

Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '14
7/1

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**Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics,
Religion and Culture
Volume 7, No. 1**



**Publication of Charles University in Prague
Faculty of Arts, Institute of South and Central Asia
Seminar of Mongolian and Tibetan Studies
Prague 2014**

ISSN 1803-5647

This journal is published as a part of the Programme for the Development of Fields of Study at Charles University, *Oriental Studies*, sub-programme “The process of transformation in the language and cultural differentness of the countries of South and Central Asia”, a project of the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague.

The publication of this Issue was supported
by the Embassy of the Mongolian Republic in Prague and by the TRITON Publishing House.

Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '14
Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture
Volume 7, No. 1 (2014)

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Celetná 20, 116 42 Praha 1, Czech Republic

<http://mongolistika.ff.cuni.cz/?page=home>

Publisher: Stanislav Juhaňák – TRITON

<http://www.triton-books.cz>

Vykáňská 5, 100 00 Praha 10

IČ 18433499

Praha (Prague) 2014

Cover Renata Brtnická

Typeset Studio Marvil

Printed by Sprint

Publication periodicity: twice a year

Registration number of MK ČR E 18436

ISSN 1803-5647

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Some questions concerning the Chinese transcription of the SHM III¹

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Summary: When we analyse in the Chinese transcription of the SHM the orthographic rules of the source text in Uighur-Mongolian script, we can see mistakes made by the scribes regarding the Chinese characters and by the copyist(s) of the Uighur-Mongolian original. In this paper I divide the Uighur-Mongolian words that have been incorrectly interpreted into three groups:

1) Words divided at the end of the line that have been read and transcribed as two words due to ignorance of the rule for dividing words in Uighur-Mongolian script.

2) Words where letters in the medial position were omitted and the omission repeated by successive Mongolian copyists.

3) Words where letters were mistaken for one another because of their graphic similarity in bamboo pen script.

For each category, I give examples of mistakes concerning the transcription and the interpretation.

0. Introduction: Graphemics of the Uighur-Mongolian original

Most of the original text of the SHM was written in Mongolian in the Uighur script (according to some Mongolists, in the Uighur-Mongolian script)² in the year 1228. Later, around the year 1380, one of the copies made by hand from this original was transcribed into Chinese characters by Mongolian language specialists of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), with a word-for-word interlinear translation (gloss) in Chinese of every Mongolian word. In addition, the Ming scholars added regularly abridged translations of the text in Chinese. This copy served as a teaching aid for training Chinese officials in the Mongolian language.

This phonetic transcription in Chinese characters is based on the original text of the SHM. There are reports suggesting the Uighur-Mongolian original got burnt in China. Since in the Uighur-Mongolian script no diacritical marks were used at that time, there are a great number of homographs (different

1) The first two parts appeared in *Mongolo-Tibetica* '12 and *Mongolo-Tibetica* '13 (cf. Lubsangdorji 2012, 2013).

2) Also called *hudam* script. Prof. Shagdarsurung reminds me that the term “Uighur-Mongolian script” is used by European scholars. In Mongolia it is called “Mongolian script”.

words spelled in the same manner). One word may be read in different ways. That is why the Chinese scribes often chose incorrect readings of the words. Clearly the wrong reading resulted also in a wrong interlinear Chinese translation. The translations of the SHM into other languages have so far reflected these repeated mistakes, because they rely on that interlinear translation.

Even though the Chinese transcription contains many mistakes, the text does offer real possibilities of finding out the correct readings of the words and identifying their correct meanings. That is also why the Chinese transcription is so valuable. However, in order to find the correct reading of the SHM and to justify it, it is necessary to have a profound knowledge of ancient and mediaeval Mongolian, of their dialects, phonetics, grammar and lexicology, of the graphemic and spelling rules of the written language, and, more specifically, of the ethnography of communication between nomads.

It is exactly in this direction that our work proceeds in analyzing the SHM, and the results have been systematically published every year since 2006 (see Luvsandorji 2006, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013). The present paper directly continues the analysis of the last two papers, in which examples of wrong readings of the Chinese transcription have been collected and explained on the basis of Uighur-Mongolian graphemics. Here we will try to explain why wrong readings arose on the basis of Uighur-Mongolian graphemics and on the basis the fixed habits and experiences of the scribes. This analysis is accompanied by explanations of the orthography and structure of the words and their etymology with the aim of showing that the ethnolinguistic manner of interpretation can confirm the correct reading.

1. Erroneous readings of words arising from ignorance of the rules for division of words at the end of lines

When dividing words at the end of a line in the Mongolian script, there is a rule that the last letter of the first part of the word at the bottom of the line is written in the “final form” of the letter and the first letter of the second part of the word at the top of the next line is written in the “initial form” of the letter. As a consequence, these two parts of the divided word are written as two independent words.³ In modern Mongolian script, this way of dividing words has

3) If you want to see such an example with your own eyes, look for a known word in the SHM *bisarijulzu* (§244.28) and at how it is divided at the end of the line by Lubsangdanjin in the 17th century (Lu. A-ro., p. 95a, lines 9–10).

been replaced by a hyphen (-) at the end of the line. The following four examples show erroneous readings and subsequently erroneous translations made by the Chinese scribes of the SHM because of their ignorance of this rule.

1.1. Qalqa-jin Ornuḡu-jin (Ši.) /**or-nu'u-yin** (Ra.) **Keltegei qada**, §§175, 191, 192: toponym and its correct reading: **Qalqa-yin uruḡu-yin keltegei qada** (Kh. **Халхын Уруугийн Хэлтгий Хад**) – ‘A flat stone on the steep slope of a high bank of the River Halhiin gol’

In the Ming gloss the word *Ornuḡu* /*or-nu'u* was translated as the name of a hill. Thus the foreign translators of the SHM have left it untranslated, as follows:

Орноуйн-кельтегей-хада (Козин),
Keltegei Qada of [Mount] Or Nu'u (Cleaves),
Keltegei Qada at the Or Bend (Rachewiltz),
skála v polovině výšky hory Ornou (Poucha: ‘rock in the medial position of the height of the Ornou Hill).

And so did the Mongolian translators:

Ор нугын хэлтгий хад (Damdinsüren).

In this way all of them created incomprehensible names from this word.

Actually, in the Altan Tobči, the word *Ornuḡu* /*or-nu'u* is spelled as *uruḡu* (Lu. A-to., 1990, p. 65a), Kh. *уруу*. We can infer that the Uighur-Mongolian text had originally *Qalqa-yin uruḡu-yin keltegei qada* (Халхын уруугийн хэлтгий хад – ‘the slanting rock on the sloping bank of the Halhiin river’. The word *uruḡu* is a noun referring to a downward, downstream or downwind direction. The reason why the word *uruḡu* was read by the copyists as *ornuḡu* /*or-nu'u* can be explained by the fact that in the Uighur-Mongolian version the word *uruḡu* was probably divided at the end of the line according to the rule explained above: *ur* at the end of the line, and *uḡu* at the beginning of the next one, starting with an initial *u* composed of the basic graphic elements “tooth” + “belly”. Since there was no diacritic mark for *n* at the time, it was also possible to read these two graphemes as *n* + *u*. This is how in the Chinese sign transcription the incomprehensible name *ornuḡu* /*or nu'u* arose.

Notes from fieldwork: In the year 2011 during one part of our fieldwork in Mongolia (Charles University) we found and documented a locality

corresponding exactly to this place name in the SHM. It is the sloping high bank of the river Khalkhiin Gol with a flat rocky place in the middle of it. There were no other rocks or flat stones in its vicinity. It is an open and barren river valley without woods or trees. In the middle of the 19th century, the Khalkha nobleman Togtoqu-Törü had this flat rock converted into a great complex of deities headed by the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Today this place situated in the Halhiin Gol Somon of the Dornod Aimag is called Ih-Burhant (“Having Great Buddha”). At present there is a Mongolian frontier force military unit near Ih-Burhant. In the vicinity we have also found traces of foundations for columns of an ancient building and roughly hewn stones sticking out from the ground (cf. Лувсандорж 2011, pp. 414–415).

1.2. Kerülen-ü Urayčul-nu-dača (Ši.) /kelüren-ü uraq-cöl nū-daca
 (Ra.), §94.9: toponym/place name, correct reading: **Kelüren-ü Erüke Čulung-ud-ača = Хэрлэний Өрх-Цулангуудаас** (Kh. Хэрлэний Өрх-Булангаас) – ‘Curve with deep mud sediments of the Herlen River’

We visited this place in summer 2010. The Herlen River flows in the North-Eastern direction in the Dornod Aimag. East of the Choibalsan Somon centre it splits into two branches turning southwards and forming a curve, which is now called Örh Bulan (Өрх булан), a “curve with deep sediments of mud”. In the words of a young man from a nearby yurt spending the summer here, in this curve of the Herlen there are many dangerous muddy pits (< *erüke), and if horny cattle get stuck in such a pit, they sink into the ground until they vanish completely. In fact a detailed examination of this bank of the Herlen reveals much dried-up mud with here and there clearly visible black holes going deeply into the ground (Kh. *өpx*). This place has preserved its name, which is mentioned in the SHM with an initial *u*, in the form *булан*. It is because in the Mongolian language, at the beginning of words there is an alternation of the consonants *б/ц*, e.g. *бөл* /*цөл* (small parts, pieces), *бөлөг* /*цөлөг* (a group, a part), *булан* /*цулан* (curve, creek, corner), *бал* /*цул* (mass, pieces). Obviously the modern name of this place Örh Bulan (Өрх булан) corresponds to the old form *Erüke-čulung-ud* (Kh. Өрх-цулангууд) in the SHM. Nowadays, the form *цулан* is used in the pair word (*hors’oo üg*) *булан цулан* (БАМРС, 2001, I, p. 283). The expression *buluṅ suluṅ* is also recorded in Mostaert’s Ordos Dictionary (Mostaert 1941, p. 96).



Pict. 1. Ih-Burhant (*Qalqa-yin Uruyu-yin Keltegei Qada*).

In the Chinese transcription this word was recorded incorrectly. When translated into modern Mongolian the expression *Ураг цөл* or *Ураг цөл нуга* makes no sense ('offspring desert' or 'offspring desert and meadow').

The reason for this mistake is as follows. When we add the plural suffix *-ud* to the word *čulung*, the final consonant *-ng* omitted and replaced by *-d*:⁴ *čuluud* (Class. Mo. *čulung-ud*). We can assume that in the Uighur-Mongolian original this word was divided into two parts – *čul* at the end of the line and *uud* at the beginning of the following line. As in the previous example, the initial *u* in the second part of the word could also be read as *nu* ("tooth + belly"), which is what was done by the Chinese scribes and thus it was read as *cōl nū-daca*.

In his 1958 paper, H. Perlee wrote: "Today this place is called *Хэрлэний Өрөг булан*,"⁵ giving the reason that the Khalkha pronunciation of the word *өpx* is [örökh] (Class. Mo. *erüke*). Besides that there is also a peculiar feature of the Chinese transcription, namely that in the words *Eriike-čulung-ud-ača* the Ablative suffix *-ača/-eče* was transcribed as *-dača/-deče*.

4) Cf. a similar case of omission of the final consonant when adding the plural suffix *qulan* (wild ass) → *qulad* (wild asses) (§§ 188, 265).

5) "Одоо Хэрлэний Өрөг булан гэдэг болсон бололтой" (Пэрлээ, 1958, p. 7).



Pict. 2. Herlenii O'rh-Bulan (*Kelüren-ü Erüke-Čulung*) or "The Mud-Pit Curve of the Kherlen (River)"



Pict. 3. Hole in the earth at Örh-Bulan.

1.3. *arbilaju* (Su.): *boʻol(i)-ʻar bilažu* (Ši.) /*boʻol-iʻar bilaju* (Ra.), §180.3:
 correct reading: ***boʻol-i arbilaju* = *боолыг арвилаж /арвилж*:**
 (Kh. *боолыг арвижуулж /олшруулж /өсгөж*) – ‘we have multiplied/
 raised slaves’

Here the word *arbilaju* has its basic meaning – ‘to raise, breed, multiply’ (Kh. *өсгөж /олшруулж*). The structure of the word is as follows: *arbi(n)* + *-la* (Kh. *арвила-* ‘to economize, save, use sparingly’; *арвин болго-* ‘to make abundant’; *олон болго-* ‘to make much’; *олшруул-* ‘to increase’). In the Uighur-Mongolian source text this word was most probably divided at the end of the line: ***ar bilaju***. The Chinese scribes read the first part of the word, ***ar***, as the suffix of the word *boʻol* and the second part as a separate word, *bilažu*, which in fact does not exist in Mongolian. However, on the basis of the Ming interlinear translation Haenisch interpreted this “word” as “*gefangennehmen, zu Gefangenen machen*” – ‘to capture, take hostage’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 16). This translation is a figurative meaning of the word *arbila-*, which, however, does not fit this context. But from the interlinear gloss we can conclude that the Ming translators read this divided word correctly as one word, but gave it an incorrect metaphorical meaning. Subsequently, translators of the SHM obviously followed the Ming interlinear translation.

arbilaju irebe*, §180.3: analytic pattern *арвилаж ирэв (арвилж /өсгөж ирлээ) = өсгөсөөр өдий хүрэв! ‘Up to now we have been raising (slaves)’

The modal meaning of this analytic pattern (VR + *-ju/čü ire-*) corresponds to Kh. VR + *-ж/ч ирэ-* (= *-саар ирэ-*) and underlines the continuous duration of the process. Chingiskhan’s words have the meaning ‘until now we have been growing generations of indigenous slaves of our ancestors!’

In the text the sentence says:

“Up to now we have been growing Tumbinai’s and Čargaj-Ling’s indigenous slaves”,

which so far nobody has translated correctly. The verb *irebe* in the modal pattern loses its lexical meaning, but the Ming interlinear translation renders it as “to come” (*kommen* – Haenisch 1962, p. 82), an interpretation which has been followed by other translators.

Here is one example of such an erroneous translation:

“Тумбинай, Чархай-Лянхуа хоёр байлдаанд яваад Огда гэдэг боолыг барьж ирсэн билээ”
 (‘When Tumbinai and Čarchai-Ljanchua went to battle, they came back with captured slaves called Ogda’) (Damdinsüren 1990, p. 140).

1.4. ede qadalun daḡun /da'un (Ra.), §244.29: correct reading: ede qadalundaqun = ed qadaldūqun (эд хадландахуун = хадландагчид /хадалдагчид /хадалцагчид (Kh. эд хядагчид /хядаачингууд) 'destroyers'

The word *Qadalun daḡun* was left untranslated by the Ming scholars both in the Ming interlinear translation and in the abridged Chinese translation. Even though in the modern language the forms *хадал-*, *хадалда-* are not used, their root and original meaning are preserved in the verb *хада-* (Class. Mo. *qada-*): *өвс хада-* 'to cut grass', *хавирга хада-* 'to cut away the ribs from the backbone' (cf. Цэвэл 1966, pp. 640–641). The structure of the word is:

- *qada-* verbal basis, meaning: *өвс тариа хада-* ('to cut grass, corn'), *хавирга хада-* ('to cut away the ribs from the backbone'); figurative meaning: *хярга-*, *хяда-*, *алж хяда-* 'to kill, to destroy, to murder'
- *qadal-* - suffix of repeated action of the verbal basis *хада-*, 'to do repeatedly sth. to each other'
- *qadalun* - nominal basis, meaning: reality/designation repeated actions of the verb *хада-*; according to the rules the final *-un* is correctly written as the letter *-u*, i.e. "жийрэг гэдэс" ('inserted belly')
- *qadalunda-* - verb, meaning: *хадсан өвс тариа мэт болго-* 'cause s.o. to become like cut grass and corn', figuratively *алж хяда-* 'to murder'
- *qadalundaqun* - the suffix *-qun* forms a noun, figurative meaning: *хядагчид*, *алуурчингууд* 'destroyers, murderers'

The word *qadalundaqun* had also another variant *qadarundaqun* (хадрандахуун = хадрагчид 'disrupters'/'destroyers') and both the lexical basis and the meaning are the same. In the Chinese transcription the distinction between the two Mongolian consonants *L/R* is not always clear as the Ming copyists forgot sometimes to add the mark indicating the sound *R*.

This word was used by Temüjin's mother who was harshly admonishing her children for behaving in a wrong way, and in the same situation she had already used the synonym *baraysad* 'murderers' (§78.2).

Why was the word *qadalundaqun* read as two words, *qadalun* and *daqun*? We can again say that this arose from ignorance of the rules of division of the words at the end of the lines, i.e. from a wrong reading. In the original SHM the mediaeval Mongolian word *qadalundaqun* was divided at the end of the line according to the rules into *qadalun* and in the next line it began with the initial form of the letter *D* (*daqun*). In the Altan Tobči this word occurs as *qadaqun* 'хадыхуун'. Luvsandanjin connected these two divided words and read them correctly as *qadalundaqun*. But because by then the word had almost stopped being used, he replaced it by a comprehensible

synonym. The meaning of the word *qadaqun* (хадагчид = хядагчид ‘cutters’ = ‘murderers’) was so comprehensible that he did not add any commentary.

But Rachewiltz read Luvsandanjin’s word *qadaqun* as *yadayun* = *qada’un*, and translated it as ‘outside’. He linked it with the following word and created the phrase *qada’un qarbisun* ‘outside afterbirth’, which he further comments upon saying that the word *da’un* is the word *ta’un* from the classical form < *tayu* – ‘to drive, chase, pursue’. And then he explains the whole expression completely incorrectly as ‘rushing out’, i.e. ‘out of the womb’ (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 875).

I should only add that I consider the word *Qadalundaqun!* to be a one-word sentence, an exclamation. And it cannot be linked with the following *qarbisun*, since there is no grammatical reason for such a linkage.

2. Omission of letters in the Chinese transcription

There are many cases where a letter in the medial or final position of a Mongolian word was omitted by the Ming copyists. For example *atan* (for *altan* – ‘golden’, §134), *teči-* (for *tebči-* ‘to kill’, §166), *boyaba* (for *bolyaba* – ‘to cause to happen’, §123.16), *bes* (for *beyes* – ‘bodies’, §136.20), *aču* (for *abču* – ‘having taken’, §142.16), *ke* (for *ked* – ‘who all’, §142.16), *sekigsen* (for *sedkigsen* – ‘was meant/thought’, §209.4), *öbe* (for *ögbe* – ‘gave’, §97.8), *oba* (for *odba* – ‘he left/went away’, §94.3), *ečin* (for *elčin* – ‘ambassador’, §55.3) etc. The omitted letters belong to the category of the so-called *debisker üsüg* (lit. ‘flooring letters’)⁶ – i.e. consonants closing the syllable. It is a special feature of the Chinese transcription that precisely these letters were omitted. In the Latin transcription all these letters were restored. In particular Rachewiltz and Sumiyabaatar put the omitted letters into brackets, which is a suitable manner of transcription.

Moreover, the omission of such letters in the phonetic transcription also indicates how these Mongolian words may have been pronounced at that time. For example, the word *abčira-* (Kh. *авчупа-* ‘to bring’) was repeatedly transcribed as *ačira-* (§§ 16, 56, 93, 96, 123, 135, 169...). In the medial position of the word *abčira-* the voiced consonant (*b*) assimilated with the voiceless (*č*). Thus it lost voicedness and subsequently it was not pronounced, which is still a normal phenomenon in the modern Mongolian language (Khalkha dialect). For example, the word *авчупа-* is pronounced *ауца-*. The transcription of the word as *ačira-* demonstrates that this phonetic process existed already in mediaeval Mongolian.

