culture as such. Two of the transcribers and translators into Chinese are known; they were delegated to the Emperor's committee from the Cabinet of Wise Men in Literature of the Ming dynasty, and they were reported to be "excellent specialists in their national script as well as in the Chinese language and literature, and were Mongols born on the Chinese territory" (Čeringsodnam 1990, p. 18). Their names were *Chau-yuan-ge* and *Ma-ša-yike*, and so it is probably precisely to these two Mongols that we owe all the important high as well as low quality parts of the Ming edition of the SHM.

The glosses on most of the ordinary, everyday words and phrases in most of the final text are correct. But culturally specific words concerning the nomadic culture or words connected with the ethnography of communication and established idiomatic phrases are explained insufficiently.

For example: the names of animals and plants are only generally described, there is no exact designation (e.g. *tenggis* 'sea' is glossed as a 'designation of water', *qablan* (leopard) as a 'name of an animal', *südüñ cicigina* (goosegrass, *Potentilla anserina*) as 'designations of the roots of plants', *soqosun* (perch), *jebüge* (endemic type of trout) and *qadara* (grayling, *Salmo thymallus*) as 'names of fish', *quladu* (buzzard) as a 'name of a bird', *keyibür sum* (lit., 'Wind Arrow', i.e. 'arrow fast as the wind') as a 'name of an arrow' (Čeringsodnam 1990, p. 20) and the like.

18) Poucha (1955, p. 226): '...', nechť se jim uloží pokuta na majetku jako za useknutí nosu!'

In the Ming interlinear Glossary there are up to about forty words without any translation or explanation; there is an empty space next to them. From among these forty words we may randomly mention three: *qatar mawui* (filthy dead body), *qunar mawu* (filthy), *qokir mawu* (filthy skeleton). These were not obsolete expressions; in their time these were humiliating invectives in everyday use in common language. In present-day colloquial Mongolian there are dozens of similar words. Of course, the educated people and translators, who had already grown up in the Chinese cultural milieu, were not used to hearing such expressions.

Chinese professor Čeng Yüan, who studied the Ming interlinear Glossary of the SHM, wrote: “The translator used to live for a long time within the country of China, he could not manage to translate obsolete Mongolian words.” (Čeringsodnam 1990, p. 21). This opinion of Čeng Yüan does not only concern the 40 uncommented words, but concerns all the hundreds of errors and shortcomings. The Mongolian translators and learned men were born and grew up on Chinese territory and though they reached a high level of education, they lost contact with their original nomadic traditions. That is why they translated the culturally specific expressions and important words connected with nomadic culture erroneously or insufficiently.

The nomadic life and aggressive campaigns of Chingis Khan and of his descendants, are completely linked with the horse, cavalry and knowledge of horses. But the passages concerning horses in the interlinear translation provoke the suspicion that the authors did not understand horses and that they had never even sat on a horse. And there are many examples of strange translations into European languages, which ultimately originated from the incorrect Ming interlinear glosses.

3. Some typical textual examples

Let us consider some of the conspicuous examples based on the erroneous interpretation of the SHM in the Chinese transcriptions.

3.1. HOW THE BEST OF ALL HORSES CALLED “PENETRATING LIKE A SHOT” TURNED INTO AN ORDINARY “WHITE HORSE WITH A BLACK BACK”

In the SHM text we find a name of a horse *oroq-singqula*, which was derived by a nominal suffix from the verbs *oro-*, *singqu-* (§24, §90, §106, §193). It

means lit., 'to penetrate and shoot'. The name refers to a horse quickly and fearlessly pouncing into attack against enemies in battle or against game in hunting. It is an experienced horse, which trots quickly with its neck tight forward, is steadfast and does not retreat from anything. In the SHM the name of such a high-quality horse reflected its unique ability and it was highly valued especially by warriors.

In the Ming interlinear Glossary the word *oroq* was explained by translators as a 'black stripe on the horse's back'¹⁹ and the word *singqula* as 'white horse'.²⁰

European translations:²¹

Russian translation: *белоспинный воронный Орох-Шинхул* (Kozin, 1941, p. 94)

Czech translation: *a white horse with a black stripe*²²

English translations: *grayish white horse with and black stripe along the backbone* (Cleaves 1982, p. 5)
white horse with a black sore (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 5)

French translation: *un cheval blanc à crins noirs qui avait la queue pelée et une plaie au dos* (Even, Pop 1994, p. 44)

This is because in Mongolian there is also an expression *oroq* for the particular colour of some breeds as well as some wild animals and the word *oroq* is explained in the dictionary "Twentyone" from the year 1717 in these words: 'designation of colour similar to the colour of wild boar' (p. 114). This colour occasionally occurs with goats or cows. It hardly ever appears with horses. In the basic dictionary of the Manju Empire, the so-called 'Dictionary of five languages' from the 18th century, in the section on the colours of horses, this colour does not appear among the 32 mentioned colours (cf. pp. 4339–4349). And even if a horse of such a colour still existed, for Mongols this is not a pleasant colour and they would never present such a horse to anybody and it is certain that a respectable person would not ride it, as happened in the SHM. According to the SHM text, when Temüjin (the future Chingis Khan) was pursuing his eight good horses, which were stolen by bandits, he met a young man *Boorča*, who helped him very much. Without hesitation he joined Temüjin and immediately replaced his tired and bad horse by the horse *Oroq-singqula* (\$90). Obviously, if they were pursuing bandits in

19) Haenisch (1962, p. 127): 'schwarzer Rückenstreif des Pferdes.'

20) Haenisch (1962, p. 141): 'weißes Pferd, Schimmel.'

21) Kozin did not trust the Ming interlinear translation and accepted the Mongolian name of the horse *Орок-шинхула* without translating it.

22) Poucha (1955, p. 14): 'bélouš s černým pruhem.'

a life-or-death conflict, they needed capable horses – at that moment colour was not important for them. However, the Ming translator mistakenly replaced the expression describing the quality of the horse by a term of aesthetic appearance – and in the translations from the Chinese glosses into European languages, including the one by Poucha into Czech, this ultimately resulted in a ‘white horse with a black stripe’.

In a different place, e.g. in the ‘lightning attack’ of the allies to suppress the Merkits, Jamuqa formulates his readiness to fight in poetic images. Among other things he says: “On my Purebred Quick One (the quickest of all) did I mount, on my Penetrating Quick One did I mount” (*Qara Qurdun-ıyan unuba bi, Oroq Qurdun-ıyan unuba bi*, §106). However, in the Ming Glossary this is again incorrectly translated: ‘quick horse of black colour, quick horse with black stripe on its back.’²³ And this shift was accepted also by the European translations. Here the word *Qara* is a part of the name Quick One and it means ‘purebred, by its origin, definitely’ quick. The word *Oroq* is also a part of the name, derived from the basic meaning ‘penetrating’. Jamuqa certainly was not a man, who would care above all about the colour of his horse.

In §193 of the SHM there is mention that an enemy took hold of one *sing-yulyan* (lit., ‘penetrating’, i.e. courageously attacking) horse from the front line of attack of Chingis Khan’s cavalry. It could not have been an ordinary white horse. It must have been an able horse, one that was courageous under attack. All of the horses from the first lines of this cavalry, commanded by famous commanders *Jebe* and *Qubilai*, must have been those ‘penetrating and courageous’ horses, which may figuratively be compared with the modern fighter squadrons of the present-day airforce.

3.2. HOW AN EXCELLENT AND ABLE HORSE CALLED “QUICK LOOP” BECAME AN ORDINARY “QUICK YELLOW HORSE”

In the SHM text the name of this horse is recorded as *qurdun qubi* (§90). The word *qubi* has another possible graphic variant *quyiba*,²⁴ which means loop of the lasso (*ury-a*) used to catch horses. In this case it is a metaphorical name ‘Driving and catching other horses’ – i.e. figuratively a ‘Loop for other hors-

23) Cf. Cleaves (1982, p. 42): ‘I have gat me up upon my courser with a black stripe along the backbone.’

24) Cf. Lessing 1960: *xuiba* (p. 982) and *xubi* 3 (p. 977) ‘leather loop of an *ury-a*’. The latter is ‘a long pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses’ (Lessing, s.v.).

es'! Nowadays Mongolian cowboys call such horses the same thing – *уургач морь* (horse with an *уур-а*, a 'looper' horse). Such a horse is quick and can catch up with fleeing horses. In addition to that, at the moment when the loop is thrown over the head of the chased horse, the 'loop-horse' can stop running on all four legs immediately and resist the speed of the caught horse. In this manner it effectively helps its rider to stop and manipulate the caught animal. In the SHM text *Qurdun qubi* was exactly such an excellent horse. It is also clear from the context that *Boorču*, when running with Temüjin after the robbers, needed exactly such a good and experienced animal to be able to drive back the stolen horses. What role could the colour of the horse's hair have played?

However, in the Ming Glossary the word *qubi* is translated as "white-brown",²⁵ while in the European translations there is a wide variety of translations:

Russian translation: *буланный бегунец* (Козин 1941, p. 94)

Czech translation: *quick fair-haired* ('rychlý plavák'; Poucha 1955, p. 36)

English translation: *a swift dun* (Cleaves 1982, p. 30)

French translation: *un fauve rapide* (Even, Pop 1994, p. 65)

In some English translations the horse is even turned into a yellow mare "a fast dun mare" (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 27) – which for every Mongol, let alone a nomadic warrior, is a particularly strange idea, because for riding, and especially for fighting or catching horses, only castrated males (stallions) are used.

3.3. HOW A CASTRATED FAIR-HAIRED HORSE TURNED INTO A FAIR-HAIRED MARE

In the SHM text, the name of the horse *esgel qali'un* (§117), lit., 'cut yellow horse', has a metaphorical meaning 'castrated yellow horse'. In the Ming Glossary the word *esgel* is translated as 'a mare not giving birth for several years, a mare infertile for several successive years'.²⁶ The word *qali'un* is translated as 'brown horse with black mane and tail'.²⁷ In European translations there follows a similar text:

25) Cf. Haenisch (1962, p. 69): 'hellbraunes Pferd'.

26) Cf. Haenisch (1962, p. 46): 'eine Stute, die mehrere Jahre nicht geföhlt hat'.

27) Cf. Haenisch (1962, p. 58): 'braunes Pferd mit schwarzer Mähne und Schwanz'.

- Russian translation: *кобылица по прозвищу Эсхель-халиун* (Выдра) – (Козин 1941, p. 106)
 Czech translation: *a mare with black mane and tail, which had not had colts for several years*²⁸
 English translations: *yellowish white [mare] with black tail and mane* (Cleaves 1982, p. 49)
yellowish white mare with black tail and mane (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 45)
 French translation: *la Louvette-à-crins-noirs* (Even, Pop 1994, p. 83)

The word *esgel* in northern dialects of mediaeval Mongolian, in which the SHM was written, meant ‘castrated’. In the Southern dialect, in which the Ming Glossary was written, this word meant ‘a mare which is no longer fertile’. And thus in the interpretation of the Chinese Emperor’s committee, after subjugating the Merkits, instead of a horse of excellent properties, Temüjin seized only a mare of their ruler. And he even presented it to his brotherly friend Jamuqa! Should any Mongol have read this translation, he would have been rather perplexed and he would have even viewed it with considerable resentment as an offence. Neither Khans nor noyons, brave warriors, nor ordinary soldiers ride mares – they have plenty of horses. And in addition to that, mares are not able to make long-distance campaigns (they would miscarry their colts). Mares are only occasionally ridden by women over a short distance, but during the Naadam games or on festive occasions not even women ride them.

3.4. HOW ONE OF CHINGIS KHAN’S GUARDING KNIGHTS USED TO RIDE ON A HUNCHBACKED HORSE

The SHM (§95) narrates how young Temüjin started to assemble his loyal cavalcade. First of all he sent his younger stepbrother Belgütei to fetch Boörču. Boörču mounted his chestnut horse with withers, and without telling his Father, threw his grey felt quilt over the saddle and arrived with Belgütei. In this way they became friends.

The original had to mention the name of the horse *bögötür qongqor* (Chestnut with withers; §95). The word *bögötür* implies *bögötürge* (withers – the first vertebra of the back). But in colloquial pronunciation the word was shortened to *bögötür* and this resulted in homonyms with different meanings: the withers of the back, but also hunchbacked or a back curved upwards as a form of defect. The Ming translator chose that incorrect meaning ‘upwards bulging back’²⁹ and that was also followed by the other translations. There is practically no horse with such a back. And should there be one like that, it would

28) Poucha (1955, p. 54): ‘kobyła s černou hřívou a ocasem, která neměla po několik let hříbata.’

29) Cf. Haenish (1962, p. 16): ‘mit (nach oben) krummen Rücken.’

soon die due to disabled bones. The meaning of the word *bögötür*, viz 'the withers' – is mentioned in many popular sūtras on the qualities of horses and it is precisely a 'protruding first vertebra of the back' that is considered to be a sign of a high-quality horse. *Bo'orču* was the son of a famous wealthy man, and it is only natural that from his herd of horses he would select the horse which was best of all.

Translations into European languages except French:³⁰

Russian translation: *горбатый саврас* (Козин 1941, p. 95)

Czech translation: *brown horse with a bulging back*³¹

English translations: *strawyellow [horse] with a curved back* (Cleaves 1982, p. 32)

chestnut horse with a hunched back (Onon 1993, p. 24)

chestnut horse with the arched back (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 29)

Were we to translate these texts back into Mongolian, we would obtain very humiliating expressions about horses. Or a translation that the Lord Bodončar galloped on a horse with a (moulting) tail without hair ('with a hairless tail' – Cleaves, Rachewiltz, §24) would be very unpleasant for nomads, because a horse with a hairless tail is not usual. Such strange translations can originate from the Chinese interlinear translation.

3.5. CAN WE TRUST THE INFORMATION THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE TO LIVE AT THE SOURCE OF THE RIVER ONON?

In the SHM text there is a phrase *Onan-müren-nü terigün-e nutuyla-* (§1), which means 'to settle at the upper reaches of the river Onon'. Metaphorically the word *terigün*, lit., 'head', means the 'upper reaches'. The personification of mountains and rivers occupies an important place in nomadic metaphorical thought. Both mountains and rivers have their heads, trunks, waists and feet.

But in the Ming Glossary the expression *terigün* is explained as 'source, beginning of the river'.³² The phrase *Onan-müren-nü terigün-e nutuylaju* is translated into Chinese as 'to settle at the source of the river called Onon' (Cend Gün 1997, p. 53).

30) Let us note that the French translation is exact and poetic (Even, Pop 1994, p. 67): 'Il en-fourcha un alezan doré au garrot renflé.'

31) Poucha (1955, p. 38): 'hnědák s vypouklým hřbetem.'

32) Cf. Haenish (1962, p. 149): 'Quelle.'

European translations:

- Russian translation: *Кочевали у истоков Онон-реки* (Kozin 1941, p. 79)
 Czech translation: *they chose their nomadizing region, a place at the source of the river Onan*³³
 English translations: *they had encamped at the head of the Onan River* (Cleaves 1982, p. 1)
 they had settled at the source of the Onan River (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 1)
 French translation: *Ils parvinrent aux sources de la rivière Onan* (Even, Pop 1994, p. 41)

The source of the river Onon is to be found at the mountain Burqan Qaldun, in a place where there are impenetrable belts of taiga all around within dozens of kilometres. Neither people nor cattle can normally live there.

In the SHM the place, where Chingis Khan was born and from where his ancestors came, is called *Onan-müren-nü terigün*. In my opinion, this region is a great territory at a distance of approximately 120–150 km down the river from the source of the river Onon. That is where Chingis Khan's ancestors settled and where the future Khan was also born in a place called Deli'ün Boldaq. That is why it is not possible to translate Chingis Khan's decree, which prohibits settling at his birth place, as a prohibition of dwelling at the source of three rivers: e.g. 'No one should camp at the source of three rivers, whoever it may be.'³⁴ (*Turban müred-ün terigün ken-e ber bu bayulludqun*; §179).

3.6. HOW ONE URIANGQAI ROASTED DEER ENTRAILS

In the SHM translations we find an episode about an Uriangqai man, who killed a three-year-old deer and roasted its 'ribs and entrails' on a spit. But for Kozin, all European translations accept this interpretation of the passage. However, it is not very probable that a hunter would roast particularly the entrails of his kill on an open fire. The Mongolian original says: ***qabirqas inu abit inu siraju*** (§12). Here the word *qabirqas* means 'long ribs' and the word *abit* refers to the 'first four short ribs'. That man was preparing two roasted pieces – the long ribs for himself and as a habit, the short ribs for the fire, as an offering. However, in the Ming Glossary the word *abit* was translated as 'entrails, intestines'.³⁵ In the northern dialect of the author of the SHM, the word *abit* is a designation of the short ribs, but in the Southern dialects,

33) Poucha (1955, p. 11): 'zvolili si kočoviště, místo u pramene řeky Onanu.'

34) Poucha (1955, p. 111): 'U pramene tří řek at' nikdo netáboří, at' je to kdokoliv.' Cf. also Cleaves (1982, p. 109): 'Suffer ye not to be pitched by any one at the head of the Three Rivers.'

35) Cf. Haenisch (1962, p. 2): 'Eingeweide, Kaldaunen.'

which the Ming translator could understand, it probably meant the 'entrails, intestines'. For example in the Ordos Southern dialect there is now the word *abit* designating the colon or large intestine. Translators into European languages trusted the Ming translation.

Czech translation: *he roasted its ribs and entrails on the spit*³⁶

English translations: *was roasting his ribs and inwards* (Cleaves 1982, p. 3)

was roasting ist ribs and entrails (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 3)

French translation: *et en faisait rôtir les côtes et les viscères* (Even, Pop 1994, p. 42)

There is hardly anybody who would believe that someone would roast uncleaned intestines on an open fire. The Mongolian translator Cend-gün knew very well that uncleaned intestines are not roasted, that is why he refused the Chinese interline translation and replaced it with a different word *coroi* (belly). P. Pelliot wrote that for nomads it was common to roast entrails. But Mostaert (2010, p. 178) disagreed and wrote: 'the word *abid* (Chinese *tou tsang*) is not an expression only for the small and large intestines, but also for the internal organs: kidneys, liver, spleen, and all can be roasted'.³⁷

It was only in Russian that S. Kozin (1941, p. 82) expressed the meaning correctly:

В лесу ему повстречался какой-то Урянхаец, который, зарезав трехлетку-оленья, готовил жаркое из его ребер, из верхних коротких ребер.

3.7. HOW RAW MEAT TURNED TO DRIED MEAT

Nomads have an interesting manner of preserving raw meat till the end of the third spring month (March). It is a routine matter. Raw meat is stuffed into a wooden vessel or cattle rumen and is deposited frozen into a dark and cool hole, where it is covered by ice and old and superfluous blankets. At the end of the third spring month this half-frozen meat is taken out and is still almost fresh. Present-day Mongols call such meat *γγү* – 'preserved' meat.³⁸ In the SHM this preserved meat is called *köngsilemel* (§19). This word also exists in Khalkha Mongolian nowadays (*хүнсэлмэл*) and it has a similar mean-

36) Poucha (1955, p. 12): 'pekl jeho hrudí a vnitřnosti na rožni.'

37) These entrails can be roasted, everything can be roasted, but nomads did not and still do not have such habits.

38) For *γγү* cf. Hangin (1986, s.v.): 'animals slaughtered during winter and preserved for use in spring.'

ing: *long-life* (about victuals in general). The whole phrase *qabur niken üdür köngsilemel qonin cinaju* (§19), if read in modern pronunciation, would be understood by present-day Mongols as ‘frozen meat’, not as dried meat.

Only Haenisch (1962, p. 104) translated this expression partly correctly as ‘a sheep from the last winter month.’³⁹ In another context (Haenisch 1948, p. 3) he translates: ‘she boiled a lamb from the last year.’⁴⁰ However, this translation is not correct, because it could not have been a lamb.

But this is what we can see in other translations:

Russian translation: *сварила дожелта проявленного впрок барана* (Козин 1941, p. 80)

English translation: *while boiling the dried [flesh of] a sheep* (Cleaves 1982, p. 4)

French translation: *elle faisait cuire de la viande de mouton séchée* (Even, Pop 1994, p. 43)

Czech translation: *she boiled a lamb dried in the air*⁴¹

All other translators and scholars explain the expression in the same way as ‘dried meat’, ‘meat dried by smoking and other methods’. This in fact first of all reveals an incorrect knowledge of ethnographic life and customs. Note also that the Chinese sign used in the translation of the word *köngsilemel* in the Ming Gloss (Čeringsodnam 1990, p. 281) refers in Chinese to meat ‘conserved by adding salt and stuffing’. This does not correspond to the Mongolian reality either. A Chinese reader would certainly not understand this sign as ‘dried’ meat.

Thus in the SHM the ancestress of the Mongols *Alan-qo'a* on one spring day finally cooked the frozen meat taken out from the ground hole for her five sons and started to talk with them about a very serious topic. When the long spring days start, the children of Mongolian herdsmen to this day impatiently wait for the moment when the frozen meat is produced, whose calories give a great stimulus after the prolonged hard winter. And that was also what the ancestress made psychological use of.

3.8. HOW AN ORDER OF THE KHAN TURNED INTO A PIECE OF ADVICE

Mongolian Khan Ambayai (Chingis Khan’s ancestor from the third generation) was on the way to give his daughter in marriage in the Tatar region, but

39) ‘ein Schaf vom letzten Wintermonat.’

40) ‘kochte sie ein vorjähriges Lamm.’

41) Poucha (1955, p. 13): ‘uvarila jehně na vzduchu sušené.’

on the way he was captured by treacherous border Tatars and taken to the Jurchen Khan Altan as an enemy. Before being murdered Ambakhai Khan sent a messenger to the Mongols with a message: 'Let me be the last Khan of the whole state who accompanied his daughter!' (*nama-ʼar kesetküin*, §53). It was not an ordinary message, but an order. The early lost verb root *kes-* meant 'to stop, finish, cease'.⁴² This firm order then became an unwritten law for Mongolian people for many centuries to come. In the SHM it is said that when Temüjin was bringing his bride, her father merely said goodbye to her, after which she was accompanied only by her mother (§94). In folklore this habit is reflected in the proverb 'Father will visit the bride later, but she is only accompanied by her mother' (*эцэг эргэлтэнд, эх хүргэлтэнд*).

But in the translations of the SHM a different meaning is presented:

- Russian translation: *Отомстите за меня, который самолично проважал свою дочь, как всенародный каган и государь народа.* (Козин 1941, p. 84)
- German translation: *Me, the ruler of all and the prince of the stage, when I took my daughter myself on the way – take me as a warning example! – I was captured by the Tatar people...*⁴³
- Czech translation: *Me, the Khagan of all, the lord of the people, was captured by the Tatar people when accompanying my daughter. Let this be a warning to you.*⁴⁴
- English translations: *Beware, [instructed] by [what had befallen] me, of yourself accompanying your daughter, when ye will be qahan of all and [33v] Lord of the Nation. I have been seized by the Tatar people.* (Cleaves 1982, p. 11)
..., learn from my example and beware of taking your daughter in person to her betrothed. I have been seized by the Tatars. (Rachewiltz, 2006, p. 11)
- French translation: *..., gardez-vous bien, instruits par mon exemple de conduire en personne votre fille. J'ai été, moi, capturé par les Tatar* (Even, Pop 1994, p. 48)

These translations are based on Chinese renderings of *nama-ʼar kesetküin*. The word *kesetküin* was interpreted as derived from *kesegü* – 'to warn'.⁴⁵ According to the Chinese abridged translation the phrase *nama-ʼar kesetküin* was interpreted as 'make a warning from me'.⁴⁶

42) Lessing (1960, p. 459) s.v. *kes* gives the meaning of the adverb *kes* 'abruptly, in a decisive manner suddenly; off', and remarks that with verbs it had the meaning of 'breaking or tearing'.

43) Haenisch (1948, p. 7): 'Ich, der Herrscher über alle und der Fürst des Staates, bin, als ich meine Tochter selbst auf den Weg brachte – nehmet ein warnendes Beispiel an mir! – von dem Tatar-Volk gefangen worden.'

44) Poucha (1955, p. 19): Já, chahan všech, pán lidu, byl jsem zajat lidem Tatarů, když jsem provázal svou dceru. Budiž vám to odstrašujícím příkladem.

45) Haenisch (1962, p. 99): 'warnen.'

46) Haenisch (1962, p. 99): 'machtet aus mir eine Warnung!'

However, the translators did not only translate incorrectly the expressions *nama-ʼar kesedkün*, but the whole sentence.

3.9. HOW ANCIENT MONGOLS DANCED

After Ambayai the Mongols elected Qutul as their Khan. On that occasion they assembled round the Shaman tree Qorqonaq and *qabirqa-ta qaʼulqa, ebüdük-te ölkeg boltala* (§57) – danced so long ‘that their ribs showed through their skin and their knees turned into cartilage’. We can understand that they danced very long until they were completely exhausted. Metaphorically and with exaggeration their exhaustion reached the point of almost dying, their bodies became only bone and skin. It was a common expression in the poetic language of that time. In the translations, however, it is erroneously rendered:

Russian translation: ... плясали вокруг развесистого дерева на Хорхонахе. До того доплясались, что, как говорится, «выбоины образовались по бедру, а кучи пыли – по колено. (Kozin 1941, p. 85)

German translation: ..., they danced around the thickly growing trees at Chorchonach, until they were in pits up to their hips and stood in the dust up to their knees.⁴⁷

Czech translation: They danced around furcated trees of Chorchonach, until they were in a pit up to their hips and in dust up to their knees.⁴⁸

English translation: they danced round about the Branching Tree of Qorqonay [Valley], until there was a ditch up to [their] ribs; [until there was] dust up to [their] knees. (Cleaves 1982, p. 14)

The French translation is not completely exact, but rather close:

...ils firent la ronde autour de l'arbre-Touffu de Qorqonaq, et ils dansèrent
À s'en rompre les côtes,
À s'en déboîter les genoux. (Even, Pop 1994, p. 50)

All that is because in the Ming Glossary the word *qaʼulqa* is translated by the meaning of a homonym ‘deep trodden road, way’,⁴⁹ not as a ‘thin layer of skin’. The word *ölkeg* was then probably again translated by a homonym: ‘dust, ashes’,⁵⁰ instead of the meaning ‘cartilage’.

47) Haenisch (1948, p. 9): ‘..., tanzten sie um die dichtbewaldeten Bäume bei Chorchonach, bis sie zu den Hüften in Graben und zu den Knien im Staube standen.’

48) Poucha (1955, p. 21): Tančili kolem rozvětvených stromů Chorchonachu, až byli po boky v jámě a po kolena v prachu.

49) Haenisch (1962, p. 64): ‘tief getretener Weg.’

50) Haenisch (1962, p. 123): ‘Asche, Staub’.

3.10. DID THE MONGOLIAN KHAN KILL PEOPLE BY BOILING THEM ALIVE IN A KETTLE?

At the time, when Temüjin was declared Chingis Khan, an absolute ruler of all Mongols, Jamuqa, the ruler of Southern Mongols, collected 30,000 soldiers and launched an attack against Chingis Khan. The latter also collected 30,000 soldiers and they clashed at the place called Dalan-Baljud (1190). Chingis Khan was defeated and forced to retreat. This is mentioned in the SHM in §129: “There Chinggis-chahan was defeated by Jamuqa and retreated to the Jerene pass on the Onan. Jamuqa said: ‘We have driven him to Jerene on the Onan,’ and on returning he had the Činos princes boiled in seventy kettles. He had Neüdei’s and Čaya’an U’a’s heads cut off and bound to a horse’s tail, and he drew them behind him.”⁵¹

However, *Dalan toqo’o* (Seventy kettles) is in fact a local place name. Mongolian numerals *jiran* (60), *dalan* (70) occur in local toponyms very often and describe an unspecific number, only referring to a great quantity. To this day *Жаран тогзoo* (Sixty Kettles) is a name of a steppe in Eastern Mongolia. The word *mogoo* ‘kettle’ is used to designate a valley or a place with many hollows. The word *bucalqaju*, lit., ‘to boil’, is a distortion of the original word *busangqaju*, which means ‘to destroy, crush, defeat’. At many places in the SHM the defeat of an enemy state or tribe is described by the same set expression formed by the name of the tribe or state in the Accusative *-i /yi* and the verb *busangqa-* ‘to destroy, crush’ and the like, e.g.:

Merkit irgen-i busangqaju (§113), i.e. ‘to crush the Merkit people’

Naiman Merkit busangqaqdaba (§208), i.e. ‘the Naimans and Merkits were destroyed’

Merkit Naiman-i busangqui so’or-tur (§208) ‘at the time of destruction of the Merkits and Naimans’

That is why the original text must have had the phrase *činos-un kö’üd-i dalan-toqo’ot busangqaju* – a much more sober statement: ‘the Činos princes were destroyed at the place of Many Hollows’.

51) Poucha (1955, p. 66): Činggis-chahan byl tam Džamuchou poražen a ustoupil k soutěsce Džerene na Onanu. Džamucha pravil: „Zahnali jsme ho do Džerene na Onanu,“ a dal při svém návratu čínské prince uvařit v sedmdesáti kotlích. Hlavu Neüdejovu a Čačaaan-Uvovu dal uříznout a uvázat na koňský ocas a vlekl je za sebou.

Cf. also Cleaves (1982, p. 60): When Jamuqa spake, he said, “We have made [him] to flee for refuge unto Jerene of the Onon,” and, when he returned, [5r] making the princes of the Činos to be boiled [in] seventy kettles and cutting off the head of Neüdei Čaya’an U’a, he dragged [it] away at the tail of [his] horse.

In the Mongolian script, the letters *ng* in the medial position in the word *Busangqaju* are written by a circle bulging to the right. Its initial part in the original SHM text must have faded with time and the shape of the letter resembled that of the letter -l. The transliterators obviously 'saw' the word *busalqaju*, which means 'to boil'. And it was in this way that the erroneous transcription was kept in further copies and this was also reflected in the Chinese transcription of the SHM and in the historical chronicle Altan tobči of Lubsan Danzan. In the Ming Glossary the words are translated as follows: *dalan* 'seventy' ('siebenzig'; Haenisch 1962, p. 31), *toqo'o* 'kettle' ('Kessel'; Haenisch 1962, p. 150) and the word *bučalqaju* 'to boil' ('/auf/kochen lassen'; Haenisch 1962, p. 20). This is then reflected in the translations:

Russian translation: *приказал сварить в семидесяти котлах* (Kozin 1941, p. 112)

Czech translation: *had ... the Činos princes boiled in seventy kettles.*⁵²

English translations: *...making the princes of the Činos to be boiled [in] seventy kettles...* (Cleaves 1982, p. 60)
... had the princes of the Činos boiled alive in seventy cauldrons. (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 54)

French translation: *... il fit ébouillanter les princes des Loups dans soixante dix chaudrons.* (Even, Pop 1994, p. 94)

4. Conclusion

The Ming Interlinear Glossary of the SHM was arranged in such a way that at the right side of every Mongolian word the relevant colloquial Chinese word was written. With every proper name it is specified whether it is a name of a person, family lineage, tribe, place, river, lake or mountain etc. In the text that came down to us, every Mongolian word preserves its grammatical form, and the word is translated up to the last suffix. It was obviously a teaching material for the purpose of learning colloquial Mongolian and its aim was not to preserve it as a literary artistic work.

Western scholars designated the Ming Glossary in three ways: 'interlinear Chinese Glosses', 'interlinear Chinese translation' and 'interlinear Chinese version'.

Cf.

Haenisch (1931): Interlinearversion (p. 5), Interlineartext (p. 56), die chinesische Interlinearversion (p. 58)

Cleaves (1982): interlinear Chinese glosses (p. xxiv)

52) Poucha (1955, p. 66): 'dalčinoské prince uvařit v sedmdesáti kotlich.'

Rachewiltz: interlinear glosses (p. xlvii), interlinear translation (p. 227), interlinear version (p. 269); the Chinese version (p. 415); the interlinear Chinese version (p. 417), the Chinese interlinear version (p. 426)

Even, Pop (1994): les gloses interlinéaires en chinois (p. 15)

Kozin (1941): подстрочный китайский перевод (p. 12), подстрочный монголо-китайский словарь (p. 17)

Čeringsodnam: kitad qadmal (хятад хадмал, Čeringsodnam, 1990)

Haenisch (1931, p. 56) wrote that for the Chinese reader the interlinear Chinese translation is completely incomprehensible.⁵³ Obviously he had in mind not the comprehensibility of individual words, but the fact that according to these incoherent translations or explanations it not possible to have an idea of the SHM text proper. In that case it is not possible to agree with the designation 'interlinear Chinese translation' and the designation 'Chinese version' does not make much sense either.

The SHM (or its phonetic transcription into Chinese signs) was discovered in Peking by the missionary Palladij Kafarov. Thanks to him the text attracted the attention of many European scholars, who started to translate it into their own languages and to write extensive research works about it. All of them were first of all Sinologists. They considered the Ming Glossary of the SHM as one of the versions of the chronicle itself, and that is why they also called it "interlinear Chinese version" (*die chinesische Interlinearversion* – E. Haenisch 1931, p. 58). This idea has continued to prevail in the minds of many to this day. However, it follows from the above discussion that considering the Ming Glossary to represent a Chinese version of the SHM is incorrect. It is contradicted by the inaccuracy and purpose-oriented translation of the individual words with no respect for the context, and by the general disregard of the life and institutions as well as of the literary style of the SHM. The aim of the Glossary was different – it should have served a didactic purpose, not a literary or historiographical purpose.

It was already E. Haenisch (1931, p. 60) who voiced the following criticism: '...also specialists, historians, do not make the effort to study themselves the relevant colonial languages, to read the indigenous sources and to approach the historical research only with a substantial factual preliminary knowledge, but they believed themselves to be able to manage everything on the basis of education in Chinese literature.'⁵⁴

53) "Dieser Interlineartext, von dem wir im folgenden ein Muster bringen, ist dem chinesischen Leser von vornherein unverständlich."

54) "... auch die Fachleute, die Historiker, sich nicht die Mühe nehmen, die einschlägigen Kolonialsprachen selbst zu studieren, die einheimischen Quellen zu lesen und erst mit

Some scholars, for example Mongolian scholar D. Čeringsodnam (1990, p. 19), appreciate the interlinear Chinese Glossary very much and think that it is absolutely important for a correct understanding of each and every Mongolian word in the text. If we do not approach the Glossary with a sufficient critical distance, it can lead us into making erroneous translations. Why should we stick to the errors, which blindly follow the words of the teacher: “If a word has an interlinear translation, in principle it is necessary to trust the transcribers, it is not possible to disregard their translations.”⁵⁵

The word *sarqud* (Kh. *capxaᠳ*) in the SHM (§70), which means ‘wine’, is obviously erroneously interpreted in the Ming interlinear translation as ‘sacrificial meat’. And Mostaert (2010, p. 17) noticed that in modern language the word *sarqud* means ‘wine’ and he wrote: ‘very many words in the middle period of the Mongolian language had meanings different from modern colloquial and written language, and in my opinion the interlinear translation is better (sacrificial meat).’⁵⁶ Such a high appreciation of the Ming interlinear translation as against the Mongolian original is reflected in the English translation of Cleaves – *meat offered* (Cleaves 1982, p. 19).

The European translators and scholars relied on the Chinese interlinear translation with great confidence, and that is why they evidently disregarded the work of those scholars, who approached the Ming Interlinear translation critically and tried to correct the errors in translations and even to correct the transcription. For example the expression *nu’un kögüd manu nutuy qar-ayu* (§65) was explained correctly and precisely translated by many translators (Kozin, Damdinsüren, Gaadamba, Ozava, Even & Pop), without following the interlinear translation. But still, the prominent scholar and translator Rachewiltz does not accept their interpretations and superficially praises Mostaert⁵⁷ and translates the word *nutuq* into English as *nomadic camp*. And still we have the Mongolian original with an unequivocally correct and easy

gründlicher philologischer und sachlicher Vorkenntnis an die Geschichtsforschung heranzutreten, sondern alles durch chinesische literarische Bildung allein glauben zu meistern zu können...”

- 55) Mostaert (2010, p. xvii): “Аль нэг үг хадмал орчуулгатай байх юм бол зарчмын хувьд галиглагчдад итгэх л хэрэгтэй, ноцтой шалтгаангүйгээр тэдний хөрвүүлгийг тоохгүй байж үл болно.”
- 56) “маш олон үг дундад үеийн монгол хэлэнд одоогийн яриа ба монгол бичгийн хэлний-хээс өөр утгатай байсан, миний хувьд хадмал орчуулгыг (өргөлийн мах) илүүд үзэж байна.”
- 57) Rachewiltz (2006, p. 333): “Mostaert’s interpretation is supported by the Chinese sectional summary, and it may be assumed that Ming editors had on the whole a better understanding of the text from the folkloristic point of view than we have now.”

meaning. Why do we not stick to the generally accepted tradition of translating significant literary works into foreign languages from the original and not from secondary translations, as happens in the case of our translators, who have accepted without reservations the erroneous translations of Ming editors?

In the end we should again underline the fact that the Ming interlinear translation and the Chinese abridged translation are not the language of the original SHM, but an auxiliary comparative material.

It is therefore important to translate the SHM first of all from the original Mongolian language. In order to make this possible, it is necessary not only to understand the old and mediaeval Mongolian language, but also the manner of thought of the ancient nomads and the manner of their communication.

