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Prof. Jaroslav Vacek on His 70th Birthday**



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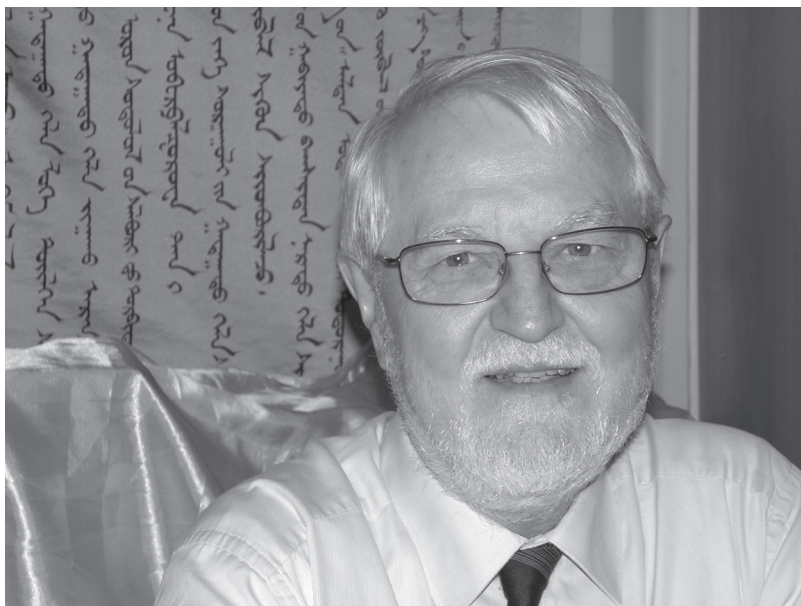
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Jaroslav Vacek – Life and Work

ALENA OBERFALZEROVÁ, Charles University in Prague

Jaroslav Vacek was born on June 26, 1943 in a small village called Litostrov near Brno in southern Moravia. His Father was a district forest officer, who was working there at that time, but after five years the family moved to Southern Bohemia, from where both parents came. He spent most of his school years in a solitary house in the forest some 6 km away from Třeboň (not far away from České Budějovice or Budweis), where he went to school.

From as early on as the fourth grade his teacher of Russian noticed his talent for languages and informed his parents about it. So at the age of ten his Mother arranged private lessons in German for him with a lady teacher, a graduate of the pre-war Grammar School, who knew several modern languages and who influenced J. Vacek's further intellectual development in a decisive manner. One year later he asked for lessons in English, after two years he started with French and just before going to university he also studied Spanish for one year. Besides languages his teacher let him read many books about literature and culture, including Oriental cultures, which inspired his ideas about faraway countries and travelling.¹ As a top student of his class he obtained the 'recommendation' (scil. 'permission' at that time) to go to university, in spite of the difficult period in the history of the country, when non-communist families were considered enemies of the state and of the ruling party.

He was admitted to the Faculty of Arts in the Charles University in Prague in 1960 to study English and Hindi. At that time there were renowned teachers both of English (Prof. Bohumí Trnka), and Indology (Professors Kamil Zvelebil for Tamil, Ivo Fišer for Sanskrit, Buddhism and Pali, Odolen Smékal for Hindi, and others). However, due to some administrative formalities, his class switched to Tamil from the very beginning. And in fact later there occurred several similar 'unexpected' turns in his professional career which

1) These details we heard from him once, when he was encouraging us to learn modern European languages, because this is what will connect us with the present-day world. It was at a time when under the communist regime the teaching of languages in secondary schools was rather neglected and ineffective. We suspect that the régime's 'unofficial policy' of neglect was in fact intentional.

proved to be very important. In a year a class of Sanskrit started and J. Vacek also joined it.

Soon he developed a reputation as a linguist, partly due to the Prague School background, which he obtained from Prof. B. Trnka in English. Therefore within a few years he was asked by O. Smékal and I. Fišer, if he would consider studying Hindi too, because they appreciated his linguistic capability. They needed a linguist knowing Hindi who would continue the work of Prof. V. Pořízka, a specialist in Hindi linguistics, who was about to retire. So besides his study of Tamil and Sanskrit, J. Vacek started to learn Hindi in 1964 with V. Pořízka and O. Smékal. In the first year he attended the first and fourth year's classes, and the next year he attended the second and fifth year classes. However, in 1965 he graduated in Tamil and Sanskrit and after a year of compulsory military service he was admitted as an Assistant Lecturer at the Department of Asian and African Studies in January 1967, where to begin with he started to teach Sanskrit texts and literature.

Soon after that, in October 1967, he passed the special examinations for his PhDr. degree (Philosophiae Doctor) and started his second doctoral studies or Candidate of Science studies (the CSc. degree, or *Candidatus Scientiarum* = Ph.D.) immediately after that. However, after the Soviet invasion in 1968 the political climate quickly turned out to be as difficult as in the 1950s, and his further professional progress was substantially inhibited. Obtaining further qualifications was impossible, in fact he was prohibited from defending his thesis for his second doctorate, which he completed and submitted in 1972. He could defend the work only in 1979 after he had learned Mongolian and founded Mongolian studies at the University.

With regard to the fact that he was never politically 'engaged', he was in danger of being dismissed from the University, like many other non-party members, though they were eminent specialists in various subjects. In 1972 J. Vacek was also prohibited from going to India, though he had started a project on Old Tamil literature with Prof. Dr. D. Thiagarajan from Lady Doak College in Madurai, Tamilnadu, who visited Prague in 1971. But there was another chance waiting for him – since in the Faculty, in fact in the whole country, there was no teaching of Mongolian, the language of a friendly communist country, this became a task which the Faculty had to deal with.

And so J. Vacek was asked whether, with regard to his linguistic inclinations, he would mind learning Mongolian and start teaching it at the Faculty. He accepted the challenge and in September 1975 he was sent to Mongolia to learn Mongolian. The demanding task of founding the teaching of Mongolian at the Faculty was of great political importance at that time and therefore

travelling to Mongolia was not a problem. With no previous knowledge of the language he went to Ulaanbaatar for one year's study. He had an intensive course in Mongolian and besides that he also taught Sanskrit to Mongolian advanced students and young teachers.

It was after some four to five months in Ulaanbaatar that he started to prepare the first textbook of colloquial Mongolian with his Mongolian teacher J. Luvsangdorji, later a friend and colleague at the Faculty. They published the first Czech version in 1979 and continued with several other textbooks. However, their textbook of colloquial Mongolian became famous and it is one of the most widely used teaching aids for foreigners all over the world (a revised English version was published in 2004). J. Vacek was visiting Mongolia regularly for eight years and prepared three generations of specialists in Mongolian, of whom three are currently active in the Faculty and one is the Ambassador in Mongolia.

Concerning his Indian specialisation, there was a parallel development of his activities in this area. After handing over the first textbook of Mongolian to be printed in 1979, he was finally allowed to visit India and to carry on his project on Old Tamil literature which had been interrupted by the tragic passing away of his first co-worker, Dr. Thiagarajan. When J. Vacek could not go to India in the early 1970s, the Indian authorities sent her to Prague again in 1974 for several months. But the project was interrupted by a car accident, in which she lost her life (17 February 1975) at the age of forty nine. So he was supposed to find another means of co-operation in India. He completed the work together with Dr. S.V. Subramanian, Director of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, and the book was published in 1989.

After the 'velvet revolution' in 1989, when the communist regime collapsed, it was by an overwhelming majority of votes (including also students) that Jaroslav Vacek was elected Head of the Dept. of Asian and African Studies of the Faculty of Arts. He then could summon back all the colleagues, half a dozen specialists in various subjects within Asian and African Studies ranging from Africa to the Far East, who had been persecuted in the early 1970s. Starting from Spring 1990, they could also resume teaching Sanskrit, Tamil and Bengali, which had not been taught for almost two decades, only Hindi having been taught continuously. A few months later they also started Romani. Within a few years, the Department was transformed and three specialist centres were established – the Institute for the Far East, the Institute for the Near East and Africa, and the Indological Institute.

In 1992 J. Vacek spent one semester as visiting Associate Professor at the Free University in Berlin and then continued going there for another year and

teaching regularly twice a month. In 1993 he obtained a full Professorship at Charles University and soon after that he was approached to accept the post of Vice-Rector for International Relations of Charles University, which he took up for three years (1994–1997; for a detailed chronology see the attached structured CV). Later, in 2003–2006 he became Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Charles University. Since then he has been Director of the Institute of South and Central Asia, which was established in 2006 by joining the Seminar of Mongolian and Tibetan with the Indological Institute, and which nowadays teaches Indian languages, Mongolian and Tibetan, and more recently also Indonesian.

Where research is concerned, Jaroslav Vacek has been interested mainly in linguistic problems in the Indian linguistic area. He has written about Tamil phonology and morphology, Sanskrit phonology and also about the Dravidian and Altaic relationship, a field in which he applies a thoroughly new approach. It is under his guidance and editorial work that the international journal *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* has been published over the last decade. It appears twice a year and sums up the results of research in the field of Mongolian and Tibetan studies, and also in the field of the relationship between Dravidian and Altaic.

In the last fifteen years, J. Vacek has also studied problems of nature in literature, particularly in relation to Old Tamil Sangam literature (see the attached bibliography). He started a project dealing with the subject (*Pandanus*, see <http://iu.ff.cuni.cz/pandanus/>) and has been editing the international journal *Pandanus*. At the same time Prague Indology developed international co-operation in the field of literary studies with the universities of Milan, Krakow and Warsaw and organized a number of conferences (for recent events see <http://ujca.ff.cuni.cz/UJCA-233.html>).

Besides his research achievement Jaroslav Vacek is also known as an outstanding teacher, who inspires students on their professional path with his inexhaustible enthusiasm, and though he demands that they work at full stretch, he also has an understanding, kind and encouraging approach. From my own experience as his student I know how such enthusiasm for Oriental studies and scientific knowledge can ignite deep interest in students and a longing to carry out similar and at the same time one's own and new research.

Thanks to his competence and engagement in research and teaching both in Prague and abroad, Jaroslav Vacek has obtained several awards for his life's work both at home and abroad. In 1997 it was the Gold Medal of Charles University in Prague, and ten years later the Memorial Medal of Charles University in Prague. More recently he obtained several international awards: the State Award of the Mongolian Republic for his work done concerning the

Mongolian language – the *Nairamdal Medal* (Friendship Medal) granted by the President of the Mongolian Republic; then the *Aruntamil Virutu* (Arun-tamil Award) – from the Association Culturelle des Tamouls at Vauréal, Paris, France. In 2013 he obtained two awards: the *Certificate of Appreciation* – from Annamalai University, Annamalai, Tamilnadu, India and the Indian State Award – the *Kural Peedam* (Altar of Verses) from the President of India.

On the occasion of his 70th birthday we would like to wish Jaroslav Vacek every encouragement to maintain his unrelenting energy in research and in the personal sphere. May his kind and friendly personality reap from now on only the pleasant and deserved fruits of his life's effort and bravery. For all of us who could ripen professionally next to Prof. Jaroslav Vacek, who devoted his life fully to the mission of meaningful work in, and the development of, the so-called 'small' specialisations, there is a hope that we too will be able to further mediate the knowledge of different cultures to 'our era'. Though his first ideas about them were generated in the South Bohemian forests, they could be further developed anywhere in the world.

Education and academic career:

- 1960–1965 Studies: Faculty of Arts of Charles University, Prague (Tamil, Sanskrit, Hindi and English): (diploma in Tamil and Sanskrit with honours)
- 1967 PhD. = special examinations & dissertation
- 1979 CSc. = PhD. degree: in 1972 the examination was prohibited for political reasons (examination and defence of the thesis took place in 1979 after J.V. had established the subject of Mongolian in the department)
- 1991 Docent (Assoc. Prof.) of Sanskrit and Tamil philology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University
- 1993 Professor of Sanskrit and Tamil Philology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University

Professional Career (and administration):

- 1967–1969 Assistant in the Department of Oriental (Asian and African) Studies, Faculty of Arts, Charles University
- 1969–1991 Senior Lecturer in the same department
- 1975–1983 regular visits to Mongolia and study of Mongolian, founded the teaching and research of Mongolian as a new subject at Charles University
- 1989–1990 Chair of the same department (elected by colleagues and students in the Velvet-Revolutionary days of December 1989)
- 1990–1991 Chair of the Department of Near Eastern, African and Indian Studies
- 1991–1993 Deputy Chair of the same department
- 1992 Visiting Docent (Assoc. Prof.), Institute of Indian Philology and History of Indian Art, Free University, Berlin

- 1993–2003 Professor, Director of the Institute of Indian Studies
 1994–1997 Vice-Rector of Charles University, Prague, responsible for international relations
 2003–2006 Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, Charles University
 2006– Director of the Institute of South and Central Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, Charles University (<http://ujca.ff.cuni.cz/UJCA-6o.html>)

Awards

- 1997 Gold Medal of Charles University in Prague by the Rector Prof. Karel Maly
 2006 Memorial Medal of Charles University in Prague by the Rector Prof. Ivan Wilhelm
 2010 State Award of the Mongolian Republic for the work done about the Mongolian language – Nairamdal Medal (Friendship Medal) granted by the President of the Mongolian Republic H.E. Cahiagiin Elbegdorj (cf. <http://ujca.ff.cuni.cz/UJCA-226.html>)
 2012 Aruntamil Virutu (Aruntamil Award) – from the Association Culturelle des Tamouls at Vauréal, Paris, France (cf. <http://ujca.ff.cuni.cz/UJCA-237.html>)
 2013 (March) “Certificate of Appreciation” – from Annamalai University, Annamalai, Tamilnadu, India (cf. <http://ujca.ff.cuni.cz/UJCA-25o.html>)
 2013 (October) Kural Peedam Award – from the President of India, H.E. Pranab Mukherjee, for the work in the field of classical Tamil literature (cf. <http://ujca.ff.cuni.cz/UJCA-299.html>)

Select Bibliography of Jaroslav Vacek

Besides several monographs on aspects of Indian and Mongolian linguistics and literature J. Vacek has contributed many articles on the subject of Dravidian and Altaic linguistic relationship and on symbolism of nature in classical Indian literature (Tamil and Sanskrit). He wrote a number of textbooks (several of them in co-operation with Indian and Mongolian colleagues) and translated prose and classical Indian poetry into Czech. He has been editing the *Pandanus* journal (Nature in Literature, Art, Myth and Ritual; <http://iu.ff.cuni.cz/pandanus/publications/>), and co-editing the *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* journal (formerly *Mongolica Pragensia*; <http://ujca.ff.cuni.cz/UJCA-202.html>), both published by the Institute of South and Central Asian Studies.

(The whole list of publications can be viewed in the complete bibliography of the teachers of the Institute of South and Central Asia, Charles University: http://ujca.ff.cuni.cz/UJCA-214-ver-sion1-bibliografie_ujca_2012.pdf)

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Some questions concerning the Chinese transcription of the SHM II¹

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Summary: In the course of transcribing the original manuscript of the SHM, which was written in Uighur-Mongolian script without any diacritics, many letters (graphemes) were read wrongly and in the Chinese sign transcription many new words appeared which had a completely different meaning. Besides that, the differentiating signs, which were invented in Chinese signs in order to mark the correct pronunciation of Mongolian sounds, were very often forgotten or were used incorrectly. And this became the source of incorrect translations, commentaries and interpretation of the SHM.

1.4. READING MONGOLIAN WORDS WHICH WERE WRITTEN WITH NO DIACRITICS

In the Uighur-Mongolian original of the SHM the diacritic marks (one or two dots) were hardly used. That is why an incorrect reading of letters (graphemes) and their transcription occurred very frequently. Consequently the translation of words in the glossary was not correct and there are a great number of such cases. Yekeminyadai Irinčin, who created the probable version of the SHM in the Uighur-Mongolian script, was of the opinion that in the original in some places the letter *n* had a mark, the so-called “drop” (*du-sul*). In his opinion, it was in order to differentiate the letters (graphemes) *q* and *γ*, that “...two dots (*qoyar dusul*) were used, and this was done only in words with too many ‘teeth’ or in cases of difficult readings, so that the letter (grapheme) could be read as *q*” (Yekeminyadai Irinčin 1987, p. 19).

1.4.1. EXAMPLES OF READING THE INITIAL NA AS THE LETTER (GRAPHEME) A

ebesün-ü aluryai (Širatori) /**alurqai** (Rachewiltz), §88.2; (Sumyaabaatar 1990, p. 110); to be read *nalurqai* < **nalu*-; ‘places of rumpled grass’

1) The first part of the paper appeared in *MONGOLO-TIBETICA* '12 (cf. Lubsangdorji 2012).

Due to the non-existence of 'dots', the initial **na** (two teeth) in this phrase was read as the initial letter (grapheme) **a**. If it had been the Khalkha word *алархай* ('damaged grass'), the word would have had to be spelt as *alarqai*. Even though in the Chinese transcription there is a mistake, it was translated correctly in the Glossary, which was reflected by Haenisch in his Wörterbuch (1962, p. 6): *getretener Weg, Spur* 'trodden way, track'.

aran üzebe že čimaji, §94.6–7 (Sumyaabaatar 1990, p. 124); to be read *naran üzebe že čimaji*; 'I saw you, my Sun' (Kh. *наран үзэв-зээ чамайг*)

In the Ming Glossary the word *aran* is translated as *kaum* – 'hardly' by Haenisch (1962, p. 81). It may have been a guessed reading. However this reading was followed by other scholars and translators. But the word *aran* in the Uighur-Mongolian original can be read as *naran* (Sun). In the *Altan tobci* this expression was correctly transliterated by Lubsandanjin as *naran-i üjebei bi* (Altan tobči 1990, p. 22b), which is mentioned by S. C'oyima. He thinks so on the basis of the fact that Dei-sečen was dreaming (§ 63) that Temüjin is the *Sun* and Borte is the *Moon* like the pair of *jing* and *jang* (Чоймаа 2002, p. 47). Besides this example the phrase *naran üje-* (Kh. *наран үзэ-*) in the basic meaning appears also in § 238, which implies that the author of the SHM liked this expression.

1.4.2. EXAMPLES OF READING THE INITIAL **NI** AS LETTER (GRAPHEME) **I**

In most of the cases the initial **ni** was read and transliterated correctly. In spite of that there are many examples where it was erroneously read as **i** and as a result the word was translated unsuitably. In his new version of the SHM, Š. Gadamba marked the verb *iču-* correctly by a diacritic dot for *niču-* in many cases (Kh. *няца-* = *буца-* 'to retreat, go back'). But I do not agree with his commentary that "this is one of the examples of alternation of the initial *i* and *n*".² More appropriate is the interpretation that this is an erroneous reading of the Chinese scribes. The variation *iduyan* /*niduyan* (Kh. *удган* 'female shaman'), *imayan* /*nimayan* (Kh. *ямаа* 'goat') appearing in Mongolian dialects must be explained not as an alternation of phonemes, but as "weakening or strengthening of the sound of the initial consonant" (Төмөртоого 1992, pp. 152, 172).

2) Gadamba (1990, p. 263, comment no. 229): "үгийн эхний *i* ба *n* авиа сэлгэдэг тохиолдлын нэг".

1.4.2.1. IQURITÄLDUN ŽIBŠIGERÜLČEN BÜKÜI-DÜR, §143.2; pair word; ‘at the time, when (the armies) are being tightly linked and arranged in detail’; to be read *niquriyaldun čibčigerülčen бүкүй-дүр*; Kh. *няхуурлалдан чивчээрэлцэн бүхийд* ‘at the time when (the armies) were carefully dislocated and interconnected’ (lit. ‘knotted together’).

Context: This expression was used at the moment, when Jamuqa’s and Chinggis Khan’s armies came together at the place called *Köyiten* before the battle started. The expressions written in this way, viz *iquriyaldun žibšigerülčen*, are hardly comprehensible and difficult to read. Modern Mongolian translators interpreted the words variously as guesswork, e.g.: “they forced each other out, attacked and withdrew”, “mutually withdrew and manoeuvred”. In the Ming glossary the word *iquriyaldun* is also translated as *wegrücken* – ‘to move away, withdraw’ by Haenisch (1962, p. 81); the word *žibšigerülčen* is translated as *ordnen, in Ordnung bringen* – ‘to arrange, to bring to order’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 89).

In my opinion the word *iquriyaldun* should be read as *niquriyaldun* (Kh. *няхуурхалдан*; not found in Hangin or Lessing). Obviously the transliteration is wrong, since it is possible to read the initial *ni* as *i*. The word *žibšigerülčen* should be read correctly as *čibčigerülčen* (Kh. *чивчирээлцэн /чивчирүүлэлцэн*; not found in Hangin or Lessing). The phonemes *č*, *j*, which alternate in dialects, but have one common grapheme, are transcribed erroneously.

The word *няхуур*, *няхуурха* – ‘a character with a sense of order, meticulous and attentive to everything and everybody’ – *аливаад маш анхаарал болгоомжтой хандах нямбай зан*; МХДТТ 2009, III, p. 1450) and the word *чивчирэ*-, *чивчирүүл*- (‘to become strong, firm’ – *чангара*-, МХДТТ 2009, p. 2923) are still in active use in colloquial Khalkha language. The word *чивчирэ*-, *чивчирүүл*- is a culturally specific expression of the nomadic culture. It designates a leather or horsehair rope with a knot, which is drenched by rain water and pulled hard by a horse or cattle. Therefore it hardens and becomes so tough that it can hardly be untied. In the text it has the figurative meaning ‘to manoeuvre’. The correct interpretation would be to say that the enemy armies have assembled at the place called *Köyiten* and inspected the terrain from the point of view of strategy before starting the fight, and then dislocated the concrete military units accordingly so that they would mutually support their positions. Compare §202.6–7: *тоңйолжин улус-и žibšijerün baražu* (Kh. *Монголжин Улсыг чивчирүүлэн барж* ‘having finished the unification /lit. the tying/fastening/ of the Mongoljin state’); §173.16: *čerig(i)-jen žibšijerčü* (Kh. *цэргээ чивчирээж* ‘having displaced the army [strategically] and interconnected’).

This Mongolian word, according to the Chinese transcription presented as *жившээрэн*, is not understood in modern Mongolian. Should it be read from the original with the correct pronunciation as *чивчирүүлэн*, it would be perfectly comprehensible for a member of the nomadic culture, including its modality ('to bind in such a way that it cannot be untangled any more'), which he would be able to understand automatically. The official declaration that Chinggis Khan completed the unification of all Mongolian nations, Kh. *Чингис хаан бүх монгол үндэстнийг нэгтгэж дуусаад*, was at that time expressed in a poetic way, saying that Chinggis Khan accomplished the work of binding the Mongolian nations, i.e. *Чингис хаан монголжин улсыг чивчирүүлэн барж*.

1.4.2.2. IDÜREŽÜ /IDÜREJÜ (RACHEWILTZ) IREBE, §145.39; to be read *nituraju irebe*; forgotten word; Kh. *нятарч ирэв* ('to desert, go over to the enemy'; not in Hangin or Lessing)

Context: When Chinggis Khan lost much blood from his injured throat, he was very thirsty. That is why General Zelem from his company ran completely naked into the middle of their enemies, found a vessel with yogurt (*tarag*) and bought it to the Khan. The Khan asked what was the reason that he ran naked and he answered: "Should the enemies have caught me, I would say that I sympathised with them and that Khan found out about it, wanted to kill me, so he undressed me, but I managed to run over to them, and in this way I have deserted (Kh. *нятарч ирлээ*). They would trust my words, would give me dress and a horse and I would again return to my Khan."

In the Uighur-Mongolian original the diacritic mark (dot) was not used. That is why the word *nituraju* was erroneously read and transcribed as the word *idürežü*. In the Ming glossary the word was translated as *einholen* (*angelaufen kommen*) – 'to catch up (to come running'; Haenisch 1962, p. 80) in the sense 'to reach in time, succeed'; cf. the translations:

'(I suddenly escaped) and now am come' (Cleaves, p. 72);

'(I suddenly *managed* to escape) and have just come in haste to *join* you' (Rachewiltz, p. 66);

'a tak jsem k vám přiběhl' (and so I have come running to you; Poucha, p. 76).

Such a translation is only a guess based on the context. Even though the word *nitura-* is nowadays forgotten and out of use, its root was preserved in the Khalkha words *мятара-* / *мятра-* ('to be afraid'; not in Hangin or Lessing), *няца-* ('to retreat, go back'), and that is why it is not difficult to reconstruct its meaning. Some specialists connect the word *idürežü* with the

classical Mongolian word *ütere-*, *üdter* (immediately, quickly) and the like, which does not match the context. On the other hand Š. Gadamba's transcription *nituraju* (Gadamba 1990, p. 75) is appropriate.

1.4.3. MISTAKES IN READING THE MEDIAL NA (TWO TEETH) AS T

1.4.3.1. ČISUN QAŦČU BARABA, §145.8; to be read *čisun qanažu baraba* (Kh. *цусан ханаж барав* – 'blood flowed out; to bleed'), metaphor: 'to lose a lot of blood'

Context: In the war with the Taičuuat tribe Chinggis Khan was injured on his throat and lost a lot of blood. He speaks about it. The Mongolian original has the word *qanaju* (to flow, about blood), but since no diacritics (dots) were used, the 'two teeth' in the middle of the word (*na*) were erroneously read and transcribed as *y*.

That is why the word *qayču* in the Ming Glossary is translated as *fest werden*, *gerinnen* – 'to harden, coagulate' (Haenisch 1962, p. 56), which is the reason why in almost all foreign and Mongolian translations there is the word 'to dry, to be drying up' (Kh. *хатаж*). Loss of blood is not described in terms of its drying up (Kh. *цус хатах*). In the Ming Glossary they only tried to guess the meaning according to the context. However, Poucha, perhaps the only one, translated the word into Czech correctly, but in an incorrect modality by adding the word *konečně* ('finally'): *konečně vytekla krev* ('blood finally flowed out'; Poucha 1955, p. 74). The verb *qana-* (Kh. *хана-*: *цус хана-*) in modern Mongolian refers to a modern manner of healing – 'bleeding, letting blood flow from the vein'. In the SHM there is one more reference to Van-qan, who made his living from letting camel's blood flow (§151). Both words, *qan* 'blood' and *qana-* 'to flow out, flow (about blood)', are of Turkic origin.

1.4.3.2. ČIISUN IN-U QAŦDARUN, §173.6; to be read *čisun in-u qanatarun* (Kh. *цус нь ханатаруун*; 'when his blood flowed')

This form is the passive of the verb *qana-* (Kh. *хана-*). However, the Chinese scribes did not recognise *na* in the middle of the word. In this paragraph, line 47, it is necessary to note the expression Kh. *хальж бүхий цус* ('flowing out blood'). In the Chinese transcription the verb *хальж* is spelled as *ha-li-chou* (54–72–162). B. Sumyabaatar transcribed it in the Mongolian script as *qaliju*. But strangely, in the transcription of the SHM into the Latin script, the word was spelled as *qayču* (Širatori) /*haqcu* (Rachewiltz) (see above).

1.4.4. MISREADING THE INITIAL LETTER NO AS Ü

üjen-ü /üyen-ü sedkil, §181.7; Kh. үений сэтгэл? (meaning not clear: ‘opinion, thought of knuckle-bone’? or ‘opinion, thought of generation’?); in fact it should be an idiom, to be read *nojan-u /noyan-u sedkil*: Kh. ноёны сэтгэл (‘domineering, authoritative manner of thought, temperament’). Without the initial diacritic dots the word *noyan*, Kh. ноён, was spelled in the Chinese signs as 16–182–13 (wu-ye-ne, cf. *Sumyabaatar* 1990, p. 424). The Chinese sign 16 may represent the letter (grapheme) *u* in the Uighur-Mongolian script both initially and medially in a ‘male’ word, and the letter (grapheme) *ü* both initially and medially in a ‘female’ word. In the Chinese transcription this word appears as *üjenü*, which is translated in Ming glossary as *alt, früher* – ‘old, former, earlier’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 167). Again, this appears to be a guess according to the context. This became the basis for foreign translations. For example Mongolian translators rendered the word as эртний санаснаа (‘давный умысел’ /early, original intention/; Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 141); үжирхий сэтгэл (‘сгнивший’; Čeringsodnam 1990, p. 147), үжирч өгөрсөн сэтгэл (‘сгнивший и обветшалый умысел’, Чоймаа 2011, p. 128) (‘antiquated thought’, lit. ‘rotten, decayed thought’; cf. Hangin s.v. үжрэх). Let us compare the phrase *ноёны сэтгэл* with a different context: Kh. Ноёгдой ноёмсог авирт тул Ноёхин овогтон болов. ‘Since Noyogdoi (name of a person) had a dictatorial temperament, his descendants obtained the surname Noyohin (‘family of noblemen’).’³ (§46).

3) This phrase was translated in an ‘explanatory’ manner, e.g. by Cleaves (1982, p. 9): ‘The son of Qačın was named Noyagidai. Because by nature he liked to play the chief, he became [the ancestor of] those which have the clan name [27v] Noyakin.’ According to Cleaves (ibid. 24), *noyamšiγ* is a folk etymology (on a consonance with *Noyagidai*, *Noyakin*), which in my opinion is not the case.

Or Rachewiltz (2006, p. 9): ‘The son of Qačın was named Noyagidai; because, by nature, he liked to act as a chief, his descendants took the clan name Noyakin.’

2. Erroneous transcriptions due to special features of the Chinese signs

2.1. SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE DIACRITICS IN THE CHINESE SIGNS

DESIGNATION OF L AND R

In the Chinese transcription the Mongolian letter (grapheme) *r* is written as the letter (grapheme) *l* with a special diacritic mark indicating that it should be pronounced as the letter *r*. Here we will replace this diacritic with *. This diacritic provokes several important questions with regard to the investigation of the SHM.

2.1.1. WHEN THE DIACRITIC MARK * WAS FORGOTTEN

Aluyai-Tatar, §153.2; name of a tribe; to be read *Aruqai-Tatar*; Kh. Аруухай-Тараа; in the *Altan Tobci* they are called *aruqai*. This is probably the Kh. word *аруухан* ('bright, intelligent'; Hangin s.v.; see Altan Tobci 1990, 54b). In the Chinese transcription they failed to mark the letter (grapheme) *l* as *r*. It is thought that this is how the incorrect name *aluqai* arose (Чоймаа 2002, p. 104, note 224).

Šilginčeg, §282.2; name of the Хэрхэнцэг /Сэрхэнцэг hill (which means 'multiple projections appearing like the network within the stomach of cattle' – rumen with a grainy or pebbled interior, omasum); about this word cf. also Лувсандорж 2008, p. 68; 2010, p. 124.

Jekečelen, §51.2; name of a man; Kh. Их-Саран (cf. Lubsangdorji 2012, p. 17, par. 1. 3. 1.5).

2.1.2. WHEN THE DIACRITIC MARK * WAS ADDED

qoğirayud said (Ši.) /**qoyira'ut sayid** (Ra.), §75.2; to be read *qoyila'uyut said*; lit. law-ministers (i.e. lawgivers); Kh. хуультаан сайчуул ('юрист'; Čering-sodnam 1990, p. 57).

This is one of the special cases in the history of SHM words. In the Uigur-Mongolian original this word was spelled *quyilayud*. Chinese scribes transliterated it into Chinese characters as 2-36-101-16-90. But they added * to the sign 101(*la*) so that it would be pronounced as *ra*. Thus it turned into

qoḡirayud /qoyira'ut. Since it was not comprehensible, the authors of the Ming Glossary left it untranslated. The translators from Mongolian made a guess and translated it variously as *хүягт сайд* 'armoured ministers', *хутагтан сайд* 'sacred ministers', *хурц сайд* 'stern ministers', *эзэн сайд* 'ruling ministers' and the like. Among the foreign translators the more prudent ones, like Cleaves, left the word untranslated – '*qoyira'd* nobleman' with a note that in the Chinese transcription this word is not translated (Cleaves 1982, p. 21). But Rachewiltz, for example, interpreted the word as Kh. *гоёлогууд сайд* 'beautiful and good ministers' (Rachewiltz 2006, 2, p. 360) and rendered it 'handsome and good' (Rachewiltz 2006, 1, p. 19). Rachewiltz (2006, 2, p. 360) proposes to read this word as one of the following variants: *qoyilay*, *qoyiray*, *yoḡilay*, *yoḡiray*; Kh. *гоёлог* 'rather beautiful (fine, smart)'; not in Hangin). However, it was already in 1941 that the Inner Mongolian scholar Bökekisig aptly read and corrected the Chinese transcription of this word as 'lawgiver', Kh. *хуульт сайд* 'law-creating minister' (not in Hangin; see Čeringsodnam 1990, p. 309, note 88).

2.1.3. BY WAY OF THE DIACRITIC MARK * A MONGOLIAN WORD TURNED INTO A TURKIC WORD

2.1.3.1. MONGOLIAN WORD *TULUT*, §167.5; a forgotten word; Kh. *тулаг* (stick, staff); metaphoric meaning: Kh. *түшиг*, *тулгуур* (support, prop, pillar)

In the original text of the SHM there is the phrase *ežiḡe tuluy* (Ši.) /*ejī'e turuq* (Ra.) – (Kh. *эжиэ тулаг*), meaning 'our long-term support', Kh. *хэзээ язааны түшиг тулгуур*

Context: Headed by Sengum and Jamuqa some noblemen secretly agreed to capture and kill Temüjin. When Sengum told this to his Father Van-khan, his Father did not agree and said: "Temüjin was our long-term/ age-long support" (*эжиэ тулаг*; Kh. *хэзээ язааны түшиг*). Even though the word *эжиэ* was forgotten, it is used in the pair word describing a period of time – Kh. *хэзээ язаа /хэзээ ёзоо*.⁴

The word *тулаг* is a forgotten Mongolian term for *маяг* (stick). It is derived from the verb root *tul-* ('to lean on') by the nominal suffix *-γ*, which is spelled with an inserted *u* (*гэдэс* - 'belly') in the Uighur-Mongolian script, which became *tuluy*. In modern Mongolian this word was replaced by Turkic *маяг* ('stick, staff'). There is another word derived similarly from the

4) Note that Hangin has only *хэзээ язааны* 'long, long ago' (s.v. *язаа*).

verb root – Kh. *myuu-* + *-z* → *myuuз* (support). Though the word *tuluy* was forgotten, its root appears in other words, e.g. Kh. *myл-* ('to lean on'), *myлга* (iron support consisting of four or three legs and two or more rings on which a kettle is placed), *myлx* ('supportive man, man as a support'; not in Hangin or Lessing), *myлгуур* ('pole for pushing or propping; prop, support'), *myлдүүд-* ('to hope, rely on'), and that is why it can be easily reconstructed and understood.

In the Ming glossary this word is correctly literally translated as 27–104–58 (stick). Haenisch (1962, p. 155) translates it *Stütze, Rückhalt, Vertrauen* – 'support, backing, confidence'. Shiratori transliterated the word correctly as *tuluy* (see above 2. 1. 3.1).

2.1.3.2. HOW WORDS BECAME TURKIC WORDS

turuy, §207.2; the Chinese scribes added the diacritic mark *.

In the original there is a phrase *ežige turuy* (Kh. *эжигэ туураг*); 'always support, continuously support, steady support'

Context: Chinggis Khan praises the Qorči-nojon as follows: "Since childhood you have been my long-term stick (support)." Kh. *эжигэ туураг байсан*.

The word *turuy* is the same as the one we saw above – *tuluy* (§167), but here it is changed (see 2. 1. 3.1).

In the Ming glossary the word *ežige* is translated by Haenisch (1962, p. 42) as *bis jetzt* – 'up to now'; and the word *turuy* as *in ferne Zukunft, auf ewig* – 'in faraway future, eternally' (ibid., p. 47). In the Ming Glossary the translation appears to be only the translation of *ežige*, the word *turuy* was not translated. Some recent works have changed the correct transliteration and translation into an incorrect one (see 2. 1. 3.1, §167). Other foreign translations followed the same pattern. The Mongolian translator D. Cerensodnom (Čeringsodnam 1990, p. 192) translated the word according to the Ming Glossary as *өдий өнйд* ('for all times, eternally'), but the interpretation of Sh. Choymaa (Чоймаа 2011, p. 169) is correct: *эдүгээ болтол тууштай тулгуур болж* ('up to now you have been consistent support').

I can agree with Š. Gadamba that some passages in the Chinese transcription and in the Ming glossary of the SHM were created by speakers of a Turkic language. The Old Turkic word *tur-* means 'to get up, to rise; to stand; to be, to exist', and besides that it is also used in verbal phrases and designates a long duration of the action (Наделяев 1969, p. 586). Because of the variety of meanings the scribes were obviously not sure and sometimes they used the diacritic sign * incorrectly in the Chinese transcription and in this way

the meaning ‘eternally, over a long period’ became the standard one. However this is not an isolated case. Thus, for instance, the sign * was added to the word *naluidču* (Kh. *налуйдаж* ‘to lean or bend to one side’, etc.), which resulted in an incomprehensible word *naruidču/naruyitcu* (§55.11). It is obviously because the scribes writing the Chinese characters were Turkic speaking and perceived this word as the Turkic *naru* meaning ‘to that side, there (away from the speaker)’ (Наделяев 1969, p. 355).

2.1.4. THE AMUSING CASE OF THE WORD *TULUT*

Besides §§167, 207, this word also occurs in §179.26: *Čaγud-quri-jin turuy* (Kh. *Чаятхурийн тулаг*; the expression *Čaγud-quri* is a title, which Temüjin obtained from the Jürčēn state. The meaning of the phrase is ‘Temüjin’s support’. Furthermore, the word occurs in the text of §219.33–34 in a phrase: *edöge min-ü turuy* (‘now my supports’; Kh. *одоо миний тулаг*, or *одоо миний түшиг тулгуур*).