6) I.e. final consonants in the Written Mongolian language (cf. Hangin 1986 s.v. дэвсгэр б)

3. Omission of letters in the Uighur-Mongolian original

There are many cases when we can infer that in the Uighur-Mongolian version used by the Ming copyists a letter or a graphic element was missing (for example a “tooth”, or diacritical marks such as the “horn” of the letter *l* and *m*), sometimes a whole word and even whole phrases. Many examples of this have been collected in the book of Sh. Choymaa (Чоймаа 2002). I have selected some examples of such omissions which resulted in wrong readings and translations of the words, including erroneous commentaries of scholars (see below).

3.1. Examples with an omitted letter

sügebe-že /sö’ba-je (Ra.), §257.26: correct reading: **sö[nü]gebe-je** (сөнөөв өө ‘we have damaged, plundered’)

In this transcription two letters of the original Uighur-Mongolian word are obviously missing. They can be correctly reconstructed from the Altan Tobči, which has the reading *sönügebe-je* (Lu. А-то., 1990, p. 116a). According to the short Chinese translation Haenisch (1962, p. 138) translates *enden, aufhören, verschwinden, (fast restlos) verlieren* – ‘to finish, stop, vanish, lose (almost completely)’. According to modern commentators reconstructing this word, it means *sögebe* (Сумьяабаатар 1990), *cəgəv* (‘died out, was destroyed’; Чоймаа 2011), *sigübe* (‘adjugated’; İadamba 1990). Čeringsodnam (1990, p. 479, note 625) reconstructed the word as *sönügebe*, and added that the word *sögebe* is an “old form of the word *sönügebe*”. In the SHM, §242, the word *sönüge-*, however, was previously spelled as *sünöge-* (Ši.) /sönö’e- (Ra.).

3.2. Examples of words in which the diacritical mark of the letter *L* (the so called “өөд эвэр”, ‘upward horn’) was omitted

onoysaɣar (Ši.) /**onoqsa’ar** (Ra.) **ülidtele talaɣulba**, §266.3: correct reading: **олуysaɣar /олсоор** (‘to let find, discover’) **олуулсаар /эрж олуулаад эцэс болтол талуулав /дээрэмдүүлэв** ‘he had/let them be found and plundered completely’ (the Tanguts)

Judging from the context, the meaning of the word *onoysaɣaro* corresponds to the word *олсоор* (Class. Mo. *oluysaɣar*). We think that in the original

Mongolian manuscript the word was *oluysayar*, but in copying it, the ‘horn’ of the letter *L* was omitted. Therefore the word was read as *onoysayar*. In the Ming interlinear gloss the word is strangely translated as *zählen* – ‘to count’. The whole phrase *onoysa’ar tala’ulba* is then translated as *er ließ sie nach Abzählung zu Sklaven machen* – ‘after counting (them) he had them made into slaves’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 125). The erroneous interlinear translation was then further translated into other languages with the meaning ‘to count, calculate’. Rachewiltz (2006, p. 72) considers the verb *ono-* ‘to reckon, consider’ (lit. ‘by the reckoning’) to be the root of the form *onoqsa’ar*. However, to our knowledge the verb *ono-* has this meaning neither in old nor in modern Mongolian.

Moreover, the phrase *oluysayar* (*onoysayar*?) *üliudtele tala’ulba* occurred already earlier in the text (§§ 187.7; 219.29) and was synonymous with the phrase *oluysayar abudqun* (the Ming interlinear gloss: *nehmet es, wie ihr es gefunden habt* – ‘take it as you will have found it’; Haenisch 1962, p. 123).

3.3. Examples of words where the letter *R* was omitted in the medial position

megezilen (Ši.) / **megejilen** (Ra.) / **mekečilen** (Ga.) **tatažu**, §140.11–12:
correct reading: **mekerčilen tataju** (мэхээрчилэн татаж): ‘to bend in the position of leaning back’ / ‘to raise into the form of a bow’

Context: When two wrestlers fought, the winner sat astride the back of the defeated one, took hold of his head and legs and killed him by breaking his backbone with his knees. The Chinese characters transcribing this word read *mie-ke-chi-lien* (signs 66–22–41–174). This was rendered in the Latin script as *megejilen* (Kh. мэгэжлэн?). In reality Belgüdei bent Büri-böke’s backbone like the curved root of the *polygonum* (knotgrass) and killed him by breaking it with his knees. The structure of the converb *mekečilen* is as follows: nominal base *meker* (Class. Мо. *meker*, Kh. мэхээр) + derivational suffix *-čile* + converbial suffix *-n*. In the Chinese transcription the final consonant *R* in *meker* was omitted, resulting in a word of unclear meaning. In fact, *mekerčile* (Kh. мэхээрчилэ-) is an idiomatic form meaning ‘to bend into the shape of the root of a polygonum, into the arched shape of a bow’. The word *мэхээр* (*Polygonum viviparum* L.) is defined in dictionaries as the root of the plant polygonum, which people eat (“бүүргэнэ гэдэг ургамлын үндэс, хүн иднэ”; Цэвэл 1966, p. 357). Among the Mongolian nomads it is a well-known word



Pict. 4. Root of polygonum (Class. Mo. *meker*)

to describe a bow-like shape. The word *megejilen* was rendered in Mongolian by some specialists as *meküylgen* (Kh. *мэхийлгэн*) (Čeringsodnam 1990, p. 106), the meaning of which is contradictory to the phrase *нуруу гэдийлгэх*, and therefore does not fit the context. In the Ming gloss it is translated as *greifen, packen* - 'to seize, to grasp' (Haenisch 1962, p. 108).

3.4. Incorrectly read words because of omission of diacritics

In the Uighur-Mongolian original no diacritics were used and that is why many words were erroneously read and transcribed in Chinese characters (cf. Лувсандорж 2012; Lubsangdorji 2013). Here I will give only one example of such wrong reading of a word, which was consequently incorrectly translated and commented upon.

arijaqu (Ši.) /**ariyaqu** (Ra.) **bolun**, §140.15: correct reading: **naliyaqu bolun** (Kh. *налиах болон* (= 'to be amiable or friendly' **найр тавих болон**): 'in order to be amiable /to appeal, I did it in a foolish way'.

The word *ariyaqu* should probably be read *naliyaqu*. As mentioned above, at that time the Uighur-Mongolian script did not use the diacritical dot for the letter *n* which would have made it possible to differentiate here between *n+a* and initial *a*. Though the word is not used in the modern language, we can derive its meaning from Kh. *налих* (Class. Mo. *naliqu*) – ‘to live in such a way that you please others’ (‘бусдад ялмагалзан явах’; Цэвэл 1966, p. 365), and from the word *ялмагалза- /яламгалза-* ‘to be of a weak, indecisive nature; to display a fawning nature, to flatter’ (‘сэтгэл чандгүй, зөөлөн няцалхийлах; зусар зан байдал гаргаж долдойлох’; Цэвэл 1966, p. 903). There is another related word: *налигана /нялгана-* (‘to fawn’). The phrase *arijaqu bolun* ‘in order to please’, is to be understood as an analytic form of expressing pity: VR + *-qu bolun* expresses a modality – ‘to do s.th. foolish, to act thoughtlessly; to regret a foolish act’. This analytic form appears in the SHM many times, but its correct translation with this modality hardly exists.

In addition, regarding the transcription *ariyaqu* for *aliyaqu*, it is obvious that the Chinese mark indicating that the character should be read with an initial *R* instead of *L* was incorrectly added. As for the Ming gloss, it is only guesswork as a translation, since the form *ariyaqu* is not documented elsewhere: *arijaqu* is translated as *unschlüssig, mißtrauisch sein* – ‘indecisive/hesitating; to be mistrustful’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 9). For all these reasons, this phrase was completely misunderstood.

4. Erroneous reading or alternation of consonant phonemes?

In ancient Uighur-Mongolian manuscripts the letters *s / g, k, q* were often mistaken for one another in the initial and medial positions of the words. In order to understand correctly the reason for such confusion, we must firstly make clear that these consonants can vary between individual dialects and secondly that in a manuscript written with a bamboo pen their forms look very much alike. That is why they were sometimes read wrongly. In the Chinese transcription of the SHM both cases can be found.

4.1. An example of alternation of the consonants *s/g*

öšiten kigten (Ši.), §136.12–13: pair word: **ӨШТӨН ХИГТЭН /ХЭГТЭН** (ӨШТӨН ХЯСТАН), ‘avengers’

Even though here the word *kigten* has the same meaning as the word *kišitan* (§214.14), this is not a case of erroneous reading of *s/g*. A related word in the SHM *kegesü* (§64), *kegesüle-* (§281) has a modern Buriad dialect variant *xuhaan* (= *χihaan*) ‘avenge’ (Цыдендамбаев 1954, p. 268). Except for Širatori, Pelliot and Sumjabaatar, the other editors transliterated it as *kišten/kištan*, which does not correspond to the requirement to preserve the spelling of the original.

4.2. Examples of wrong reading of the letters *s/q, γ*

- a) **egüden bosožu** (Ši.) /**bosoju**(?) (Ra.) /**bösüjü** (Su.), §245.76: correct reading: **egüden boyoju** ‘to block the exit/door’ (үүд боож), ‘to block the escape route (door) with one’s body’

Since the Uighur-Mongolian manuscript used by the Ming scholars was in all likelihood written with a bamboo pen, the letters *q* and *s* looked alike. That is why the verb *boyoju* (Kh. боож) was oddly transcribed as *bosožu/bosoju*. The figurative meaning of the word боож (< боо-) is ‘to prohibit, to close, to block’ (хориг хийх, хаах; Цэвэл 1966, p. 92). Both words in the phrase *egüden boyo-* are used with a figurative meaning! The word *egüden* refers to the space between the fireplace and the door (exit route). The word *boyo-* is an idiom here and means ‘to block the escape route with one’s body’.

The Chinese interlinear gloss of the word *bosožu* is translated by Heinisch as *verstopfen* – ‘to stop up, plug, close’ and the phrase *egüden bosožu* as *die Tür versperren* – ‘to block the door, to close the door’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 20). Mostaert reconstructed the Mongolian word as *boso-* (?böšö-) and translated its Chinese gloss ‘to close the way /exit, to block, to stop up’ (“зам/гарц хаа-, бөглө-, тагла-”; Mostaert 2009, p. 127), but he interpreted the phrase *egüden bosožu* as ‘to close the door (to block)’ (хаалга хааж/таглаж/; Mostaert 2009, p. 126). The translation provided in the Ming interlinear gloss for the word (*bosožu*) is principally correct. Obviously, the Ming translators of the Uighur-Mongolian original read the word as *boyožu*.

In the original there was a sentence: “žirγoγan Qoñγotan kögüd egüden boyožu” (‘six sons of Chonchatan blocked the exit’), which Damdinsüren, for example, translated wrongly as “Хонхотны зургаан хөвүүд үүдийг хааж” (‘six sons of Chonchatan closed the door’; Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 245).

b) bösöžü nemdežü (Ši.) /**bosoju(?) nendejü** (Ra., Su.), § 200.14: pair word, correct reading: **buquju endējü** = **бухаж эндээж** ('to kick up the hind legs and cause an accident'; **бухаж осолдуулж**), *fig.* 'to oppose the law in an aggressive way, to organise an uprising' **түрэмгийлэн даварч**

The word *bösöžü* /*bosoju*, transcribed in Chinese characters as *péi-sō-choū* (30–284–44), was read by the northern Mongolian translators as if it was Kh. *босож* /*босч* ('to rise, stand up'). But in other parts of the SHM, this last verb *bos-* + *-žü/-čü* was always spelled *bosčü*, without a vowel after the *s*, following the rules of correct writing (i.e. Class. Mo.). That is why the characters *péi-sō-choū* (30–284–44) should not be read *босож* /*босч*. Širatori transcribed the word as *bösöžü*, which in the Khalkha dialect is *бөс-* /*бөсгө-* (Class. Mo. *bös-* /*bösge-*):⁷ cf. e.g. *ypaг бөс-/бөсгө-* ('to steam colostrums'). However the meaning does not make sense in this context.

In my opinion, this is an incorrect reading of the Uighur-Mongolian original word, and in particular an incorrect reading of the basic graphic components of the letters, which resulted in an erroneous transcription of the word. Due to the absence of diacritics, in Uighur-Mongolian the word could be read in two different ways, e.g. *buquju* /*boyöju*. Moreover the use of a bamboo pen made the letters *q* and *s* look very similar and that is why the scribes read it as *bosoju*. The structure of the word *buquju* (Class. Mo. *buquju*, Kh. *бухаж*) in the original of the SHM was as follows: VR *buqu-* + converbial suffix *-ju*, meaning 'having thrown the rider down by kicking up the hind legs'. Its figurative meaning is 'to throw down, to leave, to be aggressive'. As said above, the word *buquju* could also be read as *boyöju* (Kh. *боож* 'to tie up'). But this meaning does not fit the relevant context either.

The Ming interlinear gloss of the word *bosoju* is translated by Haenisch as *umzingeln, verstopfen* (Haenisch 1962, p. 20) – 'to surround, encircle one's ruler/prince'. However, this translation is guesswork. This interpretation is accepted by most specialists and it is commonly argued that in the language of that period there was a verb *boso-* meaning 'to encircle-, surround; to obstruct' (Rachewiltz 2006, p. 746). In my opinion this word existed neither in the ancient language nor in the modern language.

Similarly the correct form of the word *nendejü* should be *endējü* (Class. Mo. *endegejü*; cf. Kh. *эндээж* 'they died'). The word *эндэ-* also means 'to err, fall into error, be mistaken, blunder; to go astray' (Hangin 1986, s.v. *эндэх*, 2), or *осолдо-*, *гэндэ-* (Цэвэл 1966, p. 879). This is an erroneous reading of the

7) Not available in Hangin's and Lessing's dictionaries.

word as *nendejü*, *nende'esü* (§§ 166, 244) by the Chinese scribes. In the Uighur-Mongolian original they used the letter *e* at the beginning of the word *endēbesü* was, we believe, probably written with two 'teeth', which the Chinese scribes read as *n+e*. This resulted in the odd forms *nendejü* and *nende'esü*.

5. The sign-457: *hĩ* in the Chinese transcription represents *i* (*yi* /*ni*) in the initial position of the word

In the Chinese transcription of the SHM there are many examples of Mongolian words where the consonant *h* was written before the initial vowels of the Mongolian words. Specialists believe that in medieval Mongolian this velar fricative was not noted in the Uighur-Mongolian script. However, in our opinion the graphic element called "crown" (*титим*) written before every initial vowel represented the distinct consonant *h* in the Uighur-Mongolian script (Лувсандорж 1984, pp. 35–44).⁸ We will not discuss this topic now, but let me show from a few concrete examples how the initial *h* reflected in the Chinese phonetic transcription should be pronounced according to Mongolian phonetics in order to obtain the correct meaning.

5.1. *hiluyadqu-ju* (Ši.) /*hiluqatqu-yü* (Ra.) /*iluyadquyu* (Su.) *metü-dür hiluyadba* /*hiluqatba* (Ra.) /*iluyadba* (Su.), §174.5: correct reading: *niluyadquyu* /*iluyadquyu metü-dür niluyadba* /*iluyadba* (*нялгадхаж болшгүй юманд [бид] нялгадав /нялгадуулав*) = 'we wanted to squash someone, who could not be squashed and we ourselves were squashed by him'; *fig.* 'we wanted to destroy those who were not destroyable and it was they who destroyed us'

The word *niluyad-* (Class. Мо. *nilyada-*, Kh. *нялгада-*) in Ceval's Dictionary is explained by several examples (Цэвэл 1966, p. 402; s.v. *нялгадах*): *шавар нялгадах* ('to smear soil, clay around'), *тос нялгадах* ('to smear butter'). In my opinion it can have an idiomatic figurative meaning: 'to crush violently the opponent under one's foot, to destroy him (as clay is smeared around)'. The words *нялах*, *нялгадах* /*нялаадах* in modern Mongolian also have the variants *ялах*, *ялаах* (Цэвэл 1966, p. 903), and that is why this word can also be read as *ялагад-* /*ялаад-*.

8) More on the *titim* cf. also Tumurtogoo 2013.

Note: Let us consider the way of writing of the word *niluyad-*: in between the verbal root *nil-* (Kh. *нял-*) and the derivational suffix *-ya* (Kh. *-aa*) the grapheme *u* (жийрэг гэдэс) is inserted regularly. When deriving a verb from this noun the suffix *-d* was selected, not the suffix *-da*, which proves that at that time this word was read as *нялагад- /нялаад-* (= *ялагад- /ялаад-*).

In the Chinese interlinear translation the words *hiluyadquju /iluyadquju* were translated as *reizen (stechen)* – ‘to irritate/provoke, to prick’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 76). In my opinion, this translation is guessed from the context. Some explanations link this word with the word *siluyudqa-* (*шулуутга-* ‘to straighten out’), which does not fit this context (Гадамба 1990, p. 100).

5.2. usuryarun /usurqarun (Ra.) qulad hiluyatužu, §188.7: correct reading: *усархаруун хулад ялаатаж /нялаатаж* = Kh. *усанд ирсэн хулангууд шаварт хөрвөөж* (*correct understanding*: ‘wild asses which came to water / drunk to their heart’s content, were rolling in the mud’)

In the Ming interlinear translation the verb *usurqa-* is specified as *Wasser suchen* – ‘to look for water’ (Haenisch 1962, p. 167), which is translated incorrectly, and that is why all translations of the text say that Prince Sengüm went in search of water to the desert. Note that when Van (Ong) Khan went in search of water, the word *qanyazu* (‘to be thirsty’, §188) was used. The verb *usurqa-* (‘to abound in water’) is nowadays no more used but its meaning has been preserved in the Khalkha adjectival form *усархаг* (усархар разар ‘watery place’; усархар бороо ‘downpour, heavy rain’). The expression *usurqarun qulad* (усархасан /усархагч хулад, lit. ‘thirst-quenched asses’) can be understood in the broader sense of the word: the wild asses not only drank water to their heart’s content, but they were also cooling themselves down by standing in it. Let us compare the meaning of the derivational suffix *-rqa/-rke* forming a verb from the noun in the word *küčürgekün* ‘хүчирхэгч’ (‘to consider oneself to be a strongman, someone boasting of his strength’; §124.18), and in the word *omorqayun* ‘оморхогч’ (‘hothead, a quick-tempered person’; §124.19).