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The use of onomatopoeic words in spoken Mongolian

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Summary: This paper carries on the investigation of the spoken language as a part of the ethnography of communication and summarises the linguistic material for a very special language phenomenon – onomatopoeia and iconopoeia (Mongolian *du'rsleh u'g* – lit. 'depicting words'¹), which, though to some extent this type of word occurs in every language, fulfils in Mongolian communication a very important role in displaying expressivity, in creating metaphors and in the specific manner of expressing agreeable and disagreeable feelings. The paper directly links up with the previous paper (Oberfalzerová 2010, but partly also with other previous papers), which was devoted to the formation and use of iconopoeic words. The paper provides the same formal analysis of iconopoeic words and of the words which represent both image and sound at the same time. In the first part I present the standard formation of onomatopoeic words and in the second and third parts I deal with individual words, together with examples of their use as they occurred in my field recordings of live spoken language, besides some examples taken from folklore.

1. Introduction

This text directly links up with the previous paper (Oberfalzerová 2010), where I discussed the formation and use of iconopoeic words, and also to some extent with another paper (Oberfalzerová 2009), where I discussed both onomatopoeia and iconopoeia. Some aspects were also already mentioned in Oberfalzerová 2005 and Oberfalzerová 2006. I carry on the description of the formation and use of other groups of these 'depicting' words, namely onomatopoeic words, and also words which represent both sound and image at the same time.

To begin with I present the standard formation of onomatopoeic words. Then I describe the form and use of concrete words, first those which are purely onomatopoeic and then those special cases of words representing both sound and image at the same time. In what follows, two aspects of these depicting words are observed. The first is the image which they represent and the second is the emotions which they evoke. Besides that I list a number of

1) The first scholar to mention depicting words in Mongolian was P. Byambasu'ren (1970, p. 277; also Oberfalzerová 2009, pp. 30–32).

examples in which these meanings are most obvious. I believe that in this way we can analyse this important and extensive group of Mongolian words very systematically and explain it in the most precise manner possible. .

The paper also offers a great number of specific words through which the originally 'image-depicting meaning turned into an idiomatic expression. Whether this involves a direct or figurative meaning of the expression can in most cases be established only in the context of the colloquial language. To understand correctly the meaning of depicting words, it is also necessary to take into consideration the manner of thought and the world view of Mongolian nomadic society. This is closely connected with the ethnography of communication, which was the background for my investigation and analysis of iconopoeic and onomatopoeic words (cf. Oberfalzerová 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008).

2. The standard formation of onomatopoeic words (root bases imitating a sound + stem-forming suffix)

Root bases	Affixes forming the verb stem	
	Synthetic form	Analytic form
Imitating a sound (CVC) ²	-gi ----- -z'igna-, ³ -c'igna- -hira- -gina-, -gana-/gene-/gono-/go'no- -s'i- ----- -gir, -gar-/ger-/gor-/go'r- -r	-z'ig/-c'ig + hii-/ge-

2) CVC = consonant – vowel – consonant.

3) In this group all suffixes express repeated sound.

2.1. EXAMPLES OF THE STANDARD FORMATION OF ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS⁴

<i>bar/par</i> ⁵	bargi-/bargi-	
s'ar	s'argi-	s'ar hii-
tur	turgi-	
nur	nurgi-	
----	----	----
pal		pal hii-
pol		pol hii
cu'l		cu'l hii-
s'al		s'al hii-
s'ur		s'ur hii-
s'or		s'or hii-
nar		nar hii-
ner		ner hii-
tas		tas hii-
tu's		tu's hii-
tar		tar hii-
bur		bur hii-
sar		sar hii-
s'ov		s'ov hii-
s'av		s'av hii-
pad/ped		pad hii-/ped hii-
pod		pod hii-

Phonetic commentary: Voiced consonants (*r*, *l*, *v*, *d*), in the final position of the root base, followed by an initial voiceless consonant of the affix (*s*, *s'*, *t*, *c*, *c'*, *h*), become voiceless and are assimilated with the following consonant.

For example: *s'ar hii-* [šar̥ xi:]⁶ *tarc'igna-* [tar̥c'igna], *hurhira-* [xur̥xira], *pal hii-* [pal̥ xi:], *s'ov hii-* [šov̥ xi:], *pad hii-* [pad̥ xi:].

4) For the meaning of the onomatopoeic words cf. the following section dealing with their use (2.2).

5) These root bases may also be used as independent ('unbound') words with adverbial function.

6) The voicelessness of consonants is marked by a hook under the letters. Note that this concerns also the liquids (*r* – *r̥*).

2.2. Use of onomatopoeic words

2.2.1. WORDS WITH THE AFFIX -GI /GI-

In Mongolian there are very many words which originated from onomatopoeic root bases by way of the suffix **-gi**. This suffix **-gi** is derived from the old verb **ki-** (Kh. *hii-* 'to do'). However, in modern Mongolian only a few purely onomatopoeic words with the suffix **-gi** have been preserved, most of them obtaining a different meaning. Some of them turned into iconopoeic words, and from some of them the image disappeared or obtained a figurative meaning and they turned into nouns. This phenomenon is discussed further below in sections 3.1., 3.2., 3.3.

1) *bar/par* > *bargi-/pargi-*, *bargia/pargia*, *bargil*

Image of the sound:⁷ strong sound *par par*, single sound or sound repeated unrhythmically, for example the sound of a great broken drum, unpleasant sound of a great helicon

Emotions: repulsiveness, evoking fear, unpleasant feeling

Collocations:

bu'duun bargia duutai hu'n – 'a man with a harsh, too strong or hoarse voice'

pargia duutai er/em – 'a man/woman with an even more unpleasant hoarse bass, level of repulsiveness stronger than with the initial consonant 'b-'

bu'duun bargia duutai buh – 'bellowing strong sounds of a bull'

bu'duun bargia duutai hengereg – 'deep sound of a drum, possibly even full of holes'

bu'duun bargia duutai nohoi – 'a dog with deep angry barking'

Further:

bargil hooloitai duuc'in – 'a singer with a bass voice' (in this case a term without emotion)

bargiz' hucdag banhar – one race of Mongolian dogs, which barks deeply and loudly (the word *banhar* alone is an iconopoeic word)

Examples:

Baatarlagiin tuulisiig tugsai pargia hooloigoor hailah yostoi. – 'The heroic epic must be recited in special throaty voice.'

7) In the following I use only the "Image" in reference to the "Image of the sound".

Tiim uc'ir baruun mongoliin tuulic' nar hooloigoo sahaz' bu'duun bargia duu gargah surguuli hiideg baisan. – 'That is why West Mongolian singers of epics were trained in muffling their voices, so that they would not utter a deep throaty sound.

Idiomatic expressions:

par par hii- – 'to speak nonsense and in addition in an unpleasant hoarse voice;

par par hiideg hu'n – 'an unpleasant man with a grating, deep, expressive sounding voice

E.g.:

O'noo oroi bid par (hiinee)! – lit., 'Tonight we will make a loud sound *par*'. Tonight we will slip away / get out!

Margaas' c'i ter aild oc'ood bidgii par hiilgeed baigaarai! *Yaasan muuhai yum be, dandaa par hiilgeed* baih yum! – *Bi ungaagu'i o'md uragdaz' baina.* – 'Tomorrow when you visit them, do not do *par* (don't fart!). It is terrible, you keep doing *par*!' – 'I did not fart, my trousers got torn!' (humorous answer)

2) *s'ar* > *s'argi-*

Image: uttering the sound *s'ar*, for example the sound of the zip fastener, the sound of many hard objects bumping into each other, the sound of crackling

Emotions: neutral, but depending on the context according to the object, which issues the sound, pleasant or unpleasant

Collocations:

s'agai s'argi- – the *s'agai* (bones) tinkle (in the national game called *s'agal-cah* – a pleasant sound of the small *s'agai* bones tinkling when bumping into each other); sound of ripe ears of grain plucking at each other (pleasant sound of grains in the ripe ears of grain tinkling in the wind; a poetic word)

Examples:

Buligaar hu'ren cu'nhend ni c'ither s'argiad baina l. – 'In a brown leather bag hard candies kept rattling.' (from a West Mongolian folk song)⁸

Namar bolohod ene hotiin zaluusiin halaasand hus'iin samar s'argiz', gudanmz' talbaid samriin yas s'arz'ignaz'/s'az'ignaz' baidag yum. – 'When autumn starts, in the pockets of the young people of this town cedar nuts keep rattling, and in the streets and in the square the shells of the nuts scrunch under the feet.'⁹

8) From the folk song "Buligaar hu'ren cu'nh". In: *Mongol ardiin duu*. V. Ulsiin hevleliin gazar, Ulaanbaatar 1982, p. 202.

9) Cf. 'ar hii-' 2.2.2., 5).

3) *tur* > *turgi*-

Image: the sound *tur*, e.g. the sound of spluttering when sipping a liquid through the mouth, the snorting sound of grazing horses coming from their nostrils

Emotions: evokes astonishment, strange, sometimes unpleasant feelings

Collocations:

uruulaa turgi- – to press the lips and to snort the accumulated air in a vibrating manner (the gurgling of small babies just before they start speaking)

aduu hamraa turgi – to snort through the nostrils (about horses)

us/arhi turgi- – to spurt water (vodka) over oneself in a game, shamanistic ritual of spurting

Examples:

Hu'uhed uruulaa turgival boroo ordog gedeg. – 'When a child dribbles through its mouth, it is said that it will rain.'

Odoogiin boò ner s'iltei arhi baric'ihaad l hu'n ru'u turgiad baih yum bilee. – 'Present-day shamans take a bottle of vodka and spray a person with it.'

4) *nur* > *nurgi*-

Image: the sound *nur* *nur*, e.g., cracking of the knuckles when pulling the fingers

Emotions: special, sometimes pleasant

Examples:

Minii hu'zuu ho'sood baidag, heden udā sain nurgiulaad avaya. – 'My neck became tough, let me crack (my neck).'

Sain zam deer mas'inaar davhihad motor nurgihaas oòr c'imeequ'i, taatai baidag. – 'When we drive the car on a good road, it is pleasant that nothing more is heard than a fine sound of the running motor.'

Cf. *nu'rge-*, *nu'rgele-* – strong sound of the humming of many motors, the sound of the traffic or a noisy city

E.g.:

Hotod motor nu'rgeleed hecu'u baina uu? Ho'doonii tractor tac'ignahaas nu'rgeleh ni deer yum.

(Question): 'Is it difficult for you, as the cars engines keep humming in the town?'

(A woman, who came from the countryside): 'That is better than the sputtering of the country tractor!'

2.2.2. ANALYTIC FORM OF ICONOPOEIC WORDS. WORDS WITH THE AFFIX -HII

1) *pal* > *pal hii*-

Image: splashing *pal* of a flat board in water

Emotions: fear, shock

Examples:

Havtgai, hu'nd yum usand pal hiiz' unadag. – 'A heavy flat thing falls into water with the sound 'pal'.

Bi nuurt pal hiigeed yaah ve? – 'I will not make a belly flop into the lake.'

Idiomatic expressions:

dotor pal hiigeed yavc'ih – 'to get frightened to death'

E.g.:

Ho'l muutai ah maani morinoos unalaa gez' duulaad dotor pal hiigeed l yavc'ihsan, tegsen azaar zu'v zu'geer baisan. – 'When I heard that our lame brother fell off the horse, I was frightened to death, but luckily nothing happened to him.'

2) *cu'l* > *cu'l hii*-

Image: the sound *cu'l*, falling into water, about a heavy and massive object

Emotions: something strange, getting startled, fear

Examples:

Tom c'uluu o'nhorsoor us ruu cu'l hiin unav. – 'A huge stone was rolling and loudly splashed into water with a rumbling noise.'

Mori sogs'ihod ganzagalsan ho'huurtei airag cu'l cu'l hiiz' yavav. – 'When the horse was galloping, the kumys in the hanging bag was making the noise *tsul tsul* (flowing to and fro).'

3) *pol* > *pol hii*-

Image: the sound *pol*, the plopping of a small heavy round object (stone) into water

Emotions: pleasure, pleasant feeling

Example:

Usand selegc' hu'n usruu pol hiin u'serc' baihad seldeggu'i hu'n pal hiin u'serdeg. – 'When a swimmer dives into water, he just slices the surface, and a nonswimmer makes a belly flop.'

4) *s'al* > *s'al hii*-

Image: the sound *s'al*, falling into water of a light and flat object (great leaf, bark, cardboard, a copybook and the like)

Emotions: neutral**Examples:**

Modnii navc' usand s'al hiin unahiig sonsood tuulai ihed ain zugtaz' gene. – 'When the hare heard the splash of the leaf in water, reportedly it got terribly startled and ran away.'¹⁰

Cas hailaad gadamz'aar hu'muus s'al s'al hiin alhalz' baina. – 'When snow melts, people are walking in the streets and squelching.' (lit., make the sound *s'al s'al*)

This root then becomes the basis for the derivation of more verbs, e.g.
s'albai- emotional expression for amassing of water, sludge or mud
s'albala- a transitive verb, 'to scratch away something', e.g. a scab'
s'albara- an intransitive verb, 'to injure oneself in the hand, finger, skin' etc.

From the verb *s'albara-* the noun *s'albarhai* 'small injuries, scratches' is derived; from *s'al* the words *s'albaag* 'puddle, pool, muddy place' and *s'alc'iih* 'to soak' are derived.

E.g.:

Zarim hu'uhed s'albaagiig s'alc'ignuulah durtai. – 'Some children like to splash in pools.'

Bulgan nudargiig s'alc'iital uilavaa hoo. – 'He was weeping, until he soaked the end of his sable deel's sleeve.'¹¹

In this way it is possible to find and create a great number of derived words from every depicting word in various ways.

5) *s'ar* > *s'ar hii-*

Image: the sound *s'ar*, when striking a match, the sound of tearing paper, the sound of closing the zip fastener¹²

Emotions: neutral

Example:

Daavuu alc'uuriig s'ar hiitel cuulav. – 'He tore a stripe of a textile with the sound *s'ar*.'

6) *s'ur* > *s'ur hii-*

Image: the sound *s'ur*, drawing long pencil lines on paper, e.g. with a ruler, to underline; the sound of drawing or inserting the sabre from/into the sheath, and similar prolonged sounds

Emotions: neutral, sometimes wondering, evoking curiosity

10) From a folk tale, originally Indian: *Tuulain s'al* (The terrible splash of a hare).

11) This concerns the traditional habit of weeping into the sleeve *nutargand uilah*. A verse from a Mongolian folk song.

12) Cf. *s'argi-* 2.2.1., 2).

Example:

Avgai s'ireenii nu'diig s'ur hiitel tataad neg c'u'denz gargaz' s'ar s'ur hiitel havirc' gerel gargav. – 'The housewife drew open the drawer with the sound *s'ur*, took out a match and struck it with the sound *s'ar s'ur* and struck a light.'

Idiomatic expressions: *s'ur hii-* to disappear for a while and come back; to do something very quickly, do shopping, to go to fetch something and come back, to return quickly;

Modality – expressing reassurance, soothing, obtaining permission or support

E.g.:

Kofenii su'u alga, bi muhlagruu s'ur hiigeed su'u avaad iriye! – 'There is no more milk for coffee, I will fetch it quickly from the kiosk.' (lit., 'I will make *s'ur* into the kiosk, and I am back in a flash').

Hoyuulaa enu'uhen guanzand s'ur hiigeed ayaga pivo uuc'ihaad yavaya. – 'Let's have a quick cup of beer in this canteen and go.'

7) *s'or* > *s'or hii-*

Image: the sound *s'or*, when sipping a liquid from a bowl, the sound of a child pissing into a vessel, or boys pissing on the ground

Emotions: neutral, but depending on the context it can become great irony

Examples:

Hódoonii hu'muus ayagatai hav haluun caig s'or s'or hiilgen ooc'iz' uudag. – 'People in the countryside keep sipping very hot tea from a bowl in small amounts (making the sound *s'or s'or*).'
Zo'cid buudald orood usnii kraniig ergu'ultel zevtei us s'or hiin gooz'iv, hu'n suugaagu'i udsan boltoi. – 'When I entered the hotel and turned the tap, rust-coloured water trickled with the sound *s'or*, obviously nobody had lived here for a long time.'

8) *s'ov* > *s'ov hii-*

Image: the sound *s'ov*, when kissing on the lips

Emotions: pleasant emotion

Examples:

Egc' mini namaig s'ov hiitel u'nssen. – 'My sister kissed me on the cheek (and it clicked) with the sound *s'ov*.'

Bi ter ohintoi tanilcsan odroo l hacar deer ni s'ov hiilgeed avsan. – 'On the very day when I made acquaintance with the girl, I managed to kiss her on the cheek with the sound *s'ov*.'

Idiomatic expressions: *s'ov hii-/s'ov hiilge-* – to suck the breast quickly; an emotionally coloured expression of the mother of the child, to breastfeed

E.g.:

Eez' ni yavlaa, minii hu'u meemee neg s'ov hiilgec'ih. – 'My Son, I must go, have a quick suck on my breast.'

9) *s'av* > *s'av hii*-

Image: a strong sound *s'av*, e.g. when whipping the horse over the buttocks, the sound of slapping by hand, a mild slap and the like

Emotions: mild shock, wondering

Examples:

Minii hu'u naad morio s'av hiitel tas'uurdahgu'i bol yavz' o'oghui baiz' medne s'u'u. – 'My son, if you do not whip this horse properly (lit., with the sound *s'av*), it will certainly not even start moving.'

S'ilbu'ureeree s'av s'uv hiitel gazar oroolgood naad heden u'hree tuugaad yavaarai. – 'Drive here several of the cows, take a long whip and lash with it on the ground making the sound *s'av s'uv*.'

Idiomatic expressions:

a) *s'av hiilge*- – to beat somebody with a belt, to beat someone's buttocks with a belt

E.g.:

Dahiad orongotoz' tamhi tatval aav c'ini c'amaig s'av hiilgehed hu'rne s'u'u, hu'u mini. – 'My son, if you start again to move around and smoke, it may also happen that Father will make *s'av* (beat you with a belt on the buttocks).'

b) *s'av hiisen zaluu/ohin* – lit., a youth/girl who made a lash'; this means an able young man/girl, doing his/her work quickly

E.g.:

Manai Dulmaagiin naiz geed s'av hiisen zaluu ireed baih bolloo, teru'unteigee l suugaasai gez' bi bodood baigaa. – 'Our Dulma's friend, an able young man (lit., doing *s'av* – a flash) started to come to our house, so I think it would be good if she lived with him.'

10) *tas* > *tas hii*-

Image: strong and sudden sound immediately next to a person, in his/her very proximity, e.g. a thunder strike, a shot, the sound of a strong slap

Emotions: fear, shock, nervousness

Examples:

Cahilgaan cahiz' tenger tas hiiv. – 'sound of a thunderclap, the sky rumbled.' (lit., made *tas*)

Oid yavz' baital buun duu tas hiiv. – 'When I walked through the forest, there was gunshot' (lit., the sound of the gun made *tas*)

Ter ah nadad durgu'iceed haalga tas hiitel hayaad garsan. – 'The elder man got angry with me, slammed the door (in front of me) and left.' (lit., made *tas* by the door and went out)

O'vliin hu'tend goliin mo's tas nyas hiin hagarah c'imee sonsogddog. – 'In the winter frost a permanent cracking of the ice on the river is heard.' (lit., *tas nyas* of the ice is heard). Here the pair of sounds (*tas nyas*) imply repeated stronger sounds.

Idiomatic expressions:

a) *tas hii-* – to be very cold, to be ‘slapped’ by cold

E.g.:

Gadaa hu’iten tas hiiz’ baina. – ‘Outside there is a severe cold.’ (lit., outside the cold makes *tas*)

b) *tas hiim hu’iten/tesgem hu’iten* (colloquial variant) – great cold, bitter frosty cold

11) *tu’s > tu’s hii-*

Image: to make the sound *tu’s*, e.g. when falling on the ground, a massive, heavy object – fall of a sack of sand, of a barbell, heavy stone and the like

Emotions: unpleasant feeling

Examples:

Ter zaluu bo’h z’iz’ig biye’tai mo’rtloo tiim avarga biyet bo’hiig tu’s hiitel tavisar s’u’u. – ‘That young wrestler, though his body is small, he felled the big wrestler with the sound *tu’s*.’ I.e. he slammed him on the ground. Here it is an emotion of admiration, but an unpleasant feeling for the losing one loser.

Bi gudamz’ind haltiraad araaraa tu’s hiitel unaz’ u’zsen. – ‘I slipped in the street and suddenly fell flat on my back.’ (lit., so that it made *tu’s*)

Zarim cagdaa barivc’ilsan hu’muusee tu’s hiitel o’s’igloz’ baihiig bi harsan. – ‘I saw how some policemen kicked the prisoner(s).’ (lit., so that it made *tu’s*).

Idiomatic expressions:

a) *tu’s tas s’iide-* – to decide without hesitation, a quick decision, rash decision

E.g.:

Olon tavan yum yariad yaahav, ter uulzaltad oc’ihgu’i geed tu’s tas s’iidiye! – ‘Well, instead of talking too much, let me (us) decide clearly that I (we) will not go to the meeting.’

b) *tu’s tas hu’n* – hot-headed person, impetuous person

E.g.:

Manai no’hor dendu’u tu’s tas hu’n baigaam, tiim hurdan morio iim hyamdhan zarc’ih gez’! – ‘My husband is a very hot-headed person, he sold that quick horse so very cheaply!’

12) *tar > tar hii-*

Image: to utter the sound *tar* into the ear, a shrill sound of two hard objects hitting each other, e.g. squeaking of a broken door, the sound of a falling tree or bigger branch, a loud sound of a pot or vessel abruptly placed on the table

Emotion: unpleasantness**Examples:**

Ene geriin haalgai tar hiigeed hecu'u baina, zasuulah yumsan. – 'When the door of this yurt is closed, it squeaks in an unpleasant manner (lit., it makes *tar*), I want to repair it.'

Manai bairnii conhnii salhivc' bas haah neehed tar hiigeed evgu'i baidag. – 'The ventilator window of our flat also squeaks unpleasantly (lit., makes *tar*) when opening or closing it.'

Ter avgai ayagiig s'ireen deer zo'olon taviihiig yo'roosoo suraagu'i, dandaa tar hiitel tavidgiim. – 'That housewife has never learnt to place the bowl on the table in a careful manner, she always puts it down in a harsh manner.' (lit., it makes *tar*)

Idiomatic expressions: (*hoorondoo*) *tar hii-/tar tur hii-* – a euphemism; to quarrel, argue

E.g.:

Ehner bid hoyor tar hiilcezh' l baidag yum. – 'I often argue with my wife.'

Aav eez' hoyoriigoo hoorondoo tar tur hiiz' baihiig bi u'zeegui. – 'I have never seen my Father quarrel with my Mother.'

13) ***bur* > *bur hii-***

Image: to utter the sound *bur* of boiling water, bubbling of a rising spring, always only about water¹³

Emotion: pleasant

Examples:

Togootoi cai bur hiin buclahad olon udas samarval amlag boldog gedeg. – 'When tea starts boiling in a kettle (lit., when it boils making the sound *bur*), if it is many times ladled up and poured back using the ladle it becomes tasty.'

Darigangiin Ganga nuuriin derged bur bur hiin orgilson neg bulag baidag. Ter bulgiin derged duu duulahad bu'r hu'c'tei burgildag yum bilee. – 'Near the Ganga Lake of Dariganga, there is a spring, which rises bubbling (lit., rises and makes the sounds *bur bur*). I could see when songs are sung next to it, that it bubbles more strongly.'

Idiomatic expressions:

cai bur hiilge- – to make tea, coffee or soup quickly, to cook in a minute

E.g.:

Ah mini tamhia tataad suuz' bai, bi cai bur hiilgeedehtye gez' ohin du'u ni helev. – 'Brother, have one cigarette and I will make tea in a minute (lit., I will let tea do *bur*), said the younger sister.'

13) Another onomatopoeic word *burgi-* is used about a dry object – sand, dust and the like.

14) *sar* > *sar hii*-

Image: to utter the sound *sar*, when a thin strong material is rustling (e.g. a leather *deel*, a plastic bag, paper; the sound of hard corn falling down when it is poured)

Emotion: unpleasant

Examples:

Endehiin delgu'uriin gyalgar uut sar sar hiih yum, manai tendhiinh tegdeggu'i l yum. – 'The plastic bags of this shop rustle terribly (lit., make the sound *sar sar*), the ones from our shop do not do it.'

Sonsmooloos hairga buulgahad sar hiisen ih c'imee gardag. – 'When gravel is tipped out from the lorry, there is a great noise (lit., there is the loud sound *sar*).'

Idiomatic expressions:

a) *sar sar hii*- – to make many futile comments, foolish things

E.g.:

Batceceg gez' neg yum orz' ireed sar sar hiiz' baigaad yavsan. – 'That funny Batceceg came and before leaving she said many foolish things (lit., she kept doing *sar sar*).'

b) *sar sar hiisen hu'n* – a chatterbox, talkative person

E.g.:

Minii neg naiz hu'uhēn gez' bas Batceceg s'ig sar sar hiisen hu'n baidgiim. – 'One of my (girl) friends is as talkative as Batceceg.'

15) *nar/ner* > *nar/ner/nar ner hii-/nerhii*-

Image: the sound of the falling or overturning of a great object at a height, e.g. scaffolding, enclosure, wooden wall, a house, a book shelf

Emotions: unpleasant feeling

Examples:

Ene hotiin o'ndor barilguudtig mas' c'anargu'i materialaar barisan bolohoor neg l cagt nar hiigēd l nurna. – 'These high buildings in this town are built from extremely low quality material, that is why they will collapse one day (lit., they will make *nar*).'

Bi zaluudaa Lamiin Ulaanii ter Du'mben deer savaagu'itez' tom oo c'uluun Ovoo bosgoc'ihood suuz' baital nar ner hiigēd l yavc'ihšan. – 'When I was young, I piled up a big *ovoo* from great stones next to Lamiin Ulaan on the Du'mben mountain without taking any care, and while I was sitting, all of a sudden it collapsed (lit., it made *nar ner* and disappeared).'

16) *pad/ped* > *pad hii-/ped hii*-

Image: the sound *pad* of a not too heavy object falling on the ground (e.g. a book, bag with shopping)

Emotions: neutral, sometimes a shock

Examples:

*Manai hu'u gertee oronguut l cu'nhee **pad hiitel** hayadag zantai.* – 'When our son comes home, he usually throws down his bag.'

*Hu'muus haalgii **tog tog** cohidog, gevc' uurlaval algaaraa/garaaraa **pad ped hiitel** cohidog.* – 'People mostly knock at the door, but when they are angry, they bang it.'

17) **pod > pod hii-**

Image: uttering the sound *pod* of a light object falling on the ground, e.g. the cork of a bottle, the sound of pulling out the cork from the bottle, a mild sound of placing a hard object on the table (the opposite of *tar*), the sound of drops falling on the floor

Emotions: neutral

Examples:

*Halbaga sereeg s'ireen deer **tar hiitel** c'anga bitgii taviz' bai, **pod hiitel** zo'olon taviz' bai.* – 'Do not throw the cutlery on the table so that it makes *tar*, but place it carefully so that it makes *pod*.'

*Usnii kran muudaad usan dusal **pod pod hiigeed** baina.* – 'The tap is broken and water keeps dropping flop, flop (*pod pod*).'

Idiomatic expressions:

pod hii- – to reach somehow a good/average living standard

Modality – contentment

E.g.:

*Dembereliin hu'uhduud ho'doo garaad **pod hiisen** maltai ailuud bolz' sain saihan az' to'rz' baina-lee.* – 'Children of Demberel left for the countryside and established *ails* (households) with a sufficient number of cattle and lived really happily.'

*Bi o'noodor aild honi gargaz' o'gc' huvi gedes ideed, airag uugaad **pod hiic'ihlee.*** – 'Today I have killed a sheep for one family, ate my part of it (a piece of stomach), drank kumys and for today I feel happy.' (words of a poor man, today he is full)

2.2.3. VERBS WITH OTHER AFFIXES EXCEPT FOR -GI /-HII AND THEIR ANALYTIC FORMS

1)

ser (ser ser)	serz'igne-, serc'igne-	serz'ig, serz'ig hii-
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Image: a soft sound, e.g. soft, fresh breeze, the sound of quivering leaves of aspen

Emotions: pleasant, sometimes a sudden start

Examples:

Ser ser salhind modnii navc' serz'ignesen saihan ódor baina. – 'It is a nice day, when in the fine wind making *ser ser* the leaves of the trees keep fluttering.

Deren dor neg yum serc'igneed, u'zsen c'ini har coh orc'ihson baina. – 'Something rustled under the pillow, when I had a look I found that a black bug had got in there.

2)

tar (tar tar)	tarc'igna-, tarz'igna-	tar hii-/ge-, tar tar hii-/ge-
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Image: loud sounds of hard objects hitting against each other, e.g. iron, stones

Emotion: unpleasant

Examples:

O'do'r s'ónogui tramvai tarz'ignaad conh ongoilgohiin argagu'i o'roo baigaa yum. – 'It is a difficult room, where you cannot open the window, trams keep rumbling here day and night.

Dorz'iinhtoi ail baihad hecu'u baina, tractor ni tar tar hiigeed (/ tarc'ignaad / tarz'ignaad) amar zayaa u'zuulehgui yum. – 'It is difficult to live next to the Dorz'es family, they do not give (you) peace, their tractor keeps rumbling.

3)

hur	hurz'igna-, hurhira-	hur hii-/ge-, hur hur hii-/ge-
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Image: the bubbling sound of snoring, the sound of rumbling in the stomach and in the intestines

Emotions: unpleasant feeling, impropriety

Examples:

C'i zoolon hurhirdag yum bilee. Zarim hu'n bu'r hurz'ignatal hurhirdag. Tegz' hurhirahtig „ee-zgii bucalgah“ gene. – 'You snore only mildly. Some people snore like pigs. It is said about such snoring that they "cook eezgii" (dry cheese, which is cooked for many many hours).' (an unpleasant emotion, shame)

Gedes hurz'ignaad baina, hool s'ingesengu'i. – 'My intestines bubble (are boiling), the food was not digested /(the food goes away directly).'

Compare: *hu'rhree hu'rz'igne- (< hu'r)* – the waterfall murmurs; a pleasant strong sound

tenger hu'rz'igne- – the sky rumbles at length, many times in the distance; a pleasant sound

gorhi horz'igno- (< hor) – the streamlet bubbles; a pleasant repeated sound

4)

gan	a) gangina-, b) gangana- gangar (gangar gungar)	gan hii-/ge-, gan gan hii-/ge-
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a) **gangina-****Image:** mild prolonged penetrating sound, e.g. dog's whining**Emotions:** unpleasant**Example:**

Tend nohod gasalz' ganginaad yuu bolz' baina? Nohoi ganginuulz' kino zurag avc' baigaa yum gene. – 'Dogs are whining there, what is the matter? Reportedly they are shooting a film, where they make dogs whine.'

Idiomatic expressions:

gongono-/gengene- – to keep whimpering at length to obtain s.th. from mother, to cadge by whimpering; mildly unpleasant emotional charge

E.g.:

Hu'u maani zurag avdag utas geed l gongonood hecu'u yum, Dorz' mini c'i mo'ngo zeelehiig bo-dooroi. – 'Our little boy keeps whimpering that he wants a mobile phone with camera, it is unbearable, Dorz', could you borrow from someone money?'

b) **gangana-**¹⁴**Image:** sound of many live individuals, e.g. cackling of many geese, children and the like**Emotions:** pleasant**Examples:**

Ahiinh galuu ganganasan saihaan gazar zusaz' bainalee. – 'My brother's family spent the summer in a beautiful place, where geese keep singing.'

Z'igu'urten s'uvuud holoos irz' gangar gungar dongodson oron. – 'It is a country, where winged birds keep coming from far away and keep singing in various voices (*gangar gungar*).'

Idiomatic expressions:

gangana- – mumbling of a child before it starts speaking, uttering various sounds; a pleasant emotional charge

E.g.:

Manai hu'uhed odoo ganganadag bolson. – 'Our child started to babble.'

14) There is the word *gingine-* – 'to moan (about a man), to despair.

5)

han	hangina- ----- hangir (hangir z'ingir)	Han han hii-/ge-
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Image: a loud penetrating sound, e.g. hitting something hard with an iron object

Emotions: neutral, sometimes unpleasant

Examples:

Emeeliin to'mor do'roo hadand havirahiig do'roo hanginah gedeg. Tiim gazriig „Do'roo hanginadag“ gez' nerledeg. – ‘When the iron stirrup of the saddle hits a rock, it is said that the stirrup rings. Such a place is called “Stirrup Ringing”’

Baruun c'ih hanginaval c'amaig hu'n sain helz' baina, zu'un c'ih hanginaval hu'n muu helz' baina gelcdeg. – ‘It is said that when you have ringing in the right ear, people speak well about you, when it is in the left ear, they are gossiping about you.’

Bo'ogiin huvsand olon to'mor zu'ult hangir z'ingir hiiz' baidag. – ‘Many iron pendants on the dress of a shaman tinkle making “ting ting”’

Idiomatic expressions:

c'ih hanginuul- – to hear bad things about oneself/somebody

E.g.:

Solongost yavahad aav “zaa hu'u mini, eru'ul mendee bodooroi, bitgii c'ih hanginuulaarai” gez' zahisan yum. – ‘When I went to Korea, my Father insisted: “My son, take care of your health and do not let my ears ring (i.e., do not let me hear bad news about you)!”’

Compare: *hongino-* – the sound of an empty iron bucket hitting a tree or a stone, the sound of an empty unloaded car/lorry

Idiomatic expression:

gedes hongino- – to rumble in the stomach, to be hungry; an ironic expression comparing the stomach to an empty iron bucket

6)

du'n	du'ngene- du'nger (du'nger du'nger)	du'n du'n hii-/ge-
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Image: a deep, loud, muffled sound, e.g. the buzzing of a bumblebee, a remote muffled sound of an airplane or car

Emotions: neutral, sometimes provoking interest

Examples:

Hedgene du'ngenedeg, zo'gii z'unginadag. – ‘The bumblebee buzzes making a hollow sound, the bee buzzes softly.’

Gu'veenii caana du'ngeneed mas'in irz' yavaa bololtoi. – ‘Behind the hill a car may be going, it makes the sound du'n.’

Haz'uu aild du'nger du'nger gelceed olon hu'n baigaa yum s'ig baina. – 'In the neighbouring ail there are sounds of many voices, it seems that there are many people there.'

7)

su'n	su'ngene-	su'n hii-
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Image: a sudden sound of the wind, a whizz of an arrow

Emotions: something interesting, sometimes a shock

Examples:

Zo'ron davhih mas'inuud su'n su'n hiin o'ngorno. – 'Many passing cars just zoomed past each other.'
(Bi) Mori unac'ihsan u'yinhee ohidtoi su'ngenuulz' (davhiulz') yavna gez' bi zu'udelsen. – 'I had a dream of riding a horse as a young man with girls and we were galloping with a whizz.'

Idiomatic expression:

su'ngene-/su'ngenuul- – to hurry, to zoom, to fly (tear along)

E.g.:

Bi odoo yaare' baina, taksi avaad su'ngenuulc'ihhiye. – 'I am in a hurry, I will take a taxi and tear along.'

8)

s'un	s'ungina-	s'un hii-
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Image: fine, weak voice, e.g. buzzing of a gnat

Emotion: unpleasant

Example:

C'ihnii haz'uugaar s'umuul s'unginaad o'ngorloo. – 'A gnat gave a buzz near my ear.'

Compare: *zo'gii z'ungina-* – a bee was humming

3. Fusion of iconopoeic and onomatopoeic characteristics

From the point of view of contemporary use of the language, both these groups of depicting words are an elementary and very poetic means of displaying expressivity. Besides this fact we may also take into consideration the possibility of the fusion of both of these forms of creating images. This concerns words where the original onomatopoeic characteristic turned into an iconopoeic one. Then there are words which represent both sound and image. The third group of these words lost its depicting character and turned into ordinary designations of objects (nouns) and activities (verbs).

3.1. ONOMATOPOEIC WORDS, WHICH TURNED INTO ICONOPOEIC WORDS

burgi- < **bur ki-**

Image: an object of a powder-like substance, which can be easily poured from packages, e.g. powder, flour, ashes, dust from the ground, snuff tobacco

Emotions: unpleasant

Examples:

*Ganzgandhi uuttai guril morinii yavdald **burgiad** emeeliin go'lom cagaan bol'ihoz*. – 'The flour in the sacks fastened to the saddle was dispersed by the movement of the horse and made the saddle cloth (sheets) white.'

*Vakum conh hiilgeed conhnii zavsraar toos **burgihgu**'i sanaa amar bolson*. – 'We felt relieved that the sealed up windows do not let dust in through crevices.'

Commentary: the original sound of a bubble of boiling water popping round, cf. above **bu'r hii-** 2.2.2., 13), turned only into an image of movement.

burgila- < **bur ki-**

Image: image of smoke, which is rising in small wafts, smoke from the exhaust, vapour from the railway engine

Emotions: neutral, sometimes unpleasant, in the following example pleasant

Example:

Argaliin utaa burgilsan malc'nii gert to'rson bi. – 'I who was born in the yurt of herdsman, where wafts of smoke rise from *argal*'.¹⁵

Commentary: the original sound of bubbling water turned only into the image. Cf. **bur hii-** < **bur ki-**, 2.2.2., 13).

cu'lhii- < **cül ki-**

Image: image of a great overhanging belly of a person or animal, of a bag containing kumys, plastic bag with water and the like

Emotions: repulsive, unpleasant

Examples:

*Ulaanbaartart **cu'lhii**sen zaluus ols'irson ni ilt haragdaz' bainalee*. – 'Nowadays in Ulaanbaatar young people with overhanging bellies can be seen more often.'