Furthermore in §201, when Jamuqa before his death speaks to Chinggis Khan, he says: “If I die, my bones (soul) will be your eternal support” (*eγüre turuy*). The word *eγüre* in the Ming glossary is translated as (*auf*) *lange* (*Zeit*) – ‘in the long term’; the word *turuy* is translated as *für ferne Zeit* – ‘for remote (later) time’, *für ewig* – ‘eternally’ (Haenisch, 1962, p. 155).

The word *tuluy* (*тулаз*), lit. ‘s.th. to lean on, stick’, extended meaning ‘support’, appears four times in the SHM and only in the first case it is written in the correct Mongolian form *тулаз*, while the other three occurrences were converted into the Turkic *тулаз*.

I. de Rachewiltz, researcher and translator of the SHM, considers the fact that in four cases (§§ 179.26; 201.37; 207.2; 219.23) this word appears with the sign * to be convincing. Therefore he transcribes the only occurrence of *tuluy* (§167) without the sign * as *turuy* in agreement with the other four instances. He notes that this must certainly be the Yakut word *turuk* ‘support’ (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 603). It is rather strange that even though this word has been used in Mongolian and its meaning may be explained from Mongolian, its phonetic shape was changed into a Turkic word and its meaning is explained on the basis of Turkic.

Another explanation of the formal change of the word *tuluy* (‘stick, staff’), would be the fact that the Mongolian scribes felt uneasy about using a word for the Khan, which was used by invalids and ill people. It is quite normal, and not only in Mongolian, that in the official language an unpleasant word

is replaced by a foreign word or by a calque.⁵ In the SHM the word *tuluy* appeared four times with the diacritic at the letter *l*, which implied the pronunciation *r – turuy* (§§ 179.26, 201.37, 207.2, 219.34), so that the style would have appeared neutral to the Mongolian scribes.

Another interesting development connected with the word *tuluy* (§167.5) (*маяг* ‘stick’) is the fact that Ozawa translated it from Chinese characters with the meaning ‘to support, to help’, which is the correct interpretation (Ozawa 1986, III, p. 324). However, the further occurrences of the same word are always spelled in the Chinese transcription as *turuy* and in the Ming glossary it is translated differently. So Ozawa accepted this fact and deviated from his previous correct translation and said (Ozawa 1988, II, p. 142): “... the word *tulug* in the paragraphs §§167, 179 does not mean ‘to support, to help’, it means ‘permanently, steadily, still’”

2.2. Some questions concerning the rules of the Chinese characters

In the SHM there appear some strange words which arose due to the special rules for the transcription of Mongolian pronunciation in Chinese characters.

2.2.1. GÜŽIJESÜN (ŠI.) /QONJIYASUN (RA.) /HONJIYASUN (HAE.) IDESÜ BI, §124.11; I will eat tripe; chitterlings (Kh. *гүжээс /гүжээ идье би*)

Güžijesün (Class. Mo. *güjegen*, Kh. *гүжээ*) is explained as ‘the vessel of ruminants containing the food’ (*хэвэгч амьтны идсэн юмыг агуулдаг сав*; Ceval 1966, p. 164), or ‘paunch’. As food, it is ‘tripe, chitterlings’, which is a favourite food of nomads. It is also called ‘white tripe’ (Kh. *цагаан гүжээ*; see БАМРС 2001, I, p. 470). One of its parts, a thick fold, is called *хужирхай* and it is a popular delicacy of children and young people.

Some Latin transcriptions spell the Chinese characters letter by letter, from which there resulted a change of this word into *qonjiyasun*. This is an analogical case to the transcription of the word *nutuy* (Kh. *нутаг* ‘homeland’) turning into *nuntuq* (Kh. *нунтаг* ‘powder’). In my opinion this happened because of the special rules for the Chinese transcription of open syllables, such as e.g. *nu*, *gü*, in Chinese pronunciation, which did not reflect the real Mongolian pronunciation. In these cases the Latin transcription of Shiratori and the transcription into classical Mongolian script of Sumiyabaatar are correct.

5) E.g. an unpleasant word, Kh. *тахур матуу* ‘crippled and crooked’ = ‘an invalid’, has recently been officially replaced by a neutral word *хөгжлийн бэрхшээл* ‘difficulty of development’.

The Ming translation of the word *güžijesiün* is rendered by Haenisch as *Ausscheidungsorgan* – ‘excretory organ’ (Haenisch, 1962, p. 66).

Following him, many translators explain this expression as *rectum*. For example Rachewiltz (2006, p. 463) says: “*qonjiyasun* (in the text *yonjiyasun*) ‘tripe’ or, more strictly, ‘rectum (anus)’.” But the Mongols neither cook nor eat the sheep’s rectum (anus). The Ming translation is rendered by Čeringsodnam as *cayan gedesü* (Kh. *цагаан гэдэс*), lit. ‘white entrails’. This expression is a Mongolian idiom referring to the ‘paunch’, which means that the Ming translation was correct.

In my opinion the Mongolian expression *cayan gedesü* (tripe) or *цагаан гэдэс* (stomach) cannot be confused with the expression *цагаан мах* (‘rectum, anus’), as happens with some authors (cf. Čeringsodnam 1990, p. 351, note 189).⁶ In the original text the meaning is *хонид адуулж гүзээс идэж явъя би* (lit. ‘let me become your herder of sheep and I will live on eating the tripe’), which suits the nomadic culture from the point of view of ethnography of communication.

2.2.2. NUNŽI NUTUTTAN (Ši.) /NUNJI NUNTUQTAN (Ra.), NÖDÜGSEN BALĠASUTAN, §249.9–10; in a couplet, to be read *önči* (*ömči*) *nutuytan*, *üdügsen* /*ötögsen balyasutan* – ‘land-owners’ (Kh. *өмч нутагтан* / *өмч газартан* / *газар өмчтөн*); ‘towns people bound with the place’ (Kh. *үдсэн балгасан*); or ‘people having stinking towns’ (Kh. *өтсөн балгасан*).

The word *өмч* (property) is spelled *ömči* in Clas. Mongolian, but there is another variant *önčü*. B. Vangjil from Inner Mongolia noted it and confirmed it with an example from Injanash’s historical novel *Blue Book* or *Köke sudur* (Vangjil 1987, p. 196): *önčü-ben qubiyar-a* (Kh. *өмчөө хуваахаар* ‘for the sake of dividing property’). Lubsangdanjin correctly copied this word from the original as *önčü* (Altan tobči 1990, 111b). The expression *өмч нутагтан* was comprehensible to Mongolian readers and did not require any commentary. In the Uighur-Mongolian script the word *önčü* was written *önči*, which the Chinese scribes probably read erroneously as *nunži*. In Clas. Mongolian the word *nunji* (Kh. *нунж*) means ‘weak, frail’ (*сул, дорой*), that is why it cannot be connected with the word *нутаг, нутагтан*. In the Ming translation Haenisch (1962, p. 120) rendered the word *nunži* as *unbewegbar, unbeugbar*,

6) However, note: nomads really enjoy a food called *mutton rectum* (Kh. *хонины хошгиног*, lit. ‘mutton colon, anus’; metaphorically ‘sausage in the colon’). When treating guests with boiled meat on the plate, this food is never lacking. However, the guest must not be the first to taste it. In some regions, there is a habit that should the guest touch this first, the hostess will snatch it up and throw it towards the door.

feststehend – ‘immovable, inflexible, fixed’. This translation was made according to the context, while the real meaning of the word is not obvious. The phrase ‘immovable region, homeland’ derived from the reading of the Ming Glossary does not make much sense.

Haenisch translated the word *nödügsen* (Kh. нүдсэн ‘to pound, to crush’) from the Ming translation as *stoßen, stampfen* – ‘to pound, to stamp’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 118), and rendered the expression *nödügsen balyasu* correctly and freely as *festgestampfte Mauern, festgebaute Städte* – ‘solidly pounded walls, solidly built towns’. The expression *nödügsen balyasutan* is an ironical expression of the nomads about sedentary culture as ‘towns bound (to the ground)’. In Lubsangdanjin *Altan tobči* (Altan tobči 1990, p. 111b) the word *nödügsen* is spelled *üdügsen*, which can have two meanings: a) *ötögsen /ötüg-sen* (lit. ‘worm-eaten’), metaphorically ‘stinking, smelling’; or b) expressive word *üdügsen* (lit. ‘tied up, bound, fastened, fettered’).

2.2.3. ÜLKENŽEKÜN /ULKIN JINGKÜN (Ra.) ÜGÜLEJÜ, §160.8; to be read *olkin jekeiün ögüleyü* – ‘speaks poisonous, malicious, slanderous words’ (Kh. олхин зэхүүн өгүүлэюү)

In the Ming translation this expression is translated as *schmähen, verleumden* – ‘to revile, to abuse, to slander’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 90) and though the translation is correct, the Chinese transcription is doubtful. Some interpretations connect the word *ulkin* with the meaning of modern улиг, улжих ‘importunity, bothering’ and the like.

In my opinion the word is to be read as *olkin jekeiün* (Kh. олхин зэхүүн). In Kovalevsky’s Mongolian-Russian-French dictionary the verb *olki-* is rendered as *злословить* (‘to talk scandal, say spiteful things and slander’; Ковалевский 1844, p. 409). Even though the word *olki-* (олхи-) is no more used in modern colloquial language, it exists in the written language (cf. Lessing *olgi-* ‘to gossip’). The other word *jingkün* is transcribed by Shiratori as *žekün*, which I consider appropriate. It is most probably the word *зэхүүн, зэхүүрэ, зэхүүрхэ* (‘to be unattractive’; not in Hangin or Lessing) widely used in modern language. In Kovalevskij’s dictionary (Ковалевский 1844, p. 2317) it is translated as *отвратительный* (‘disgusting’), *отвращение* (‘disgust’), *возбудить отвращение* (‘to provoke disgust’). The transcription as *jingkün /čingkün* with an additional letter (grapheme) *ng* is the same case of Chinese transcription rules like the confusion of *nutuy* and *nuntuq* discussed above.

3. Mistakes made by the translators' "own hands"

3.1. TRANSLATION WORK OF THE MING TRANSLATORS

tuḡyuba (Ši.) /**tu'uba** (Ra.), §63.2; to be read *toqoba* – 'put, placed'

In the Mongolian original the word *toqoba* (Kh. *moxov* 'put, placed') was erroneously read and transcribed with a long vowel as *tu'uba* by the Chinese scribes and in the Ming glossary it is translated as *sich niederlassen, nieder-setzen* – 'to sit down' (Haenisch 1962, p. 157) and the later translations followed this translation. The word *moxov* means to put or place something somewhere, e.g. Kh. *моринд эмээл мохов* 'placed the saddle on the horse'. In the text a falcon grasped the Sun and Moon by its claws and laid them on the palms of Dei-Sečen's hands. Such a translation is logical and appropriate. In my opinion this dream does not speak about a falcon alighting on his hands, but about laying the Sun and Moon on the palms of his hands. The Chinese scribes read the pattern *V+y/g/w+In* in the Uighur-Mongolian script erroneously, they read a long vowel *u'u* (uu) and instead of the vowel *o* they read the vowel *u*. As for the Ming translation, it makes a contextual guess and does not respect the meanings of the individual words.

Š. Gadamba explains this word as Clas. Mongolian *sayuba* (Kh. *cyv* 'sat down'). Since, according to him (Gadamba 1990, p. 254, comment no. 185), in the Uigur-Mongolian script it was written as *tayuba*, he replaced the initial consonant *t* by *s*, which is not justified in any way.

3.2. MISTAKES MADE BY THE MONGOLIAN TRANSLATORS

Tüngelig-yoroqan huruḡu (Ši.) /**huru'u** (Ra.), §5.3; 'down the River Tüng-kelig' (Kh. *Түнхэлиг горхи уруудан*)

The word *huruḡu* /*huru'u* appears many times in the SHM with the meaning 'down the river'. In the Ming glossary and in the foreign translations it is always translated correctly. But unfortunately it is in the modern Mongolian translations that the phrase is translated incorrectly.

Notes on the words *huruḡu* and *ögede*:

In Middle Mongolian there were two words – *huruḡu* 'down the river' and *ögede* 'up the river'. These two meanings are exactly translated in the Ming glossary, which was correctly followed by translations into foreign languages.

However, the translators into modern Mongolian did not follow it and the result is an erroneous translation. These two words are used in modern language – *yyu* and *өөд*, but they specialised in postpositions or additive suffixes (referring to direction). In the Khalkha dialect the word *huruᠢᠣ* became *-yyu /pᠢᠢ /-луу /лүү*, and the word *ögede* became *-аад*. Even though there is a rule to spell the word in the Cyrillic script as *yyu*, *өөд*, the modern usage is *-yyu /pᠢᠢ*. However, the two forms *yyu /өөд* (in Written Mongolian *uruᠢᠣ /ögede*) are understood by present-day Mongolian speakers to be the suffix of an additive. This is why the words ***huruᠢᠣ*** and ***ögede*** in all Mongolian translations of the SHM were taken as suffixes of the additive.

Modern Mongolian speakers would understand the word *huruᠢᠣ* correctly if it was in the form *уруудан /уруудаж*, and the word *ögede* would have to be replaced by *өгсөн /өгсөж*. The correct translation of the above phrase is *Түнхэлиг горхийг уруудан* is ‘down the River Tüngkelig’. The phrase *Түнхлэг горхи руу /уруу* means the direction ‘to the River Tüngkelik’. In a different context the sentence *Тэмүүжин Сорхон шарын гэрийг эрэн Онон мөрөнгийг уруудан одов* (§ 84) (‘Temüjin was looking for the yurt of Sorqon-Šira and went down the River Onon’) is rendered as ...*Онон мөрөн рүү /уруу /уриуи одов* (‘went to the River Onon’). But since Temüjin was lying in the River Onon, how could he have been going to it? This is no less than strange.

One more example in the SHM in §195: *Tajan Qan Qačir-Usun-ača ködölžü Tamir huruᠢᠣ jabuᠢad Orqon-i ketülžü*

The correct translation of this sentence (*Таян Хан Хачир Уснаас хөдөлж Тамир уруудан яваад Орхоныг гэтэлж*) is ‘Tayan Khan (with the army) set out from the River Khačir Usun, went **down the River Tamir** and waded through the River Orkhon’. This is in agreement with the translations into foreign languages. However, the modern Mongolian translations render the phrase *Tamir huruᠢᠣ* in the sense of ‘direction towards’ – *Таян хан Хачир уснаас хөдөлж Тамир руу (уруу / уриуи) яваад Орхоныг гэтэлж*. From the phrase *Тамир руу яваад* (‘went towards the River Tamir’) modern Mongolian reader would understand that Tayan Khan waded through both the River Tamir and the River Orkhon. But in the original the route is described in detail, Tayan Khan went down the River Tamir (below the confluence, where the Tamir flows into the Orkhon) and waded only through the Orkhon. The words *huruᠢᠣ* and *ögede* are used in the SHM many times and they give exact information about the place and direction of the movement. That is why this should be properly understood.

4. Some doubts about some opinions concerning the grammar of the language of SHM

4.1. NOTE ABOUT VERBAL GRAMMATICAL GENDER

töregülbi (Ši.) /**töre’ulbi** (Ra.), §10.1; to be read *törügülbei* (Kh. *төрүүлвээ* ‘she was born’)

C. Damdinsüreng wrote (Дамдинсүрэн 1957, p. 64):

Vladimircov wrote about gender distinction of nouns in Mongolian. Until recently we did not know about gender distinction of verbs. In 1955 Japanese researcher Ozava Sigeo and German researcher G. Doerfer independently published papers, in which the existence of gender was confirmed.

Since then it has been taken for certain that in Mongolian the distinction of gender has really existed with verbs.

Further Damdinsüreng continues (Дамдинсүрэн 1957, p. 66):

In the past tense the suffixes **-ба**, **-бэ** were used with verbs for the masculine gender and the suffix **-би** was used for the feminine gender. For example: *Добун мэргэн үгэй болба* ‘Dobun Mergen died’ (§17), *Алан-гоа эхэ ану үгэй болби* ‘Mother Alan-goa died (§22) and the like.

Thus it was made clear that in the SHM the verbal suffix **-bi** was used for the feminine gender.

In my opinion, the two past suffixes, **-ba/-be** and **-bai/-bei**, differ in their modality. They were written differently in the Chinese transcription, the suffix **-ba/be** was written using the sign **p’i** (character 45) and **-bai/-bei** was written by the sign **pi** (character 151).

Examples of two similar sentences:

Алан-Гов-а...кемебе (Kh. *Алан-Гоо...гэв* ‘Alan Goa... said’ /she/) appears in the SHM §21.7: *Алан-Гоѳа...кегебе* (in the Chinese transcription 43–19–45).

Алан-Гов-а...кемеbei (Kh. *Алан-Гоо...гэвээ* ‘Alan Goa... said’ /she/) appears in §22.5: *Алан-Гоѳа...кегеbi* (in the Chinese transcription 43–19–151).

In transcription these sentences were distinguished. In my opinion they express different modalities. The first suffix **-(ba)/-be** (Kh. **-ө**) is past tense suffix with no modality. In the second case, the suffix **-(bai)/-bei** expresses the modality of astonishment, an astonishing event (incident?) and regret.

Another example is in §60 about Öelun-Üjin, who gave birth to four boys. Here it is spelled *törebe* and giving birth to one daughter is spelled *törebi*. Was the feminine gender used only because she gave birth to a daughter? But in a sentence about the sons there is the suffix *-bi* in §10: *Alan-Goṽa qo-jar kögün töreḡülbi*. From this it can be concluded that the meaning of these suffixes is not of grammatical gender but of modality.

Some examples of transcription using the sign 151:

noyan-u bidan-u qučaquī daṽun maṽui bolbi ('the barking of our dogs became bad'; *astonishing!* §189.11–12);

čerig-ün bidan-u žasal sülberküi bolbi ('the discipline of our army became bad'; *pity!* §194.36),

moṽyol-un čaq žayaṽan bi-že ese bolbi ('the time and destiny of the Mongols came and everything turned bad'; *pity!* §194.36–37).

These examples certainly cannot be connected with the feminine gender. Is the suffix *-bi* (*-bai/bei*) really a grammatical expression of the feminine gender or rather a stylistic means expressing modality? This should be investigated more deeply.

B.Ja. Vladimircov made a historical comparison between the grammar of the Written Mongolian language (preclassical and classical period) and the Khalkha dialect. Written Mongolian language had the suffixes *-bai/bei* ~ *-ba/be* for the praeteritum perfecti (in the Khalkha dialects the suffixes are *wā/wā* ~ *-w/p*). Vladimircov marked their mutual alternation with the sign (~) (Владимирцов 1989, p. 296) and gave an example in Khalkha dialects: *öḡwā* < Written Mongolian *öḡbei* (ibid., p. 383). If we convert his example *öḡwā* into the Cyrillic script, it will become *öḡwā*. According to Vladimircov the Written Mongolian suffix *-bai/bei* corresponds to the suffix *-ḡaa/-ḡḡ/-ḡoo/-ḡḡ* in Khalkha dialects ('praeteritum perfecti'), but Vladimircov does not specify any further nuances (like modality).

4.2. NOTES ON THE SUFFIX *-DAČA/DEČE*, THE SO-CALLED ABLATIVE

Žamuqa-dača qayačažu, §130.3–4; 'separated from Jamuqa' (from Jamuqa's leadership, position)

In the study of Mongolian grammar there is a standard opinion that in Middle Mongolian there was an ablative with the suffix *-dača/deče*, *-tača/teče* and its remnants are preserved in the present-day language, such as e.g. *бу ээртээсээ ирлээ* ('I came from my home'). Some specialists called

it reduplicated case (suffix Dat.Loc *-da* and Abl. *-ča*). According to Š. Luvsanvandan, there is no reduplicated case. Even if at first sight it looks like two case suffixes, the first of them is in fact a wordforming suffix and only the second one is the case suffix. Thus in the phrase *Žamuqa-dača qayačažu*, the form *Žamuqada* means ‘having been (by dependence, situation, place) at Jamuqa’. Thus the suffix had the function of a noun referring to a place. In some occurrences, however, the suffix *dača/deče* in transcription of the SHM probably expressed the suffix of plural *-d* followed by the Ablative *-ača/eče*. For example:

Düiren gerü-deče Tüngelig yoroqan huruᠢᠦ bölöᠭ irgen neᠭüzü irebe, §28, Kh. *Тойрон хэрүүдээс Түнхэлиг горхин уруудан бөлөг иргэн нүүж ирэв* – ‘From the surrounding dark woods along the River Tüngelig a group of relatives came / immigrated.’ Here the word *gerü* (forest) + *-d* (pl. suff.) + *-eče* (Ablative).

The phrase *Düiren gerü-deče* is translated ‘From the back of [Mount] Düyiren’ (Cleaves, p. 6), or ‘From the northern side of Mount Düyiren’ (Rachewiltz, p. 6) according to the Ming Glossary: *Düyiren* ‘name of a hill’; *gerü* ‘Rückseite, Schatten(seite)’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 50).

5. Conclusion

When we read the Mongolian translations of the SHM and the translations of the SHM into foreign languages, it is obvious that there are many unsolved problems to be studied.

B. Sumyabaatar’s SHM Reader, *МНТ-ны унших бичиг* (this is what the author himself called it, see Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 916) is one useful instrument. He presented the SHM text in the Chinese transcription, the Ming Glossary, the transcription by way of the numbers of the signs, Shiratori’s Latin transcription, and also his own reconstruction of the Classical Mongolian script and a short Chinese translation of each paragraph, all of them collated, the result being an admirable and interesting work. And it was thanks to this work that I managed to penetrate more deeply into the SHM. Thus this Reader became the basic and important book in the libraries of both foreign and Mongolian specialists, who want to know what the SHM was really like.

And so I could find answers in it to questions concerning the manner in which incorrect translations arose. The real ‘culprit’ responsible for most of the above-discussed problematic passages in the SHM, is the Ming Glossary. Thus I could write a critical paper about the erroneous conception of scholars,

The basic source of many mistakes in the Ming glossary is the erroneous reading and transcription from the Uighur-Mongolian original. I trust that in near future the SHM will again be correctly interpreted and translated into both Mongolian and foreign languages from the Mongolian original. To achieve this, there is a need for many textological, graphological and grammatical studies. The Chinese transcription, even though it has many problematic and incorrect readings, still preserves the lost Uighur-Mongolian original and may become a solid basis for further research.

Class. Mo.	Classical Mongolian
Kh.	Khalkha dialect, modern Mongolian
Ra.	Rachewiltz' Latin /romanized transcription
SHM	Secret History of the Mongols
Ši.	Širatori's Latin transcription

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Grammatical descriptors of the language of *The Secret History of the Mongols*

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Summary: The present article deals with the Chinese characters descriptive of Middle Mongolian suffixes, as used in the interlinear word for word translation of the Chinese transcription of *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Taking as the starting point the way Ming scholars tackled this problematic, I try to investigate more deeply the Middle Mongolian morphosyntactic phenomena, as reflected in this text. Conclusions are drawn as to the effective span and function of these particles.

1. Introduction

The original Mongolian text of *The Secret History of the Mongols* has been preserved in the form of a phonetic transcription made by means of Chinese characters.¹ This transcription is accompanied by interlinear Chinese glosses that include the literal meaning of every word as well as a number of grammaticalized Chinese morphemes used to indicate the value of different nominal and verbal suffixes of the Mongolian language.

The aim of this paper is to review some of them as a first approach to this question. The items to be taken into account will be primarily four:

- the grammatical function of the Mongolian suffix,
- the Chinese character(s) used for referring to this grammatical function,
- the possible reason for the choice of the given character(s),
- a testing of its capacity for performing the assigned function.

But before analyzing single cases, let's have a look at the way these grammaticalized morphemes or characters appear in the interlinear Chinese translation. Halliday (1959, p. 27) calls them "termination glosses" and they can be roughly divided into two kinds: nominal and verbal. The termination glosses of a nominal follow usually the semantic glosses, although in certain cases the

1) It was compiled in Ming China in the late 14th century. It is also accompanied by an abridged translation at the end of each paragraph.

contrary is also true. In his description of Chinese grammatical phenomena in the *SHM*, Halliday (1959, p. 112) calls them “postpositive nouns”.

Here follow the Chinese transcriptions for *čeri’üd* and *ilējü*, excerpted from the original and provided with a translation of their glosses:

扯 里 元 的 軍 每 行	čhε	軍 TRANSLATION GLOSS: <i>soldier</i> 每 TERMINATION GLOSS ¹ : <i>plural indicator</i> 行 TERMINATION GLOSS ² : <i>definite case</i>
	ri	
	u	
	ti	
OVERALL MEANING: <i>soldiers, troops (acc.)</i> [čeri’üd § 248.29]		

On the other hand, the termination glosses of a verbal can stand either before or after the word. Halliday (1959, p. 95–99) calls them “prepositive verbs” and “postpositive verbs”:

亦列周 教去着	ji	教	TERMINATION GLOSS ¹ : <i>causative</i>
	ljɛ	去	TRANSLATION GLOSS: <i>go</i>
	čiw	着	TERMINATION GLOSS ² : <i>imperfect converb</i>
<hr/>			
OVERALL MEANING: <i>sending</i>			
[ilējü § 151.3]			

Here I use for these termination glosses the term *descriptor*, because of their capacity to *describe* morphosyntactic phenomena unknown to Chinese itself. A reason to refute the use of “termination glosses” is that these morphological glosses do not stand systematically at the end of the corresponding Chinese gloss. Furthermore, in Mongolian, although affixes are added at the end of the root, only one of them “terminates” the word.

On the other hand, this term might be more appropriate than *marker*, a suffix or a particle expressing a grammatical meaning within the limits of one language.² A descriptor would be a stand-alone morpheme used to

2) By a way of example, the morpheme 見 *jiàn* was a marker for the passive voice in Classical Chinese (Nikitina 2005, p. 17), in the same manner as the suffix *-zð-* is a marker for the same syntactic function in Modern Mongolian. On the other hand, the morpheme 被 *bèi*, as used in the gloss of the *SHM*, is a descriptor for the Middle Mongolian passive suffix *-qda/-kde*.

indicate inherited grammatical features of another language. Unlike a marker, it does not necessarily have a grammatical function in the describing language.³ At the most it “translates” the grammatical notions of the described language.

Most of these descriptors were specially designed to play this role as a reference or companion to the Mongolian suffixes. A few already existed at the time in a grammaticalized state in Chinese. I will attempt in this paper to give hints as to the meanings of both types of descriptors, as well as provide a description of their functioning, so as to test their capacity in this role. This should help to verify whether the Chinese transcribers intended to provide the Mongolian text with a description of its grammar and the possible reason behind this.

Note on conventions used in this paper:

Many of the assumptions made here are based on data collected and presented in my B.A. and M.A. thesis (Laurencio 2009, 2013):⁴

- the variation in the amount of space between Mongolian words in the Chinese transcription, with the implications this can have as a system of punctuation, is taken from Street (1986);
- as regards the phonetic values of Mongolian words, they are presented in a dual system of transliteration and transcription; the transliteration (in boldface) is based on the reconstructions established by Pulleyblank (1991) for Early Mandarin,⁵ the transcription is mine (although heavily indebted to Ligeti 1971 and Rachewiltz 1972).

3) This might not always be true, as we shall see, because in some cases the descriptor appears to be an already grammaticalized word in Chinese. In any case, its use obeys, within the gloss, the necessity of indicating Mongolian grammatical values, and for this reason it does not necessarily follow Chinese grammatical and syntactical rules, which disqualifies it as a marker.

4) Sources for the examples presented:

- for the original text in Chinese transcription: YZMS (1936)
- for the English translations: Rachewiltz (2004)

5) Early Mandarin, the current vernacular, emerged with the advent of the Yuan dynasty (Pulleyblank 1991, pp. 3–4), and is most probably at the base of the phonological system used in the transcription of the SHM.

2. The definite case

The Middle Mongolian nominal suffix **-yi / -i** indicates what Street calls the definite case (Street 1957, p. 30):

In the traditional treatment of Mongolian, this particle is called the accusative ending, but since nominals both with and without this particle occur both as subject and object of verbals, this name, and the implied meaning, are not applicable to it. I call it rather THE DEFINITE PARTICLE, since nominals modified by it have a more specific meaning than those not so modified.

I follow here his opinion on this ending. I do so partly for a practical reason connected with its treatment in the Chinese gloss: whereas there is a descriptor in the presence of the suffix, there is none in the event that it is absent, even though the nominal is also the object of a verbal.

The first form **-yi** regularly appears after a vowel, whereas the second one **-i** is to be found after consonants. It should be noted that in the case of a final *n*, a phonetic doubling can occur, as in *kö'ün-ni* (§ 16.2), as opposed to such instances as *irgen-i* (§ 39.1). In Modern Mongolian, it would correspond to the forms *-biɛ² / -ɛ*.

The descriptor mainly used is 行 *xíng*,⁶ which conveys in Chinese the idea of a performed or carried out action.⁷ From a random statistical calculation, it appears that this descriptor is used in 75 percent of cases of the appearance of the suffix.⁸ In 8.33% of cases 將 *jiāng* is used, and in the remaining 16.66% no descriptor is available. Not included in the statistics are the cases of nominals acting as objects of verbals without taking the suffix.

In the following examples we see how a nominal such as *čeri'üd* can be the object of a verbal both with and without the case ending. The Chinese descriptor 行 nevertheless is applied only in the event that the suffix is appended to the Mongolian word:

[248.29] // 扯舌里兀的軍x每d行d [248.30] // 中合舌里兀周教d回x若d // 亦出罷退x了d伯原作n
 č^heriuti x^hriulčiw jič^hypa
 čeri'üd-i qari'ulju ičuba
 He ordered back *the troops* [...] and withdrew.

6) Along with every Chinese descriptor, its modern pinyin pronunciation is given here.

7) According to Mathews' *Chinese-English Dictionary* (1931, p. 410): *To do, to act*.

8) These statistical results are taken from my B.A. Thesis (Laurencio 2009, p. 69).

[151.3] ///亦難察^{人名x} //中罕^{皇帝x} ///扯^舌里兀^{單x每d} //亦列周教^{d去x若d}

jīnānč'a qan č'eriut^h jilječiw

Inanča qan č'eri'ūt ilējū

Inanča Qan dispatched *his troops* [...].⁹

Yet from this other example, in which the suffix **-yi/-i** appears with the subject of a verbal, with the subsequent use of the descriptor 行, we can establish that its use is rather mechanical, according to a simple principle: suffix you see, descriptor you get. In some ways, this fact reinforces Street's statement about this suffix not necessarily fulfilling an object function, and makes it extensible to the descriptor.

[265.7] ///成吉思^{太祖x} /中合罕^{皇帝x行d} [265.8] /秣^舌驪納察^{馬x行d} //兀納阿速^{倒x了呵d}

//馬里牙班^{肌膚x自的行d} //馬石^{好生x} //額別^{抽x若d} [265.9] /捌斡^{舌兒中合}

//保兀罷^{下x了d伯原作n}

č'ihkis qaxanni mōrinač'a unaosu malijapan maši jajpjet^hč'iw šwawwɔɔɔɔɔɔ^h pɔwupa PAJ
in the original

Činggis qahan-ni morin-ača una'asu maliya-ban maši ebetčü Čo'orqat bawuba BAI in the original
Činggis Qa'an fell off the horse and, his body being in great pain, he halted at Čo'orqat.

Let's turn our attention to the competing descriptor 將 *jiāng*. This morpheme has a high degree of grammaticalization in Chinese, since it is used in this language as a co-verb for introducing the object of the main verb. In any case, the reason for its use as descriptor is something which deserves deeper study, since it is not apparent why we have, for example, *namayi* glossed as 將我 on the one hand, and as 我行 on the other:¹⁰

[77.10] /納馬宜^{將d我x} /也勤^{為甚x} //你覲^{覲x的d} //速^舌里木孫^{毛x} ///阿馬訥^{口x的d} /中合中合孫^{機x}

//李^勒中合梅^{nd做x有d} //塔^{塔x}

namaji jek^hin nitunu surimusun ɔmanu qɔχɔsun pɔɔχɔmuj t^ha

namayi yekin nidün-ü surimusun amanu qaqasun bolqamui ta

[...] why do you regard *me* as a lash in the eye, a thorn in the mouth?

9) The absence of suffix in this example indicates that the object is not definite (or, in Street's words, that the nominal concerned does not have a specific meaning). Therefore it would be more appropriate to translate this passage as "Inanča Qan dispatched / sent troops".

10) We can make the assumption that the descriptor 行 *xíng* automatically replaces the suffix, without accounting for differences in function and meaning, and that 將 *jiāng* appears in contexts where the status of the nominal as a definite OBJECT is fully guaranteed, but this hypothesis needs to be confirmed through the analysis of more occurrences. Another possibility would be to consider 將 *jiāng* as part of the translation gloss rather than as a suffix descriptor in view of its appearance before the object referred to, as it would in Chinese itself.

3. The genitive case

The Middle Mongolian nominal suffix **-un** / **-ün** indicates the genitive case. This form appears after a consonant, except for /n/, in which case we have the allomorph **-u** / **-ü**, with the possibility of a phonetic doubling, as in the definite case: instances such as *irgen-nü* (§ 6.1) appear besides instances such as *irgen-ü* (§ 40.2). It is still the case that in combination with the final segment *-n-u* / *-n-ü* the possessive suffix **·ai** / **·ei** can appear. After vowels and after the diphthong *-ai* / *-ei*, the variant **-yin** appears. In Modern Mongolian it would correspond to the suffixes *-bɪŋ*², *-ɪbɪ*².

The descriptor used in the Chinese gloss is 的 *de* in 100 percent of cases. As for the composite suffix **·n-u'ai** / **·n-ü'ei** the percentage is also very high: 83.33% for 的 *de* alone, and with the addition of the plurality marker 每 *měi* (的每 / 每的) in the remaining 16.66%. The particle 的 is a very grammaticalized marker in the Chinese language, it has precisely the possessive meaning and therefore its use here as possessive or adjective descriptor is almost “natural”.

In the following three examples, the first one contains the form of the genitive case ending after a vowel, and the other two show the different transcriptions of the suffix after the consonant *n*, with and without its doubling:

[21.5] // 忒迭^{明白x} / 亦訥^{他x的d} // 騰吉^舌里因^{天x的d} / 可兀^{子xnd} / 備由^{有xnd} / 者^{也者x}
tʰjɛmtʃɛkʰ jinu tʰəŋkirijin kʰɔul pɕjiw čia
 temdek inü *tenggiri-yin* kö'üd buyu je
 [...] the sign is clear: They are the sons of Heaven.

[1.4] // 幹難^{河名x} / 沐^舌漣訥^{河x的d} / 帖^舌里兀捏^{源x行d}
wɔnan murjennu tʰjeriunje
Onan müren-nü teri'ün-e
 [...] at the source of the Onan river [...]

[17.1] // 帖因^{那x脫d} / 阿塔刺^{住x間d} // 朶奔篋兒干^{ox} / 兀該^{無x} / 孛^勒罷^{做x了d} // 朶奔篋兒格泥^{ox行d}
 // 兀該^{無x} / 孛魯^撒 [17.2] 訥^{做x了d的d} / 豁亦納^{後x}
tʰɛjin ɬʰala tɔpunmjerkan ukaj ɔlpa tɔpunmjerɕajni ukaj ɔlɔɕsanu xwɔjina
 teyin atala Dobun mergen ügei bolba, Dobun mergen-i ügei *boloqsan-u* qoyina
 Before long, Dobun Mergen died. After *his* death [...]

4. The past perfect tense

The Mongolian verbal suffix **·ba** / **·be** indicates the past perfect tense. It is a perfect referring to the recent past (Poppe 1954, p. 92).

These forms are ruled by vowel harmony. There are special forms for the feminine, **·bi**, and for the plural, **·bai** / **·bei**.¹¹ They correspond in Modern Mongolian to the suffix *-ə*.

The descriptor used in the Chinese gloss is 了 *le* in 91.66 percent of cases. In the remaining 8.33 percent of cases it alternates with 来 *lái* or appears in combinations with it, 来了 / 来了.

The final particle 了 is a highly grammaticalized marker in the Chinese language, carrying the semantic notion of a completed action.¹² On the other hand, the competing 来 *lái*, was also in use until about the 18th century as a perfect marker, then only 了 *le* remained after that time in charge of this function (Zhāng 1986, cited in Sun 1996, p. 106). Thus, both descriptors were already markers dedicated for the expression of past or completed actions in Chinese.¹³

[126.1] // 脫幹_{舌里} 人名_x [126.2] // 中罕_突 舌兒_{皇帝} 行_d // 答_中 孩_{人名} 速格_該 人名_x / 中豁_牙 舌里_{兩箇} 行_d
 // 額_赤 使臣_x // 亦列_罷 去_x 了_d 伯原作_n

t^həw^hiril xantup taxaj sukajkaj xwəjari jajlčhi jiljəpa

To'oril qan-dur Daqai Sügegei qoyar-i elči ilebe

He sent Daqai and Sügegei as envoys to To'oril Qan of the Kereyit [...]