The expression *usurqarun qulad* is followed by the verb *hiluyatu-*; in §174.5 we saw that it was transcribed as *hiluyad-* (ялаад- /нялаад- ‘to smear’), but now the verb-forming suffix *-tu* is attached to the base *hiluya*. This suffix *-tu* exists in Class. Mo. verbs, e.g. *bögesütü-* (Kh. *бөөсмө-* ‘to become infested with lice’), *usutu* (Kh. *уста-* ‘to become watery’), etc. In the Mongolian

monolingual dictionary МХДТТ, the verbs *ялаа-* /*нялаа-* are explained as *нялаах, нимгэн тараах* ‘to smear, to smear with a thin layer’ (МХДТТ 2008, p. 3254). Because in the text this word is used about a moist, sticky, runny substance, we are able to resurrect the forgotten meaning of the word: *ус нялаах, ус сүрчих, шавар нялцгануулах* ‘to spray oneself with water, to spray water around, to roll in the mud’ (Kh. хөрвөөх). Therefore I think that in the text the word means that the wild asses were slurping water to their heart’s content, stood in water and cooled themselves down by splashing mud on themselves. In the summer heat, the even-toed animals (wild asses, the Przewalski horse) usually cool themselves standing in lakes or pools, nod their heads, lash their tails and splash water on themselves (**ус нялаадах / ялаадах*). In modern Mongolian this is referred to by the phrase *адуу усанд тийрэх* ‘horses kick their hind legs in water’, i.e. they get cooled down.

The Ming translators derived the stem of the word *ялаада-* (*hiluyatu-*) erroneously from the word *ялаа* (fly, gadfly). However, in the Uighur-Mongolian script the word *ялаа* (Class. Mo. *ilay-a*) was not spelled *iluya*! Since in the Ming interlinear translation the verb *hiluyatu-* was translated as “*von Fliegen gestochen werden*” (Haenisch 1962, p. 167) – ‘ялаанд хазуулах’ (‘to be bitten by flies’), other translators followed it and part of the text was erroneously translated as follows: “Als er auf der Wassersuche war, standen dort Wildpferde, von Fliegen gepeinigt.” (‘When looking for water, he saw wild horses standing stiff, because they were pestered by gadflies’; Haenisch 1948, p. 75) and the like. Wild asses are not animals which would stand stiff when pestered by insects, they would immediately canter away. The obvious mistake is the confusion of the word *hiluyatu* with *ilayatu-* (Гадамба 1990, p. 114).

Conclusion

The original SHM was a manuscript written with a bamboo pen in the Uighur-Mongolian script. The Uighur script consisted of 14 letters which represented the 8 vowels and 24 consonants of the then Mongolian language. There were 2–4 phonemes that were designated by the same letter. Besides that, the letters varied according to the pronunciation of the local dialects (see discussion of the front and back letter *ᠰa* – Лувсандорж 2012, p. 153; Lubsangdorji 2012, pp. 12–13). When this type of script is used by speakers of one specific dialect, the problem of reading some words in several different ways (which would make them occasionally incomprehensible) does not necessarily arise.

But if it is read by a speaker of a different dialect, he can read some letters in his own pronunciation.

Considering the phonetic features as they are indicated by the transcription, it appears that the SHM was written in mediaeval Mongolian by a speaker of the eastern dialect. At the time of the Ming dynasty this text was read by people speaking western and southern dialects and transcribed into the Chinese signs. This fact is very obvious from the Chinese transcription. Besides that, in the original version of the SHM written in the Uighur-Mongolian script no diacritical marks (dots) were used, and that is why a great number of words could be read in different ways (homonyms and homographs). It was due to these graphic problems that many of the words were read wrongly and consequently incorrectly transcribed in Chinese characters. The scribes often adopted inappropriate readings and there are many examples of errors and mistakes in the interlinear translation and in the Chinese abridged translation.

Even when the reading of a word and its transcription were correct, ambiguities could arise in the interlinear Chinese translation (guess translations from the context) and in a number of cases these were also errors. From several possible meanings of a word only one meaning was selected (which in many cases was not fitting), or the figurative meaning of the word (metaphor) was not recognized, resulting in a number of further flaws.

And that is why over the last several years, I have been studying the errors and shortcomings in the Chinese transcription of the Uighur-Mongolian original and in the Ming word-for-word interlinear translation from various points of view of Mongolian philology (phonetics, structure of words – morphology, grammar, lexicology, etymology, stylistics, graphemics of the Mongolian written language, orphography, textology and the like). The results of this investigation have been published in a number of papers between 2006 and 2013. In these papers I have been discussing the meanings of the words and phrases in the SHM and their correct reading. These analyses are not just the personal opinion of one man.⁹ My commentaries are based on the reality of the Mongolian language, script and culture. I have only described the problems that I have identified in the course of my research and presented them to the professional public of specialists.

9) Igor de Rachewiltz, who carries out research into the SHM, wrote: “Luvsandorž’s interpretations are often very personal and must be used with extreme caution, especially with regard to etymology” (Rachewiltz 2013, Vol. III, p. 19).

Abbreviations

Class. Mo.	Classical Mongolian script
Kha.	Khalkha dialect, modern Mongolian
Lu. A-TO.	Altan Tobči of Lubsangdanjin
Ra.	The transcription of Rachewiltz
SHM	The Secret History of the Mongols
Su.	Reconstruction of Sumyabaatar
Ši.	The transcription of Shiratori Kurakichi
VR	Verbal root
Fa.	The transcription of Fadamba

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Unpleasantness and contentment as experienced by the Mongolian nomads III. Fear of humans and their activities, Part 1

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Summary: This paper continues the topic first considered in my paper in *Mongolo-Tibetica* '08 (Oberfalzerová 2008a), which discussed the sources of contentment among Mongolian nomads, particularly in relation to the homeland, the place which is permanently linked with every individual. The topic was further discussed in two papers in *Mongolo-Tibetica* '12, '13, which were devoted to the most elementary cause of unpleasantness to the nomads, namely the fear of 'living Nature' (Oberfalzerová 2012), and the fear of animals, especially wild animals (Oberfalzerová 2013). In the following paper I will discuss the fear of humans and their activities. The first part deals with the fear of the magic power of the uttered word, be it in the form of abuse or curses. All this is reflected in the use of language.

Introduction

Unpleasantness, fear but also positive emotions originate from three basic spheres of human mutual relationships and human existence in general: from the perception of the body, from the effect/impression of uttered words (*u'gnees ai*-, 'to be afraid of words') and from the effect of the experience of the soul (*setgel*). In Mongolian the word *setgel* includes everything that forms the mind, but always in connection with emotions, possibly the "perception of the soul"? In fact it includes everything that is produced by a concrete individual – thoughts, hatred, kindness, but also activities evoked by one or another temperament of the person, but also by his/her specific life experience (e.g. childhood etc.). This word can philosophically be rendered only by the German concept 'das Selbst'.

In Mongolian there is a pair word, the phrase *aidas hu'ides* (lit. 'fear-coolness'),¹ which unequivocally relates fear to coolness, a negative emotion, namely to coldness of the body, figuratively to freezing of the soul, a perfectly clear contrast to the expression of warm and positive feelings by

1) The word *hu'ides* is derived from *hu'iten* 'cold, coolness'; *hu'iten haraa*, *hu'iten hu'n* – cool look/glance, cool person/man. Note that it can also mean 'frozen dung' (Hangin s.v.).

way of the word warm *dulaan*, e.g. *dulaan harctai* ('[having] a warm look'), *nu'dend dulaan hu'n* ('a warm, emotionally open person'; lit. 'a person warm to the eye').

1. Fear originating from human speech and words (*hu'nii helnees ireh aidas* 'fear originating from people's speech'; *u'giin aidas* 'fear of words'; *muu helehees ai-* 'to be afraid of bad speech')

A. *Har u'gs, haraal* (lit. 'black words', 'denigration, bad words'; 'curse')

Curse (*haraal*) occupies a special position among bad words (*har u'gs*). Mongolian is very rich in forms of curses. Words of curse provoke negative feelings and according to ethno-pedagogy they are prohibited. The word *haraal* is probably derived from the word *har* (black) and could be literally translated as 'denigration'.

Haraal (*haraaliin u'gs*), 'expressions of curse', are divided into ordinary and light (*ho'ngon haraal*) and grave (*hu'nd haraal*), the latter being accompanied by wishing the person the worst, i.e. death, e.g.:

U'heesei! 'I wish you'd die!

They are mostly connected with blood, therefore they are also called *ulaan haraal* (lit. 'red abuses' or 'curses'), e.g.:

Cus! 'Blood!'

Cusaar urs/ursmar! 'Flow with blood.'

Cusaar teegle/teeglemer! 'May blood stick in your throat!'

U'hez' hevtmer! 'Die and lie down!' And the like.

These are very strictly prohibited (*haraaliig ceerleh* 'to prohibit abuses'), which is why ethno-pedagogy developed an interesting indirect manner of uttering an abuse, when you want to scold someone. Instead of grave forms of curse it is said by way of a metaphorical paraphrase and on the surface it is a neutral or even good wish (*haraaliin orond yo'rool-haraal hel* 'a felicitation-curse instead of curse', e.g. instead of *Cus!* ('Blood!') they would say *Tos!* ('Butter!'); instead of *Cusaar gooz!* ('Flow with blood!') they would say *Tosoar gooz!* ('Flow with butter!'). From among milk products it is particularly butter that is most important, that is why they actually scold by wishing abundance (*yo'rooloor haraa-* 'to curse by a felicitation'). Further, instead of *U'hmer / U'heesei!* ('Die!') they would say *Zuu nasal!* ('Live up to

a hundred!'); *Nasaa nem!* ('Increase your age!') etc. (cf. also Oberfalzerová 2006, pp. 97–98).

EXAMPLE

Goni guai

Manai nutagt Goni guai gedeg o'vgon baisan. Haraaliin orond "Tosoor gooz" gez' heldeg hu'n baiv. Busad hu'ntei yarilcahdaa tu'unii amnaas ene u'g bainga davtagddag baisan. Haraah tohioldold helehees gadna, yo'rooh tohioldold c' ter u'gee heldeg.

Bi oyutatan bolson z'iliin zun Goni guaitai honinii belc'eert dairaldav. Ter nadtai mendelz' zol-good "Goni guai ni sain sain. Ingeed l tosoor gooz'ood l yavz' baina daa" gev. Ene ni haraal-yorooloo helseer mend sain suuz' baina aa gesen u'g baih sig sanagdsan.

Mr. Goni

In our region there was an old man called Goni ('Onebody', 'Loner'). Instead of abuse he often used to say "Flow with butter". When he talked with other people, he repeated these words from his mouth all the time. Apart from cursing he would say these words also when felicitating. In the summer of the year, when I became a student, I met Mr. Goni and his sheep at pasture. When greeting me he said (formally): "Your Mr. Goni is o.k. In this way I flow with butter." Through (his) uttering a felicitation-abuse I understood that he was doing well.²

Ho'ngon haraal or 'light abuses' are common, they are also called *har haraal* ('ordinary abuses'; here the word *har* is used in its original meaning 'ordinary') and it is always necessary to distinguish whether they are automatically uttered as a form of relief or whether they are purposely aimed against somebody. Some of them are uttered in particular or exclusively by men, e.g. *Zolig!* ('Expellee!').³ Others on the other hand are used more often by women: *Mondi!* ('Rascal!');⁴ or neutral *Hog!* ('Rubbish!'); *Novs!* ('Junk!'); *Muu har baas!* ('Awful black shit!'); *C'o'tgor!* / *S'ulmas!* ('Demon!'). They are often accompanied by relevant gestures like blowing one's nose into ashes, spitting out phlegm and the like.

2) Recording of the memories of Z. Luvsandrorz' 2014.

3) Cf. Luvsandendev 1957, 197, (s.v. *золиг*): 1. устарелое, выкуп; 2. рел. дзолик (фигурка из теста, а иногда человек, которыми больной откупается от духов); 3. бран. дзолик – черт.

In other words, the term refers to somebody who is offered as a substitute or ransom for another person who should have been sent for punishment.

Cf. also Hangin (s.v. *золиг*): 'figures of dough used in Lamaistic ritual'; 'scape-goat'. Obviously they are disposed of by burning or throwing away (ibid.).

4) This is the interpretation according to Hangin (s.v.): '(invest.) rascal, rowdy, scoundrel, villain'. Mongols perceive the word as a form of invective related to *monio*, which means 'a baby-monkey' in colloquial speech (personal communication J. Lubsangdorzi 2014).

B. *Haraal hiih, haraal hariulah* ('to curse; 'to clean away a curse', lit. 'to return back the curse, abuse')

In the Mongolian nomadic world of thought the curse has a very strong implication. The phrase *haraal hii-* (lit. 'to make a curse') implies a complicated cursing by an act (*haraal hu're-*, i.e. 'curse reaches s.b.'). Cursing is a ritual, which should cause death (*hu'niig u'huule-*) or misfortune (*gai zovlond oruula-*) to a strange person by using magical rites, special magical acts, e.g. by way of reading black death mantras (*har tarni uns'i-*). They are made to order and they are performed by specialist practising Lamas *haraalc'* ('curser'), *mergec'*, *u'zmerc'id* ('medicine women', 'diviners') and only some shamans, mostly following a family tradition *udamt bo'o* ('shaman /following his/ forefathers'). And on the other hand, only these specialists can send a curse back to its originator (*haraal hariula-*, lit. 'to return the curse'). These rites (*tusgai dom s'ivs'leg hii-* 'to make special magic and exorcism') were obviously influenced by the astrology of the Indian, Tibetan and also Chinese religions.⁵

At present this form of activity is increasing greatly. People are scared and some are forced to become shamans (see below Section 3.c). When somebody is reached by a curse (*haraal hu'rne*), it means misfortune for him/her, loss of money, illness, debts. For example people would say:

C'amd haraal hu'rsen baina, tiim uc'raas mo'ngo aldaz' baina. Henees irz' baina? Neg ulaan yumtai hu'nees haraal c'amd hu'rsen.

You were reached by a curse, that is why you lose money. From whom does it come? It came to you from a person with something read.⁶

And the person starts to reflect about who it is who wears something red, e.g. a red tie or another item of (his/her) clothing and a vicious circle arises, when the person goes again to ask the strong Lama to return the curse. The Lama may for example advise him/her:

Altan ganz'uuriig uns'uul!

Have the Golden Ganjuur read (in a monastery with payment)!

O'glog o'g! – Give a donation!

Hu'uhed nohoi hoollooroi!

Feed (hungry) children /dogs! And the like.

5) Magic rites, healing and causing and warding off evil are dealt with in an excellent M.A. thesis by Daniela Kordíková 2013, pp. 66–76.

6) Batceceg, recording summer 2014.

My informant Batceceg enumerated several examples of advice from her own experience, but of course particularly from hearsay, concerning how to deal with a curse. Apart from more noble first steps like offering food to the poor, it is also advised to throw vodka with the bottle towards the person and at the same time to utter his/her name, or to throw decayed remnants of food in that direction – *savhruu* (left-over food, or liquids that have gone off, which no one drinks any more, liquid residue, dregs) or the name of the person, who made the curse, is written on a sheet of paper and thrown from a high rock. A more recent approach is to flush the paper with the name on it in the toilet. And then comes the psychological moment that now nothing can happen to the person any more:

Ter haraaliig o'ort ni bucaz' hu'rgene gez' yaridag. Muu yum devnees ih boldog. Buzariin ezenz toli haruulna.

It is said that the curse returns to the person. Bad things often originate from a demon. A mirror is held up to the originator of the defilement.⁷

The word *dev* means devil (*s'ulam*). Today it is very much used in Mongolian as an originator of evil. Cf. e.g. the following phrases:

hu'nd dev s'u'glesen / ors'ison

the devil flew into / obsessed the person

mo'ngnii dev/ bayaz'ihii dev / arhinii dev s'u'glesen hu'muus

people in whom the demon of money /the demon of richness /the demon of vodka has settled

In colloquial speech the phrase is used with the same meaning using a different word instead of *dev*: *don s'u'gle-*. The word *don* is probably a synonym for *setgeliin ezen* ('lord of the soul and feeling'). It is a Tibetan word used by the Lamas, which is common in popular speech. Both variants, *dev* and *don* can be used, e.g.:

hormoin don (dev) / hardlagiin don s'u'glesen er

A man in whom the demon of flirting⁸ / envy has settled.

Arhinii don gargah heregtei, ene bol hecu'u.

The demon of vodka must be chased away, it is difficult.⁹

In the SHM there is a horrible shaman Debtengeri, who was against Chingis Khagan and wanted to cause a coup by using psychological influence.

7) Batceceg, recording summer 2014.

8) Metaphorical expression: *hormoi* 'lower flap; lower part of a skirt' (cf. Hangin s.v.).

9) Said by a doctor, which was heard by Z. Luvsandorz' 2012.

Rachewiltz thinks that the word *deb* probably came from Persia.¹⁰ It has been an established opinion up to now that everything that is harming, should be destroyed, that one should always react in some way, chase the bad using the bad. There is a proverb (*zu'ir u'g*):

Horiig horoor hariulah, buzar yumaar haraal hariulah.

Return poison by poison, return a curse by something dirty.

Every uttering of curses or cursing is always accompanied by a certain symbolical act, a sign,¹¹ e.g. symbolizing stabbing the person or a bad thing by using the corn of a cow, or by threatening with the finger or knife, sabre or whip, which should frighten the person.

Or the uttering of curses can be confirmed by a double clap of the palms.¹² To perform curses an instrument is used, which is called *tunraa*.¹³ It used to be a black horn from mad cattle, to which a black strip of silk (*hadag*) was attached. With this instrument stabbing is symbolized several times over in the direction where the creature (person) stays and for whom death is called for by the curse.¹⁴ Apart from that shamans used a head of a crow with red eyes and black beak cut from wood. Using this one would, in the evening darkness, imitate the threat by stabbing in the direction of the cursed object, an action which would be done seven times for seven evenings. According to shamanist belief, in the worst direction, the North-East, there is the place of dwelling of the Lord of Curses *Hadargan Boom Tenger* (Destructor)¹⁵ and the Lord of Quarrels *Hedergen Boom Tenger* (similar meaning),¹⁶ and these are the deities that the Tenger shamans invoked.¹⁷

10) Rachewiltz 2006, p. 872 (quoted by Luvsandorzh' 2014, p. 474).

11) *Haraal zu'hliin zan u'iliigtusgai dohio zangaa zaaval dagalddag* (Dulam, Nandinbilig 2007, p. 125).

12) *Haraal heleed hoyor u'daa algaa tas'dag* (ibid.).

13) *Haraal hiih yavdliig dagaldah gol zevsegiig tunraa gene* (Dulam, Nandinbilig 2007, p. 125).

14) The Mongolian word *tunraa* originates from Tibetan. According to the dictionary (Sarat Chandra Das 1970, p. 581) *thun-rwa* is 'an enchanted horn on which figures of scorpions, alligators, etc., are engraved for witch-craft'.

15) The word *hadargan* is related with the verb *hadra*- 'to dig with the muzzle or tusks (a boar)' (cf. Lessing *hadura*- 'to wound with tusks of a boar'). Cf. also Hangin s.v. *hadargan*: 'Ram-paging, destructive; greedy, gluttonous'.

16) The variant vowel in iconopoetic words achieves a variant of the concrete image referred to. 'Male' vowels (here *a*) express the idea in an unequivocal and tough manner, the 'female' vowels (here *e*) suggest a different quality of the image – indirectly and with less accentuation. Cf. Oberfalzerová 2009.

17) *Бөө нарын ёсонд зүгийн муу зүүн хойт зүгийг эрхизээсэн хараалын эзэн Хадарган Боом Тэнгэр, хэрүүлийн эзэн Хэдэргэн Боом Тэнгэр гэж хоёр их эзэн байдаг гэж шүтэж ирсэн.* (Dulam, Nandinbilig 2007, p. 125).