*Hödolgoonii dutagdlaas yalanguyaa emegteic'u'udiin gu'zee ilu'u **cu'lhii**z' baigaa gene*. – 'From lack of movement, especially of women, the belly becomes overhanging.'

*Herlenii zu'un zu'gt **cu'lhii**sen hesgiig O'rh bulan gez' nerlez' bainalee*. – 'Reportedly the place in the east of Herlen forming a bend is called Muddy Bay.'

Commentary: the image of the sound of an object falling into deep water and probably disappearing. Cf. **cu'l hii-** 2.2.2., 2).

15) Dry excrements used for burning fire. From a poem by the Mongolian writer C. C'imid.

calgi-/halgi- < cal ki-**Image:** overflowing of a liquid from a full vessel during its movement**Emotions:** unpleasant**Examples:**

Ulaanbaatart cu'hiisen zaluus ols'irson ni ilt haragdaz' bainalee. – 'Nowadays a great number of young people with overflowing bellies can be seen in Ulaanbaatar.'

Gartaa barisan huvintai su'u ni caligaad hormoi ni norc'ihoz'. – 'The milk was overflowing from the pitcher, which she held in her hand, and soaked the lower flap of her *deel*.'

Idiomatic expression:

halgiz' calgi- – to live in prosperity

E.g.:

Heden maliinhaa buyand ideh o'msohoor dutahgu'i halgiz' calgiz' baina aa gez' emgen helev. – 'Though (we have) only a few cattle, we have something to eat and to dress, we live in prosperity, said the old woman.'

Commentary: *calgi-/halgi- < cal ki-* – the sound *cal/hal* of a great object falling into deep water and lost and only the image of the splashing of water remained. Cf. *cu'l hii-* 2.2.2., 2).

3.2. FUSION OF IMAGE AND SOUND***guvs'i- < *yubsi- < *yub ki-*****Image:** image and sound of a calf sucking secretly from a different cow from behind**Emotion:** humorous**Example:**

Ene tugaliin eh ni su'u muutai bolohoor busad u'neeg guvs'dag bolc'ihson yum. – 'This calf's mother has little milk, that is why it started secretly sucking from other cows.'

Idiomatic expression:

guvs'i- – to live at the expense of others

E.g.:

Odoo olon zaluus az'ilgu'i, az'il c' oldohgu'i bolohoor ah du'u naraa l guvs'iz' amidarc' baina. – 'Nowadays many young people are jobless. Because they cannot find work they live at the expense of their brothers and sisters.'

gulgi- < yul ki-**Image:** image and sound of a puking nursling or ill person**Emotions:** unpleasant feeling**Example:***Eez' ni su'utei bolohoor ene hu'u ih gulgidag yum.* – 'His mother has too much milk, that is why the son keeps puking lightly.'**sargi- < sar ki-****Image:** image and sound of water, milk or loose matter, which leaks or flows through a hole in a vessel**Emotions:** unpleasant**Example:***Usnii hooloi zevreed us s'u'urc' baisnaa odoo bu'r sargiz' baina.* – 'The water is pipe corroded, it used to be only bedewed, now it already leaks.'**dargia/targia/hargia, hargil/targil < dar/tar ki-****Image:** the sound (*dar-tar, har-har*) and the image of a quickly moving wavy stream of a river, rapids**Emotions:** pleasant, interesting**Example:***Ter targiliin deed zahaar ene goliin olom baigaa.* – 'On the upper side of the rapids there is a ford.'**3.3. WORDS (NOUNS AND VERBS) ORIGINATING FROM ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS****borgio** – water overflowing a stone or an obstacle, rapids (*goliin borgio*); originally from onomatopoeic **bor/bur ki-** (Kh. *bor hii-/ bur hii-*, cf. 2.2.2., 13)**hargi-, hargia** – to trot; a horse that trots (regionally); originally from an onomatopoeic **qar ki-** (Kh. *har hii-*)

E.g.:

*Har mori ni hargina biz dee hoò / har mori ni hargiatai daa hoò.*¹⁶ – 'His black horse is trotting, is it not / his black horse is used to trotting.'**nargi-, nargia, nargian** – to make merry at an evening party; merry, entertaining; (evening) party; originally from an onomatopoeic **nar ki-** (Kh. *nar hii-*, cf. 2.2.2., 15)

¹⁶) From a folk song.

- nirge-** – to rumble (about the thunder), to defeat an army, to disperse the enemy; originally from an onomatopoeic **ner ki-** (Kh. *ner hii-*, cf. 2.2.2.,15)
- z'irge-** – to twitter, to make a sound (about birds); from an onomatopoeic **jir ki-** (Kh. *z'ir z'ir hii-*);
- dorgi-** – to shudder; originally from an onomatopoeic **dor ki-** (Kh. *dor dor hii-*);
- corgi-** – to burn through, to make a hole with a hot object; originally from an onomatopoeic **cor ki-** (Kh. *cor/c'or hii-*);
- aagim, aahila-** – deadly heat (Kh. *aagim haluun cai* – terribly hot tea); to sigh, to become breathless; originally from an onomatopoeic **aa kim-e** (to breathe fire like a dragon – *aa hiim, aa gem*)

4. Conclusion

The examples collected in the last three papers (including Oberfalzerová 2009, 2010, and discussed also already in 2005, 2006) documented the very important position of onomatopoeic and iconopoetic words in Mongolian language and their even more important role in the ethnography of communication.¹⁷ Depicting words are the most important and most frequently used means of displaying expressivity both in communication and in folklore. They intensify the power of words – praise or humiliation, or they appear in nicknames, strongly and unequivocally modulate the pleasant and unpleasant feelings of the Mongolian nomads. That is why we can speak about something like emotional verbs, even though seemingly they describe only natural images or sounds. But not in a neutral way, almost always they evoke a specific emotion, which can be intensified by transfer to a different object, especially a person. That is why the depicting words also serve as the basis of many metaphors and idiomatic expressions.

I have tried to reflect certain regular features in the formation of images and sounds by way of specific affixes or analytic forms of depicting words, e.g. the power of the sound, frequency or the changing perception of their character – pleasant or unpleasant. Variants of the image are also formed by the relevant, especial initial consonant or variant basic vowel. In the mind of the listeners, each of these variants then evokes a different sound or image perception with the relevant emotion, which is culturally transmitted together

17) For this context of the analysis cf. also my papers dealing with various aspects of metaphorical speech (2002) and use of Mongolian in the perspective of cultural context (2003).

with the image. It must be noted that for a non-native speaker the great variability of the depicting words creates great difficulties when he or she is supposed to use them actively in direct communication. This is because he or she may miss their different emotional charge. That is why in the last three papers dealing with these words I have listed a great number of concrete examples of the use of these words, both in collocations and in recorded sentences. Though to a certain extent these depicting words exist in every language, in Mongolian communication they represent a very large group of words, which go hand in hand with the necessities of the nomads' life, where they must be well oriented in the surrounding wild natural environment, and with their ability to perceive it and reflect it in great detail in words.

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The function of descriptive verbs in Khalkha Mongolian: The basic pair of verbs of motion *ou-* ‘to visit’ vs. *up-* ‘to come’

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Summary: The paper follows the description of two basic verbs of motion in the Sibe language, by describing verbs with analogical meanings in Khalkha Mongolian. I try to outline, using examples from the spoken language, their main grammatical functions and semantic fields. This paper presents a collection of systematically arranged material. A description of other verbs of motion in more languages should follow in order to present material for comparison and deeper research.

0. Introduction

In the present text I continue the topic of the verbs of motion which was discussed in the previous paper¹ and which is supposed to form a part of a broader study of the systems of verbs of motion in several Central Asian languages. The verbs of motion in turn form part of a larger group of so-called descriptive verbs (Žikmundova 2010, pp. 95–96).

As was already mentioned in the previous paper, the systems of descriptive verbs, and within them the sub-systems of verbs of motion, are largely similar in many Eastern-Asian languages, while they substantially differ from the structures into which the verbal lexical units are organized in the European languages. The knowledge of this fact is important for the correct apprehension of the grammar and idiomatics of some non-European languages.

Verbs of motion have been previously studied by many linguists, above all Leonard Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000), Beth Levin and Malka Rappaport Hovav (1992), Daniel Slobin (1996), and others.² Recently, it is mainly Tsuneko Nakazawa who has focused on verbs of motion in the Altaic languages (2007, 2009).

The basic concepts, which form the verbal orientation systems of the Altaic languages, are ‘to come here’, ‘to go there’, ‘to set off and travel’, ‘to ascend’

1) The function of descriptive verbs in colloquial Sibe1. The basic pair of verbs of motion *ji-* ‘to come’ vs. *gen-* ‘to visit’.

2) See the bibliography by Slobin and Matsumoto <http://www.lit.kobe-u.ac.jp/~yomatsum/motionbiblio1.pdf>.

and 'to descend', 'to go out' and 'to enter'. These are further complemented by the concepts 'to pass', 'to return home', 'to return to the starting point', 'to arrive', 'to follow', etc.

Verbs of motion have precise spatial meanings and deictic functions connected to the latter, which can be easily demonstrated on narrative texts, where verbs of motion are used to depict situations and actions, shift the focus of the narrator, etc. Many of these verbs are used with figurative and metaphorical meanings. Verbs of motion are often an important part of various types of verbal phrases (more in Zikmundova 2010, pp. 96–97).

The present paper is intended as a basis for a comparative study of the systems of verbs of motion in more Altaic languages and dialects. Therefore it, for the most part, follows the pattern of the first paper which focuses on spoken Sibe. Accordingly, it attempts to specify the semantic ranges and the auxiliary function and figurative meanings of the pair of verbs 'to come here' and 'to go there' in Khalkha Mongolian. The meaning of these two verbs is defined in relation to the speaker. In theory, these two verbs form a pair of opposites, one having the basic meaning of reaching a point which is different from the speaker's current location, and the other denoting arrival at the speaker's location. However, examples from practical usage show interesting differences between the two concepts.

In the following text I use examples from colloquial Khalkha Mongolian to define the semantic fields of the two verbs. At first I focus on the available formal characteristics (occurrence with or without an indirect object) and try to classify the examples into tentative groups following the rendering of their meanings into English. Next I list the main types of verbal phrases formed with each of the examined verbs based on formal criteria (order of verbs in the phrase). In view of the great abundance of types of verbal phrases in Khalkha Mongolian, I limit the examined sample to the verbal phrases in the narrowest sense, i.e. to phrases in which the verbs are conjoined by the perfect and imperfect converbal forms. Each of the types is divided into groups following their semantics as viewed through the English translation. Since any classification of verbal phrases in the Altaic languages poses serious problems – vague borders of and merging of the types, as well as the inevitably subjective character of the classification – I avoid introducing any fixed and regular structure and instead try to group the available examples of phrases into approximate classes, following mainly the estimated degree of grammaticalization of the components. Each of the verbs is then examined for its figurative usage.

Finally, examples from a narrative show how the descriptive functions and emotional connotations of the verbs are used in depicting scenes and actions.

1. The verb *оч-* ‘to go there’

The Mongolian verb *оч-*, like the previously studied Sibe verb *гэн-*, is generally used in its lexical meaning of movement towards a certain point, either as a main verb, or a modal verb with an additional meaning of direction, movement with a certain goal etc. The collected material yielded only one case that can be interpreted as figurative.

1.1. PHASES OF MOTION EXPRESSED BY THE VERB *оч-* AND ITS MAIN SEMANTIC EMPHASIS

The Mongolian verb *оч-*, like the Sibe verb *гэн-* (cf. Zikmundova 2010, p. 96), occurs in the meaning of ‘going to a certain place’. The other important ranges of meanings comprise approaching an object or a person, entering a place and eventually meeting people there etc.

The impression given by the collected material is that the Mongolian verb *оч-* can never be interpreted as referring to leaving the starting point of motion. It may refer to the process of motion, in which case it either takes the form of the continuous verb, stressing the meaning of approaching the goal, or else exists in phrases in which the verb *оч-* functions as a modal verb with the meaning of direction or goal. Generally the most frequent meanings of the verb *оч-* are arrival at a certain point and visiting a place with a certain purpose, in which case it mostly refers to the whole event of the visit. In this sense there exists an opposition to the construction with the verb *яв-* + LAT., which may imply visiting a place without a special purpose (e.g. *агуйд очно* ‘(I) will go to the cave (to perform a ritual, to do research, etc.)’ vs. *агуй руу явна* ‘I will go to see a cave’.

1.1.1. THE VERB *оч-* REFERRING TO THE PROCESS OF MOTION:

When the verb *оч-* refers to the process of motion, the accent is most often put on the meaning of getting close to the goal of motion.

Ex. *Би очиж байна.*
Lit., I go.there-CONV.IMP. be-IMP.
I am just arriving.

1.1.2. THE VERB *оч-* REFERRING TO THE MOMENT OF REACHING A LOCATION

When the verb *оч-* expresses the meaning of reaching a certain point, the goal of motion may be defined rather broadly, as in Ex. 2 (signifying the whole city) or more narrowly, as in Ex. 1, where the speaker means arriving at the precise location of the co-locutor. In some contexts the verb *оч-* refers to arrival in the vicinity of something or somebody, which may be explicitly stated, as in Ex. 3.

- Ex. 1. *Би таван минутын дараа очно.*
Lit., I five minute-GEN. after go.there-IMP.
I will get there in five minutes.
- Ex. 2. *Дорж Улаанбаатарт очсон байна.*
Lit., Dorj Ulaanbaatar-DL. go.there-NOM.PERF. be-IMP.
Dorj has (already) arrived in Ulanbator.
- Ex. 3. *Би яг хажууд нь очсон юм.*
Lit., I exactly next.to POSS. go.there NOM.PERF. PART.
I was just next to it.

1.1.3. THE VERB *оч-* REFERRING TO THE WHOLE EVENT OF A VISIT, STAY AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

The verb *оч-* often refers to both arrival at a certain place and also entering it and engaging in activities connected to the place, most often meeting people (Ex. 1) The meaning 'to pay a visit to somebody' is usually marked by the noun denoting the visited person taking the form of the genitive with dative-locative (Ex. 3,4). When the visited person or family is not specified, the phrase *айлд оч-* lit., 'to visit a family' is often used (Ex. 2).

- Ex. 1. *Монголд очоод ямар байхыг би мэдэхгүй.*
Lit., Mongolia-DL. go.there-CONV.PERF. how be-NOM.F.-ACC. I know-NOM.F.-NEG.
I do not know what it will be like when I get to Mongolia.

Here the speaker, who lives outside Mongolia, expresses worry about the reaction of his relatives and friends, when he returns home.

- Ex. 2. *Ээж өнөө орой айлд очно гэсэн.*
Lit., Mother this evening family-DL. go.there-IMP. say-NOM.PERF.
Mother said that this evening she was going to visit a family.

Ex. 3. *Өчигдөр би найзындаа очсон.*

Lit., Yesterday I friend-GEN.-DL.-POSS. go.there-NOM.PERF.

Yesterday I visited my friend.

Ex. 4. *Өнөө орой би Доржийнд очно.*

Lit., This evening I Dorji-GEN.-DL. go.there-IMP.

This evening I will go to Dorji's place

Usually denoting that the speaker will pay a visit to the family, stay there for some time talking, eating etc.

1.2. THE MONGOLIAN VERB *оч-* WITH EXPRESSED OBJECT

The verb *оч-* is used both with and without expressing the indirect object. Since its goal is defined negatively as being different from the speaker's current location, it requires an indirect object. If the object is not specified, it always has to be understood from the context.

The object denoting the goal of motion most often comes in dative-locative. Often it is appropriated to something or somebody using a possessive construction, either by means of a possessive pronoun or the reflexive possessive particle *аа*⁴ (Ex. 4). Sometimes, instead of the dative-locative, postpositions are used in the specification of the goal of motion. Mostly postpositions expressing relative position, such as *дээр* 'on', *доор* 'under', *хажууд* 'next to', etc., are used (Ex. 7). In some cases, however, the location is specified by using an ablative case. This is mostly when expressing the meaning of 'catch up with somebody' or reaching a place which was reached by somebody else. The expression used in this case is mostly *хойноос/араас оч-*, lit., 'to go there from behind', often specified by a possessive pronoun, e.g. *хойноос чинь оч-* 'to catch up with you' *араас нь оч* 'to catch up with him') (Ex. 3).

Ex. 1. *Одоо хоёулаа ус гаргах газарт очё гэжээ.*

Lit., Now two-COLL. water go.out-CAUS.-NOM.F. place-DL. go.there-VOL. say-PRET. IMP.

Now let the two of us go to the place where we shall find water.

Ex. 2. *Хүү дугандаа очиж гурван амьтан үдэш орой арай ядан ирцгээжээ.*

Lit., Boy sanctuary-DL.-POSS. go.there-CONV.IMP. three animal night evening hardly fail-CONV.M. come-PLUR.-PRET.IMP.

The boy went (back) to his sanctuary and at night the three animals came home, exhausted.

- Ex. 3. *Хойноос чинь очиж голын чинь хар цусыг ууна шүү гэжээ.*
 Lit., **Behind-ABL. your go.there-CONV.IMP.** aorta-GEN. your black blood drink-IMP.
 PART. say-RET.IMP.
 She said: I will **go and see you** (threatening) and drink the black blood of your aorta.
- Ex. 4. *Маргааш би танай сургуульд очно.*
 Lit., Tomorrow I your-GEN. **school-DL. go.there-IMP.**
 Tomorrow I will **visit your school.**
- Ex. 5. *Монгол явъя гэсэн зорилготойгоор ажилд очсон.*
 Lit., Mongolia go-VOL. say-NOM.PERF. purpose-SOC.-INSTR. **asylum-DL. go.there-NOM.PERF.**
 I **went to the asylum office** with the purpose of going back to Mongolia.
- Ex. 6. *Манайд очоорой.*
 Lit., **We-GEN.-DL. go.there-IMPER.**
Come to visit us!
- Ex. 7. *Ганцаараа эмч дээр очиход эвгүй байдаг юм.*
 Lit., Alone **doctor on go.there-NOM.F.-DL.** unpleasant-NOM.US. PART.
 It is unpleasant to **go to see the doctor** alone.

1.3. THE MONGOLIAN VERB *оч-* WITHOUT EXPRESSED OBJECT

As in Sibe (Zikmundova 2010, p.98) the verb *оч-*, when used without a specified object, refers to a location that was either mentioned before, or is clear from the situation. As in the previous cases, the Mongolian verb *оч-* refers either to the whole event of a visit or to the moment of arrival, but not to the moment of leaving.

- Ex. 1. *Гурав хагаст очиход дандаа эхэлсэн байдаг.*
 Lit., Three half-DL. **go.there-NOM.F.-DL.** always start-NOM.PERF. be-NOM.US.
 Every time, **when I arrive [there]** at half past three, they have already started.

The sentence followed information that a class should start at 2.30 according to the timetable.

- Ex. 2. *Би одоо очлоо, та гараад ир.*
 Lit., I now **go.there-RET.PERF.**, you go.out.CONV.PERF. come-IMPER.
I will be there in a moment, please come out (to meet me).

A phrase used in telephone conversation in a situation where two people made an appointment in front of the house, office etc., in which one of them is currently staying.

Ex. 3. *Би одоохон очлоо.*Lit., I in.a.while **go.there-RET.PERF.**I **will arrive [there]** in a while.

A phrase commonly used in a situation where one speaker is waiting for the other and is urging him by phone.

Ex. 4. *Очсон чинь хүн байхгүй.*Lit., **Go.there-NOM.PERF. PART.** person absent.**When I arrived there**, nobody was there.

In narration, when the verb *оч-* comes in the form of the perfect verbal noun, followed by the particle *чинь*, it has a stylistic tint analogous to the Sibe *əmdan gən-* (Zikmundova 2010, pp. 98), creating a thrill or expectation preceding a moment of surprise.

Ex. 5. *Хоёулаа очьё!*

Lit., Two-COLL. go.there-VOLL.

Let us go there together.

A phrase used for suggesting a common action, in this case a reaction to the first speaker who expressed an intention to visit a person known to both.

Ex. 6. *Хоёр сар очоогүй байгаад өчигдөр нэг очсон.*

Lit., Two month go.there-NOM.IMP.NEG. be-CONV.PERF. yesterday one go.there-NOM. PERF

I have not **visited [them]** for two months, just yesterday I **went [to see them]**.**1.4. THE KHALKHA MONGOLIAN VERB ОЧ- IN PHRASES**

From the formal point of view phrases with the Mongolian verb *оч-* may be divided into two groups according to the position of the verb *оч-*.

In the first type the verb *оч-* comes in the first position in a form of a converb. In the second type the verb *оч-* stands in the last position and is determined by the preceding verb(s).

1.4.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB оч- IN THE FIRST POSITION

When coming in the first position in a verbal phrase, the verb *оч-* displays a varying degree of grammaticalization in dependence on the type of the following verb:

1. verbs with full lexical meaning
2. auxiliary verbs
3. other verbs of motion

1.4.1.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *оч-* FOLLOWED BY A VERB OR VERBS WITH FULL MEANING

This type of phrase most often can be viewed as a description of a linear chain of actions. However, the frequency of the verb *оч-* – as a stable member of this type of phrase may often imply its slightly grammaticalized function as a spatial determination describing the direction of motion or specifying the location of an action. The collected material suggests that the usage of the verb *оч-* in this type of phrase often foregrounds the meaning of visiting a place or meeting people for some purpose. As was mentioned in the case of Sibe, it is difficult to decide how the different types of verbal phrases are perceived by the speakers, and there is always the danger of projection of European language thinking onto a different language type. (Zikmundova 2010, p. 100)

- Ex. 1. *Ой модонд байгаа дугандаа очиж суух хүсэлтэй гэжээ.*
Lit., Forest wood-DL. be-NOM.IMP. temple-DL.-REFL.POSS. **go.there-CONV.IMP. sit-NOM.F. wish-SOC. say-PRET.IMP.**
He said: I wish to **settle in** [that] temple, which is in the forest.
- Ex. 2. *Чи өөрөө очиж ав.*
Lit., You yourself **go.there-CONV.IMP. take-IMPER.**
Go and fetch it yourself.
- Ex. 3. *Би очиж хэлье.*
Lit., I **go.there-CONV.IMP tell-VOL.**
I will go and **tell (him).**
- Ex. 4. *Цагдаа дээр очиж асууж өгөөч гэж гуйсан.*
Lit., Police-on **go.there-CONV.IMP. ask-CONV.IMP. give-PREC. say-CONV.IMP. plea-NOM.PERF.**
I asked her to **go to the police and ask** about it (for me).
- Ex. 5. *Би өөрөө очоод сунгуулах ёстой байсан.*
Lit., I self **go.there-CONV.PERF. extend-CAUS-NOM.F. rule-SOC. be-NOM.PERF.**
I myself should have **gone there and extended it.**
- Ex. 6. *Тэр хувьцааг илүү хэрэглэж болдог болов уу гэж очиж уулзсан.*
Lit., That share-ACC. more use-CONV.IMP. become-NOM.US. become-PRET. PART. say-CONV.IMP. **go.there-CONV.IMP. meet-NOM.PERF.**
We **met him** in order to ask whether it would be possible for us to have bigger shares.

1.4.1.2. THE VERB *оч-* FOLLOWED BY AN AUXILIARY VERB

In this type of phrase the verb *оч-* retains its full lexical meaning, which is further specified by a verb with grammatical or modal meaning. The most frequent auxiliary verb used here is the verb *үз-* ‘to see’, which in Khalkha Mongolian covers both the meaning of ‘to try’ and ‘to experience’. Of the other main auxiliary verbs, *чада-* ‘to be able to’ and *бол-* ‘to be possible, to be allowed’ are frequent.

Ex. 1. *Хоёулаа очиж үзье.*

Lit., Two-COLL. *go.there-CONV.IMP. see-VOL.*

Let the two of us *go there (and try)*.

In this particular case the speaker was suggesting his partner try to get train tickets.

Ex. 2. *Та Монголд очиж үзсэн үү?*

Lit., You Mongolia-DL. *go.there-CONV.IMP. see-NOM.PERF.-QUEST.*

Have you ever been to Mongolia?

Ex. 3. *Найз нь очиж чадахгүй нь.*

Lit., Friend POSS. *go.there-CONV.IMP. be.able-NOM.F.-NEG. PART.*

Your friend [=me]³ *cannot go*’.

A phrase used to excuse oneself. In this particular case the speaker was excusing himself for not going on a previously announced visit.

Ex. 4. *Би тантай цуг очиж болох уу?*

Lit., I you-SOC. together *go.there-CONV.IMP. become-NOM.F. QUEST.*

May I go there with you?

1.4.1.3. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *оч-* FOLLOWED BY OTHER VERBS OF MOTION

As in Sibe, phrases with the verb *оч-* followed by other verbs of motion are less frequent than other phrase types and consist mostly of fixed idiomatic expressions. In translation into European languages this type of phrase is often translated by a single verb representing the whole description of actions. Phrases with other verbs of motion following the verb *оч-* are far less frequent than phrases with the verb *оч-* on the last position.

3) Such indirect manner of referring to oneself by describing one’s relationship to the collocutor is widely used in various Asian languages. In Mongolian, besides the expression *найз нь* ‘your friend’, mainly kinship terms are used. The modality of these expressions is most often politeness or affinity.

Ex. 1. Би одоо очиж явна.

Lit., I now **go.there-CONV.IMP. go-IMP.**

I am on my way there right now, I **will be there** soon.

The verb *оч-* here expresses the purpose of the motion referred to by the main verb *яв-* 'to go, to travel' etc.

Ex. 2. Доржийнд очоод ирлээ.

Lit., Dorj-GEN.-DL.-REFL POSS. **go.there-CONV.PERF. come-PRES.PERF.**

I called on Dorj.

The use of the pair of opposites implies a short visit with a certain purpose rather than a ceremonial visit to a family, which would be expressed by using only the verb *оч-*.

1.4.2. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *оч-* IN FINAL POSITION

When the verb *оч-* occurs in the final position in a phrase, it mostly retains its full lexical meaning of motion, arrival or visit, and is modified by the preceding verb(s). The semantic span of this type of phrase is wide and the modifier verb may specify the purpose, manner or various circumstances of motion. The verb *оч-* also frequently joins with other verbs of motion into phrases which are usually fixed idioms. Accordingly, the phrases may be divided into four groups following the semantics of the first verb:

1. verbs specifying the circumstances of motion
2. verbs specifying the purpose of motion
3. verbs specifying the manner of motion
4. other verbs of motion

1.4.2.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *оч-* SPECIFYING CIRCUMSTANCES OF MOTION

The variety of phrase types formed along this pattern is connected to the important position of verbs and verbal phrases in Mongolian. Some of these phrases are rather fixed expressions, as for example in Ex. 1, while others are formed at random.

Ex. 1. Би бас даатгалийн дэвтэрээ аваад очсон

Lit., I too insurance-GEN. book(ACC.)-POSS. **take-CONV.PERF. go.there-NOM.PERF.**

I went there taking also my insurance card with me.

- Ex. 2. *Та Дунсянь монголчуудыг хамгийн олон удаа зорьж очсон гэдэг.*
 Lit., You Dongxiang Mongol-PN-ACC. all-GEN. many time **aim-CONV.IMP. go.there-NOM.PERF. say-NOM.US.**
 I have heard that most often you **visited** the Dongxiang Mongols.

The verb *зорь-* ‘to aim, to head for’ is often used to underline the purpose of a visit.

- Ex. 3. *Сургуулийн нээлтэн дээр юу ч өмсч очсон байсан юм бэ дээ.*
 Lit., School opening on what PART. **put.on-CONV.IMP. go.there-NOM.PERF. be-NOM.PERF. PART.**
 I don't know what she could have **put on** at the opening of the school.

1.4.2.2. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *оч-* SPECIFIED BY A VERB EXPRESSING PURPOSE

In Khalkha Mongolian this type of phrase is usually marked by the verb expressing purpose in the form of a future noun in the instrumental case (the composite suffix *-хаар4*). However, cases where the purpose, as in Sibe, is expressed by an imperfect converb, occur as well (Ex. 2).

- Ex. 1. *Тэр дуганд орж хоргодохоор очсон чинь хүн амьтангүй.*
 Lit., That temple-DL. **enter-CONV.IMP. recur-NOM.F-INSTR. go.there-NOM.PERF. PART. person animal NEG.**
 When he **approached the temple [in order to] enter it and stay there**, there was nobody inside.

- Ex. 2. *Тэгээд би ажил хүсч очсон юм.*
 Lit., So I asylum(оACC.) **wish-CONV.IMP. go.there-NOM.PERF. PART.**
 And so I **went there to seek** asylum.

1.4.2.3. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *оч-* SPECIFIED BY A VERB EXPRESSING THE MODE OR MANNER OF MOTION

This type of phrase is a common means used in narration. Besides specifying the particular form of motion, the first verb often adds important modal meanings to the main verb.

- Ex. 1. *Монголоос Орост нисч очсон хоёр баян канад шийтгүүлээд буцаж ирэв.*
 Lit., Mongolia-ABL. **Russia-DL. fly-CONV.IMP. go. there-NOM.PERF. two rich Canada punish-CAUS.-CONV.PERF. return-CONV.IMP. come-PRET.PERF**
 The two rich men who **flew** from Mongolia **to Russia** came back after having been punished in Canada.

- Ex. 2. Энэ ч хүн виз янзлаж байна тэр ч хүн виз янзлаж байна гэнгүүт би цалингаа тэр чигт нь барьж **гүйж очоод**...
- Lit., This PART. person visa arrange-CONV.IMP. be-IMP., that PART. person visa arrange CONV.IMP. be-IMP say-CONV.SUCC. I salary that direction-DL.-PART. **run-CONV.IMP. go.there-NOM.US.**
- As soon as I heard that somebody arranges visas, I took my whole salary and **ran to him** (to ask for help).

In this sentence the phrase **гүйж оч**- implies, besides hastiness, the modality of faith in the entrusted person.

- Ex. 3. Тэгэхлээр нь **гүйгээд очдог** элчин сайдын маань хаяг байвал
- Lit., Do.so-CONV.SUCC. POSS. **run-CONV.PERF. go.there-NOM.US.** ambassador-GEN.POSS. address be-CONV.COND. ...
- If there were an address of our Embassy, to which we could **turn** in a case of need...

The phrase **гүйгээд оч**- lit., 'having run to arrive' here implies the modal meaning of 'taking refuge' or 'coming to ask for help'.

- Ex. 4. Морь мангас эмгэний урдуур сайхан **саяглаж очоод**... охин... шагайгаа шүүрч аваад зугтжээ.
- Lit., Horse mangas old.woman-GEN. south/front-INSTR. nice **amble-CONV.IMP. go.thery CONV.PERF....** girl... dice(ACC.) POSS. seize-CONV.IMP. take-CONV.PERF. escape-PERF.
- The horse **approached** the mangas woman, **nicely ambling** [and as he was passing in front of her] the girl seized her dice and they fled.

- Ex. 5. Хүү тэдний авч ирсэн морийг **унаж очжээ**.
- Lit., Boy their bring-CONV.IMP. horse-ACC. ride-CONV.IMP. go.there-PERF.
- The boy, **riding the horse** brought by them, **went** [to the king who summoned him].

1.4.2.4. PHRASES WITH THE VERB **оч**- SPECIFIED BY OTHER VERBS OF MOTION

Although in some cases the border between this group and the previous one may be rather vague, the verbs of motion in this group differ from the verbs in the previous group by their more general meaning, as well as by their specific "spatial" semantics. Most of the examples above are fixed idioms with a certain modal meaning. Some more frequent verbs of motion in this type of phrase are *яв*- 'to go, to travel', *хүр*- 'to reach, to arrive', *ойрм*- 'to approach', *дага*- 'to follow' etc.

Ex. 1. *Мангас эмгэн хоёр шагайгаар нь найрч суужээ. Охин дэргэд нь ойртож очоод...*
гэжээ.

Lit., The mangas old.woman two dice-ACC.POSS. play-CONV.IMP. sit-PRET.IMP. girl.
besides-POSS approach-CONV.IMP. go.there-CONV.PERF... say-PRET.PERF.

The mangas woman was sitting and playing with (the girl's) two dice. The girl **approached her** and said...

Ex. 2. *Би цагдаа дээр дагаад очсон чинь тэгэж хэлсэн.*

Lit., I police on **follow-CONV.PERF. go.there- NOM.PERF. PART** do.so-CONV.IMP.
 say-NOM.PERF.

When **I followed (her)** to the police station, I was told so.

Ex. 3. *Хүрээд очсон чинь Дулмаа сууж байна.*

Lit., **Arrive-CONV.PERF. go.there-NOM.PERF.** you-GEN. Dulmaa sit-CONV.IMP. be-PRES.IMP.

When **I arrived there**, I found Dulmaa sitting there (implying surprise).

Ex. 4. *Яваад очтол айраг сэн хийгээд явчихлаа.*

Lit., **Go-CONV.PERF. go.there-CONV.TERM.** kumys *sen* make-CONV.PERF. go-INT.-PRES.PERF.

When **I arrived there**, I caught the (pleasant) smell of kumys.

The verb *яв-* 'to go, to travel' here underlines the process of getting to a certain place, creating expectation and foregrounding the moment of surprise, that follows.

Ex. 5. *Завиараа дөхөж очсон байсан...*

Lit., Boat-INSTR. **get.close-CONV.IMP. go.there-NOM.PERF.** be-NOM.PERF.

He had **come close** with the boat

The verb *дөх-* means arriving close to the goal of motion without reaching it. It may often be translated as 'to almost get there'.

1.5. THE MONGOLIAN VERB *оч-* IN FIGURATIVE AND METAPHORICAL MEANINGS

The Mongolian verb *оч-* is mostly used in its direct sense; figurative and metaphorical usage is rare. The only phrase with metaphorical meaning I encountered was the reduplicated expression **очиж очиж** with the meaning 'in the end, finally' and with a strongly negative emotional load.

- Ex. 1. **Очиж очиж өсөж төрсөн нутгаасаа энэ муу хэдэн хужаад хөөгдөөд...**
 Lit., **Go.there-CONV.IMP. go.there-CONV.IMP.** be.born-NOM.PERF. homeland ABL.
 this bad several Chinese-DL. drive-PASS.-CONV.PERF.
And I ended up being driven from my homeland, where I was born and grew up, by
 those few miserable Chinese.
- Ex. 2. **Очиж очиж Дулмаатай найз болжээ.**
 Lit., **Go.there-CONV.IMP. go.there-CONV.IMP** Dulmaa-SOC. friend become-PRET.
 IMP.
 You **could not find better things to do** than making friends with Dulma?

2. The verb *up-* 'to come here'

The meaning of the Mongolian verb *up-* comprises movement towards the spot where the speaker finds himself at the moment of speech and, eventually, reaching it. It functions as an opposite to the verb *оч-*. However, the verb *up-*, 'to come here' has a much broader range of usage than the verb *оч-* 'to go there'. It is often used in shifted and metaphorical meanings and especially in narration it often occurs in a position in which one would expect the verb 'to go there' if an 'ideal' semantic distribution were strictly observed.

2.1. PHASES OF MOTION EXPRESSED BY THE MONGOLIAN VERB *up-* AND ITS MAIN SEMANTIC EMPHASIS

The verb *up-* may refer to all phases of the process of motion towards the current location of the speaker, including leaving the original spot, motion towards the speaker and arrival at the location of the speaker, as well as describing the whole event of a visit to the speaker's current location. The semantic field of the verb also comprises the meaning of coming to a certain place or meeting a person for some purpose.

2.1.1. THE VERB *up-* REFERRING TO LEAVING THE ORIGINAL LOCATION

The meaning of leaving the original location is usually expressed by the phrase *гарч up-* 'to go out-CONV.IMP.-to come-':

- Ex. *Тэгэж наашаа шийдэж гарч ирсэн юм.*
 Lit., So.doing-CONV.IMP. to.here decide-CONV.IMP. **come.out-CONV.IMP. come-NOM.PERF. PART.**
 So I decided to come here and **left** (Mongolia for the Czech Republic).

2.1.2. THE VERB *up*- REFERRING TO THE PROCESS OF MOTION

- Ex. *Такси бариад наашаа ирж байна гэнэ.*
 Lit., Taxi catch-CONV.PERF. to.here **come-CONV.IMP. be-IMP.** say-IMP.
 He said he caught a taxi and **is on his way here.**

2.1.3. THE VERB *up*- REFERRING TO THE MOMENT OF ARRIVAL

- Ex. *Төөрсөөр байгаад дөнгөж сая ирсэн.*
 Lit., Get.lost-CONV.ABT. be-CONV.PERF. just **recently come-NOM. PERF.**
 I got lost and **have just arrived.**

2.1.4. THE VERB *up*- REFERRING TO THE WHOLE EVENT OF A VISIT

- Ex. *Манайд ирээрэй!*
 Lit., Our.place-DL. **come-IMPER.**
Come to visit us!

An idiom used for inviting others for a visit. The expression *манайд*, referring to one's home, gives the verb *up*- the meaning of the whole event of a ceremonial visit, or, depending on the context, the whole process of seeing a museum, exhibition, etc.