- 11) The plural form can also be used as an honorific for the singular, as can be seen above (265.7), and in the first example (126.1) presented below.
- 12) Regarding the history of this particle in Chinese, Sun (1996, p. 82) comments: *Among other uses in Middle Chinese, LE was used as a verb in the sense of 'to complete', in the V O LE sequence. However, in Early Mandarin (between the 10th and 14th centuries), LE embarked on the road of grammaticalization and became attached to a verbal stem, i.e., the V O LE sequence was changed to the V-LE O sequence.*
- 13) Moreover, there is a supplementary way in which transcribers reinforce the idea of perfectivity here. A great number of verbs ending in **·ba** / **·be** or **·bai** / **·bei** are provided with an editorial indication that the transcribing character 罷 *pa ba* substitutes an original 八 / 巴 *pa ba*, 別 *pjə be* or 伯 *paj bai* (Halliday 1959, pp. 30–31; also see Street 2008, p. 402, for more details). This morpheme 罷 *ba* means “stop, cease, finish”, semantically matching the perfectivity expressed by the Mongolian suffix (Street 2008, p. 404), to the detriment of the representation of aspects as pronunciation or grammar, since neither vowel harmony or category of numeral are respected.

It is also probable that the need to distinguish vowel harmony in the endings was not felt very strongly as a reflection of the orthographic peculiarities of the Mongolian classical writing, where *a* and *e* are represented by a single grapheme in medial and final positions, once harmony is clearly distinguished in initial position. Concerning the plural form, it could be assumed that by the time these interventions were made in the original transcription, it was already perceived as outdated and therefore negligible.

[99.2] /訶額^{母名x}命^{母x} /額^{母x}客^{母x} //幹帖兒^{疾快x} /古^{也x} //李思畢^{起x了d}

xəjajlyn jajk^hje wə^hjer ku pəspi

Hö'elün eke öter-kü *bosbi*

Mother Hö'elün also *rose* in haste.

[93.4] ///撒因^{好x} /那可兒^{伴當x} //蒙塔你周^{鞏難xnd} [93.5] /阿亦孫^{來xnd} //阿主兀^{有xmd}
//那可徹周^{做伴x若d} //幹都刺阿^{去x了來d}

sajin nək^hr munt^haničiw əjisun əčy nək^həč^həčiw wətuləə

sain nökör mungtaniju ayisun əju'u nököčəjü *odulaə*

A good friend came to me in trouble, I became his companion and *went* with him.

5. The imperfect converb

The Middle Mongolian verbal suffix **·čü** / **·čü** stands for the imperfect converb. This converb 'expresses an action performed simultaneously with the main action' (Poppe 1954, p. 96).

The form **·čü** / **·čü** appears after a consonant, except for /l/, in which case we have the allomorph **·ju** / **·jü**, also present after a vowel. They correspond in Modern Mongolian to the suffixes *-ч*, *-ж*.

The descriptor used in the gloss is 着 *zhe* in practically 100 percent of cases. The character 者 *zhě* can also appear, but it could be a mistake for 著 *zhe* (a graphic variant of 着) induced by both the similarity and pronunciation of the two characters. The morpheme 着 is a marker of continuous aspect in Chinese, used to indicate that the action is ongoing or to describe a concomitant action, or also to describe a secondary action specifying the manner in which the main action occurs, which befits the meaning of this suffix:

[1.3] ///騰汲思^{水名x} /客禿^勒周^{渡x若d} /亦^舌列罷^{來x了d}

t^həŋkis k^hjet^hulčiw jirjəpa

Tenggis *ketüljü* irebe

They came *crossing* the Tenggis.

In the following passage (§ 33.2), we have the transcription 逐步 **japu**, corresponding to the Mongolian verb *yabu*, with the accompanying gloss consisting of the translation gloss 行 *xíng* ('to go') and the grammatical gloss 着 *zhe* (continuous aspect marker). The mere presence of this descriptor could be a hint that a character is lacking in the Chinese transcription and that the word should consequently be reconstructed as *yabuju*, based on the mechanical use of descriptors observed above:

[33.1] /李端察兒^{ox} //不中忽中合塔吉^{ox} //阿中合余安^{兄x自的d} ///豁亦納察^{後x自d} /答中合周^{隨x若d}
 //中合答^{舌刺周點x若d} [33.2] /逐步^{行x若d} /鳴詰列^{舌論說xnd}

pɒtɒnʧar puχuxɒʈaki ɰχɔyan xwɔjinaʧa taχɒciw χɒtaraʧiw japu ukuljerun

Bodončar Buqu qatagi aqa-yu'an hoyin-ača daqaju qadaražu yabužu ügülerün

Bodončar, who was trotting behind his elder brother Buqu Qatagi, said on the way [...]

6. The conditional converb

The Middle Mongolian verbal suffix **·basu** / **·besü** stands for the conditional converb. It expresses a conditional value unless the main action is a past tense form, in which case it involves a temporal value, i.e., indicates the time at which the main action takes place (Poppe 1954, p. 95).

The form **·asu** / **·esü** is likewise encountered, but in similar contexts to **·basu** / **·besü**, so they can be considered regular phonetic variants. In Modern Mongolian, they would correspond to the suffixes *-бал⁴*, *-вал⁴*.

The descriptor used in the gloss is 呵 *hē*, or the combination 着呵 *zhehē*, in 83.33 percent of cases. The rest is divided between 着 *zhe*, 了 *le*, and the combination 了呵 *lehē*, for the temporal meaning.

The Chinese word 呵 *hē* usually means “breathe out” or “curse”. It is also an interjection roughly equivalent to the English “ah” or “oh”. According to Yú (1992, cited in Chung 2006, p. 34) it is a form of postposition representing the subjunctive, which is used in the Chinese gloss of the *SHM* to express a meaning similar to “if”. Chung (2006) also mentions its use in legal documents that reflect Peking colloquial language in the Yuan period.

The first example presented here is a case of an IF clause (conditional value) and the second one, of a WHEN clause (temporal value):

[56.14] /中合亦刺阿速^{叫x呵d} //中合目刺亦周^{回頭x若d} ///兀禄^{不x} /兀者古^{見x有d}

χɒjilaʒasu χɒlajiʧiw ulu uʧiaku

qayilaʒasu qarayiju ülü üjegü

If you call him, and he looks back,

He will not see you [...]

[85.3] /格兒圖兒^{家x裏d} //亦訥^{他x的d} /幹^{舌羅巴速入x呵d} ///鎖兒^{中罕失舌刺名x} [85.4] /額客邊^{母x自的行d}

//迭兀捏^{舌里顏弟x每d自的行d} //額^{舌鄰尋xnd} /幹^{去xnd} //額薛兀^{不曾x} //客列魯額^{說x了d歷d} /必^{我x}

///也勤^{為甚x} [85.5] /亦^{舌列罷來x了d} /赤你^x //客額罷^{說x了d}

kjajrtʰur jinu wɔɾɔpasu sɔɾχaŋsira jajkʰjepjen tjeunjerijan jajrin wɔʈ jajsjeu kʰjeljelɔjaj pi
 jekʰin jirjepa ʧʰi kʰjejaipa

ger-tür inü orobasu Sorqan Šira eke-ben de'ü-ner-iyen erin od ese'ü kelelü'e bi yekin irebe ʧi ke'ebe
 When he entered the tent, Sorqan Šira said, 'Didn't I tell you to go and look for your mother
 and younger brothers? Why did you come here?'

7. The causative

There are basically two variant forms for expressing the causative or factitive case in Middle Mongolian: **·ul·** / **·ül·**, which appears after a vowel, and **·qa·** / **·ge·**, after a consonant, except for /d/, in which case we have the allomorph **·ke·** for **·ge·**. In some verbs with front vowels the variant **·ē·** can appear instead of **·ge·**, reflecting that the intervocalic /g/ is not pronounced anymore, the vowel being lengthened instead. They basically ‘express the idea of causing (letting, ordering, permitting) someone to perform the action expressed by the primary verb’ (Poppe 1954, p. 61). In Modern Mongolian, they would correspond to the suffixes *-γγλ*⁻² and *-za*⁻⁴, *-aa*⁻⁴, respectively.

In the case of **·ul·** / **·ül·** the Chinese morpheme 教 *jiào* appears as the grammatical descriptor in 75 percent of instances. Concerning **·qa·** / **·ge·**, again the descriptor is 教 *jiào*, but quite frequently there is none, mainly in such cases as *bolqa-* or *qarqa-*, probably due to the fact that these words are perceived as a significant unit.

[194.30] /撒察一般x //那可舌列伴當x行d //額舌列因男子x的d //阿舌魯脊背x ///阿馬傷因驢馬x的d
//中合舌兒中含後將x //額薛不曾x [194.31] /兀者兀魯列額教d見x米d

sač^a nök^hörje jajrjejin ɔɔ ɔχ^hajin χɔɣam jajsje učiaulɔljeaj

sača nökör-e ere-yin aru aqta-yin qarqam ese üje’ülüle’e

[...] never *showed* a man’s back or a gelding’s rump to an enemy that was his match.

[129.5] //成吉思太祖x /中合中罕泥皇帝x行d [129.6] /古連古迭地名x行d //不中灰突舌兒有x時d //客連語xnd
//古舌兒堅nd送到x nd //亦舌列主爲米x了d

č^hin^{kis} χɔχanni kuljenkutje puχujtup k^heljen kupkjen jirječyuj

Činggis qaqan-ni Gürelgü-de buqui-dur kelen *gürge*n irejü’üi

News of their approach *was brought* to Činggis Qa’an, who was then staying in the Gürelgü Mountains [...]

As can be seen in the second example, no descriptor appears representing the causative suffix. However, the rendering of the causative meaning was solely entrusted to the translation gloss (送到 *sòngdào* ‘to send, to deliver’).

In the following case, the presence of the descriptor turns out to be of help in reconstructing a long *ē*, marker of the causative, even if it doesn’t appear noted down in the Chinese transcription.

[6.4] /朵奔蔑兒干^{ox} /迭兀余延弟x行d //兀者舌列有xnd //亦列罷教d去x了d

tɔpunmjerkan tjeuyjen učiarje jiljeja

Dobun Mergen de’ü-yü’en üjere *ilēbe*

[...] he *sent* his younger brother Dobun Mergen to have a look.

It should be distinguished from cases with a short *e*. In the example below, the transcribed Mongolian word 亦列罷 **jiljɛpa** *ilebe*, is translated as 去 *qù* (to go, to leave) with a descriptor for the past perfect tense 了 *le*, but without a descriptor for the causative, unlike the previous case.¹⁴

[95.1] //別勒古台宜^{人名x行d} /字韓兒出宜^{人名x行d} /那可徹耶^{做伴x咱d} //客延^{麼道x} [95.2]
 /兀^{舌里周}喚^{x看d} //亦列罷^{去x了d}

ɕjelkutʰajji ɔwɔrɕʰyji nɔkʰɔɕʰɛje kʰɛjeɣen uriɕiw jiljɛpa

Belgütei-yi Bo'orču-yi nököčeye ke'en uriju *ilebe*

[...] he *sent* Belgütei to invite Bo'orču to join him as his companion.

8. The passive voice

The Middle Mongolian verbal suffix **·qda·** / **·kde·** indicates the passive voice. This form corresponds to *-ɔd-* in Modern Mongolian. There is also a variant form **·ta·** / **·te·**, which appears after the consonants /b/, /s/, /d/, /g/ or /r/ in the root of the verb, with an allomorph **·da·** / **·de·** after /l/, which would in turn correspond to Modern Mongolian *-ɔ-*, *-m-*. Street classifies its meanings according to the semantic relations between the actor and the verbal. These can be three (Street 1957, p. 43):

[...] the actor of the verbal plus the passive particle is a goal of the verbal alone, the actor of the verbal plus the passive particle is a person indirectly affected by the action of the verbal alone, the actor of the verbal plus the passive particle is a person whose possession is the goal of the verbal alone.

The descriptor used in the Chinese gloss is 被 *bèi* in two thirds of the cases. In the remaining third no descriptor is used. The particle 被 can already act in Chinese as a passive marker, although in a strict sense sentences containing it are not passive, since they ‘may contain intransitive verbs which cannot be passivized and verbs still transitive with overt objects’ (Her 2008, p. 201). As a descriptor in the *SHM*, it always appears before the verb.

Each example presented here represents each of the cases referred to by Street above, in the same order:

14) See also example 151.3 above; in some cases no indication is given at all (cf. 126.1 above). In his dictionary, Haenisch (1939, p. 81) gives two forms, a primary one: *ilegu* 去 *gehen*, *hingehen*, *weggehen* (to go, to leave) and a causative one: *ilēgu* 教去 *gehen lassen*, *schicken* (to let go, to send). Transcribers such as Rachewiltz (1972) don't make this distinction, reporting *ilē-* for all instances.

[83.10] //兀者 迭別^克被^d見^x米^d /客延^麼道^x //不^休休^x //客列列^說xnd

učiak^htjepje k^hjejen pu k^hjeljelje

üjekdebe ke'en bü kelele

[...] don't tell him you were seen [...]

[150.12] ///也速該^{人名}x [150.13] /中罕^{皇帝}x //亦馬宜^他x行^d //斡額^舌兒^{-x} //都^舌里顏^{自己}x行^d
///亦^舌列^克 迭周^被d來^x若^x ///斡額^孫自己^x的^d //扯^舌里^里克^x [150.14] /秣^舌驪刺周^上馬^x若^d

jesukaj ʁan jimaji wǝjajpturijan jirjek^htječiw wǝjajsun č^herik^h mǝrilačiw

Yesügei qan ima-yi ö'er-dür-iyen irekdejü ö'esün čerig morilaǝu

Prompted by his coming to him, Yisügei Qan moved his own army into the field [...]

[190.25] //那闊^舌列^伴笛^x行^d //中豁^舌里顏^{箭筒}x自^的行^d //阿^卜荅阿速^被d要^x了^叫d

nǝk^hwǝrje ʁwǝrijan ǝptaǝsu

nökör-e qor-ıyan abtaǝsu

If [...] an enemy is allowed to take away one's quiver [...]

9. Conclusions

Throughout the extant original of *The Secret History of the Mongols* there is a consistent attempt to provide every Mongolian suffix with its grammatical meaning in Chinese. As some of the Mongolian grammatical categories are unknown to the Chinese language, most of these grammatical descriptors were especially devised for their use in the *SHM*. This might give us an important clue as to the reasons why a transcription like this was at all devised: to provide relevant grammatical information for the teaching of the Mongolian language to Chinese officials.

As we have seen here, the use of these descriptors seems to be rather mechanical, a fact that can have its advantages. To give an example, it can help to reconstruct a suffix eventually lacking in the transcription, due to a copyist's mistake (if we assume that every time a grammatical descriptor is found, it systematically refers to a suffix). It can also help to clarify ambiguous readings due to the difficulty to convey Mongolian phonemes by means of Chinese characters (such as the restitution of the long *ē* of the causative).

Nevertheless, the reality of the descriptors is more complex than this. As we have also seen, there are cases in which the same descriptor is used for more than one suffix, and at the other extreme, there are cases in which more than one descriptor is used for the same suffix, to distinguish different grammatical functions, or without apparent reason or a clear function. This raises the question whether the descriptors are meant for describing the meaning or function of every suffix, or merely for indicating their presence, automatically replacing them. I shall concentrate on this issue in a further development of this work.

List of symbols:

- [-] suffix appended to the root by means of a hyphen (i.e. **-yin** → *tenggiri-yin*)
- [.] suffix written together with the root (i.e. **•basu** → *orobasu*)
- [§] paragraph in the *SHM*
- [.] divides different allomorphs of a suffix (i.e. **-yi, -i**)
- [/] divides variants of a suffix according to vowel harmony (i.e. **-un / -ün**)
- [/] boundary of word not marked with a space (in the Chinese transcription)
- [//] boundary of word marked with a small space (in the Chinese transcription)
- [///] boundary of word marked with a big space (in the Chinese transcription)
- [馬_x行_d] translation gloss (x) and grammatical gloss or descriptor (d)
- [伯原作_n] editorial note (n)
- [°] lacking translation gloss
- [~] the corresponding gloss appears attached to the next word
- [°] lacking grammatical gloss or descriptor (in cases where it is expected to be)

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Aleph and *titem* in the Mongolian script

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Summary: This short paper discusses the question of the *aleph* and *titem* signs in the Mongolian script. Besides describing their origin and use in the system of the Mongolian script, the paper points out some aspects of their functioning in the writing system, their similarities and differences, which are also interpreted from the historical perspective.

1. What is an *aleph*?

Aleph is the name of the initial letter of the ancient Semitic alphabet that was used three thousand years ago. As for its shape, from the beginning *Aleph* had the contours of an ox's head. However, having relocated through the ancient Hebrew, Assyrian, Greek and Latin scripts, it reached us as the letter *A* in Cyrillic. As for the name, it is called *aleph* in Hebrew, *alpha* in Greek and *alif* in Arabic. As for pronunciation, it did not indicate any sound to distinguish a particular meaning at the beginning; it only indicated an initial aspirated sound. But later, in Hebrew and Aramaic it started to indicate the vowel *a* which was handed down to Latin, Cyrillic etc.

In general, the letter that was called *aleph* had two basic functions: to maintain in an adequate way the shape of the ox's head and to indicate the initial aspirated sound and the aspiration at the beginning of the word.

Now, it is interesting to know whether there is an *aleph* in the Sogdian script, and consequently in the Uighur and Mongolian scripts that were derived from Sogdian. The scholars, who studied the history of world scripts as well as the Mongolian script have named the initial *a* letter as an *aleph*.¹ It means that they have considered the position of the letter on the one hand, and the designation of the *a* sound on the other hand.

The most careful study of the *aleph* in the Mongolian script was carried out by professors J. Luvsandorj and Jin Gang, who explained the phenomenon

1) Diringier 1968, pp. 364–369; Bright, Daniels (ed.) 1996, pp. 437–439, 539–546; Владимирцов 1929, pp. 69, 71, 80; Ринчен 1966, p. 12.

by including the first *s'u'd* 'tooth' (an aleph in the middle position) of the first vowel with the initial fricative *h* of the words of Middle Mongolian.²

However, I have another point of view and I hope this gives one more way of looking at *aleph* from a different perspective. On this occasion I aim to express my opinion on the confusion of *aleph* with *titem* in the Mongolian script.

Originally the Sogdians, when they adapted the horizontal Aramaic into their vertical writing system, preserved some shapes of *aleph*, which were transferred into the Uighur and Mongolian scripts almost without any alteration. However, it is difficult to judge from current linguistic perspectives whether the function of *aleph* was preserved and whether at that time it indicated aspiration for the Uighur script and later for the Mongolian scripts as well.

A theoretical study of written monuments that have preserved the characters of Middle Mongolian shows that a weak fricative *h* at the beginning of the words originated from the bi-labial stop **p* of Altaic languages.³ This proves that it has no connection, directly or indirectly, to the aspirated sound that was depicted by *aleph* in ancient Semite languages like Aramaic and Hebrew.

By the XIV-XV century the initial weak fricative *h* in Middle Mongolian had lost simultaneously its function both in terms of bi-labial pronunciation and distinctive meaning which is shown in the written monuments in Chinese and Arabic.

<i>heligen</i> (IM 438) ~ <i>eligen</i> (IM 436)	'liver'
<i>hirgen</i> (Mu. 185) ~ <i>irgen</i> (Mu. 120)	'people, subject'
<i>hoqar</i> (IM 438) ~ <i>oqar</i> (Mu. 158)	'short'
<i>hödün</i> (Mu. 327) ~ <i>ödün</i> (L 1259, Ist. 60)	'feather'
<i>hula:n</i> (Mu. 187, L 77) ~ <i>ula:n</i> (Mu. 363)	'red'
<i>hüker</i> (Ist. 35, L 68) ~ <i>üker</i> (Mu. 303)	'ox, cow'

The same situation is attested by some verses in the *Secret History of the Mongols*; some words with an initial *h* are alliterated with words without an *h* in the initial position.

2) Jin Gang 1993, pp. 85–146; Лувсандорж 1984, pp. 35–44.

3) Ramstedt 1916–1920, pp. 1–10; Pelliot 1925, pp. 193–263; Ramstedt 1957, pp. 39–40, 52–56; Aalto 1955, pp. 9–16; Poppe 1955, pp. 96–98; Poppe 1961, pp. 10–12; Räsänen 1961, pp. 146–148; Doerfer 1981, pp. 133–135; Doerfer 1982, pp. 139–141, 159; Төмөртөр 1992, pp. 121, 152–153.

Hodutai teŋgeri horčiju бүлэе:

Olon ulus bulqa бүлэе: (SHM 254)

‘The stary sky was turning upon itself

The many people were in turmoil.’ (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 183)

Onan müren-ni dolgistala

Hoi jubur da’u:ristala (SHM 56)

‘Until her voice stirred the waters of the Onan River

Until it resounded throughout wood and valley.’ (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 12)

According to some scholars’ observations, in some dialects of Modern Mongolian, the weak aspiration still exists before the initial vowel (Hattori 1951, pp. 89–96). However, it is impossible to identify this or to find an equivalent to the aspirated sounds of Ancient Semitic languages.

In cases where the initial *s’u’d* of a vowel in the Mongolian script depicted the same pronunciation of the weak fricative *h* as in Middle Mongolian, it should have been indicated by a special letter in the ‘Phags-pa script. But it was depicted as *ux a* (‘big *a*’) in the ‘Phags-pa script. This proves that the initial *acuy* (Kh. *acag*, ‘tooth’) of a vowel in the Mongolian script does not have any relation either to aspiration or to the weak fricative *h*; this is a *titem* that only indicates the initial position in the word.

2. What is a *titem*?

Titem is not a letter that depicts a sound. It is a sign that indicates the initial vowel of the word. In the Mongolian script, the tradition of using a *titem* has developed since the XIII–XIV centuries and scholars have named it an *aleph*.

In the Mongolian script every vowel had a *titem*. The following examples demonstrate that the initial *e* vowel was depicted by *titem* + *s’u’d* ‘tooth’ (an aleph in middle position).

<i>’ene</i> (Mön. 3, Sul. 7b3, Alex. 14a3)	‘this’
<i>’erdem</i> (Alex. 14b6)	‘knowledge’
<i>’ečige</i> (Alex. 15a1, Ölj. 33)	‘father’
<i>’ejen</i> (Alt. 20d3, Alex. 14b15)	‘lord, master’
<i>’eke</i> (Sul. 12b3)	‘mother’
<i>’ebüge</i> (Ölj. 14)	‘ancestor’

It is obvious that from the writing system point of view, in order to differentiate the ‘titemised’ initial *a* vowel from the *e* vowel, the writing should have required *titem* + 2 *s’u’d*. However, the written forms of both the initial *a* and

e vowels are similar, though they can be easily identified by the position. Despite this, as time passed, in the Mongolian script the letters mentioned tended to be differentiated and, only the initial *e* vowel was depicted by a single *titem*. This development was reflected in the ancient Uighur writing tradition.

The *titem* in Mongolian had the shape of an initial *s'u'd* of vowels but later, having been influenced by calligraphy it was transformed into the form of a hooked *s'u'd*.

In the ancient Sogdian and Uighur scripts a vowel can be found in any position within a word. Therefore, there was no need to differentiate it according to its position. On the other hand, when the Mongolian script adopted the syllabic structure, a single vowel could appear only in the initial position, and this is why the initial vowel was named traditionally as *ax ʁcɛɛ*, *əx ʁcɛɛ* (parental letters), and the *s'u'd* in the initial vowel was named *diadēma* in Greek to indicate its initial position.

In Mongolian 'Phags-pa script *ux a* appears only at the beginning of a word and thus it plays the role of *titem*.

To conclude, the *aleph* demonstrates the 'ox's head' in terms of meaning and shape, and thus it is a **letter** that indicates the initial aspiration, whereas the *titem* is a **sign** that indicates only the initial position in a word.

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Some undocumented features of the horizontal square script of Zanabazar

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Summary: The Horizontal Square Script invented by Zanabazar *circa* 1686 has been analyzed and studied by several scholars, such as B. Rinchen (1952), G. Kara (1972, 2005), Ts. Shagdasüren (1981, 1986, 2001), and R. Byambaa (1997, 2005). These contributions have brought to light several records in the script written in Mongolian, Tibetan and Sanskrit.¹ Nevertheless, there are several aspects of the script that were not observed by these scholars. The article provides information about usage of the Horizontal Square Script which have not yet been documented or commented in the scholarly literature, but which are important for advancing our understanding of the history and application of the script. Of particular importance, is that the sources analyzed here offer insights into the actual pronunciation of Mongolian at time of the texts' composition and the way in which the orthography of the script may have been interpreted and expanded by the scribes of the time. These extensions of the Horizontal Square Script include the usage of signs that were not part of Zanabazar's original design, and which have not been illuminated to date. The present paper was developed in part through discussions with Byambaa Ragchaa(giin)² and Anshuman Pandey.³

Background

The 'Horizontal Square Script' was invented *circa* 1686⁴ by the First Khalkha Jetsundampa Zanabazar (1635–1723), who is known by his Tibetan name Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, as well as by his Mongolian title Öndör Gegeen.

- 1) As I was trying to bridge in my contribution broad interests of Prof. Jaroslav Vacek it was the closest possible subject which included study on Indian and Mongolian languages, as well as linguistics.
- 2) All photographs in the present article were taken from the manuscript of "Biography of Zanabazar" kept by Byambaa Ragchaa with his kind permission. While I apologize for the quality of the reproductions I request readers to rely on the author's reading of the original signs.
- 3) Anshuman Pandey is working to develop an encoding for Zanabazar's Horizontal Square Script for the Unicode standard. His latest encoding proposal is dated the 4th of January 2014. We were exchanging information on the Horizontal Square Script by Zanabazar from the 24th of April 2013. I would like also to thank Anshuman Pandey for valuable comments on the present paper.
- 4) Byambaa 2005, pp. 8, 14–15, 17. There is no information about Zanabazar's creation of the Horizontal Square Script in his biography by Zaya Pandita. See Lokesh Chandra 1982, especially pp. 457–477.

The script was developed for writing Buddhist scriptures in three languages: Mongolian, Tibetan, and Sanskrit. Zanabazar's square script is based upon other scripts used mainly, but not exclusively, for writing the Tibetan language, such as the vertical square script invented by 'Phags pa bla ma Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280), also known as “Phags-pa Lama script” and the Ranjana script or Lantsha, as it is known in Inner Asia.

The Jetsundampa invented his square script just before the invasion of the Oirat Galdan Boshogtu in 1688, which forced him, his monks, as well as his brother Khan Chakhundorji and his subjects, to flee from Khalkha to Southern Mongolia in order to seek the protection of the Manchu emperor Kangxi (r. 1661–1722). From the biographies depicting Zanabazar's life it is evident that his earlier years were spent in religious and artistic activity, such as his Buddhist studies, partly in Tibet, casting bronze statues and in the study of scripts used for writing Buddhist texts and not in politics, but which nonetheless became his fate since he gradually became the leader of the Khalkha Mongols (Bareja-Starzynska 2008). In addition to the Horizontal Square Script, the Jetsundampa also invented the Soyombo Script in 1686 (Byambaa 2005, p. 9), which is entirely distinct from the square script. Much of what we know about the literal and religious legacy of Zanabazar appears in his collected works, which was in large part edited by his disciple, Khalkha Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei (Tib. Blo bzang 'phrin las, 1642–1715).⁵ Both Zanabazar and Zaya Pandita were eminent Buddhist masters who became famous not only among Mongols, but gained fame also among Tibetans and in the Manchu court in China (Bareja-Starzynska 2008 and Bareja-Starzynska 2010).

We may presume that Zanabazar knew the other script called “square”,⁶ known commonly nowadays as the “Phags-pa script”, which is named according to its inventor, 'Phags pa bla ma Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280) of the Sa skya order, the great Tibetan Buddhist master, who spent most of his life as the personal Buddhist teacher to the Mongolian Khan Qubilai (1215–1294) of the Yuan dynasty and his family. He also served as a “priest” in the “patron-priest” religious-political relationship between the Mongols and the Tibetans.⁷ The vertical square script was used during the Yuan dynasty (till 1368) to write documents in different languages and for different purposes, including Buddhist scriptures, but not exclusively for religious purposes,

5) Ugalzyn Lama f. 1b4 cited in Byambaa 2005, p. 41, facsimile p. 49.

6) On this script see for example Poppe 1957, Godziński 1971. Mongolian name for it is *dörböljin*.

7) On the nature of this relationship see Ruegg 1991.

since it was used also for official documents as well as passes of safe conduct (Chin. *paizi*). The letterforms of the 'Phags pa script are based upon the *dbu can* style of the Tibetan script. However, 'Phags pa bla ma introduced an innovation, namely that his script be written vertically, similarly to the Mongolian and Chinese scripts. Although the 'Phags-pa script must have been very popular during the Yuan period, the destruction of anything Mongolian in China after the collapse of the Yuan dynasty resulted in the loss of quite a number of records written in this script (Poppe 1957).

Our knowledge of the history of the Horizontal Square Script is even more limited. We can speculate that the flight of Zanabazar from his homeland and an exile that extended over ten years contributed to little usage of the script or preservation of records written in it. Most probably the script was still in some use for a certain period of time after Zanabazar's death. The very important Mongolian treatise *Yig bshad gsal ba'i me long*, written in Tibetan by Ugalzyn Lama Luvsansodovjamts (Tib. Blo bzang bzod pa rgya mtsho, 1878–1961) is a testament to the preservation of scholarly interest in this script among Mongols in the 19th and 20th century.⁸ In modern times Byambiin Rinchen should be credited for bringing information about the Horizontal Square Script (Byambaa 2005, p. 17).

Most of the documents in the Horizontal Square Script which exist today are undated⁹ and we can only offer speculation about the time of their composition. There are other aspects of the study of the script that deserve attention. While studying “Biography of Zanabazar” written in the Horizontal Square Script¹⁰ under the guidance of Byambaa Ragchaa, I was surprised to see some other innovations, which have not been described by scholars earlier¹¹ and therefore I decided to share these observations.

8) Byambaa 2005, pp. 37–48, facsimile of the treatise pp. 49–51.

9) Although some of them, such as the text on the silk cloth from the Erdene Zuu monastery was dated by Shagdarsüren for the time of the famous abbot Luvsandagvadarjaa (1734–1803). See Byambaa 2005, p. 18.

10) Entitled *Kö tög tö rje btsin dam pa bla mai ca dig (o)ro shi ba*. About the text see more in Bareja-Starzynska and Byambaa Ragchaa 2012.

11) Some observations were made by Byambaa Ragchaa, but not commented in his monographs (1997, 2005).

General information on Zanabazar's Horizontal Square Script

The graphical and orthographic structures of the script are based upon the Tibetan script. The script is alpha-syllabic and the intention of its creator was to make it fitting for writing languages belonging to three different language groups: Mongolian, Tibetan, and Sanskrit. Differentiation of texts written in different languages is dictated by the script itself: the graphs have different values depending upon the language. For example, the same graph is used for *ka* in Tibetan and in Sanskrit and for *ga* (or rather *g* with front vowels) and *ya* (or *γ* with back vowels) in Mongolian. Similarly a sign for *kha* in Tibetan and Sanskrit is used to denote Mongolian *ka* (or rather *k* with front vowels) or *qa* (and *q* with other back vowels).¹² The usage of a single sign for representing different sounds of different languages introduced a level of complexity in the study and usage of the script. This task was not easy and required knowledge of the three languages and their separate writing systems. As the Tibetan script is based on the Indic writing system it was fairly straightforward for a user to adapt to the a new script. Nevertheless, different phonetics and morphology caused some confusion, which can be observed in the examples preserved in the documents.

There is no documentary proof that Zanabazar performed any sort of in-depth research on Tibetan phonetics before developing his square script. It is likely that he merely copied the repertoire of signs from the Tibetan writing system, which did not fully represent the spoken language. For example there are front vowels pronounced in Tibetan, such as: *ä*, *ö* and *ü*, but they do not have graphic representations in the Tibetan scripts (till today). The only possibility to represent them appears in square scripts, since graphs designed for front vowels are necessary for writing in Mongolian. The opportunity of showing the actual pronunciation (and not only the convention) of the Tibetan script was used at places in the "Biography of Zanabazar". For example Tib. *yas* was rendered as *yā* (5a5), Tib. *bras* as *brā* (5a6), and Tib. *chos*

12) In Kara 1972, p. 96, Shagdarsüren 2001, p. 163, Byambaa 2005, p. 27 these signs are described as having phonetic value in Mongolian as *ga* or *ka*, without information on variants *ya* and *qa* which are important for writing in the Classical Mongolian Script. While it is well understandable that both in the Horizontal Square Script and modern Cyrillic there is no difference between writing *g* and *γ*, and *k* and *q* (modern *x*), however, I would like to argue that there is a difference in pronunciation, at least between *γ* and front *g*. Most foreigners who learn the Mongolian language have to struggle with proper pronunciation of *yamma*, which pronounced as *g* makes Mongols laughing. Unfortunately the Horizontal Square Script by Zanabazar does give the opportunity to distinguish these sounds.

was written as *coi* (5b3) etc. Although the umlaut vowels were not marked as such, the scribe perhaps sensed a difference between the conventional writing of the sounds and the actual way of speaking and therefore he used a long vowel *ā* for ending *as* or a diphthong *oi* for ending *os*, while the actual pronunciation is close to *ā* and *ō*, respectively.

It seems that Zanabazar also accepted the Tibetan transliteration system of rendering Sanskrit words in the Tibetan script. Several Sanskrit consonants and diphthongs not typical for the Tibetan and Mongolian languages, such as retroflex consonants *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, aspirated *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *bh*, the diphthongs *au* and *ai*, as well as the ligature *kṣ* were assigned to distinct signs in his script, as were different signs for Mongolian versus Tibetan and Sanskrit *b* and *v*.

The actual use of the Horizontal Square Script forced scribes to invent signs which did not exist in the chart of signs composed by Zanabazar and edited by Zaya Pandita but which seemed necessary for accurate writing. Some such signs were shown by Ugalzyn Lama and studied by Byambaa Ragchaa: signs for *ṣa* and *ca*, *cha*, *ja*, described in more detail below, as well as the nasal marker *m* (*anusvara*) and the marker for final aspiration *h* (*visarga*) were added (Byambaa 2005, p. 32).¹³

In the Tibetan transliteration method the Sanskrit sounds *ca*, *cha*, and *ja* are represented by graphemes based upon the Tibetan forms for *tsa*, *tsha* and *dza*. In the charts for additional signs in Tibetan for denoting Sanskrit the Tibetan sounds for *ca*, *cha*, and *ja* are not represented, probably to avoid confusion, and they are replaced in their alphabetic order by the signs for *tsa*, *tsha* and *dza*. Zanabazar in his chart for both Tibetan and Sanskrit used only the chart for the Sanskrit writing system and therefore, surprisingly, there were no signs for the Tibetan *ca*, *cha*, and *ja* in his script. However, while making use of the Horizontal Square Script the signs for the Tibetan *ca*, *cha*, *ja* were necessary, so they were evidently added by the scribes.

Writing the Mongolian language presented additional problems because the Mongolian system of writing is radically different from the Tibetan script. In the Classical Mongolian Script, front or back vocalization are explicitly marked in a word. It can be marked once in a word. A reader knows that the whole word should be read with front vocalization or back vocalization, accordingly. Due to the vowel harmony front vowels and back vowels do not

13) In his treatise Ugalzyn Lama analyzes various signs of the Horizontal Square Script and provides details on how to read particular signs used for Sanskrit, such as diphthongs. It should be noted here that his treatise requires a separate study on how the Mongols, especially monks who well versed in Tibetan, perceived and were able to explain linguistic problems of the Mongolian language versus the Tibetan.

appear alongside in one word, i.e. only front vowels or only back vowels can appear in a given word. The Horizontal Square Script documents which survived till our times show different approaches to this problem. In some texts words with front vocalization are all along written with signs for the front vowels, for example in the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya Sūtra* (Byambaa 2005, pp. 84–87): *kelekü* (p. 1, line 1, ‘to speak’), *nögcigsen* (p. 2, line 3, ‘passed away’), and accordingly with the vowel harmony for the back vowels: *sonosuysan* (p. 2, line 4, ‘heard’). However, other texts do not show such consistency. In the “Biography of Zanabazar” (Byambaa 2005, pp. 77–83) in some words signs seem to be used haphazard and signs for front and back vowels can be employed alongside in one word: *kedung* (f. 4b5, for Class. Mong. *kedün*, ‘how many’), *küsegsang* (f. 5a4 for *küsegsen*, ‘wanted’), *qobcasüng* (f. 4b3 for *qubcasun*, ‘clothes’) etc.

It was observed also in this particular manuscript that in one word two different signs for *g* were used. In the words *yagca* (f. 4b3, ‘only’), *üjügülgüci* (4b4, ‘the one who shows’) etc. the first *γ/g(a)* belongs to the Mongolian system while the second *g(a)* is the one which was designed for *g(a)* in Sanskrit and Tibetan. It can be also observed that in the first example *c(a)* from the Mongolian set of signs was used, while in the second example a sign for Tibetan *c(a)*, not shown in the original chart (Byambaa 2005, p. 32), was employed:

yagca,

üjügülgüci.¹⁴

In the “Biography of Zanabazar”, however, there are many phonetic variant readings which may point to the fact that a scribe was not literate in the Classical Mongolian language and script.

Undocumented signs as attested in manuscript sources


One of the observed inventions is the creation of signs for diphthongs, such as *ui* and *üi*, as well as for *oi*, *ii* (*iy*) and *üi*, *ēi* and *ōi*. A sign for the diphthong *ei*

14) Note also that a sign for Mongolian *ja* in this place of the document has got a shape little bit different from the original chart by Zanabazar edited by Zaya Pandita. It looks similar to a sign for *bha* with a stroke added to the right upper corner of the sign. See Byambaa 2005, p. 33. Perhaps the scribe was carelessly copying another manuscript.


was noticed by Anshuman Pandey during his research on developing a character-encoding standard for the script in Unicode.¹⁵ All the above mentioned signs for diphthongs are used in the Mongolian texts for Mongolian and Tibetan words.