There are two types of curse, open direct cursing and the other which is hidden, secret, using metaphors, substitute words. We may compare the following examples:

EXAMPLE 1. OPEN CURSE (IL HARAAL):

U'uden deer c'ini
Uuli has'gir.
U'nsen deer c'ini
U'neg ho'r'voo.
U'nseh u'rgu'i bol
U'rgeh malgu'i bol. (Dulam, Nandinbilig 2007, p. 126)
 Owl, utter a shout at your door.
 Fox, turn over in your ashes.
 Be without an offspring to smell!
 Be without shy cattle.

Comment: Ashes are taken out of the yurt a pit on the South-Eastern side of the yurt. Neither fox nor owl dare to approach the yurt, as long as it is occupied. Both similes are symbols of a deserted home, yurt, where everybody dies.

EXAMPLE 2. HIDDEN CURSE (DALD HARAAL):

Nar sariig gertee manduul
Navc' cecgiig hotondoo delgeruul.
Yavgan nu'uz'
Nu'cgen suuz' z'argaarai. (Dulam, Nandinbilig 2007, p. 126)
 Let Sun and Moon rise in your yurt
 Let leaves and flowers be abundant in your pen (livestock enclosure)
 Go as a nomad walking (i.e. go on foot)
 Sit naked and be happy.

Comment: In a symbolical manner it is said that the person cannot be happy without a roof over his/her head (Sun and Moon rise there, so he/she has none), without cattle (weed overgrows his/her cattle shed). And he/she lives naked and goes round as a nomad on foot, which means that he/she is absolutely without any means.

Curses are very much feared, but there are also very poetic and witty. In colloquial speech the influence of a curse is expressed by the phrase:

Ter hu'nii haraal c'amd hu'rsen.
 The curse of that person reached you.

Or the curse can concern a whole region or country, e.g.

Bu'ten aimagt haraal hu'rc'.

The curse reached the whole Aimag. (Luvsandorz' 2014)

One Mongolian intellectual criticized the government, politicians and their laziness and incompetence by saying that they were reached by an old curse relating to all Mongols:

O'oroo yuu c' bu'u surtugai

Sursan hu'nii u'giig bu'u sonstugai!

Do not learn anything yourself

Do not listen to the word of those who have learnt. (Luvsandorz', recording of memories 2013)

C. *Doromz'lol* (*Doromz'loh u'gs*, 'humiliating words, insults')

Here again it is necessary to distinguish whether the humiliation is uttered spontaneously or whether it is used deliberately against somebody or something. Not only can a person be despised (*golo-*, *c'amla-*), but also an object, salary, act of meanness or stupidity, an article and the like. A very broad range of use is offered by the word *balai* 'useless, needless'. Even stronger is the use of the related verbs *balaira-*, *tenegle-* 'to do stupidities, nonsense'. Another phrase *o'odgui hu'n* is an exiled, disinherited person, a social outcast (cf. also Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 54). Furthermore the word *munag*¹⁸ refers to a pleasure seeker or hedonist in various phrases (*hu'uhnii munag* 'womanizer'; *arhi-nii munag* 'drunkard'; *hoolnii munag* 'glutton'). The abuse *zo'nog* ('senile, senility') is used in expressive and strong phrases such as *zo'noz' baigaa yum*; *zo'noc'ihson s'u'u* 'he/she does stupidities, he/she became mulish, obstinate'; apart from *zo'no-*, the verb has also the variant *zo'noglo-*.

Other humiliating words are: *baas* 'excrement', *c'acga* 'diarrhea', *nohoin baas* 'dog's excrement', and the like.

D. Fear of calumny and praise (*har cagaan hel amnaas ai-*, lit. 'to be afraid of black /or/ white speech of the mouth')

Great fear is provoked by reports about a concrete person and his/her surroundings (*humu'usiin yarianaas ai-* 'to be afraid of people's talk'), which spread among people. No matter whether they are calumnies or forms of

18) Hangin s.v.: 'stupid, senile'.

praise, they always cause trouble or misfortune to the person. There are set phrases:

tegdeg gene 'reportedly he/she does so and so'

ter hu'n tegsen gene 'reportedly that person did so and so'

ter hu'n tegdeg gene 'reportedly that person does (usually) so and so'

Old people, Lamas and shamans often see the origin of human misfortune in calumnies and also in praise, both of which always attract the attention of many people and the negative powers to a person, e.g.

Ter hu'n ih bayaz'san gene. 'That person became terribly rich.'

And if he/she deteriorates, they would always say that this arose from this 'positive calumny':

Cagaan hel amnaas bolson baina. 'This happened because of excessive praises.'

In colloquial Mongolian there is an expression to describe such a situation:

cagaan / har hel am (hu'nd) hu'rne/ (hu'niig) ide-

lit. 'white / black tongue will catch up with (the person) / consumes (the person)' (Oberfálzerová 2006, p. 77)

A special example of such improper praises (*cagaan hel am*) concerns newborn babies or small children, which are for the first time visited in a ritual manner by relatives or important persons of the region. Such a visit is not refused, everything is adjusted to make room for it. It is very important to give the child a present and to utter proper words, but not praises. Sentences of a completely opposite character are uttered very cautiously, which however is understood correctly by every Mongol: instead of the word "child" they would use the substitute word "thing":

Ho'orhen yum uzeye! 'Let me see the pretty/nice thing!'

Tanai muuhai amitniig u'zeye! 'Let me see your ugly (pet) animal!' And the like.

It is not possible to 'let the mouth go out', (*am gar-*),¹⁹ so-to-say, on respected people or things, neither is it allowed to expose weak divine creatures to the danger of the poison of negative powers. Therefore it is not possible to say about a child openly, how cute it is, it has to be expressed by misleading words often of the opposite meaning. Therefore a foreigner should really take care not to use the European set cultural patterns of praise.

19) For more examples see Oberfálzerová 2007, p. 57.

E. Fear originating from uttering names (*ner helehees ai-*, 'to be afraid of saying the name')

It is strictly prohibited to utter the Father's or Mother's names in their presence or in the presence of fellow countrymen or neighbours (*nutgiinhan*). Calling parents by their names or speaking about them and uttering their names always means attracting misfortune (*gai irne*) or negative powers (e.g. *c'o'tgor*, 'demon'). Instead of the Father's name a substitute phrase is used, e.g.

Hecuu nert guaigaas (Inertees) bi neg saihan mori avna.

From Mr. of a difficult name (from the one with a difficult name) I will take a nice (i.e. good) horse. (Davaadorz' 2014)

The fellow countryman or neighbour knows that this refers to his father or mother. There is a very old belief that the child is protected also by the protective deities of his parents, whose names include the names of the deities and the deities are addressed by using the parents' names. Should the deities be dishonoured by merely uttering their names, their protective power is damaged and the deities will reject them.²⁰

The same rule also applies for names of the parents of the wife and husband, so it is possible to say e.g. *no'hriin aav* 'husbands father', etc. At the time when Lamaism was practised, it was also prohibited to utter the name of one's teacher:

Bags' lamiin acaar iveeleer sain yavz' baina. Hu'nii nertiig ceerlene.

You live well from the protection of your teacher Lama. The person's name is a taboo. (Davaadorz' 2014)

At the time of communism the names of high political representative were not pronounced either, only by an abbreviation, e.g. *Bal. darga* ('chief Bal.') or *Ce. darga* ('chief Ce.'), which meant Cedenbal and his wife's name was also tabooed. It could not be uttered, what was said was only *Avgai, Avgai Maamaa* (Oberfalzerová 2012, pp. 27–28). In other words people in the countryside uttered neither the names of high politicians nor the names of their children. But the culturally unequivocal expression *hecuu nert* was no more used. Fear of President Cedenbal's wife took a popular form in worshipping a rock (*Avgai had*, 'Mother Rock'), a habit which became established roughly in the 1960s (ibid. Note 9).

20) For example: *Aaviin zayaa / iveel hayana*. 'The Father's deities will reject you.'

F. Fear of lies, rumours and exaggerations (*cuurhal*, *cuu u'g*)

In a nomadic society depending in particular on orally mediated information, it is very common to add one's suspicions and reasons for apprehension, from which very often rumours and exaggerations can arise, and these spread at a breathtaking speed. People are very well aware that it is very difficult to change the event or put right the information later, because the power of collective opinion retrospectively affects the whole area. In language there are many patterns, which make it possible to disseminate popular rumours. Apart from *ter tegsen/tegdeg gene*; *tegez' baina gene/tegez' baigaa gene*; *tegeh gene* (see above paragraph d, Fear of calumny) there is also the particle *s'u'u* to express the modality that the speaker heard something with his own ears. Then there is the expression *genelee* ('indeed', lit. 'said really') used to confirm that something is a true fact. Similarly:

ter tegez' helsen bainalee (s'u'u) 'he really said so!'

The phrase is also pronounced with a rising intonation, which expresses amazement about the news.

Similarly the expressions *cuu u'gs* / *cuurhal* ('rumour') are words, which do not have a concrete author, so-called *ezengui u'g* ('words without a master'). They are used e.g. for 'news' that in the surroundings of a particular town reportedly everybody died, that there is a *c'o'tgor* ('demon') at a particular place,²¹ somebody encountered it or it frightened a horse. According to nomadic habit, the question about 'what is the interesting (news)' (*Sonin yuu baina?*) is answered by catching the fantasy or frightening with similar tales.

Let us see an example from the so-called 'year of cannibal' (*mahc'ingiin z'il*, 1932).²² In that year there was news spreading that through several regions a cannibal was passing, was catching children and consuming them. It was in the vicinity of Ra'saant Somon (Ho'vsgol aimag), people took it seriously, did not leave the yurts unnecessarily, watched their cattle and children very carefully and kept a saw and an axe or a stick in front of the yurt. The information was spreading at an unbelievable speed and the danger was present for several months. But five years later it was still remembered and it was said that a certain child was born in the year of the cannibal. This is what the old woman Bat-ors'ih relates about it:

21) About the various demons (and also *c'o'tgor*) see Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 76–77; 2012, p. 33.

22) Apart from *mangas*-es in folklore there are also cannibals (*mahc'in*). A cannibal has red eyes, is armed with a knife and abducts girls and children.

Mahc'ingiin z'il

Bi 30-aad nastai bailaa. Neg havar ulsuud "Mahc'in garc' gene, Ras'aant deer neg hu'niig idez' gene. Manai nutgiig c'gleed yavz' baina gene" geel s'uugiad baiv. Hu'muus aigaađ geriinhee uudent boroohoi s'iidem, su'h mu'h taviz' honodog bolov. Heer mald yavahad iis' tiis haraad bolgoomz'ilz' aicgaaz' baiv.

Manaihni hot ail Cagaandaid havarz'iz' baiv. Bi hoit denz' ruu yavc'ihsan tugaltai uneegee avc'irahaar tiis' yavav. Uneenihee caana oc'tol minii urdaas ho'l gar ni sarvalzaz' hazganasan, deer door nu'dtei, uv ulaan nuurtei, mod barisan aimaar hu'n aisui. Bi uhaaldaad, uneegee hayac'ihaad "Tamini ee, mahc'in irlee!" gez' has'girsaa gu'iz' hariv. Ulsuud sandraad geriinhee gadaa garc' boroohoi s'iidem, su'h ho'roo bariad zogsocgoov. Doidoo guai tom cuzger ho'roogoo bariad zogsos' baihiig bi harsan yum. Tegtal no'goo amitan c'ini denz' ruu hazganasaar orood irev. Oirtood irehed ni ulsuud barisan zevsee hayacgaaz "ee mondi gez', Dondoi l baih cini ve!" geed ineemserc' baiz' bilee. Ter hu'n, hu'muus zevseg barisan baihiig uzeed "Tanaihand c'ini hu'n irz' boldoggu'i ailuud uu?" gez' uurlaz' baiiim. Bi Dondoi guaig ogt uzeegui baiiim. Tegeed ho'orhii Dondoi guai tahir tatuu bolohoor nadad mahc'in l haragdsan yum.

Ene yariag bi bagadaa eez'ees sonson yum. Avgai nar nadaas 8 nasaar ahmad neg bandiig "mahc'ingiin z'iliin huuhed" gelcehiig bi duulsan yum. Tegeed bi 1940 ond to'rson bolohoor ter z'iliig 1932 on yum baina gez' hoz'im medsen yum.²³

Cannibal's (Man-eater's) year (Mother's narration)

I was about thirty. One spring there was a rumour that a cannibal (man-eater) had appeared, that in the Ras'aan somon he had already eaten one man and that he was on the move to our region (*nutag*). People were afraid and would spend nights placing clubs (*booroohoi*), axes and similar weapons by their doors. They were afraid and when grazing their cattle they would keep looking back and were very cautious.

Our group of families was spending the spring in the Cagaandai hollow. I went to fetch a cow with a calf from the northern hillock. When I was driving the cow back, I saw a terrible man not far away in front of me, one eye below the other, with a reddish face and a stick in his hand, hobbling towards me and swaying his hands and feet. I was frightened out of my wits, I left the cow and ran back shouting: "Hey folks, the man-eater has come!" People panicked, came out of the yurts, grasped the clubs (*booroohoi*), axes and saws and stood waiting. I could see Mr. Doidoo standing and holding a long saw in his hand. Then the creature appeared on the hillock and hobbled towards us. When it got close, people threw down the instruments they were holding and started to laugh: "My goodness,²⁴ but this is Mr. Dondoi!" But he could see how people were holding the instruments and became angry: "So you are households (*ailuud*) which one cannot visit!"²⁵ I had never before seen Mr. Dondoi. Poor Mr. Dondoi was seriously handicapped, that was why I saw the man-eater in him.

I heard this narration from my mother when I was a child. I heard women speaking about a boy eight years older than myself and saying (that he was) "a child of the man-eater's (cannibal's) year". And since I was born in 1940, later I understood that this must have been the year 1932.

(Luvsandorž, *Memoirs* 2013)

23) Bat-ors'ih, recording in summer 2012.

24) Lit. 'rascal!' etc., or 'baby-monkey!' See Footnote 4 above.

25) For the nomads this is a strong reproach, hospitality is a natural need.

Conclusion

The present paper continues the series of four papers in which I have tried to grasp the basics of nomadic thought and perception of the world, as they are reflected in the use of language. Contentment is provoked in particular by the native land, where the nomad grew up, and unpleasantness and fear come in particular from wild nature and its powers, from animals and ultimately also from people and human activities, in particular from the effect of the spoken word. The second part will discuss the fear of unpleasant forms of the human body and its movements/gestures, dead bodies and cemeteries, and possibly some other aspects of human activities.

We can say that the psychological perception of the surrounding world undergoes relatively small changes, in spite of new impacts from civilization on the traditional nomadic milieu. In the everyday life of a nomad, fear and in a way also exaggerated superstitiousness are taken to be a tested and tried collective experience and this affects the education of the following generations. Here an important role is played in particular by respect for Mother Nature and fear of 'her' possible punishments, reluctance to make any ill-considered voicing about anything, belief in the magic power of words and fear of violating the collectively preserved and tested rules of life.

On the other hand people have weaknesses and commit transgressions against general recommendations, exact vengeance, humiliate others, curse and wish others failure. Even against such phenomena one can do something and chase the addressed negative effect or defend oneself against it.

We try to be grounded in particular on the confirmed experience of the Mongolian nomadic informants on the basis of more than ten years of repeated field work in the countryside. It is certain that the information obtained, recorded narratives or examples from folklore are not completely exhaustive. Nevertheless we offer a basic orientation in topics, which form the axis of nomadic culture, affect the experience of individuals and consequently also the use of the Mongolian spoken language.

In the present unbalanced world of cultural misunderstandings and economic unsteadiness this and similar research can possibly contribute to a deeper understanding of the differences between individual cultures both in the sphere of belief and that of the ethnography of communication.

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Ruined words, evasive referents, and emic phonemes in Mongolian riddles, Part 1

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Summary: Examining two major corpuses of Mongolian riddles, references continually arose to a particular word category. Termed *evdersen uᠭ* (literally: 'ruined words'), these words were semantically evasive, their meaning far from obvious, particularly joined to the other 'obfuscating techniques' of Mongolian riddles, such as ellipsis. This paper, presented in two parts, examines these 'ruined words' from several different viewpoints. The relatively high frequency of such words in the Mongolian riddle corpus also seems related to a degree of phonetic lability in these riddles – and perhaps in spoken Mongolian as a whole – resulting in variations of riddles that are phonetically very close, yet nonetheless manifesting subtle shifts of meaning. In addition, frequent occurrence of the words known as iconopoeia (*du'rsleh uᠭ*, literally, 'image-making words', 'depicting words') is found, as these words are also subject to distortion in riddles. In the first part of this paper, a preliminary attempt is made at categorizing these 'ruined' words, and distorted loan words are examined.

0. General Introduction

In the two relatively recent Mongolian riddle corpuses under consideration (Lovor and O'ziihutag 1990; O'ziihutag 2013), many riddles defy ethnographically accurate interpretation, let alone eventual translation and transmission into a non-Altaic language. The linguistic means of riddling are inherently enigmatic in any language, but Mongolian riddles frequently employ specific linguistic devices that render some riddles nearly incomprehensible.¹

Moreover, as part of a genuine oral culture, riddles are understandably subject to constant change and revision; not in terms of wording, but rather in the sense of phonetic *glissance* or slippage, strongly evidenced in these corpuses, producing further variations that nonetheless reveal very close phonic relations. The extreme terseness and the continual practise of elision also render many of the riddles difficult: many are only four or five words long.

1) The riddles in the two collections under consideration here were published without explanatory notes. In some cases, as in A. Mostaert's collection of Ordos folklore, some riddles are appended with notes (Mostaert 2010).

The presence of the Mongolian phenomenon of 'ruined words' (*evdersen uḡnuud*) was frequent – almost as if these words were natural formations exposed to the elements. Their phonetic characteristics demonstrate a kind of deviance, yet intriguingly not necessarily impeding their comprehension or interpretation. At the same time, it became clear that these 'ruined words' exhibited a number of internal variations: not all were ruined in the same way; certain ruined words seemed to be deliberate phonetic variants, requiring a level of 'hearing' which only a native speaker could provide.

Indeed, if we recall the radical break from the past that both Communist and global modernisation have engendered in Mongolia, such a native speaker would have to be not only steeped in the life and culture of the countryside, but indeed of such an age as to have experienced, at least at second hand, the verbal culture of an earlier era. When querying various contemporary Mongolians about riddles in general – or some of the more challenging ones – it was common to encounter less than enthusiastic reactions ('Riddles? That's hard; etc.). The decision to write this article was born from a desire to elucidate some of these seemingly 'insolvable' riddles with their embedded 'mystery' words.²

In some respects, Mongolian riddles perform a number of the functions associated with riddling worldwide;³ yet otherwise a very different set of functions, highly attuned to the needs of nomadic life, can be discerned. Like all short oral forms in Mongolian daily life, riddles serve the purpose of ethno-pedagogy (Oberfalzerová 2006), a true 'university of the nomads'.⁴

Riddles, like much of Mongolian orality in the countryside, make extensive use of metaphorical speech.⁵

2) The author would like to thank Associate Professor J. Lubsangdorji for his unflinching and invaluable assistance in clarifying many of the uncertain terms encountered in these riddles. Dr. Lubsangdorji is, within my experience, the perfect instance of the "ideal native speaker" proposed in this paragraph, taking into account his personal background (as the son of a former lama) and his impressive scholarly achievement. Without his unique perspective and unflinching assistance, this article could not have been written. All errors, however, are my own. The transcription of the modern Mongolian language used throughout this article follows Oberfalzerová 2006.