2.1.5. THE VERB *up*- WITH OBJECT EXPRESSING VISIT WITH A CERTAIN PURPOSE

- Ex. 1. *Тэр хүн яагаад заавал над дээр ирдэг вэ?*
 Lit., That person why definitely I-on **come-NOM.US. PART.**
 Why does he always have to **come to me (to ask me for help, to bother me)?**

The idiom DL. *дээр up*- refers usually to visiting a concrete person with a concrete purpose.

2.2. THE MONGOLIAN VERB *up*- WITH OBJECT

In the binary concept of the meanings 'to go there' and 'to come here,' the Khalkha Mongolian verb *up*- usually does not require an object, the goal of motion being the actual location of the speaker. Therefore, if the object is expressed, it is mostly a narrower specification of this location, either by the spatial *энд*, or by delimiting the range meant by the speaker (i.e. country, city,

immediate surroundings, etc.), or foregrounds a meaning of visiting somebody with a purpose (Ex. 4). Likewise it is often specified in telephonic communication (Ex. 5).

As with the verb *оч-*, the indirect object specifying the goal or purpose of motion stands most often in the dative-locative, or is formed by post-positions expressing relative position, as *дээр* 'on', *доор* 'under', *хажууд* 'next to'. It can also be specified by an idiom with the ablative meaning 'to catch up with somebody'.

2.2.1. THE VERB *ир-* WITH OBJECT FOREGROUNDING THE LOCATION

- Ex. 1. *Энэ оронд тавтай тухтай амьдаръя гэж би энд ирсэн.*
 Lit., This country-DL. peacefully comfortably live-VOL. say-CONV.IMP. I here come-NOM. PERF.
 I came to this country in order to live here in peace and comfort.

- Ex. 2. *Нааи ир!*
 Lit., Here come!
 Come here!

An idiom used for summoning people, animals etc.

- Ex. 3. *Би бол өөрөө ирсэн энд чинь.*
 Lit., I PART. self come-NOM.PERF. here PART.
 To this place I came by myself.
- Ex. 4. *Тэр өөрөө над дээр ирдэг.*
 Lit., That self I-DL. on come-NOM.US.
 He himself (regularly) comes to see me.
- Ex. 5. *Би танай сургуульд ирсэн байна, та хаана байна вэ?*
 I your school-DL. come-NOM.PERF be-IMP. you where be-IMP. QUEST.
 I have arrived at your school, where are you?

2.3. THE MONGOLIAN VERB *ир-* WITHOUT OBJECT

The Mongolian verb *ир-* occurs far more frequently without an object. In most of these cases the location is either clearly identical with the location of the speaker, or, in narration, can be understood from the context (Ex. 3).

Ex. 1. *Хууртагдаж л ирсэн л дээ.*

Lit., Cheat-PASS.-CONV.IMP. PART. **come-NOM.PERF.** PART.-PART.

I was **brought here** (to this country) by trickery.

Here the meaning of “this country” is clear from the previous context.

Ex. 1. *Яах гэж ирсэн бэ?*

Lit., What.do-NOM.F. say-CONV.IMP. **come-NOM.PERF.** PART.

Why **did you come here?** What brings you here?

In this particular case the meaning of “this country” was clear from the context.

Ex. 2. *Үхэр малын түрүүнд ирдэг том хүрэн шар хотон дотор ирж зогсжээ.*

Lit., Cow cattle-GEN in.front-DL. **come-NOM.US.** big brown ox pen inside come-CONV. IMP. stand-RET.IMP.

A big brown ox, who used to **lead** the herd, **entered the pen** and stood there.

Here the verb *up-* refers to direction towards the scene of action.

2.4. THE MONGOLIAN VERB *up-* IN PHRASES

Phrases with the verb *up-* may be classified according to the previous pattern following the position of the verb *up-*.

2.4.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *up-* IN THE FIRST POSITION

Phrases with this structure are further tentatively divided into three groups:

1. phrases, in which the verb *up-* is followed by verb(s) with full lexical meaning,
2. phrases composed of the verb *up-* and an auxiliary verb, and
3. phrases constituted by the verb *up-* and another verb of motion.

2.4.1.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *up-* PRECEDING ONE OR MORE VERBS WITH FULL MEANING

This type of phrase describes the course of events by lining more verbs with full lexical meaning (i.e. not functioning also as auxiliaries of any type). These phrases are often idioms with fixed meaning, as in Ex. 2. The verb *up-* mostly retains its full lexical meaning, although in translation into English it may not appear, which may lead a speaker of a European language to perceive it as an auxiliary verb (spatial determination of the following verb).

Ex. 1. Цагдаагаас визээ **ирж ав** гэж дуудсан.

Lit., Police-ABL. visa-R.POSS. **come-CONV.IMP. take-IMPER.** say- CONV.IMP. call-NOM.PERF.

They called from the police and told me that I should (**come and**) **pick up** my visa.

Ex. 2. **Ирээд удаагүй** монголчууд байгаа шүү дээ.

Lit., **Come-NOM.PERF. take.time-NOM.IMP.-NEG.** Mongolian-PL. are PART.

There are Mongols who have **not been here so long**.

2.4.1.2. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ир-* AND AN AUXILIARY VERB

In this type of phrase the verb *ир-* always retains its full lexical meaning, which is modified by a verb with a more grammatical meaning.

Ex. 1. Би нэг их мөнгөтэй **ирж чадаагүй**.

Lit., I one much money-SOC. **come-CONV.IMP. can-NOM.IMP.-NEG.**

I **was not able to bring** much money with me.

2.4.1.3. PHRASES WITH OTHER VERBS OF MOTION

Phrases combining two or more verbs of motion often form idioms with fixed meaning.

Ex. 2. Сая хоёр морьтой хүн **ирээд явсан**.

Lit., Recently two horse-SOC. person **come-CONV.PERF. go-NOM.PERF.**

A while ago two horsemen **came here**.

The phrase *ирээд яв-* 'to come and leave' is a frequently used idiom describing a short visit, which takes place at the location of the speaker, or, in narratives, at the main scene of a story.

Ex. 3. **Ирж очих** билет ямар үнэтэй вэ?

Lit., **Come-CONV.IMP. go.there-NOM.F.** ticket what price QUEST.

How much is the **round trip** ticket?

2.4.2. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ир-* IN THE FINAL POSITION

This type of phrase may be further divided into three groups depending on the semantics of the determining verb:

1. verbs specifying the circumstances of motion
2. verbs specifying the form of motion
3. other verbs of motion
4. verbs denoting an action, which has been completed

2.4.2.1. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ур-* PRECEDED BY A VERB SPECIFYING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MOTION

Ex. 1. *Тэр тавгыг аваад ур.*

Lit., That plate-ACC. bring-CONV.PERF. come-IMPER.

Bring that plate/pass that plate **to me**.

The idiom *аваад ур-/ авч ур-* (having taken/taking to come) is most often used to mean ‘to bring’. However, its usage with the slightly shifted meaning ‘to pass (something to somebody)’ is frequent too.

Ex. 2. *Таныг аваад ур гэнээ.*

Lit., You-ACC. take-CONV.PERF. come-IMPER. say-IMP.

I was told to **bring you along**.

According to J. Lubsangdorji, this construction implies bringing the invited person using one’s own horse, car etc.

Ex. 3. *Хаан таныг залж ур гэв.*

Lit., Khaan you-ACC. invite-CONV.IMP. come-IMPER. say-PRET.PERF.

The Khaan told us to **summon** you.

Ex. 4. *Би монголоос ийм проблемтэй болоод зугтаж ирээд.*

Lit., I Mongolia-ABL. such problem-SOC. become-CONV.PERF. **escape- CONV. IMP. come-CONV.PERF.**

I had to **escape** from Mongolia **and come here**, because I had such problems.

2.4.2.2. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *ур-* PRECEDED BY A VERB SPECIFYING THE FORM OF MOTION

Ex. 1. *Гэрээсээ наагаа алхаж ирсэн.*

Lit., Yurt-ABL.-POSS. to.here **pace-CONV.IMP. come-NOM.PERF.**

I have come on foot from home.

Ex. 2. *Хааны элч зарлагууд эмээлтэй морь хөтлөн давхиж ирээд...*

Lit., Khaan-GEN. messenger servant-PN. saddle-SOC. horse lead-CONV.M. **gallop-CONV.IMP. come-CONV.PERF....**

The messengers of the Khaan **arrived galloping** and leading a horse with a saddle.

2.4.2.3. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *up-* PRECEDED BY OTHER VERBS OF MOTION

Phrases formed by the verb *up-* and other verbs of motion are particularly common, often forming idiomatic expressions with fixed modal meaning.

Ex. 1. *Ороод up!*

Lit., **Enter/CONV.PERF. come-IMPER.**
Come in!

A phrase mostly used to invite a person, who is standing outside, to enter.

Ex. 2. *Визний хугацаа дууссан болохоор ийшээ орж ирсэн.*

Lit., Visa-GEN. term finish-NOM.PERF. become-NOM.F-INSTR. here **enter-CONV. IMP. COME-NOM.PERF.**
I came here (to this organisation), because my visa had expired.

Ex. 3. *Франц руу гарч яваад бичиг баримтгүй болчихоод ороод ирсэн.*

Lit., France-LAT. go.out-CONV.IMP. go-CONV.PERF. inscription document-NEG. be-come-INT.-CONV.IMP. **enter-CONV.PERF. come-NOM.PERF.**
I went to France and after I had lost my documents, I came (back to this country)

Ex. 4. *Тэд нар бөөнөөрөө орж ирж кино үзэж байна.*

Lit., They group-INSTR.-POSS. **enter-CONV.IMP. film watch-CONV.IMP. be-IMP.**
They come in groups to watch movies.

Ex. 5. *Дорж намайг бушуухан хүрээд ир гэсэн.*

Lit., Dorj I-ACC. quickly **reach-CONV.PERF. come-IMPER. say-NOM.PERF.**
Dorj told me to come quickly (to him).

Ex. 6. *Монголоос гарахдаа сайхан байр, машин бодож гарч ирсэн.*

Lit., Mongolia-ABL.- come.out-NOM.F.-DL.-POSS. nice apartment, car think-CONV. IMP. **come.out-CONV.IMP. come-NOM.PERF.**
When I was leaving Mongolia, I set off (on my way) hoping to get a nice apartment and a car.

Ex. 7. *Найзындаа очоод сууж байтал нэг хүн орж ирлээ.*

Lit., Friend-GEN.-DL.-REFL. POSS. go.there-CONV.PERF. sit-CONV.IMP. one person **enter-CONV.IMP. come-PRES.PERF.**
While I was sitting at my friend's, somebody came in.

2.4.2.4. PHRASES WITH THE VERB *up-* DENOTING A COMPLETED ACTION

The verb *up-* is often used in phrases which describe the whole process visiting a location (often with the purpose of doing something) and coming back, foregrounding the moment of completion of the action.

- Ex. 1. *Монголд сар суугаад ирсэн.*
Lit., Mongolia-DL. Month sit-CONV.PERF. come-NOM.PERF.
I **spent** one month in Mongolia.
- Ex. 2. *Хоол идээд ирлээ.*
Lit., Food eat-CONV.PERF. come-PRES.PERF.
I **finished** my lunch, I am **coming** from lunch.
- Ex. 3. *Багштайгаа уулзаад ирж байна.*
Lit., Teacher-SOC.-POSS. meet-CONV.PERF. come-CONV.IMP. be-IMP.
I **(have already) met** my teacher.

2.5. THE MONGOLIAN VERB *up-* WITH SHIFTED, FIGURATIVE AND METAPHORICAL MEANINGS

The verb *up-* is often used with shifted and figurative meanings, most of which are connected to its spatial meaning of motion towards the speaker. The most frequent figurative meanings are those of change in time (Ex. 1,2), the meaning of emergence (coming from non-existence to light – Ex. 3) and the meaning of tradition or endurance in time (coming from the past towards the moment of speech – Ex. 4,5). In the meaning represented by Ex. 1,2 the verb *up-* always indicates a positive change, which is an important moment in its figurative use. In the case of meanings of emergence (most often in phrase with the verb *гар-* ‘to go out, to emerge’) and of continuation in time (mostly expressed by the verb *яв-* ‘to go, to travel’ or verb like *уламжил-* ‘to hand down’) the verb *up-* functions as a modifier in the sense of ‘emergence to light, coming towards the speaker or the time of speech’, but expressing the speaker’s positive attitude is also an important part of its meaning.

- Ex. 1. *Нэлээд мөнгөтэй болоод ирлээ.*
Relatively.much money-SOC. become-CONV.PERF. come-PRES.PERF.
I have **become** quite rich.
- Ex. 2. *Машины наймаанд явлаа, амьдрал ч нод хийгээд ирлээ.*
Car-GEN. business-DL. go-PRES.PERF. life also ‘pod’ do-CONV.PERF. come-PRES.
PERF.
I had been doing business with cars and my life has **become** better.

According to J. Lubsanddorji, the expression *нод хий-*, an onomatopoeic expression describing a mild, pleasant sound, is used as a metaphor for ‘augmentation’.

- Ex. 3. *Ганц шил юмны мөнгө ч нод хийгээд гараад ирлээ.*
 Lit., Only.one bottle thing-GEN. PART. 'pod' do-CONV.PERF. go.out-CONV.PERF.
come-PRES.PERF.
 And suddenly the money for a bottle of spirit (surprisingly) appeared.

Here the onomatopoetic expression *нод хий-*, refers to a pleasant surprise caused by the unexpectedly emerged money.

- Ex. 4. *Эрт дээр үеэс уламжилж ирсэн түүхээ орхиод одоогийн малчид аргал түлэхээ болисон нь тун харамсалтай.*
 Lit., Early above tome-ABL. hand.down-CONV.IMP. come-NOM.PERF. history-POSS. abandon-CONV.PERF. dung ..
 It is very regrettable that the present-day herders have abandoned their history, **which was handed down to them**, and stopped using dried dung as fuel.
- Ex. 5. *Ингэж малаараа амьдарч явсаар ирсэн.*
 Lit., So livestock-INSTR.POSS. live-CONV.IMP. go-CONV.ABT. come-NOM.PERF.
 In this way **we have ever been** making our living by herding livestock.

3. Use of the verbs of motion in narrative

As in the case of Sibe, the live narration in Khalkha Mongolian uses different types of deictic instruments than do European languages. Verbs of motion are an important part of them.

In narration, the verb *ир-* most often points to the scene of the story or to the location of the acting personage, while the verb *оч-* helps to shift the focus.

- Ex. 1. *Удалгүй буурь дээрээ хурч иржээ.*
 Lit., Soon site-on-POSS. reach-CONV.IMP. come-PRET.IMP.
 Soon they **arrived at** the foundation of the yurt.

This is one of the cases where the verb *оч-* should be used, but the narrator preferred the verb *ир-*, which also signalizes that the next action will take place in the location at which the main characters have arrived.

- Ex. 2. *Хүү Хурмаст хааныхаа илдийг аваад зүүн уулын орой дээр гарч очиход аюултай том хар мангас хүрээд ирж гэнээ. Түүнийг ганц цавчаад алжээ. Тэгээд гурван охины гэрт хурч ирж гэнээ.*
 Lit., Boy Hurmast Khan-GEN.POSS. sword take-CONV.PERF. eastern mountain-GEN. top on go.out-CONV.IMP. go.there-NOM.FDL. dangerous black mangas reach-CONV. PERF. come-reach-CONV.PERF. come-PRET.IMP. say-IMP. he-ACC. one chop-CONV. PERF. kill-PRET.IMP. then three girl-GEN. house-GEN. reach-CONV.IMP. come-PRET. IMP. say-IMP

The boy took the sword of Khurmast Khan and **climbed** on the top of the eastern mountain. A dangerous big black mangas **came to him**. He killed him with one blow. Then he **came (back)** to the yurt of the three girls.

This is an example of the narrator's focus inside a Mongolian tale. The boy leaves the original location (the three girls' yurt) and is seen from behind climbing on the mountain. A mangas comes from the other side to meet him. The verb *up-* refers both to the direction towards which the mangas comes, and to the shift of the main scene to the mountain. The boy then returns to the original place, which seems to be associated with the notion of 'home'.

4. Conclusion

4.1 THE KHALKHA MONGOLIAN VERBS *up-* AND *ou-*

As in Sibe (cf. Zikmundová 2010, p. 122), the main formal difference in usage between the verbs *ou-* and *up-* concerns the manner of expressing the indirect object. In the case of the verb *ou-* the goal of motion is unclear and has to be either specified or understood from the context. The goal of motion of the verb *up-* is identical with the current location of the speaker and in most cases needs no further specification. Therefore the verb *ou-* is mostly used with object, unless the goal is understood from the context, while the verb *up-* is originally used without an indirect object. As in the case of Sibe, modern ways of communication bring changes to the usage of the verb, resulting in expressing the indirect object.

Examining their basic semantics, the verb *ou-* is spatially very concrete and always emphasizes the meaning of arrival at a certain location, while it never refers to the moment of leaving the starting point of motion. In a slightly shifted usage the meaning of visiting a place for a certain purpose is particularly frequent. In this sense its meaning is more specialized than the meaning of the verb *яв-*, which simply means 'to leave, to walk'.

The verb *up-* is defined more loosely, and is often used for the whole process of motion including the moment of leaving the starting point. The accent on arrival is not an important part of its semantic field of the verb *up-*.

Examining the formal structure of the phrases, the verb *ou-* stands more frequently in the last position than in the first position in the phrase, while in the case of the verb *up-* both types seem to be equally frequent. From the

point of view of semantics, the verb *оу-*, due to its emphasis on the goal and purpose of motion, often joins with verbs specifying purpose, while in the case of the verb *уп-* phrases expressing purpose are not particularly frequent.

The auxiliary function of the verb 'to go there' usually has a direct relationship to its spatial meaning (expressing direction). This, in the case of translation into English, is often reflected by rendering its meaning through a deictic pronoun, usually the pronoun 'there'. The most frequent auxiliary or modal function of the verb *уп-* is description of a completed action, e.g. *хООЛ ИДЭЭД УРЛЭЭ* 'I have eaten lunch.' (= I went to eat lunch, finished it and came back).

The verb *оу-* has a very narrow range of figurative usage (in fact I found only one idiom with a figurative meaning), while the verb *уп-* has several figurative meanings which are frequent in speech.

The two antonyms also differ in terms of their emotional loads, the concept of 'going there' being associated with the 'outside, distant, alien, unfamiliar', sometimes 'frightful', while the concept of 'coming here' is strongly bound up with the ideas of the 'own, familiar, close' and other positive emotions. The verb *уп-* has a broader usage and often takes over part of the semantic field of the verb *оу-*. Most of the figurative meanings of the verb *уп-* have positive emotional tints, while the only figurative idiom with the verb *оу-* has a strongly negative modality.

4.2. THE VERBS 'TO GO THERE' AND 'TO COME HERE' IN KHALKHA MONGOLIAN AND SIBE

While the semantics of the verb 'to come here' in both languages is largely similar, the semantic ranges of the Khalkha Mongolian verb *оу-* and the Sibe verb *гән-* display certain differences.

While in Sibe the verb *гән-* may refer to the whole process of motion from the starting point (which may be identical with the location of the speaker as well as different from it) towards a certain point, and to any of its phases including leaving the original location (cf. Zikmundová 2010, p. 121), the Mongolian verb *оу-* never refers to the phase of leaving the starting point, and generally the stress is more often put on the meaning of reaching the goal of movement, while to express the meaning of leaving with a certain purpose Mongolian prefers using a verb referring to motion without a certain goal, the verb *яв-*.

The verb ‘to come here’ in both languages displays a relatively broader range of usage and greater frequency than the verb ‘to go there’. In both languages its figurative usage is more rich. In Mongolian, however, the collected material shows mainly figurative usage connected to the aspect of the flow of time and gradual changes, while the range of figurative usage in Sibe is significantly broader, deriving figurative meanings from various aspects of the original semantics. Some of the Sibe idioms with the verb *ji-*, ‘to come here’ follow patterns which are typical for Mandarin Chinese.

Further we may observe idiomatic differences in expressing the meaning of ‘paying a visit to somebody’. While in Khalkha Mongolian this meaning is expressed by morphological means the noun denoting the visited person standing in the form of a genitive followed by a dative-locative suffix (*багш-ийн-д оч-* ‘to visit the teacher’), Sibe, on the other hand, uses an analytic construction with the noun *bo-*, ‘house/home’ (cf. e.g. Zikmundová 2010, p. 100). Furthermore, Sibe speakers frequently use an idiom, which is probably a loan translation from Chinese – ACC. *tam gən-* ‘to go to see’.

When the visited person is not specified, both languages use an idiom with a general meaning – *айлд оч-*, lit., ‘to visit a family’ in Khalkha Mongolian and *nanai bot gən-*, lit., ‘to go to a person’s home’ in Sibe. Both languages use a similar pattern to express the meaning ‘alien, not one’s own’ (*айл* ‘family’ in Khalkha Mongolian meaning ‘another family than mine’ and *nanai bo* in Sibe meaning ‘somebody else’s house, not my home’).

Examination of the two concepts in spoken Sibe and Khalkha Mongolian renders a number of analogies, but also some remarkable differences, especially in their idiomatic usage, shifted and figurative meanings. Some of the differences are probably due to the contacts between spoken Sibe and the Chinese language. In general, however, comparison of the examined verbs in the two languages shows a similar function and position of the verbs in the systems of verbs of motion in Sibe and Khalkha Mongolian, which greatly differ from the systems of verbs of motion in European languages.

Abbreviations

ABL.	Ablative
ACC.	Accusative
COLL.	Verbum collectivum
CONV.IMP.	Converbum imperfecti
CONV.M.	Converbum modale
CONV.PERF.	Converbum perfecti
CONV.SUCC.	Converbum successivum
DL.	Dative-locative
GEN.	Genitive
IMP.	Imperfectum
IMPER.	Imperative
INSTR.	Instrumental
INT.	Verbum intensivum
NOM.F.	Nomen futuri
NOM.IMP.	Nomen imperfecti
NOM.PERF.	Nomen perfecti
NOM.US.	Nomen usus
PART.	Particle
PASS.	Passive verb
PREC.	Precative
PRES.IMP.	Presens imperfecti
PRES.PERF.	Presens perfecti
PRET.IMP.	Preteritum imperfecti
PRET.PERF.	Preteritum perfecti
SOC.	Sociative
QUEST.	Interrogative particle
VOL.	Voluntative

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Some remarks on loanwords in Mongolian lexical pairs

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Summary: This paper discusses the specific ability of the Mongolian language to involve borrowings in the process of formation of lexical pairs. The phenomenon of lexical pairs is common in many languages spoken in the region of Central Asia – Mongolic, Turkic and to a lesser extent also Manchu-Tungus. Lexical pairs with borrowed components are further described from the point of view of various aspects in order to find out the features that distinguish them from among genuine lexical pairs. In conclusion several remarks on the usage of these lexical pairs are provided.

0. Introduction

Along with the great number of cases of loanwords accepted and assimilated into the lexical and semantic system of the Mongolian language as independent lexical items, these loanwords also become a means of forming new compounds, phrases and lexical pairs. In the course of research focused on the integration of borrowed items by modern (Khalkha) Mongolian it turned out that their ability to pair with genuine Mongolian words or even with other borrowings deserves more insightful analysis in order to reveal various aspects of their behaviour in lexical pairs, to compare the lexical pairs containing loanwords with genuine Mongolian ones and place some of the findings within the broader context of this phenomenon, which is described as being present in many languages spoken in the Central Asian region.

Therefore the aim of the presented paper is to summarize the findings of sociolinguistic research carried out on lexical pairs with borrowed items from a synchronic point of view.

This paper is a more detailed version of a presentation given at the 10th congress of mongolists in Ulan Bator. It is based mainly on spoken and written linguistic material of modern Mongolian, with references to examples from classical and pre-classical Mongolian, as well as to correspondences in other languages, when appropriate. Some suggestions and advice, related mostly to the theoretical aspect of the topic, has been kindly given to me by such

Mongolian scholars as B. Purev-Ochir, M. Bazarragchaa, E. Ravdan, L. Bold and J. Luvsandorj, were incorporated into this paper too.

1. Theoretical survey

1.1. Lexical pairs in **Mongolian** represent a special type of pair expressions formed by two co-ordinated and equal components that are connected to each other in a syntagmatic way. Lexical pairs have already been described by many linguists,¹ but their approach to this phenomenon, especially to some of its particular aspects, such as classification, terminology or definition of its formal structure and nature, still very much varies. The term *lexical pairs* introduced by Vacek and Pürev-Očir (1987) covers all types of pair expressions, including the *repetition of the same word* (*газар газрын ...* lit., place-place-G. "... of the various places") and the *repetition of the same word with a change of the first syllable* (*захуа махуа* "letter(s) and so on"; Базаррагчаа 1990, p. 8), generally also referred to as *reduplication*, that are sometimes found to be defined as *repetition* (*давтамал үг*) or *repeating a lexical pair* (*давтах хоршуу үг*) in some modern Mongolian sources in order to have it distinguished from *хоршуу үг* – the lexical pairs proper.² Yet Rinčin (1967, reprinted in 1992), in his still highly respected and often cited work, uses the term *хоршуу үг* for all types of pair expressions.

In Mongolian lexical pairs perform various grammatical, lexical and semantical functions and they basically occur in all lexical classes. Based on previous research (Kapišovská 2011) and other sources (Даваажав 2003, p. 46) that have shown that the majority of borrowings in Mongolian primarily behave as *nomen*, we will leave the other classes aside and focus on the pair expressions in this particular category. For the purpose of this paper we will use the term lexical pair in its narrower sense, i.e. to designate a pair of nouns.

- 1) For more details see for example Дарбеева 1963, Grollová 1986, Rinčin 1992, Базаррагчаа 1990, Vacek – Pürev-Očir 1987, Өнөрбаян – Пүрэв-Очир 1991, Баасанбат 2007, and others.
- 2) This basically conforms to the interpretation of lexical pairs in Kalmyk, where there are lexical pairs proper (*парные слова*) formed by two lexemes, as in case of *эк-эцк* "parents", lit., mother-father, and repetition based pair words (*парно-повторные слова*) formed by reduplication of one lexeme, as in the case of *дэжн-дэжн* "again and again", *цэ-мэ* "tea and the like" (http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Калмыцкий_язык).

1.2. Lexical pairs are described as widespread also in **Turkic languages**, such as Tuvan, Tatar, Bashkir, Yakut, Turkish, Uzbek, Nogai, (old) Uighur, etc. (Ондр 2004, Shogaito 1991). They are considered to be an ancient phenomenon, evidence for which is present already in early Turkic texts (Ондр 2004). Linguists distinguish between *repetitions* and *lexical pairs*, referred to as *парно-повторные слова (слова-повторы)* and *парные слова* respectively in turkological sources written in Russian. According to Ondar (2004) the difference rests in the fact that repetitions are formed by one and the same lexeme, while the lexical pairs are created by two different lexemes. Foreign influence is observed, for example, on Tuvan lexical pairs where the pairs contain one or even two borrowings, most often of Mongolian, but also of Russian origin: *alın-širay* “face” ← Old Turkic *alın* “forehead” + *širay* < Lit.Mo. *čirai* “face, physiognomy”, *ami-tin* “life, existence” ← *ami* < Lit.Mo. *ami* “life; breath, power of respiration” + Old Turkic *tin* “breath” (Khabtagaeva 2006, p. 94).

The specific conjunction-type of lexical pairs present in Uzbek is also explained as being developed under the influence of Arabic: the components are connected by *y/yo* related to the Arabic conjunction *wa*, as for example in *кечаю кундуз* “night and day” (Ондр 2004).

1.3. When speaking of lexical pairs in **Manchu** Gorelova (2002, pp. 380–383) distinguishes between reduplication and pair words. She says, however, that both of them may serve to express plurality, as for example *jalan jalan* “generations”, “worlds” ← *jalan* “generation, age, world” or *adun ulha* “domestic animals” ← *adun* “herd” + *ulha* “livestock, domestic animals” (ibid, pp. 380–381) and the high degree of intensity of an action (in the case of verbs) or qualitative characteristics as in the case of *ai ai jaka* “various things”, lit., what – what – thing (ibid, p. 382). Presumably, Manchu words are able to form a pair with the borrowings, too, as can be seen in the case of *yafan kūwaran* “beautiful garden” ← *yafan* < Chin. + *kūwaran* “courtyard” (ibid, p. 382). According to some sources the lexical pairs are far less common in **Manchu-Tungus language family**, and in **Manchu** and **Sibe** in particular, than in Mongolic or Turkic languages. They are considered to be the result of outside influence – seemingly Mongolian in the case of classical texts and Chinese at present (Gorelova 2002, p. 383; Zikmundová 2011).

2. Types of lexical pairs classified by the source language of the loanword

2.1. As to the origin of non-Mongolian components of lexical pairs, it must be noted that every language contact that has ever influenced the vocabulary of Mongolian in the course of history is also traceable among lexical pairs, as can be seen from the examples (Ex. 1–9) below. As a matter of fact, the majority of loanwords, including those from Russian, and even some recent loanwords in present-day Mongolian, can be considered to be fully assimilated and integrated. Especially when speaking about earlier loanwords, Mongols usually do not have the slightest idea of the foreign origin of these words.

Ex. 1 Old Turkic:

хашаа байшин “house with a parcel of land surrounded by a fence”, where *хашаа* < Tur. *qaş* чимээ *анир* “sound, noise, murmur”, where *анир* < Tur. *anır*
бараа таваар “goods”, where *таваар* < Tur. *tabar* ~ *tavar*³
аяга сав “dishes” (lit., bowls and pots)
аяга таваг “dishes” (lit., bowls and plates), where in both cases *аяга* < Uig. *ajaq*;
нүгэл хилэнц “sin”, where *хилэнц* < Uig. *qilinč* (*qilinč* ~ *qilinča*),⁴ etc.

Ex. 2 Sanskrit:

бие *лагшин* “health” hon. (lit., body – health), where *лагшин* < Skt. *lakṣaṇa*
судар бичиг “books” (lit., sutras – documents), where *судар* < Skt. *sūtra*
сахил санваар “sacerdotalism, vow”, where *санваар* < Skt. *saṃvāra*, etc.

Ex. 3 Arabic:

архи дарс “alcoholic drinks” (lit., vodka – wine), where *архи* < Arab. ‘*araq* originally “vapour, exude from figs” (Владимирцов 2005, p. 875), etc.

Ex. 4 Persian (through Turkic languages; Poppe 1955, p. 37):

шорон гяндан “prison”, where *гяндан* < Pers. *zندان*, etc.

Ex. 5 Tibetan:

ховор нандин “rare, valuable”
ариун нандин “sacred, cherished, inviolable”, where *нандин* < Tib. *naṅ brten*
зан аранишин “temper, character”, where *аранишин* < Tib. *raṅ bžin*
түүх намтар “legend, story”, where *намтар* < Tib. *rnam bar thar ba* (= *rnam thar*), etc.

3) This borrowing happens to be misinterpreted as having been borrowed from Russian, while its presence in Mongolian is proved already in pre-classical texts, where it is more often observed as a pair with *ed*, i.e. *ed tavar* in the sense of “property” [Comm. BCA]. The Russian word *товар* “goods” is reported to be of Uighur origin, too (Фасмер 1987, vol. IV, p. 67).

4) < Uig. *qilinč* < Skt. *kṛleṣa* (Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 197).

Ex. 6 **Chinese:**

чамин *гоё* “beauteous”, where *чамин* < Chin. *qiān mén* “The South Gate”⁵
арилжаа наймаа “trade, commerce, deal”, where *наймаа* < Chin. *māi-mai*;
хутга заазуур “knives” (lit., knives – choppers), where *заазуур* < Chin. *zhádāo*
хээ хуар “ornament” (lit., ornament – flower), where *хуар* < Chin. *huār*, etc.

Ex. 7 **Manchu:**

улс *гүрэн* “state” (lit., state – empire), where *гүрэн* < Man. *gürün*
цэрэг цуух “soldiers”, where *цуух* < Man. *cooha*
хутга сэлэм “cutting weapons” (lit., knives – sword), where *сэлэм* < Man. *sele(me)*
эрин цаг “period” (lit., era – time), where *эрин* < Man. *erin*, etc.

Ex. 8 **Russian:**⁶

үнэ *цэнэ* “value, price”, where *цэнэ* possibly < Ru. *цена*
зан характер “character, nature, temper”, where *характер* < Ru. *характер*
хаяг адрес “address”, where *адрес* < Ru. *адрес*
аваар *осол* “accident”, where *аваар* < Ru. *авария*
ясли *цэцэрлэг* “pre-school facilities” (lit., nursery – pre-school), where *ясли* < Ru. *ясли*, etc.

Ex. 9 **Recent borrowings:**⁷

ундаа *жүүс* “juice and other (non-alcoholic) beverages”, where *жүүс* < Eng. *juice*⁸
байгаль экологи “ecology” (lit., nature – ecology), where *экологи* < Ru. *экология* (cf. Eng. *ecology*)
хаяг реклам “advertising/commercial wall-poster” (lit., address, sign-board – advertising/commercial), where *реклам* < Ru. *реклама*, etc.

5) < *qiān mén* “South Gate”. Close to the South Gate in Beijing there used to be a famous market-place where jewels, fabrics and similar kind of goods imported to Mongolia by Chinese merchants used to be sold. Thus the name of the Gate and also the market-place was transferred to the goods (Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 212). See also Kullmann, Tserenpil 2001, p. 66.

6) For the purpose of this paper the loanwords from Russian are considered to be words with Russian as the immediate source language regardless of their primary origin. (The same approach was applied by Poppe (1955, p. 37) in relation to some Arabic and Persian borrowings that have penetrated into Mongolian through a Turkic medium.) Most of these were borrowed during the period of close contact with Russia and later with the Soviet Union (from about the 1910s to the 1990s). However some of them were introduced even before, when the contact between Mongolians and Russian was rather casual.

7) The loans that have been appearing in Mongolian since the mid 1990s are understood as recent borrowings. Even though etymology of part of them is quite clear, there are still a lot of words whose source language could have been Russian, as well as English, that is to say, the borrowing of such a word, especially in the case of words with multi-national usage, could have been furthered by its presence in both languages.

8) According to some linguists (E. Ravdan, Ts. Shagdarsuren, etc.) the penetration of this particular word into Mongolian is supported by its phonetic similarity to the Mongolian *иүүс* “juice, gravy”, which one has to agree with.

2.2. In addition to lexical pairs with one borrowed component there are a considerable number of lexical pairs where both components are borrowings. Among these the lexical pairs formed by borrowings of the same origin can be observed and in this case the components most usually belong to different historical layers or their durability in Mongolian vocabulary may be different (Ex. 10). There are also indications that some particular pairs might have been borrowed by Mongolian as a complex lexical unit (Ex. 11). The latter type of lexical pairs is reported to occur also among Tuvan borrowings from Mongolian, for example in the case of *хүрээ-хиит* “church” (Ондар 2004).⁹

Ex. 10

чандмань эрдэнэ “precious jewel” ← *чандмань* < Uig. *čintamani*¹⁰ + *эрдэнэ* < Uig. *erdeni*¹¹
цалин пүнлүү “salary” ← *цалин* < Chin. *qián liáng* + *пүнлүү* (hist.) < Chin. *fèng lǚ*
стиль имидж “style, manner, image” ← *стиль* < Ru. *стиль* + *имидж* < Ru. *имидж* ~ Eng. *image*, etc.

Ex. 11

лус савдаг “deities made of natural objects” ← *лус* < Tib. *klu* + *савдаг* < Tib. *sa bdag*
эд тавгаар “goods” ← Mo. *ed tavar* < Uig. *äd tavar* “property” (Shogaito 1991, p. 38)
орд харш “palace” ← Mo. *ordu qarsi* < Uig. *ordu qarši* (Shogaito 1991, p. 38), etc.

2.3. There is also another group of lexical pairs formed by two loanwords coming from the different source languages (Ex. 12). Unlike with the previous types, these lexical pairs more often contain recent borrowings and in some cases they represent a pair formed by an older (and assimilated) loanword and a recent borrowing.

Ex. 12

лам хувраг “monk, the clergy” ← *лам* < Tib. *bla ma* + *хувраг* < Uig. *quvray*¹²
пүүс компани “companies” ← *пүүс* < Chin. *pǔ zi* + *компани* < Ru. *компания*
курс дамжаа “course, classes” ← *курс* < Ru. *курс* + *дамжаа* < Tib. *dam bca’ ba* “level examination in buddhist divinity and philosophy studies” (Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 78–79)
машин чийчаан “car” ← *машин* < ru. *машина* + *чийчаан* (hist., less often also expr.) < Chin. *qí ché*, etc.

9) Tuv. *хүрээ-хиит* “church” < Mo. *хүрээ хийд* “monastery”, which actually consists of Mongolian *хүрээ* “enclosure, yard” and *хийд* “monastery” < Skt. *kṛeṭa* “place, where landlords used to live, small village” (Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 197).

10) Uig. *čintamani* “the jewel of the heart” < Sogd. *čynt* many < Skt. *cintāmaṇi* (Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 212), Uig. *cintamani* (Сүхбаатар 2007, p. 66).

11) Uig. *erdeni* < Skt. *ratna* (Төмөртөр 2007, p. 40).

12) Shogaito (1991, p. 38) founds *quvray* as a part of “set phrase” borrowed from Uighur.