Examples:


 *sayuqui* ‘to sit’ (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f. 3b2; Byambaa 2005, p. 79)


 *üiledugsen*¹⁶ ‘making’ (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f. 1b6; Byambaa 2005, p. 77)

 *seilugsen*¹⁷ ‘curved’ (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f. 3a1; Byambaa 2005, p. 79)

 *qoina*¹⁸ ‘after’ (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f. 1b3; Byambaa 2005, p. 77), *coi* for Tib. *chos*, pronounced as ‘choi’, ‘Buddhist teachings’ (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f.5b3; Byambaa 2005, p. 81)

 *bayshiin*¹⁹ ‘of teacher’ (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f. 1b2; Byambaa 2005, p. 77)

 *badarangyui* ‘shining’ (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f.1b4; Byambaa 2005, p. 77)

 *ugei* ‘no, not, without’ (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f. 3a6; Byambaa 2005, p. 79; *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya*, 4, line 3 and further; Byambaa ed. 2005, p. 85)

 *ajiyot*²⁰ ‘was, were’ (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f. 4b1; Byambaa 2005, p. 80).

15) Revised Proposal to Encode the Mongolian Script in ISO/IEC 10646, January 4, 2014.

16) It has to be remarked that the second *u* has not been marked as the front *ü* (umlaut).

17) Note that *u* has not been marked as *ü*. The word is written in such a way that it can be read as *solugsen*, however, I suppose that it represents *seilugsen*, which makes sense in Mongolian. See footnote 14 about the carelessly copying.

18) Class. Mong. *qoyina*.

19) Class. Mong. *bayshi-yin*.

20) For Class. Mong *ajiyu*, modern form *ajee*. Note the peculiar shape of sign *ja* which looks exactly as sign for Sanskrit *bha*. See footnotes 14 and 17.

While the first five diphthongs are known in the modern Khalkha pronunciation, diphthongs for *ūi*, *ēi* and *ōi* are not. They may reflect a peculiar use of a sign or mistakes made by a less learned scribe. However, they may reflect, as well, the actual pronunciation in which diphthongs tend to be heard as long vowels.

Another novelty is a sign for *ou*, a diphthong which appears in such words as Mongolian *boljou* (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f. 1b5; Byambaa ed. p. 77) for *bolju*, modern form *bolj* (‘becoming’), *abcou* (f. 2a3; Byambaa ed. p. 78) for *abcu*, modern form *avch* (‘taking’) and *irejou* (f. 3a4, p. 79) for *irejü*, modern form *irj* (‘coming’) etc. The diacritic for *ou* is marked by a sign for vocalization *o* and a stroke added to the left upper corner of the whole sign.



boljou.²¹

Using the same method another sign was invented, namely *iu*. It consists of the main sign for a consonant, the sign for *i* above it and a stroke in the upper left corner, which usually indicates diphthong with the second element *u*. It was noticed in the “Biography of Zanabazar” (f. 2b1) in the word *ebkejiu*, for Class. Mong. *ebkejü*, modern form *evhej* (‘rolling up’):



ebkejiu.

Anshuman Pandey noticed yet another diphthong: *eü*. The method to create this sign was different: under the consonant a diacritic for long front vowel *ü* was written with a slash over the consonant to mark vowel *e*. This sign is written in the text of the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya* in the word *teüncilen* (p. 6, line 10; Byambaa 2005, p. 86) which should be written in Class. Mong. as *tegüncilen* (‘thus’). Here the text in the Horizontal Square Script is a witness of the phonetic change of dropping *g* in the Mongolian language.

Inconsistencies

The manuscripts show that when scribes were not familiar with how to represent a particular sound with the correct sign from the script, they introduced their own innovations. A curious sign for *na* in the Mongolian version

21) Note that a sign for the Mongolian *j(a)* here is a standard sign from the original chart by Zanabazar.

of the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya* was noticed by Anshuman Pandey. This letter is not included in the original chart of Zanabazar edited by Zaya Pandita, but it can be regarded as a variant. It appears only on the page 3 of the manuscript alongside the standard sign for *na* (Byambaa 2005, p. 85). The variant shape is repeated 6 times. Most probably this example should be regarded as a mistake made by the scribe unless other examples of this shape of the sign *na* are found.

The unusual shape of a sign for Mongolian *ja* at some places in the “Biography of Zanabazar” has been already mentioned (footnotes 12, 20).

Sometimes non-standard signs may belong to another script. I was asked by Anshuman Pandey about a sign which appeared on the cover of the book on the Soyombo Script by Ts. Mönkh-Erdene (2005). The title is written in four scripts: Soyombo, Horizontal Square, Classical Mongolian and Cyrillic Mongolian. In the Horizontal Square the title reads in Tibetan: *Sog pa'i*²² *yi ge* *sva yam bhu jyo ti 'bri tshul bzhugs so*. It means: “[Here it] is presented the writing method [of] the Mongolian script ‘Svayambhu jyoti’”. In the title a sign for *'a chung* (*'i* in *pa'i* and *'a* in *'bri*) appear twice. Actually this sign belongs to the set of signs used in the Tibetan cursive script (*dbu med*). Therefore it should be regarded rather as a mistake made by the scribe than a variant sign.

There is no sign to separate syllables (like a dot called *tsheg* in the Tibetan script), but it has been documented that a dot under a consonant sign is used to eliminate vocalization of the letter,²³ similar to the Sanskrit *virāma*.²⁴ This “silencer” device is used, however, without consistency within the texts. For example in the “Biography of Zanabazar” it appears irregularly: in the word for example *üiledügsen* it should appear twice: *üi-le-düg-sen*, i.e. under the consonants *g* and *n*; however, it appears only under *g* (“Biography of Zanabazar”, f. 1b6; Byambaa 2005, p. 77).

In some texts the dot is placed under every syllable, not only to eliminate vocalization, but to mark each syllable. This is observed in the last two lines of the Tibetan text by Ugalzyn Lama (f. 5a4–5) reproduced by Byambaa Ragchaa (2005, p. 51). These two lines are written with smaller letters and I suppose that they might have been added by another person than the one who wrote

22) Should be *sog po'i* for ‘Mongolian’.

23) Byambaa (2005, p. 20) quotes also Ugalzyn Lama who in his treatise (f. 3b8–10) complained that in different editions of Zanabazar’s chart of the Horizontal Square Script dots are represented differently. In the Chinese block prints there are no dots under *ar* and *al* what confuses the users.

24) Anshuman Pandey in his project distinguishes between *virāma* in Tibetan and Sanskrit and the final consonant marker in Mongolian.

the whole text, where dot as *virama* has not been used at all. Perhaps the text was written by Ugalzyn Lama himself. In the two last lines dot is written also under so called 'small a', i.e. *a chung* (*ṛa*), what is not shown in the chart of the Horizontal Square Script by Zanabazar. There as the only final consonants mentioned are: *g, k, ng, ḍ, n, b, m, r, l, sh, s*. A *chung* (*ṛa*) which represents aspiration can also stand at the end of the syllable according to the Tibetan script in which 10 consonants may end the syllables: *g, ng, ḍ, n, b, m, ṛa, r, l, s*. However, in the chart of the Horizontal Square Script, *ṛa* was replaced by *sh*, which can appear at the end of the words in the Classical Mongolian script, but which cannot end words according to the Tibetan script. The other sign which is not found at the end of the words written in the Tibetan script is *k*, which may appear at the word ending according to the rules of the Classical Mongolian script and probably therefore it was added to the chart.²⁵

There are also instances where a dot is replaced with a slash. For example in the text entitled in Tibetan *Phun sum tshogs pa ma bzugs*²⁶ written in several scripts and reproduced by Byambaa (2005, pp. 111–114). Here *virama* as a slash under the sign appears in the Horizontal Square Script imitating the shape used in Lantsha and Vartu. Similar observation about the slash instead of a dot was made by Anshuman Pandey regarding the stamp reproduced by Byambaa (2005, p. 60, e-mail correspondence with Anshuman Pandey).

Another interesting use of the Horizontal Square Script is in the stamp for the word *thalīm*, which is, however, a very special graphic representation for ritual use (Byambaa 2005, p. 125). Here signs from the set of the Horizontal Square Script are employed for vertical writing, like in the 'Phags pa Square Script. According to Byambaa Ragchaa the word *thalīm* has been never represented horizontally.²⁷ In *thalīm*, but also at other occasions, a sign for *ṛa chung* is written under the main sign to mark a long vowel. There is a special method to indicate long vowels in the Horizontal Square Script, and this is to add a stroke to the lower right corner of the sign, nevertheless a method used to denote long vowels in the Tibetan script by writing *ṛa* under the sign was preferred by some scribes. It should not be surprising taking into

25) To make this study complete it can be said that in Sanskrit final *k* is common, while final *ś* (equivalent to *sh* in Tibetan and Mongolian) with *virāma* may appear theoretically for example at the end of the verb roots. However, the possibility to use *k* and *sh* at the end of words in the Mongolian script seemed to be the main reason for including these two consonants as 'final consonants' in the chart.

26) The text is connected with the practice of *Kālacakra*.

27) Personal communication by Byambaa Ragchaa (9. 12. 2013).

consideration that monks were well versed in Tibetan language and used to write in the Tibetan script.

In the category of “Tibetanized signs” I would also classify different diacritical signs that mark the diphthongs *au* and *ai*, which were noticed by Anshuman Pandey²⁸ in the text *Phun sum tshogs pa ma bzugs* (f. 5b3 and f. 5a3, respectively; Byambaa 2005, p. 113). Here the Tibetan method which is to duplicate the diacritical sign for *o* to indicate *au* and sign for *e* to denote *ai* was employed.

Also while writing Sanskrit texts, including mantras, the Tibetan method was employed at places instead of the signs for Sanskrit invented by Zanabazar. For example Sanskrit *ś(a)* was written as reversed Tibetan *sh(a)*, exactly as in the Tibetan script (Byambaa 2005, p. 48).²⁹

The Tibetan method to mark Sanskrit nasalization not only by *anusvāra* but also by *candrabindu* and *candra* ornaments was observed by Anshuman Pandey during his research. The most frequent situation when they appear is the word *hum* and in combination with head marks.³⁰

The consistent usage of signs according to one set, for Mongolian or Tibetan or Sanskrit, is lacking in several texts, especially in the “Biography of Zanabazar”. It is interesting to observe, for example, that the sign for palatal Tibetan *nya* was used in Mongolian words such as *nyigen* (for example f. 3b1–2; Class. Mong. *nigen*, ‘one, certain’) or *tegünyi* (for example f. 4a6; Class. Mong. *tegün-i*, ‘it, that’ in Acc.), in all instances in this text. Probably *nya* indicated actual palatal pronunciation. In general, however, in this particular manuscript words are written in several ways each. This was underlined by earlier research, including observations by Byambaa Ragchaa (2005, pp. 68–69).³¹ Therefore, unfortunately, this manuscript cannot serve as a reliable document to determine Mongolian phonetics of the certain period.

28) Communication by e-mail letter, 3. 01. 2014.

29) In the “Biography of Zanabazar”, however, sign reversed *sh(a)* is used to denote regular *s(a)* in such words as for example: *bus* for Class. Mong. *biüse* meaning ‘belt’, or *emüsbesü* meaning ‘if wearing’ etc. (f. 4b3–4, Byambaa 2005, p. 80). In the second example reversed *sh(a)* to denote *s(a)* was used alongside with regular sign for *s(a)* on the second position.

30) See Anshuman Pandey’s project for details.

31) See also Bareja-Starzynska and Byambaa Ragchaa 2012, pp. 26–27.

Conclusion

Summing up it can be said that the notes on the usage of the Horizontal Square Script presented in this paper do not cover the vast theme that it encompasses and indicate that this script invented by Zanabazar and documents preserved in it still require more investigation to display its full potentials.

It may be informative to mention here that Anshuman Pandey has developed a proposal for the implementation of a character-encoding standard for the script in the Unicode standard. This effort will enable scholars to represent Zanabazar's Horizontal Square Script on computers in a standard means, as they currently may do for Tibetan.

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Russian Cyrillic – A new script in Mongolia

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Summary: The aim of this paper is to clarify the process by which the Russian Cyrillic Script was introduced into Mongolia (1941) under compulsion as a result of Stalinist politics. The author underlines the negative phenomena which resulted from the use of Russian Cyrillic orthography in modern Mongolian, and their impact on the communal speech culture, as well as on Mongolian traditional culture.

At present, the Mongols employ the Russian Cyrillic alphabet (known as *New script*). The official decision to use this alphabet was made in March 1941. Due to the dramatic circumstances of World War II, however, the script was introduced only in 1946. It was identified in official documents as ‘...a new Mongolian script based on Russian letters...’¹

The Latin or Roman script was briefly used before the Russian Cyrillic alphabet was officially introduced, but only for a very short period – approximately two months. This brief period of implementation, however, had been preceded by a long period of incubation of more than 10 years. In the case of the Cyrillic alphabet, however, the decision to use it was made immediately after the *no objections* declaration of J.V. Stalin.² The universal use of the Cyrillic alphabet was put forward without any preparation whatsoever for a period of transition, not even one single day. The decision was made to introduce Cyrillic throughout the entire society immediately.

This decision met with disapproval from the Mongolian intelligentsia; those who had protested, however, against the abolition of the Mongolian script – namely A. Amar and J. Tseveen – had already been executed in the Soviet Union. There was, therefore, no one to support the writer and Academician B. Rinchen (who had been released from prison himself in 1942) in his project of writing and speaking out in favour of the Mongolian script and against the introduction of Cyrillic.

1) Монгол Ардын Хувьсгалт Намаас бүх нийтийг үндэсний бичиг үсэгт сургасан нь. Улаанбаатар, 1967, pp. 33–34.

2) [Монгол Улс, Үндэсний Архивын газар] Монгол-Зөвлөлтийн соёл шинжлэх ухаан, техникийн харилцаа (1921–1960), p. 332.

This new script adopted the Russian alphabet with 31 letters. Two signs (the so-called hard and soft signs of Russian orthography, the *yers*, [ь and ъ]) were adopted; in order to accommodate the phonetics of the Mongolian language two other letters (ө and ү) were also added. Thus, the Mongolian Cyrillic script has a total of 35 letters. What ensued, however, was a rather paradoxical situation, in which Russian orthography – clearly reflective of Russian phonetics – was directly applied to the Mongolian phonological system, which is typologically completely different. Scholars agree that this unusual state of affairs ensued from the enormous linguistic leap that had to be made in order to create a new script for Mongolian, adapted from the Cyrillic alphabet, and remaining all the while as “Russian” as possible. The result of this process was that the demands of Mongolian morphology were frequently cast aside. This development has led to a multitude of errors that are frequently found in various aspects of the written Mongolian language on the level of phonetics, syllabic structure, word structure, orthography, and semantics.

It could be argued that the main disadvantage of the approach described above was the profound impact on the Mongols in terms of their natural sensitivity towards their own mother tongue. The connection between language and thought was ruptured. There was no basis for correcting all of the inaccuracies of the Cyrillic writing reform for several reasons:

Firstly, the directives of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the government of that period had stated that *further development of education in Mongolia was established for strengthening fraternal relations solely with the Soviet Union, and for the acquisition of the rich culture of the Soviets...*

Secondly, any adjustments or corrections to the program would have been considered to be inappropriate and highly damaging to the reputation of Mr. Yu. Tsedenbal (the party leader and head of state in Mongolia for over 40 years), who was also the director of the Orthography Commission to introduce Cyrillic.

It is worth noting that Academician Sh. Luvsanvandan warned that the orthography of Mongolian Cyrillic had to be executed *within only a week's time* and several publications containing the new rules were identified as merely ‘temporary’ grammars. The ‘genuine’ or official grammar, however, has yet to be introduced.

The new Mongolian Cyrillic alphabet was based on the central Khalkha dialect. In following the historic Mongolian orthography as reflected in Classical Mongolian script, it is clear that at the beginning of the Cyrillic reform, at least the spelling rules sought to mirror the literary language faithfully, and to

remain close to Mongolian phonetics (for example: *бүгд* ~ *бүгэд*, *йөрөнхий*, *улус*, *хото*, etc). With time, the gap between the written language and its phonetics became wider and wider. Fortunately, the Buriats have managed to reflect the phonetic attributes of Mongolian in their adapted Cyrillic script very well, something about which I will comment later. At the early stage Mongolian Cyrillic had no long vowels; they were depicted by diacritics (*ā*, *ō*, *ū*, *é*); this differs from the present situation.

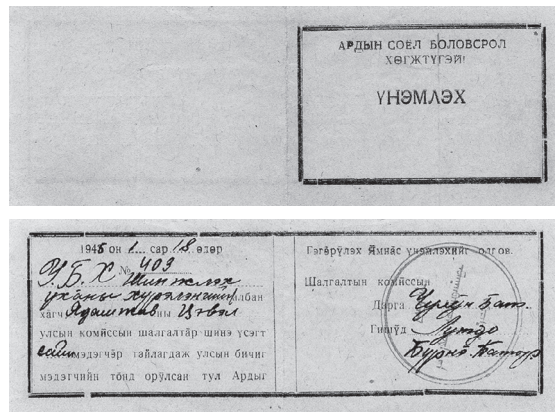


These banknotes show the different ways in which the word “Бүгд” was written.



These are variations of the Mongolian National Coat of Arms from 1940, 1945, 1960 and 2002 respectively.

After the resolution in 1941 to adopt the Cyrillic alphabet, the new script was propagated enthusiastically among the people and the progress towards the complete implementation of its introduction was reported in the newspaper *U'nen* (lit. 'True') at every opportunity. It seems that mass education in the new script was carried out at surprisingly low cost. Ironically, the number of people who became *literate in Cyrillic* surpassed the entire population of Mongolia of that period, which is ample proof indeed of the intensity of the Communist Party's zeal for the introduction of Cyrillic.



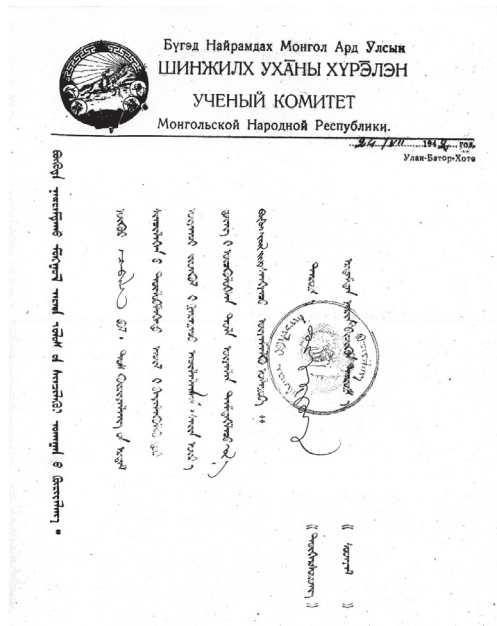
The certificate that was given to those who passed the exam in Cyrillic.

Even before the mass use of Cyrillic in 1946, some official seals, banknotes, and letterheads had been already partly printed in Cyrillic.

The number of published books and periodicals in Cyrillic proliferated until 1990. This fact, however, cannot simply be attributed to the change of script. Publications in any script were easier at that time.

In previous times, the Mongols had had long experience with the xylographic printing of different scientific works in Mongolian and other oriental languages, not to mention manuscript copying and duplicating. In the course of time, works of many scholars were destroyed and eliminated by the censorship of Communist ideology; works having to do with history and tradition were obviously considered to be out of bounds. The green light was given, however, for the works of K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin, J.V. Stalin, Kh. Choibalsan and Yu. Tsedenbal; in other words, for works biased towards the prevailing political ideology of the time.

The important role of Cyrillic in launching many classical works of the Orient and Occident, introducing the basics of the sciences, and in teaching Russian, cannot, nonetheless, be denied. Equally impossible to deny, however, is the ideological connection of Cyrillic with the transition to a solely Russian script, as formulated by Yu. Tsedenbal in his *theory of one language and one script in the future*.³



This document, with its Cyrillic letterhead, was in use in 1942 at the Institute of Sciences.

3) Их Тэнгэрийн харшид болсон яриа, Цог, 1990, N. 5, Улаанбаатар, pp. 129–134.

By using Cyrillic, the Mongols contributed more or less to the growth of the social use of a new script. Interestingly, it also appeared in “wrapped form”, following the tradition of “wrapped” or folded Mongol script.



Some examples of wrapping the word ‘Mongol’ in folded, Classical, and Cyrillic scripts.

An analysis of the new Cyrillic alphabet shows that the script was not at all attuned to the typology of Mongolian. This is the case at many structural levels in terms of phonetics and the lexicon, particularly in the matter of how vowels were to be shifted (*шилжих эгшиг*) or in the case of the dropped vowel (*зээгдэх эгшиг*). Such an analysis demonstrates that the orthography of the ‘new script’ was artificially established and that it was simply impossible to spell many Mongolian words correctly using it.

For example, the new orthographic rules required a vowel to be inserted before the final *-x* of the infinitive verbal form. This created (and creates) huge difficulties in the orthography of verbs that end in consonants, as well as in the formation of the causative voice of all verbs (formed with various suffixes). According to the new Russian Cyrillic orthography, the verb *супах* (‘to learn, to ask’) has an identical spelling in both the phrases *сүргүүлд суп/ах* (‘to study at school’) and *асууж супа/х* (‘to inquire’), a fact which often leads to semantic confusion.

To take another example, in the word *зэрэ* (‘light’) the last vowel was dropped and in its new spelling it looks exactly like *зэр* (‘dwelling’). Nowadays people would not recognize the word *зэрэ*. The Buriats, fortunately, have preserved the two different spellings, *зэрэ* (‘light’) and *зэр* (‘dwelling’) which makes it possible to identify the meanings of the words.

The new script (or Russian Cyrillic) has only one spelling for both *-н* and *-нз*, which is spelled *-н*. Thus it is difficult for beginners to tell which spelling is correct: either *сонины*, *Ринчений* or *сонингийн*, *Ринченгийн*.

These difficulties in spelling mentioned above would not occur if the orthography used had been that of the Classical Mongolian script. The forms of words in the Mongolian national script make the lexical connections clear and thus are supportive of the natural sensitivity of the Mongols to their own mother tongue. This is true not only of the Mongolian national script, but is a statement that can be applied to many languages and scripts. This can be observed, for example, in English where pronunciation differs from spelling. Head-words in any English dictionary tend to stress the indigenous sense of English by reminding the reader of the origin and meaning of the word.

It is not accidental that at the international conference for the use of Cyrillic that was held in 1958 in Ulaanbaatar, approximately 30 presenters (all but three, in fact) suggested modifying the orthography of the new Cyrillic script. Among the three participants who were against these modifications was a Russian delegate, a founder of the new grammar, and a teacher at a secondary school.

The abolition of the Mongolian traditional script, previously employed by all types of felt-tent dwellers, was instrumental in reducing the level of unity among all Mongolian ethnic groups. The Khalkhas, Buriats, Kalmyks and Inner Mongols lost their innate feeling for the language as their dialects became increasingly marginalised through the standardized use of the adapted Cyrillic alphabet. Although all the ethnic groups mentioned above began using Cyrillic, the same word had different spellings in different geographic regions, increasing the distance between one dialect and another. In other words, the traditional feeling for their language, something that was always a strong unifying factor among the Mongols, was lost, thus greatly facilitating the spread of Stalinism in Mongolia.

Mongolia rejected Socialism in 1990, opting for a democratic path of social development. Although a seemingly positive outcome, the use of Cyrillic, consecrated, for all intents and purposes, by Stalin, is still alive and well, and the serious errors in Mongolian orthography continue to endlessly proliferate. The reason for this phenomenon can be traced to those who are usually identified as ‘excellent decision-makers’, – who, nonetheless, have not been willing to make the effort to learn the Classical Mongolian script, let alone undertake the task of making it into a national script. This development might well prove beneficial as well for those who are currently subject to the mechanisms of manipulation, both at home and from abroad.

Unpleasantness and contentment as experienced by the Mongolian nomads II. Fear of animals

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Summary: The present paper continues the topic discussed in *Mongolo-Tibetica* '08 (Oberfalzerová 2008a), which discussed the sources of contentment of the Mongolian nomads, especially with relation to their native land (*nutag*), the place which is for ever linked to every individual. The topic was further discussed in another paper in *Mongolo-Tibetica* '12 (Oberfalzerová 2012), which was devoted to the most elementary cause of unpleasantness to the nomads, namely the fear of 'living Nature', something like a basal and original emotion, which has been supported and developed for many centuries as part of Mongolian ethno-pedagogy and as an important communal means of protecting people against various dangers which arise from wild, untransformed surrounding nature. In the following paper I will discuss the fear of animals, especially wild animals. Animals are an important component part of the life of the nomads and also their basic source of livelihood. The protection of animals is the most essential factor for the survival in the surrounding wild natural environment.

Introduction

Fear and timidity, these elementary Mongolian components of personality, used to have, and most probably still have, a very practical function, as mentioned above – that of survival! Narrations passed on from generation to generation and the adaptation of experience to educational purposes, create the very realistic and at the same time magic world of the nomads.

In my previous paper (devoted to the fear of Nature) I classified the fear of the nomads according to the object provoking it – fear of surrounding nature, of animals, fear originating from human imagination and activities, including the fear of the implementing (self-fulfilling) energy of the uttered word. In the following paper I will discuss the fear of animals. The relevant Mongolian terms will be specified in italics, both those specifying the fear or worry, and also small samples of the nomads' narratives, which illustrate the manner in which they experience fear. I have kept them in Mongolian in order to make the illustration and also the communicative situation more graphic. These sample texts are also translated. This is based especially on narratives (mostly taped) of a great number of informants collected in the course of ten years of field work in the Mongolian rural

milieu, and also on the rich oral tradition of the nomads reflected in their folklore.

Let us try to present a systematic image of the fear of the nomads, because it is a system serving specific life events on the basis of the experience handed down mainly orally and this is also reflected by the special usage of the colloquial language.

Fear of animals

Fear of animals originated in the veneration of the surrounding living Nature, whose component part wild animals are. The Mongolian pair word (*hors'oo u'g*) *aidas huides* ('fear, fright, anxiety') refers to fear or awe in general and not inner hatred, in view of the fact that this awe is always closely connected with respect. Nature is venerated in all its manifestations, a fact which is richly reflected in folklore and in the language of the nomads. In general, if in folk narratives a person is alone in the countryside or travels in a forest, especially a deep or thick forest at night, it is always dangerous. The nomads would visualize images of terrible mythic creatures, about which they used to hear in folk narratives and which are a threat to their lives (*araatan* – beasts of prey, *z'iguurten* – predatory birds). It is on the basis of these visions that the basic fear is formed in the nomads' minds.

For example, old myths speak about an animal resembling the tiger, the lord of animals living in the forest (*bar-hul*), which has one eye, a red ember in the middle of the forehead.¹ It is the feared lord of the forest animals – the giant *Bar hul*. His descendants are the seven animals living in the forests (Cend-sodnom 1989, p. 104) – the tiger, the leopard (panther), the wild cat or lynx, the cat, the horned owl and the owl (*bar*, *irves*, *s'ilu'us*, *manuul*, *muur*, *s'ar s'uvuu*, *uuli*). The various types of owl are night animals and therefore they are perceived with displeasure. These seven animals always provoke a certain apprehension or fear at the moment when they are encountered. According to one lady informant it was formerly believed that the cat was a treacherous and useless animal (*huurai*, *mehleh zantai*). Her parents used to advise her so in the form of a proverb (*zu'ir u'g*):

Muur eznee u'heesei gez' hu'sdeg, nohoi eznee mo'nhroosei gez' hu'sdeg. (Cend-ayus' 2012)
A cat desires the death of its master, a dog desires a long life for his master.

1) *Ert urid cagt Bar hul gez' magnai dundaa cog s'ig hurc nu'dtei avarga amitan baiz' gene* (Cend-sodnom 1989, p. 104).

In the steppe regions people are afraid of an evil spirit living in the hollows – called *albin* (*honhor gazriin albin*). At night he shines in blue colour which is called the ‘fire of the evil spirit’ (*albinii gal*),² he flies through the air, his body is small, his hair is like spikes, he has one eye on the top of his head. Hurmast Tenger always used to keep him at his side as a Tenger, but the mind of this Tenger was black, he was harmful to everybody and killed Hurmast’s daughter. Hurmast became angry and sent him down to earth (Cerensodnom 1989, p. 146). Since then he has been a poisonous creature, he takes away people’s souls and brings them to the demons (*c’o’tgor*),³ who send the *albins* to fetch the souls.

a) Beasts of prey

Among very feared animals in the forested mountain regions are the bear (*baavgai*) and the wolf (*c’ono*), while in steppe regions it is the wolf and in Gobi it is the leopard /panther and the lynx (*irves*, *s’iluu’s*) and also a small animal like the badger (*dorgo*) which are feared. The Mongols believe that these animals, and especially the wolf, keep waiting for their chance to devour a man or at least to poison him. From childhood people are educated through folklore with many narratives about women being haunted and children being devoured,⁴ which circulate probably in all regions, and which are usually commented upon in these words:

Yumiig yaaz’ medeh ve? Yuu c’ baiz’ magadgu’i!
How can [I] know? There can be anything!

The wolf is omnipresent, it can appear anywhere and it will move away only if you throw matches around yourself along the way. In the Gobi regions there are also many narratives about how the leopard attacked and killed a man.

The Buriats, who live mainly in the Hentei forest regions, speak about bears, using the expression *galzuursan baavgai* (‘the bear which turned mad’). Making a taboo of feared animals is quite normal. The word *baavgai* itself is a euphemism, which means ‘daddy’, and there is no other word. A well-known myth about the bear influenced some superstitions connected with this animal. Since the bear once used to be a man, he understands human speech. When a hunter kills a female bear, no young man is allowed to come

2) Hangin s.v. renders the phrase as ‘will-o’-the-wisp’.

3) About the demons or *c’o’tgor* see also Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 77; 2012, p. 33.

4) These narratives were also reflected in modern literature, e.g. B. Rinčen’s novel *U’uriin tuyaa* (Morning Rays).

close to that place, because its genitals are so similar to those of human beings. When a young man sees it, it makes him laugh. From his laugh cirrhosis of his liver develops and he dies (Cerensodnom 1989, p. 100). To this day it is believed that from a long laugh the liver becomes solid with cirrhosis. It is said that the female bears can give birth easily and therefore the hunters keep their claws so that their wives can give birth easily (ibid. p. 99, also the Buriat informant Myagmar 2013).

C'ono – wolf

The generally most feared animal, however, is still the wolf. It is present anywhere and it can appear anywhere. It is mainly at night that it is necessary to throw matches along the road and then the wolf will move away. The informant Damdinžav said that the wild wolf appears in Ho'vsgol shaman's evocation of spirits and *ongons* (*duudlaga*), where it is the riding animal which an *ongon* is driving, using a snake as the whip (Damdinžav 2013):

Ho'vsgoliin bo'ogiiin duudlagand dogs'in ongodiig 'galzuum c'onon ho'logto'nguud' gez' duuddag. Ene aidas to'ruulne.

Anc'in, c'ono albal arisii ni avaad, 4 ho'liin ni 8 s'o'rmosiig tas ogtolz' hayah yostoi gedeg. Tegehgui bol ter c'ono, buunii sumand daagdahgui'i bat biyetei, huc'it c'ono bolood bosc' irdeg gedeg.

Malc'id c'oniin ner helehiig ceerlene.

Herev honi maliin zarim ni aldagdaz' s'ono bolbol avgaic'uul, u'liin haic'nii amiig booz', unind havc'uuldag. Ene ni c'oniin amiig booz' baigaa dom yum.

In the Ho'vsgol shaman's evocation they call the wild *ongons* by way of the mad wolf as a riding animal. This provokes fear.

When the hunter kills a wolf, he must take his hide, cut his four feet with eight sinews and throw them away. If he does not do so, the wolf comes back to life even stronger and immune to shots from firearms.

Herdsmen prohibit the uttering of the name of the wolf.

If they lose some sheep or cattle, that night the housewives would bind the tips of the scissors and insert them behind the poles of the yurt. This is a *dom* (magic act), by which the snout of the wolf is bound.⁵

C'onoos ain aa. Ehner huuhed ih aina. Erc'uul moritoid bol c' barag aihgu'i. Ganc biye yavgan hu'n bol aina aa. Tiim hu'niig c'ono dagana. Moritoid hunees bol c'ono aina. Moritoid erc'uul c'oniig hoo'z' cohiz' alsaar baigaad tal goviin c'ono alga bolson gedeg yum. C'ono ihte hangain malc'in ail s'ono buu duugargaz' c'oniig ailgah zans'il baisan. (Naymanžin 2013)

We are afraid of wolves. Especially women and children. If men are on horseback, they are almost not afraid. But a man walking alone is certainly afraid. Such a man would be followed by a wolf. But a wolf is afraid of a man on horseback. In the Gobi region men on horseback reportedly

5) About binding the wolf's snout, cf. also Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 71 (informant Siinaa).

chased and killed wolves and there are no wolves there. In the Hangai (forest) regions with many wolves the herder families (*ail*) are in the habit of shooting from guns at night to frighten wolves.

Naturally, fear of wolves and their activities is reflected in the language of the Mongolian nomads. The word *c'ono* – 'wolf' appears in many negative expressions or phrases, which can even be used figuratively about humans. Cf. e.g. the idiomatic expressions displaying various levels of intensity:

Plain statement: *c'onon sanaatai* '(a person) having a wolf's mind' (i.e. nature)

Stronger statement: *Sanaa gez' c'ono!* 'As for his mind [intentions], he is a wolf!'

An even stronger statement: *c'ono oo c'ono* '(A real wolf)'

More idiomatic and much stronger statement: *c'onon dotortoi* '(a person) with a wolf's (wolfish) heart / mind'; this is used about a man who, besides having a bad nature, does things secretly behind other people's backs.

We have also heard this description of the relationship between two people:

Odoo bid hoorondoo c'ono honi hoyor bolson s'uu.

Lit. 'Now the two of us are mutually really (like) wolf and sheep (i.e. we are vengeful towards one another).

Or there is an expression referring to a scoundrel – *c'oniin ho'rvos* means 'wolf's skin eruption'; the word *ho'rvos* is derived from the verb *ho'rvo-* 'to roll around' (about animals). With people this always appears because of some ritual pollution: *buzardsan yumaas bolc'ihson* '(it) arose from something polluted', for example from the polluted dust of the yurt.

The expressions *galzuu c'ono* / *galzuu nohoi* 'mad wolf / mad dog' appeared in the 1940s and are closely connected with the historical events of those years. Until then the nomads were afraid only of *zolbin nohoi* 'roaming dogs':⁶ *Galzuu nohoi irehed* 'when the mad dog comes' is used about any

6) According to the narrative of the old lady Bat-ors'ih, in the 1940s Stalin issued an order to increase the number of cattle in Mongolia. In the newspapers it was said that Čoi balsan wanted to increase the number of cattle from 20 million to 200 million. On the basis of research carried out in the 1930s, it was found that wolves eat about 40 thousand cattle per year. From Russia they imported poison, which was wrapped in fat meat and scattered in places frequented by wolves. The wolves did not die, but they started to behave wildly, they had rabies and started to attack both children and adults. Thus this poison made both wolves and dogs wild. Since then it was said that the rabid wolf or dog raged before dying. This reportedly lasted from the 1940s to the 1950s, nobody would go out alone, children were not sent to the pasture, herdsmen would ride carrying thick and 1–2m long sticks (*boroohoi*, *siiden*), while axes and other weapons were always ready in front of the yurts. At night it was necessary to protect the cattle against wolves. After this experience the experiment with the poison was given up.

danger – wolves or a band of wild dogs – in such a case it is necessary to leave the yurt and protect the cattle.

O'ndor Mo'nh

Ho'orhonooroo nutag hos'uundaa gaihagdsan Nyamaa gedeg huuhen baisan. Olon saihaan erc'uul teruuntei suuh geed c'adaagu'i. Erc'uuliig toodoggu'i huuhen baiisim. Tegsen Nyamaa, o'ndor Mo'nhte suuc'ihaz' gene geel helceed unav. O'ndor Mo'nh gez' ahimag nasnii, carai muutai neg barzgar har yum baiisim. Avgai'c'uul Nyamaagaas "c'i iim saihaan huuhen baiz' oc'iz' oc'iz' ene o'ndor Mo'nhte suuc'ih gez'!" gez' zemlehed Nyamaa: "Yaadgiin, galzuu nohoi irehed o'ndor Mo'nh garaaas, bi garah yum bis!" gesiim genelee.

(Arhangai aimag, Batcengel somon,
interview with old lady Cedensonom 2012)

Tall Mo'nh

In our native land⁷ there was a girl called Nyamaa, who was famous for her amazing beauty. Many beautiful young men wanted to marry her, but they did not manage it. This girl was not interested in men! Then there was a rumour spreading that Nyamaa married tall Mo'nh. Tall Mo'nh was already an old and disfigured creature with an ugly face. Old women scolded her saying: "You are such a beautiful girl and keep picking over and over again, and then you marry this tall Mo'nh!" But reportedly Nyamaa retorted: "What is this about, when and rabid dog comes, it will be tall Mo'nh who will go out, I will not go out."⁸

Dorgo – badger

The herdsmen, and especially the children, are afraid of badgers. It is believed that when young heifers rest at night, and this also concerns goats and sheep, they are threatened by the badger and therefore they are not left to sleep unprotected in the steppe or near the forest.