3) To cite one function: "...the contextual frame for riddling is one of performance, as opposed to the normal communicative frame in utilitarian speech. The latter is highly contextualized, and its goal is to facilitate the flow of information; the former suspends normal context, and its goal is to impede the flow of information for the purpose of outwitting the riddlee." (Peppicello and Green 1984).

4) Consultation, Luvsangdorji 2014.

5) For an examination of metaphors in the spoken Mongolian language, see Oberfalzerová 2006.

At the same time, many riddles demand of the auditor a level of highly enhanced cognitive abstraction. And, as mentioned above, the ‘ruined phonemes’, in opposition to their initial appearance as mere ‘nonsense syllables’, were still clearly perceived as capable of generating a potential signified or referent.

1.0. A tentative categorization of ‘ruined words’

The words characterized as ‘ruined’ generally fall into these categories:

- 1) Loan words from other languages subjected to a degree of ‘deformation’ (from very minor distortions in which the words are still very recognizable up to severe distortion rendering the original word impossible to identify). Within this category we can discern the following sub-classifications:
 - a) Proper names and nouns/adjectives
 - b) ‘Camouflaged’ proper names (seemingly phonetically distorted borrowings from another language, but possibly phonetically modified Mongolian words)
 - c) Fragments of Buddhist mantras (in the case under consideration here, in Sanskrit)
- 2) Words adapted phonetically to make the riddle more phonetically ‘bounded’ (hereinafter ‘phonetically modified words’).
- 3) Iconopoeic words phonetically modified to make the riddle more phonetically ‘bounded.’
- 4) ‘Lost’ words; words that no longer bear status as a lexeme.
- 5) ‘Emic phonemes’ that suggest a potential referent or category of referents to a native speaker through the phonic imagery they create.

In some cases these categories overlap, or no single category can be given with complete certainty. (Categories 2–5 will be addressed in the second part of this paper.)

2.0. Loan words from other languages

One group of riddles stands out for their borrowings from other languages (particularly Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese).⁶ In some cases, the word is clearly recognizable; in others it has been distorted beyond recognition, and even the original language from which it was borrowed can only be guessed.

6) Borrowings from Uyghur, it should be noted, are also not uncommon; intriguingly, these words seem to have undergone little or no distortion.

Needless to say, all foreign words in Mongolian undergo a certain process of phonetic transformation, whether through the introduction of vowel harmony to the word, regressive assimilation, or abbreviation (see Kapišovská 2011, as well as Lubsangdorj 2002 and 2004).

2.1. Deformed Proper Nouns or Names

Several riddles employ words that may be proper nouns or names. These two word categories frequently overlap in Mongolian.

For example, in the riddle:

<i>Seergu'i yagnaa</i>	<i>Yagnaa</i> without a spine
<i>Semjgu'i yagnaa</i>	<i>Yagnaa</i> without omentum ⁷
– <i>Zagas, tuulai</i>	– Fish, rabbit (Lovor and O'lziihutag 1990, p. 87)

we note the presence of the word *yagnaa*, which is not attested in any dictionary I have been able to consult. It is clearly a noun in the function of a proper name: it 'names' the subject of the riddle, the unknown creature with neither spine nor intestinal fat. The phonetic mirroring of the words *seergu'i* and *semjgu'i*, in contrast, is related to the two very different properties they indicate, as well as to one's being a mammal, and the other not. *Yagnaa*, however, is both fish and rabbit.

Considering the various grammatical alternatives, it is possible that the long 'a' vowel at the end carries a kind of vocative function. (A long 'a' vowel is also common at end of proper names). As well, '-naa' seems to mimic the -na⁴ 'present-future' verbal ending with the final vowel lengthened for emphasis, as one hears frequently in the spoken language, or even the 'present continuous' verbal ending -aa⁴ (Kullmann 2001, pp. 198 and p. 190). It seems unlikely that the word *yagnaa* would act a verb in this case, but the point is its seeming mimicry of a second grammatical function, as if hovering between the two categories. In the extremely terse linguistic universe of the Mongolian riddle, every individual phoneme bears much greater linguistic weight.

This riddle stimulated much speculation as to the common factor between fish and rabbits. The answer, however, emerged quickly: both are capable of extremely quick movement. Why, though, would fish and rabbit both be designated as *yagnaa*? For a native speaker, the strongest association was to the Tibetan loan word *yang* (*yan[g]*, from Tib. *dbyangs*: 'a metrical rhyme,

7) Omentum refers to the fat around the intestines.

melodious song, tune, melody [Chandra-Das 2004, p. 913]). In Mongolian, *yang* can refer to melody in association with religious ceremonies (Lessing 1960, p. 427). An immediate association arose between the quicksilver, hard-to-grasp movements of fish and rabbits and the sound environment of a Buddhist temple with its many varied chants and instruments resonating simultaneously.⁸

It was as if the movements of these creatures suddenly formed a kind of visual embodiment of the radically decentred sound environment of a Mongolian Buddhist temple when prayers or ceremonies are in progress, the sounds of which are difficult to ‘seize’ as individual components. One could therefore state that on the level of perceptual cognition, these sounds actually share a great deal with the elusive, mercurial physical nature of fish and rabbits. In this sense, they can be considered a subset of ‘quickly moving objects [in sound or in space], difficult to bring to clear cognition, or objects for which the individual components cannot be clearly cognized all at once.’

A clear element of synaesthesia – a fairly common attribute of many of the riddles under consideration in the two corpuses – allows two elements from two very different spheres of existence (sound and vision) to be brought together and considered as one subset.

While this four-word riddle may appear deceptively simple at first, the philosophy of perception underlying it could very easily match the sophistication of one of the passages from the Buddhist canonical work, the *Abhidharma*, regarding the phenomenology of cognition.

2.2. ‘Camouflaged’ proper names

Another riddle employs the name of an ‘unidentified’ – and very possibly unidentifiable – deity, *Beri dana*:

<i>Ga, ha, na ušegtei</i>	With the letters <i>ga, ha, na</i>
<i>Gardi s’uvuun hu’zuutei</i>	With the neck of a garuda
<i>Beri dana</i> <i>bietei</i>	With the body of <i>Beri dana</i>
<i>Binderiya duutai</i>	With the sound of beryl
– <i>Honh</i>	– Bell (Lovor and O’lzihutag 1990, p. 254)

In terms of the physiognomy of the bell, the (presumably Tibetan) letters *ga*, *ha*, and *na* refer to the letters engraved on the bell’s outside. The garuda’s neck is the bell’s neck, or the rope inside the bell, and the ‘sound of beryl’ refers

8) Consultation, Lubsangdorji 2013.

to the sound when the bell is struck. (Of course, beryl is not usually used to make bells, so the question remains of the sound of a bell made of beryl. In this case, a certain quality of synaesthesia is evident). 'Beri dana' refers to a deity (the body of a bell is in many riddles compared to the body of a sitting or meditating lama), but it is very uncertain which one it is, or even if 'Beri dana' refers to a specific deity at all.

In fact, the name 'Beri dana' evoked the 'general idea' of a deity, like an abstract phonemic image of the potential or possible name of a bodhisattva in Sanskrit, as if 'Beri dana' were a general abstract noun denoting 'bodhisattvahood, the state of being a bodhisattva'.⁹

This obscuring of referential specificity casts the referential scope, or potential referential set, of the designation 'Beri dana' much wider, and this broad scope was perceived as more significant than reference to one specific deity only.

It should similarly be noted that the deity's name certainly seems deliberately intended to create alliteration and assonance with the name of the precious stone *binderiya* (Sanskrit *vaidūrya*, 'brought from Vidūra'; Skeat 1980, p. 46).

Hence it seems that the name 'Beri dana' is a kind of 'fictive distortion', a made-up word referring to the name of a Buddhist deity, yet here 'camouflaged' as a distorted Sanskrit loan word, perhaps evoking a mental image of a half-remembered name. Nonetheless, in its skilful mimicry, the 'constructed' appellation 'Beri dana' poses a subtle linguistic analysis of what, to a Mongolian lay speaker, is 'like the name of a Sanskrit deity' (for example, the lack of vowel harmony, a certain singsong quality, nasalized vowels, and so on), even suggesting that this unknown word has passed through the adaptive phonetic mechanisms of borrowing into Mongolian (for example, shortening, like the vast majority of Tibetan and Sanskrit names in Mongolian).

As such, 'Beri dana' evokes, in four syllables, a complex picture of the 'sacral at a remove', transmitted into lay Mongolian speech as a reflection of the liturgical language, into which Buddhist vocabulary from Uyghur, Sanskrit and Tibetan was inserted over the centuries.

9) Lubsangdorji, consultation 2013. One somewhat similar example, in a secular context, would be the name 'John Doe' in English, which conjures up the idea more or less of 'Everyman.'

2.3. Deformed or Transformed Mantra Fragments

Certain riddles employ speech fragments – in this case, fragments of mantras – which are then nominalised. These speech fragments have undergone further distortion, and often are only partially recognizable. The following riddle employs fragments from two fairly well-known mantras:

<i>Um maania unav</i>	<i>Um maania</i> rode/was ridden
<i>Umaa humaahanaa sundlav</i>	<i>Umaa humaahanaa</i> rode/was ridden pillion [on horseback]
<i>Yumaa geleng ho'tlov</i>	<i>Gelong</i> ¹⁰ <i>Yumaa</i> led/was led
<i>Davaa bags' ni tuuv</i>	<i>Lama</i> [teacher] <i>Davaa</i> drove [livestock]/was driven
– <i>Sar, od, nar</i>	– Moon, stars, sun (Lovor and O'zuihutag 1990, p. 36)

This riddle employs extensive ambiguity, almost preventing any precise distinction between subject and object, and any translation is necessarily tentative. At first, the four 'protagonists' of the riddle – *Um Maania*, *Umaa Humaahanaa*, *Gelong Yumaa*, and *Lama Davaa* – appear to be the subjects, and the verbs that follow designate their activities. *Um maania* and *umaa humaahanaa* seem derived from two well-known Buddhist mantras. (*Um maania* would appear to be derived from the first two syllables of *om mani padme hūm* and the first three syllables of *Umaa humaahanaa* could well be related to *om āḥ hūm*).¹¹

Nonetheless, while recognizable, both of these mantra fragments have undergone considerable distortion: e.g., the vowel-lengthening of the second syllable in *Um maania*. In addition, a Mongolian possessive personal suffix seems to have been appended: **om mani + ia* (substantives that end in *-i* take the possessive ending *-ia*²: Kullmann 2001, p. 110).

The appended fragment to *Umaa hum*, which is *'-aahanaa'*, created associations of *ezen* ('master, leader'), or *hu'n* ('man, person'), very likely due to its phonetic echoing of the word *haan* ('khan').¹²

At the same time, the entire sequence *umaa humaahanaa* evoked, at least for the present author, many memories of Mongolians' gentle mockery of lamas reciting mantras, which to the lay person can evoke a series of mumbo-jumble syllables.

10) The title *geleng* refers to a fully ordained monk (from Tib. *dge slong*; Goldstein 1896, p. 196).

11) The use of deformed or distorted mantra fragments is certainly not unknown in Mongolian recorded literature. For example, at the conclusion of each of the 'Enchanted Corpse' (*sīdītū kegür-ün üliḡer*) series of tales, the Corpse utters a mantra-like utterance in a combination of broken Sanskrit and Tibetan (for analysis see Mikos 2012, pp. 86–89).

12) Lubsangdorji, consultation 2014.

Nonetheless, the long vowels at the end (*umaa humaahaanaa*) also recall a phonetic echo or even mimicry of the accusative personal possessive suffix *-aa*, in which the case marker is dropped (Kullmann 2001, p. 110). As these suffixes only occur with case endings in Mongolian, specificity is always implied. If the vowels at the end of *um maania* and *umaa humaahaanaa* were intended as personal suffixes, it would imply their intention to act as possessed accusative objects. Someone or something else is 'riding' or 'riding pillion [on horseback]' upon them. The progression of suffixes (or, in the case of the last line, a suffix-like particle) can be charted as follows:

<i>Um maania</i>	possessive accusative suffix
<i>Umaa humaahanaa</i>	(one or two) possible possessive accusative suffixes
<i>Yumaa geleng</i>	accusative suffix
<i>Davaa bags' ni</i>	genitive suffix

In the term Gelong Yumaa, *Yumaa* can refer to a name of Tibetan origin (Tib. *yum*, honorific for 'mother:' Chandra-Das 2004, p. 1139) *Yum* can also refer to the *prajñāpāramitā*, the corpus of Mahayana Buddhist wisdom.¹³

Yumaa can, at the same time, be regarded as derived from the Tibetan loan word for the sun (*nyam*, from Tib. *nyi ma*). *Davaa* is similarly derived from Tibetan *zla ba*, signifying 'moon.' (Chandra-Das 2004, p. 1099). *Bags'*, while generally meaning 'teacher', is a common designation for a monk or lama. The verb *sundlah*, as mentioned above, denotes a second person seated behind another on a horse.¹⁴

Hot'loh is a general term for leading a person, child, or animal, whereas *tuuh* denotes more specifically driving livestock (Bold 2008, Vol. 4, pp. 2642 and 2089).

More difficult, however, in deciphering this riddle is determining subject and object. As mentioned above, at first it seems as if *Um Maania*, *Umaa Humaahaanaa*, *Yumaa Gelong*, and *Davaa Bags'* are the four subjects and their activities are respectively riding, riding pillion on horseback, leading (someone or something), and driving [livestock.] And yet the substantives in the first two lines, if given the possessive suffix, would mean that as opposed to riding, leading, or driving [livestock], they are the ones being ridden, being led, and being driven.

13) Consultation, Lubsangdorji 2014. *Yum* is also defined as a designation for the *Abhidharma*, the *Mātrikā* (Chandra-Das, *ibid.*).

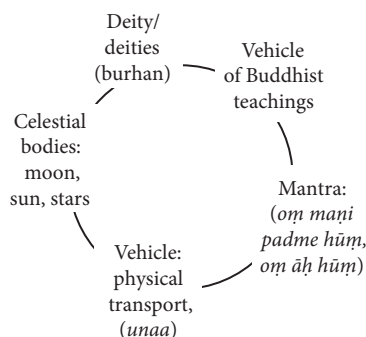
14) Bold 2008, Vol. 3, p. 1783. The term 'riding pillion' in English is slightly misleading, as the pillion actually refers to the pad, seat or cushion behind the saddle in front. It originally designated 'a long robe made of skin, also a covering for a saddle' (Skeat 1980, p. 392).

This was in fact the interpretation provided for the riddle, with Um Maania, Umaa Humaahaanaa, Gelong Yumaa, and Lama Davaa viewed as the grammatical object of each of the four phrases, and the unexpressed subject postulated as the first person in the singular or plural ('I, we, all of us.') In this reading, the chief metaphor of the riddle emerges: Um Maania, Umaa Humaahaanaa, Gelong Yumaa, and Lama Davaa are the celestial bodies, as well as the heavenly 'vehicles' of Buddhist wisdom upon which we 'ride' or 'travel.' This metaphor, however, remains stated only indirectly as a parallel:

[We, I] rode upon <i>Um maania</i>	Moon
[We, I] rode pillion on <i>Umaa humaahanaa</i>	Stars
[We, I] led <i>Yumaa geleng</i>	Sun
[We, I] drove <i>Davaa bags'</i>	Moon

Um Maania and Umaa Humaahaanaa metaphorically embody the moon and stars upon which *we* ride: 'We move through [by means of] the stars, the stars sit behind us [upon the moon and sun]' was the poetic explanation, as if the moon and the stars were at once steeds – 'vehicles' in the literal sense, 'vehicles of the Teaching' – as well as the Teachings themselves, and moreover the deities who gave rise to these teachings. The sun, in the context of this riddle, was described as a 'deity-horse' (*burhanii mori*, possibly also 'horse of the Buddha', 'horse of a buddha', and so forth).¹⁵

The metaphorical sequence thus created becomes a circular cluster of ideas:



This schema is evocative of many associations: the cycle of *samsāra*, the movements of the heavenly bodies, etc. And thus a slightly different interpretation of the riddle ensues: the moon, Lama Davaa, with the stars in his wake,

15) Lubsangdorji, consultation 2014.

'drives' the sun, Gelong Yumaa, away, and so on. In this reading, the entities Gelong Yumaa and Lama Davaa once again resume their role as agents, with the stars more or less as onlookers.

The -g suffix on the noun *geleng*, however, is equivocal: it can be the accusative suffix, or a recollection of the spelling in Classical Mongolian.¹⁶

If -g designates the accusative suffix, it would mean that Yumaa Gelen is being led (as, for example, with livestock). The last line, interpreted in the same fashion, would then indicate that Davaa Bags' is being driven (continuing the livestock metaphor). It is not impossible that the accusative marker was simply left off in the last line.

In that case, Yumaa Gelen and Davaa Bags' would be the celestial bodies being 'led' and 'driven' either out to the grazing lands or back to the *ail* (the family settlement); at the same time, following the parallel 'hidden' reading of the riddle, they too represent Buddhist teachings given striking visual form through the evocation of the nomad's everyday surroundings and daily life of herding livestock.

What continually struck the author, however, was the apparent near-impossibility of clearly distinguishing subject and object (agent and patient). Linguistically, it resembles the famous drawing in which a young girl and an old woman can be glimpsed simultaneously. Who is exactly riding upon whom, who is driving or leading whom: all seems notably unclear or at least subject to various interpretations.

In this aspect, then, of 'obfuscation by intent', this riddle would seem the linguistic performative embodiment of one of the most fundamental Buddhist teachings: the non-duality of subject and object. In this case, the 'ruined words' – the phonemic, semantic and lexical distortions of the riddle, accompanied by the blurring of grammatical categories – are perhaps not as accidental as they may seem, and may impart a deliberate, notably non-dualistic, message.

16) The Classical Mongolian spelling is transcribed as *geliing* (Bold 2008, Vol. 1, p. 580). A certain number of riddles employ spellings from the classical language, which is not surprising if we consider that they were collected from the older generation mainly in the 1950s and 1960s.

3. Some Preliminary Conclusions

The presence of phonemes or groups of phonemes, such as the designation ‘Yagnaa’ (see Section 2.1), unlisted in any lexical works at my disposal, is fairly widely attested in both the corpuses of riddles under discussion. In some instances – to be treated in the second half of this paper – the mere sound of the phoneme created certain associations. In other cases, the word could be traced back to another word-base (*yazguur*, literally, ‘root’), often related to an iconopoeia. Yet even when the word remains fully unidentified, as in the case of ‘Yagnaa,’ it still becomes, for a native speaker, the locus of a complex semantic web. In the case of the appellation of a mysterious Sanskrit deity, the name itself functions as a kind of abstract noun designating the general state of *bodhisattvahood*. Finally, the abbreviated and slightly distorted mantra fragments Um Maania and Umaa Hum are transformed into true entities of the narrative of the micro-fictional universe of the riddle, even as their grammatical role as either agent or patient ultimately remains ambiguous.