3. Formal structure of lexical pairs with borrowings

3.1. From the point of view of the formal structure of lexical pairs with borrowed components D. Baasanbat (2003, p. 5; 2007, p. 20), based on his research on the lexical pairs that contain borrowings from Manchu, alleges that lexical pairs with MW + LW (where MW is a Mongolian word and LW is a loanword) structure prevails. However, the examples indicate that there are altogether three different structures possible. Besides for the MW + LW structure, described by D. Baasanbat, there is also a group of lexical pairs with the reverse LW + MW structure and a group of lexical pairs formed by two loanwords, i.e. with LW + LW structure. While the word order seems to be fixed in general, there are few cases of lexical pairs that occur in both MW + LW and LW + MW structure without any noticeable change in meaning, such as for example *зураг хөрөг* and *хөрөг зураг* “portray”, where *хөрөг* < Tur. *kör* ~ *gör* “to see, to look at”; *арилжаа наймаа* and *наймаа арилжаа* “trade”, where *наймаа* < Chin. *mǎi-mai*, etc.¹³ This can be explained by the fact that these lexical pairs still have not developed the customary and fixed form. Their components are very close to each other in terms of meaning and therefore tend to “fight” for the leading position in the particular pair of synonyms (Баасанбат 2007, p. 8, Пүрэв-Очир 1989, p. 24).

A. EXAMPLES OF LEXICAL PAIRS WITH MW + LW STRUCTURE

цэрэг цуух “soldiers”	← <i>цэрэг</i>	+ <i>цуух</i> < Man. <i>cooha</i>
арилжаа наймаа “trade”	← <i>арилжаа</i>	+ <i>наймаа</i> < Chin. <i>mǎi-mai</i>
гэрээ контракт “contract”	← <i>гэрээ</i>	+ <i>контракт</i> < Ru. <i>контракт</i> ~ Eng. <i>contract</i>
нүгэл буян “good and bad deeds”	← <i>нүгэл</i>	+ <i>буян</i> < Skt. <i>puṇya</i>
бие махбод “body, entity”	← <i>бие</i>	+ <i>махбод</i> < Skt. <i>mahābhūta</i>
улс гүрэн “(big) country, state”	← <i>улс</i>	+ <i>гүрэн</i> < Man. <i>gürün</i>

B. EXAMPLES OF LEXICAL PAIRS WITH LW + MW STRUCTURE

мебель тавилга “furniture”	← <i>мебель</i> < Ru. <i>мебель</i>	+ <i>тавилга</i>
буу зэвсэг “fire-arms”	← <i>буу</i> < Chin. <i>pào</i> “gun”	+ <i>зэвсэг</i> “weapon”
авъяас чадвар “gift, ability”	← <i>авъяас</i> < Skt. <i>abhyāsa</i>	+ <i>чадвар</i> “ability”
шкаф шүүгээ “wardrobe”	← <i>шкаф</i> < Ru. <i>шкаф</i>	+ <i>шүүгээ</i>
шоу тоглолт “show”	← <i>шоу</i> cf. Ru. <i>шоу</i> , Eng. <i>show</i>	+ <i>тоглолт</i> “concert”
машин унаа “car”	← <i>машин</i> < Ru. <i>машин</i>	+ <i>унаа</i> “means of conveyance”

13) Several examples of switching the position of the components within lexical pairs are given in Baasanbat 2007, pp. 8 and 10.

C. EXAMPLES OF LEXICAL PAIRS WITH LW + LW STRUCTURE

жад сэлэм “lances and swords”	← <i>жад</i> < Uig. <i>jida</i> “spear”	+ <i>сэлэм</i> < Man. <i>sele(me)</i> “sword”
архи пиво “alcoholic drinks”	← <i>архи</i> < Arab. ‘ <i>araq</i> “vodka”	+ <i>пиво</i> < Ru. <i>пиво</i> “beer”
дэг жаяг “order, canon, precept”	← <i>дэг</i> < Tib. <i>sgrig pa</i> ~ <i>bsgrigs</i> “order, routine”	+ <i>жаяг</i> < Tib. <i>bca’ yig</i> “internal rule”
ид шид “magic, miracle”	← <i>ид</i> < Skt. <i>riddhi</i> “perfection, unusual skill or ability”	+ <i>шид</i> < Skt. <i>siddhi</i> “perfection, accomplishment, attainment”; “unusual skill or capability”

3.2. Some linguists (Vacek, Pürev-Očir 1987, p. 378; Pürev-Očir 2011, Bold 2011) point out that three (or more) words, usually belonging to one semantic field, can form lexical sets analogical to lexical pairs (Ex. 13–14). Being formed the same way as the lexical pairs, they can also contain a borrowing, although this is not often the case.

Ex. 13

Алт	монет	мөнгөний	дархан
Gold	red gold	silver-G.	goldsmith

“Jewellery offering goods made of gold, red gold and silver” (lit., gold, red gold and silversmith), where **монет** [*mania:d*] < Ru. *монета* “coin” [1]

Ex. 14

Эрин	цаг	үеийнхээ	хөгжилтэй	бид	алхаа	нийлүүлж ...
Period	time	period-G.-poss	development-Soc	we	step	to join-CImp

“We (will) keep pace with the development of our times ...”, where **эрин** < Man. *erin* [2]

3.3. M. Bazarragchaa (1990, pp. 18–19) further classifies lexical pairs from the point of view of the formal structure of their components into 1) lexical pairs formed by otherwise independent words, referred to as 1+1, 2) and 3) lexical pairs in which one component is either a compound or lexical pair, referred to as 1+2 or 2+1 and 4) lexical pairs referred to as 2+2, where each component is a bi-component. This can be demonstrated from the following lexical pairs (Ex. 15).

Ex. 15

2+1

биеийн тамир спорт “sport” ← **биеийн тамир** “physical culture” + **спорт** < Ru. “sport”

1+2

банк *санхүүгийн байгууллага* “financial institutions” ← *банк* < Ru. “bank” + *санхүүгийн байгууллага* “financial institution”

машин *тоног төхөөрөмж* “machinery, equipment” ← *машин* < Ru. *машина* “machine” + *тоног төхөөрөмж* “equipment, facilities”

4. Lexical and Semantic analysis of lexical pairs with borrowings

The relationship between the components in lexical pairs in terms of the lexical and semantic level has been already described by many linguists. Moreover, several papers have focused on lexical pairs discovered in the text of selected masterpieces of Mongolian literature, such as the 17th century Golden Summary (*Altan tobči*) by Luvsandanzan (Базаррагчаа 1990, pp. 99–136), the 19th century The Blue Chronicle by W. Injannashi (Баасанбат 2007) and the 20th century novel Sando Amban by B. Rinchen (Базаррагчаа 1990, pp. 39–98). Following the general aim of this paper the relationship between the components in lexical pairs of which at least one component is a borrowing will be discussed in this section.

4.1. LEXICAL PAIRS FORMED BY LANGUAGE EQUIVALENTS OR SYNONYMS

A lot of lexical pairs that contain at least one borrowing are in fact **language equivalents** which are defined as absolutely synonymic pairs of words, originating from different languages (Hauser 1980, p. 86). It is evident that the examples (Ex. 16) fit this definition.¹⁴

Ex. 16

цэрэг цуух (hist.) “soldier(s)” ← *цэрэг* “soldier(s)” + *цуух* < Man. *cooha* “soldier(s)”

шкаф шүүгээ (rare) “wardrobe” ← *шкаф* < Ru. *шкаф* “wardrobe” + *шүүгээ* “wardrobe”

запас сэлбэг “spare parts” ← *запас* < Ru. *запас* “spare, spare parts” + *сэлбэг* “spare, spare parts, replacement stock”

бараа таваар “goods” ← *бараа* “goods” + *таваар* < Tur. *tabar* ~ *tavar*¹⁵

цэцэг хуар “flower” ← *цэцэг* “flower” + *хуар* < Chin. *huār* “flower”

хэв маяг “shape, form, mode” ← *хэв* “shape, form, appearance” + *маяг* < Tib. *ma yig* “appearance, form, shape, type, model, sample”, etc.

14) This type is described as synonyms with an internal opposition of foreign and indigenous origin in Vacek – Pürev-Očir (1987, p. 372).

15) For the etymology of *таваар* refer to Ex. 1.

On the other hand there are also cases where, though the meaning of both components is identical or synonymic, one of the them apparently plays the role of specifier. This can be observed especially when one of the components bears multiple meanings. Based on the examples of lexical pairs with Manchu components, Baasanbat (2003, p. 5) states that it is the Mongolian component that specifies the Manchu, i.e. the borrowed one. The examples bellow (Ex. 17–19) support this statement, but some other cases (Ex. 20–21) show that it can be vice versa, too, and that the borrowed component can be a specifier to the Mongolian one. These nuances in meaning are noticeable especially where chains of lexical pairs based on one or another component exist. Except for specification in meaning, either of the components can bring additional ambience – honorificity (Ex. 21), expressivity or stylistic differentiation (Ex. 22) – to the lexical pair.

Ex. 17

аваар осол “accident, crash” ← *аваар* < Ru. *авария* “accident, breakdown” + *осол* “accident, crash, misadventure”

аваар саатал “accident, breakdown” ← *аваар* < Ru. *авария* “accident, breakdown” + *саатал* “delay, breakdown, obstacle”

Ex. 18

шоу наадам “feast, show” ← *шоу* cf. Ru. *шоу*, Eng. *show* + *наадам* “feast, game contest, entertainment”

шоу тоглолт “concert, show performance” ← *шоу* cf. Ru. *шоу*, Eng. *show* + *тоглолт* “concert, performance”

Ex. 19

яармаг худалдаа “trade fair” ← *яармаг* < Ru. *ярмарка* “market, fair” + *худалдаа* “trade”

яармаг үзэсгэлэн¹⁶ “exhibition, fair” ← *яармаг* < Ru. *ярмарка* “market, fair” + *үзэсгэлэн* “exhibition”

Ex. 20

хаяг адрес “address” ← *хаяг* “title, inscription, address” + *адрес* < Ru. *адрес* “address”

хаяг реклам¹⁷ “advertising board” ← *хаяг* “outside inscription” + *реклам* < Ru. *реклама* “advertising”

Ex. 21

гэрээ контракт “contract” ← *гэрээ* “contract, agreement” + *контракт* cf. Ru. *контракт* “contract”, Eng. *contract*

In comparison to *гэрээ хэлэлцээр* “agreement, treaty” on a higher level:

16) Occurs also in reverse word order as *үзэсгэлэн яармаг*.

17) For involvement of *реклам* “advertising” in other lexical pairs see Kapišovská 2002, p. 48.

Ерөнхий сайд ... олон гэрээ хэлэлцээрт гарын үсэг зурсан.
 chief minister ... many agreement treaty-D-L. hand-G. letter to draw-NP

“The Prime-minister has signed many agreements and treaties.” [3]

Ex. 22

үнэ цэнэ “value, price” ← үнэ “price, value, cost” + цэнэ possibly < Ru. цена “price, value, cost”

Их сургуулийн номын санд үнэ цэнэтэй ном цөөнгүй байдаг
 Big school-G. library-D-L. price price (< Ru.)-Soc. book few-neg. to be-NU

“There are a lot of valuable books in the university library ...” [4]

4.2. LEXICAL PAIRS FORMED BY WORDS BELONGING TO THE SAME SEMANTIC FIELD

This type of lexical pair is constituted of a combination of words that are neither equivalent, nor synonymous, but belong to the same semantic field.¹⁸ Among them we can clearly distinguish pairs with at least one borrowed component where the pairing has the well-marked function of generalization expressed in the resulting meaning.

Ex. 23

яли цэцэрлэг “pre-school facilities” ← ясли < Ru. ясли “nursery” + цэцэрлэг “pre-school”
 нүүс компани “firms and companies” ← нүүс < Chin. pǔ zī “firm” + компани < Ru. компания “company”

алт маниад “gold” (lit., yellow gold and red gold) ← алт (< Tu.) “yellow gold” + маниад “red gold” < Ru. монета “coin”

ундаа жүүс “beverages” (lit., beverages or lemonades and juices) ← ундаа “beverage, lemonade” + жүүс < Eng. juice

хутга заазуур “knives” (lit., knives and choppers) ← хутга “knife” + заазуур < Chin. zhádāo “chopper”

18) Semantic field is defined as “the set of lexemes freely connected to by a wide-ranging “thematic” meaning” (Čermák 2007, p. 272). For analysis of this type of lexical pairs see Vacek – Pürev-Očir (1987, pp. 372–374).

4.3. LEXICAL PAIRS FORMED BY ANTONYMS

In Mongolian a considerable number of lexical pairs are constituted by a combination of antonyms.¹⁹ Yet research has so far shown that borrowings very seldom occur in this type of lexical pair.

Ex. 24

Earlier borrowings:

нүгэл буян “good and bad deeds” ← **нүгэл** “sin” + **буян** “goodness, good deeds” < Skt. *puṇya*
эл дайсан (arch.) “friends and enemies” ← **эл** “friend” < Tu. *al* + **дайсан** “enemy”²⁰

Contemporary borrowings:

онол практик “theory and practice” ← **онол** “theory” + **практик** < Ru. *практика* “practice”
экспорт импорт “export and import” ← **экспорт** < Ru. *экспорт* “export” + **импорт** < Ru. *импорт* “import”

5. Usage analysis of the dynamics of lexical pairs with borrowings

5.1. The borrowed components of lexical pairs are subject to the same changes in vocabulary as are any other borrowing. Some of them vanish from those layers of vocabulary that are used everyday and become archaisms, as **эл** in **эл дайсан** “friends and enemies” (see above – Ex. 24) or historisms such as, for example, **пүнлүү** “a special kind of regular salary paid to Mongolian nobles according to a decree of Manchu emperor signed in 1733” < Chin. *fēng lǚ* in **цалин пүнлүү** “salary”.

Such lexical pairs as lost one of their components because of falling into disuse could easily be replaced by another lexical pair in the synonymic chain that conforms better to new circumstances (**цалин хөлс** “salary”) or can be further present in the vocabulary without being a part of a similar lexical pair anymore. For several years we observed the pressure to move out the word **запас** “spare, spare parts” from standard language that affects the lexical pair **запас сэлбэг** “spare parts”. Even though this lexical pair still occurs in colloquial language and has not completely disappeared even from the written language, **сэлбэг** “spare, spare parts, replacement stock” is used almost exclusively in the outside inscriptions. At the same time **сэлбэг хэрэгсэл** “spare parts” is another lexical pair that is used with the same meaning.

19) For detailed reference see Vacek – Pürev-Očir, 1987, p. 375, Rinčin 1967 (1992), pp. 61–64.

20) Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 228.

5.2. On the other hand there are cases when borrowing vanishes from of the vocabulary but remains “frozen” in a lexical pair. This seems to be an example of *үүрэг роль* “role” that contains the loanword *роль* (< Ru. *роль* “role, part”) – it is observed as a free-standing lexeme in roughly mid-20th century texts and later was pushed out of the active vocabulary by its Mongolian equivalent *үүрэг*. Now it is found only as part of a lexical pair whose scope is limited to formal style and specialized language (Ex. 25). A similar situation is observed with *уриа лозон* “slogan, appeal, catchword”, in which *лозон* < Ru. *лозунг* “slogan, catchword”.

Ex. 25

Хүний	нөөцийн	менежерийн	үүрэг	роль
person-G.	resource-G.	manager-G.	role	role (< Ru.)

“The role of the manager for human resources” [5]

5.3. Some, especially very frequently used borrowings, such as for example *оочер* “queue” (< Ru. *очередь* “queue”) or *размер* “size” (< Ru. *размер* “size”) or even *курс* (< Ru. *курс*) in the meaning of “course” may be connected with a feeling of inadequacy when used in certain situations, particularly in formal discourse. They seem to be attached to a Mongolian or to an assimilated borrowing, in the latter case in order to become “neutral” and more acceptable (Ex. 26).

Ex. 26

оочер дараалал “queue” < *оочер* < Ru. *очередь* “queue” + *дараалал* “queue, sequence”
размер хэмжээ “size” < *размер* < Ru. *размер* “size” + *хэмжээ* “size”
курс дамжаа “course, classes” < *курс* < Ru. *курс* + *дамжаа* (ass.) < Tib. *dam bca’ ba* “level of examination in buddhist divinity and philosophy studies”

Ex. 27

Тайзны	жүжиглэлийн	олон	арга	трюк	хэрэглэж	байсан ...
scene-G.	acting-G.	many	method	special effect (< Ru.)	to use- CImp.	to be-NP

“[They] used many special theatrical effects ...” (Хөвсгөл 2011, p. 18)

5.4. Lexical pairs with borrowings have spread through all layers of the Mongolian language. Depending on their content they are observed in oral narratives, in classical as well as in modern literature, in the speech of nomads and in that of the people in the cities, in different fields of science, culture, arts, religion, the technical and financial sphere, in business and so forth. Here are some examples of lexical pairs that are considered to be terms (Ex. 28):²¹

21) For more details on lexical pairs on the part of terms see Rinčin 1967 (1992), pp. 51–52.

Ех. 28

бие организм “organism” ← *бие* “body” + *организм* < Ru. *организм* “organism”

бие махбод “body, organism” ← *бие* “body” + *махбод* “element, organism, flesh” < Skt.

mahābhūta “great element”

эрдэс минерал “mineral(s)” ← *эрдэс* “mineral” + *минерал* < Ru. *минерал* “mineral”

телефон утас “telephone” ← *телефон* < Ru. *телефон* “telephone” + *утас* “telephone”

хүч энерги “energy” ← *хүч* “strength” + *энерги* < Ru. *энергия* “energy”

план зураг “plan” ← *план* < Ru. *план* “plan” + *зураг* “drawing, plan, picture”

6. Conclusion

To sum up, the borrowings quite often occur in lexical pairs in combination either with indigenous or with assimilated borrowing. Their ability to form lexical pairs is, however, restricted to those types of pair expressions that are based on equivalency or synonymy, and only rarely on antonymy between the components. The exception to this consists in the early borrowings from Turkic languages that are observed also in some other types, including bound ones (**баруун солгойгүй** “skillful, dexterous” ← *баруун* “right” + *солгой* “left, wrong” < Tur. *sol* + *-гүй* neg. suffix), which can be explained by the typological closeness of Turkic languages, intensity of language contact and possibly by some other factors, too. The majority of lexical pairs with borrowings also lack some other features, such as aliteracy, rhyming, etc. that Mongolian lexical pairs generally possess.

We can assume that the involvement of borrowings in forming pair expressions is driven by the same impulses as the whole process of borrowing, promoted by the overall high productivity of this phenomenon. Moreover, it can be seen as a means of accustoming and integrating of borrowed items into the Mongolian language.

Abbreviations

Arab.	Arabic
ass.	assimilated
arch.	archaic
cf.	compare (with)
CImp.	Converbum Imperfecti
Comm. BCA	Commentary on Bodhicaryāvatāra (1312)
Eng.	English
expr.	expressive
G.	Genitive

hist.	historicism
hon.	honorific
lit.	literary
Lit.Mo.	Literary Mongolian
Man.	Manchu
Mo.	Mongolian
neg.	negative
Pers.	Persian
poss.	possessive
Skt.	Sanskrit
Soc.	Sociative
Tur.	Turkic
Uig.	Uighur

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A consideration of communicative behaviours – Focusing on the kinship terminology and personal names/pronouns in the Mongolian language

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Summary: In the previous article, we specified the communicating subjects within the sentences of self-oriented terms, address terms and terms referring to persons, and addressing of address terms of Mongolian naming terms in order to compare them with those of Japanese. We also discussed the interdisciplinary quality of the standards of communicative behaviour and family relationships (Yoshino 2009). In this article, we will introduce the complements of the self terms, address terms, and 3rd person terms of Mongolian naming terms. We will also redefine Mongolian communicative behaviour in terms of politeness based on the documentations from the previous and this article. This is therefore a continuation of what was discussed in the previous article.

1. Introduction

This article mainly analyzes the following two matters of Mongolian communicative behaviour based on the language's linguistic characteristics and politeness universality.

(1) Specification of the contrasts among naming terms (CWS) between the communicative behaviour inside and outside the house, and between upper and lower level family members inside the house. As for the household hierarchical relationship, in particular, we specified, in 2.2 of the previous article, the candidate terms (Dominant SF/DSF, Marked SF/MSF) and non-candidate terms of mother-child communicative behaviour in the informant's family for SOT(SWS), AT(AD), AT(SWS), and TR(SWS) (Yoshino 2009, pp. 97–104). In Section 4 of this article, we will specify candidate and non-candidate terms between mother and child for SOT(CWS), AT(CWS), and TR(CWS) (*ibid.*, pp. 97–104). As in the previous article, we will report examples of Mongolian communicative behaviour at a synchronic level.

(2) In Section 5, we will define the face (F) threatening levels of H between the mother and child of the informant's family as Mother → Child (F threatening level: low) and Child → Mother (F threatening level: high) from the viewpoint

of politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987, pp. 76–77). At the same time, we will examine whether each term threatens H's area and show that the following principles exist among their communicative behaviour:

- ① In Mother → Child (F threatening level: low), mother's terms which threaten child's area are DSF and those which do not threaten are not used or MSF.
- ② In Child → Mother (F threatening level: high), on the contrary, child's terms which do not threaten mother's area are DSF and those which threaten are not used or MSF.

2. Communicative behaviour and naming terms

The terms and symbols in this article are based on the policies of the Introduction to Section 1 of the previous article (Yoshino 2009, pp. 83–92). Please note the additional remarks as follows:

2.1. ANALYSIS OF THE INFORMANTS AND DOCUMENTATIONS

In this article, we will analyze Mongolian communicative behaviour between inside and outside the house, and between upper and lower level family members inside the house. But the communicative behaviour specified in the following ① and ② and fictional use will not be covered.

① Communicative behaviour within a married couple (S, H/person addressed to/ are a married couple; S and H are a married couple; person referred to/PL or TP are blood-related S and H)

② Communicative behaviour between siblings (S, H, person referred to/ PL or TP/, three of them are siblings). The naming terms which we analyze in this article will be discussed in detail in 2.2–2.5.

For this article, we used the same informants as in the previous article (Mongolian language informants: N. Battuyaa, 24 years old, B. Otgon, 35 y.o., N. Gerelmaa, 48 y.o., and U. Tumenjargal, 35 y.o. Japanese language informant: Kato Sae, 24 y.o.). We deeply appreciate their support.

The family structure of the informant (N. Battuyaa) is as follows:

A1: informant, A2: A1's elder sister 25 y.o., A3: A1's elder brother 27 y.o.,
B: A's father, C: A's mother, D: C's father, E: C's mother.

We will discuss a case of an unspecified non-family member G (G1, G2).

2.2. DEFINITION OF COMPLEMENTS WITHIN THE SENTENCES

In this article, we define CWS as case ending forms (dative-locative, sociative, ablative, instrumental, accusative, postpositions denoting direction forms, and so on) without the subjective case. Case endings, not including the subjective case, will be representatively shown as “case”. Examples of KT’s CWS are shown below. The usage of PN and PPN’s CWS will be shown in illustrative sentences as we proceed.

Figure I: Categories of KT (CWS) based on the existence of personal phrases

(1) Personal phrase specified KTs

- ① First person phrase specified KTs: “*mania, minii, bidnii, bid nariin* etc.+KT+case”, “KT+case+*maani, mini*”
- ② Second person phrase specified KTs: “*tanii, tanai, c’inii, ta nariin* etc.+KT+case”, “KT+case+*tani, c’ini*”
- ③ Third person phrase specified KTs: “*tu’unii, tednii, ted nariin* etc.+KT+case”, “KT+case+*ni*”¹
- ④ “*aa4*(possessive suffix)” specified KT: “KT+case+*aa4*”

(2) Impersonal phrase specified KTs

- ① Impersonal phrase specified KT: “KT+case”
- ② Third person phrase unspecified KT: “KT+case+*ni*”

As shown above, KT (CWS), in the same way as KT (SWS), can be divided into two categories: personal phrase specified and impersonal phrase specified (Yoshino 2009, pp. 87–88). For KT (CWS), however, “KT+case+*aa4*”, in (1) ④ above, will be added (*aa4*/possessive suffix/ is abbreviated as *aa4*): Grammatically, *aa4* (=SWS) of “KT+case+*aa4*” will be S, H, PL, or TP.² Of course, we will not analyze every KT (CWS) shown above.

1) “personal name specified KTs” (“*Batiin, Dorz’iin* etc.+KT+case”) are in accordance with the third person phrase specified KT.

2) Please also refer to Lubsangdorji & Vacek (2004, p. 80) for the usage of *aa4* (possessive suffix).

We will discuss

- (1) ④ (SWS=S) and (2) ① (Section 3),
 (1) ④ (SWS=S, H), (2) ①, and (2) ② (Section 4),

which are contrastively used in communicative behaviour inside/outside the house and in household hierarchy relationships.

2.3. NAMING TERMS AND NAMING FORMATS

The use of Mongolian naming terms (KT, PN, PPN) depends on ① the difference between the addressed subjects (SOT, AT, TR) and ② the difference between sentence components (SWS, AD, CWS). But SOT(AD) and TR(AD) are not possible combinations of ① and ②. There are therefore 7 combinations in total: (SOT: SWS, SOT: CWS, AT: SWS, AT: AD, AT: CWS, TR: SWS, TR: CWS). For convenience, we will call these combinations “naming formats”. In Mongolian, there are 19 possible combinations of naming terms and naming formats as shown below (Figure II). We also have the following remarks:

(1) In this research the usage of KT (AT: SWS) and PN (AT: SWS) was ungrammatical.³

(2) The following ① and ② will not be covered in this article:

- ① Words used by small children of PN(SOT: SWS) and PN(SOT: CWS)⁴
 ② TR(SWS) and TR(CWS) of PN and PPN, and KT's TR(SWS) and TR(CWS) characterising PL or TP, which have no correlation to S's area threat against H: For convenience, however, the usages of PN's TR (CWS) are shown on the List. Mo. III, IV.

(3) Use of the underlined ②, ④, ⑥, ⑩, ⑭, and ⑰, which is the use of CWS, is analyzed in Section 3 and 4 of this article. We discussed use of the

3) The usage KT(AT: SWS) and PN(AT: SWS) was wrong in this research (Ex. 1.1., 1.2., 1.3.). In general, SPPN (*c'i, ta*) is used as AT(SWS) in Mongolian families (Ex. 2, 6, 9 etc.).

Ex. 1.1. C→A1, ⇒A1: *Minii ohin hezee irsen be?*

Ex. 1.2. A1→C, ⇒C: *Eez' hezee irsen be?*

Ex. 1.3. C→A1, ⇒A1: *Tuyaa hezee irsen be?*

4) There are cases where children (adult) use PN (SOT) in a household situation (B. Otgon).

double-lined ①, ③, ⑤, ⑨, ⑬, ⑮, and ⑰ in 2.2 of the previous article (Yoshino 2009, pp. 97–104).

(4) SOT, AT, and TR of PPN indicate FPPN, SPPN, and TPPN. In this article, the symbols *bi**, *c'i**, and *ta** include the cases of subjective, dative-locative, instrumental, accusative, ablative, sociative, postpositions denoting direction, and so forth.

(5) For convenience, the naming terms may be shown as KT(TR), PN(AT), PPN(SOT) or KT(CWS), PN(AD), PPN(SWS), etc. with only the difference between addressed subjects or sentence components being attached.

Figure II: Naming formats of Mongolian naming terms

- (1) KT: ① SOT(SWS), ② SOT(CWS), ③ AT(AD), ④ AT(CWS),
 ⑤ TR(SWS), ⑥ TR(CWS)
 (2) PN: ⑦ SOT(SWS), ⑧ SOT(CWS), ⑨ AT(AD), ⑩ AT(CWS),
 ⑪ TR(SWS), ⑫ TR(CWS)
 (3) PPN: ⑬ SOT(SWS), ⑭ SOT(CWS), ⑮ AT(SWS), ⑯ AT(AD),
 ⑰ AT(CWS), ⑱ TR(SWS), ⑲ TR(CWS)

2.4. CANDIDATE TERMS, NON-CANDIDATE TERMS (UNUSED TERMS)

In both the previous and this article, the candidate terms (DSF, MSF) and non-candidate terms between the communicative behaviour of S and H are shown for each naming format. Please refer to List. Mo.I, II, III, and IV for the details of candidate terms and non-candidate terms of upper and lower persons in a household.

If a certain naming format has more than one DSF in the communicative behaviour between two people, they are a DSF group. DSF (or DSF group) forms a default (basic condition) for each naming format in their communicative behaviour. Similarly, if there is more than one MSF, they are an MSF group: In general, in the MSF group, the less the MSF is used, the more it separates from the default. In theory, the MSF can have both the \pm Politeness and Discourse effect. Which type of effect – +P, –P, or DE – the MSF has should be determined from their speech or, at least, some speech behaviour (Usami 2001, p. 28). The categories of \pm P and DE (emphasis) which are attached to each MSF in this and previous articles are merely for convenience.

Here, rather than strictly categorizing the functions of MSF ($\pm P$ and DE) we attempt to clarify that ① the DSF (or DSF group) has a default for each naming format in the communicative behaviour of two parties, and ② MSF separates from default: In short, we will focus on the contrast between DSF and MSF (or unused terms) in communicative behaviour, rather than covering all candidate terms and non-candidate terms inside/outside the house and in the household hierarchy relationships. This article will therefore, like the previous one, not discuss the pragmatic issues concerning naming terms, such as discrepancies in speech situations of illustrative sentences where the dominant and marked SFs are used.

We can also make the following remarks:

(1) Samples of communicative behaviour, which differ greatly depending on individuals, should be taken by observing a conversation between a certain S and H for a certain period of time. But in this article, the samples will be based on interviews with the informants because the contrast of communicative behaviour inside/outside the house and in household hierarchy relationships can be expected as basic human activity types (without actually observing communicative behaviour) (Usami 2001, p. 33; Yoshino 2009, pp. 91–92). As to whether S and H are specified, the informants' household samples will be based on particular S and H. But we must note that we also used samples based on unspecified people for the sake of convenience.

(2) As mentioned earlier, we will categorize communicative behaviour by using candidate terms and non-candidate terms. It is therefore important to attach a naming format to naming terms when analyzing Mongolian communicative behaviour in terms of specifying the SF of naming terms, as well as categorizing naming term types.

(3) In Mongolian, naming terms, which are sentence elements, are often abbreviated. But we will not discuss the issue of omission of terms (zero form) unless the term is avoided. In this article, we will analyze the usage of each term based on speech sentences where naming terms are used.

2.5. KINSHIP TERM CLASSIFICATION BASED ON ORIGINALIZATION

Aside from the KT classification (Figure I) in 2.2, we will divide KT into three categories based on an originalization standard:

- (1) SKT: S characterising KT
- (2) HKT: H charactering KT
- (3) PL or TP/KT: PL or TP characterising KT

Furthermore, Mongolian SKT can be divided into the following two categories:

- ① SKT1: SKT⁵ without S characterising elements
- ② SKT2: SKT with S characterising elements

In this article, we will mainly analyze SKT and HKT from a politeness point of view. PL or TP/KT, which have no relation to S's area threat against H, (existence) will not be discussed.

The relationship between these two KT classifications (Figure I and SKT, HKT and PL or PT/KT) is as follows:

- (1) impersonal term specified KTs, first person specified KTs, *aa4* specified KT (*aa4*=S)⇒SKT;
- (2) second person specified KTs, *aa4* specified KT(*aa4*=H), third person unspecified KT⇒HKT;
- (3) third person specified KTs, *aa4* specified KT (*aa4*= PLorTP)⇒PLorTP/KT.

The abovementioned (1) will be divided into two sub-categories:

- ① impersonal term specified KTs⇒SKT1;
- ② First person term specified KTs, *aa4* specified KT (*aa4*=S)⇒SKT2.

5) We define that SKT1 has both S and H origins only when S and H (siblings) are in the same family tree in relation to the persons referred to (parents, grand parents, and siblings). The illustrative sentences shown below are the examples of "A1→A2, ⇒B" (TR: SWS) or (TR: CWS) (Ex. 1.4., 1.5., 1.6.).

Ex. 1.4. A1→A2, ⇒B : *Aav irsen u'u?*/TR(SWS)

Ex. 1.5. A1→A2, ⇒B : *[Bi] saya aavtai uulzsar.*/TR(CWS)

Ex. 1.6. A1→A2, ⇒A2, B : *Egc' ee, [ta] aavtai uulzsar uu?*/TR(CWS)

Lit. 1.4. A1→A2, ⇒B : Did Dad come home?

Lit. 1.5. A1→A2, ⇒B : I met Dad.

Lit. 1.6. A1→A2, ⇒A2, B : Elder Sister, did you meet Dad?

Please note the following as well:

(1) In Mongolian, basically, impersonal term specified KT's (*o'voo*, *emee*, *aav*, *eez'*, *ah*, *egc'*, *hu'u*, *ohin*, *du'u*, etc.) are SKT (Ex. 45–47, 59, etc.). They will never be HKT or PL or TP/KT.

(2) “*aa4* (voc.)”, as in “KT+*aa4* (voc.)” (*eez' ee*, etc.), is not considered to be S characterising elements such as *minii*, *mini*, or *aa4*. “KT+*aa4* (voc.)” is therefore SKT1.

(3) AT (AD) of the Mongolian language can be divided into two sub-categories of *duudah u'g* and *handah u'g* based on the existence of “*aa4* (voc.)”. Where “A1→C, ⇒C” (AT:AD), for instance, KT's *duudah u'g* (*eez' ee*) and *handah u'g* (*eez'*) are both candidate terms. We will not discuss the details of their difference from one another. The classification of *duudah u'g* and *handah u'g* is based on the theory taught by Professor J. Lubsangdorji.

2.5.1. Speaker characterising kinship terms (address term: complements within the sentences and term referring to person: complements within the sentences)

“KT+case” (SKT1) and “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2) are used as AT (CWS) and TR (CWS). The origin of “KT+case” (SKT1) is always S. If it's AT (CWS), SWS is always S (Ex. 28 and 42). If it's TR (CWS), SWS can be either S, H, PL, or TP (Ex. 1–3). On the other hand, the origin of “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2) is always S (=SWS) (Ex. 4). But it has more information about the S origin than “KT+case” (SKT1) because of *aa4*, and the S origin is more obvious: TR (CWS) *aavtaigaa* (Ex. 4) and *ohindoo* and *eez'dee* (Ex. 25, 43) of AT (CWS).

(1) SKT (AT: CWS)

Ex. 1. A1→C, ⇒A1, B: [Bi] *aavtai uulzsan*. /SKT1: SWS=S

Ex. 2. A1→C, ⇒C, B: *Eez'ee*, [ta] *aavtai uulzsan uu?* /SKT1: SWS=H

Ex. 3. A1→C, ⇒E, B: *Emee aavtai uulzsan uu?* /SKT1: SWS= PLorTP

Ex. 4. A1→C, ⇒A1, B: *Bi aavtaigaa uulzsan*. /SKT2: SWS=S

Lit. 1. A1→C, ⇒A1, B: I met Dad.

Lit. 2. A1→C, ⇒C, B: Mom, did you meet Dad?

Lit. 3. A1→C, ⇒E, B: Did Grandmother meet Dad?

Lit. 4. A1→C, ⇒A1, B: I met my Dad.

2.5.2. Hearer characterising kinship terms (self-oriented term: complements within the sentences and term referring to person: complements within the sentences)

“KT+case+ni” and “KT+case+aa4” of HKT are used as SOT(CWS) and TR(CWS). But they are used separately, based on the difference in SWS(S, H, PL or TP). Where “C→A1, ⇒C” (SOT:CWS), for example, *eez'tei ni* is used when SWS is PL or TP (Ex. 7),⁶ and *eez'teigee* is used when SWS is H (Ex. 6). With *eez'tei ni* and *eez'teigee*, SWS can never be S (Ex. 5). Where “C→A1, ⇒B” (TR:CWS), *aavtai ni* is used when SWS is S, PL, or TP (Ex. 8, 10), and *aavtaigaa* is used when SWS is H (Ex. 9).

(1) HKT (SOT: CWS)

Ex. 5 C→A1, ⇒C, C: *Eez' ni eez'tei ni (or eez'teigee) cug yavsan.* /SWS=S

Ex. 6. C→A1, ⇒A1, A1, C: *Minii ohin, [c'i] eez'teigee cug yavah uu?* /SWS=H

Ex. 7. C→A1, ⇒B, C: *Aav c'ini eez'tei ni cug yavsan.* /SWS=PLorTP

Lit. 5. C→A1, ⇒C, C: I (=your Mother) went with me (=your Mother).

Lit. 6. C→A1, ⇒A1, A1, C: My Daughter, will you go with me (=your Mother)?

Lit. 7. C→A1, ⇒B, C: Your Dad went with me (=your Mother).

(2) HKT (TR: CWS)

Ex. 8. C→A1, ⇒C, B: *Eez' ni aavtai ni cug yavsan.* /SWS=S

Ex. 9. C→A1, ⇒A1, B: *Minii ohin, [c'i] aavtaigaa cug yavah uu?* /SWS=H

Ex. 10. C→A1, ⇒D, B: *O'voo c'ini aavtai ni cug yavsan.* /SWS=PLorTP

Lit. 8. C→A1, ⇒C, B: I (=your Mother) went with your Dad.

Lit. 9. C→A1, ⇒A1, B: My Daughter, will you go with your Dad?

Lit. 10. C→A1, ⇒D, B: Your Grandfather went with your Dad.

[Comment 1] According to 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, we specified the differences (S, H, PL or TP) in terms of SWS in the following examples in Section 4: SKT (TR: CWS) (Ex. 34–37, 45–48), HKT (SOT: CWS) (Ex. 19, 20, 39, 40), and HKT (TR: CWS) (Ex. 31–33, 49–51).