Dorgo u'hriin hos'nogiig sugulz' avdag gene. Yavahaas bis' ganc uneentihee hos'nogiig dorgond sugaluulaltai bis'.

(Cedensonom, interview 2012)

Reportedly the badger pulls out the cow's rectum. We must leave, we will not leave our only cow's rectum to the badger.

b) Animals related to the *Lus*

***Lus*, snake, frog, fish.** In lake regions people are afraid of the *Lus*, the deities⁹ of the land and waters, whose envoys are the reptiles and amphibians, *mogoi* ('snake'), *melhii* ('frog'). The most feared among them is the snake. It

7) The text has a pair word *hos'uu nutag*, which in this context refers generally to the 'native land'.

8) Which means: 'It is important that he is so devoted to me that he would even die for me.'

9) 'Gods' according to Hangin (s.v. *lus*).

is venerated and because of fear its name is taboo and metaphorical expressions are used instead:

urt hairhan 'long (and) sacred'
urt horhoi 'long worm'¹⁰
lusiin amitan 'animal of the *lus*'
lusiin to'loologc 'envoy of the *lus*', and the like

People get startled when they see a snake, they do not like to look at them and the tradition prohibits killing them and there are many proverbs (*cecen u'g*) provoked by this fear:

Mogoin ereen (*aidas, gai, ayul*) – *gadna, hu'nii ereen dotroo*. (Luvsandorz' 2011)
 Snake's colourfulness¹¹ (meaning 'fear, danger, venomousness') is outside (i.e. immediately visible), human colourfulness (meaning 'bad thought, hate, desire to kill') is inside (i.e. hidden).

When a Mongol bumps into a gathering place of snakes *mogoin cuglaan*¹² (lit. 'snakes' senate, meeting'¹³), it still implies great luck. According to folk tradition he should kneel down and pray with the hem of his coat uplifted (*deel hormoigoo taviad mo'rgodog*), until the king of snakes with horns (*evert mogoi*) throws one of his horns into his coat and slithers away. That man is supposed to become very rich.

In folklore there is a huge snake (*avraga mogoi*) which dwells under the earth and when he leaves his abode, he sucks people and cattle many kilometres. This snake is one type of *mangas*,¹⁴ with whom brave heroes (*baatar*) often fight. The hero would mostly peel off a piece of rock and drops it on the snake.¹⁵ This idea about a huge snake living in the underworld is so strong that the fear is transferred to every snake.

Another reptile which is unpleasant to the nomads, is the lizard (*honin gu'rvel*). They also call it *zevu'un amitan* ('unpleasant animal').¹⁶ It is also

10) For a more extensive interpretation of these two phrases cf. also Oberfalzerová (2006, pp. 71–72).

11) Or 'motley, variegated colour', cf. Hangin s.v. *ereen*.

12) Namar mogoi cugladag. 'In autumn snakes usually assemble' (Cedensonom 2012).

13) It refers to the place where snakes gather to go underground to hibernate, cf. Hangin s.v. *mogoin c'uulgan*.

14) Cf. Hangin s.v.: 'monster, many-headed humanoid monster of Mongolian folk-literature'; further cf. Dulam 2009, p. 308.

15) Dulam 2009, p. 300. See also Oberfalzerová 2007, p. 238.

16) Cf. Hangin s.v. *zevu'un* 'unpleasant, disgraceful'; there is also a verb *zevu'urhe-* to be disgusted with (Hangin s.v.).

said that a lizard has evil intentions (*sanaa muutai*). In the Gobi regions¹⁷ there is a saying:

Muu yum hiisen hu'n gu'rvel bolz' to'rno s'uu. (Cedensonom 2012).

A man who has done bad things, will be reborn as a lizard (or a snake).

Thus most Mongols do not like snakes or lizards, a fact which is illustrated by the following narration:

Gu'rvel

Aav, Bancigt uuland mald yavz' baigaad neg gu'rvel deer sanamsargu'i gis'gesen gene. Gu'rvel zug-taad alga bolz' gene. Oroi gertee irehed no'goo gu'rvel manai geriin gadaa uudend hevtez' baina gene. Tegeed aav "gu'rvel namaig horloh geed irsen baina. Tiim aihtar c'onon sanaatai amitan yum. Tegeed bi terniig devsez' alaad sanaa amarsan," gez' namaig bagad yarisan yum.

(Damdinz'av 2012)

Lizard

My Father went to see the cattle on the Bancigt hill and on the way he stepped unknowingly on a lizard. The lizard ran away and disappeared. When in the evening he returned home, the lizard was lying at the door of our yurt. My Father told me when I was a small boy: "That lizard came to harm (hurt) me, it is such a malicious animal."¹⁸ So I trampled on it and killed it and I felt relieved."

Frog, toad and fish (*melhii, bah, zagas*) are also *lus'* animals, therefore they are terrifying. It is especially frogs that people, and particularly children, are very much afraid of, they believe that frogs will stick to their bodies (*melhii hu'nii biyen deer naaldadag*). Nobody kills them, because this would cause poisoning 'coming from the *lus'* (*lusiin horlol irne*). And there are many fairy tales and myths about frogs. When in spring cuckoos start to cuckoo and the hoopoe starts to sing, people are happy that the summer is coming. And when the frog hears this, it answers:

Ho'hoo duugaravc' huitneeree, o'voolz' duugaravc' o'vloooroo, ho'gs'in namaig l duugarahad haluun zun irdeg. (Cerenodnom 1989, p. 108)

Even if the cuckoo cuckoos, the cold will last, even if the hoopoe sings, it will still be wintry, only when the 'old of me' croaks, the hot summer comes.

This is the reason why the Mongols perceive the croaking of frogs as pleasant.

Fish (*zagas*) do not really provoke fear, but there are many narratives and myths about large fish and seals (*hav zagas*) and about how they swam from

17) Cf. also *u'leg gu'rvel*, the bones of the dinosaurs, they are connected with the bones of mythical dragons, which were related with the deity *Lus*.

18) Lit. 'having a wolf's mind'.

Lake Baikal to Mongolia. In deep waters (*ho'lgui usan dottor*) there lives a fish which is able to swallow a man or to smash him with its tail. This mythical thought is supported by the idea that fish are also *lus'* animals (*lusiin amitan*) or envoys, and they protect children:

Hangai gazriin hu'muus zagasnii nuruunii yasnuudiig utsaar holboz' hu'uhdiin bu'send zu'uvel eeltei gedeg. (Naymanz'in 2013)

If people from the Hangai regions string the small spinal bones of fish on a thread and hang them on the child's belt it is beneficial.

The bones issue protective sounds like modern jingle bells. The Mongols believe that fish live a very long time, up to a hundred years, which comes from some narratives (Oberfalzerová 2008, p. 310). If dead fish or their skeletons are thrown into the water current, they will come back to life (*ami ordog*). The small fry of fish are not to be killed (*z'araahai aldagui*). If they float into a vessel sunk under water surface to draw water, they will quickly remove it. Traditionally they do not kill fish, they eat neither fish nor fish eggs (*tu'rs*).¹⁹

c) Cattle

Since nomadic Mongols are herdsmen, they are not afraid of cattle, but there is some fear connected with cattle. In their ethno-pedagogy they call it *maliin ho'liin ayuul* (lit. 'danger of cattle's feet').

When a nomadic child grows up, it should be protected against three dangers (*gurvan ayuulaas bolgoomz'loh heregtei*; Darimaa 2011):

- 1) *galiin ayuul* 'danger of fire' – in the yurt there was always an open fire;
- 2) *usnii ayuul* 'danger of water' – i.e. drowning in a river or lake (a freely moving nomadic child may easily fall into water);
- 3) *maliin ho'liin ayuul* 'danger of cattle feet' – this is because the cattle of the Mongols are half wild, especially the horses.

It is dangerous for a child to crawl under the belly of cattle, especially of horses, or to come close to their feet, particularly hind feet. There is a danger of being kicked by the hind foot (Mo. *tangara-*), which would almost certainly cause the child's death. Though cows are very mild, they can become mad if they are bothered by gadflies and can kick a child (Mo. *gis'gi-*). Camels are also mild animals, but when in winter they are mating, the males (*orson buur*)

19) However, in the SHM fish is eaten in many places, especially at the Onon and Herlen rivers. In the area of Ho'vsgol Lake fishing nets and fishermen's instruments are known.

are very dangerous for everybody except their master (they chase the person away, follow him/her, spit foam and vomit on him/her, they can even bite, Mo. *haza-*, and trample, Mo. *devse-*). At this time of year they look frightening, on their heads there is frozen foam and a frozen oily secretion behind their heads looking like asphalt. Their hair is thick and they are dangerous, and therefore in this rutting season people are afraid and do not come near to them. When a child is alone in the yurt, it is bound by a special rope, so that it is protected against these three dangers – ‘it is said that the rope is lucky for the children’ (*uyaag huuhded eeltei gedeg*). It is believed that binding the children is like protection by a deity.

d) Birds

The **eagle** (*bu'rged*) was very much worshiped in the Shamanistic times and it was depicted in rock paintings. According to the Buriat myths, the eagle was the king of birds and a sacred bird and protector of the Buriats (Ceren-sodnom 1989, p. 115). Later when Lamaism prevailed the eagle was replaced by the Indian mythical bird Garuda (*hangarid*) and, for example, the folklore specialist Gaadamba thinks that the Mongols have already forgotten about this. It is also mentioned in the SHM that the Mongols used to keep and feed predatory birds, eagles and falcons (*s'onhor*), and that they used them for hunting. There is a term *s'uvuula-* ‘to bird’.²⁰

The **vulture** (*tas*) is considered to be a terrible animal because it is polluted by contact with dead bodies. The vulture is not shot at nor is it killed:

Tasnaas sez'igledeg, seg iddeg, huntiiḡ tas iddeg.

(Cedensonom 2012)

We loathe the vulture, it eats dead bodies, the vulture eats people.

But from the Lamaist point of view the vulture is an important bird and it is called upon to eat the dead body of a diseased person, so that he may be reborn. Furthermore the Mongols loathe the crow (*har heree*) and the rook (*hon heree*), which also eat dead bodies. In particular they peck out the eyes (*nudiḡḡ uhaz' iddeg amitan*), which is frightening mainly for children. Their ability to see great distances is also mentioned. It is said that they can see for a distance of seventy ravines:

20) The word is not to be found in Hangin (1986), but cf. the ancient usage in the Secret History of the Mongols (§ 54): *tere cag-tur Yisüḡei-baatur Onan-müren-e sibawulan yabuqitur* (Igor de Rachewiltz 1972, p. 22).

“At that time, at the moment when Yesüḡei Baatur *was going, falconing* at the Onan River.” (Cleaves 1982, p. 12).

Mas' holiin yumiig harna. Dalan zálgiig nevt hardag. (Cedensonom 2012)
(It can) see very remote things. (It can) see through seventy ravines.

When people see these birds together, it always implies that some animal has died. When they fly above the yurt, they loathe these birds, they fear them and they must utter some prayer, e.g.

Bayan hangai mini avraz' o's'oo!
My rich Nature, protect (us)!
Heree geriin gadaa guaglaz' baival har hel am gez' bolgoomz'loh heregtei.
When a crow is cawing outside the yurt, it is necessary to beware of slander.
Udees o'mno burhanii zaraal, udees hois' c'otgoriin zaraal yavdag.
Before noon (it goes) as a servant of god, in the afternoon it goes as a servant of the devil (*c'o'tgor*).
(Cedensonom 2012)

It brings bad news and encountering it is a bad omen (*muu yor*).

Figuratively a bad and slanderous person can be called *hovc' cuurhalc'* ('one who does harm through slander').

The **magpie** (*šaazgai*) is also a bird which distributes news (*hov z'iv zo'odog s'uvuu*). It informs you that some of your friends are slandering you, spreads slander and gossip about you, but also praises. Therefore if a nomad sees a magpie, he will shout:

*Sain hel, sain hel, sarhinagaar du'uren sār tos o'gno!*²¹
Say something good, I will give you (sheep's) omasum²² full of (yellow) melted butter!
Sain helee naas' ni, muu helee caas' ni! (Naymanz'in 2013)
Good news, (do come) here, bad news (go) away!

The **buzzard** (*elee*) is called the blind buzzard (*sohor elee*) in spite of its capabilities. Its cawing is perceived as an unpleasant sound. In summer it appears near the yurt and it steals milk products (*cagaan idee*, lit. 'white food') which are being dried on the roof of the yurt, especially cottage cheese (*ee-zgii*). It eats the waste from entrails (*ulaan idee*, lit. 'red food'). While flying it tears food out of children's hands, therefore it is called the 'raging bird' (*s'uurc'ihdeg s'uvuu*). It is considered an unpleasant bird, while in folklore it represents an envoy of something bad, such as the envoy of an evil spirit or demon (*ad c'otgor*; Cerensodnom 1989, p. 133).

The **owl** (*uuli*) also belongs among the birds that are feared. If at night we hear an owl, it is a bad omen (*uuli s'ono dugaarval muu yor*). The Mongols

21) This "call" was also recorded in an interview with Darimaa (cf. Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 55).

22) Cf. Hangin s.v. *sarhinag* 'third stomach of ruminants'.

are not afraid of the owl or of the horned owl (*s'ar s'uvuunaas sez'iglehgui*), but they do not like the shape of its body, the flat head with ears, the great eyes, the long claws – an unpleasant figure. At night one can see the flickering eyes, which do not evoke any pleasant emotion. It is simply a fact that the Mongols do not have a good relation with any owls. According to myths the owl is conceited, its nature is characterised by miserliness, pretence, insincerity.²³ When a woman has a disagreeing or weeping tone in her voice, it is said that her voice is that of an owl (*uuliin duutai emegtei*).

In Mongolian ethnopedagogy children from a very early age are prohibited from breaking birds' eggs and are taught to be very cautious with birds' nests. Should they break them, this is a great misdeed. It is said that if a bird's egg is cracked or even broken, a curse will come (*S'uvuunii o'ndogiig hagabal, albal, haraadag haraal irne*). For example breaking a crane's egg, which is laid directly in the grass, implies a very strong curse:

Togoruunii o'ndogiig albal ter hu'niig to'mor do'roo setertel haraadag! (Luvsandorz' 2012)
If one breaks the crane's egg, it curses (him) so that even the iron of his stirrups will break!

Which means, if the iron of the stirrups does not hold, nothing will hold, not even his luck or life. The Mongols are truly afraid of this very strong curse, therefore they approach birds' nests very cautiously, they must go around them, not even the human shadow is allowed to fall on them. If the shadow touches the egg, the bird will cast it off (*hu'nii su'uder tusval s'uvuu o'ndogoo goldog*). Children are warned in these words:

Hu'u mini, o'ndognoos hol yavaarai! (Luvsandorz' 2011)
My son, go far away from the egg!

This is a widespread habit, a very strong mini-law that not only birds' nests, but any animals must not be touched, and pregnant animals cannot be hunted. This fear may be the cause of the fact that the Mongols eat neither eggs nor young animals.

23) For example the myth about how the owl became yellow-eyed (cf. Cerensodnom 1989, p. 131).

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to further develop the topic of contentment and unpleasantness among the Mongolian nomads. This time I have concentrated on the fear of animals. Feared animals or animals perceived as unpleasant were classified into subgroups and the 'unpleasantness' reflected in communication and language use was documented by concrete examples.

The system of good and bad omens is of course transferred to the individual animals. The unpleasant perception of some animals and the typical activities and characteristic properties attributed to them are reflected through a metaphorical transfer to human beings. A great number of narratives in folklore document experience with animals, provoke concrete notions about these animals and determine the relation of human beings to them. We appear to be in a vicious circle, when we do not know whether the experience precedes the narrations or whether it is a fantasy which determines the experience in real life. However, our target is not to accept the perception of the world which nomads have, we only want to get acquainted with it and to understand their communication and use of language.

Perhaps we should mention the fact that the post-modern world has started to rediscover the most essential perceptions of the pre-industrial world by means of many neo-shamanistic activities (shamanistic associations, drumming, natural healing, interpretation of cards, living deities/goddesses, 'come-back' to nature). In this way people keep returning again and again to the cultures linked with nature, whose experience they try to verify in many ways. We wanted to present a form of scholarly verification, namely on the basis of field work and discussions with native speakers from the unique Mongolian nomadic culture.

Database of recordings from the years 2011–2013:

CEND-AYUS', recording 2012.
 CEDENSONOM, recording 2012.
 DARIMAA, recording 2011.
 DAMDINZ'AV, recording 2012.
 MYAGMAR, recording 2013.
 NAYMANZ'IN, recording 2013.
 LUVSANDORZ', recordings of memories 2011, 2012.

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Du'rsleh u'g and reference to shapes in selected Mongolian toponyms

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Summary: Based upon a semantic analysis of Mongolian toponyms, this paper offers an overview of the most important thematic areas in Mongolian proper nouns. Taking into account the context of the use of proper nouns in communication, the method of giving names to places, traditions and taboos connected to proper names, this study depicts some of the ways in which Mongolian nomads show their understanding of the world, values and traditional ideas about the world. This study predominantly explores the motivation for the process of naming prominent geographical features. Mongolian oikonyms and anoikonyms try to depict as accurately as possible the shape, colour and position of a particular geographical form. That is why the repertoire of the Mongolian language in providing linguistic resources suitable for the process of naming is so extensive. The Mongolian language can depict the many different shapes of these landmarks. These linguistic resources include *du'rsleh u'g* [iconopoeic words], which help to build realistic plastic images of orographic formations or bodies of water. When these are uttered, the listener can visualize the real shape of the landmark without actually seeing it. These linguistic resources are ancient and can be translated to modern languages only with much difficulty or not at all.

0. Mongolian toponyms

When travelling in the Mongolian steppes, foreigners accustomed to the use of satellite navigation systems, to a limited set of maps and comprehensible road signs are astonished how ingeniously and infallibly Mongolian nomads find their way in the steppes. Whether on horseback or in a car, they watch the changing landscape and notice important landmarks that enable them to remember the way and guide them on their long journeys, not only during the day but also at night. Landscapes and natural landmarks are also observed attentively in the vicinities of nomad habitations. In consequence these observations often influence toponyms, which serve not only to name places and landmarks but also to describe them. This makes orientation in the landscape much easier.

In 2007, during a study period in Mongolia, I commenced fieldwork exploring Mongolian personal proper nouns (cf. Obrátlová 2010). I then extended this research to the field of Mongolian oikonyms and anoikonyms.

This research is based on a register of toponyms collected during my field-work in the Hovd Aimag in vicinity of the Cambagarav uul mountain range, which I carried out in summer 2011. This material is supplemented with examples of geographical names from the Hovd Aimag map published in Ulaanbaatar in 1986. In my enquiry I focus especially on the semiotic content of Mongolian oikonyms and anoikonyms, as they provide a lot of information on how Mongolian nomads perceive the world and the landscape that surrounds them.

There are studies of semantic contents of toponyms by Mongolian researchers, e.g. E. Ravdan (2007) or C. Batsu'ren (2007), but these neither explore the speakers' motivation in their selection of geographical names referring to landmarks, nor the ideas and images that these oikonyms and anoikonyms evoke when uttered.

1. Classification of toponyms

Traditional classifications of toponyms serve the needs of the analysis of toponyms in landscapes with developed agriculture and do not mirror the specific problematics of Mongolian toponyms. Still, they form a solid base that can be supplemented with additional classes of nouns which can be encountered in Mongolian toponyms.

In order to describe the material studied I employ the basic division of Mongolian toponyms into *oikonyms*, which refer to the proper names of settlements, i.e. of human dwellings, albeit deserted, and to *anoikonyms*. The latter group includes the names of bodies of water – *hydronyms*, i.e. the names of seas, bays, straits, lakes, marshlands, bogs, moorlands, ponds, water reservoirs, wells, springs, rivers, streams, rapids, waterfalls, canals etc., and proper names of topographical reliefs and sea beds – *oronyms*, e.g. the names of orographic lifts, mountain ranges, highlands, uplands, downs, ridges, mounts, hills, rocks, hillsides, valleys, depressions, trenches, passes, saddles, chasms, abysses, lowlands, flatlands, plateaus, tablelands or basins. Anoikonyms also include the proper names of estates or groups of estates referred to as *agronyms*, e.g. uncultivated land, cultivated land such as fields, meadows, pastures, gardens, vineyards, hop-gardens and also forestland, forests, woods and game preserves. Another subgroup of anoikonyms is *hodonyms*, the names of travel ways, i.e. the names of streets, roads, squares, embankments, piers, motorways, paths, drovers' roads, footpaths, tunnels, fords, bridges, footbridges, ferries, railways and cableways. Anoikonyms also include names of

boulders, chapels, wayside shrines, obelisks, graveyards, gravestones, monuments, quarries, mines, watchtowers, trigonometric points, signposts and other inanimate natural objects and phenomena as well as objects created by humans which do not serve as dwelling-places, with fixed positions in the landscape (Olivová-Nezbedová 1995, pp. 15–35). This classification, developed by researchers from The Institute of Czech Language of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, is not fully applicable to the reality of the Mongolian cultural environment. However, it makes a solid starting point for the classification of Mongolian toponyms if supplemented with the names of temporary nomad settlements, whether in summer or winter, and other non-permanent settlements and anoikonyms, if supplemented by the names of sacred trees, *ovoo* or wells.

2. Classification of toponyms

The starting point for this study is a register of toponyms collected during my fieldwork in Hovd Aimag in the vicinity of the Cambagarav uul mountain range in summer 2011. In these parts of the Mongolian landscape, close to seasonal nomad settlements or used for pasture, there are rarely places that would not have a proper name. Inhabitants of the regions have named all the distinctive landmarks and they teach these unofficial names of landscapes, orographic formations, bodies of water and watercourses to their children. Thus “oral maps” of different regions (even larger territories) exist and are used in communities of closely-knit *ails*.¹ Every child is able to name all landmarks in the surroundings of their birthplace and home, but these names are unknown to strangers. Because of the expanses of uninhabited or temporarily inhabited regions in Mongolia, only the most distinct landmarks and orographic formations have official geographical names on maps. Anoikonyms and oikonyms are familiar only to a limited circle of inhabitants of one location or only to members of one family. They significantly outnumber the existing official geographical names. The usual process whereby an anoikonym vanishes is when new inhabitants arrive in some area and introduce new names for the landmarks. This happens also in the community of Mongolian nomads. However, it is not the most common event as the newly arrived inhabitants can adopt the commonly used names of landmarks if they get to know them. Anoikonyms and oikonyms of regions in which one nomad

1) An *ail* is a small group of yurts.

family traditionally nomadizes are passed from generation to generation and exist for a very long time despite there being no codification in official maps.

Over the past 800 years, the region of the Hovd Aimag has been settled by many different ethnic groups. Some of them settled in the region only temporarily, while others assimilated with the local inhabitants and adopted Mongolian nomad culture. It can be assumed that the population of the region was Turkish speaking before the Mongolian expansion. One can, therefore, generally expect a strong Turkic influence in the sphere of geographical names. Similarly one can expect the influence of the Sanskrit and Tibetan languages connected to the spread of Buddhism in the region. An analysis of several anoikonyms which seem to be of Turkic or old Turkish origin suggests that the semantic content of Turkish and Mongolian geographical names is very similar. For example, the name of the mountain *Agvas' uul* is coined from the proper noun *Agvas'* and the common noun *uul* [mountain]; the word *Agvas'* has the stem *aq* [white] and *baş* [literally: head, hill / mountain]. It could be translated into Mongolian as *Cagaantolgoi uul* [literally: Mount White Head, Mount White Hill; cf. OTD, pp. 48, 86]. A similar development can be observed with the anoikonym of the ridge *Baidag Bogd uul*, which is coined from the proper noun *Baidag* with the old Turkish stems *bai* [rich / generous] + *tay* [mountain], and the common noun *uul* [mountain]. It could be translated into Mongolian as *Bayanuul Bogd uul* [Rich Sacred Mountain, Generous Sacred Mountain], which is one of the very common and frequent anoikonyms of mountains and mountain ranges in Mongolia (cf. OTD pp. 79, 526). Such toponyms are very frequent in the region which I explored. However, in my semantic analysis of geographical names, I mostly focus on names of purely Mongolian origin.

The research material described above is supplemented with a register of geographical names from the map of Hovd Aimag published in Ulaanbaatar in 1986. This map is on a relatively small scale (1:750 000). It can be assumed that at the time when the map was created, the geographical names it used corresponded to names used by local people. Hovd Aimag is close to the western border of Mongolia and is quite distant from the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. In consequence, the traditions and customs of the region are more preserved than traditions in the region of the capital city. Maps and registers of geographical names of Mongolian territory published before the declaration of the independent Mongolian state in 1924 would have been influenced by pressure from the Manchurian administration to adapt geographical names to those that were officially more acceptable. Thus some landmarks might have been registered under later artificial toponyms not used by the

local inhabitants. Maps published in the 1970's and 1980's were prepared for publication by *Ulsiin gyeodyezi, zurag zu'in gazar* [State Office for Mapping and Geodesy]. Work was based on correspondence with the competent local administrators for the *aimags*. The State Office for Mapping and Geodesy sent invitations to heads of the *aimag* administrations asking them to make a map of the important landmarks and settlements, either on their own or with the help of local inhabitants.² The maps were meant not to be too detailed, so as not to give away too much information to enemies if the country was under attack. The scale of these maps was only 1:500 000 – 1:750 000. Quite recently, taking into consideration the fact that satellite photos and images map any territory in detail, the State Office for Mapping and Geodesy gave permission for maps of a larger scale to be published (at a scale of 1:50 000 or 1:100 000). However, this has not been completed as of yet. In 2003, a set of thirty six new maps on a scale of 1:500 000 was published. However, this has not been done yet. In 2003 a set of thirty six new maps on a scale of 1:500 000 was published. Geographical names used in maps published after 1990 may be very different from toponyms used by local populations. The reasons for the omission of a great number of geographical names from maps is the small scale of the maps and cultural and political pressures.

Analysis of the semantic contents of selected toponyms allows us to single out a few thematic groups of geographical names. This study focuses on toponyms whose meaning is very descriptive, and where there is some reference to the shape or topography of the landmark. Some of these groups will be compared to Czech toponyms. The reader's attention will be drawn to differences and similarities in the meanings of some Mongolian and Czech geographical names.

3. Appellatives in oikonyms and anoikonyms

The group of oikonyms and anoikonyms with a common noun referring to a specific landmark is very numerous. The map of Hovd Aimag contains nearly 46 % of this type of words. In accordance with ancient tradition, the appellative parts of landmark names such as *gol* [river], *uul* [mountain, hill], or *hudag* [well] are often not used at all in speech and the landmarks are

2) The collection of materials for Academy of Sciences was carried out in a similar way. See Olivová-Nezbedová 1995, pp. 35–51.

referred to using only the part depicting specific characteristics (e.g. the shape, colour, organ, animal etc.). Thus, for example, the river *Botgon* [Camel] is called only by the characteristic proper noun, not by the whole name *Botgon gol* [Camel River]. After the Second World War, under the influence of how Russians name their landmarks, appellatives entered Mongolian maps that are rarely used in speech by the Mongols. However, there are regional differences and variations.

These names can be classified into groups with respect to the character of the landmark they probably refer to. It cannot be claimed that the name really refers to the landmark it is apparently designating, as it is possible that the name was transferred from one landmark to another in its vicinity. This method of naming landmarks is less common than directly naming them using an appellative that depicts them. I presume that rivers and other watercourses along which nomads travelled with their herds were so important that their names were coined as new, original names. These were later transferred to other dominant landmarks in the vicinity and to dwellings and settlements. For example, in the vicinity of the river *Botgon* [Camel] there is a saddle called *Botgonii ho'tol* [Camel Saddle]: the source of the river is at the foot of the hill where the saddle *Botgonii ho'tol* lies and there is a rural settlement called *Botgon* [Camel] on the bank of the river. Similarly the river *Co'nhol* [Pool] flows around the crest *Co'nholiin nuruu* [Crest (of the River) *Co'nhol*, Crest of the Pool]. Sometimes the original landmark might vanish, e.g. a river or moorland may dry out, but the name of this original landmark is given to another nearby landmark. The motivation – e.g. the shape or colour of the landmark itself – for this name is then hard to explain. Landmarks and places were renamed, for example, in connection with the spreading of Buddhism and the lamas' effort to suppress people's beliefs in the power of the local deities of mountains and rivers, the source of whose power was associated with a particular place or landmark where the nomads believed them to reside.

3.1. GENERAL EXPRESSIONS FOR LANDSCAPE AND LANDMARKS

The following expressions refer to the landscape in general terms: *aral* [island, island in a river],³ *belc'ir* [crossroads, confluence], *gazar* [land, landscape, soil, place], *govi* [semi desert], *denz'* [terrace, ascent, terrace along a river], *devsger* [territory, region], *zu'leg* [meadow, lawn], *manhan* [dune], *mod* [tree], *nuga* [meadow], *nutag* [homeland, birthplace], *sair* [pebbles, small stones, dried riverbed], *taiga* [wooded area], *tal* [steppe, plane, plateau, table land], *talbai* [plateau], *toirom* [dried oval marsh without vegetation], *uulzvar* [node, junction, crossroads, confluence], *ho'vc'* [taiga], *caidam* [the place in the steppe whose soil is rich in minerals], *caram* [humid valley amidst high mountains], *c'uluu* [stone], *s'avar* [soil, mud, clay], *els* [sand, sands], *ereg* [bank, gorge, ravine].

Some expressions connected to watercourses are: *bulag* [spring], *bu'rd* [oasis], *gol* [river], *gorhi* [creek, stream], *dalai* [sea, ocean], *dalan* [dike, embankment], *mo'ron* [river, great river], *nuur* [lake], *olom* [ford], *rasaan* [mineral spring, thermal spring], *salaa* [tributary, arm], *us* [water, stream], *hudag* [well], *cutgalan* [the confluence of two rivers, the place where river flows into a lake, river delta], *s'and* [well, small spring].

The following expressions are used to name elevations: *bogoc'* [hillock, knoll, a hummock on the top of an elevation or in a saddle], *ganga* [high bank, gorge], *gu'vee* [low elongated ridge, elevation], *dav* [hillock, hummock, knoll], *davaa* [pass, saddle], *dov* [hillock, hummock, knoll], *dovcog* [hump, elevation, hill], *ovgor* [embankment, hill, mound, bulge], *oro* [peak, summit, top], *ovoo* [hillock, mound of stones or wood], *sonduul* [hump, knoll, hummock], *tolgod* [more smaller hills, hilly area], *uul* [mountain, hill], *uhaa* [hill-ock], *had* [rock, reef], *hyar* [geog. ridge], *hyasaa* [cliff above a river], *ho'tol* [pass, saddle], *cohio* [cliff, rock].

Terms for depressions are: *guu* [hollow, glen, ravine], *z'alga* [small ravine, gulch, dale, small canal, river bed], *sudal* [river bed, canal], *suvag* [ravine, chasm, canal], *havcal* [rift, dingle, narrow], *cav* [cleft, cranny, rift, breach].

This list illustrates the extent of the range of expressions depicting the variety of shapes and locations of landmarks which a speaker can select. The Czech language also has a variety of expressions referring to landmarks of different shapes: *hora* (mountain), *chlum* (wooded hill), *vrch* (knoll, also means river spring), *brdo* (harness), *homole* (hummock), *kopec* (hill), *mohyla*

3) The term *aral* is also used for areas surrounded by a major watercourse which creates a small "peninsula", the land surrounded by a river.

(hillock), *hřeben* (ridge), *hřbet* (crest), *chřib* (hillock, knoll), *člup* (hillock, knoll), *chochol* (summit), *slemeno* (ridge), *rozsocha* (short curved ridge), *sedlo* (pass, saddle), *čeřen* (ridge), *skála* (rock), *kámen* (stone), *kamýk* (rock or cliff crowned ridge), *bradlo* (cliff), *lavice* (horizontal flat rock), *stěna* (rock face), *důl* (vale), *debr* (steep valley, steep ravine, pothole), *jezvína* (pit, ravine) and *žlab* (dale, glen) (Malenínská 1995, pp. 263–270). Many of these appellatives are not used in everyday communication in Czech. They are obsolete and ordinary users of the language do not understand them.

Mongolian appellatives referring to landmarks are comprehensible to the Mongols. Mongolian nomads are able to use different expressions to name orographic formations and parts of watercourses.

3.2. NAMES DESCRIBING SIZE, QUALITY, SHAPE OF THE LANDMARK

Places in the landscape are also named on the basis of their resemblance to objects that Mongolian nomads use every day or whose shape, colour or quality remind them of a particular formation. This motivation for naming can be seen in expressions like *z'irem* [saddle girth], *do's* [anvil], *tag* [lid, cover], *s'al* [floor, bottom] or *yembu'u* [silver ingot, precious metal casting]. The last mentioned silver cast is used as medium of exchange and resembles the globular shape of a “molehill” of different sizes. The mountain *Yembu'u uul* [Mount Sow / Casting] is most likely of similar shape as the Czech hill Říp.

The map of Hovd Aimag also shows lake *Airag* [Koumiss], the rural settlement *Mo'ngon Ayaga* [Silver Bowl / Pot], the freshwater lake *Do'roo* [Stirrup / Joint / Pair], the mountain *Tasiin suudal uul* [Mountain Where Vultures Meet], *Tu's'leg ulaan uul* [Red Backrest Mountain] and the mountain *Caht uul* [Mount Fork], whose name is derived from a fork-like shaped piece of wood known as *cah*, which is used as a support or stand for duffel-shaped bags containing koumiss (mare's milk). The name of Lake *Do'roo* could have been derived from the word *do'ru'gen* – joint, multiple, pair, which is used to refer to lakes adjoining rivers or water canals. Lakes called *Do'rgon* [Joint, Multiple, Pair] can be found on the map of Hovd Aimag.

Some words to designate a hill or mountain convey the shape of the given place in their meaning. For example, the expression *hos'uu* [muzzle, maw, beak, pointed object, point] refers to a sharply tapering cliff or overhang, usually above water, or a sharp piece of rock protruding into water or a landscape resembling a “beak” of the rock. A similar overhang or sloping edge of a ridge, but more rounded, may be referred to as *hamar* [nose]: the name *S'ar*

Hamariin nuruu [literally Ridge of Yellow Nose, Ridge of Yellow (Rounded) Overhang] can be found among the names mentioned. Expressions such as *bogoos*, *bogos*, or *bogoc'* refer to a hillock or a knoll in a saddle or elevation, so that, for example, *hos'uunii bogoc'* refers to a small hillock on beak-like elevation. Knolls and hillocks in the centre of an elevation are most often referred to as *gu'vee* or *ho'tol*, and the expression *bogoc'* or *bogoos* is used for a knoll on the border of the elevation. The expressions *conz'* or *conz' had* are used to refer to a steep rock face that contains a deep cleft, or two cliffs in close proximity to each other with a cleft in between them.

Mongolian nomads also notice unique qualities of places and how they differ from other places in their surroundings. These perceptible characteristic features of places are remolded into oikonyms and anoikonyms, which makes orientation in the landscapes much easier. Toponyms contain apt references to quality or shape such as *baga* [small], *zadgai* [splayed, open], *ih* [big], *o'ndor* [high], *halzan* [bare, without vegetation], *s'ovh* [pointed, sharp, tapering], *tovgor* [convex, bulging, elevated], *havg'ig* [flattened, oblate], *hu-urai* [dry, dried-up], *mo'st* [icy, frosty], *to'grog* [round], *salhit* [windy], *o'l* [bare], *bu'duun* [fat], *to'mort* [iron, ferrous], *byachan* [tiny], *gas'uun* [bitter], *duguin* [round] or *hu'iten* [cold, calm] which can be linked together or can be placed after references to colour or number.

3.3. DU'RSLEH U'G ["ICONOPOEIC WORDS"]

Some expressions which are oikonyms or anoikonyms belong to the category of so-called "iconopoeic words" *du'rsleh u'g*, whose utterance evokes a plastic image of a landmark or formation. When these words are used the listener can visualize the exact shape of the landmark or formation and can identify the place of this name in the landscape.

Among these is the expression *bo'orog* [hillocky], sometimes used in the reduplicated form (*hors'oo ug*) *aarag bo'orog*, derived from the word *bo'or* referring to hillocks, mounds or round formations in flatland. This expression appears in the toponym of the river *Bo'orog gol* [Hillocky River, River (Flowing Through) a Hillocky / Knobbed (Terrain)] implying that the river flows through a knobby terrain typical of waterlogged places, or that there are many round formations and knobs in the riverbed. Related to this meaning is the word *buldruu* [knob, bump, protrusion, hillock, clod], which unlike the word *bo'orog* refers to a minor globular formation in a similar way to the word *buluu* [knob]. Also the expression *bo'mbogor* has the same root

bo'- referring to a formation with many globular hillocks and protrusions, usually on a mountain (Ravdan 2007, p. 42).⁴

The expression *cu'nheel* [whirlpool / deep pool with whirling water] describes a scoured place in a river where water widens the river into a semi-circular shape. It is a place where whirlpools are formed. These whirlpools hollow out the river bed and create globular hollows. These are called *co'n*-upward bulge, or *cu'n*-downward bulge. They may also be places in the river where deep pools are formed eventually and are abundant with fish. From these stems the verbs *cu'ndiih* and *cu'nhih* are derived, meaning "suddenly protruding globularly upwards or downwards". The verb *cu'nhelzeh* means "repeatedly in many places rounding into depths" and expressions like *cu'ndger gedes* [literally: globularly protruding / rounding out of the area of stomach / "beer gut"] and *cu'ndiisen hu'n* [literally: in one place a man rounding into space, a man with a bulging belly].⁵ Place names in the Hovd Aimag include the name of the freshwater lake *Cu'nhel* [Deep Pool (with Whirlpool)], the name of the river *Co'nhol* [Pooly (River)] and the name of the ridge *Co'nholiin nuruu* [Pooly Ridge, Ridge Co'nhol] close to the river *Co'nhol*.