In addition, the status of these words as ‘ruined’ – compare, for example, the discussion of ‘ruined language’ (*rontott nyelv*) in contemporary Hungarian literature – deserves further examination, as rather than limiting the word’s semantic scope, the distortions appear to widen it.

The analysis in Levin 2006 (pp. 73–124) of the crucial importance of mimicry in the musical forms of nomadic peoples, even encompassing the phenomenon of ‘mimicry of mimicry’, can serve as a starting point for linguistic discussion of phonetic mimicry, as is clear in the examples above. Such linguistic mimicry should be viewed not only in terms of onomatopoeia and iconopoeia, but also the mimicry of the historical memory of a language and its syncretic incorporations, as well as the mimicry of a collective cultural memory reaching back centuries.

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Abbreviations in Mongolian

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Summary: This paper deals with a very specific and very productive phenomenon observed in Mongolian – that is to say abbreviations. It provides a description of various instances of abbreviations starting with the brief introduction into the forms of abbreviation applied by pre-modern Mongols and thus fixed in the Mongolian script. Present-day Mongolian contains multiple examples of abbreviations some of which turn into independent lexical units in the course of time and give rise to further derivations. So-called “language economy”, i.e. skipping some parts of the compound in favour of one that becomes the “meaning holder”, is also briefly described and presented as driven by the same force that makes Mongolians use abbreviations so often.

Foreword

Research into the topic of acronyms is directly related to normative word usage. Abbreviation, especially concerning compounds or terms formed out of several words, is related to economy in the spoken language and writing, and is a common phenomenon in any language. New forms and new words may be conceived through abbreviation. Abbreviation of expressions and terms is based mainly on their frequent repetition. Thus, in most cases the meaning of the abbreviation preserves the basic meaning of the given expression.

The term *abbreviation*, as it first appeared in western literary texts in the 14th century and was later adopted into Russian as *аббревиатура* (abbreviation) was considered to be “the method of abbreviating expressions by special symbols or letters in order to be able to write more quickly and also to save space” (Rinchen 1964). The words of Shakespeare (1564–1616), the English playwright, which stand as well in relation to this definition: “This is the long and the short of it” [i.e., this is the main meaning] (De Sole 1981, p. XV) are worth noting. In other words, the abbreviation only expresses the main meaning of the abbreviated expression.

Contemporary usage in modern Mongolian is such that abbreviations of the names of countries, international companies and local authorities, professional words and terms of almost everyday use are becoming more and more common.

Owing to more integrated relationships between countries and the development of scientific and technological information, the number of abbreviations and abbreviated expressions is expanding within the vocabulary of each language, as well as the expression of the complex terminology and phrases by the means of abbreviations (Дашдондов 1975, p. 3).

This phenomenon has become ever more frequent. In Mongolian as well, “There are rules for abbreviating and shortening words” (Бат-Ирээдүй, Сандерс 2006, p. 3), too. The new word based on the abbreviation of the words of the conjoined expression is commonly known as an “acronym”.

Traditional Mongolian Abbreviations

In the language of traditional Mongolian script abbreviations were hardly used at all. There was a tradition of using the first syllable, but only in case of showing respect or in connection with name-taboos, as for example in case of famous and reputable people, who were honorifically addressed as:

Да багш *ᠳᠠ ᠪᠠᠭᠰᠢ* (Ts. Damdinsuren, 1908–1986)

Лу багш *ᠯᠤ ᠪᠠᠭᠰᠢ* (Sh. Luvsanvandan, 1910–1983)

Ри багш *ᠷᠢ ᠪᠠᠭᠰᠢ* (B. Rinchen, 1905–1977)

Сү жанжин *ᠰᠦ ᠵᠠᠨᠵᠢᠨ* (D. Sukhbaatar, 1893–1923)

То ван *ᠲᠤ ᠪᠠᠨ* (B. Togtokhtur, 1797–1887)

Based on the peculiarity of the letter structure of traditional Mongolian script and its pronunciation, words were abbreviated not according to the first letter of the word, but by the first syllable. In New Cyrillic, however, abbreviations are formed out of the initial letters and written as such, as for example in case of

БНМАУ (Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улс) “Mongolian People’s Republic”

ЗХУ (Зөвлөлт Холбоот Улс) “The Soviet Union”

In traditional Mongolian script, the abbreviations are formed out of the first syllable of the particular word in the phrase:

“ᠪᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠤᠯᠤᠰ” (ᠪᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠤᠯᠤᠰ) (ᠪᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤ ᠤᠯᠤᠰ)
 “ᠵᠠᠨᠵᠢᠨ ᠵᠠᠨᠵᠢᠨ” (ᠵᠠᠨᠵᠢᠨ ᠵᠠᠨᠵᠢᠨ) (ᠵᠠᠨᠵᠢᠨ ᠵᠠᠨᠵᠢᠨ)

However, if one were to abbreviate *Бү. Ха. Мо. А. У.* from the New Cyrillic spelling, it would not conform to the rules and would create the same effect as wearing a traditional silk belt with a European-style coat (Ринчен 1964).

Mongolian literati of the 18th – 19th century were also accustomed to creating nouns out of two adjacent words, as can be seen in the names of animals and plants. In this method, the first part of the first word was attached to the following word, thus forming a compound noun: *цаг-* was taken from *цагаан* (ᠴᠠᠭᠠᠨ) “white” and joined to the word *бар* (ᠪᠠᠷ) “tiger” in order to form *цагбар* (ᠴᠠᠭᠪᠠᠷ), which conforms to the Chinese method of registering one word with one character, for example 白虎 – *цагаан бар* “white tiger” (Ринчен 1966, p. 72). Some mongolists point out that this method was used rather extensively, especially with the nouns belonging to the category of animal and plant names.

Modern Mongolian Abbreviations

Over the past several years, an increasing tendency towards the appearance of new abbreviations has been observed in Mongolian. Now, as abbreviating words and expressions has become one of the creative ways of new word formation, abbreviations are quite commonly used in present-day Mongolian. Since a language is a social phenomenon, it inevitably reflects the development and changes in everyday life of the society in due course. A number of companies and public organizations newly established in the recent past use abbreviations as their names, as for example:

- “АБЯ” (*Ардын Боловсролын Яам*) “People’s Ministry of Education”
- “БАРМАШ” (*барилгын машин*) “Construction Machines”
- “МАК” (*Монгол Алт Корпораци*) “Mongolian Gold Corporation”
- “МОНЭЛ” (*Монгол электрон*) “Mongolian Electronics”
- “МУБИС” (*Монгол Улсын Боловсролын Их Сургууль*) “Mongolian State University of Education”
- “НИК” (*Нефть импорт концерн*) “Petroleum Import Concern”
- “СӨХ” (*Соёлын өвийн төв*) “Centre of Cultural Heritage”
- “УИД” (*Улсын их дэлгүүр*) “State Department Store”
- “ХЗХ” (*Хэл зохиолын хүрээлэн*) “Institute of Language and Literature”
- “ЭРДСАМ” (*Эрдэнэт Самсунг*) “Erdenet Samsung”, etc.

It appears that abbreviations are used as proper names for the companies in order to create a sense of linguistic distinction. The examples provided above are the best instances of designating by abbreviation as based on the principles of language economizing. In modern Mongolian there is a specific peculiarity of reducing phonemes, syllables, words and even sentences. The word “abbreviation” does not necessarily imply the use of a method directly related to the word formation, because it is only the change of the word structure,

not of the meaning. Nevertheless, it must be explained in connection with the word structure (Өнөрбаян 1998, p. 56).

If the rules of generating names using the abbreviations and acronyms were disregarded in modern Mongolian, or in other words, if the abbreviations were used with no respect for the rules, they would turn out to be riddles for readers and would make reading the books and newspapers difficult for people. Therefore it is necessary to have well defined rules for abbreviating the words (Дамдинсүрэн 1964).

Abbreviating words is observed in any language – it is a common historical phenomenon. The habit of abbreviating words is related to the desire of facilitating and speeding up language communication, and its basic aim is to express any given meaning quickly and briefly. Therefore it is possible to connect this habit directly to the concept of saving words, i.e. that all the redundant words, expressions, suffixes are abbreviated or eliminated. As a natural result in the era of changes of social development, culture, science and technology, the number of acronyms in contemporary Mongolian has greatly increased. Therefore it has to be emphasized that abbreviating the words is to be considered as the most recent method of word formation method in Mongolian.

Classification of Modern Mongolian Abbreviations

There are three types of abbreviation found in English – *initialisms* (*acronyms*), *clipping* and *blending*.

1. *Initialisms* (*acronyms*) or the abbreviations formed from initial letters. For instance *LASER* comes from *Light amplification through stimulated emission of radiation*, *NATO* comes from *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* and *UNESCO* from *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*.
2. *Clipping* is shortening through cutting out certain syllables in a word. The word “clip” has also originated from “clipping” the recordings of the film to be used as a background for the singer singing a song so that it could attract the listeners’ attention. Some other examples of clipping widely used in colloquial and written language are as follows: *demo* ← *demo*-*cratic*, *exam* ← *examination*, *pub* ← *public*, *bus* ← *autobus*, *plane* ← *airplane*, as well as *fridge*, *flu* and also the abbreviations of personal names such as *Betty* ← *Elizabeth*, *Billy* ← *William* (Доржготов 2007, p. 49).
3. A new form of abbreviation – *blending* – has appeared and spread rapidly in recent years. Blending is the fusion of the first syllable of the first word with the last syllable of the second word. These are for instance such neologisms as *brunch* ← *breakfast* + *lunch*, *heliport* ← *helicopter* + *airport*, *smog* ← *smoke* + *fog*, *Chunnel* ← *Channel*” + “*tunnel*, etc.

According to my own research into abbreviations in Mongolian, based on a set of approximately 7,000 relatively widespread abbreviations that have been collected and analysed in respect of their structure and form, the abbreviations could be divided into three basic categories (Пүрэвжав 1990, p. 44):

1. Initialisms
2. Syllabic abbreviations
3. Combined abbreviations

Initialisms

Initialisms are abbreviations made out of the initial letters of the words in frequently used phrases. For example:

ДЭМБ (Дэлхийн Эрүүл Мэндийн Байгууллага) “WHO” (“World Health Organization”)
 МУИС (Монгол Улсын Их Сургууль) “MSU” (“Mongolian State University”)
 МЭӨ (Манай эриний өмнөх) “BC” (“Before Christ”)
 НҮБ (Нэгдсэн Үндэстний Байгууллага) “UNO” (“United Nations Organization”)
 ОУМСХ (Олон улсын монгол судлалын холбоо) “IAMS” (“International Association for Mongol Studies”)
 ОУХБ (Олон Улсын Худалдааны Байгууллага) “ITO” (“International Trade Organization”)
 ҮТНС (Үндэсний Төв Номын Сан) “CNL” (“Central National Library”)
 ХААЯ (Хөдөө Аж Ахуйн Яам) “MA” (“Ministry of Agriculture”)
 ХБҮА (Хэлний бодлогын үндэсний академи) “NALP” (“National Academy of Language Policy”)
 ШУА (Шинжлэх Ухааны Академи) “AS” (“Academy of Sciences”)

The absolute majority of the abbreviations collected during the research are initialisms. Traditionally the initialisms of the proper names are written with the capital letters. Hence in the 5th part of 48th article of his *Dictionary of Mongolian Orthography* Ts. Damdinsuren says:

When shortening the proper names by the initial letter, these are written with capital letters. When shortening them on a syllable basis, the initial letters of the syllable or all the letters are written with a capital letter. Except for people's names and surnames, there is no dot behind the abbreviation of the proper names (Damdinsuren, Osor 1983, p. 421).

In some cases of abbreviating the phrases on the initial letter basis, a mixture of initial letters and syllable can be seen, in order to avoid the appearance of identical forms and to show the difference in meaning. These are for example:

АУДС (Анагаах Ухааны Дээд Сургууль) “UMS” (“University of Medical Sciences”)
 АУДyC (Анагаах Ухааны Дунд Сургууль) “HSMS” (“High School of Medical Sciences”)

Syllabic abbreviations and abbreviations containing the combination of syllables and initial letters do not differ too greatly from other Mongolian words in the sense of phonetic structure and therefore almost entirely avoid any pronunciation problems.

When discussing the abbreviation of compounds or phrases by their initial letters, thus forming initialisms in written language in contrast to the use of the full original phrase in spoken discourse as the main way of their pronunciation, there are also cases of pronouncing the initialisms as they are written. As it can be seen on examples like *НИК* (*Нефть импорт концерн*) “Petroleum Import – Export” occurring as “NIK” also in English texts, *ТҮЦ* (*түргэн үйлчилгээний цэг*) “Quick Service Point (of Sale)”, i.e. “QSP(S)” or *ШБОС* (*шинэ бүтээл, оновчтой санал*) “new product, neat idea”, i.e. “NPNI”, the position and order of the letters in these abbreviations is very similar to the structure of genuine and extant Mongolian words and enables them to be pronounced easily in their shortened form. This phenomenon is called “linguistic economy in speaking and writing” by linguists.

Syllabic Abbreviations

Abbreviations containing the first syllables of the words in phrase or compound are referred to as syllabic abbreviations. Some of the examples are as follows:

бармаш (*барилгын машин*) “construction machine”
импэкс (*импорт экспорт*) “import export”
монбус (*монгол автобус*) “Mongolian bus”
моннис (*монгол ниссан*) “Mongolian Nissan”
монэл (*монгол электроник*) “Mongolian electronics”
монцамэ (*монголын цахилгаан мэдээ*) “Montsame” (“Mongolian Press Agency”)
нябо (*нягтлан бодогч*) “accountant”

Thus it seems that the main attention is placed on the structure of the syllable of the newly forming syllabic abbreviations. It is typical for this type of abbreviation that the rules of vowel harmony are not always obeyed. The method of abbreviating words based on the first syllables of the words in a given phrase or compound is relatively rarely used in modern Mongolian and the etymology of such words as *Монцамэ*, *монэл*, *нябо* has almost been forgotten and they are used as any other ordinary proper noun, now. Syllabic abbreviations in Mongolian are usually pronounced directly as they are written, and the suffixes are attached to them in the same way as in case of any other noun.

Combined Abbreviations

Shortening the words of a phrase or compound in such a way that the resulting abbreviation contains the first syllable, initial letter, any part of the given word or even the whole word is referred to as “combined abbreviation”. As is shown on the examples below, the beginning of the first word or the entire word is joined directly to the end of the following word thus generating the new term:

алтан “golden” + лянхуа “lotus” = алтанхуа “poppy”,
 бар “tiger” + гахай “pig” = бархай “tiger-pig”,
 давхар “double” + -чих “ear” = давчих “double ear”
 луу “dragon” + үзэсгэлэн “picturesque” = лүзэсгэлэн “libanotis”,
 түмэн “ten thousand” + өлзий “luck, good fortune” = түмэлзэй “the endless knot”,
 уран “clever, skilful” + хараацай “swallow” = ураацай “swift”,
 хулгана “mouse” + бялзуухай “small bird” = хулжуухай “mouse-bird”,
 цагаан “white” + гургуул “pheasant” = царгуул “silver pheasant”,
 цардуу ← цардуулын цавуу “starch glue”
 цайван ← цайрын байван “zinc sulphate”, etc.

Here, the words newly formed as combined abbreviations should follow the vocal harmony rule. More than 600 combined abbreviations have been observed in Mongolian, and most of them are scientific and technical terms, as well as names of animals, plants, stones and minerals. Consequently, shortening long terminology through forming new verbal forms corresponds perfectly to the principles of linguistic economy.

This method of abbreviation, which corresponds to “blending” in English, was masterfully used by Mongolians several hundred years ago as G. Mijid-dorj (1937–1984) states in his monograph *The Relationship between Mongolian and Manchu language*:

The abbreviated stems formed as a result of the clutch of different roots and stems, or in other words, as a result of attaching the part of the root or stem behind the different root or stem (in a same way as suffixes are attached) occur quite commonly in these two languages (i.e. in Mongolian and Manchu).

Hence, both Mongolians and Manchus used to create new terms by putting together different roots and/or stems, whether whole or in part, thus increasing the number of the new stems in their mother tongues. Most likely, this method followed the rule of “focusing on the harmony of the phonemes” once adhered by the oriental philologists and scholars. Considering the fact that the terms abbreviated by putting together the parts of different words prevail amongst the total amount of abbreviations in these two

languages we can come to the conclusion that this method was commonly used (Мижиддорж 1976, p. 250).

Outdated Abbreviations

In addition, there are specific physical items or social phenomena that have become outdated and fallen into disuse in the course of societal development, and consequently the words attached to them are also slowly disappearing from the everyday active vocabulary. As is demonstrated in the examples below, there are a number of abbreviations, once widely used as part of the Mongolian vocabulary, that can hardly be heard at present:

КУТВ (*Коммунистический университет трудящихся Востока*) “Communist University of the Proletariat of the East”

МААМС (*Мал аж ахуйн машинт станц*) “Animal Husbandry Machine Station”

МАРЗ (*Монгольская Ассоциация Революционных Зохиолчид*) “Mongolian Association of Revolutionary Writers”

РАБФАК (*Рабочий факультет*) “The Faculty for Workers”

Other abbreviations started to fall into disuse as a consequence of various changes that occur in the society causing their referents to cease to exist, for example:

БНМАУ (*Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улс*) “The Mongolian People’s Republic”

ЗОСЦ (*Залуучуудын орон сууцны цогцолбор*) “Apartment Complex for Young People”

ЗСБНХУ (*Зөвлөлт Социалист Бүгд Найрамдах Холбоот Улс*) “The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics”

ЗХУ (*Зөвлөлт Холбоот Улс*) “The Soviet Union”

НХДЗ (*Нэгдлийн Холбооны Дээд Зөвлөл*) “Supreme Council of the Association of the Cooperatives”

ЭЗХТЗ (*Эдийн Засгийн Харицан Туслалцах Зөвлөл*) “The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance”

Foreign Abbreviations

In addition, there are a sizeable number of abbreviations in Mongolian that consist of words and terms borrowed from other languages, including internationalisms. For about 400 abbreviations out of the total quantity of abbreviations gathered and analysed in the course of my research, the source of the abbreviations were words of foreign origin. The following abbreviations belong to the most widely ones:

АПЕК ← (Eng.) "APEC" ("Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation")
 АСЕАН ← (Eng.) "ASEAN" ("Association of South East Asian Nations")
 ЖАЙКА ← (Eng.) "JAICA" ("Japan International Cooperation Agency")
 КОЙКА ← (Eng.) "KOICA" ("Korean International Cooperation Agency")
 ЛАЗЕР ← (Eng.) "LASER" ("Light Amplification Stimulated Emission of Radiation")
 НАТО ← (Eng.) "NATO" ("North Atlantic Treaty Organization")
 НБА ← (Eng.) "NBA" ("National Basketball Association")
 САМБО ← (Ru. *самозащита без оружия*) "Weaponless Self-Defence"
 ТАСС ← (Ru. *Телеграфное агентство Союза Советских Социалистических Республик*)
 "Telegraph Agency of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics"
 ТИКА ← (Eng.) "TICA" ("Turkish International Cooperation Agency")

The above-mentioned *лазер* "laser" also occurs in its Mongolized version as *тасам туяа* (lit. strap-ray). The abbreviations borrowed into Mongolian from other languages could be further used in two main ways: either in their original linguistic form, or else as literal translations of the original foreign abbreviations. At the same time, the borrowed abbreviations are noticeable for being transferred into Mongolian through abbreviations that are as short as possible. For instance, the abbreviation *ТБЭМ* (*тооцоолон бодох электрон машин*) "electronic computer" has originated from the Russian *ЭВМ* (*электронно-вычислительная машина*) as its literal translation.