6) It is usable, to be specific, so long as SWS is the object of the 3rd person pronoun. (Ex. 1. 7.) (SWS=ho'gz'ltei yavdal)

Ex. 1.7. C→A1, ⇒A1, C: *Minii ohin, o'noodor eez'id ni ho'gz'ltei yavdal tohiolson.*

Lit. 1.7. C→A1, ⇒A1, C: My Daughter, today a funny thing happened to me (=your Mother).

In English, in general, PN (AT:AD) is the DSF between mother→child, and “Daughter” or “my Daughter” of KT(AT:AD) are the MSF. But here, we literally translate Mongolian *minii ohin* as “my Daughter”.

2.6. SPECIFICATIONS IN ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES, LIST. MO. III AND IV

Based on the decisions of the informants, brackets [] are added – mostly to PPN's SWS – to denote that it can be omitted. The examples of CWS in each example sentence are underlined. The DSF, MSF, and unused terms of List. Mo. III and IV are specified using the dative-locative form.

3. Inside/outside household relationships

3.1. OUTSIDE HOUSEHOLD RELATIONSHIP

In 2.1.1 of the previous article, we described the usage of “*manai*+KT” (SKT1) and “*tanai*+KT” (HKT) of TR (SWS), which are used between S and H (non-family members) outside a household (Yoshino 2009, pp. 92–95). This section features “KT+case” (SKT1) and “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2) of TR (CWS) used between them.

In general, in the communicative behaviour between two non-family members, S tries to express the internal/external relationship with H by emphasizing the kinship relationship (S origin) with his own family through “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2). In this case, from another point of view, providing the non-family member H with more information about his own kinship (S origin) through “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2) shows courtesy towards H. In general, “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2), which has more information about the S origin, is therefore the DSF (courtesy to upper-level person, dearness to lower-level person) between two non-family members (Ex. 11). On the other hand, “KT+case” (SKT1), which has less information about the S origin, is the MSF (lack of courtesy towards an upper-level person, lack of dearness towards a lower-level person) (Ex. 12).⁷

7) According to B. Otgon, in communicative behaviour between two people (especially adults who are not in kinship relationship) who have equal power and at a small distance or who are in a close relationship at the same rank, it will be “KT+case” (DSF: dearness) and “KT+case+*aa4*” (MSF: emphasis) (Ex. 1.8., 1.9.) (pseudo household). We will discuss the SF classification of “KT+case”, “KT+case+*aa4*” of TR(CWS) between two people who are not in kinship relationship in another article in the future with consideration of S and H (not in kinship relationship) who are from diverse age and social groups.

G1→G2, ⇒G2: [C'i] yuu hiiiz' baina ve?

Ex. 1.8. G2→G1, ⇒G2, G2's Father: [Bi] aavtai hamt cai uuz' baina./DSF

Ex. 1.9. G2→G1, ⇒G2, G2's Father: [Bi] aavtaigaa hamt cai uuz' baina./MSF

G1→G2, ⇒G2: What are you doing?

G→A1, ⇒A1: *Ta (or C'i) yuu hiiz' baina ve?*

Ex. 11. A1→G, ⇒A1, B: [Bi] aavtaigaa hamt cai uuz' baina. /DSF

Ex. 12. A1→G, ⇒A1, B: [Bi] aavtai hamt cai uuz' baina. /MSF

G→A1, ⇒A1: What are you doing?

Lit. 11. A1→G, ⇒A1, B: I am having tea with my Father.

Lit. 12. A1→G, ⇒A1, B: I am having tea with Father.

3.2. INSIDE HOUSEHOLD RELATIONSHIP

In 2.1.2 of the previous article, we described the usage of “KT” (SKT1) and “KT+*ni*” (HKT) of TR (SWS), which are used between S and H (family members) inside a household (Yoshino 2009, pp. 95–97). Continued from 3.1 of this article, this Section also features “KT+case” (SKT1) and “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2) of TR(CWS).

The two uses of KT above highlight the contrast between outside (Ex. 11, 12) and inside the household. Inside, the relationship between S and H, and the one between S and the referred person becomes competitive (as a matter of standing) for S because S, H, and the referred person are all in kinship relationship. Because of this, “KT+case” (SKT1), which emphasizes no relationship, is the DSF inside the household (Ex. 13) (equal levels of standing). On the other hand, “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2), which emphasizes the kinship relationship (S origin) between S and the referred person more than the other relationship, is the MSF (emphasis) (Ex. 14) (lack of equilibrium in terms of standing).

C→A2, ⇒A2: *[C'i] yuu hiiz' baina ve?*

Ex. 13. A2→C, ⇒A2, B: [Bi] aavtai hamt cai uuz' baina. /DSF

Ex. 14. A2→C, ⇒A2, B: [Bi] aavtaigaa hamt cai uuz' baina. /MSF

C→A2, ⇒A2: What are you doing?

Lit. 13. A2→C, ⇒A2, B: I am having tea with Dad.

Lit. 14. A2→C, ⇒A2, B: I am having tea with my Dad.

Focusing on the degree of standing (competitiveness), we will further look at the usage of “KT+case” and “KT+case+*aa4*”. Here, the standing of the relationships between S and H (S's mother), and S and the person referred to (S's father, grandmother, older brother and younger sister) will be analyzed

Lit. 1.8. G2→G1, ⇒G2, G2's Father: I am having tea with Father.

Lit. 1.9. G2→G1, ⇒G2, G2's Father: I am having tea with my Father.

as an example of competitive relationship. The examples of the informant's family are as follows:

- ① $C \Leftrightarrow B$ (C and B are one generation higher for A2),
- ② $C \Leftrightarrow E$ (C and E are upper generation persons for A2),
- ③ $C \Leftrightarrow A3$ (C and A3 are upper level persons for A2),
- ④ $C \Leftrightarrow A1$ (C is ranked higher than A2, A1 is lower than A2).

Generally, with Mongolian families, it can be considered that standing is higher if H and the referred person are ranked higher than S, and if H and the referred person are ranked equally. Naturally, the higher the standing is, the greater the separation between “KT+case” and “KT+case+aa4” will be; and the lower the level of standing is, the smaller the separation between them will be. Actually, because the standing is high in ①, ② and ③ above in the informant's family,⁸ *aavtai*, *emeetei* and *ahtai* are DSF, and *aavtaigaa*, *emeeteigee* and *ahtaigaa* are MSF (emphasis) (Ex. 13, 14, 15, and 16).⁹ On the other hand, because the level of standing is low in ④, *du'utei* and *du'uteigee* are DSF without separation (Ex. 17, 18).

$C \rightarrow A2, \Rightarrow A2$: [C'i] *yuu hiiz' baina ve?*

Ex. 15. $A2 \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow A2, E(\text{or } A3)$: [Bi] *emeetei (or ahtai) hamt cai uuz' baina*. /DSF

Ex. 16. $A2 \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow A2, E(\text{or } A3)$: [Bi] *emeeteigee (or ahtaigaa) hamt cai uuz' baina*. /MSF

$C \rightarrow A2, \Rightarrow A2$: [C'i] *yuu hiiz' baina ve?*

Ex. 17. $A2 \rightarrow C \Rightarrow A2, A1$: [Bi] *du'utei hamt cai uuz' baina*. /DSF

Ex. 18. $A2 \rightarrow C \Rightarrow A2, A1$: [Bi] *du'uteigee hamt cai uuz' baina*. /DSF

$C \rightarrow A2, \Rightarrow A2$: What are you doing?

Lit. 15. $A2 \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow A2, E(\text{or } A3)$: I am having tea with Grandmother (or Elder Brother).

Lit. 16. $A2 \rightarrow C, \Rightarrow A2, E(\text{or } A3)$: I am having tea with my Grandmother (or my Elder Brother).

$C \rightarrow A2, \Rightarrow A2$: What are you doing?

Lit. 17. $A2 \rightarrow C \Rightarrow A2, A1$: I am having tea with Younger Sister.

Lit. 18. $A2 \rightarrow C \Rightarrow A2, A1$: I am having tea with my Younger Sister.¹⁰

8) Naturally, to be specific, the degrees of standing between ① $C \Leftrightarrow B$, ② $C \Leftrightarrow E$ and ③ $C \Leftrightarrow A3$ are different. But here we will not discuss this matter further.

9) By B. Otgon, both *ahtai* and *ahtaigaa* (or *egc'tei* and *egc'teigee*) can be DSFs in the case of ③ above (H/Speaker's mother/ and the person referred to/S's older siblings/) of some families. In the case ③ above, basically, it all depends on the relationship of S and the person referred to (S's older sibling) whether *ahtaigaa* (or *egc'teigee*) is MSF or DSF.

10) In Mongolian, the kinship term *du'u* means both 'younger brother' and 'younger sister'. However, in this case we translate *du'utei* (Ex. 17) and *du'uteigee* (Ex. 18) as “Younger Sister” (Lit. 17) and “my Younger Sister” (Lit. 18), because A1 (informant) is a female.

[Comment 2] Examples 13–18 are instances where $S < H$. If $S > H$ in the informant's family, “KT+case” (SKT1) and “KT+case+aa4” (SKT2) of TR(CWS) are either not used or MSFs (Ex. 34–37) (described later in 4.1.3): In this case, “KT+case+aa4” and “KT+case+ni” of HKT are DSFs for TR (CWS) (Ex. 31–33). What this means is that when $S > H$ in the informant's family (by contrast to $S < H$), ① the relationship between S and H, ② relationship between S and the referred person do not challenge S at all. The unique purpose of the communicative behaviour of S (higher-ranked person) is not to equalize the relationship between ① and ② mentioned above, but rather for S (higher-ranked person) to characterise H (lower-ranked), to treat H with dearness (explained later in general rule 1 in Section 5).

4. Household hierarchy relationships

4.1. HOUSEHOLD HIERARCHY RELATIONSHIP (I): SPEAKER HIGHER-RANKED \rightarrow HEARER LOWER-RANKED

As in the previous article, this article will discuss $C \rightarrow A1$ as an example of household hierarchy relationships (I). We will categorize the naming terms in their communicative behaviour by DSF, MSF, and non-use terms for SOT(CWS), AT(CWS), and TR(CWS). Please note that this article will provide examples of “ $C \rightarrow A1, \Rightarrow D$ ” (TR:CWS) only for persons referred to (A2, B, D, E) regarding TR(CWS). Please refer to List. Mo. III for details.

4.1.1. SELF-ORIENTED TERMS (COMPLEMENTS WITHIN THE SENTENCES)

In SOT(SWS) where $C \rightarrow A1$, *eez' ni* of HKT is the DSF, and FPPN(*bi*) is the MSF (Yoshino 2009, pp. 100–101). Similarly, in SOT(CWS), *eez'dee* (Ex. 19) and *eez'id ni* (Ex. 20) of HKT are in the DSF group (dearness) (=default). In SOT(CWS), it will never be SWS=S (examples omitted). On the other hand, “FPPN+case” (*nadad*) in this case is a MSF (emphasis) (Ex. 21).

Ex. 19. $C \rightarrow A1, \Rightarrow A1$, C: *Minii ohin, [c'i] eez'dee ter zurgig avaad o'gooc'.* /DSF:SWS=H

Ex. 20. $C \rightarrow A1, \Rightarrow B$, C: *Aav ni eez'id ni goyo zurag u'zuulsen.* /DSF:SWS=PLorTP

Ex. 21. $C \rightarrow A1, \Rightarrow A1$, C: *[C'i] nadad c' gesen ter zurgig avaad o'gooc'.* U'ziye. /MSF

Lit. 19. $C \rightarrow A1, \Rightarrow A1$, C: My Daughter, will you show me (=your Mother) that picture?

Lit. 20. $C \rightarrow A1, \Rightarrow B$, C: Your Dad showed me (=your Mother) a beautiful picture.

Lit. 21. $C \rightarrow A1, \Rightarrow A1$, C: Show me that picture! I want to see it.

[Comment 3] Between mother and child, FPPN (*nad ruugaa*), which characterises H with *aa4*, is not used (Ex. 22, 23). It generally indicates affection between men and women from S to H, and is therefore used as DSF or MSF between a married couple or romantically involved man and woman (Ex. 24). They can be used regardless of S's gender or age (B. Otgon).

Ex. 22. C→A1, ⇒A1, C: [C'i] *nad ruugaa* ireerei. /Nonuse

Ex. 23. A1→C, ⇒C, A1: [Ta] *nad ruugaa* ireerei. /Nonuse

Ex. 24. G1→G2, ⇒G2, G1: [C'i] *nad ruugaa* ireec'. /DSF or MSF

Lit. 22. C→A1, ⇒A1, C: Please come to me.

Lit. 23. A1→C, ⇒C, A1: Please come to me.

Lit. 24. G1→G2, ⇒G2, G1: Please come to me.

4.1.2. ADDRESS TERMS (COMPLEMENTS WITHIN THE SENTENCES)

In AT(AD), *minii ohin* (SKT2) is the DSF and *Tuyaa aa* is the MSF (Yoshino 2009, p98). In AT(CWS), similarly, *ohindoo* (SKT2), as well as SPPN's "*cãmd*" is the DSF group (dearness) (Ex. 25, 26). Conversely, *Tuyaad* and *oh-ind* (SKT1) is the MSF group (emphasis) (Ex. 27, 28).¹¹

Ex. 25. C→A1, ⇒C, A1: Eez'ni *ohindoo* nom avsan. /DSF

Ex. 26. C→A1, ⇒C, A1: Eez'ni *cãmd* nom avsan. /DSF

Ex. 27. C→A1, ⇒C, A1, A2: Eez'ni *Tuyaad* nom avaad, *Cecegt* camc avsan. /MSF

Ex. 28. C→A1, ⇒C, A1, A3: Eez'ni *ohind* nom avsan. *Hu'ud* camc avsan. /MSF

Lit. 25. C→A1, ⇒C, A1: I (=your Mother) have bought a book for you (=my Daughter).

Lit. 26. C→A1, ⇒C, A1: I (=your Mother) have bought a book for you.

Lit. 27. C→A1, ⇒C, A1, A2: I (=your Mother) have bought a book for you (=Tuyaa) and a shirt for you(=Tsetseg).

Lit. 28. C→A1, ⇒C, A1, A3: I (=your Mother) have bought a book for you (=my Daughter) and a shirt for you (=my Son).

[Comment 4] In AT(CWS) of C→A1, "SPPN+case+aa" (*cãmdaa*) is a non-candidate term(Ex. 29). This usage is also used between romantically involved men and women (Ex. 30).

Ex. 29. C→A1, ⇒C, A1: Eez'ni *cãmdaa* nom avsan. /Nonuse

Ex. 30. G1→G2, ⇒G1, G2: [Bi] *cãmdaa* nom avsan. /DSF or MSF

Lit. 29. C→A1, ⇒C, A1: I (=your Mother) have bought a book for you.

Lit. 30. G1→G2, ⇒G1, G2: I have bought a book for you.

11) *ohind* is not used in the family of B. Otgon.

4.1.3. TERM REFERRING TO PERSON (COMPLEMENTS WITHIN THE SENTENCES)

In TR(SWS), *ov'oo ni* of HKT is the DSF, and *aav* of SKT1 is not used (ibid., pp. 99–100). Even in TR(CWS), likewise, *o'vootei ni* (Ex. 31,33) and *o'vooteigee* (Ex. 32) is the DSF group (dearness). In this case, the *aavtai* (Ex. 34–36) of SKT1 and *aavtaigaa* (Ex. 37) of SKT2 are either not used or MSFs (emphasis).¹²

(1) HKT: “KT+case+*ni*”, “KT+case+*aa4*”

Ex. 31. C→A1, ⇒C, D: *Eez' ni o'vootei ni yariz' baina*. /DSF:SWS=S

Ex. 32. C→A1, ⇒A1, D: *Minii ohin, [c'i] o'vooteigee yariz' baina uu?* /DSF:SWS=H

Ex. 33. C→A1, ⇒E, D: *Emee ni o'vootei ni yariz' baina*. /DSF:SWS=PL or TP

Lit. 31. C→A1, ⇒C, D: I (=your Mother) am talking with your Grandfather.

Lit. 32. C→A1, ⇒A1, D: My Daughter, are you talking with your Grandfather?

Lit. 33. C→A1, ⇒E, D: Your Grandmother is talking with your Grandfather.

Diagram 1: DSF/HKT; “KT+case+*ni*”, “KT+case+*aa4*”

D
↑
C→A1

(2) SKT: “KT+case” (SKT1), “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2)

Ex. 34. C→A1, ⇒C, D: *C'imeeu'i. Eez' ni aavtai yariz' baina*. /Nonuse:SWS=S

Ex. 35. C→A1, ⇒A1, D: *Minii ohin, [c'i] aavtai yariz' baina uu?* /Nonuse:SWS=H

Ex. 36. C→A1, ⇒E, D: *Emee ni aavtai yariz' baina*. /Nonuse:SWS=PLorTP

Ex. 37. C→A1, ⇒C, D: *C'imeeu'i. Eez' ni aavtaigaa yariz' baina s'u'u*. /MSF:SWS=S

Lit. 34. C→A1, ⇒C, D: Be quiet! I (=your Mother) am talking with Father.

Lit. 35. C→A1, ⇒A1, D: My daughter, are you talking with Father?

Lit. 36. C→A1, ⇒E, D: Your Grandmother is talking with Father.

Lit. 37. C→A1, ⇒C, D: Be quiet! I (=your Mother) am talking with my Father.

Diagram 2: MSF and Nonuse/SKT; “KT+case” (SKT1), “KT+case+*aa4*” (SKT2)

D
↑
C→A1

12) Some families use *aavtai* (Ex. 34) as the MSF (B. Otgon)

4.2. HOUSEHOLD HIERARCHY RELATIONSHIP (II): SPEAKER LOWER-RANKED → HEARER HIGHER-RANKED

As in the previous article, this article will discuss A1→C as an example of household hierarchy relationship (I). We will categorize the naming terms in their communicative behaviour by DSF, MSF, and non-use terms for SOT(CWS), AT(CWS), and TR(CWS). Please note that this article will provide examples of “A1→C, ⇒E” (TR:CWS) only for the persons referred to (A2, B, D, E) regarding TR(CWS). Please refer to List. Mo. IV for details.

4.2.1. SELF-ORIENTED TERMS (COMPLEMENTS WITHIN THE SENTENCES)

In SOT (SWS), FPPN(*bi*) is the DSF, and *ohin ni* of HKT is the marked SF (ibid., p. 104). In this case as well, “FPPN+case” (*nadtai*) is the DSF (consideration) (Ex. 38). On the other hand, *ohintoigoo* (Ex. 39) and *ohintoi ni* (Ex. 40) of HKT are the MSF group (dearness). In SOT(CWS), no example of SWS=S exists (example omitted).

Ex. 38. A1→C, ⇒C, C, A1: *Eez' ee, [ta] nadtai cug yavah uu?* /DSF

Ex. 39. A1→C, ⇒C, C, A1: *Eez' ee, [ta] ohintoigoo cug yavah uu?* /MSF: SWS=H

Ex. 40. A1→C, ⇒C, A1: *Eez' ee, o'noodor ohintoi ni nagac ah taarsan.* /MSF: SWS=PLorTP

Lit. 38. A1→C, ⇒C, C, A1: Mom, will you go with me?

Lit. 39. A1→C, ⇒C, C, A1: Mom, will you go with me (=your Daughter)?

Lit. 40. A1→C, ⇒C, A1: Mom, my Uncle came across me (=your Daughter) today.

4.2.2. ADDRESS TERMS (COMPLEMENTS WITHIN THE SENTENCES)

In AT(AD), *eez'ee* (SKT1) is the DSF and *minii eez'* (SKT2) is the MSF (dearness) (Yoshino 2009, pp. 102–103).¹³ On the other hand, in AT(CWS), *tand* of SPPN is the DSF (respect) (Ex. 41). In this case, *eez'id* (SKT1) and *eez'dee* (SKT2) are both MSF groups. The former is the MSF (emphasis) and the latter is the MSF (dearness) (Ex. 42, 43).

Ex. 41. A1→C, ⇒C, A1, C: *Eez' ee, [bi] tand nom avsan.* /DSF

Ex. 42. A1→C, ⇒A1, C, B: *[Bi] eez'id nom avsan. Aavd camc avsan.* /MSF

13) In the previous article, we determined that *minii eez'* were not used (Yoshino 2009, p. 103).

But through the research for this article, we were able to confirm that it's the MSF. Generally, “*minii*+Upper-Level KT (*o'voo, emee, aav, eez', ah, egc'*)” (AT:AD) are used in the household as the MSF (N. Gerelmaa, U. Tumenjargal).

Ex. 43. A1→C, ⇒A1, C: [*Ohinoos ni*] eez'dee ene nomiig belegleye! /MSF

Lit. 41. A1→C, ⇒C, A1, C: Mom, I have bought a book for you.

Lit. 42. A1→C, ⇒A1, C, B: I have bought a book for Mom and a shirt for Dad.

Lit. 43. A1→C, ⇒A1, C: I (=your Daughter) would like to give this book as a present to you (=my Mom).

[Comment 5] In AT (CWS), “SPPN+case+aa” (*tandaa* etc.) is the MSF (dear-ness) (Ex. 44).

Ex. 44. A1→C, ⇒C, A1, C: *Eez' ee, [bi] tandaa nom avsan.* /MSF

Lit. 44. A1→C, ⇒C, A1, C: Mom, I have bought a book for you.

4.2.3. TERM REFERRING TO PERSON (COMPLEMENTS WITHIN THE SENTENCES)

In TR(SWS), the *emee* of SKT1 is the DSF and *eez' ni* of HKT is not used (ibid., pp. 103–104). Similarly, *emeegees* (SKT1) is the DSF (consideration) for TR(CWS) (Ex. 45–47). But, as described in 3.2, the *emeegeesee* of SKT2, despite the fact that it's actually SKT, is the MSF (emphasis) (Ex. 48). The *eez'ees ni* and *eez'eesee* of HKT, conversely, are not used (Ex. 49–51).¹⁴

(1) SKT: “KT+case” (SKT1), “KT+case+aa” (SKT2)

Ex. 45. A1→C, ⇒A1, E: [*Bi*] emeegees asuusan. /DSF:SWS=S

Ex. 46. A1→C, ⇒C, C, E: *Eez' ee, [ta] emeegees asuusan uu?* /DSF:SWS=H

Ex. 47. A1→C, ⇒D, E: *O'voo emeegees asuusan uu?* /DSF:SWS=PLorTP

Ex. 48. A1→C, ⇒A1, E: [*Bi*] emeegeesee asuusan. /MSF:SWS=S

Lit. 45. A1→C, ⇒A1, E: I asked Grandmother.

Lit. 46. A1→C, ⇒C, C, E: Mom, did you ask Grandmother?

Lit. 47. A1→C, ⇒D, E: Did Grandfather ask Grandmother?

Lit. 48. A1→C, ⇒A1, E: I asked my Grandmother.

Diagram 3: DSF/SKT; “KT+case” (SKT1)

E

↑

A1→C

14) Some families use *eez'eesee* (MSF) (Ex. 50) (B. Otgon).

(2) HKT: “KT+case+ni”, “KT+case+aa4”

Ex. 49. A1→C, ⇒A1, E: Bi *eez'ees ni asuusan*. /Nonuse:SWS=S

Ex. 50. A1→C, ⇒C,C, E: *Eez' ee, ta eez'eesee asuusan uu?* /Nonuse:SWS=H

Ex. 51. A1→C, ⇒D, E: O'voo *eez'ees ni asuusan uu?* /Nonuse:SWS=PLorTP

Lit. 49. A1→C, ⇒A1, E: I asked your Mother.

Lit. 50. A1→C, ⇒C,C, E: Mom, did you ask your Mother?

Lit. 51. A1→C, ⇒D, E: Did Grandfather ask your Mother?

Diagram 4: MSF and Nonuse/HKT; “KT+case+ni”, “KT+case+aa4”

E
↑
A1→C

5. Principle of politeness of Mongolian communicative behaviour

In Section 5, we will redefine the communicative behaviour of the informant's family (mother and child) from politeness viewpoints, based on additional information from 2.2 of the previous article and Section 4 of this article, as well as this chapter. The correlations of the following three persons in the communicative behaviour of mother and child will be specified:

- ① SF of each term (DSF, MSF or not used),
- ② face (F) threat level (high, low) between mother and child,
- ③ each term's area threat of H (existence) (hereafter called in short a three-way relationship).

The three-way relationship will be discussed for KT, PN, and PPN in 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3. For now, the above-mentioned ②, ③ and three-way relationship are specified as follows:

(1) F threat level: In the politeness study, the formula used to estimate the F threat between S and H in language behaviour is specified as follows: Weightiness of FTA x = Distance(S, H)+Power(H,S)+Rating of imposition of FTA x in the particular culture (Brown & Levinson 1987, pp. 76–77).¹⁵ Here, for now,

15) In language behaviour, Face is defined as the following: the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself... Thus face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction (Brown & Levinson 1987, p. 61).

we will define the F threat level between mother and child based on the Distance and Power in the formula without considering “Rating of imposition of FTA x in the particular culture”. First, the Distance is naturally quite small between the mother and child of the same family. On the other hand, between an old mother and young child, the Power of child (H) against mother (S) is small, and the Power of mother (H) against child (S) is large.¹⁶ If we summarize Distance and Power, the F threat level is relatively small when mother \rightarrow child, and large when child \rightarrow mother. In short, the mother and child relationship, in general, is mutually close, but it is at the same time an extremely ranked relationship of two people.¹⁷ If a FTA x occurs, we therefore define the F threat level between $C \rightarrow A1$ as small, and that between $A1 \rightarrow C$ as large for the informant’s family.

(2) H’s area threat (existence): Here we consider communicative behaviour as one of FTAs, and divide the naming terms into two categories: the terms which threaten H’s area (or F), and the terms which do not threaten H’s area (as detailed in later chapters).

① In KT, the kinship relationship is H’s area. HKT, where S characterises H, is therefore a term that threatens. Basically, SKT, where S characterises itself, on the other hand, does not threaten H’s area.

② As for PN, the PN of H is a personal term of H or H’s area. S’s addressing H using only the PN therefore threatens H’s area.

On the other hand, the avoidance of PN does not threaten H’s area. FPPN (*bi**), where S addresses itself, does not interfere with H’s area. Among the naming terms, only SPPN is divided into two categories: dearness term *c’i** and honorific term *ta**, based on the T/V classification.

(3) Politeness function: here, we consider “politeness” as a system of steps where the distance between S and H gradually increases from zero, and divide the steps into two categories: actions to keep distance (distancing) and actions not to keep distance (anti-distancing) (Takiura 2005, p. 142).¹⁸ If we

16) In 2.2.3 of the previous article, we defined the existence of power between mother and child based on a household norm that the child treats mother with respect (mother has power over child) and mother treats child with no respect (child has no power over mother) (Yoshino 2009, pp. 105–107).

17) In family psychology, for instance, the attitude of mother when disciplining her child (especially in early childhood) can be polarized into empathy on the one hand and explicit directions on the other (Kashiwagi 2003, pp. 174–176).

18) We used the terms of distancing and anti-distancing coined by Takiura (Takiura 2005, p. 281).

apply these viewpoints to communicative behaviour, the terms and dearness term *c'i** that threaten H's area both have the function in which S does not keep a distance from H. The terms that don't threaten H's area and honorific term *ta** both have the function in which S keeps a distance from H.

(4) General rules of three-way relationship: Considering (1), (2), and (3) above, we define the three-way relationship of SF of each term, namely face (F) threat level (high, low), and each term's area threat of H (existence) in communicative behaviour between the mother and child of the informant's family, as the "politeness rule" (general rule 1, 2): The ideas which contradict the general rule 1 and 2 below (counter examples 1–6) will be explained in later chapters. The reasons why they are counter examples, however, will not be discussed in detail here.

General rule 1: In $C \rightarrow A1$ (F threat level/small), the dearness terms and the terms in which C threatens A1's area are the DSF (dearness) (=default) because of the anti-distancing effect. But in this case, the terms in which C doesn't threaten A1 and honorific terms are either not used or are the MSF (non-dearness or emphasis) because of the distancing effect.

General rule 2: On the other hand, in $A1 \rightarrow C$ (F threat level/large), the honorific terms and the terms in which A1 does not threaten C's area are the DSF (care, respect) (=default) because of the distancing effect. In this case, however, the terms in which A threatens C's area and endearment terms are either not used (impolite) or MSF (excessive affection) because of the anti-distancing effect.

As shown in the relationship between A1 and C, the Distance is very short and the Power between two family members can be either big or small (A1 and B, A1 and D or E, A1 and A2). Basically, their three-way relationships of communicative behaviour therefore follow the two general rules above: But if we compare upper/lower generations (A1 and B or C, A1 and D or E) and older/younger (A1 and A2), the latter has a much smaller polarization of the F threat level. Therefore there are more examples of communicative behaviour between A1 and A2 which contradict the general rules 1 and 2. For instance, please refer to SOT(CWS) of List. Mo. III, IV, where both HKT(SOT:CWS) and PPN(SOT:CWS) or FPPN(CWS) are DSF group between A1 and A2 (older/younger) but not between A1 and B, C, D or E (upper/lower generations). In $A2 \rightarrow A1$ (F threat level: low), the DSF of FPPN(CWS), which don't threaten H's area, is an example contradicting the general rule 1, and in

A1→A2(F threat level: high) the DSF of HKT(SOT:CWS), which threatens H's area, contradicts rule 2.¹⁹

Moreover the two general rules above can be applied to communicative behaviour between upper and lower persons within a Mongolian family, although there are limitations depending on the family.

In Section 5, we will only discuss examples of the two-way relationship of A1 and C. For other two-way relationships, please refer to List. Mo.I,II,III, and IV. We also mention the following notes:

(1) Usami categorizes the default (basic condition) of the entire discourse of S and H, and the default of each element which constitute the discourse (Usami 2001, p. 12). Based on this, we will also categorize communicative behaviour by

- ① the default of the entire communicative behaviour between two and
- ② the default of each element (naming format) which constitutes their communicative behaviour.

As for ② above, for instance, we featured the relationship of mother and child in 2.2 of the previous article and the Section 4 of this article, and specified the default (=DSF) for each element (naming format) between them.

As for ① above, on the other hand, we defined (as the default of each element/naming format were summarized) the default of the entire communicative behaviour of the mother and child as specified in the general rule 1 and 2 (detailed in Section 5).

(2) In this thesis, we simply divide the terms used into two categories: terms that threaten H's area (F) and ones that don't. But in verbal behaviour, PS is divided into the following five categories based on F threatening and the existence of a reduction of the threat, and its types: Bald on record (without redressive action), Positive Politeness (PP), Negative Politeness (NP), Off record, and Don't do the FTA (Brown & Levinson 1987, pp. 59–60, pp. 68–71)²⁰. We will discuss the issues of PS's five steps of communicative behaviour for each term (KT, PN, and PPN) later in another thesis. For now, this article

19) The F threat levels differ, to be more exact, for two people in upper/lower generations (A1 and B, C, D and E). But here we don't intend to accurately define the difference in their F threat levels.

20) Brown & Levinson (1987, p. 69) explain "bald on record" here as follows: "Doing an act baldly, without redress, involves doing it in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible (for example, for a request, saying 'Do X!')."

will provide comprehensive discussion of the three-way relationship of the three different terms (KT, PN, and PPN): in appendix 9 of 5.2, we provide a few examples of PN's NP.

(3) In Section 5, we will discuss examples of the mother and child relationship of informants and unspecified people, as well as those of the informant's (N. Battuyaa's) family (mother and child). Examples in other languages such as English and Japanese will be shown in terms of multilingual comparison.

(4) In Section 5, we will also attach naming formats to each term as the need arises. But to avoid confusion, we won't be attaching naming formats to all terms.

5.1. PRINCIPLE OF POLITENESS IN KINSHIP TERM'S COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOUR

HKT provides KT's usage where S refers to himself or herself or refers to others as KT characterises H. Suzuki defines H's kin as H's area (Suzuki 1997, pp. 62–63). Takubo defines that S's characterising H is H's area threat (Takubo 1997, p. 31). Based on these indications, we define HKT(SOT) (Ex. 19, 20, 39, 40, 53, 61) and HKT(TR) (Ex. 31–33, 49–51, 52, 60) as the terms that threaten H's area (kinship relationship) (Yoshino 2009, p. 106).²¹

On the other hand, SKT provides KT's usage where S addresses or refers to others as S characterises himself. Unlike HKT, SKT, which does not characterise H, basically does not threaten H's area (kinship relationship). But here we will focus on the contrast of (1) “the discrepancy between the addressed objects” and (2) “the existence of origin-indicating elements”, and categorize the functions of Mongolian SKT as follows.

(1) Based on “the discrepancy of the addressed objects”, SKT (TR) (Ex. 34–37, 45–48, 56, 58) doesn't literally threaten H's area (kinship relationship). SKT (AT), unlike SKT(TR), threatens H's area (kinship relationship) as he characterises himself.

21) Aside from “KT+*ni*”, the HKT in Mongolian include “*c'inii*+KT”, “KT+*c'inii*”, “*tanii*+KT”, “KT+*tanii*”, and so forth for TR(SWS) alone. The differences in these HKT which threaten H's area will be discussed in another thesis. This article has no intention of describing the comprehensive usage of HKT.

(2) In this case, however, we divide the functions of SKT(AT) into the two following categories while considering “the existence of origin indicating elements of SKT(AT)”.

① “*minii*+KT” (AT:AD), “KT+*mini*” (AT:AD), and “KT+case+*aa4*” (AT:CWS) of SKT2(AT) either clarify H’s area threat through the origin indicating elements (*minii*, *mini*, *aa4*) or threaten H’s area (Ex. 25, 43, 54, 55, 62, 63) in an obvious manner.

② In contrast to SKT2(AT), “KT+*aa4* (voc.)” (AT:AD) and “KT+case” (AT:CWS) of SKT1(AT), which has no origin indicating elements, do not clarify H’s area threat, or they nullify H’s area threat (Ex. 28, 42, 57, 59).

Considering these conditions, we will specify the three-way relationship in KT’s communicative behaviour as follows:

1. Mother→child relationship

(1) As shown in the general rule 1, where C→A1 (F threat level/low), HKT(TR) (Ex. 31–33, 52) and SKT2(AT) (Ex. 25, 54), which threaten H’s area, are the DSF. Unlike the general rule 1, *ohin mini* of SKT2(AT) is, however, the MSF (deariness) in C→A1 (Ex. 55) (Counter example 1)

(2) In this case, as shown in general rule 1, SKT(TR) (Ex. 34–37, 56) and SKT1(AT) (Ex. 28, 57), which don’t threaten H’s area, are either not used or MSF.

Ex. 52. C→A1, ⇒D: *O’voo ni irlee* (Yoshino 2009, p. 100). /DSF

Ex. 53. C→A1, ⇒C: *Eez’ ni talh avaad iriye* (ibid., p. 101). /DSF

Ex. 54. C→A1, ⇒A1: *Cai uuh uu? Minii ohin* (ibid., p. 98). /DSF

Ex. 55. C→A1, ⇒A1: *Zamdaa sain yavaarai, ohin mini*. /MSF

Ex. 56. C→A1, ⇒B: *Aav irlee* (ibid., p. 100). /Nonuse

Ex. 57. C→A1, ⇒A1: *Ohin oo, hool bolson*.²² /Nonuse

Lit. 52. C→A1, ⇒D: Your Grandfather has come home.

Lit. 53. C→A1, ⇒C: I(=your Mother) will buy a loaf of bread.

Lit. 54. C→A1, ⇒A1: Do you want some tea, my Daughter?

Lit. 55. C→A1, ⇒A1: Have a nice trip, my Daughter.

Lit. 56. C→A1, ⇒B: Father has come home.

Lit. 57. C→A1, ⇒A1: Dinner is ready, Daughter.

22) As is the case with *ohin oo*, *hu’u ee* is not used either in C→A3 (Ex. 1.10.) because it does not threaten H’s area or distances H.

Ex. 1.10. C→A3, ⇒A3: *Hu’u ee, hool bolson*. /Not Used

Lit. 1.10. C→A3, ⇒A3: Dinner is ready, Son.

2. Child→mother relationship

(1) As shown in general rule 2, where $A1 \rightarrow C$ (F threat level/high), SKT1(TR) (Ex. 45–47, 58) and SKT1(AT) (Ex. 59), which don't threaten H's area, are the DSF. But unlike general rule 2, even the SKT which does not threaten H's area, *emeegesee* (Ex. 48) (Counter example 2) of SKT2 (TR) and *eez'id* of SKT1 (AT) are the MSF (emphasis) (Ex. 42) (Counter example 3): In the latter case, *tand* is the DSF (Ex. 41). In short, A1 addresses C in *eez'ee* (AT: AD) (DSF) and uses *ta** (DSF) of SPPN as AT(SWS, CWS) (Ex. 38, 39, 41).

(2) As shown in general rule 2, where $A1 \rightarrow C$, HKT(SOT) (Ex. 39, 40, 61), HKT(TR) (Ex. 49–51, 60), and SKT2(AT) (Ex. 43, 62, 63), which threaten H's area, are either not used or the MSF.