The shape of a regular arc is described by the expression *tu'ntger* or *tu'mtger*. The verb *tu'ntiih* means "to form a round shape protuberantly in a regular arc". The motivation for coining the toponym of the ridge *Tu'mtiin nuruu* [Arching Ridge, Ridge of Ten Thousands] can according to Luvsandorz' be explained in two ways. Either it is derived from the verb *tu'ntiih* and depicts a hill in the shape of a rainbow or it is derived from the expression *tu'mentee* [ten thousand times], which is less likely. The word *tu'mbeger* [protruding globularly upwards, bulging, knobby] is derived from the stem *tu'm* or *tu'n*, which is part of the name of the mountain *Bayan Tu'mbe uul* [Rich Bulging Mountain]. Ravdan found the expression *tu'ntger* used in connection with many hills, mountains and mounds, which only supports the semantic content of a bulging round shape (Ravdan 2007, p. 42).

The meaning "protrude into space" is conveyed by the verb *gozoih* and the derived adjective *gozgor* [gangling, lanky] which is present in the toponym *Gomiin Gozgor uul* [Gangling / Lanky Mountain of Sands]. The word *gom* represents here the expression for sand used in Mongolian folk culture, derived from the old Turkish word "*kum*", which can be found as well in the

4) Compare with the name *bambagar* below.

5) For details about onomatopoeic words see Oberfálzerová 2009, pp. 45–49.

names *Karakum* [Black Sand, Black Sands] and *Kyzylkum* [Red Sand, Red Sands].⁶

There are many uses of the old stem *qo-*, which is present in the words *hool*, *hovd*, *hooloi* and *hotgor*. These words, according to Luvsandorz', depict the shape of a river bed, canal, or glen. The words *hovol*, *hovil* or *ho'vol* describe a more or less rounded groove. Luvsandorz' is convinced that despite the current significance of the word *hool* (in modern Mongolian it refers to food) the toponym of rural settlement *Hool* cannot be derived from this modern meaning but is likely to be connected to the old Mongolian stem **qobl*, which etymologically developed from **qobl* > *qowl* > *qoul* > *qool*. Thus the meaning must be understood as a basin or glen. Longer glens, narrows or ravines can be named *hooloi*, where the word does not convey the primary meaning of "throat" (as it does in the modern spoken language). The meaning "throat" is only secondary and evolved as a consequence of the resemblance in form to a throat. Originally the word referred to the shape; it became the term for the organ and geological formation only later. That is why the toponym *Zu'un hooloi* can be translated only as Eastern Narrow or Eastern Glen. Also the toponym of the river *Hovd* cannot be translated as "quiver", although it secondarily conveys this meaning; its original meaning, however, meant "hollow". The word *hovd* evokes the shape of a hollow or glen edged with mountains. Other expressions that are often present in toponyms are *honhor* [dip, trench], *hotgor* [glen, hollow, bulge], *ho'ndii* [hollow, dale, valley, depression] and *hu'nh* [round depression on a hillside] or *hu'nher* [deeper hollow, trench]. The toponym *Hu'nhree* [Gorge, Kettle Hole] is derived from the name *Hu'nh* [Kettle Hole, Gorge, Glen (in some cases formed by retreating glaciers)] depicting a large, bell-shaped gibbous gorge, related to the words *honh* [bell], *hu'nh* [gorge]. Their onomatopoeic and iconopoeic quality evokes in Mongols the idea of a vast, crater-like spatial cavity. In the case of the word *hu'nh* it means a slightly narrower, more closed formation. This meaning is conveyed also by the verb *hu'nhiih*, which means "to have a gibbous shape in flatland".

One example of a very interesting toponym is *Bambagariin hotgor* [literally: Soft Fluffy Hollow / Glen, Hollow of Wetland / Swamp], which is coined from *du'rsleh uᠭ* – "iconopoeic words". The word *hotgor*, as mentioned above, refers to a hollow, gorge, or glen, while the word *bambagar* is derived from the stem *bam-*, which, combined with the stem *bim-*, conveys the meaning of a soft, fluffy material that evokes a softly bouncing motion. The word

6) Compare with the expression *qum/qom* in OTD, p. 455.

bambalzuur denotes marshland or moors: places where the ground gives way to people as they walk upon it. The verb *bambalza-* means to move with a swinging or swaying gait while walking upon a such a surface, as a moor. The expression can also be used to refer to lips: soft, thick lips are referred to as *bambagar uruul*.

The anoikonym of the mountain *Yarh uul* [Jagged Mountain, Mountain with Jagged Ridge, Ragged Mountain] is probably derived from the verb *yarai-*, which means to protrude, rise sharply, and the word *yaralza-* depicting many sharply rising objects in one line or ridged protruding peaks.

A flowing, swiftly running stream naturally meandering through the landscape is depicted by the verb *zavha-*, which conveys the meaning to wander here and there and which could have given rise to the name of the river *Zavhan* [Running, Flowing, Streaming]. This toponym was later transferred to the toponym of the Sum and Aimag *Zavhan*. Similar motivation in the naming of rivers can be observed on Czech territory. The toponym of the river *Jizera* is likely to have been coined from the old Indo-European stem **eis/-ois/ *-is* meaning “run fast, move swiftly”. Similar names of rivers can be come across in parts of Europe formerly settled by the Celts (*Isar, Isère, Ijzer*). The name was introduced to Slavonic tribes by Germanic tribes. There are numerous anoikonyms such as *Bystrice, Bystrina, Bystrička* [stream, torrent, rapids] that confirm the popularity of naming watercourses with the word *bystrý* [swift, fast, rapid]. The same meaning is conveyed by the Indo-European stem **Aga, *Agira, *Agara*. Hydronyms *Eger, Aire, Ogré, Oegre* are to be come across in the regions once settled by the Celts. This is the case with the anoikonym of the Czech river *Ohře*. The hydronym *Vltava*, derived from old Germanic stems *wilth* (wild, raging, swift) and *-ahwa* or *-aha* (water, current, river) conveys the meaning “wild, raging river / water” (Malenínská 1995, pp. 286–288).

4. Conclusion

The main motivation for giving names to landmarks and places and for the coining of oikonyms and anoikonyms is the effort to depict the shape, colour and location of the place in contrast to other landmarks in the surroundings. That is why a wide repertoire of language resources has developed in Mongolian depicting different shapes of landmarks. Among these are the so-called *du'rsleh u'g* [iconopoeic words] that evoke real plastic images, depicting, shapes, orographic formations or bodies of water. When these are used

in speech, the listener can visualize the look of the landmark without having ever seen it. These modes of expression are ancient linguistic traditions that are hard to convey in terms of modern languages.

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Abbreviations

MED	MONGOLIAN ENGLISH DICTIONARY
OTD	Древнетюркский словарь [Old Turkic Dictionary]

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Verbs of motion in Sibe and Mongolian: The Sibe verb *yaf*- “to go”

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Summary: The paper examines the Sibe verb *yaf*-, largely corresponding to the English verb ‘to go’. Using a sample of material from colloquial Sibe I attempt to outline the semantic field of the verb, including both its literal meaning and its most frequent and typical figurative meanings. The contours of the verb’s semantic field, as emerging from the examined material, suggest that the verb *yaf*- lacks some of the typical features of the verbs of motion in Sibe (which, in Talmy’s typology, belongs to the ‘verb-framed’ languages) and, instead, in its literal and figurative meanings appears to be close to the semantics of the verb with the meaning ‘to go’ in English and other languages, classified by Talmy as ‘satellite-framed’. The present paper will be followed by an examination of the Khalkha Mongolian verb *yav*-.

0. Introduction

Studies of verbs of motion in various languages have been predominantly carried out within the framework of psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics, something that is also reflected in the generally used terminology (Figure, Ground, Path, Manner). Verbs of motion with a comparative perspective have been the subject of linguistic study since Leonard Talmy’s works (1985, 1991). Comparative studies of languages of different types according to Talmy’s typology (verb-framed vs. satellite-framed; Path languages vs. Manner languages), including comparisons between the Altaic languages and English or German, have been carried out by Şeyda Özçaliskan and Daniel I. Slobin (in Özçaliskan, Slobin 2000), Götz Wienold (1995), Andrea Word-Allbritton (2004) and others¹. Studies of verbs of motion in particular Altaic languages have been written by Nakazawa (2007, 2009). Some of the authors (Word-Allbritton 2004, p.10) express the need for further elaboration or re-thinking of Talmy’s ‘key categories’ facing in relation to the material of the particular languages. I assume that a thorough and material-based description

1) For publications before 2006 see the bibliography of works on verbs on motion by Slobin and Matsumoto (<http://www.lit.kobe-u.ac.jp/~yomatsum/motionbiblio1.pdf>)

of the concrete usage of the verbs in living languages may be a helpful basis for further comparison.

The present article continues the topic of verbs of motion in Khalkha Mongolian and spoken Sibe (Zikmundová 2010, 2011) through a study of the verb whose basic meaning roughly corresponds to the English verb 'to go': *yaf-* in Sibe and *yav-* in Mongolian. In the first part I intend to outline the semantic field of the Sibe verb *yaf-* using language material collected during fieldwork among Sibe speakers in Xinjiang.

The language material from which the examples were drawn includes above all five interviews with older speakers (aged 70 and more) and two folk tales², recorded between 1995 and 2010 (cca 60 pages of transcribed text), and hand notes made during conversations with younger speakers, mainly in 1999–2000.

The examined material does not include the complete scale of possibilities of usage of the verb *yaf-*. In particular, there exist more forms of figurative usage than appeared here. The sample of examples, nevertheless, makes it possible to define the main tendencies where the literal and figurative usage of the verb is concerned.

Although on first sight the verb *yaf-* appears to be used with two distinct meanings ('departure' and 'motion'), closer examination of the material gives an impression of a compact semantic field of **setting oneself in motion and proceeding in space towards a goal**. In various contexts the verb may refer to any part of this process (most often the moment of departure or the procedure of movement), but some examples may be interpreted as including reference to the whole process. The figurative meanings are closely connected to the literal meaning, and may be derived either from any aspect of the sequence of departure and movement, or from the whole notion. In order to describe the semantic field of the verb *yaf-*, in the case of its literal meaning I applied a tentative classification following the two main parts of the concept (departure vs. motion). In this part, sentences in which the verb is used separately are dealt with first, followed by the most frequent types of verbal phrase, including the verb *yaf-*. In the second part, focused on figurative usage, I attempted to outline several groups of examples which seem to share roughly the same logic. Some examples were difficult or impossible to identify with these arbitrarily formed groups, and are therefore listed separately.

2) The two folk-tales have already been published in Zikmundová 2013.

1. The verb *yaf-* in its literal meaning

The basic semantics of the lexical unit *yaf-* may be described as a process of leaving a location followed by movement in space, the agent being usually an animate being or an object for which motion is a typical action (most often a means of transport). In practical usage the emphasis is usually either on the phase of departure or on the phase of motion. When the moment of departure is emphasized, the location which is left is mostly understood as identical with the location of the speaker, and the direction of leaving may be either specified or omitted. In cases which emphasise the meaning of motion, the goal of motion may or may not be defined. When the goal of motion is defined, the focus remains on the process of motion and its aspects. The semantic field of the verb *yaf-* does not include the notion of reaching the goal of motion, which accordingly stands in the lative case.

1.1. THE VERB *YAF-* MEANING DEPARTURE

The collected material reveals that in modern colloquial language the most frequent usage of the verb *yaf-* is connected to the semantics of ‘leaving’. In the context of everyday communication the verb is used to describe the situation, when a person, animal or object leaves a certain location, most often identical with the location of the speaker. To convey such a meaning the most suitable translations into English are ‘to leave’, ‘to go’, ‘to set off’, etc. The verb *yaf-* is also used to express a proposal or incentive to leave together with the speaker, usually translated as ‘to go’ or ‘to come’. The goal or direction of motion may be absent (Ex. 1–3), leaving the main accent on the moment of leaving a location, or it may be expressed, thereby adding information about the intention or direction of motion (Ex. 4–5).

1.1.1. THE VERB *YAF-* USED INDEPENDENTLY TO MEAN DEPARTURE

- Ex. 1 *aitiŋ yavmie?*
Lit. When **go-IMP**.
When will you **leave**/when are you **leaving**?
- Ex. 2 *əm yavər, jaq aram vašqʰi.*
Lit. **PROH.-go-NI** thing make-CI finish-PERF.
Don’t leave, the food is ready!

Ex. 3 *məs yafki.*

Lit. We(incl.) **go-VOL.**

Let us go!

Ex. 4 *boči yavɣʷi.*

Lit. House-LAT. **go-PERF.**

He **left** for home.

Ex. 5 *solon ŋi huižat ətəvmaq oros bači yavɣʷi.*

Lit. Solon TOP. Hui-DL. win-CAUS.CP Russian place-LAT. **go-PERF.**

The Solons were defeated by the Huis (Chinese Moslems) and **trooped off** to Russia.

1.1.2. VERBAL PHRASES WITH THE VERB *yaf-* MEANING DEPARTURE

The first group of examples shows the verb *yaf-* in phrases with modal or auxiliary verbs. The second and third group show complex verbal expressions, which may either refer to a succession of actions or to a single action described by means of pairing verbs. In phrases of the fourth group, which are typical of spoken Sibe, the first word, in the form of an imperfective con-verb, expresses the purpose of motion.

1.1.2.1. THE VERB *yaf-* FOLLOWED BY A MODAL OR AUXILIARY VERB

In this type of phrase the basic meaning of the verb *yaf-* remains unchanged, and only its modality is affected by the following modal expression.

Ex. 1 *šimb yavəvʷm čəʒəqū.*

Lit. You-ACC. **go-CAUS-CI** like-NI-NEG.

I do not like to **let** you **leave** (=I wish you stay)

Ex. 2 *ənəŋ yavuq ta oŋūye.*

Lit. Today **go-NI-NEG. PART. become-PERF.**

You **do not have to leave** today (=please stay overnight).

Ex. 3 *davɣi ištəʒʷi, yavm ojuqū.*

Lit. Exceedingly be.late-PERF, **go-CI become-CI-NEG.**

It is too late now, you **cannot leave**.

1.1.2.2. THE VERB *yaf-* AS A PART OF COMPLEX DESCRIPTIVE EXPRESSIONS

The verb *yaf-* often appears as the last word in phrases which describe a series of actions. In European languages, in some cases, such a process is described by one verb that represents a succession of actions. In examples 4–6 and similar cases, when translating into English, the verb *yaf-* may be left out. Although phrases of the same type also occur in speech with the verb *yaf-* at

the beginning, no cases appeared in the sample material, indicating perhaps the lower frequency of this formulation.

- Ex. 1 *ǎñi ućivǎ tiuɣudǎri yozu.ɬmaɣ ući anɣǎf tǎr ući bioʁǎn bat ummaɣ yavɣʰi.*
 Lit. Mother door -ACC. outside-ABL. lock-CP door key-ACC. that door dust place
burry-CP go-PERF.
 The mother **locked** the door from outside, **hid the key** in the dust on the doorstep **and left**.
- Ex. 2 *oi ćimar yamsqǎn bi ǎam zǎmaɣ ta anǎvmaɣ ta yavɣʰi.*
 Lit. Oh tomorrow evening I take-IMP. say-CP PART. push-CAUS-CP PART. go-PERF.
 She **gave up**, saying: Then I **will take** him with me tomorrow, **and left**.
- Ex. 3 *amǎɣ jimǎ da ǎuizǎi anɣǎv ǎñi sǎǎǎnjid ǎñi virifǎ yavɣʰi.*
 Lit. After come-CI-PART. coffer-GEN. key-ACC.-POSS. daughter-DL.-POSS. leave-CP. go-PERF.
 Later she **gave** the keys of the boxes to her daughter **and left**.
- Ex. 4 *dulinkǎi ǎñ ǎmdan jimǎɣ yavɣʰi.*
 Lit. Last year once come-CO go-PERF.
 Last year they **came** once.
- Ex. 5 *tǎs jimǎ yavǎɣ ǎǎlǎ Guidǎɣǎye.*
 Lit. They leave-CI go-NI still take.time-PERF.
 It has been a long time since they **visited me here**.
- Ex. 6 *samǎn tašqǎ yilivm ǎfš ǎfš zǎm yavɣʰi.*
 Lit. Shaman school erect-CAUS-CI how how say-CI go-PERF.
When they were here, they were talking about establishing a school for shamans/They were talking about their intention of establishing a school for shamans (somewhere else, in the future).

1.1.2.3. THE VERB *YAF-* AS A PART OF PHRASES DESCRIBING A SINGLE ACTION

Many examples in the collected material represent the type of verbal phrase in which the constituent parts join to describe one action, in a way reminiscent of pair words (Mo. *xopuoo* ɣɛ). Although the relation between the two parts of the phrase is not exactly the same in all cases, the examples often appear as phrases of verbs with full lexical meaning. Most of the examples represent combinations of verbs of motion.

- Ex. 1 *ǎraɣ turgun fǎjiɣ da ǎɣ ǎǎǎǎjif am udun dǎyivmaɣ ta ǎam yavɣʰi.*
 This reason under PART. this boy-ACC. great wind fly-CAUS.-CP-PART. take-CI go-PERF.
 In this situation the boy was **taken** by a strong wind and **flown away**.

- Ex. 2 *fayıñ ni tičim yavmaq uncu fayıñ dozımaq nan ni gum jinshen aqū.*
Lit. Soul POSS. **go.forth-CI go-CP** other soul enter-CP person TOP. all energy NEG.
The soul **leaves (the body)** and another soul enters the body, and the (possessed) person is entirely without energy.
- Ex. 3 *som bot ganyəñ, śim čičim yavb*ʰ*i zər.*
Lit. Your house-DL. go-NPII. you-ACC **go.forth-CI go-PERF.** say-IMP.
I went to your house but I was told that you **had gone somewhere**.
- Ex. 4 *čoавэ һи гэлэмэ да бурulum yavbэ.*
Lit. Soldier TOP. fear-CI PART. **withdraw-CI go-PERF.**
The soldiers were overtaken by fear and **withdrew**.
- Ex. 5 *suda laft gor amčəm yafñ biyэ.*
Lit. Ultimately very far **pursue-CI go-PERF.** be.PERF.
They **pursued** them to a very distant place.
- Ex. 6 *monəz һи fančərdə xariya zəmə vıeleme yafñ biy*ʰ*i.*
Lit. Mongol-PL- TOP. NI.-DL. return-VOL(Mong.) say-CI **throw-CI go-PERF.** be-PERF.
The Mongols became angry and saying *hariya* ('let's go home') **abandoned** their watchpost.
- Ex. 7 *əmdan fieryəñ dəyımaq yavbэ amčəm zəyəñ javəm mutqaqū.*
Lit. Once hit-CI **fly-CP go-PERF.**, pursue-IMP. say-CI catch-CI be.able-NP-NEG.
As I hit it, **it flew away**, I was chasing it but could not catch it.
- Ex. 8 *aji orun biş ta, aşə bot dozimə təm ojuqū, čičımaq yavm, čai dolombum.*
Lit. Little daughter-in-law be-CI PART. elder-sister-in-law house/room-DL. enter-CI sit-CI become-NI-NEG, **go.forth-CP go-IMP.** tea pour-CI give-IMP.
Concerning the younger daughter-in-law, she is not allowed to sit when her elder sister-in-law enters the room, she has to **leave** the room and serve her tea.

1.1.2.4. PHRASES EXPRESSING THE PURPOSE OF LEAVING

Expressing the purpose of an action without grammatically marking it seems to be rather rare in the Altaic languages, while being common in Mandarin Chinese.

- Ex. 1 *tukumə da jai ńinəñ, ər mamə da şaybaım yavm oşū.*
Lit. Thus.PART next day, this grandmother **work-CI go-CI to.become-PERF.**
And so the next day the old woman had to **leave for her work**.
- Ex. 2 *əmkən һи bira dəri muku gajəm yavbэ.*
Lit. One-TOP. river-ABL. **water bring-CI go-PERF.**
One of them **went to bring** water from the river.

1.2. THE VERB *YAF-* USED TO MEAN THE PROCESS OF MOTION

Examples of this type may be divided into two groups according to the presence or absence of spatial determination. When the verb *yaf-* referring to the process of motion is used in a sentence with spatial determination, the emphasis is on ‘proceeding’ in space. When the direction of motion is not defined, the focus is usually on the process of motion.

1.2.1. THE VERB *YAF-* MEANING THE PROCESS OF MOVEMENT WITH SPATIAL DETERMINATION

This group of examples is distinguished from the next by a stronger emphasis upon the direction or goal of motion, while the focus on the process of motion seems to be absent. When it has this meaning the verb *yaf-* is particularly close to, and sometimes interchangeable with, the verb *gən-* ‘to go there’, the main differences being the stress on reaching the goal of motion in the case of the verb *gən-*, and secondly, the focus on the direction of motion in the case of *yaf-*. Another difference between the two verbs lies in the fact that the verb *yaf-* more often implies an invitation to follow the speaker (translated into English by the verb ‘to come’, as in Ex. 4), while such a meaning rarely occurs with the verb *gən-*. From the formal point of view, the goal of motion is usually expressed by the lative case, while the verb *gən-* normally requires the dative-locative case.

1.2.1.1 THE VERB *YAF-* MEANING OF THE PROCESS OF MOVEMENT WITH SPATIAL DETERMINATION USED INDEPENDENTLY

- Ex. 1 *tər joʊʊnf yaf!*
Lit. That way-ACC. **go-IMPER.**
Follow that way!
- Ex. 2 *aʃanti lüzəf iči yaf zəči təči yavm.*
Lit. Effendi donkey-ACC. to.here **go-IMPER.** say-CI to.there **go-IMP.**
When Effendi’s donkey is told to **go** this way, he **goes** that way.
- Ex. 3 *tər boči yaf!*
Lit. That house/room-LAT. **go-IMPER.**
Proceed into that room!
- Ex. 4 *yaf, mom boči yaf!*
Lit. **Go-IMPER.** our house-LAT **go-IMPER.**
Come, let us go to our house.

- Ex. 5 *urumči kŭlja sidən sājən yavmašk'i.*
 Lit. Urumči Ghulja between cart **go-INC.**
 Buses **started to go regularly** between Urumchi and Ghulja.
- Ex. 6 *som bo sidən yask Guidam yavmiye?*
 Lit. Your house between how much take.time-CI **go-IMP.**
 How long does it take **to get to** your place?

1.2.2. THE VERB YAF- REFERRING TO THE PROCESS OF MOVEMENT WITHOUT SPATIAL DETERMINATION USED INDEPENDENTLY

This meaning in its various shades may be translated into English by the verbs 'to go', 'to walk', 'to travel', 'to journey', 'to roam' etc. Ex. 3 shows the use of reduplication in order to foreground length and continuity of movement.

- Ex. 1 *ər mav'i yavərəŋ da šu naf fuskulur əm durun.*
 Lit. This forefather-GEN. **go-NI-II.** PART. ultimately earth-ACC. kick-NI. one form.
 The guy's **way of walking** was as if kicking the earth.
- Ex. 2 *dači ut tərəŋ bəšk nani fayiŋ nilmagunt dožim mutəqūmaq xaciŋ bat laf laf yavm.*
 Earlier several thus die-NP person-GEN. soul netherworld-DL. enter-CI be.able-NI-NEG.(become)-CP kind place **lev lav go-IMP.**
 In earlier times the souls of several people who died in such a manner were unable to enter the netherworld and kept **roaming around.**
- Ex. 3 *yavbə yavbədə diovr ošūi.*
 Lit. **Go-NP go-NP-DL.** night become-PERF.
 As he **journeyed**, the night came.
- Ex. 4 *ənduri jəčənt tavənəm vajəmədə juanjaqūn qarun dulumv. bəyi fayiŋ ni yavm vaq na, səvəni gəl əmbat daxəm yavm. tər durun ni da, məs sam vaq na, gūnin diorvəd yavməyə, tiəbūn diorvəd yavmašk'i.*
 Lit. Deity world-DL. ascend-CI finish-CI-PART. eighteen fortress pass-CAUS-IMP, body-GEN. soul-POSS. **go.IMP.** not-QUEST, master-POSS. still together **follow-CI go-IMP.** that form TOP. PART. we(incl.) know not-QUEST, mind inside **go-PROG.**, dream inside **go-PROG.**
 After having climbed to the world of deities, he passes the eighteen fortresses. His soul **travels** and his master **follows** him. The manner of travelling – we know that, don't we – is that he **is travelling** in his mind, he **is travelling** in a dream.

1.2.3. VERBAL PHRASES WITH THE VERB YAF- REFERRING TO THE PROCESS OF MOVEMENT

The collected material yielded only two general types of verbal phrase. In the first one the lexical meaning of the verb *yaf-* is not affected by the following

modal expression. The second group represents combinations of verbs of motion joining in a way reminiscent of pair words to describe a single action.

1.2.3.1. THE VERB *YAF-* FOLLOWED BY A MODAL OR AUXILIARY VERB

Similarly to 1.1.1., in this case the verb *yaf-* on the first position retains its full lexical meaning, while the following expression adds a modal meaning in the broader sense (which in some cases may also be interpreted as aspectual).

- Ex. 1 *ᠬᠠᠪᠭᠠᠵᠢ ᠣᠨᠤ ᠳᠠ ᠶᠠᠪᠬᠠᠭ ᠶᠠᠮ ᠵᠠᠪᠭᠠᠨ.*
 Lit. Boy become-CI-PART. **on.foot go-CI like.**
 The boy **liked walking.**
- Ex. 2 *ᠵᠤᠰ ᠪᠢ ᠣᠨᠤᠳᠠ ᠬᠠᠴᠢᠨ ᠪᠠᠲ ᠶᠠᠮ ᠮᠤᠲᠭᠠᠭᠤ.*
 Lit. Children are become-CI PART. kind place **go-CI be.able-NI-NEG.**
 Since I have had children I no longer **have the chance to travel.**
- Ex. 3 *ᠤᠷᠤᠮᠴᠢ ᠬᠠᠴᠢᠨ ᠪᠠᠲ ᠠᠮᠵᠠᠭ ᠶᠠᠮᠠᠭ ᠳᠤᠳᠤᠬᠢ.*
 Lit. Urumchi kind place-DL alone **go-CP lie-PERF.**
 She **keeps roaming** around Urumchi alone.
- Ex. 4 *ᠶᠢᠷ ᠵᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠨᠢ ᠶᠠᠨᠬᠤ ᠶᠠᠨᠬᠤ ᠶᠠᠮ ᠪᠠᠵᠠᠭᠠᠳᠤ (ᠰᠢᠲᠤ).*
 Lit. This way-ACC. TOP. go-NP go-NP **go-VI finish-NI-NEG.**
 Walking and walking this way one never **reaches the end** (a riddle meaning a rope).
- Ex. 5 *ᠰᠠᠳᠤᠮᠠᠭ ᠮᠢᠨ ᠭᠣᠷᠶᠠᠢ ᠪᠠᠲᠭᠠ ᠨᠢ ᠶᠠᠮ ᠪᠠᠨᠭᠠᠳᠤᠭᠤᠨᠢ.*
 Lit. Grow.old-CP my grandfather foot POSS. **go-CI know-CI-NEG. become-PERF.**
 In his old age my grandfather **could not walk any more.**

1.2.3.2. THE VERB *YAF-* AS A PART OF PHRASES DESCRIBING A SINGLE ACTION

All the examples of this type represent descriptions of actions by means of joining verbs of motion. The first verb of the phrase has a concrete descriptive meaning, while the verb *yaf-* adds the general meaning of proceeding in space. Most phrases of this kind may be translated into English by a single verb. Although from a certain point of view the verb *yaf-* in such phrases may also be interpreted as having a modal function, it still retains its basic meaning of the process of motion.

- Ex. 1 *ᠠᠵᠢᠭᠠ ᠨᠤᠨᠪᠠ ᠳᠠᠪᠠᠮ ᠶᠠᠪᠰᠠᠳᠠ ᠰᠠᠪᠠᠢ ᠰᠠᠳᠠᠨ ᠨᠢ ᠮᠠᠨᠪᠠᠭᠠᠶᠢ.*
 Lit. Little younger.sister-ACC, **follow-CI go-NP-DL** shoe-GEN. sole POSS. wear.
 through-PERF.
 While I was **following** my little sister(=beloved), I wore through the soles of my shoes.

- Ex. 2 *ᠬᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠳᠠᠰᠠᠮ ᠶ᠋ᠠᠮᠡᠭᠡ*.
 Lit. Dog like **follow-CI go-PROG**.
 (The bull) is **following** him like a dog.
- Ex. 3 *ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠬᠠᠭᠠᠭᠢᠨ ᠪᠤᠵᠠᠨ ᠳᠢᠷᠭᠤᠰᠢ ᠬᠢᠷᠭᠢᠮ ᠶ᠋ᠠᠮᠥᠷᠳᠠ ᠠᠮᠭᠡᠷᠢ ᠰᠤᠨ ᠲᠤᠬᠠ*.
 Lit. This boy forest inside-ACC. **wander-CI go-NI-DL**. already sun fall-PERF.
 As the boy was **wandering** through the forest, the sun set.
- Ex. 4 *ᠠᠮᠳᠠᠨ ᠲᠠᠭᠠᠨ ᠳᠠ ᠠᠮ ᠠᠵᠢᠭᠢᠷᠤᠨ ᠳᠤᠯᠤᠮ ᠶ᠋ᠠᠮᠡᠭᠡ*.
 Lit. Once see-NPII. PART. one child **pass-CI go-PROG**.
 I looked and saw a child **passing by**.

2. Figurative usage of the verb *yaf-*

The most widespread and general figurative meaning of the verb *yaf-* is related to the metaphor of living or spending time. The verb *yaf-* is connected to the concept of *jubūn* 'way, path, journey' which is a general metaphor for a way of life, career, life journey. Most of the collected examples of this type of usage seem to fall into two groups: in the first place, description of the flow or passage of time, in which case the verb *yaf-* is usually reduplicated or joined by another verb of motion, and in the second place the sense of duration, continuous process, life-long occupation, etc.

A specific instance of this figurative meaning, important within Sibe culture and therefore dealt with separately, is connected to the vocation and profession of being a shaman.

The second main figurative usage of the verb *yaf-* is connected to the maintenance of contacts and communication.

The third main area of figurative usage, which has parallels in Chinese, comprises the meaning 'performance', 'application', 'execution/implementation' etc.

2.1. THE VERB *YAF-* IN MEANING THE PASSAGE OF TIME IN A FIGURATIVE SENSE

When reduplicated, the verb *yaf-* often has a figurative meaning which may be translated as 'gradually'. It is also frequently combined with the verb *gen-* into a phrase with a similar meaning but a slightly modified shade, expressing rather a flow of time than gradualness.

- Ex. 1 *əm əmkən ʔi saqʊ yavɛə yavɛə hən yanzhong ɔm.*
 Lit. One one TOP. know-NI-NEG. **go-NP go-NP** very serious (Chin.) become-IMP.
 Some of them, without knowing it, **gradually** reach a serious state (of the disease).
- Ex. 2 *χalin tavənər bait biyʔi, aməl ʔi da əɣə əɣə yavɛə yavɛə da, čaqʊr ɔvʊi.*
 Lit. Tree climb-NI matter be-PERF. after POSS. PART. slowly slowly **go-NP go-NP**
 PART. čaqʊr become-PERF.
 Originally there was the (ritual of) climbing a tree, and slowly and **gradually**, (the tree)
 became a čaqʊr (a ladder of swords used during initiation ritual)
- Ex. 3 *yavɛə gənɛə da jaqʊn biya tofχon ižinyə.*
 Lit. **Go-NP go.there-NP. PART.** eight month fifteen arrive-PERF.
 The **time went on** and the fifteenth day of the eighth month came.
- Ex. 4 *tut yavɛə gənyə da min amə ʔi amban ɔvʊi.*
 Lit. Thus **go-NP go.there-NP PART.** my father TOP. *amban* become-PERF.
 And **later on** my father became *amban*.
- Ex. 5 *udtu ainɛə da sunja ʔinənə yavχ ɔχ biyʔi.*
 Lit. Thus doing.what-NP. PART. five day **go-NP become-NP be-PERF.**
 And in this way five days **passed**.

2.2. THE VERB *yaf-* MEANING WAY OF LIFE, PERMANENT, CONTINUOUS OR HABITUAL ACTION

It is this type of figurative usage which derives from the concept of motion as an expression of life. In all of the collected examples the verb *yaf-* may be replaced by the existential *bi-* (to be), without changing the general meaning. However, using the verb *yaf-* adds a modal meaning which may possibly be described as progressivity, constant motion and other aspects of life.

In Ex. 1–5 the verb *yaf-* mainly implies the continuity or habitualness of an action, while in Ex. 6–10 it has a more specific meaning of one's way of living or subsistence, occupation for a certain time or the whole of life, etc.

Most of the collected examples are verbal phrases in which, from one point of view, the verb *yaf-* may be regarded as a modal verb. Ex. 11 and 12 show a form of usage, not infrequent in everyday speech, in which the verb *yaf-* stands directly for the meaning ‘to live’ and may be replaced by the verb *banš-* ‘to live’ without the meaning of the sentence being changed.

- Ex. 1 *minči tam tam injimə užin veiləm yavmeye.*
 Lit. 1sg.-LAT look-CI look-CI laugh-CI field **work-CI go-PROG.**
 They peep at me and giggle, while **working** in the field.

- Ex. 2 *dači əyi jalənt, tayi jalənt ...soorin giŋuləm yavᵛə.*
 Lit. Eralier grandfather generation, grend.grandfather deneneration... **soorin worship-CI go-PERF.**
 In the old times, in the generation of their grandfather or grand-grandfather (people of their family) **used to worship** an ancestral deity.
- Ex. 3 *bi ju aŋ ujin veiləm yavᵛi.*
 Lit. I two year **field work-CI go-PERF.**
I have been raising crops for two years.
- Ex. 4 *ər ŋi da set gurun min ajig ərint gizərəm yavᵛi.*
 Lit. This TOP. PART. old people my little time **speak-CI go-PERF.**
 This is what old people **were speaking** about in my childhood.
- Ex. 5 *savəŋji ŋi gəl tavn yavmaᵛi.*
 Lit. Daughter-POSS. still **see-CAUS go-PROG.**
 Her daughter **is being examined** (by a shaman).
- Ex. 6 *gəl tačim yavmey na?*
 Lit. Still **study-CI go-PROG. QUEST.**
Have you still been studying?
- Ex. 7 *əm singqi savᵛaqū, ər ju ŋinəŋ ai arəm yavmeyə?*
 Lit. One week (Chin.) see-NP-NEG., thid two day what **do-CI go-PROG.**
 I have not seen you for a week, what **have you been doing** these days?
- Ex. 8 *asqən ərint čoaᵛət yavᵛi.*
 Lit. Young time-DL. army-DL. **go-PERF.**
 In his youth he **served** in the army.
- Ex. 9 *əm jalən xinjiangəf tukiam yavᵛəi.*
 Lit. One generation Xinjiang-ACC. **guard-CP go-PERF.**
 All the time they **were guarding** Xinjiang.
- Ex. 10 *er baitef saračun iškam yavᵛi.*
 Lit. This matter-ACC- Saračun arrange-CI go-PERF.
 Saračun was the one who conducted this affair.
- Ex. 11 *gəl əmyun yavmey na?*
 Lit. Still lonely **go-PROG. QUEST.**
 Are you still **living** alone?
- Ex. 12 *əm aŋ am aŋidəri gətqaqū yavmeyə.*
 Lit. One year one year-ABL. unwell **go-PROG.**
 My **life/health** has been deteriorating every year.

2.3. THE VERB *YAF-* IN THE CONTEXT OF SHAMAN TRADITION

This type of figurative meaning, while being part of the general metaphorical concept of ‘life journey’, has a rather specific and clearly defined semantics within the shaman ‘vocabulary’. The noun *jubûn* ‘way, path’ in this context means the shaman vocation of gift (E.G. *samən jubûn bi* lit. ‘(He) has a shaman path’, i.e. ‘he is called to become a shaman’). The phrase *jubûn yaf-* lit. ‘to walk on the path’ means ‘to act as a shaman or healer’ in accordance with the vocation. The examples show various aspects of the concept, namely its connection to the will of the deities (Ex. 4, 5). Ex. 5 and 6 present an effective image of shaman practice as an open-ended journey on which one is led and guided by one’s deities.