There is one interesting phenomenon in the historical development of languages known as "linguistic opposition". While on the part of the speaker there occurs a shortening of the speech arising out of his interest to express the ideas as briefly as possible, the other partner, i.e. the listener, is clearly interested in receiving the information as detailed as possible (Ravdan 2005, p. 27). Up to the 1930s, the shortening or abbreviating process was far less extensive in colloquial Mongolian than it is today. Syllabic or initial abbreviations rank among the relatively new phenomena in the language, as the first abbreviations were mostly of directly Russian origin, such as *КУТВ*, *РАБФАК*, *СССР*, etc. Based on the Russian pattern, the number of abbreviations in colloquial Mongolian started to grow slowly from the 1950s–1960s up to the 1990s, after which point their number expanded rapidly, and for the time being their presence in Mongolian is regarded as a common matter.

Linguistic Economy in Colloquial Language

There is also a tendency in colloquial Mongolian to shorten some of the compound and phrases that are used in full-length in written language. This is one of the main features differentiating the colloquial language from the

standard version. There are also many cases when one word in a compound or a phrase is eliminated and the remainder is used in a same way as the other ordinary words. As a result, modern Mongolian phrases and compound such as for example *сурган хүмүүжүүлэх ухаан* “pedagogics”, *цагдан сэргийлэх газар* “police station”, *тоо бодлогын хичээл* “mathematics lesson”, *Монгол Улсын Их Сургууль* “Mongolian State University”, *нисэх онгоцны буудал* “airport”, *үзүүлэн таниулах эх хэрэглэгдэхүүн* “illustrative didactic aid” are more and more often shortened to *сурган*, *сэргийлэх*, *тоо*, *их сургууль*, *нисэх*, *үзүүлэн* respectively in colloquial language. Basically, “when speaking and writing people avoid the use of long words and extensive sentences thus almost unintentionally shortening them in order to economize the involvement of the vocal chords and mind” (Budagov 1980, p. 87). It is especially worth noting that preferring easier, simpler and shorter forms in speech for reasons of saving time is one of the main indications of the rule of linguistic economy.

Use of Abbreviations in Colloquial Language

The attention of linguists has been captured by the fact that artificial words such as *ТҮЦ*, *ШАГ*, *АПУ*, *ДОХ*, *СӨХ*, *ТӨХ*, etc, originally abbreviations, have generated from and spread through the sedentary way of life, they reflect notions of a way of life substantially different from the traditional one. An abstract abbreviation like *ШАГ*, which has its origin in the three-component impersonal sentence *Шил архи гаргая* “Let’s take out a bottle of vodka” or *ТҮЦ*, based on the initial letters of the designation *түргэн үйлчилгээний цэг* “Quick Service Point (of Sale)” first emerged in the communication among specific restricted social communities. Later, as they became more and more familiar, their usage came to extend beyond the initial primary scope and further expanded through the language of tabloids, radio and TV; for several years now, they have penetrated into the colloquial language. If even a small linguistic analysis is done, it would be clear that the abbreviations *ТҮЦ*, *ШАГ* become roots and further generate such words, compounds and pair words as *шагийнхан* “black-marketers, vodka traffickers”, *шагийн наймаа* “traffic with vodka”, *шагийн архи* “under-the-counter-vodka”, *шагчин* “vodka trafficker”, *шаглаач* “vodka trafficker, black-marketer”, *шаглах* “to traffick with scarce goods”, etc., and *түцхэн* “small kiosk”, *түцдэх* “to work/sell in the kiosk”, *түцийнхэн* “people from the kiosk”, *мини түц* “my kiosk”, *супер түц* “the super kiosk”, etc. In some cases, the word *ТҮЦ* has possibly lost

his primary meaning and it seems that children understand it as *Тамхуар үйлчлэх цэг* “cigarette serving point”. Neither words nor their referents are fixed, nor are they eternal. As not every Pawn can become a Queen (Purev-Ochir 2007, p. 299) not every new word remains in use forever.

Satiric Use of Abbreviations

It must be also emphasized that there are cases of facetious, satirical or ironic interpretations of certain Mongolian abbreviations, as well as instances of their complete misinterpretation. In the major national newspapers the following examples of incorrect interpretations of words or abbreviations can be found: *АПХИ* “vodka” as *амтат рашаан, хүндэтгэлийн идээ* “tasty mineral-water, the meal given in honour of somebody”, *ГААЛЬ* “custom” as *гадаадаас авчирвал авилгал аль* “if (you) bring something from abroad come on with the backhander” (Newspaper “Зууны мэдээ”, № 251 /2699/, 19.10.2007), *ГСА*, which is the abbreviation of *Говьсүмбэр аймаг* “Gobisumber aimag” was interpreted as *гурван сүмтай аймаг* “the aimag with (only) three sums” (Newspaper “Өнөөдөр”, № 8 /3571/, 13.1.2009), *ТУЗ*, which means *төлөөлөн удирдах зөвлөл* “board of directors” was interpreted as *төлөөлөн урьтаж завиш* “while representing take advantage as first” (Newspaper “Зууны мэдээ”, № 251 /2699/, 19.10.2007). The scholar György Kara, in his *Mongolian-Hungarian Dictionary* published in 1998, brought forth another possible interpretation of *БНМАУ* (originally the abbreviation of Mongolian People’s Republic) as *бүгдээрээ нийлээд манайд архи ууя* “let’s gather at our place and have some vodka” (Kara 1998, p. XVI) and *ЗООГ* “meal” (*honor*.) as *залуу охидыг отох газар* “a place to wait for young girls for” (Kara 1998, p. XVII).

In recent years, the editorial offices with no supervisors and proofreaders that actually designate themselves with the foreign-derived word *редакц* have started to grow in number, assisting in ‘wilting the Mongolian language’ in such a way. Regrettably, many newspapers instead of sharpening their language and style have grown unable to control their own laziness and flood their pages with abbreviations that ignore the rules of abbreviating names and may sound like riddles, as for example *ХХААХҮЯ* “Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Light Industries”, *МУХАҮТ* “Mongolian Chamber of Commerce and Industry”, *ММНБИ* “Mongolian Institute of Professional Accountants”, *ЗТБХБЯ* “Ministry of Roads, Transportation, Construction and Urban Development”, *ШШШЕГ* “General Department for Enforcement of Court Orders”,

etc. (Түдэв 2009). Nonetheless, shortening words on the basis of initial letters or syllables in order to make the language, style and phrases clear and comprehensive is common in all languages.

Conclusion

Abbreviations formed out of the fixed collocations are comprehensible to anybody. As it was considered useful to have a dictionary of abbreviations in order to systemize the abbreviations following the basic principle of abbreviating observed in the frequently used names, the first Dictionary of Mongolian Abbreviations was published in the first half of 2010.

The abbreviations that were used in everyday communication during the last ten years, as well as those found in the books and main newspapers and magazines, were included in this dictionary. Many abbreviations, once commonly used in the press or in the professional publications of the various fields and easily comprehensible, could later fall into disuse, be forgotten and regarded as insoluble conundrums in the end. In this dictionary, the abbreviations are organized according to alphabetical order. Mongolian acronyms are shown with capital letter as МУИС “MSU” (“Mongolian State University”), НҮБ “UNO” (“United Nations Organization”) or ХАА “Agriculture”, while some other abbreviations and sign such as км “km” (kilometre), м “m” (metre) or см “cm” (centimetre), are written with small letters. Internationally widespread abbreviations that have newly appeared in relation to our globalised times are arranged in the second part of the dictionary.

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The depiction of battles in the Mongolian heroic epic “Old Dragon Wise Khan”

(translation of selected extracts and their linguistic analysis with an emphasis on poetic devices of the text) II.¹

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Summary: The previous part of this paper, published in *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia* '11, contains an extensive introduction dealing with the character of the heroic epic and its universal genre features and with the formulaic bases of epic language as stated by the Parry-Lord Theory of Oral Composition. It also discusses the specifics of Mongolian epic language and summarizes the basic poetic devices of the studied text. The aim of the second part is to broaden the illustrative material. It provides three extracts from the epic depicting the battle scenes, their English translation and notes on their language specifics and means of artistic expression. My English translation is not supposed to be artistic and it does not reflect fully all the poetic devices, e.g. alliteration, metrum, euphony etc. It will provide an illustration of the problem under consideration, whereas the poetic devices and epic language characteristics are the subject of the analysis.

1. Extract No. 3

1. Өвгөн аавын үгийг хүлээж аваад
Баруун хойшоо одон морилвоо.
Хоёр гурван сарын газар яваваа.
Мангасын дайны тоос харагдваа.

5. Хамгийн түрүүнд
Ерэн таван толгойтой
Ендэрвээн хар мангас
Гары нь хумс

Гадаа тийшээ гажсан

10. Хөлий нь хумс

Хөдөө тийшээ чичсэн

Хөх төмөр хумстай

Тайлагчлан ташуулаад

Тэмээчлэн тэшүүлээд

15. Ирэн явахыг үзвээ.

Эрийн сайн Хийсваидарихүү

Өөрийн биенд тулж уулзаж

1. He accepted the words of the old father and
Set forth towards the north west.

He went to the place two or three months
far way.

He could see the dust from *mangus's* battle.

5. In the lead he saw

Ninety-five-headed

Yenderveen the black *mangus*,

Approaching,

Nails of his hands

10. Twisted outward,

Nails of his feet

Sticking out,

With (*such*) dark blue iron nails,

He was leaning in a way young camels do,

15. He was galloping in a way camels do.

Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men

Came to him

1) This paper was written as a part of the project “The problem of time in the humanities and social sciences” funded by a specific university research grant for the year 2010 under the number 261107 at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague.

Яриа ярьжээ.
 – “Хул халзан луусанд
 20. Бичиг захиагийг тань өгсөөн!
 Дамын эр хүн
 Сэргээн ярьж байвал

Холын аян сульдаж мэднээ.
 Чи надтай ямар зэвсгээр
 25. Байлдах вэ?” [гэхэд] (105)
 Мангасын хаан өгүүлвээ.
 – “Өндөр уулын оргил дээрээс
 Нум сумаар дайлалдъяа.
Халж ирснээрээ чи урьдна уу?
 30. Халагдаж байгаагаараа
Би урьтнаа билүү?” [гэхэд]
 Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү өгүүлвээ.
 – “Хоёр уулын орой биеийг авъя.

Чи урьтаж тавь ээ!” [гээд]
 35. Хоёулаа хоёр уулын
 Орой биенд гарваа.
 Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү
 Ардаг хар морио
 Өндөр уулын ар биенд
 40. Хад мэт хантайраад²
Хайрцаг мэт түшчихаваа.
Өвгөн аавын эрчтэй эрэн нумыг
 Хөвчлөн ававаа.
 Ардаг хар морин
 45. Нум хөвчлөхийг харж байгаад
 Гурав сайхан баярлан шилгээвээ.
 – “Хаан төрийг
 Эр, морь хоёр тусалдгийн
 Түрүүч ирлээ!” [гээд]
 50. Хангинатал унгалдаад
 Хоёр хамраас нь
 Харанхуй хар манан
 Татуулахыг үзвээ.
 Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү
 55. Уулын оргил дээрээ гараад
 Далан таван товчтой
 Дампуу хамбан дээлийн
 Хэнхдэгийг яран
Төхмийн чинээ
 60. Цагаан цээжийг гаргаад
 Мангаст харуулахыг үзвээ.

And talked the conversation.
 “I gave a letter for you
 20. To the tawny mule with a blaze!
 If the liaison man (messenger)
 Recovered (*the content of the letter*) and
 talked again,
 He could get exhausted from the long trip.
 With which weapon
 25. Will you fight me?”
 Mangus's khan said.
 – “Let's fight with bow and arrow
 From the top of a high mountain.
 Will you start as the one who attacked me?
 30. Shall I start
 as the one who was attacked?”
 Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men, said.
 – “Let's find a place on the tops of two
 mountains.
 You shoot first!”
 35. They both climbed
 Onto the tops of two mountains.
 Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men
 (*Tied*) his Untamed black horse
 On the north side of the high mountain,
 40. He tied (*him*) *strongly* like a rock,
 He tied (*him*) *firmly* like a parcel.
 He drew the string
 Of the old father's Mighty motley bow.
 When Untamed black horse
 45. Saw him drawing the bow,
 Three times he joyously shook.
 – “The best of the men and horses,
 Helpers to the kingdom
 Have come!”
 50. They saw he whinnied till it echoed and
 Dark black mist
 Came out
 From both of his nostrils.
 They saw Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men,
 55. Had climbed to the top of his mountain,
 And opened at the breast
 His *wonderful* khamban del
 With seventy-five buttons,
 Uncovered his white chest
 60. As great as a gorge and
 Showed it to *mangus*.

2) *Хантайрах* – ‘to tie horse's bridle to his saddle’; *myuux* – ‘to bind horse's legs’.

Мангас нум сумаан
 Онилж аваад
 Өглөөний улаан наранд татаад
 65. Үдийн улаан наранд (106)
 Мулглахыг үзвээ.
 Ардаг хар морины нь
 Хамраас гарсан шуурга
 Харанхуй хар манан татаад,
 70. [Тэр шуурганд нь] мангас
 Дэн дун сумаа тавихыг үзвээ.
 Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүүгийн
 Төхмийн чинээ
 Цагаан хэнхдэгт ирээд
 75. Хаданд тусч байгаа юм шиг
 ханхийгээд
 Сум нь даасангүй эргэхийг үзвээ.
 Мангас хэлэлцсэн ёсоор
 Зогсож байхыг үзсэнгүй.
 Зүгтаах санаа орохыг үзвээ.
 80. Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү
 Гучин хоёр цагаан сүмны
 Содон зандан цагаан сумыг аваад
 Мангасын голт зүрхээр
 Нэвт тавиад
 85. Мангас уулыг дэрлээд
 Хөрсийг өрлөөд
 Ойр хавийнхаа
 Хуурай нойтон модыг
 Няцар хэмхэр даран
 90. Нурахыг үзвээ.
 Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү
 Ардаг хар мориндоо мордоод
 Мангас дээр давхиж ирвээ.
 –"Чи яагаад надтай
 95. Эр хүний ёсоор байлдаж байж
 Адаг сүүлд нь зулдахын санаа
 Юунд ордог билээ?" [гээд]

Өвгөн аавын эдэлж явсан
 Түмэн хүний толгойд
 100. Түг таг тааруулсан
 Түүхий улаан юлдийг
 Сугалж аваад
 Төхмийн чинээ хар гэдсийг
 Хага татваа.
 105. Хотгойд хойшоо гарч (107)
 Урианхай урагшаа гарч
 Зүгтаахыг үзвээ.

They saw mangus
 Aim his bow and arrow,
 In the morning red sun he drew (*the bowstring*),
 65. In the noon red sun
 He shot *his arrow*.
 They saw storm from the nose
 Of his Untamed black horse
 Causing a dark black mist and
 70. [In this storm] *mangus*
 Hardly shot his arrow.
 It reached the white chest
 As great as a gorge
 Of Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men,
 75. *They* saw his arrow clatter as if it had hit
 a rock,
It did not rip through, it bounced back.
They didn't see that *mangus* would
 Be standing as it was settled.
They saw that the idea occurred to him to flee.
 80. *They* saw Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men
 Take *the finest* of his thirty-two white arrows,
 The marvellous sandal white arrow and
 Shoot through
 The *mangus's* heart.
 85. *Mangus* collapsed,
 He put a mountain under his head,
 He hit the earth with his breast and
 All the near surroundings
 Dry and wet trees
 90. He smashed to smithereens.
 Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men
 Mounted his Untamed black horse and
 Galloped towards *mangus*.
 –"When we are fighting
 95. The way men do,
 Why in the end
 Did the thought that you would escape
 occur to you?"
 He drew his
 Crude red sword
 100. Made precisely (*adapted*)
 For the heads of ten thousand men
 Used by his old father and
 He slashed
 The (*mangus's*) black belly as great as a gorge.
 105. Khotgoid people to the north,
 Uriankhai people to the south,
They saw them escaping.

Хэсэг амьтныг амирлуулаад
Мангасыг алан авааа.

110. Эрийн сайн Хийсваидарихүү
Ардаг хар мориндоо мордоод
Цаашаагаан одон морилвоо.

Оройн ганц нүдэт

Шулмын хаан

115. Таван живаа цэргийн дунд

Тугаа барин

Ирэн явахыг үзвээ.

Эрийн сайн Хийсваидарихүү:

Гэрээ бичгээ өгсөөн,

120. Хоёрдугаар мангасыг алсаан,

Одоо хэлэлцэлгээ яриа байхгүй ээ.

Дайн хийнээ [гэсэн]

Энэ бодол бодожирхоод

Дороо буун харайгаад

125. Эрчтэй эрээн нумандаа

Гучин хоёр сумны түрүү

Зандан сумыг онилон аваад

Оройн ганц нүдтэй

Шулмын хааныг

130. Оройн ганц нүдий [нь] тас харван

Түгий нь чиргүүлээд

Түмэн хүний толгойд

Түг таг тааруулсан

Түүхий улаан юлдийг

135. Суга татаж аваад

Таван живаа цэрэгтэй

Захаас нь

Сайн жилийн тариа мэт

Хярган дайлдан орвоо.

140. Хойноос нь

Дөчин живаа цэрэг ирээд

Хүчин нэмэхийг үзвээ.

Тэр жилийг тэсэн

Дайн хийгээд

145. Хойт жилийг баран (108)

Дайн хийгээд

Эс дийлдэхийг үзвээ.

Дунд нь ороод дайлдаад байхлаар

Бууны нь утаа манад

150. Ухаан санаа төөрөлдөөд

Болохгүй байхыг үзвээ.

Захаар нь захалж гараад

Салхитай талыг барин

So he freed some *human* beings and

He killed *mangus*.

110. Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men,

Mounted on his Untamed black horse and

Went further on.

He saw Khan of *Shulams*

With a single top eye³

115. Coming

Amongst fifty million warriors,

Holding his banner.

Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men, thought:

"I gave the letter,

120. I killed the second *mangus*,

Now there is nothing to discuss.

I will wage war".

He thought this idea,

Jumped down (*from his horse*),

125. Put the first of his thirty-two arrows,

The sandal arrow

Into his Mighty motley bow, he aimed and

Shot the single top eye

Of the khan of *Shulams*

130. With the single top eye,

He dragged his banner along,

He drew his

Crude red sword

Made precisely (*adopted*)

135. For the heads of ten thousand men and

Started to fight with fifty million warriors,

He scythed them

From their edges

Like the crop of a good year.

140. He saw four hundred million warriors

Coming after (*them*) and

Strengthening (*their*) force.

The whole year he kept

Waging war,

145. Until the end of the next year

He kept waging war and

He saw they had not been defeated.

When he fought (*entering*) in their midst

In the smoke and mist of their rifles

150. His mind got lost and

He saw it was impossible.