Ex. 58. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow E$: *E mee irlee* (Yoshino 2009, p. 103). /DSF

Ex. 59. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow C$: *Eez' ee, hool bolson uu?* (ibid., p. 102). /DSF

Ex. 60. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow E$: *Eez' ni irlee* (ibid., pp. 103–104). /Nonuse

Ex. 61. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow A1$: *Ohin ni tuslah uu?* (ibid., p. 104). /MSF

Ex. 62. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow C$: *Cai uuh uu? Minii eez'*. /MSF

Ex. 63. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow C$: *Zamdaa sain yavaarai, eez' mini*. /MSF

Lit. 58. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow E$: My Grandmother has just come home.

Lit. 59. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow C$: Mom, is dinner ready?

Lit. 60. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow E$: Your Mother has just come home.

Lit. 61. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow A1$: Can I (=your Mother) help you?

Lit. 62. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow C$: Do you want some tea, my Mom?

Lit. 63. $A1 \rightarrow C$, $\Rightarrow C$: Have a nice trip, my Mother.

[Comment 6] Dividing naming terms into two categories simply by the existence of H's area threat is very close to extreme simplification of communicative behaviour because each term, by its very nature, has its own function aside from the existence of H's area threat. For instance, *emeegees* (SKT1) (Ex. 45–47) and *emeegesee* (SKT2) (Ex. 48) of TR(CWS) are categorized as terms which do not threat H's area. But, as mentioned in 3.2, they have a different function in regard to the equilibration and nonequilibration of standing. The reason why there are terms that contradict general rules 1 and 2 is that each term has its own naming function besides the existence of H's area threat.

[Comment 7] If we presume general rules 1 and 2 in the usage of KT in Japanese from a 'politeness universality' viewpoint: As specified in general rule 1, in mother→daughter (F threat level/low) of Kato Sae's family, for example, the mother anti-distances the daughter through *ojiisan* (DSF) of HKT

(TR:SWS) which threatens the daughter's area (Ex. 64) (Yoshino 2009, p. 100). In this case, SKT *otosan*, which the mother uses to characterise herself, is not used (ibid., p. 119). On the other hand, in daughter→mother (F threat level/high) of the same family, the daughter distances the mother through *ojiisan* (DSF) of SKT(TR:SWS) which does not threaten mother's area (Ex. 65) (ibid., p. 121). In this case, HKT's *otosan*, which the daughter uses to characterise the mother, is not used (ibid., p. 121). But unlike the Mongolian language, *ojiisan* (Ex. 64, 65) of HKT and SKT are not morphologically classified in the Japanese language.

Ex. 64. Kato Sae's Mother→Kato Sae, ⇒Her Grandfather: *Ojiisan wa doko?* /DSF

Ex. 65. Kato Sae→Her Mother, ⇒Her Grandfather: [*Ojiisan wa ima ni imasu.* /DSF

Lit. 64. Kato Sae's Mother→Kato Sae, ⇒Her Grandfather: Where is your Grandfather?

Lit. 65. Kato Sae→Her Mother, ⇒Her Grandfather: He (=Grandfather) is in the livingroom.

[Comment 8] Suzuki determined that HKT (TR) (actions such as the mother's referring to the child's father as *otosan* or *papa* etc.) in Japanese could cause sympathetic identification. Based on the theories of this article, this sympathetic identification is comparable, from the politeness viewpoint, to a psychological effect (deariness) accompanied by S's anti-distancing KT (DSF) which threatens H's area between two parties whose F threat levels are low (whether or not it's inside the household). This also occurs in the KT usage in Mongolian. In C→A1 (whether it's SOT, AT, or TR) in the informant's family, for example, sympathetic identification occurs in the following examples where C anti-distances A1: HKT(SOT) (Ex. 19, 20, 53), SKT2(AT) (Ex. 25, 54), HKT(TR) (Ex. 31–33, 52). Suzuki also says that sympathetic identification occurs with the highest intensity when H is an infant (Suzuki 1979, p. 173). According to his definition, even in C→A1, the younger A1 was, the stronger the sympathetic identification which must have occurred.

5.2. PRINCIPLE OF POLITENESS OF PERSONAL NAME'S COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOUR

The communicative behaviour in which S addresses H using only PN (PN's single usage/AT/) threatens H's area where S uses H's PN, that is to say personal terms. On the other hand, avoidance of PN does not threaten H's area. The three-way relationship in PN's communicative behaviour is shown below:

1. Mother → child relationship

(1) In C→A1 of the informant's family, *ohindoo* and *minii ohin* (Ex. 25, 54) of SKT2 (AT), which threaten H's area, are the DSF. PN's single usage (AT) (Ex. 27, 66) is, therefore, the terms in which C threatens A1's area. But they are actually, contrary to general rule 1, the MSF in the informant's family (Counter example 4).

(2) As specified in general rule 1, the usage which does not threaten H's area (avoidance of PN) is not used in this case.

Ex. 66. C→A1 ⇒ A1: *Tuyaa, end suu* (Yoshino, 2009, p. 104). /MSF

Lit. 66. C→A1 ⇒ A1: *Tuyaa*, sit down here.

2. Child → mother relationship

(1) As mentioned earlier, a child can not address its mother by her PN. In other words, as in the general 2, the usage which does not threaten H's area (avoidance of PN) is the DSF in A1→C (Ex. 67).

(2) As in the general 2, single usage (AT) of PN is not used at all in this case.

Ex. 67. A1→C ⇒ C: Avoidance of C's PN/DSF

[Comment 9] It is obvious that single usage (AT) of PN threatens H's area. Now, if we suppose H's area threat and its reduction, "PN (*Dorz', Ceceg, Baatar* etc.) + *guai* or *bags'*", PN's single usage (AT) (or H's area threat) in the Mongolian language is negatively reduced by honorific terms (*guai, bags'*) (NP). Similarly, in English and Japanese, honorific terms (such as Mr., Dr., *sama* and *sensei*) reduce PN's single usage (AT) (H's area threat) (NP) for terms such as Mr. Smith, Dr. Johnson, *Honda sama*, and *Honda sensei*.

5.3. PRINCIPLE OF POLITENESS OF PERSONAL PRONOUN'S COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOUR

5.3.1. FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN

The communicative behaviour of S referring to himself with FPPN (*bi**) has no relation to H's area, which means that it does not threaten H's area. FPPN

(Ex. 22, 23), however, in which S characterises H through *aa4* does threaten H's area. The three-way relationship in FPPN communicative behaviour is shown below:

1. Mother → child relationship

(1) In C→A1, even if C threatens (or anti-distances) A1's area with *aa4*, *nad ruugaa* is not used, which is against general rule 1 (Ex. 22) (Counter example 5). This is not dearness from mother to child. It actually denotes dearness between man and woman (Ex. 24).

(2) As shown in general rule 1, distancing *bi** in C→A1 is the MSF (emphasis) (Ex. 21, 68).

Ex. 68. C→A1, ⇒C: *Bi zo'ndoo helsen biz dee* (Yoshino 2009, p. 101). /MSF

Lit. 68.C→A1, ⇒C: I've told you lots of times.

2. Child → mother relationship

(1) As shown in general rule 2, distancing *bi** is the DSF in A1→C (Ex. 38, 69).

(2) As shown in rule 2, *nad ruugaa* in which A1 threatens C's area is not used (Ex. 23).

Ex. 69. A1→C, ⇒A1: *Bi talh аваад ириye* (Yoshino 2009, p. 104). /DSF

Lit. 69. A1→C, ⇒A1: I'll have a loaf of bread.

[Comment 10] As well as in Mongolian, FPPN in Japanese and English (although in diverse degrees) does not threaten H's area either. In Kato Sae's family, for example, the FPPN (*watashi*), which does not threaten H's area, is the DSF in daughter→mother. Conversely, that's the MSF (emphasis) in mother→daughter (Yoshino 2009, pp. 100–101, p. 104). In English, in baby talk between mother and child FPPN (I, my, me, and such) also denotes non-dearness or emphasis (Suzuki 1986, pp. 46–49). Suzuki uses novels and plays written in English-speaking countries to analyze communicative behaviour in English, with a note that there may be historical backdrop and difference in dialects and ranks, and difference in the written and colloquial terms. The text sentences below are excerpts from “My Oedipus Complex” by Frank O'Connor, which is one of the novels Suzuki used (Ex. 70, 71) (*ibid.*, pp. 47–49). “Mummy's” means dearness and “I” denotes non-dearness in the

baby talk of Larry's mother below: words in italics are by Suzuki. Although an explanation of the speaking situation is provided in Suzuki's discussion, we will do without it here.

Ex. 70. Larry: "Mummy, I want a cup of tea, too."

His mother: "Yes, dear, you can drink *Mummy's* saucer."

Ex. 71. Larry: "Why are you talking to Daddy?"

His mother: "Because Daddy and *I* have business to discuss. Now, don't interrupt again!"

5.3.2. SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN

Based on the T/V classification, we will divide SPPN in Mongolian into two categories: endearment term *ci** and honorific term *ta**. As mentioned earlier, *ci** has the same anti-distancing function as the terms which threaten H's area have, and *ta**, the same as with the terms which do not threaten H's area, has the distancing function. But regardless of *ci** or *ta**, SPPN (Ex. 29, 44), in which S (=SWS) characterises itself with *aa4*, threatens H's area. The three-way relationship of SF, F threat level (high/low), and endearment/honorific terms in SPPN communicative behaviour is shown below:

1. Mother → child relationship

(1) As shown in general rule 1, in C→A1, where F threat level is low, the anti-distancing *ci** is the DSF (Ex. 26, 72). But in this case, against the general rule 1, the endearment term *cāmdaa* (double anti-distancing), in which case C threatens A1's area through *aa4*, is not used (Ex. 29) (Counter example 6): it denotes the dearness between men and women (Ex. 30).

(2) As specified in general rule 1, the distancing *ta** in C→A1 is not used. *ta** (non-dearness) can sometimes be the MSF (Ex. 73: when G1 came home late).²³

Ex. 72. C→A1, ⇒A1: *C'i cai uuuh uu?* /DSF

Ex. 73. G1's Mother→G1, ⇒G1: *Ta haacaad irev?* /MSF

Lit. 72. C→A1, ⇒C: Do you want some tea?

Lit. 73. G1's Mother→G1, ⇒G1: Where have you been all this while?

23) Incidentally, the usage of *ta* (Ex. 73) in Mongolian is used more frequently between father and child than between mother and child (B. Otgon).

2. Child → mother relationship

(1) As shown in general rule 2, in A1→C, distancing *ta** is the DSF (Ex. 41, 74).

(2) As shown in general rule 2, anti-distancing *c'i** is not used in A1→C. It can also be the MSF (non-deariness) in some families (Ex. 75). In this case, moreover, *tandaa*, in which A1 threatens C's area, is also the MSF (deariness) (Ex. 44).

Ex. 74. A1→C, ⇒C: *Ta cai uuh uu?* /DSF

Ex. 75. G1→G1's Mother, ⇒G1's Mother: *C'i yaagaad namaig oilgohgu'i baina ve?* /MSF

Lit. 74. A1→C, ⇒C: Do you want some tea?

Lit. 75. G1→G1's Mother, ⇒G1's Mother: Why can't you understand what I mean?

[Comment 11] There have been reports of examples where V pronoun (authority on speaker's part, anger, hostility) is used in father→child, parent→child, and between married couples, where F threat level is low, in the languages used in Europe (Braun 1988, p. 47). This usage of V pronoun is obviously the MSF according to the theories discussed here.

[Comment 12] *c'i* (Ex. 76) and *ta* (Ex. 77) are considered to be AT (SWS) placed at the end of sentences rather than AT (AD).

Ex. 76. C→A1, ⇒A1: *Cai uuh uu, c'i?* /DSF

Ex. 77. A1→C, ⇒C: *Cai uuh uu, ta?* /DSF

Lit. 76. C→A1, ⇒A1: Do you want some tea?

Lit. 77. A1→C, ⇒C: Do you want some tea?

6. Conclusion

The conclusions of this article are as follows:

- (1) The Mongolian naming terms can clearly be categorized by candidate terms (DSF and MSF) and non-candidate terms for each naming format. In communicative behaviour in the Mongolian language it is therefore easy to stipulate the default with the DSF (DSF group).
- (2) The communicative behaviour between the mother and child of the informant's family are mostly based on general rules 1 and 2 in terms of politeness.
- (3) These politeness principles can be applied when making comparison with other languages. Through general rules 1 and 2, the politeness universality of some of the naming term usages in Mongolian, English, and Japanese can be clarified.

Abbreviations

AD:	Addressing
AT:	Address Term
CWS:	Complements within the Sentences
DSF:	Dominant Speech Form
F:	Face
FPPN:	First Personal Pronoun
FTAs:	Face-Threatening Act(s)
H:	Hearer
HKT:	H characterising KT
KT:	Kinship Term
MSF:	Marked Speech Form
NP:	Negative Politeness
PL or TP:	Passive Listener or Third Person
PL or TP/KT:	PL or TP characterising KT
PN:	Personal Name
PP:	Positive Politeness
PPN:	Personal Pronoun
PS:	Politeness Strategy
S:	Speaker
SE:	Speech Form
SKT:	S characterising KT
SKT1:	SKT without S characterising elements

SKT2:	SKT with S characterising elements
SOT:	Self-Oriented Term
SPPN:	Second Personal Pronoun
SWS:	Communicating Subjects within the Sentences
TPPN:	Third Personal Pronoun
TR:	Term Referring to Person

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

5.2. Etyma with initial vowels (*i-*, *e-*, *u-*, *o-*, *a-*) and root-final liquids

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Summary: This paper is the last in a 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 with initial vowels (*i-*, *e-*, *u-*, *o-*, *a-*) and root-final liquids. This paper finalises the group of *verba dicendi* with initial vowels (Vacek 2010c) and is structured analogically with the previous papers. It collects available material parallels from the individual Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, Turkic and Dravidian languages. In agreement with previous findings, besides the *verba dicendi* in the narrow sense of the word there are also a few onomatopoetic expressions which are formally close to the *VL-/VR-* root structure of the relevant *verba dicendi*.

6.0.

This is the concluding part of the last paper in the ‘*verba dicendi*’ series. Like the previous papers it offers a systematic collection and classification of the forms with initial vowels and root-final liquids (both dental and cerebral) and also cerebral stops in Dravidian: *VL(V)-* / *VR(V)-* / *VL̥(V)-* / *VL̥̥(V)-* / *VD(V)-*. It has already been mentioned that some of these lexemes may have an onomatopoetic character in all the languages concerned (for Dravidian cf. e.g. Bhaskararao 1977, Emeneau 1969, Gnanasundaram 1985; for Mongolian cf. Oberfalzerová 2009).

It was also mentioned earlier that some of the initial vowels may have resulted from a loss of consonant, typically, for example, the initial **p-* in Mongolian (cf. Note 2 below), or *c-* in South Dravidian. However, this will have to be considered at a later stage of processing the accumulated lexical material. On the other hand, there are some forms in Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, and occasionally also in Turkic (*JĪR* besides *ĪR* below), with a prepalatalised front vowel, which seems to be a feature similar to South Dravidian, where the prepalatalisation exists, but is not written with the front vowels *e-* [je], *ē-* [je:]. Besides that, there are also cases of *j-* before *-a-* / *-ā-* in Dravidian,

Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus, which appear to be linked in various ways with the initial vowel, unless some cases are variants of initial *d*- (cf. below).

While respecting some of these characteristic features, we can see that these parallels appear to be genuine and are worth considering for further comparative work on the subject.

In the previous paper the individual forms were subdivided into the following sections:

1 Initial vowels plus velars	V- + - <i>k/g/ŋ/ŋg</i>	(Vacek 2010c, pp. 125f.)
2 Initial vowels plus palatals	V- + <i>c/s/š/z/ž/ñc</i>	(Vacek 2010c, pp. 137f.)
3 Initial vowels plus <i>i/y</i>	V- + - <i>i/y</i>	(Vacek 2010c, pp. 140f)
4 Initial vowels plus dentals	V- + <i>t/d/n/nt</i>	(Vacek 2010c, pp. 144f) ¹
5 Initial vowels plus labials	V- + <i>p/b/v/m/mb</i>	(Vacek 2010c, pp. 150–154)
6 Initial vowels plus liquids	V- + <i>l / ʎ / ʈ</i>	

This paper describes the final section of the mentioned root-final consonants (Part 6). Its structure is similar in form to the previous papers on the subject. The variation of the vowels from front to back vowels (*i*-, *e*-, *u*-, *o*-, *a*-) has also been discussed in the previous papers, including the various language-specific variants (*ü*-, *ö*- etc.). As for the medial cerebral stops, which appear to be more closely related to the cerebral liquids, this observation is based on a number of similar parallels and variants in Dravidian itself (cf. also e.g. Zvelebil 1970, pp. 101–102; Subrahmanyam 1983, pp. 334ff.; 2008, p. 80).²

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- 1) There is one more Turkic example which can be added in this section (ibid., p. 146): OT. *ETIN* sound, roar (OTD s.v.).
 - 2) Some of the following etyma were already briefly referred to in my first paper dealing with this topic (Vacek 1994: DEDR 245, 319, 367, 401, 489, 648). More recently some of the etyma (A: DEDR 489, 835, 831; B: DEDR 648, 718, 760; C: DEDR 245, 319, 367, 401, 251) and some of their Altaic counterparts have also been listed in Vacek (2003, p. 196ff.), though they have not always been listed fully. The reason is that there appeared to be parallel forms with and without initial palatal (**c*-, *s*-, etc.) both in Dravidian and Altaic and this contrast offers itself for consideration. The present summary is designed to summarize the relevant structural forms more systematically without further reference to initial consonants. However, the situation with initial consonants cannot be completely disregarded. It is more complicated in that, at least in Mongolian, some of the lexemes may be the result of a loss of an initial voiceless labial (**p*-). Initial labial alternating with zero is a phenomenon which also appears in Dravidian and which will deserve closer attention in future: cf.
 Mo. *olan*, Ta. *pala* (DEDR 3987) many;
 Mo. *ongyu*- to burn (inside), feel heat; Ta. *poŋku* (DEDR 4469a) boil up;
 Mo. *ōri* 1. debt, obligation; Ta. *ari* / *vari* (DEDR 216, 5266) tax, impost, toll, contribution / tax, duty; tribute etc.). For more examples concerning initial *m*- in Dravidian cf. Vacek 2010c, p. 124, Note 3. Further cf. below Note 11 below.

6. Initial vowels plus liquids V- + l / ɭ / ʈ

The following material is arranged strictly formally and will serve for a further investigation of the historical development of the individual lexemes in the various language groups. On that basis it will be possible to link the individual lexemes with the formally relevant lexical subsystem.

(A) Front vowels *i, e*

Ta. *irai-* to sound, roar (as the sea), rumble (as a crowd), wamble (as the bowels), whizz (as birds when flying); to cry out (as in anger), hiss (as a snake), pant, breathe hard, wheeze; n. sound, roar, splash (as of a running river)

iraiccal sound, noise, clamour

iraippu buzzing, din, wheezing, asthma

iraṅku to weep, cry, roar, sound (as yāl)

iraṭṭu to sound; make to sound, beat (as drum)

iriyal weeping

irumu to cough; n. cough

irumal cough

Ma. *irekka* to pant, snore, bluster, roar as sea

iraccal, ireppu noise (as of sea, bowels), hum, buzz

irampuka to bluster, be loud

irampal roar of the sea, difficulty of breathing

irumal a cough

eraccil din, bustle

erappu buzzing, din, wheezing

erampam din, bustle, great noise

Ka. *rampa* clamour, vociferation

rambu clamour, noise

rambha sounding, roaring, bellowing, lowing, making a noise

Koḍ. *rampa* hubbub

Tu. *ramb(h)ārūṭi, rambāroṭi, rambhāṭa* clamour, outcry

Te. *rampu* (probably 'expressive' *r*), *rampu* noise, uproar, disturbance, squabble, wrangle, scandal

rampil(l)u, rampilu to make an uproar

Kol. *rampam* uproar, commotion

Pa. *ran ban* disorder (DED 489)³

Te. *elūgu* voice

elīgincu, elūgincu, elūgiccu to make a noise, cry, roar, sound, resound

Pa. *ilung* voice

Ga. *lēng* a tune

Go. *lēng* voice, noise (Tr. M. W. Ph.)

lēngi (Ma.), *lēŋ* (Ch. Mu. S.), *lēng(u)* (Ko.) voice

Konḡa *līŋ* voice, tone (cf. Kor. *elkiri* to weep) (DEDR 835)

Ta. *ēle* name of a metre

Te. *ēla* a kind of song, a catch used by rowers of boats

Malt. *ēle* to sing (DEDR 913)

Ta. *elā* interj. used in addressing a person in a familiar or friendly manner

ellā here, you!; a word used in addressing a woman friend

ellē here, you! used in addressing a woman friend; an excl. of wonder or pity

ellō excl. expressive of surprise or pity

ila excl. used in ancient times in addressing a woman in a familiar manner

elual, eluvan man-friend; *eluvai* lady-companion

ēlā excl. of familiar address to a companion, whether man or woman

To. *eṣ* particle added to name by male in addressing a younger male in his own or a descending generation

Ka. *elā, ele, elē, elo, elō* excl. of a familiar and friendly character, used in calling or directly addressing any person

elage ho! used in calling to females

Tu. *elā* interj. of surprise

Kui *ēla* companionship

ēla gaṭanju male companion; fem. *ēla gaṭari* (DEDR 831)

Ta. *īli* (-v-, -nt-) to become low-spirited because of being ridiculed by others;

(-pp-, -tt-) to laugh, scorn, ridicule, disgrace, grin, show the teeth (as in cringing or in craving servilely); n. laughter, derisive laughter, disgrace, contempt, scorn, defect

3) The DEDR further refers to Skt. *rambh-*, *ramb-* to sound; *rambhā-* sounding, roaring, lowing; Turner, *CDIAL*, No. 10634.

- ilivu* ridicule, disgrace, disgust
 [? *ici* (-*pp*-, -*tt*-) to laugh; n. laughter
icippu laughter]⁴
- Ma. *ili* contemptuous grin
ilika to fret, as children
ilikka to grin (as dogs, monkeys), show the teeth
iliccal grinning, bashfulness
ilippu grinning, neighing, nonsensical talk (DEDR 511a)
- Ta. *iti* to sound loud, roar, thunder, throb, beat, ache (as the head); n. thunder, roar, great noise, ache, throbbing pain
itippu thunder, noise
- Ma. *iti* thunderbolt
- Ko. *iry-* (*irc-*) (heart) beats fast, thunder
- To. *iry-* (*irc-*) to thunder
iry thunder
- Go. *idr-* to thunder (Ko. M.) (DEDR 438)⁵
- Kol. *iḍḍ-* (*iṭṭ-*) to tell, show
- Nk. *iḍḍ-* to say
iḍip- to show
- Nk. (Ch.) *iḍuk-/iṭk-*, *iḍ-* to show
- Kur. *ērṇā* (*eḍḍas*) to call, summon, invite or command to come or assemble, rouse from sleep
- Malt. *eṛye* to speak with fluency (DEDR 786)

4) The subdivision of this etymon into a/b was made in Vacek (2010c, p. 38), plus cf. Note 21 *ibid.* where attention was drawn to the following Mongolian and Dravidian parallel variants:
 Mo. *ōzi-* 'to be lewd; to be troublesome, irksome; to be rude; to gloat over the misfortune of others'

elege- to poke fun or laugh at, ridicule, satirize

Kur. *alkhnā* to laugh, laugh at, mock, seduce; etc. (DEDR 254) Further cf. below.

However, the parallelism of liquids (cerebral) and sibilants was demonstrated in many more examples, while in Altaic the isogloss sibilant/liquid is considered to have been an isogloss of Turkic (sibilant) / Mongolian (liquid) reflecting **l*, **l*² (e.g. Poppe 1960, pp. 77, 81).

5) Cf. a variant with an initial labial: Ta. *veṭi* to crack, break, split, burst, explode; Ma. *veṭi* explosion, cracking, shot, gun (DEDR 5473), which may also have the mentioned variation of meanings from the 'sound' to the 'implementation of the sound', or seen from the other side – an act and the accompanying sound. Cf. also another variant in Dravidian: Ma. *piṭaruka* to burst; Ka. *peṭal*, *peṭlu* sound in imitation of exploding, cracking as a rocket, etc. (DEDR 4386).

In the context of DEDR 438 and DEDR 786, the following exceptional meaning of Ta. *eṭu* (s.v. Ta. *eḷu*- to rise; DEDR 851a) need not be connected only with “rise”, but may reflect some sort of semantic approximation to phonetically close etyma:

- Ta. *eṭu* (-*pp*-, -*tt*-) utter or sing in a loud voice, speak highly of, [to take up, raise, bear, carry, hold up, weigh in a balance, undertake,] etc.
eṭuppu (*eṭuppi*-) to awake, produce (as harmonious sounds from an instrument),
 [besides *eṭuppu* elevation, superiority, undertaking, arrogance]
 (DEDR 851a, s.v. *eḷu*- to rise (as from seat or bed), ascend (as heavenly body), etc.)

Similarly the following etymon has a variation of initial palatal glide *y*- + -*a*- with a nasal palatal *ñ*- + -*a*- and *e*- (pronounced with an initial glide *y*- [je-]). This situation seems to be analogical to a similar variation in Altaic.⁶

- Ta. *yāl*, *ñāl* stringed musical instrument
eḷu (-*v*-, -*nt*-) to emit sound
eḷāl musical notes of the *yāl*, the *yāl*, human voice
eḷuppu (*eḷuppi*-) to call forth (as melody from an instrument), raise (as the voice in speaking or singing)
eḷuvu (*eḷuvi*-) to produce or call forth sound
eṭu (-*pp*-, -*tt*-) to utter or sing in a loud voice
eṭuppu (*eṭuppi*-) to produce (as harmonious sounds from an instrument)
 Ma. *ēḷil* music
 Ko. *et*- (*eyt*-) to sing (song), play musical instrument. (DEDR 5156)⁷

- Mo. *irkire*- to growl, snarl, to bare one's teeth (of dogs)

irayu melodious sound; agreeable or pleasant sound; harmony; harmonious, melodious; singer (obs.) (Kha. *yaruu* id., see above Note 6)

6) Cf. below e.g. Mo. *irayu* melodious sound etc. > Khalkha *yaruu*; and similar variation in Manchu-Tungus.

7) The DEDR refers to TPM, p. 227, for Ta. *yāl* : *eḷu*. As for the dental Ko. *et*- it is a non-exceptional case of a dental variant of a retroflex. For a similar prepalatalisation cf. below Mo. *irayu* and *jari*-, and MT. *nāra*- plus Note 33.

irügel, irüger the act of blessing, benediction; prayer, praying; invocation (in favour of one); benevolence, graciousness (Kha. *yörööl* id.)

irayla- to sob, whimper, weep, cry (Kha. *yaragla-* id.)

irzigine- to produce a noise by moving an object over a rough surface (!but: Kha. *irz'igne-*)

elegle- to poke fun or laugh at, ridicule, satirize⁸

MT. *ILILDI-* to accompany in singing (a shaman) (Evenk.) (MTD I,309)

ILEhETI- to growl, snarl (Ud.) (MTD I,312)

Ma. *ilča-*, [*inča-*] to neigh (s.v. *INIL-* to neigh; MTD I,321; Vacek 2010, p. 129)

?*IRGEBU-* to make verses, to sing about s.o. in verses (MTD I,326)

Ma. *irgebun* poetry, song, singing a song

? Sol. *iringí*, [*iji*, *inygé*], etc. tongue (anat.)

Ma. *ilengu* tongue (anat.); the clapper of a bell (s.v. *INNI* tongue; MTD I,316)

ERĒ- I to ridicule (MTD II,466)

Evenk. *erē-* to ridicule

Even. *erēs-* to chase

ĒRĪ- to shout (MTD II,464)⁹

Evenk. *ērī-* to shout, call; to invite

Sol. *ērī-* to call

Even. *ēri-* [**ērī-*], *ērin-* to call (s.o.); call out

Neg. *ējī-* [**ērī-*], *ējikte-* to shout, call, appeal

8) In Altaic this and the related lexemes below in OT. are cases of a lost initial **p-*, cf. Cincius 1984, p. 68, No. 94: Ma. *fele-* to insult, ridicule, cf. MT. *FELE-* to insult, etc. (MTD II,304, only Manchu). However, cf. MT. *ERĒ-* I to ridicule (below).

9) The remaining languages have an initial velar fricative and different variation of medial consonants, though liquids are partly represented:

[Olcha *xērsi-/u-*, *hērci-/u-* [**hērci-*] to call]

[Orok. *xevetči-*, *xeveči-* to shout, call]

[Nan. *xērsi-*, *xesi-* to call]

ERNĒ- to moan, sigh (MTD II,465)

Evenk. *ernē* to moan, sigh; to complain about destiny, to grumble

EL! EL! call inviting reindeer (MTD II,444–5)

Evenk., *el! el!* call inviting reindeer, or dog

Orok. *er! er!* call inviting reindeer

Ma. *elbi-* to invite (by hand); to attract

EREJ oh! (interjection) (MTD II,465)¹⁰

Evenk. *erej!* oh! (when startled)

Even. *ero* interj. used when addressing a person, attracting his or her attention)

erro, erej, erulle oh!, ah!

Neg. *erexxo, xerej* oh! (when amazed, excited)

OT. *ɪ:r* (var. *yɪr, yɪ:r*) song; in modern languages also ‘tune, epic, folk-tale’
(Cl. 192)

ĪR song (OTD s.v.)

ĪRLA- to sing, to hum (OTD s.v.)

JĪR song (OTD s.v.)

JĪRLA- to sing (OTD s.v.)

JĪRAIU singer, narrator (OTD s.v.)

eliü:g mockery, ridicule (Cl. 142)

ELÜK joke, ridicule (OTD s.v.)

ELIKLÄ- to make jokes, ridicule (OTD s.v.)

Soj. *ēr* to bark

!Chuv. *vər* to bark (Räs. 522a, s.v. **(h)üür*)¹¹

10) For further comments, cf. Vacek 2003, p. 198, Note 30. For interesting parallel forms cf. Dravidian above and Note 25 below.

11) Concerning the possibility of variants with initial labial, cf. OT.

BĪRQĪŦ snorting, snore (about a horse, ass)

BĪRQĪR- to snort (about a horse) (OTD s. vv.)

Cf. also Vacek (2007a, p. 92: *birkir-* id.). Plus Note 2 above.

(B) Back vowels *u, o*

- Ta. *ura* to become loud (as the voice), become harsh (as a noise), become furious (as the wind), be boisterous (as the sea), become violent (as a controversy)
urakka loudly, distinctly
urappu to whoop, shout so as to menace or intimidate, bluster, roar, frighten, cause to sound loudly
urappal whoop, roaring sound
urappu shout, roar, intimidation, bluster, threat
uraru, urarru to resound, roar
urai to sound, speak, tell; n. roar, loud noise, speaking, utterance, word, fame
uraiyal narrating
- Ma. *urakka, urekka* to speak, say
ura, uri word, fame
urammuka, urampuka to grumble, roar (cf. 718 Ta. *urumu*)
uriy-ātuka to utter, speak
uriyāṭṭam talk
orappuka to vociferate in driving cattle
- Ka. *ore* to sound, utter, speak, say, relate; n. word
ura, uru crying
uruvani crying, crying aloud
- Koḍ. *oraḍ-* (*oraḍuv-*, *oraṭ-*) to answer (or with 650 Ko. *orp-*)
- Kor. *ojji* to say (M.)
- Te. *ūraka* (neg. gerund of **ūr-*) *uraka, uraka* silently, quietly, not speaking; merely, simply, vainly
roda noise, outcry, uproar;
?rōju to pant, gasp; n. panting
rōjuḍu prattle
- Pa. *ur-* to groan
- ?Go. *ronjānā* to grieve, cry (SR.) (DEDR 648)
- Ta. *urumu, urumpu* to growl, grunt, (thunder) rumbles, murmur angrily
urumi, urumai kind of drum played chiefly by Toṭṭiya beggars
urumu to thunder, roar, grumble, growl
urum thunder
urukku to menace, threaten, address with harshness, severity, or anger; n. threatening

- Ma. *urumpuka* to roar, grumble
urumpal roar of tiger
- Ka. *oral(u)*, *oraļu*, *orlu* to cry out from pain, scream; *n.* outcry, scream, snarl
roppu to roar, grunt (like a hog)
- Te. *urumu* to thunder, roar; *n.* roar, thunder
oralu to lament, wail, cry
roppu; *roppu* (K.) to roar, yell, drive
rollu to prattle, (B) bewail
rōlu (K.), *rōlu* (B.) to weep or cry aloud
- Pa. *urum puyil* thunderbolt (*puyil* ploughshare)
- Ga. *urum* thunder
- Go. *uram* id. (Hislop Ma.)
urum- to lighten (S.)
- Konḡa *urmi-* to thunder, roar
orli- to groan (as in illness, fever)
- Kui *rūmba* (*rūmbi-*), *rūma* (*rūmi-*) to roar; *n.* roar
?runja (*runji-*) to thunder, reverberate; *n.* sound of thunder
- Kuwi *oṛhali* to groan (F); *ōrhina*i to squeal (S.)
- Br. *hūrṛa* thunder (DEDR 718)¹²
- Ta. *ūlai* howl of dog or jackal, cry of person in anguish (applied contemptuously)
ūlaiy iṭu to howl as jackal or dog
ūli sound
ūlan jackal
ūlampu (*ūlampi-*) to make a noise, howl (like a jackal)
ūlaru (*ūlari-*) to roar, shout, clamour without sense
ūlaral shouting, clamour
ūlai (-v-, -nt-) to howl (as a jackal); (-pp-, -tt-) to sound, roar, howl (as a jackal), give forth a sound, call, invite; *n.* sound, high tone of voice, weeping
- Ma. *ūlay iṭuka* to howl
ūli howl of dog or jackal, chatter of monkey
ūlan jackal
ōli howl
ūlaruka to babble, make indistinct noise (as in stomach)

12) The DEDR adds the following comment: Bray compares Bal. *hūra* id.; Su. 1973; cf. Apabhraṃśa *orāl-* to roar (*Mahāpūrāṇa*).

- ulappu* sound, noise
ulaykkuka to utter a loud noise, howl as a jackal
 Ko. *o-l a-ɾ- (a-c-)* (jackal) howls
o-la-ɾ (obl. *o-la-ɾ-*) the howl of a jackal
 Ka. *ūl, ūlave* an outcry, howl
ūl (ūld-), ūlu (ūli-) to call near from a distance, cry out, howl
oḷaru to sound, cry, roar
 Tu. *oḷepuni* to call
leppuni; olepu (B-K.) to call, invite
leppu, lēvu a cry
 Kor. *ūli* (T.) to bark
oḷe (M.) to call
 Te. *ūla* the howling of a fox (B.)
 Br. (*h*)*ūling, hūlāiing* to howl (DEDR 760)
- Ta. *oli* to sound, roar; n. sound, noise, roar, speech
olippu sonorousness, roar
ōl sound, lullaby
ōlam sound, noise, roar, cry of lamentation
ōl āṭṭu to sing a lullaby
ulampu to make a noise, roar, thunder
ulappal, ulampal combined noise of many sounds
ōlu to make a noise
 Ma. *oli* a sound
olikka to sound, as running water, ring bell
ulampuka to make a noise
ulappam hubbub, clamour
ōlam cry for help
ōli howling; a jackal
 Ko. *oj* noise
o-l a-ɾ- (a-c-) to drive round bullocks when threshing
 Ka. *uli (ulid-)* to sound, cry, utter, speak, say; n. sound, cry, word
ole a sound; (PBh.) to utter
ulipa, ulipu, ulivu, uluvu a sound, cry
 Koḍ. *oli* noise of a metal bell
 Te. *uliyu* to sound, resound
ulivu sound, voice
 Kur. *oloxnā (ulxyas)*, in phrase *cīxnā oloxnā* to bewail, lament
 Malt. *olge* to cry, weep

[?Br. *hōghing* (also stem *hō-*) to weep (: Malt. *olg. e*)]¹³ (DEDR 996)¹⁴

Mo. *uri-*, *urila-* 2. to call, summon, invite; to invoke a deity; to recite sacred texts, murmur prayers¹⁵

urkira- to roar, bellow; growl

orila- to cry out, shout, scream

orkira- to roar, bawl; growl; whistle (as an arrow)

urum hunter's whistle or bugle for luring deer; birdcall

urumda- to lure the deer with a hunter's whistle, to bellow (deer, bull)

uli- to howl (of dogs, wolves, etc.)

olgi- to gossip, backbite; to blame; to cause or excite a quarrel, enmity; to curse

olgiyan, *olgiy* malicious gossip, false rumour, calumny, libel; scandal¹⁶

?*üliger* b. story, tale, parable; (a. pattern, sample; example, instance)¹⁷

MT. OR roar (MTD II,23)

Ma. *or* roar (of the tiger); the sound of vomiting

or ir (onom.) noise, reading in a sing-song voice (about Buddhist Lamas)

ORAL echo (MTD II,23)

Nan. *oral* echo, repercussion

oralži-, *oralilī-*, *oralī-* to resound (echo)

Ma. *ura-*, *uranda-* to sound; to resound (echo); to thunder; to spread (gossip)

uran sound; noise; echo

13) In the previous paper dealing with initial vowels (Vacek 2010c, p. 131), this Brahui lexeme was mentioned among medial velars with a questionmark. The medial velar can be a result of assimilation of the liquid+velar stop.

14) The DEDR refers to DEDR 5283: Ta. *vali* to say, tell etc., which would be another example of a variation of initial vowels with and without a labial (*p-*, *v-*, or even *m-*); cf. above Note 2.