- Ex. 1 *jubûn yavəm zəməda ... nanai ŋunɣuft tam, dazəm.*
 Lit. **Way go-IMP.** say-CI PART. ... person-GEN. disease-ACC, see-IMP, heal-IMP.
 To ‘walk on the path’ means to diagnose and heal people’s diseases.
- Ex. 2 *bəy jɨŋkən jubûn yavər nan na, vaq na, bəy gəɪ sien taqəqû.*
 Lit. Body really **way go-NI person** QUEST., not QUEST, body still well know-NI-NEG.
 One still does not know whether one is **the one who should walk on the path**.
- Ex. 3 *bi ŋi gəɪ gonchangdangəi əkən ŋi yavmaq jɨyʲi, tərən baitəf yavəm ojuqû.*
 Lit. I TOP still Communist.party that.one-ACC. TOP. **go-CP** come-PERF, such matter-ACC. **go-CI become-CI-NEG**.
 I used to **do** that (=leader) in the Communist party, it was not possible to **engage** in such things (=shaman practice).
- Ex. 4 *tərən jubûn ŋi buʃ ta, yavmačim, nanən dazəm, gızərəm bum.*
 Lit. Such way TOP give-CC PART. **go-INC-IMP.**, person-ACC. heal, tell-CI give.
 If you are given such path, then you **start walking** on it, healing people and divining for them.
- Ex. 5 *bəyi əyi alm burəd ŋi təva yavm.*
 Lit. Body-GEN. grandfather tell-CI give-NI-DL. there **go-IMP**.
 I **walk** on the path under the guidance of my Grandfather deity/I **go** where my deity tells me to go.
- Ex. 6 *taqəqû bait ŋi laft, bo ŋi jubûn yavmɛye vaq na?*
 Lit. Know-NI-NEG. matter TOP many, we TOP **way go-PROG**. not QUEST.
 There are many things we do not know/understand, we are (only) **walking on the path**, you know.

2.4. THE VERB *yaf-* IN A FIGURATIVE SENSE MEANING MAINTAINING CONTACT

Besides the expression *gəṇəm ji-*, which in its literal meaning ('to move there and here') is an almost literal parallel to the Chinese expression *laiwang* ('to move here and there', i.e. 'to maintain contacts'), the verb *yaf-* is also used to express contacts. While the expression *gəṇəm ji-* seems to be connected to the concept of visiting each other, phrases with the verb *yaf-* seem to imply the concept of 'going together', 'spending time together', etc. Ex. 1 shows combination of the verbs *gən-* 'to go there' and *yaf-*.

- Ex. 1 *ḡanč gəṇəm yavχ gurun bəγəv ṇi ovṃ.*
Lit. **Close go.there-CI go-NP** people body-ACC.-POSS. wash-IMP.
The body of the deceased was washed by people who **were close** to him (during his life).
- Ex. 2 *so əyun nun ju nan šidər ɣodur yavṃ.*
Lit. You elder.sister younger.sister two person *sider hodur go-IMP*.
You two sisters **live in harmony**.
- Ex. 3 *tər əm učur bi yiktanzəmaq məji lafṭ yavṃ²i.*
Lit. That one time I Iktan-PL.IS. little much **go-PERF**.
At that time I **was more close** with Iktan and his friends.
- Ex. 4 *bi šivəzəmaq davṃ yavvuḡ.*
Lit. I Sibe-PL-IS exceedingly **go-NI-NEG**.
I **do not have** much **contacts** with the Sibes.
- Ex. 5 *nanmaq yavṃ čagəqṡ.*
Lit. **Person-IS. go-CI** like-NI-NEG.
He does not like **company**, he is not **sociable**.
- Ex. 6 *šivə səḡənj biš ta əraṇ ḡanč yavṃ biči, bov ṇi məji iškam bum.*
Lit. Sibe girl be-CC-PART, thus **close go-CI** be-CC, house-ACC-POSS. little arrange-CI give-IMP.
Had she been a Sibe girl, if they were to have had such a **close relationship**, she would have helped him with cleaning his home.

2.5. THE VERB *YAF-* IN A FIGURATIVE SENSE MEANING PERFORMANCE, IMPLEMENTATION, ETC.

Another important figurative meaning of the verb *yaf-* is ‘performance’ of rituals, ‘organization’ of an event, ‘execution’ of a rule, etc.³ In this context, in some of the examples the verb occurs in the causative form, which seems to better conform with Altaic language grammar thinking, but in some cases the basic form is used, which is reminiscent of the Chinese verb *xing* ‘to walk, to go, to travel’, also used to mean ‘to perform’ and as a part of several complex expressions with the meaning ‘to implement’, ‘to organize’, etc.⁴

In the collected material both voice forms (unmarked and causative) occurred in one speaker’s speech, in the same context, one following the other (*χač̣in yaf-* and *χač̣in yavəf-*) indicating that for the speaker a change of voice form does not imply a change of meaning.

The expressions *dor yaf-/yavəf-* (lit. ‘to go/let go a rule’) and *durun yaf-/yavəf-* (‘to go/let go a form’) is a traditional reference to formal, sometimes ritual procedures.

The expression *χač̣in yaf-/yavəf-* is a term from the shaman ‘vocabulary’, the noun *χač̣in* (‘kind, type’) seems to bear the meaning of ‘matter, thing’ (cf. the usage of Mo. *зүл*) and to function as a vicarious expression for the ritual practices of shamans and healers.

Ex. 1 *hašta arɣəv yavəvūqūči ojūq.*

Lit. Rather PART. method-ACC. go-CAUS-NI-NEG. become-NI-NEG.

I had better **use** some **magic**.

Ex. 2 *həs čičivm zəγəŋə, aji šeṛin dor yavəvm zər gūñin.*

Lit. Decree go.forth-CAUS-CI say-NPII., little wedding **rule/ceremony** go-CAUS-CI say-NI thought/meaning.

‘To let the decree be issued’ means to **perform the** little wedding **ceremony** (=ceremony of engagement).

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- 3) While such usage of an equivalent verb (*yav-*) exists in Khalkha Mongolian (its usage in the modern language seems to be connected to the Russian term *provodit*’ and therefore the verb is always in the causative form *yavuul-*), the main difference from the usage in Mongolian consists in its frequent occurrence, besides the causative form *yavəf-*, in its basic form *yaf-*.
- 4) In Classical Chinese usage of basic forms of verbs with a causative meaning was common, as in the case of the verb *xing* ‘to implement’. In modern Chinese the verb is not used with this meaning separately, but there exist several composite expressions for various nuances of such meaning, which include the verb *xing* (e.g. *jinxing* to implement)

- Ex. 3 *ᠬᠠᠴᠢᠨ ᠶᠠᠩᠮᠤ ᠵᠠᠶᠠᠨ ᠨᠢ ᠳᠠ ᠰᠠᠮᠠᠨ ᠨᠠ ᠠᠯᠢ ᠨᠠ ᠰᠠᠨᠲᠤᠨ ᠨᠠ ᠭᠤᠮ ᠪᠠᠶᠢ ᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ᠳᠠᠵᠠᠷ ... ᠵᠠᠬᠤᠨᠮᠠᠭᠠ, ᠳᠠᠵᠠᠮᠢᠡ ᠵᠠᠷ ᠭᠢᠵᠤᠨ.*
 Lit. **Kind go-IMP.** say-NPIL. TOP. PART. shaman QUEST elč QUEST siyangtung QUEST all body-GEN. heal-NI way-IS heal-IMP. say.NI word.
 ‘**to walk the kind/thing**’ means that a shaman, an *elči* or a *siyangtung* performs healing by means of his specific path (method).
- Ex. 4 *ᠮᠠᠵᠠᠢ ᠠᠵᠢᠭᠢᠷᠤᠢ ᠭᠠᠯᠠᠮᠠᠳᠠ ᠨᠠᠵᠠᠨ ᠠᠶᠢᠳ ᠬᠣᠷᠡ ᠬᠣᠷᠡ ᠵᠠᠮ,... ᠲᠠᠷᠠᠭ ᠪᠠᠢᠲ ᠲᠣᠯ ᠵᠠᠮ ᠶᠠᠮᠠᠳ **ᠠᠷᠠᠮ ᠶᠠᠨᠪᠦᠢ**.*
 Lit. Our children fear-CI PART. Lord.of.Earth grandfather-DL. hore: hore: say-IMP. such matter exactly this old woman **do-CI go-PERF.**
 When our children are scared, we pray saying *hore: hore:* to the Lord of the Earth – and the old woman **was performing** exactly the same thing.
- Ex. 5 *ᠠᠨᠢ ᠳᠠᠷᠢ ᠠᠮᠳᠠᠨ ᠶᠤᠨᠳᠣᠩᠬᠡᠢ **ᠶᠠᠨᠠᠨᠪᠦᠢ**.*
 Lit. year-every once sports.competition (Chin.) **go-CAUS-PERF.**
 They **organized** an annual sports competition
- Ex. 6 *ᠳᠠᠴᠢ ᠣᠮᠠ ᠭᠠᠨ ᠯᠠᠣᠶᠢᠨ ᠨᠢ ᠭᠤᠯ ᠪᠠᠴᠠᠮ ᠪᠢᠶᠠᠢ. ᠭᠠᠵᠠᠨᠲ ᠭᠠᠢ **ᠪᠢᠮ ᠶᠠᠨᠭᠦ** ᠵᠠᠭᠠ.*
 Lit. Earlier become-CI *Guan laoye*-ACC. TOP. often venerate be-PERF. Village-DL. **still be-CI go-NP** thing.
 In former times people were frequently worshipping *Guan laoye*. This **practice** also **existed** in Chabchal.
- Ex. 7 *ᠳᠤᠷᠤᠮᠪ ᠨᠢ ᠯᠢ **ᠶᠠᠨᠪᠦᠢ**.*
 Lit. **Form-ACC.** POSS. LIM. **go-PERF.**
 He only **did the formalities**.
- Ex. 8 *ᠲᠠᠷ ᠶᠠᠷᠢᠨᠲ ᠲᠤᠭᠠᠢ **ᠶᠠᠨᠠᠨᠪᠦᠢ**.*
 Lit. That time-DL land.reform(Chin.) go-CAUS.PERF.
 At that time (the government) implemented the land reform.
- Ex. 9 *ᠳᠠᠴᠢ ᠢᠴᠠ ᠵᠠᠻᠠᠯᠭᠢ ᠭᠤᠮ **ᠶᠠᠨᠠᠨᠪᠦᠢ**, ᠲᠤᠭᠤᠮᠠ ᠮᠢᠨ ᠠᠮᠠ ᠢᠴᠠ ᠪᠠᠢᠲ ᠢᠰᠬᠠᠮ ᠮᠤᠲᠦᠢ.*
 Lit. Formerly new thing-ACC. all go-CAUS.-NI.-NEG., thus my father new matter arrange-CI be.able-PERF.
 At that time new things **were not allowed** (to be introduced), but my father still managed to introduce some innovations.

3. Examples showing other forms of usage of the verb *yaf-*

Below I list examples, which could not easily be associated with any of the groups examined above. It has been already mentioned that the semantic field of the Sibe verb *yaf-*, in both its literal and figurative meaning, is rather compact and continuous, and the groups of examples formed in an ad hoc manner only show general tendencies and semantic accents. In one part of

the examples below it is difficult to decide whether the concrete usage of the verb should be interpreted as literal in terms of its meaning as motion, or figuratively.

3.1. REFERENCE TO DEPARTURE AND ACTIVITY DURING ABSENCE

The first example comes from a tale about a boy who was stolen from his parents’ house and returned after several months. The verb *yaf-* refers both to the direction of departure and to his manner of spending the time. In the second example the verb *yaf-* refers to departure for war and all the activities connected with waging war.

- Ex. 1 *ər yılan duyın biya yeči yavχ zəm fienjim.*
 Lit. These three four month where.to **go**-PERF say-CI ask-IMP.
 (The parents) were asking where he **had gone for** the last three or four months.
- Ex. 2 *avər bait biš ta, ukšint došk nan yavm.*
 Lit. Fight-NI matter be-CC-PART. service enter-NP person **go**-IMP.
 When there is war, those who are listed in the Imperial army **go and fight**.

3.2. REFERENCE TO ACTIVITY

This example from a ghost story describes the features of a female ghost’s ‘body’ that do not allow her to be active among worldly people in daylight. The image described by the verb *yaf-* includes both motion and other activities.

- Ex. 1 *baijihuai yavər ərin omə də, diovr li yavm, ńinəŋ sun yavm mutaǵũ.*
 Lit. Baijihua **go**-NI **time** become-CI PART. night LIM. go-IMP. day sun go-CI **be.able**-NI-NEG.
The time when Baijihua was active was only at night, she was not able **to move/act** during daylight.

3.3. REFERENCE TO DISAPPEARANCE DUE TO SPENDING, CONSUMPTION, ETC.

The verb *yaf-* is sometimes used in connection with money, material, energy, etc., which is being spent.

Ex. 1 *ər baitat jixa laft yavm.*

Lit. This matter-DL. money much **go-IMP**.

This **requires** a lot of money/doing this one **spends** a lot of money.

3.4. REFERENCE TO THE COURSE/DIRECTION TAKEN BY A PATH

Ex. 1 *ər juwūn ju iči yavm.*

Lit. This way two to.here **go-IMP**.

The path **splits** into two directions.

3.5. EXPRESSION OF TENDENCY, AFFINITY, ETC.

Both examples refer to Sibe young people marrying Chinese spouses and, as a result, changing their behaviour, and may be perceived both in terms of the literal meaning of leaving for a Chinese family, and the figurative meaning of changing cultural affinity.

Ex. 1 *sawənji ŋi yiqanči yavw'i.*

Daughter-POSS. Chinese-LAT- **go-PERF**.

Their daughter **went to live** with the Chinese/**turned** Chinese.

Ex. 2 *sedəmə ajigurun yiqanči yavmə tərəŋ gošq biyaye...*

Lit. Grow.old-CI children Chinese-LAT. **go-CI** thus terrible be-PERF.

When you grow old and your children **follow the Chinese way of life**, it is thus terrible.

3.6. EXPRESSION OF FOLLOWING OR SUBMISSION IN A POLITICAL SENSE

This example refers to events during the rule of the warlord Sheng Shicai, who saw the possibility of Xinjiang becoming one of the Soviet republics.

Ex. 1 *šivə aqūš ta, Xinjiang orožəči yafx biyə.*

Lit. Sibe NEG.(become)-CC. PART. Sinkiang Russia-LAT. **go-NP** be-PERF.

Were there not the Sibes, Xinjiang would have **split** (from China) **and join** Russia.

- Ex. 2 *zhongguo xinjiangəf dəndəvmaq yavəvuqū.*
 Lit. China Xinjiang-ACC. **split**-CAUS.-CP **go**-CAUS.-NI-NEG.
 (The Sibes) **prevented** Xinjiang **from splitting** from China.

3.7. REFERENCE TO DEATH

Here the speaker expressed his experience with aged people, assuming that optimistic and active people who do not care about their health often pass away unexpectedly.

- Ex. 1 *əraŋ nan bišta, əmdan da yavm.*
 Lit. Such person be-CI PART. once PART. **go**-IMP.
 This kind of person **departs**(=**dies**) all of a sudden.

3.8. THE VERB *YAF-* ADDING THE MODAL MEANING OF CONTINUITY

Examples in which the verb *yaf-* may be viewed as modal are rather rare.⁵ Apart from the figurative usage expressing ‘manner of life’ (2.2), in which the agent is always a rational being, only one example of modal usage appeared in the sample material.

- Ex. 1 *nan^oi ŋuŋku ŋi gəl fəncəfa yavm.*
 Lit. Person.GEN. disease-TOP. still **rest**-CP **go**-IMP.
 The illness of the person **persists**.

3.9. THE VERB *YAF-* USED WITH A ROOT WORD

Root words in Sibe, similarly to Mongolian, are sometimes introduced by an auxiliary or modal verb. Here the verb *yaf-* has the purely modal function of expressing a change of state.”

- Ex. 1 *dəfsun davɿ laft səndamaq bəda čaq yavɞ^oi.*
 Lit. Salt too much insert-CP noodles **čaq go**-PERF.
 I put too much salt (in the dough) and the noodles all **broke**.

5) This is rather surprising given the language environment in Northern Xinjiang (Uyghur, Kazakh, Oirat) where a verb with the semantic meaning of leaving has an important modal function.

3.10. IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

The verb *yaf-* also occurs as part of idiomatic expressions. Two such appeared in the sample material. Both are frequently used idioms, the first being a parallel of an equivalent expression in Khorchin.

- Ex. 1 *bayin nan biš ta, tazai boi huzun yavər nanad jiša bumaq tər nan ni if xuarənči gaməm.*
 Lit. Rich person be-CC PART. they-GEN. house-GEN. power go-NI person-DL. money
 give-CP that person TOP. grave yard-LAT. take-IMP.
 If the deceased was a rich person, his family gives money to their **hireling**, who carries
 (the deceased) to the graveyard.
- Ex. 2 *laohanf əmdan yavəvχ biyʹi.*
 Lit. Old.man(Chin.) once go-CAUS.-NP. be-PERF.
 (It is a known fact that) he once **made a joke** of the old man.

4. Conclusion

The verbs of motion in Sibe (as well as some other languages of the Central Asian language *sprachbund*, the ‘verb-based’ languages in Talmy’s classification) seem to form a rather coherent system of expressions with a concrete spatial semantics. The system mostly consists of pairs of antonyms (to come here-to go there, to ascend- to descend, to go out- to enter, etc.), and the verbs which make up this system, in their concrete usage, display remarkable differences from verbs of motion in most European languages (satellite-based languages according to Talmy).

Closer examination of the verb *yaf-* reveals the lack of some features typical of this system. It does not have such inherent spatial meaning and deictic functions. Rather, its greater ambiguity with regard to space, as well as the main contours of its semantic field, are similar to the semantic fields of equivalent verbs in European languages (in particular to the English verb ‘to go’). Due to its different nature the verb *yaf-* does not form part either of the basic system of verbs of motion, or the system of verbs with supplementary spatial semantics, such as the verbs ‘to return home’, ‘to follow’ (‘path verbs’ according to Talmy), etc. Due to its very general meaning and important position in communication it cannot be listed among verbs expressing the concrete manner of motion, such as ‘to run’ or ‘to fly’ (‘manner verbs’ according to Talmy). In fact, its semantic field seems to be standing aside from most other Sibe verbs of motion, expressing the very basic meaning of motion in space and joining with the rest of the verbs of motion in descriptive

expressions of different types with various shades of meaning. In everyday communication part of its semantic field overlaps with the verb *gən-* ‘to go there’, and in some situations these two verbs are interchangeable. Some examples (2.1: Ex. 3,4) suggest that they may be perceived as synonyms.

The main semantic accents of the Sibe verb *yaf-*, as can be seen in the material provided here, may be described as ‘the action of leaving a certain location, either with or without determining the goal of motion’, ‘the process of motion in space without determination of its starting point or its goal, and its various aspects’, and ‘the process of motion in space in a certain direction’. The boundaries between these meanings are fluid and some of the examples may be interpreted as referring to the whole process of departure and motion.

The most important types of phrases, which can be distinguished in the sample material, are the description of a succession of actions by means of chains of verbs (often verbs of motion) and the description of a particular action by means of complex verbal expressions, often bearing some resemblance to ‘pair words’, an important expression-forming device in many Altaic languages. Both formally and semantically the verbal phrases with the verb *yaf-* are simple and low in variability, something that contrasts with the abundance of phrase types in the case of the verbs ‘to come here’ and ‘to go there’.

On the other hand, the forms of figurative usage are both multiple and frequent. My experience with the live language suggests that there are still more possibilities of figurative usage than appeared in the sample material.

The specifics of the semantics of the verb *yaf-* lie in its emphasis on progressivity, continuity and non-perfectivity of motion. This emphasis, together with the semantics of motion in space – a symbol of the activities of living, which include walking, travelling, moving one’s home, visits, etc., forms the core of most of the figurative meanings, expressing life, activity, occupation or contacts. Another semantic core is formed by the meaning of departure as the ground for expressing direction, tendency, affinity, etc. A specific figurative meaning is connected to the culturally important notion of the ‘shaman path’, meaning the shaman vocation and profession.

Unlike most other verbs of motion, the Sibe verb *yaf-* is not frequently used as a modal verb. Although in the surrounding languages (Uyghur, Kazakh, Oirat) corresponding verbs have a clearly defined modal meaning, such usage seems to be rare in Sibe.

It may be worth noting that within the five interviews used as language material, each of the speakers preferred using the verb *yaf-* predominantly with one typical metaphorical meaning, which was connected to the topic

of speech, indicating the need for further research and analysis with a larger corpus of material.

The present text will be followed by an examination of the semantic field of the Khalkha Mongolian verb *yav-* with a similar meaning, and a comparison between literal and figurative usage in the two languages.

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Tibetan mixed speech: The influence of Chinese and English on modern spoken Tibetan¹

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Summary: This paper is essentially aimed at showing the influence of Chinese on the modern Tibetan language spoken in Lhasa and central Tibet, and it also discusses a similar phenomenon of the influence of English (and also Hindi in India) on the Tibetan spoken in the exile communities. These influences are mainly in the area of the lexicon, not in the grammar.

0. Introduction²

Tibetan mixed speech is a socio-linguistic phenomenon, which arose during the second half of the twentieth century. It is important to stress that it is characteristic of the spoken language, and is rarer in literary Tibetan. In the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR),³ it is a speech of mixed Tibetan and Chinese words. The Chinese language has been omnipresent in the TAR for over fifty years. Chinese is spoken and can be heard in the administration, on television, in schools, shops, restaurants, as well as in the street. Nowadays, the majority of Tibetans living in urban areas in the TAR can more or less

- 1) The term “Tibetan” used in this paper corresponds to the language that is based on the dialect of Lhasa and its neighbourhood, which is a variety of Central Tibetan (*dbus.skad*). It is used as the lingua franca in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) and in the Tibetan diaspora (India, Nepal, U.S.A., Europe). It is spoken by about one and a half million people, 130,000 of whom live in the diaspora. In Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003) it is called “Standard Tibetan”. Refer also to Vokurková (2008).
- 2) In this paper, Tibetan words are transliterated using the Wylie transliteration (Wylie 1959), and Chinese is transcribed by the internationally acknowledged transcription *pinyin*. However, Chinese tones are not indicated because suprasegmental properties (e.g. tone and stress) are not preserved in Chinese loanwords used in Tibetan (refer to Hsieh and Kenstowicz 2006). As for the Chinese and English loanwords, those which have been well established in Tibetan are transcribed by the Wylie transliteration, and those which are rather new in Tibetan, are still written in *pinyin* or English spelling, and sometimes a Tibetan Wylie spelling is suggested. However, it should be stressed that even old loanwords are often spelt in different ways.
- 3) And also in the historical provinces of Amdo and Kham, which are nowadays partially parts of several Chinese provinces.

speak Chinese. But apart from using Chinese when talking to a Chinese person, Tibetans also use a mixed speech of Tibetan and Chinese when talking to other Tibetan speakers. This mixed speech is called *ra.ma.lug.skad* (“neither a goat nor a sheep language”) or *bsres.skad* (“mixed speech”).⁴ Some Chinese loanwords have been established so well that they can even be heard on Tibetan television (the Tibetan channel) and have a standardized spelling, e.g. *kung.si* (*gongsi* in Chinese) “company” or *krung.go* (*zhongguo* in Chinese) “China”. The influence is mainly in the area of the lexicon. This can be illustrated by the following examples:

1. ***siji***⁵ *lags* ***pjiu*** *mchod* – *dang*
 driver (CHINESE) honorific particle beer (CHINESE) drink (H) – IMP particle
 Driver, have beer!

The non-mixed Tibetan sentence would be as follows in example (2) although the word for “beer”, *sbi.rag*, is also a borrowing:⁶

2. *kha.lo.pa* ***sbi.rag*** *mchod* – *dang*
 driver beer drink (H) – IMP
 (OLD, ENGLISH)
 Driver, have beer!

The following is another example of mixed speech with the verb *guanji byed* “to close, to shut”, which consists of the Chinese word *guanji* “to close” and the Tibetan verbalizer *byed* “to do”. The non-mixed Tibetan sentence is given in example (4):

3. *nga* – *s* ***guanji*** *byas* – *pa.yin*
 I – ERG close (CHINESE) do (PAS) – PFV+EGO
 I shut it.

4) The problem of *ra-ma-lug-skad* has been recently addressed by some Tibetans who struggle for their cultural and political identity. This struggle is especially demonstrated by self-immolations, suicidal protests of many Tibetans which started in February 2009, and the *lha.dkar* movement, “the White Wednesday”: on Wednesdays, many Tibetans decide to boycott anything Chinese, i.e. they do not use any Chinese loanwords in their speech, they do not go to Chinese shops or restaurants, etc.

5) In this paper, loanwords are written in bold letters in the examples.

6) It is an older loanword from English (see 2. 1.). However, it is not perceived as a loanword and it has a standardized spelling, e.g. it is used for beer which is produced in Lhasa and is called “Lhasa beer” *lha.sa'i sbi.rag*.

4.	<i>nga</i>	– <i>s</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>brgyab</i>	– <i>pa.yin</i>
	I	– ERG	mouth	VBZ	– PFV+EGO
	<i>I shut it.</i>				

1. TAR versus the Tibetan diaspora and other regional variations

1.1. ENGLISH AND HINDI LOANWORDS IN EXILE TIBETAN⁷

This paper is mainly aimed at discussing the mixed speech used in the TAR, which is influenced by Chinese. Nevertheless, a similar process of mixing Tibetan with English and Hindi (and to a lesser extent also with other languages) also happens in the exile communities in India, Nepal and other countries. The following example illustrates this phenomenon: instead of using the Tibetan verb *par.log rgyag* or *par.slog btang* for “to print”, a great number of Tibetans in the TAR tend to use the mixed word *fuyin byed* (*fuyin* means “to photocopy” in Chinese, and *byed* is the Tibetan verbalizer meaning “to do”). The same process can be seen in exile Tibetan which also uses a mixed word *copy byed* (the English word *copy* and the Tibetan verbalizer *byed* “to do”).

5.a)	<i>nga</i>	– <i>s</i>	<i>par.log</i>	<i>brgyab</i>	– <i>pa.yin</i>
	I	– ERG	photocopy (Tibetan)	VBZ (PAS)	– PFV+EGO
5.b)	<i>nga</i>	– <i>s</i>	<i>fuyin</i>	<i>byas</i>	– <i>pa.yin</i>
	I	– ERG	photocopy (Chinese)	VBZ (PAS)	– PFV+EGO
5.c)	<i>nga</i>	– <i>s</i>	<i>copy</i>	<i>byas</i>	– <i>pa.yin</i>
	I	– ERG	copy (English)	VBZ (PAS)	– PFV+EGO
	<i>(5a) – (5c) I made a photocopy.</i>				

Nowadays, many new loanwords from English and Hindi are used more frequently than their Tibetan equivalents, e.g.: the English word *phone* is used instead of *kha.par* or the Hindi word *a.lu*⁸ “potato” instead of the Tibetan word *zho.khog*. Below are two tables of some frequently used English and Hindi loanwords:

7) I would like to express thanks to Nyima Woser (Charles University, Czech republic) and Thupten Chashab (Warsaw University, Poland) for their help concerning English loanwords into present-day Tibetan of the diaspora.

8) Hindi loanwords are transcribed by the Tibetan script in this paper.

Tibetan	English loanword	English translation
<i>tha.pag</i>	<i>plate</i>	plate
<i>khang.pa, khang.mig</i>	<i>room</i>	room
<i>thugs.spro btang</i>	<i>party btang</i>	to have a party
<i>bang.sgrigs</i>	<i>line sgrigs</i>	to queue
<i>sdod a, rgyugs a</i>		
<i>ga.le bzhugs a, ga.le phebs a</i>	<i>bye-bye⁹</i>	bye
Tibetan	Hindi	English translation
<i>tshes.pa</i>	<i>ta.rig</i>	date
<i>glog.brnyan</i>	<i>hphi.lim</i>	film, movie
<i>a.las</i>	<i>a.cha</i>	interjection of surprise
<i>nyal.khri</i>	<i>pa.lang</i>	bed
<i>bdun.phrag</i>	<i>hab.ta</i>	week

1.2. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

As a matter of fact, some mixed words have been fully established and are used throughout the whole Tibetan region, e.g. *pjiu* “beer”, while other words are regional variants, such as the mixed verb *dianhua rgyag* (the Chinese word *dianhua* for “telephone” and the Tibetan verbalizer *rgyag*), which is mainly used in areas outside the TAR (Amdo, Kham). In Lhasa and central areas, the non-mixed verb *kha.par rgyag* or *kha.par btang* “to make a call” is used (cf. also the mixed verb *phone btang* used in the exile communities, consisting of the English word *phone* and the Tibetan verbalizer *btang*). The following sentence is another example of regional differences concerning the use of Chinese loanwords: example (8) is Amdo Tibetan and example (9) is Standard Tibetan:

6. **dian** *med.gi*¹⁰
 electricity (CHINESE) exist+NEG (AMDO)
There is no electricity. (The Chinese loanword *dian* “electricity” is used in Amdo Tibetan instead of the Tibetan word *glog*.)

9) Bye-bye is also used in the TAR but it should be rather considered as a loanword from Chinese because that is the source language for this loanword in Tibetan, not English. *Bye-bye* (*baibai* in pinyin) has been borrowed from English in Chinese and nowadays it is a common greeting in China.

10) Refer to Tournadre, N., Konchok Jiatso (2001) for more details on Amdo copulas.

7. *glog* *mi'dug*
 electricity exist+NEG
There is no electricity. (The Tibetan word for “electricity” *glog* is used in Lhasa.)

2. Diachronic view: old and new loanwords

2.1. OLD LOANWORDS

Although this paper is mainly aimed at the recent wave of borrowing, it is nevertheless important to look at the question of loanwords from a diachronic point of view. Just like other languages, Tibetan has been borrowing words from other languages, with which it has been in contact, such as Chinese, Sanskrit, Mongolian, Persian, Uigur, Nepali, Hindi, English, for centuries. (see Laufer 1916). There are some old Chinese loanwords, Sanskrit loanwords from the Buddhist terminology, and also loanwords from English which mostly date back to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Some of the old borrowings from other languages than Chinese are still frequently used in modern Tibetan, e.g. *mo.ta* “car” (an English loanword), *Ti.ka.se* “stamp” (an English loanword) or *pad.shag* “money” (a Hindi loanword). More examples of loanwords from different languages are listed below:

Chinese: *cog.tse* “table”, *cha* “tea”, *jem.tse* “scissors”, *gyang* “wall”.¹¹

Sanskrit: *kaa.ya* “body”, *paN.Di.ta* “scholar”, *bram.ze* “Brahman”, *mu.tig* “pearl”

Mongol: *taa.la* ‘i “ocean”, *em.chi* “doctor”, *u.ru.su* “Russia”

Hindi: *ka.la* “end of a pipe from which water runs”, *ku.li* “porter, coolie”, *ci.ni* “sugar”, *ke.ra* “banana”,

English: *ghe.la.se* “glass”, *pa.ki* “pocket”, *bhe.reg rgyag* “to brake”

2.2. NEW LOANWORDS

In present-day spoken Tibetan, there are many recent loanwords from Chinese. They can be frequently heard in everyday conversations. First, Tibetans use directly Chinese words for things which are new to them and get to Tibet from or via China (plants and food e.g. *huanggua* “cucumber”, *ningmeng* “lemon”, *fangbianmian* “instant noodles”, technical vocabulary e.g. *wangluo*

11) For other old Chinese loanwords refer to Laufer 1916, pp. 59–60.

“internet”, *rehezi* (*re.ho.tsi* in Tibetan script) “thermonuclear”). This is a natural process of borrowing the name with the object itself. In the same way, since Tibet is under Chinese rule, the majority of terms from the area of administration as well as names of institutions and offices are in Chinese.¹²

Second, nowadays, some older loanwords from other languages, esp. English, are replaced by new loanwords from Chinese, e.g.: the above-mentioned Chinese word *pjiu* is used instead of *sbi.rag* standing for “beer”, *piao* (sometimes spelt *phi'o* in Tibetan) instead of *pa.se* for “ticket”, *dahuoji* instead of *le.Dar* for “cigarette lighter”, or *xiangjiao* instead of the Hindi *ke.ra* for “banana”.

In consequence, in present-day Tibetan, there are quite a few terms having three variants: Tibetan, Chinese and English (or other), most of which are used in the spoken language though not with the same frequency. In the table below, there are several examples:

Tibetan word	English loanword	Chinese loanword	English translation
<i>shel.phor</i> (rare)	<i>ghe.la.se</i>	<i>beizi</i> (often spelt <i>pi.tsi</i>)	glass
<i>me.khor</i> (rare)	<i>ri.li</i>	<i>huoche</i>	train
<i>nyen.rtog.pa</i>	<i>pu.li.si</i>	<i>jingcha</i>	police
<i>'phrul.khor a.ma</i>	<i>in. ljen</i>	<i>fadongji</i>	engine
<i>khug.ma, lto.phad</i>	'beg, the Hindi word <i>jho.la</i> is very often used	<i>baobao</i> (spelt <i>po.po</i>)	bag

Third, Tibetans replace a lot of existing Tibetan words with Chinese loanwords. As discussed in Chapter 1 of this paper, the same process of replacing Tibetan words with English loanwords can be seen in the Tibetan diaspora in India.

Tibetan word	Chinese loanword	English translation
<i>brda.rtags</i>	<i>xinhao</i>	signal
<i>khru.s.rdzas</i>	<i>xifen</i>	washing powder
<i>rlung.phrin</i>	<i>shouyinji</i>	radio
<i>rdo.snum</i>	<i>caiyou</i>	fuel oil

12) See chapter 4 for more details.

3. Formal criterion and word classes

3.1. MIXED LOANWORDS

From a formal point of view, one can distinguish mixed loanwords and pure loanwords in modern spoken Tibetan. Mixed loanwords are usually verbs consisting of a foreign (Chinese, English) loanword (a noun or a verb) to which a Tibetan verbalizer is added. Below are some examples of mixed verbs:

The mixed verb *dianhua rgyag* meaning “to telephone” consists of the Chinese noun *dianhua* “telephone” and the Tibetan verbalizer *rgyag*.

The mixed verb *dengji byed* meaning “to register” consists of the Chinese verb *dengji* and the Tibetan verbalizer *byed*.

The mixed verb *shangwang byed* meaning “to connect on the web” consists of the Chinese verb *shangwang* and the Tibetan verbalizer *byed*.

However, nouns can also be mixed words. This is illustrated by the following examples:

The mixed noun *tang.mi* meaning “(political) party member” consists of the Chinese word *tang* (spelt *dang* in pinyin) “(political) party” and the Tibetan word *mi* for “man, people”.

The mixed noun *rkang.rtsed.spo.lo* meaning “football” consists of the Tibetan compound word *rkang.rtsed* “foot-game” and the English loanword *spo.lo* “ball”.

The mixed noun *lag'bom* meaning “hand-shell” consists of the Tibetan word *lag* “hand” and the English loanword *'bom* “bomb”.

3.2. PURE LOANWORDS

Pure loanwords are for the most part nouns borrowed from Chinese. Although in the vast majority of cases Tibetan words exist, many Tibetans tend to use their Chinese counterparts more frequently. Below is a table with some examples of pure loanwords from everyday life:

Tibetan word	Chinese pure loanword	English translation
<i>'khyags.sgam</i>	<i>bingxiang</i>	refrigerator
<i>tsha.rlung</i>	<i>nuanqi</i>	heating
<i>lag'dogs kha.par</i>	<i>shouji</i>	mobile phone
<i>lag'khyer</i>	<i>huzhao</i>	passport

4. Main fields of borrowing

First of all, Chinese loanwords are used instead of Tibetan terms for most names of places (towns, villages, etc.), institutions, and administrative units. The loanwords for these names and terms have got a standardized spelling in Tibetan based on the Tibetan alphabet. This is not the case with other loanwords from everyday life, which may have several different spellings or are not spelt at all.¹³

4.1. PLACE NAMES AND NAMES OF INSTITUTIONS

Chinese is used instead of Tibetan for most of the place names (towns, villages, streets, etc.), e.g. *Linzhou* instead of *Lhun.grub*, *Ali* instead of *mNga'.ris*, *Aba* instead of *rNga.ba*. However, several traditional place names are still given in Tibetan, e.g. *sPo.gling.ka* or *sBra.nag.zhol*, both are names of parts of the old town of Lhasa.

Similarly, the names of institutions, offices and organizations are usually given in Chinese, e.g. *xizang daxue* instead of the Tibetan term *bod.ljongs slob.grwa chen.mo* “Tibet University” or *youju* instead of the Tibetan term *sbrags.khang* “post office”.

This is also true for names of countries. Although there are older names which were formed and used earlier, nowadays new Chinese borrowings become more frequent in the spoken language, e.g. the older term *ni.hong* vs. the new Chinese loanword *riben* “Japan”, the older term *yo.rob* vs. the new Chinese loanword *ouzhou*, the older term *pha.ran.si* or *fa(phha).ran.si* vs. the new Chinese loanword *faguo* “France”.

4.2. ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS AND POLITICAL VOCABULARY

The Tibetan Autonomous Region is divided, based on the administrative system of the PRC, into different administrative units. For these units, Tibetans mostly use the Chinese terms, e.g. *xiang* (*shang* in Tibetan script) “township”, *xian* “county” (Although the Tibetan term is *rdzong*, Tibetans usually use

13) As a result, Chinese loanwords are given in *pinyin* in this paper, exceptionally also in the Tibetan script. Refer also to Note 2 of this paper.

the Chinese term *xian* instead.), *qu* (*chus* in Tibetan script) “district”, *cun* (*tshun* in Tibetan script) “village” (The Tibetan term *grong.tsho* is also used.).

Similarly, Tibetan political vocabulary makes use of numerous Chinese loanwords, e.g. *dang* (*tang* in Tibetan script) “(political) party”, *dangyuan* (*tang.yon* in Tibetan script) “party member”, *weiyuan* (*u.yon* in Tibetan script) “committee”.

4.3. TECHNICAL TERMS

Technical terms are another area of massive borrowing from Chinese. Scientific and technical vocabulary is mostly built up from borrowed Chinese words. The Tibetan equivalents of many of these terms are not well-known and thus not widely used in spoken Tibetan. The following are some examples of technical terms: *dianzi* (*ten.tsi* in Tibetan script) “electron”, *yuanzidan* (*yon.tsi.tan* in Tibetan script) “atomic bomb”, *fadongji* “motor”, etc.

4.4. PROFESSIONS

Tibetans use Chinese loanwords for some occupations instead of the Tibetan terms. These are for the most part occupations that are somehow connected with the world of the Chinese, e.g.: *xiangzhang* (*shang.krang* in Tibetan script) “head of a xiang”, *quzhang* (*chus.krang* in Tibetan script) “district magistrate”, *zongtong* (*tsung.thung* in Tibetan script) “president”, *jingli* (*cing.li* in Tibetan script) “manager”, *lingdui* “tour leader”, *siji* “driver”, etc. However, unlike the names of official institutions or administrative units, this is not a general rule because the Tibetan words are still used for many occupations.

4.5. NUMBERS

Tibetans use both Tibetan and Chinese words for numbers. However, they use them in different situations. When talking about telephone numbers, bus numbers, etc., they use the Chinese numbers. It is interesting to say that they often have difficulties giving their phone numbers in Tibetan numbers. In other contexts, they still use the Tibetan numbers (e.g. when asking about the price of things or about the salary, etc.). A similar process can be observed in the Tibetan spoken in the exile communities, because Tibetans living in

exile tend to use English numbers in situations in which the Tibetans in the TAR prefer the Chinese numbers.

4.6. DAYS OF THE WEEK

Most of the time, Tibetans use the Chinese words for the days of the week, e.g. *xingqiyi* “Monday” (*xingqi* “week” and *yi* “one”), *xingqisan* “Wednesday” (*xingqi* “week” and *san* “three”), *xingqiwu* “Friday” (*xingqi* “week” and *wu* “five”), etc. The Chinese terms have been fully adopted in the spoken language, although the Tibetan terms for the days of the week can still be heard on television, in the news, etc. Nevertheless, some Tibetans are no longer sure about the original Tibetan terms because they are not able to match them with the appropriate day of the week. The Tibetan terms use the names of planets for each day of the week, e.g.: *gza'.zla.ba* “Monday” (*gza'* “planet” and *zla.ba* “Moon”), *gza'.mig.dmar* “Tuesday” (*gza'* “planet” and *mig.dmar* “Mars”), *gza'.nyi.ma* “Sunday” (*gza'* “planet” and *nyi.ma* “Sun”).

The influence of Chinese borrowings can be illustrated by the following example. The usual question about what day of the week it is, is constructed with the pronoun *ga.re* “which” following the noun *gza'* “planet” meaning “which planet” i.e. “which day (of the week)” it is. However, a Tibetan speaker used the pronoun *ga.tshod* “how much” after the noun *gza'* “planet” when asking what day of the week it was because in Chinese the days of the week are numbered from 1–6 (see above, only the word for “Sunday”, *xingqitian*, is different from the others). Thus instead of asking (a), he constructed the question in the following way (b):

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------|-----------------|------------|
| 8.a) | <i>de.ring</i> | <i>gza'</i> | <i>ga.re</i> | <i>red</i> |
| | today | planet | what | be (FACT) |
| | <i>Which day (of the week) is it today?</i> | | | |
| 8.b) | <i>de.ring</i> | <i>gza'</i> | <i>ga.tshod</i> | <i>red</i> |
| | today | planet | how much | be (FACT) |
| | <i>Which day (of the week) is it today?</i> | | | |

5. Changes relating to Chinese borrowings

5.1. CHANGE TO THE SYSTEM OF COUNTING

When counting in Tibetan using higher numbers than a hundred thousand, most Tibetans have adopted the Chinese numeric system, which is different from the Tibetan one. While the Tibetan system of counting is organized in tens – hundreds – thousands – ten thousands – hundred thousands – millions – ten millions – hundred millions, the Chinese system has no scale between “a ten thousand” and “a hundred million”. Nowadays, many Tibetans use the Chinese way when counting in Tibetan. Moreover, they seem to have difficulties understanding the Tibetan scale and putting it in the correct order. In the following example, (a) is the traditional Tibetan way of counting, and (b) the adopted Chinese way of counting, both meaning “one million five hundred thousand”, cf. also the corresponding Chinese sentence (c):

9.a)	<i>sa.ya</i>	<i>gcig</i>	<i>dang</i>	<i>'bum</i>	<i>lnga</i>
	million	one	and	hundred thousand	five
9.b)	<i>khri</i>	<i>brgya</i>	<i>dang</i>	<i>lnga.bcu</i>	
	ten thousand	hundred	and	fifty	
9.c)	<i>yi</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>wushi</i>	<i>wan</i>	
	one	hundred	fifty	ten thousand	

Although in (b) has adopted the Chinese way of counting, it has preserved the traditional order of words which is different from the Chinese word order: the Tibetan number starts with the word *khri* “a ten thousand”, whereas the Chinese number ends with it.

5.2. SHIFT IN MEANING

Words are often borrowed from one language into another one with a new object which does not exist in the target language. In that case, the name of the object is taken over together with the object itself. The meaning is usually preserved. However, sometimes it happens that a loanword is used with a different meaning than it has in the source language. In spoken Tibetan, for example, the loanword *xingqi*, which means “week” in Chinese, has the meaning of “a day off, a weekend or a holiday”. This is illustrated by the following

two examples where (a) shows the use of the word *xingqi* in Chinese, and (b) its use in Tibetan:

10. *ta xia ge xingqi yao lai*
 he next CLASSIFIER week FUT come
He will come next week.
11. *de.ring las.ka med de.ring xingqi red*
 today work exist (NEG+EGO) today holiday (CHINESE) be (FACT)
I haven't got any work today. It is holiday today.

5.3. CHANGE OF THE WORD CLASS IN THE TARGET LANGUAGE

As we have seen, many Chinese loanwords to Tibetan are originally verbs in Chinese. As loanwords in mixed speech, these are usually used as nouns because they are not perceived to be verbs. Since the Tibetan verb takes verbal endings in the modern spoken language, and there are numerous verbs which consist of three syllables and are divided into a noun and a verbalizer (taking verbal endings), the Chinese verbal loanwords are re-categorized as nouns:

12. *sngon. la dengji byed dgos red*
 earlier register (CHINESE) do (PRS) need AUX (FACT)
First, you have to register.

Although spoken Tibetan makes use of a great number of Chinese loanwords, it has preserved its grammar as well as its complex system of honorific speech in central Tibetan. When addressing someone with politeness and using a Chinese loanword, Tibetan speakers tend to use an honorific particle added to this loanword and to use the honorific form of the verb. This is illustrated in the following example with the Chinese loanword *daoyou* “guide” followed by the honorific particle *lags* and with the honorific verb *gnang* “give” followed by the most polite imperative suffix *rogs.gnang* (cf. also example 1 with *siji* – *lags* “driver (H)” and *pjiu mchod* “have beer (H)” where *mchod* is the polite form of the verb *’thung* “drink”):

13. *daoyou – lags, nga – r kele gcig gnang – rogs.gnang*
 guide (CHINESE) -honorific I – OBL coke (CHINESE) one give (H)– IMP suffix
 suffix
Guide, give me one coke, please!

5.4. CHANGE OF A PLACE NAME

A number of new Chinese names for Tibetan places are phonetic translations. However, this is not always the case. Some Chinese names are completely different from the original name, e.g. the original Tibetan name of a little town in eastern Tibet, “Lhabagar”, has a different Chinese name, “Bayi” (*ba* meaning “eight” and *yi* meaning “one”). The Chinese name commemorates the presence of the People’s Liberation Army in this place¹⁴. Nowadays, a new name has been calqued in Tibetan which is derived from the Chinese name. It is “Brgyad.gcig” (*brgyad* meaning “eight” and *gcig* meaning “one”).

6. Mixed speech versus Code-switching

In the TAR, Chinese loanwords are not the only phenomenon of present-day Tibetan. Nowadays, many Tibetans living mostly in towns and all those who are state employees can speak both languages, Tibetan and Chinese. Every day, they use both languages in different situations. Chinese is a language for official use and is associated with power, while Tibetan is more private. However, it frequently occurs that apart from using many Chinese loanwords, Tibetans also use both languages at one time: they often switch from Tibetan to Chinese or vice versa. As Tournadre (2003, p. 33) put it in his article, Tibetans often use code-switching in their conversations: *...the choice of switching or speaking “pure” Chinese or “pure” Tibetan is most often significant and corresponds to definite social behaviour patterns*. Tournadre (2003, p. 34) further suggests that *the search for a certain complicity or consensus is, in some situations, going to trigger to move to Tibetan, whereas Chinese will, conversely, be associated with “power” and “the norm”*. Consequently, code-switching is often used in offices and public institutions.¹⁵

Code-switching is characteristic of the official milieu and urban areas. On the other hand, it is non-existent in the Tibetan countryside. Farmers and nomads have a poor knowledge of Chinese and thus they are not familiar with code-switching. As a result, they have difficulties when dealing with public institutions.

14) *Bayi*, meaning August the 1st, refers to the anniversary of the Nanchang Uprising, which is considered as the founding of the People’s Liberation Army.

15) For an example of code-switching, refer to Tournadre 2003, p. 33.

7. Conclusion

This paper has principally attempted to demonstrate the enormous influence of Chinese, and also that of English, on the lexicon of present-day spoken Tibetan. First of all, one has to differentiate between the variant spoken in the TAR and the variant spoken in the diaspora. The crux of the paper is the variant used in the TAR, which is nowadays influenced almost entirely by Chinese. The question of borrowing is looked upon from the diachronic as well as synchronic viewpoint and it shows the most important, though not all the areas of massive borrowing from Chinese. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned facts and examples, one can draw several conclusions:

1. A great number of the terms which have something to do with the Chinese and with the Chinese political system are borrowed from Chinese.
2. Older loanwords (often English) as well as many Tibetan words and compounds are replaced by Chinese loanwords.
3. In the present day, new things get to Tibet exclusively via China. Consequently, they are often taken over with their Chinese name.
4. Concerning the Tibetan of the diaspora, it is under the strong influence of English, and thus it has many English loanwords; and some Hindi loanwords in India as well.

Furthermore, chapter 5 has demonstrated several changes in the Tibetan language caused by the influence of Chinese, and also some differences between the original Chinese words and the corresponding borrowings into Tibetan. Among these changes one of the most remarkable is probably the adoption of the Chinese system of counting into Tibetan.

Finally, this paper brings up the question of code-switching between Tibetan and Chinese, which is closely connected to its subject, namely Tibetan mixed speech.

Abbreviations

AMDO	Amdo Tibetan	NEG	negative
AUX	auxiliary	OBL	oblique
EGO	egophoric evidential	PAS	past
ERG	ergative	PFV	perfective
FACT	factual evidential	VBZ	verbalizer
FUT	future		
H	honorific		
IMP	imperative		

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Vacek-Batsu'ḥ in Mongolia (recollections)

J. LUBSANGDORJI

In September 1974 I received a telephone call from the Director of the International Office of the Mongolian State University, who told me that Doctor Jaroslav Vacek from Charles University had just arrived in order to learn Mongolian. “I will bring him to your Department immediately,” he said. It was just one year since I had been appointed the Head of the Department of Mongolian for Foreign Students. The Director of the International Office informed me that this trainee had come for one year and that he had been accommodated in the foreign postgraduate students’ hostel and that his scholarship allowance had been confirmed. Should any problems arise, I might contact him. And then he left. With me was sitting a young thirty-one-year old man with intelligent eyes, insightful and friendly, as the Mongols would say “warm for the eyes”.

We spoke in Russian. He introduced himself as an Indologist teaching Sanskrit and Tamil and specified that he was sent to learn Mongolian by the Charles University, which had decided to establish Mongolian as a regular subject. At that moment it occurred to me that it would be a great responsibility for me to prepare a teacher for such a world-known University, which had decided to open Mongolian Studies. Vacek started to talk about his plan: “First of all I would like to learn to speak modern Mongolian and I would like to have courses in phonetics and grammar.” I assigned Associate Professor L. Miš'ig to teach him modern Mongolian grammar. He was a very experienced and respected teacher, who was also acknowledged in Mongolia as a great specialist in Manchu studies. For conversation I chose a young teacher called Buyanhiš'ig because she was fond of speaking. When we spoke about phonetics, Vacek expressed a wish to have the teacher Mo'omoo, about whom he had heard in Moscow.

S. Mo'omoo had spent several years as a doctoral student in Moscow in order to obtain the degree of Candidate of Science (= PhD.). I had to take over his classes and this was how I became a phonetician. Mo'omoo was a good teacher, but from his published works I could discern the influence of the Moscow phonetic school, with which I did not agree. So I told Vacek that at the moment I was in charge of phonetics and thus I became his teacher.

When the news about the teacher of Sanskrit spread in the Mongolian State University, it provoked the interest of Mongolian specialists. It probably was the initiative of Academician Luvsanvandan and Doctor C'oi. Luvsanz'av, that brought about the Rector's directive that the University would open a course in Sanskrit, which would be taught by Doctor Vacek from Charles University. The course was also attended by a few teachers and students of the Buddhist High School, which was attached to the Gandan Monastery. There was a tradition that Mongolian Lamas used to read Sanskrit only in Tibetan or Classical Mongolian transcriptions. This was the first time that Sanskrit was taught and read in its original script in Mongolia.

After six months of learning at the University, Vacek was able to speak Mongolian well. In particular no foreign accent was perceptible in his pronunciation. He spoke purely with a Khalkha accent. When I compare it with foreigners who had spent five years at the University, Vacek's clear pronunciation without an accent never stopped amazing Mongols, who kept asking how he could have learnt the Mongolian language so well in such a short time. He made many Mongolian friends and I heard from people that his Mongolian name was *Batsu'h* (lit. 'Strong Axe'). When I asked him about it, he told me that an old doorkeeper at the hostel misheard his Czech name Vacek as Batsu'h, "and that was how I obtained such a nice Mongolian name."

The then Rector of the Mongolian State University, Academician N. Sodnom, took the task of starting Mongolian Studies at Charles University very seriously. He was an experienced physicist, who had spent years in Moscow as a Vice-President of the International Institute of Atomic Physics (of the socialist countries). When he learned that Vacek was already speaking Mongolian, he received him very cordially in his office. It was a pleasant and convivial dialogue. He showed us a photo from České Budějovice (Southern Bohemia), where the Rectors of the former socialist countries met. In the picture they were in swimming suits before swimming and the Rector was laughing that there were "naked Rectors". The Rector supported Vacek very much, repeatedly signing the permission for him to visit the countryside, to travel through many Aimags for the purpose of study and field work, and also financing all the travel expenses.

Our University had its own garages with cars and drivers. With the Rector's permission to make use of a car, the Vice-Rector provided us with a Russian off-road vehicle GAZ-69. Thus the very first winter we made our first trip to the beautiful countryside around Terelz' not far away from Ulaanbaatar. We also visited the old Turkic monuments – Tonyuk's Runic inscriptions near Nalaih. In later years we visited together the Arhangai, O'mnogov' and

Hovd Aimags. We have travelled by car to the nearer regions, but we had to fly to the remote regions, where the Aimag administration provided us with a car and a driver on the spot.

Because it was always announced to the administration of the Aimag in advance that a Mongolist Vacek, from a “brotherly socialist country”, was coming, we were always received without any suspicion and got all the support we needed to meet many people, who spoke the local dialects, to study their folklore and other ethnographic characteristic features. I recall some interesting events which happened to the two of us:

Mongolization of the car's radiator (*arzaatar*).

When we were on the way back from Das'inc'ilin to Ulaanbaatar, the car's radiator started leaking. When the driver lifted the bonnet, water was leaking from one of its sections. Vacek and I went to a nearby lake and fetched a bucket of water. The driver (about fifty) pulled out a sack with tobacco from below his seat, took two handfuls of tobacco, put it into the radiator and poured water on it. We were seeing something like this for the first time, so we asked what he was doing. The driver answered that this is called “Mongolization” (*mongolc'loh*) of the radiator (which meant finding a simple manner of repair by making use of anything convenient), and that now it would be O.K. Then we drove a full 200 km and no water leaked from the radiator. Mongolian drivers deal with some technical malfunctions in simple (folk) manners. When Vacek heard the ironical metaphor “to Mongolize”, he was very happy to have learnt a nice Mongolian idiom.

Mongolian sheep eat stones?

This was in the year 1979, in the middle of October, when we were driving to the Hovd Somon Manhan along a Gobi road. Near the road several hundred sheep were grazing. At first sight this was a completely stony steppe, where not a single green stalk could be seen, but still the sheep's heads were bent down with muzzles near the ground and were eating something. Vacek was very much surprised and asked me what the Mongolian sheep were eating, do they eat stones? So I suggested we should have a look. We left the road and stopped among the sheep. We could see that here and there 2–3 cm stalks of small plants were growing, and the sheep were looking for them. There was

not a single leaf on these stalks, they did not ramify – whether it was due to the autumn season that they dried up, or whether they were subject to grazing by other cattle in summer, that I did not know. I picked one from the few stalks and pressed it between fingers – juice leaked and coloured my fingers. When Vacek saw this, he said with a bit of humour, “now I understand, the Gobi sheep eat very good quality food.”

“Please, let our Mongolian songs be sung.”

Once we were taping Zahc'in folk songs from one folk singer in the centre of Manhan Somon. He remarked that the Zahc'in songs are not so long as the Khalkha ones, but not so short as normal songs, and that is why the Zahc'ins call them ‘medium songs’ (*besreg duu*). There was a very old Mother sitting with us in the yurt, who said: “I am over eighty, now I would only like to die, but death is not coming.” When Vacek asked her about her dreams, she answered without hesitation that she was dreaming a lot about her native region, where she had grown up. “On the horizon there were blue peaks of the mountains, I can still see my small yurts, enclosures and cattle, which I constructed with small pebbles. I do not belong here. I was born in the very remote forested *hangai* region.”

Because we were talking about folk songs, she turned to Vacek with a request: “On the radio (*arazavaar*) they keep singing only Khalkha songs. They do not sing our Mongolian songs. Help us to ensure that they sing Mongolian songs.”¹ Vacek answered without hesitation that her wish was very appropriate and that he would pass the word on so that she may hear Mongolian songs on the radio. At this the old lady rejoiced, she thought that Vacek was so highly positioned a man that he could influence the Mongolian radio broadcast.

“For early man it was easy here!”

We were in the Hovd Aimag in the Mo'nhhairhan Somon. It was a deserted region with high rocky hills. We were walking around a hillock in front of a small house, which in the Somon centre was registered as a hotel, and all around there were many black stones. All of a sudden I could hear Vacek saying that for early man it was easy here. He picked up a stone from the

1) Of course by saying “Mongolian” songs the old lady meant “Zahc'in” songs.

ground and broke it against a bigger one. It broke into very sharp fragments. They were so sharp that it was possible to cut paper with them. Vacek added that for early primitive man these were ready-made knives. I did not expect such an idea and also started to reflect about it.

There was one good “ear” with us.

Once we met the famous Uriankhai epic singer Avirmed in the Mo'nhairhan Somon. A man of about fifty came to the hotel, dressed in the national *deel* coat and holding a two-stringed balalaika called *tovs'uur*. We had invited him to the hotel in order to make a tape-recording of his epic song. There was no electricity supply anywhere else. We recorded one part of the epic called *Altai Hailah*, which he sang in a special guttural voice accompanied by the instrument. When he finished we really felt as if we happened to be among the multicoloured ridges of the Altai Mountains.

The following day we invited an old lady, who reportedly knew the so-called Oirat “Clear Script” (*tod u'seg*). Her name was Naadgai (‘Little Toy’). She was a cheerful talkative old woman and to make her start her narrative I asked her whether as a young girl she used to milk cows and produce milk products. “Not at all, I did not grow up among cattle, I grew up riding to various festivities on the back of an ambling horse, I was the daughter of a local nobleman,” she answered joyfully and produced a small Sutra booklet of prayers in the “Clear Script”. When I started reading it aloud, she was very excited about it. While we were talking with the old lady, the hotel watchman came in several times, cleaned the table and pretended to be carrying out various other activities, while carefully listening to our talk. After he left, Vacek told me that there was one good “ear” with us! This was really what it was, the old lady Naadgai herself mentioned that because of her aristocratic origin “they” would suspect that she would talk with people openly about everything and would keep monitoring her.

Because I had agreed with Vacek very early (1978) that we would write a textbook for foreigners together and would prepare a complex teaching material, our co-operation took off and has been continuing successfully for many years. In 1987 I could ultimately join the Charles University and start teaching there. Thus it happened that I could see the velvet revolution with my own eyes. The process of disintegration of the socialist system was very instructive for me and I started seeing things in a new way. I remember very well that on one door on the second floor of the Philosophical Faculty

in Celetná Str. 20 (No. 338), I could see a great poster with the text “Havel to the Castle, Vacek to the Cathedra” (*Havla na hrad, Vacka na katedru*), which meant “Havel to become President, Vacek to become Head of the Department (or Cathedra as it was called then)”. Recently I mentioned it to Vacek and he was quite surprised, at that time he had known nothing about the poster. However, those who worked at the Faculty at that time, remember that a few days later Vacek was elected the Head of the Department of Oriental and African Studies by an absolute majority of votes, including students’ votes.

Review Section

Elisabetta Chiodo, *The Walther Heissig Collection of Mongolian Oral Literature*. Verlag Ferdinand Schöning, Paderborn 2011, 110 pp.; ISBN 978-3-506-77225-1 – Reviewed by Klára Kočková

The publication under consideration consists of a catalogue of Walther Heissig's collection of the Oral Literature of Mongolian ethnic groups, mainly from the Eastern regions of Inner Mongolia. The materials contained in this collection were recorded by Heissig in 1984, 1986, 1991 and 1995, and by two academics, Rinčindorji and Nima, both working in Beijing. The collection contains 238 tape-recordings and 90 notebooks of Mongolian transcriptions of 110 texts. These texts were transcribed by Nima and Rinčindorji. In line with Heissig's wishes, in 2006 the collection became the property of North-Rhine Westphalian Academy of Sciences in Düsseldorf, where it is now kept.

Among the transcribed texts we can find biographies of bards, *quyur-un üliger* (tales accompanied by the fiddle), heroic epics, *yabayan üliger* (short tales performed without instrumental accompaniment) and shamanic ritual songs. Chiodo's catalogue organizes these materials clearly into particular chapters, citing the catalogue number of each text (designated by the abbreviation Mo), its title in Mongolian (in Latin transcription), the English translation of the title, information concerning the time and circumstances of the recording, and a brief summary of its content.

The first chapter – the Introduction – conveys some basic information about the folklore genres occurring in the collection. Chiodo pays special attention particularly to the genre *quyur-un üliger*, the plots and characters of which have their basis in Mongolian translations of Chinese novels, known as *bensen (benzi) üliger* ('book stories') or *üliger-ün debter* ('story books').

In the following chapter entitled "Biographies of Bards" we can find basic data about the recorded interviews with 9 singers. Apart from information about the time, place, and name of the interviewer, a summary of the interview is given, including the singer's biographical details, notes on how he learnt to sing his songs, and the names of songs (or tales) in his repertory.

The third chapter, entitled "Tales Accompanied by the Fiddle (*quyur-un üliger*)" contains entries concerning 17 tales with all the attendant data as mentioned above, the title of the tale in Mongolian and English, the time and circumstances of its recording, the name of the bard, the names of the recorders and transcribers, the number of pages, and a summary of its content.

The next four chapters, organized in a similar fashion, deal with the heroic epics of four different areas. These are the "Heroic Epics of Eastern Inner Mongolia" (containing 6 songs), the "Heroic Epics of Ulayaŋčab, Inner

Mongolia" (2 songs), the "Heroic Epics of Baryu Banners, Inner Mongolia" (15 songs) and the "Heroic Epics of Khovd Ajmag, North-West Mongolia" (1 song).

This is followed by a list of five folk tales of Bayarin. It refers to the material of the collection designated as Mo 86 which contains the texts of these five short folk tales copied by Rinčindorji from a book, the title of which is not given. This list contains only the title (both in Mongolian and English) and the page numbers.

The last chapter is dedicated to the corpus of 60 ritual songs of the shamans of Qorčin: these are divided into 15 thematic sections, including "Rituals of the Tngriš", "Worshipping Jayayači", "Rituals for the Bayumal Spirits", "Songs for the Ancestral Protective Spirits", "Worshipping the Shaman Master", "Songs for Crossing the Pass", "Songs to the Protecting Sprits", "Sending Away the Protecting Sprits", "Calling the Soul", "Ransom Rituals", "Songs to the Onyod Spirits", "Varia", "Divination" and "Fire Worship".

The final section of the book contains a list of relevant literature as well as the list of untranscribed texts included within the collection and the photos.

The work under review definitely represents a significant contribution as it provides a very clear picture of the materials in Heissig's collection. The summaries offer a very specific image of the narrative contents of the particular genres of oral literature in the region under consideration. Last but not least, it represents a very useful resource for those who intend to work with the catalogued materials.

In the Heart of Mongolia. 100th Anniversary of W. Kotwicz's Expedition to Mongolia in 1912. Studies and Selected Source Materials. Edited by Jerzy Tulisow, Osamu Inoue, Agata Bareja-Starzyńska and Ewa Dziurzyńska. Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cracow 2012, 413 pp.; Booklet with Indexes; Map; DVD; ISBN 978-83-7676-133-6 – reviewed by Ondřej Srba¹

The objective of the book under consideration is to remember the outstanding Polish scholar Władysław Kotwicz (1872–1944) and to introduce his rich collection, preserved in the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Arts, especially the documents and photos relating to his expedition to Northern Mongolia in 1912 (together with Ts. Jamtsarano and K. A. Maskov). This volume is compiled of studies mainly based on the materials from Kotwicz's private archive and selected source materials.

The studies let us admire Kotwicz's lifelong assiduous work in spite of the very unfavourable conditions of his time. Several upheavals in Kotwicz's life, the First World War, his move from St. Petersburg to Poland and his exile to the countryside during the Second World War caused the majority of the valuable materials collected during his Mongolian expedition to stay unpublished and closed from the outside world in his personal archive. Kotwicz's archive has attracted more significant attention of the academic world only during the last decade (excluding B. Shirendev's book of 1972). This volume offers not only very valuable sources for researchers, but many of the papers are written in a way that is accessible for the large public.

To start with the section **Studies**, this contains six voluminous papers. A biography of Kotwicz and a description of his Mongolian expedition written by Jerzy Tulisow gives a vivid presentation of Kotwicz's personality and a thorough description of his expedition. Ewa Dziurzyńska presents an introduction to Kotwicz's personal archive accompanied by photos of the most significant written documents in the collections.

Since Kotwicz spent most of his time in Mongolia in the neighbourhoods of Erdene Zuu and the ruins of the old Uighur Khaganate, several articles in the book are concerned with this area. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska has written a paper describing life in Erdene Zuu monastery basing on Kotwicz's notes. The most notable part of the presentation is the local *čam* ritual, almost

1) A fragment from the Foreword of this book written by Dr. Rita Majkowska and one photograph from Kotwicz's personal archive were published in the Review Section of the last volume of this journal (*Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* '12, 5/1, pp. 132–133).

unknown from other sources. Notes from Kotwicz's expedition are enriched by an extended commentary and followed by colourful photos capturing the whole course of the *čam* ritual, as well as the architecture of, and every-day life in, the monastery. The introduction summarizes all important data concerning the history of Buddhism in Mongolia.

Takashi Matsukawa has contributed a study of the history of the discovery and reconstruction of the *Stele of the Xinyuange, Granted by Imperial Order* of 1347, preserved in several fragments found in Erdene Zuu, located in the old Qar-a Qorum, by various archeological expeditions since the end of the 19th century. T. Matsukawa reports Kotwicz's discovery of three fragments of this important Sino-Mongolian inscription, and publishes rubbings and readings from Kotwicz's private archive. At the end of the paper he gives a careful textual analysis of one of Kotwicz's fragments, rediscovered in 2009.

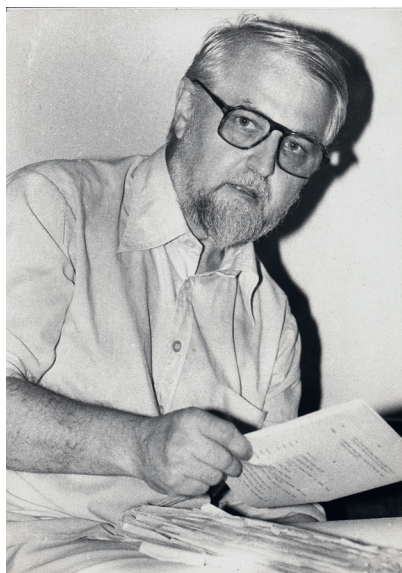
Inoue Osamu contributes an illustrative and well-arranged article about old Mongolian cartography based on three particular maps in Kotwicz's private archive. His paper contains a full list of old maps collected by Kotwicz and a detailed description of three maps under consideration, with respect to the depiction of the Erdene Zuu monastery. Specialists will certainly welcome an accurate analysis of the traditional system of symbols used on the maps, as well as the thoroughly prepared indexes of all the objects and place names on the maps.

Burkart Dähne and Erdenebat Ulambayar report about archaeological excavations in Karabalgasun carried out by K. A. Maskov, another participant in Kotwicz's expedition. With a knowledge of the related materials in Kotwicz's archive – drawings by Maskov and photographs made while the excavations in Karabalgasun were being undertaken – the current archeological expeditions (Mongolian-German-Orkhon Expedition) can undertake a more specific research in these areas, since the localities have been reopened by more recent projects.

The most important documents from Kotwicz's archive are edited, translated and/or presented as facsimiles in their full version in the section **Source materials**. One can find there a document based on the list of old inscriptions made by Amban Sando, two of Kotwicz's diaries, Kotwicz's photo notebook, a description of the Erdene Zuu Monastery by Ts. Jamtsarano, a letter sent to Kotwicz by K. A. Maskov describing his archaeological explorations during the expedition, and Kotwicz's unpublished study about the Mongolian inscription on the *Stele of the Xinyuange*). At the end of the volume, Agata Bareja-Starzyńska writes a longer introduction to a facsimile of a manuscript of the "Biography of the First Jetsundampa Zanabazar" called "History

of Erdeni Ju”, kept in the Kotwicz’s private archive. The whole collection of photos of the 1912 expedition, three maps of Tüsiyetü qan ayimay, Kotwicz’s diaries, estampages of the Mongolian inscription from Erdene Zuu and the manuscript of First Jetsundampa’s biography are attached on a DVD.

As a whole, the book can provide a detailed and versatile introduction to Kotwicz’s valuable archive sources as well as attract the attention of a public unfamiliar with Mongolian history. Needless to say, all the magnificent photographs of 1912 published in the book and made available on the DVD open up for us an entirely new perspective on the important period of Mongolia’s struggle for independence after 1911. As the authors mention in the book, this highly informative publication will be followed by other works based on Kotwicz’s archive. All of them will be much awaited and appreciated. It would be wonderful to see a comprehensive catalogue of the Mongolian documents and manuscripts in Kotwicz’s archive in one of the future volumes.



1. Prof. Vacek and his work, Madras, 1989.



2. Visiting Mr. Jancan guai, the door keeper of the University Guesthouse, in his yurt, Ulaanbatar, 1975.



3. Tasting kumys with Prof. Čoi. Luvsanjav in his yurt, 1976.



4. Prof. Luvsandorji, epic narrator – tuul'c' Avirmed, Prof. Vacek, Hovd Ajmak, 1978.



5. Grinding flour in a countryside yurt, 1978.



6. With the family of Prof. Luvsandorji, 1978.



7. Prof. Luvsanvandan, Prof. Vacek, Prof. Luvsandorji, 1978.



8. Prehistoric Rock paintings, O'mno Govi, 1979.



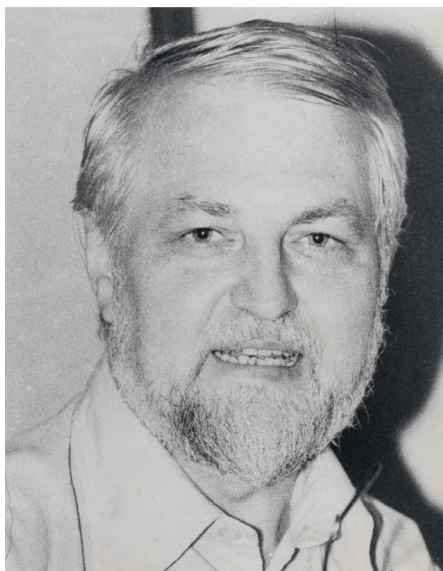
9. At the Fifth International Conference of Tamil Studies, Madurai, 1981.



10. Reciting the Tirukkural at the final evening with Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, and M.G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, Madurai, 1981.



11. Public lecture, Madras, 1983.



12. Madras, 1989.



13. At Bhasha Sangam, Madras, 1989.



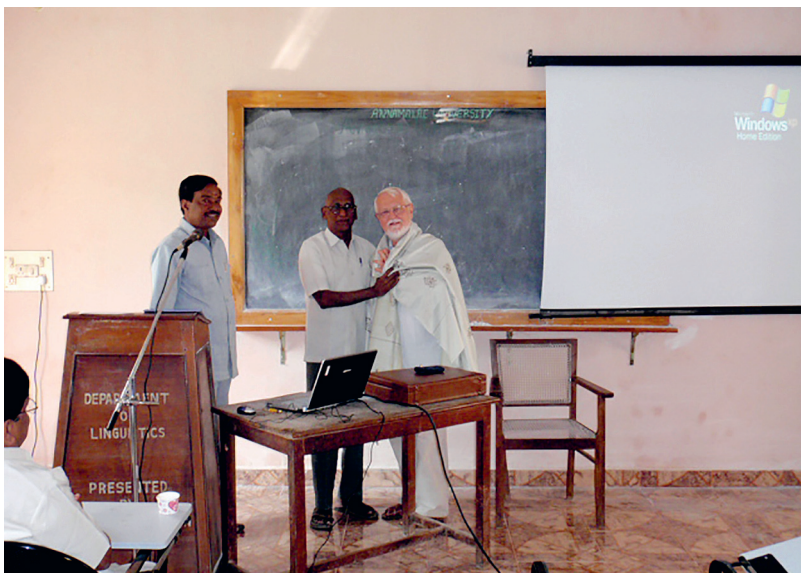
14. Distributing prizes to students and children competing in recitation of Tirukkural, Madras, 1989.



15. Pandanus Conference in Prague, Charles University, June 2009.



16. Opening the Pandanus Conference at the University of Calicut, January 7, 2010.



17. With Prof. U.V. Shanmugam before a lecture at the Annamalai University, 2010.

六十周年校庆

蒙古学系列讲座(九)

主讲人:

雅罗斯拉夫·瓦茨克
(Jaroslav Vacek) 教授

我系邀请捷克查理大学雅罗斯拉夫·瓦茨克 (Jaroslav Vacek) 教授来我校作学术讲座, 欢迎师生前来参加。

- 1、题目: 古代印度阿育王时期摩崖文及所传布早期佛教
时间: 5月27日周五10:00-12:00 地点: 文华楼西805
- 2、题目: 布拉格语言文学的结构(1926-20世纪初)布拉格之圈及其发展理论与主要思想
时间: 5月30日周一10:00-12:00 地点: 文华楼西802
- 3、题目: David蒙古(或阿尔泰)语诸语言、语法、词汇相似问题的阐释

18. Announcement of lecture at Minzu Univerzity, Peking, 2010.



19. After a defence of a PhD. thesis at Minzu University, Peking 2010. From the left: Dr. Erdemtü, Prof. Damrinjav, Prof. J. Vacek, last at the right Prof. Öljeibayar.



20. Mongolian Ambassador in Prague, H.E. S. Tsoggerel, presents Prof. Vacek with the Mongolian State Award, the Nairamdal Medal (Friendship Medal), conferred on him by the President of the Mongolian Republic H.E. Cahiagiin Elbegdordj for his research and pedagogical work in the field of Mongolian Studies, June 10, 2010.



21. World Classical Tamil Conference in Coimbatore, Tamilnadu, India, 2010.



22. Paying visit to Prof. T.A. Krishnamurthy, former V.C., University of Hyderabad (at J.Vacek' s right) with Prof. Kottapalli Seshagirirao (at his left), 2010.



23. Visiting Dr. Iravatham Mahadevan (at J.Vacek's right) with Prof. P.R. Subramanian (at his left), 2010.



24. Aruntamil Award (*Aruntamil Virutu*) for his work in Tamil Studies conferred by the Association Culturelle des Tamouls at Vauréal, Paris, France, Paris, December 22, 2012.



25. "Certificate of Appreciation" from Annamalai University as an evaluation of J.Vacek's work in the field of Tamil and Dravidian, handed over by Prof. Marapa Ganesan (March 15, 2013).



26. Receiving the Kural Peedam Award for his contribution to the study of classical Tamil literature from the President of India, H.E. Pranab Mukherjee, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, October 9, 2013.



27. Opening of the Pandanus Conference May 30, 2013, Reception at the Embassy of India.
From left: Prof. Govindasamy Rajagopal (University of Delhi), H.E. Mr. V. Ashok,
Prof. J. Vacek, Prof. Adalbert J. Gail (Free University, Berlin).



28. In the classroom.



29. In the classroom.



30. In the classroom.



31. In the classroom.



32. In the classroom.