15) For a Mongolian form with an initial labial, cf. Mo. *buray-a* 2. talker, gossip; talkative, gossipy, garrulous.

16) Cf. (C) below: Mo. *argi-* b. 'to talk nonsense'. For parallels with initial *c-* (Dravidian *col-* and Mongolian *calci-*), cf. Vacek 2003, pp. 192–193; further cf. Vacek 2002 (Index s.v. initial *c-*, etc.).

17) Or could the meaning "b" be derived from "a"? But cf. MT. *ULGÜR* (below).

ORĒ- to shout (MTD II,23)

Evenk. *orĕ-*, *urĕ-* to shout, howl, roar (a bear); to call (imitating the voice of the female of the Siberian deer)

Sol. *orĕ-* to call over

Nan. *or'ĕŋko/ũ* pipe (imitating the call of the Siberian deer)
or'ko/ũ the call of the Siberian deer

URĒ thunder (Sol.) (MTD II,284)**OLONKO** narration (MTD II,16)

Evenk. *olonko* [< Yak.] narration

olonkolō- to narrate; *olonkohit* narrator

OLOPKA- to cry (MTD II,16)

Neg. *olopka-* (ethnogr., obsolete) to cry (uttering 'ku-ku-ku' when bringing home a killed bear and stopping on the way)

ULGŪR narration (MTD II,259)

Evenk. *ulgu-* to speak, narrate

ulgumī- to ask; to say, utter

ulgumēt-/č- to talk, discuss
 etc.

Sol. *ul'gūr* word

ul'gucán- to speak

uliger [< Mo.] narration

Even. *ulgimi-*, [*ugmi-*, *ugmiri-*, *uŋgi-*,] *ulgima-* to ask, to question

ulgēm-, *ulgoom-*, *ulgem-* to ask, to ask a question
 etc.

Neg. *ulgū*, *ulgūj* [**ulgūr*] narration; legend

ulgu- to narrate; *ulgumī-* to ask, to ask questions

etc.

Oroch. *uggučī-*, *uggučē-* [**ulgučē-*] to narrate¹⁸

ŪLTA echo (MTD II,263)

Evenk. *oltan* sound, voice

Even. *ūıldə-* to sound, resound

Neg. *olbün-* to resound¹⁹

ŪŮRŮN noise (MTD II,288)

Even. *ūŮrŮn*, *ūŮrŮnā*, *orŮnā* 1. noise; 2. (interj.) 'don't make a noise', 'don't fuss about'

18) The MTD refers to Mo. *uliger* (cf. above).

19) Olcha, Orok., Nan. have an initial velar fricative.

OT. *ori*- to shout, outcry, etc. (Cl. 197)

orla:- to make a loud noise, shout, and the like (Cl. 230)

URLA- to shout (OTD s.v.)

URĪLA- to shout (OTD s.v.)

ORLAŠ- to shout at each other (OTD s.v.)

Chag., Kaz. *öör* to speak aloud, vehemently

Kaz. *ördö* (< *ör-lä*) id. (Räs. 373b)

ÜR- I to bark (OTD s.v.)

ür- 2, to bark (of a dog) (Cl. 196)

Uig. *ür* bellen

Osm. *hür*; Turkm. *üjr* to bark

Kaz. *ör* bellen (Räs. 522a, s.v. *(h)ür)

ULĪ- 1. to howl; 2. to moan, yell (OTD s.v.)

uli:- 1. to howl (Cl. 127)

(C) The vowel *a*

Ta. *arai*- to speak, sound; n. sound, word, reply

Ka. *aracu*, *aricu*, *arucu*, *arcu* to cry out aloud, clamour, scream

racce crying aloud, noisy and abusive clamour

Tu. *areduni* to low

Kor. *ajike* speech

Te. *aracu* to cry or cry out, shout, clamour, shriek, bark, bray, crow, bellow

arapu a cry, shriek, yell, shout, clamour

ranke roar, cry

rantu noise

rajju useless talk; to be talkative, prattle; n. boast

Kol. *raz*- to say, speak, talk nonsense

Nk. (Ch.) *arap*- to crow

Ga. (Oll.) *arg*- (cow) to bellow²⁰

20) Ga. *arg*- appears also in DEDR 367 (cf. Note 22).

?Go. *rāṇ(g)*- to abuse

Kui *ṛaspa* to ring, make a reverberating sound (DEDR 319)²¹

Ta. *ār* to shout, roar, bellow; slander, vilify

ārppu loud, tumultuous noise, laughter, joy

āravāram loud noise, shouting, roaring, bustle

āravāri to roar, shout

āri to sound

ārppāṭam uproar, loud, cry, boisterous behaviour

araṛru to lament, cry, bewail, shout with excitement, sound; n. lamentation

araṛral twang of the string of a lute

Ma. *ārkkuka* (*ārttu*) to cry aloud, roar, shout

ārppikka to make to shout

ārppu shout, noise, cry, roaring

āravāram clamorous multitude

Ko. *a-r-* (*a-t-*) to call

To. *o-ṣf-* (*o-ṣt-*) to dance (of Todas; really, to shout *o-hau hau* while dancing)

a-foṛ- (*a-foṭ-*) to talk (in general, to one another, a language)

Ka. *ār* (*ārd-*), *ārcu*, *ācu* to cry aloud

āraḍi publicity, report, infamy, scandal

āravāra a great outcry, bawling

ārbu, *ārpu*, *ārubu*, *āruha*, *ārbaṭa*, *ārbāṭa* crying aloud, etc.

ārbaṭisu, *arbisu* to cry aloud, roar: *arbu* crying

abbara, *abbaraṇe* a loud cry, noise, sound

abbarisu to cry aloud, whoop, bark, howl

Koḍ. *ara-* (*arap-*, *arand-*) to make a loud hoarse noise, moo

Tu. *ārkuṇi* to cry out, shout

ārbaṭa, *arbhaṭa*, *ārbhaṭe* fearful noise, uproar, a joyful cry, triumph

arabāyi, *arabai* violent clamour, crying aloud, lamentation

araṭuni to make a grating noise, interrupt, blab

ara-giṇi a talking parrot

abbara, *abbaraṇe* sound, noise, cry

Te. *ārcu*, *ārucu* to cry aloud, shout, roar

ārpu a cry

ārbhaṭamu, *ārbhaṭi* cry, roar, yell, uproar

21) For a Dravidian variant with an initial labial, cf. To. *paṛai* to speak, say; etc. (DEDR 4031). Cf. also Vacek 2007a, p. 101–102.

Pa. *ār-* to sound (as bell, etc.)

Ga. *arg-* (Oll.) to bellow²²

Koṇḍa *ārpa-* (-*t-*) to shout, howl

Kui *ārpa* (*ārt-*) to call

Kuwi *ārnai* id.

ārpina to call (? pl. action or habitual; BB 1963, p. 269)

ārḥ'nai to invite

rāt- to cry out

rātu din, noise, uproar (DEDR 367)²³

Ta. *allappan* a chatterer

alappu (*alappi-*) to chatter, prattle, talk nonsense

alampu (*alampi-*) to sound, tinkle

alampal a loud noise

alavalai babbler

alavalaimai babbling

alavai woman that chatters ceaselessly

alar idle talk, gossip

alaru (*alari-*) to roar, bellow, bleat, weep aloud, sorrow

alaral loud cry, great sound

alarru (*alarri-*) to talk unceasingly and irregularly

Ma. *alappan* chatterer, prattler

alappu chattering, confused noise

alavan loquacious babbler

alaruka to roar, bellow, cry (as elephant, tiger, woman in labour)

alarcca roaring, etc.

aḷavan boaster, exaggerator (or cf. 296 Ta. *aḷa*)

Ir. *lā·ru* to shout, roar, (woman) gossips

Ka. *alaru* (PBh.) to cry aloud

Te. *alikiḍi* noise, sound, disturbance

alabalamu outcry, noise, uproar (DEDR 245)

Ta. *aluvalu-v-eṇal* unceasing chatter (TL s.v.; not in DEDR)

22) Ga. *arg-* appears also in DEDR 319 (cf. Note 20).

23) The DEDR further refers to Mar. *ārṇē* to utter its cry, crow [like cock]; Turner, CDIAL, No. 1310; ? > Skt. *raṭ-* to howl, roar, yell, etc.; ibid., No. 10590.

Note also that there is a variant with initial *m-*:

Ka. *markī* to weep; Tu. *markuni* to groan, moan; *markelū* browning, moaning (DEDR 4727).

Ka. *ale* interj. used in calling to woman

Pa. *ale* exclamation used as voc.

Konḍa *ale, ale ale* term of endearment used in addressing a familiar person

Pe. *ale* particle used with vocative

Kui *ale* term of affection addressed to a child

Malt. *ale* O! employed to a plurality of persons (DEDR 251)²⁴

Kur. *alkhnā* to laugh, laugh at, mock, seduce

alkhānakhrnā to laugh together, have unlawful intercourse

alkhāban'nā joking relations

Malt. *alqe* to laugh

alqro person addicted to laughter (DEDR 254)

Though the following sub-section of DEDR 296 has some meanings related to the presently discussed etymological nest, it seems that this may be the result of interference by formally close etyma, with some semantic contexts permitting also a semantic extension to the meaning 'to speak' or 'communicate' in general. Nevertheless, to make the picture complete, we should have the etymon in this list with all the reservations about the development of its broad set of meanings from possibly one original meaning. This appears only in Tamil, not in the other languages represented in the etymon (Ma., Ka., Tu., Te., Konḍa, Pe., Br.).

Ta. *aḷa* [to mingle, blend,] talk together, hold converse, gossip

aḷappu chatter

aḷapp-aḷa to chatter

aḷav-aḷāvu [to hold intimate intercourse, live socially,] converse freely

aḷāvu [to mingle,] converse, [hold social intercourse] (s.v. Ta. *aḷa*; DEDR 296)

Ta. *aṭā* interj. etc.

Ta. *aṭā* excl. addressed familiarly to an inferior or a child and in contempt to an enemy

aṭi excl. used in addressing women in a familiar manner

aṭē excl. of calling

Ma. *aṭanna*, fem. *aṭi*, hon. *aṭō* interj. calling persons of lower rank

24) For further comment on the use of interjections cf. Vacek 2003, p. 201, Note 33. Cf. below Ta. *aṭā*, plus Note 25.

Ka. *aḍa aḍā* = Ta. *aṭā, aṭē* (DEDR 70)²⁵

Ta. *ālu* (*āli*-) to sound, make noise, cry aloud, rejoice, [dance]

ālāl sound, cry, screech of the peafowl

āli to make a noise, roar

ālippu great noise, uproar

Ma. *ālikka* general shout, as in war or feast

ālāttuka to bawl, halloo

ālippu great noise

[*āluka* to dance]

Ka. *āl* (*āld*-) to cry aloud

āluha crying aloud

Kuwi *hāli* (S.) noise

hāli ā- (Isr.) to make noise (DEDR 386)²⁶

Ta. *āl-eṇal* onom. expression signifying a dog's howling

Ma. *āluka* to cry out, roar

ālippu explosion (DEDR 401)

Ta. *ālu* to cry, weep, lament

ālai to call, cry out, summon; n. crying, weeping

ālukuṇi tearful person, one who is always crying

ālukai pathetic sentiment

ālun̄ku to weep

ālun̄kal loud noise, uproar

25) The DEDR refers to 156b Ta. *appappa*. It would perhaps be interesting to note that there is a similar interjection in Sanskrit, which has a liquid instead of the cerebral stop (cf. MW s.vv.): Skt. *are* is an interjection of calling (VS.; ŚBr.). It can be reduplicated: *arare* ind. 'a vocative particle (expressing haste)'; *arere* ind. (prob. *are* 're, repetition of *are*), 'interjection of calling to inferiors or of calling angrily'; or shortened: *re* ind. 'a vocative particle (generally used contemptuously or to express disrespect; often doubled)'. Note a similar reduplication in Ta. *aṭaṭā* 'an exclamation of surprise; an exclamation of contempt; an exclamation of pity' (TL s.v.). As for the etymology of Skt. *are*, Mayrhofer (KEWA s.v.) explains it as a possible vocative of *ari*- 'stranger, enemy' (wohl urspr. "du da, Fremder!"). Similarly in EWA (s.v. *ari*-). Could this be a 'professional' folk etymology trying to accommodate an interjection which could have been common in the linguistic environment and was adopted and adapted in the process of contact? For the proofs of early linguistic contacts and their influence on the Vedic lexical stock cf. Witzel (1999). Cf. also MT. *EREJ* and Note 10 above.

26) The DEDR refers to DEDR 383 Ka. *ālayisu* 'to listen, attend to' etc.; further to Skt. *ālita* = *śabdita*- (R. Schmidt, *Nachträge*).

- Ma. *aḷuka* to weep, cry
aḷaykkuka to shout, cry out
- [Ko. *ag-* (*aṛt-*) to weep, cry
agl, akl act of lamenting]²⁷
arg- (*argy-*) (cattle) bellow in protest at ill-treatment
- To. *oṛ-* (child) weeps
- Ka. *aḷ, aḷu* to weep, cry
aḷ, aḷu, aḷa, aḷke, arke, akke weeping, lamenting
aḷasu, aḷisu to make to cry
aḷuvike crying
aḷukūḷi an easily crying or fretful person
- Tu. *arpini* to weep, cry
arpāṭa lamentation
arpele one easily moved to tears, a fretful person
leppuni to call, invite
leppu, lāvu a cry
- ?Te. *ēḍucu* to cry, weep, lament, shed tears
ēḍupu weeping, crying, lamentation
- Kol. *ar-* to weep, (crow) caws, (peacock) screams, (tiger) roars
- Nk. *ar-* to weep, cry
- Nk. (Ch.) *al-* to weep; caus. *alup-*
- Pa. *aṛ-* to weep, cry (of various animals)
aṛtip- to cause to weep or cry
- Ga. *aṛ-* to weep, cry (of various animals) (Oll.)
aṛup- to make to cry (Oll.)
āḍ- to weep (S.)
āḍ- id., cry like an animal (S.3)
- Go. *aṛ-, ar-, āṛānā* to weep, cry; caus. *aḍusānā, aṛah-*
- Koṇḍa *aṛba-* to weep, cry
- Pe. *aṛ-* to weep, cry (of animals); intens. *aṛba-*; caus. *ṛat-*; intens. of caus. *ṛatpa-*
- Mand. *ṛi-* to cry
- Kui *ṛiva* (*ṛit-*) to weep, cry, lament, howl, utter a sound (bark, song of birds, etc.); n. weeping, wailing, lament, cry
ṛika to weep, cry

27) These two Kota forms with medial velar may be a result of metathesis from the liquid+velar, but not necessarily. They were put with question mark into the previous section 1C (Vacek 2010c, p. 133).

Kuwi *riāli* to cry
līnai, ri- (-*t-*) to weep
ri- (-*t-*) to cry
riit- (-*h-*) to make cry (DEDR 282)²⁸

Mo. *argi-* b. to talk nonsense, babble (cf. above: Mo. *olgi-*)
arkira- to growl, snarl
arca- to quarrel, argue; to contradict, disagree

The form with a prepalatalised back vowel -*a*-/(-*ā-*) is not only typical for Mongolian. See the above examples in Dravidian (DEDR 5156 plus Note 7) and below the Manchu-Tungus examples (*JARGIDA-*).

?*jari-* to speak, converse, talk, chat
jariyla- to bore with talking; to talk nonsense; to be importunate

Bur. *jar: jar-jar duugar-* to speak in an unpleasant voice (MTD II,343;
 s.v. *JARGIDA-*)

?*alij-a* playful, naughty, mischievous²⁹

MT. AR cry, shouting (MT I,48)
 Ma. *ar, ar seme* (onom.) cry, shouting, noise (at the time of a quarrel)

ARGĪ- to rumble (MT I,50)³⁰
 Evenk. *argi-* [< Yak.] 1. to rumble; 2. to make noise (about the river at the rapids), to murmur (about a stream)

ALDŪŨ sound (MT I,31)³¹
 Sol. *aldūū* sound
aldūūr news

28) The DEDR refers to OMar. [Master] *āli-* to weep.

29) Cf. above *elegle-* 'to poke fun or laugh at, ridicule', etc. But *alij-a* may be connected with another etymon – Mo. *alaski-* 'to feel joy' etc.; cf. Ka. *elarcu* 'to make vigorous, enliven'; Te. *elami* 'joy, pleasure' etc. (DEDR 832).

30) The MDT refers to Yak. *argyi-* 'to knock' (cf. below).

31) The MTD refers to Mo. *aldar* 'fame' etc.

Neg. *aldū* news

aldūjī- to bring news, narrate

[Oroch. *agdiu-* to bring news, narrate

agdu [**aldun*] news, rumour]

Olcha *aldačī-/ū-* to bring news, narrate

aldū(n-) news, rumour

Orok. *aldū* news, rumour

aldūri- to bring news, narrate; to let know, warn

Ma. *aldunja, alduŋa* 1.1. special, unusual; 1.2. strange; 1.3. crafty; 2.1. an eccentric;
2.2. a monster

?*ALAMĀ* to imitate (MTD II,29)

Evenk. *alamā-* to imitate, repeat; to join in (singing), to echo

Even. *alma* song (producing the words and melody of a second person);

etc. Sol., Even., Neg., Ud., Orok., Ma.

ALĖA- to invoke (MTD II,33)

Ma. *alxa-* (ethnogr.) to invoke (by a joint shouting of the shamans, beating the drums and kettledrums, also during sacrifices and during shamanistic initiation)

?*ALŽARKAJ* noise (Evenk. < Yak.)³² (MTD I,32)

Evenk. *hālā-* to sing (s.v. *hAġĀ-* to sing; MTD II,308)

JĀLA- to blurt out (to no purpose) (MTD I,340)

JĀREKĀKŪN cry, shout (MTD I,344)

Evenk. *jārekākūn* cry, shout (very loud)

Even. *nāra-* to shout (shrilly, piercingly – about water birds)

nārŋaŋi shrill (about a sound)³³

Ma. *žar* onom. 1. shouting (at work when lifting anything); 2. whistle (of an arrow);
3. chirping of the grasshopper

žar žar seme onom. continuous twitter of insects, birds etc.

JARGIDA- murmur (MTD I,343)³⁴

Evenk. *jargida-* murmur, ripple

Ma. *jar seme* onom. 1. by small stream (to flow steadily); 2. fluently and coherently
(to talk without a break)

32) But the Yak. word referred to by the MTD is *allarastā-* ‘to laugh too noisily’ (see below).

33) Note a similar variant in Dravidian above, DEDR 5156 and Note 7.

34) The MTD refers to Bur. *jar: jar-jar duugar-* (see above) and *DARGI* II. That in this case the initial palatal glide *j-* may also be related with an initial dental stop is of course possible.

This etymon was not included in Vacek 2009e and therefore we mention it here fully:

DARGI II murmuring (MTD I,199)

Evenk. *dargi* murmuring (of a small stream, spring)

OT. *ALAQIR*- to shout (in a pair word *qīqīr- alaqīr-*) (OTD s.v.)

Yak. *allarastā*- to laugh too noisily (MTD I,32, s.v. *ALŽARKA*)

Yak. *argyi*- to knock (MT I,50, s.v. *ARGĪ*-)

Conclusion

This paper brings to an end the series of systematically formally classified lexical material covering the above broadly-defined semantic range, which can serve as a material basis later for a formally and also functionally oriented systematic linguistic interpretation. It has documented the fact, which was also observed in other lexical contexts (for more references to other types of parallel etyma cf. e.g. Vacek 2009f, 2010b), viz that there is a great variation of forms and also a continuum of meanings. On the one hand we have almost exact phonetic correspondences, while on the other there is a great variability both on the Dravidian and Altaic side, while the forms and meanings still remain 'within limits' established by a number of other analogical parallels. This appears to be a clear indication of a rather 'flexible' process of development, occasionally being almost at the brink of irregularities which would be unacceptable for a serious comparison of the 'Young-grammarians' type. However, it has been underlined several times in my more recent papers that we must not think in terms of a relatively highly regular development of the Indo-European type.³⁵

dargi-, *targi-* 1. to murmur (about a small stream, spring); 2. to crack, to chatter; 3. to burst. This MTD etymon refers to Mo. *dargil* rapids in a river; rapid current, torrent; swift stream. Cf. *dargi-* to roar or rush noisily (of water) (Lessing s.v. and Vacek 2009e, p. 139).

- 35) Though even there some parallels display both formal and semantic variation not unlike the one we could see in the previous papers dealing with *verba dicendi*. Cf. e.g. Mayrhofer KEWA III, p. 510:

Skt. *stan-* 'to thunder'; cf. Gr. *στένω* 'dröhne' (I roar, rumble), 'ächze' (I groan), *στόνος* 'Stöhnen' (groan); OE *stenan* etc. 'stöhnen' (to groan); Luthianian *stenēti* 'ächzen' (to groan), Old Church Slavonic *stenati* 'ächzen' (to groan); Russian *stón* 'Seufzer' (a moan), etc.

EWA II (pp. 752–3) further refers to Latin *tonāre* 'donnern' (to thunder); OE *þunor* 'Donner' (thunder) etc. The author then quotes the proposal for two close roots (J. Narten): *stnh₂* 'to thunder' vs. *sten* 'stöhnen' (to groan). However this may have been, we can see

The irregularities and variants in the Dravidian and Altaic parallels in fact point to a situation best described in terms of an early *contact of languages* in a sociolinguistically conditioned development in contact situations in a *linguistic area* (areas). This development will have to be projected into a concrete time and space on the basis of further data to be collected not only from linguistic materials, but also from archaeology, anthropology, possibly genetics etc. (cf. Vacek 2010b,d).

Further and more detailed analysis of this material and other parallel etyma, of their formal agreement and variability, can gradually result in a clearer picture of the various types of 'archaic dialects', which had been 'meeting' in the past and had contributed not only to the newly shaped 'instruments' of communication, but also became the basis for a permanent dynamic transformation over the course of time, as it was conditioned by contacts with other languages. Earlier (Vacek 2010b) I have suggested that it could have taken place on Indian soil at a relatively 'recent' time, undoubtedly after the decline of the Indus Valley culture, when various tribal groups (very probably not only Indo-Aryan) kept penetrating Indian soil. I have also suggested that this process could have been connected with the megaliths (which are monuments to such migrations). It is also to be presumed that these new tribal groups actively co-operated in the colourful prehistory of ancient India of the first half of the first millennium B.C. Unfortunately we do not possess any 'direct' proof from the oldest times (save for cryptic references to various types of 'unfriendly demoniac' people). Nevertheless the existence of the above-described linguistic material may be seen as one very concrete 'token', which is an indication if not a proof. It can be understood in the abovementioned context of language contact and linguistic area processes. At the same time it is not only a matter of the 'quality' of the material, but also of a relatively large number of parallels.

This is therefore something to be taken seriously, while at the same time we should not expect a 'Young-grammarians'-motivated unequivocal definiteness of forms (cf. above Note 35). This is in itself a 'diagnostic' feature, which implies a different and more dynamic spread of languages, not just migration and settlement in a new space without any contacts with other 'local' languages inducing linguistic change. This in fact was also the case with Old Indo Aryan, which bears clear traces of a contact with Munda languages from the very beginning of its existence in North-Western India (cf. Kuiper 1948,

an interpenetration of formally (and partly also semantically) close roots and their independent development in various branches of the IE family, including also mutual borrowing.

Witzel 1999). The linguistic symptoms mentioned above and earlier (Vacek 2009a,c,f and 2010b) indicate that very probably the contact processes also continued between other ethnic groups coming from the North-West and ancient Dravidian.

Therefore we should adopt a 'new paradigm' (cf. Zvelebil 1990, 1991; Vacek 2004a, 2006a) in order to be able to grasp the facts in front of our eyes. As it was very succinctly put by G. Doerfer, who was certainly not in favour of comparing languages outside the established 'families': 'The Young Grammarians are dead, long live the Young Grammarians of the future!'³⁶

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Review Section

Сэржээ, Бэсүд Жамбалдоржийн, Орчин цагийн монгол хэлний оноосон нэрийн судалгаа (The Study of the Onomastics of Contemporary Mongolian Language). МУИС, Монгол хэл соёлын сургууль, Улаанбаатар 2010, 315 pp.; Price not specified; ISBN 978-99962-3-020-2 – Reviewed by Eva Obrátilová

Besud Jambaldorjiin Serjee, who works at the School of Mongolian Language and Culture (Монгол хэл соёлын сургууль) of the Mongolian National University, is one of the leading experts in the area of Mongolian onomastics, having specialized in anthroponyms for many years. This publication is the result of many years' research and it partially follows the findings from the author's earlier research, which he has been carrying out continuously since the 1980s. Some findings already published in his earlier publications are further developed and commented on.¹ He also summarizes the results of the work of other Mongolian researchers who deal with anthroponyms, toponyms (especially oronyms and hydronyms), ethnonyms, chrononyms, and with the rules that are related to the historical development of using proper names. Thus, the publication may also be used as an erudite insight into the issues raised by Mongolian onomastics and it provides the reader with an ample list of authors and literature connected with this topic.

The publication is divided into six large wholes in a well-arranged manner and readers can orient themselves in it very well. The brief introduction is followed by the first chapter, which focuses on the historical origin of proper names and on their orthography. The possibility of using all kinds of forms of anthroponyms for official purposes makes an overwhelming impression on a reader who is accustomed to an exactly defined set of proper names and their forms.

1) Among these publications belong for example:

Oc'ir, T.A., Seržee, B.Z., 1998, *Mongolc'uudin ovgiin lavlah* (Information about Mongolian Tribes). S'UA-iin Informatikiin Hu'reelen, Ulaanbaatar.

Seržee, B.Z., 1992, *Mongol hu'nii ner* (Mongolian Personal Names). S'UA-iin Hel zohiolin hu'reelen Erdem, Ulaanbaatar.

Seržee, B.Z., 2007, *Mongol hu'nii neriin toli* (Dictionary of Mongolian Personal Names). MUIS, Ulaanbaatar.

Seržee, B.Z., 2007, *Mongol ovgiin neriin uc'ir* (The Meaning of Mongolian Patronymic Names). MUIS, Ulaanbaatar.

The second chapter deals with Mongolian proper names mainly from the morphological and semantic points of view. In an exhaustive way, the author divides proper names into categories according to their meanings (pp. 68–90). I find that part of the author's publication very helpful. It focuses on the comparison between names of Mongolian, Tibetan, and Sanskrit origin used in the Mongolian cultural environment, in which the author puts together names corresponding semantically to each other and explains their meanings (pp. 97–119).

There is a section which is no less interesting and in which somewhat peculiar names are explained, whose choice was influenced by a particular period of time or by a significant event. Thus, we learn, for example, that the proper name Мэлс originated as a name composed from the initial letters of the surnames Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin (p. 122). Unfortunately, for the individual examples of names, the author cites the recent works of C. Suvd and names gained by studying the press as his sources. As a result, the reader lacks a deeper sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic insight into the topic, for example an interview with the bearer of such a name or with the person who chose a particular name for their child, which would provide a wider clarification of influences and motives in the choice of names. The reader may feel overburdened by the lists of names, but the lists only give the impression of stating bare facts and the reader can hardly find the answer to the question “why” between the lines. Hopefully, such questions will be answered by the results of the field research which Professor Serjee will encourage his followers to carry out.

The third chapter focuses on geographical names and the author relies on research done by E. Ravdan and other Mongolian researchers. He also divides the names into categories from the morphological and semantic points of view, even though the explanation of the origin of the meanings of some names may be quite disputable. The author is well aware of the different influences that might change a name's form and spark the creation of secondary folk etymologies which gradually become naturalized with the speakers. In spite of that, at the end of the chapter, the author tries to provide the reader with a short list of geographical names with comments on their possible origin and meanings (pp. 168–177).

The same principle of dividing names (from the morphological and semantic points of view) is used by the author in the fourth chapter, which deals with traditional Mongolian family names, and in the sixth chapter, which focuses on the names of administrative areas. The explanations of the names' meanings are supplemented by descriptions of the historical background of, and

influences on, the formation of these names, thus clarifying many events that the reader needs to know about in order to understand the origin of a name correctly. They also show the author's erudition and precise understanding of the subject.

The fifth chapter deals with the names of stars and celestial bodies. Here, it is very difficult to reveal the motivation for using the individual names. Therefore, this section consists mainly of a list of individual names of stars and constellations and only for a limited number of them does the author cite an explanation based on the work of O. Sukhbaatar from 1999 (pp. 281–283).

The book is very coherent and really packed with information on proper names. It can serve as a well-arranged study for an insight into the subject as well as a source of useful references for such readers as would like to study one of the individual topics in more depth. An European reader in particular will be amused when reading certain passages and will definitely not become bored.

Elisabetha Chiodo, *The Mongolian Manuscripts on Birch Bark from Xarbuxyn Balgas in the Collection of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. Part 1–2. Asiatische Forschungen. Monographienreihe zur Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache der Völker Ost- und Zentralasiens. Band 137, 1–2. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2009. Part 1: X+305 pp. + Facsimiles; Part 2: VIII+338 pp. + Facsimiles. Hardback, price not specified; ISBN 3-447-04246-X, ISSN 0571-320X* – Reviewed by Ondřej Srba

Elisabetha Chiodo's book presents an edition of 240 manuscripts of the 1000 manuscript items from the collection of Mongolian and Tibetan manuscripts written on birch bark. The collection was discovered in 1970 by the Mongolian archaeologist H. Perlee and the Soviet archaeologist E.V. Šavkunov near the ruins of the ancient town Harbu'hiin Balgas in Bulgan aimag (Das'inc'ilen sum). This collection of Mongolian manuscripts dating from the first part of the 17th century is the largest collection of the late pre-classical period discovered during an archaeological expedition. The second largest collection was discovered by the Japanese archaeologist Namio Egami in 1937 in Olon süm-e and published by Walther Heissig in 1976.¹ This book is an excellent continuation of Heissig's critical editions.

The book begins with an Introduction dealing with the tradition of manuscripts on birch bark, their dating, contents and socio-cultural context. It is followed by a comprehensive chapter focused on linguistic features of the manuscripts. The majority of the manuscripts published here are rather short Buddhist prayers, texts of worship, hymns, *dhāraṇī*, calendars, magic writings, manuals of astrology and divination, and other ritual texts of practical use. Special attention is paid to the manuscripts of Milarepa's Songs (XBM 111–113), Invocation to Altan Sečen Qayan (XBM 79) and fragments of poetry. Although the texts are not translated, all the transcriptions are accompanied by detailed commentaries focusing on individual linguistic features and textological relations to the texts outside the Harbu'hiin Balgas collection. The ordering and the identification of the originally scattered fragments (usually missing titles and colophons) is in itself a difficult and highly meritorious achievement. The variety of knowledge to be found in the footnotes includes among other things references to the relevant texts, Tibetan parallels, palaeographical, lexicological and morphological explications. The author shows her most extensive knowledge of Mongolian classical manuscripts in original

1) Heissig, Walther, 1976, *Die mongolischen Handschriften-Reste aus Olon sūme, Innere Mongolei (16.–17. Jhdt.)*. Wiesbaden.

and other editions. These are quoted in the large Bibliography, which could be used in regard to the whole of Mongolian classical literature. Both volumes are supplemented by a glossary and fairly legible full-text black and white facsimiles. The rich material offered by the edition will facilitate future research focused on palaeographic features of the manuscripts and their chronology.

The edition is also extremely helpful with the identification and dating of many later manuscripts of Mongolian classical literature. One example is the text of the didactic poem XBM 170 (Part 2, pp. 274–280). In Mongolia, I had access to and made a photocopy of a manuscript (I designate it as *Rasiyan-u qumq-a*, RQ), in which afterwards I identified this older fragment. This fragmentary text from Harbu'hiin balgas has not yet been precisely identified.

The style of writing of both manuscripts is very similar, but certainly not identical. The script used in the manuscript of RQ has almost all the characteristics of a script from the 17th century. Comparing the chronological origin of the manuscript from Harbuhiin Balgas (first part of the 17th century), I suppose that the manuscript of RQ originated in the second half of the 17th century or first half of the 18th century. The manuscript presents a *pothi* measuring 27.6 × 7 cm of stitched paper and comprises 34 leaves with Mongolian pagination in words. The whole manuscript is written in one hand.

RQ is a work of gnomic poetry extensively quoting from older Mongolian literature (e.g. work by Čoyiji Odser, Šāntideva). The colophon reads: ... *ke-men rasiyan-u qumaqa / neretü-yin sastiri wčir / metü čing bisirel-iyer / erdem-ten bayši narun köl-ün / ölmei-yi orui-yin čindamani / bolayan egüride takiysan-u / adistid-iyar olan-a / aldarsiqui yosutu / kemegdegsen öčügüken / nilq-a köbegün / oyutu bi jayun / dörben qubi / nasun-dayan / jokiyān ögülebei: / yurban jayun döčün / silüg qoyar / baday*: At the end of the manuscript a Sanskrit-Uyghur formula *saduwa edgü*, analysed by E. Chiodo, is added. This formula is widespread in the manuscripts from Harbu'hiin Balgas and Olon süm-e.

Going through some of the catalogues describing the large collections of Mongolian manuscripts and block-prints in various libraries, I have found only five entries related to an abbreviated version of *Rasiyan-u qumq-a* called *Rasiyan-u qumq-a neretü šastir-ača edüi tedüiken(-i) quriyan bičibe* in the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Catalogue number

415	C 93	No 509	fol. 27a-29b (terminus ante quem 1782)
417	Q 2591	No 5952	fol. 15b-18b
418	C 259	No 689	fol. 5a-7a

2254 C 50 No 465 fol. 7b-9b²
 3908 C 550 No 985 fol. 3a-4a³

The manuscript of RQ quotes the verso and recto sides of XBM 170 in reverse order. The passage in RQ relevant to the text preserved on birch bark reads as follows:

fol. 3b (verso in Chiodo 2009)

18 *ulam emeged busud-un erdem-i:*
 19 *ügeber tungqaju dayurisayčid-i*
 20 *ülemji sedkil-den arad*
 21 *kemegdeyü: madaytabasu (!) ödter*
 22 *ülü bayasun: mayusiya(+da+)basu*
 23 *tedüi ülü qorusun: masi*
 24 *onuqui-bar ün*en*-i*
 25 *olbasu: mančiju seregči*
 26 *gün aburitan kemeyü: qatayu*
 27 *jasay-iyar buruyudan-i*

fol. 4a

1 *kesegejü qayiralaqui*
 2 *soyurqal-iyar irgen-i*
 3 *asarayad: qamuy-i*
 4 *engke törü-dür: oruyul*
 5 *basu: qan kümün-i jegüdel*
 6 *anu kemegdeyü: ejen-legen*
 7 *talali inü bütüger-ün:*
 8 *edür söni törü-yi*
 9 *sinjileyü: edeged buruyu*
 10 *ülü bolyayči bolbasu:*
 11 *erdini jayisang-ud kemen*

fol. 4a (recto in Chiodo 2009)

12 *nereyiddüyü: noyan törü*
 13 *-ber ulus irgen-i jasaju:*
 14 *örgülji seren mančiqui*
 15 *sedkil-iyer: edür söni*
 16 *nögčiyegči bolbasu: ulusi*
 17 *jasayči noyad-un aburi*
 18 *bolai.: yayča sonusuysan-iyar*
 19 *ülü umartan qayan-dayan*

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- 2) Sazykin, A. G., 1988, *Katalog mongol'skih rukopisej i ksilografov Instituta vostokovedenija akademii nauk SSSR*. Tom I. Nauka, Moskva.
 3) Sazykin, A. G., 2001, *Katalog mongol'skih rukopisej i ksilografov Instituta vostokovedenija Rossijskoj akademii nauk*. Tom II. Vostočnaja literatura RAN, Moskva.

- 20 durad-un čidayad: qaračus
 21 ulusun jayuri bolbasu:
 22 qayan-u duradqalči kemen tegünü
 23 ögüleyü: ünen qudal-i inü
 24 sinjilejü bürün: ögügüldeküi
 25 ba dakin-i jobayaydaqun-i
 26 öberün öberün çay-iyar:
 27 üiledbesü qayan-u jasay
 28 kemegdeyü: uran sayin

I add here a preliminary translation of one quatrain which is incomplete in the fragment XBM 170.

*ünen qudal-i inü sinjilejü bürün:
 ögügüldeküi ba dakin-i jobayaydaqun-i
 öberün öberün çay-iyar:
 üiledbesü qayan-u jasay kemegdeyü:*

“As a result of examining the truth and the lie, he has to declare [it].

If he helps in our common sufferings at the right time, he will certainly be called [a true] governor.”⁴ Without the frame identification (Didactic poems), general introduction and annotated transcription done by E. Chiodo, I would not be able to recognize this older fragment of RQ.

Summing up, this long-awaited edition has a far-reaching importance for Mongolian studies similar to that of the manuscript collection of Harbu’hiin Balgas in relation to Mongolian classical literature. Being a highly professional textological and philological work, the book has already become the basis of further research on Mongolian manuscripts palaeography, language and literary culture of the late 16th and the early 17th centuries. This reasonably structured edition is not only a perfect rendering and critical analysis of material from an exceptionally genuine and compact “library” from the first part of 17th century, but also an impressive reader-friendly presentation of the Mongolian literature of that period.

4) Based on a consultation given by Prof. J. Lubsangdorji. I am planning to publish the whole text of *Rasiyan-u qumq-a* manuscript in some future volume of Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia.