He walked along their edge and

He waged war

3) I.e. 'the only eye on the top of his head'.

Дайн хийгээд

155. Долоон жилийн дайн хийвээ.

Нэг ч амьтан хорохын жишим

Үгүй байхыг үзвээ.

–“Үхсэн нь босоод байдаг байна уу, энэ?

Би лавтайгаар заавал алж байгаа” [гээд]

160. Гоцын гойдын амьтан эрээд явааа.

Дөчин хоёр толгойтой мангас

Гумтаа улаан жадыг

Барьсан явахыг үзвээ.

Түүнийг дагаад

165. Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү [явав.]

Үүрийн үнэгэн харанхуйд

Мангас үүргэлэн

Нойр авч байхыг үзвээ.

Мангасыг очиж

170. Жады нь булааж аваад

өөрий нь чавчин алваа.

Дахин эргэж дайн хийгээд

Гурван жил дайлдаад

Эс дийлэхийг үзвээ.

175. Өөрийн бие морь хоёр

Оргон босон

Цастын цагаан уулын

Орой биенд

Одон морилвоо.

180. Морь бие хоёрынхоо

Зэв сумыг түүж

Хоёр талд

Хоёр гүвээн чинээ овоолвоо.

Үд хүргэдэггүй

185. Үнэгэн цагаан үндсийг

Алтан дэлхийгээс

Ухан авав.

Хоног хүргэдэггүй

Хонин цагаан үндсийг

190. Хөрст дэлхийгээс ухан авав.

Морь бие хоёрынхоо шархыг

Тэр үндсээр шувтсан

Гурван сар эмнэвээ.

Хуучнаар сайхан эдгэвээ.

195. Ардаг хар мориндоо

Holding the windward-side,

155. He waged a seven-year-long war.

He saw no indication

That any of them was being killed.

“Does this mean that dead men are coming
alive?

Surely I am killing them,”

160. He went looking for a special extraor-
dinary being.

He saw

Forty-two-headed *mangus* walking,

Holding the red spear *Gumtaa*.

Hiisvaidarihu’u, the best of men

165. Followed him.

At the fox-dark of dawn

He saw that

Mangus took a nap.

He came to *mangus*,

170. Took his spear,

Slashed him and killed him.

He went back and waged war again,

For three years he fought and

He saw he had not defeated *them*.

175. He and the horse

Ran away *till*

They came

To the top

Of Snow-white mountain.

180. He collected arrowheads

From his and the horse’s *bodies*⁴ and

On two sides

He made two piles as large as a hill.

Before the noon came,

185. He dug up

Out of the golden earth

The fox⁵ white root.

Before the end of the day,

He dug up out of the earth

190. The sheep white root.

With these roots he healed

His and the horse’s wounds

For three months.

They recovered so nicely that they were like
before.

195. (*Hiisvaidarihu*’u) said

4) Lit. ‘His and his horse’s arrowheads.’

5) Or: ‘true’ – see below.

Нэг өгүүлвээ.
 –”Тоотой хэдэн үгийг
 Мориноосоо асууя.
 Анхландаа бэлэг сайхан
200. Зохисон билээ.
 Өндөр уулын оргил дээр
 Хоёрдугаар мангастай
 Байлдах гэж байхад
 Чи гурав сайхан баярласан билээ.
205. Гурав сайхан шилгээсэн билээ.
 Дайныг амархан дарна гэж
 Их бэлэг санасан билээ.
 Эдүгээ алдад
 Энэ зэрэгтэй зүдэрч байхад
210. Юундаа тэгж баярласан билээ?
 Дөчин таван живаа хүнтэй
 Дайн хийхийн үед
 Нэг талаас нь дайраад
Сайн жилийн тариа мэт
215. Хяргаад шудаад байна гэж
 Дотроо санахад
 Хорж байгаа шинж байхгүй ээ!
 Энэ дайныг дарж дийлэхэд
 Тун чухаг хэцүү байна.
220. Өстөнг өрлөхөд
 Тун чухаг хэцүү байна.
Чиний дээр унасан эр
Алахыг бодоод явдаг.
Адуусны үр чи
225. Доод талдаар ажиглан явахад (110)

Гоцын гойдын амьтан
 Үхсэн хүнийг босгоод
 Байдаг байна уу?
 Тэрнийг үзэж яваа
230. Зүйл байна уу?” [гэхэд]
 Ардаг хар морь өгүүлвээ.
 –”Энэ дайныг ингээд
 Дарна гэдэг чухаг.
Маргаашийн өглөөний
235. Өөд улаан наранд
 Олом жирмий минь сайхан татаж
 Миний нуруу биен дээр
 Сайн эрийн суудлаар сууж
 Дайран оръё, хоёулаан!
240. Би өрөөсөн талаас нь

To his Untamed black horse:
 –”I will ask my horse
 A pair of words.
 At the beginning, the sign
200. Was good.⁶
 When I was about to fight
 With the second *mangus*
 On the top of a high mountain,
 Three times you nicely rejoiced.
205. Three times you nicely shook.
 I thought that was a great sign for me
 That I will easily win the war.
 Why did you so rejoice,
 when now
210. I am exhausted like this?
 At the time of warfare
 Against four hundred million men,
 I was attacking them on one side and
 I thought in my mind
215. That I kept reaping them
 Like the crop of a good year, *but*
 There are no signs of them falling low!
 It is really remarkably hard
 To win in this war.
220. It is really remarkably hard
 To take revenge.
 The man who is riding on you
 Thinks only of killing.
 You, the horse's offspring,
225. When you walk and observe from the
 bottom side,
 Is there
 A special extraordinary being
 Raising (e.g. *reviving*) dead men?
 Have you seen
230. Such a thing?”
 Untamed black horse said:
 –”It is impossible
 To win this war like this.
 In tomorrow's morning
235. Rising red sun
 You will nicely tighten my girth,
 You will sit on my back
 As a good man (e.g. *hero*) and
 We will together attack!
240. I will dart (*among them*)

6) Lit. ‘it suited me well’.

Дайран ороод
Хорт улаан далай нэвтэлж
Байгаа юм шиг
 Нэг нааш нь туулан гаръя.
245. Хүн алахыг битгий бодоорой!

Дунд нь орохын алдад
 Би зогтусан зогсоно.
 Тэгэхийн цагт
 Баруун тал руугаа
250. Сайн ажиглаж хараарай!

Дан цагаан морь унасан
Хөх төмөр хэдрэгтэй
Арван таван толгойтой
Аалзын чинээ хар мангас

255. Чамтай өвдөг нийлэн
 Алдаад байнаа!
 Түүнийг харжирхаад
 Баруун гуяа базан базан
 Чарлаад зугтаагаарай!
260. Тэгэхийн цагт
 Надаас айлаа гээд
 Захлан, хөөн туун гараад ирнээ!

Тэгэхлээр захилт би одоо юу байх вээ.

Хардаг сайхан нүд хайчлаа?

265. Харавдаг сайхан эрхий хайчлаа? (111)

Чиний аав
 Хорин нэг дайлдсан болов чиг
 Эр морь хоёр түргэдээд
 Энэ увидасыг
270. Олж алсан зүйл байхгүй билээ.
 Энэнийг алаагүй цагт
 Энэ дайны үр тасрана гэдэг чухаа аа!

Чамайг нэг зуун хүн алахад
 Төмөр хэдрэгээр нэг дохиод
275. Нэг зуун хүн амархан босгоноо” [гэвээ.]
 Өглөөний өөд улаан наранд
 Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү
 Ардаг хар морины
 Олом жирмийг

On their one side and
 As if crossing
 A poisonous red sea,
 I will run through them (*till I get*) back here.
245. Do not think of killing people!
 When I get into their midst,
 Suddenly, I will stop and stay still.
 At the moment I do so

Watch carefully
250. On your right side!
 Fifteen-headed
 Black *mangus* (looking) like a spider
 With blue iron scraper
 Riding a pure white horse

255. Will almost
 Touch your knees!⁷
 When you see him,
 Squeeze and squeeze again your right thigh,
 Scream and run away!

260. The moment you do this
 He will think – ‘he is afraid of me,’
 He will get to the edge, he will chase you and
 come out!⁸

I do not have to instruct you what to do next.
 Where has it gone, the *perfect*⁹ seeing eye?

265. Where has it gone, the *perfect* shoot-
 ing thumb?

Although your father
 Fought twenty-one times,
 Man and horse were too hasty and
 They did not find and kill

270. This magic (*this magical being*).
 When one does not kill it,
 The seed/fruit¹⁰ of this war cannot be
 interrupted.

When you kill a hundred people,
 He swings once his iron scraper and
275. Raises (*revives*) a hundred people easily.”
 In the morning red rising sun
 Hiisvaidarihu‘u, the best of men
 Nicely tightened
 The buckle of the grith

7) I.e. ‘will almost reach you.’

8) I.e. ‘he will separate from other soldiers.’

9) Although ‘сайхан’ literally means ‘nice’, in this formula it more likely seems to be adding stronger modality, stressing the quality of the hero’s sight and archery skills.

10) I.e. continuation – see below.

280. Сайхан чангалжирхаад
Сайн эрийн суултаар сууваа.
 Ардаг хар морь
 Цастын цагаан уулын өвөррүү
Сайн морины дайралтаар
 285. Давхин орж ирвээ.

Дөчин таван живаа цэргийг

Нэг талаас нь дайран ороод
 Дунд нь хүрэхийн алдад
 Зогтусан зогсохыг үзвээ.

290. Хийсвайдарихүү
 Баруун талруугаа харваа.
Дан цагаан мориныг унасан

Хөх төмөр хэдрэгийг
Дэхин дохин хийлгэсэн

295. Аалзын чинээ хар мангас
 Байхыг нэгэн үзвээ.
 Хийсвайдарихүү баруун гуяа базаад
 Нялхын дуугаар чарлаад зугтааваа.

Надаас айлаа гээд

300. Онцгойлон хөөн туун

Дөчин таван живаа цэрнийг

Нэвтлэн захлаад ирэхийг үзвээ.

– “Чиний мууг захлан ирэхийг чухам

Гучин хоёр цагаан сумны түрүү

305. **Содон цагаан сум бий!**” гээд (112)

Эрчтэй эрээн нумаа онилон аваад

– “Энэ дайны мэргэ чи байж!” [гээд]

Эргээд харвачихваа.

Дан цагаан морины хондлойруу

310. Мангас үсрээд явчихваа.

Дан цагаан морь чарлан

Эрээн харцага болон

Тэнгэр өөд **сүмбэдэхийг** үзвээ.

Ардаг хар морь

315. Хүрэн эрээн бүргэд болон

Харцаганы хойноос **сүмбэдвээ.**

Цагийн агчмын дотор

Харцагыг барьж аваад

Хийсвайдарихүүд өгөхийг үзвээ.

320. Хийсвайдарихүү шуудаар түргэн

280. Of his Untamed black horse and
 Sit on high like a good man (*hero*).

Untamed black horse

Darted and galloped

Like a good horse

285. To the south side of Snow-white
 mountain.

He darted among four hundred and fifty mil-
 lion warriors

On their one side and

When he was about to reach their centre,

He suddenly stopped and stood still.

290. Hiisvaidarihu'u

Looked to his right side.

Suddenly he saw

Black *mangus* like a spider

Riding the pure white horse,

295. With the blue iron scraper

That he was swinging back and forth.

Hiisvaidarihu'u squeezed his right thigh,

Yelled like a new-born child and started to
 run away.

'He is afraid of me', (*mangus*) thought,

300. They saw him (*mangus*) coming specially
 after him (*Hiisvaidarihu'u*),

Going through four hundred and fifty million
 warriors and

Getting to the edge.

– “The first of thirty-two white arrows,

The marvellous white arrow

305. *Belongs* particularly to the infamy of you,
 who came here to the edge!” he said,

He aimed his Mighty motley bow,

– “You were the shot/prophecy of this war!”

He turned around and shot.

Mangus jumped onto

310. The croup of the pure white horse.

They saw the pure white horse scream,

Become a motley hawk and

Shoot up into the sky.

Untamed black horse

315. Became a brown motley eagle and

Shot up after the hawk.

They saw him catch the hawk

In a second and

Give it to Hiisvaidarihu'u.

320. They saw Hiisvaidarihu'u quickly
 straight away

Түмэн хүний толгой	Chop the hawk up
Түг таг тааруулсан	With Crude red sword
Түүхий улаан юлдээр	Made precisely (<i>adopted</i>)
Харцагыг заазуурдаад	For the heads of ten thousand men,
325. Хуурга хийж	325. He made <i>huurag</i> , ¹¹
Махы нь зооголжирхаад	Ate his flesh,
Түмэн хүний толгойд тааруулсан	<i>Drew/lift</i> his Crude red sword
Түүхий улаан юлдээ давшлуурдаад	Made precisely (<i>adopted</i>) for the heads of ten thousand men and
Дөчин таван живаа цэрэгтэй	The whole year he kept fighting,
330. Тэр жилийг тэсэн дайлдаад	330. Until the end of the next year he kept fighting
Хойт жилийг баран дайтаад	With four hundred and fifty million soldiers and
Хоёр жилийн дотор	In two years
Цастын цагаан уулын өвөрт	On the southern slope of Snow-white mountain
Махан овоо, цусан далай	He made
335. Хийхийг үзвээ. (113)	335. A pile of meat, a sea of blood.

In this episode, which depicts the greatest battle of the whole work, we can find a wide range of fixed formulas used throughout the whole text to describe specific realities or to evoke a certain impression. Right at the beginning of the passage, the frightening mangus is described in a very expressive way:

Хамгийн түрүүнд/ Ерэн таван толгойтой/ Ендэрвээн хар мангас/ Гары нь хумс/ Гадаа тийшээ гажсан/ Хөлий нь хумс/ Хөдөө тийшээ чичсэн/ Хөх төмөр хумстай/ Тайлагчлан ташуулаад/ Тэмээчлэн тэшиүүлээд/ Ирэн явахыг үзвээ. ('In the lead he saw/ Ninety-five-headed / Yenderveen the black *mangus*,/ Approaching,/ Nails of his hands/ Twisted outward,/ Nails of his feet/ Sticking out,/ With (*such*) dark blue iron nails,/ He was leaning in a young camel's way,/ He was galloping in a camel's way.' 5–15).

The name and the epithet of this creature *Ерэн таван толгойтой Ендэрвээн хар мангас* (6–7) is, once again, one of the settled folk names used for manguses. The number of heads and the name are connected by alliteration. As in the names of other manguses, here too the frequent and fixed epithet *хар* is applied, illustrating and confirming the evil nature of the character. The name *Ендэрвээн* (in other texts it also appears as *Индэрмаа*) does not assume any particular importance. However, it conveys a certain unpleasant image. Etymologically, the word is probably related to the word *өндөр* ('high'). It has a strong negative tone and makes the audience scared, gives a frightening

11) The meat chopped into small pieces and fried.

impression and depicts something huge and terrible (J. Luvsandorj). In the verses describing the menacing claws, syntactic parallelism and alliteration are applied. Particularly noteworthy is the formula *тайлагчлан таишуулаад, тэмээчлэн тэшиүүлээд* (13–14), which suggestively and with strongly negative modality shows the movement of a rider on horseback. It likens the *mangus's* horse ride to the camel's run, which is considered to be fast but not harmonious (fluent). The running camel is swaying, rocking, leaning to its sides. The depicted image conveys an uncomfortable impression. The expressions are based on the words *тайлаг* – 'a five-year old camel' (culturally specific expression), *таишуу* – 'oblique, skew', *тэмээ* – 'camel', and *тэших* – 'to run' (about the camel), and in their combination euphony is applied.¹²

The other regularly recurring formula in the passage is the verse in which the hero metaphorically expresses that something would take too long and therefore he would not waste his time with it:

Холын аян сульдаж мэднээ ('He could get exhausted from the long way'; 23).

The couplet in which the enemy asks the hero who should start the fight – who would first shoot the arrow, also has a fixed nature:

Халж ирснээрээ чи урьдна уу?/ Халагдаж байгаагаараа/ Би урьтнаа билүү? ('Will you start as the one who attacked me?/ Shall I start/ As the one who was attacked' 29–31)

The formula couplet expressing the horse being tied firmly by one of the characters also uses syntactic parallelism and its expressiveness is based on a symbolic comparison:

Хад мэт хантайраад/ Хайрцаг мэт тушчихаваа. ('He tied *him* strongly like a rock/ He tied *him* firmly like a parcel.' 40–41).

We will also see other variations of these formulas in the following samples.

The formula

Хотгойд хойшоо гарч/ Урианхай урагшаа гарч ('Khotogoid people to the north,/ Uriankhai people to the south'; 105–106)

is an example of the settled folk sayings occurring also in other folklore genres. By the use of synecdoche, Khotogoid people and Uriankhai people represent here a number of nations liberated from *mangus's* stomach. This

12) For details on the depiction of manguses in Mongolian heroic epic, see Karyy, Б., 2013, Vol. 1, pp. 226–280.

formula uses alliteration based on the similarity of the first syllables of ethnonyms to compass points.

In the context of warfare, the hyperbole formula expressing the duration of the war appears:

Тэр жилийг тэсэн/ Дайн хийгээд/ Хойт жилийг баран/ Дайн хийгээд/ Эс дийлдэхийг үзвээ.
 (“The whole year he kept/ waging war./ Until the end of the next year/ He kept waging war./ He saw they had not been defeated.’ 143–147; another variation in 330–331).

There is one break during the battle, when the hero and his horse must heal their wounds. It is also the moment when the hero gets crucial advice from the horse on how to achieve victory. The process of healing is described as follows:

Морь бие хоёрынхоо/ Зэв сумыг түүж/ Хоёр талд/ Хоёр гүвээн чинээ овоолвоо./ Үд хүргэдэггүй/ Үнэгэн цагаан үндсийг/ Алтан дэлхийгээс/ Ухан авав. / Хоног хүргэдэггүй/ Хонин цагаан үндсийг/ Хөрст дэлхийгээс ухан авав. / Морь бие хоёрынхоо шархыг/ Тэр үндсээр шувтсан/ Гурван сар эмнэвээ. (‘He collected arrowheads/ From his and the horse’s bodies and/ On two sides/ He made two piles as large as a hill./ Before the noon came, / He dug up/ Out of the golden earth/ The fox white root./ Before the end of the day, / He dug up out of the earth/ The sheep white root./ With these roots he healed/ His and the horse’s wounds/ For three months.’ 180–193).

First, the number of arrows in the bodies of the hero and his horse is expressed through a figurative comparison in accordance with the required hyperbole. Verses depicting the collection of two magical medicinal roots, whose names are formed by fixed folk epithets, are brilliant examples of syntactic parallelism. The first root – *үнэгэн цагаан үндэс* (‘fox white root’) – is probably a garbled variant of the epithet *үнэн цагаан үндэс* (‘true/real white root’), which appears also in other epics (J. Luvsandorj). Another widespread folk epithet *алтан дэлхий* (‘gold earth’) can also be found in this passage.

As for other fixed expressions, I will mention the formula frequently used throughout the whole text to express the time around the morning sunrise:

Өглөөний улаан наранд (‘In the morning red sun’; 64);
Маргаашийн өглөөний/ Өөд улаан наранд (‘In tomorrow’s morning/ rising red sun’; 234–235).

In the passage depicting the battle with bows and arrows between the heroes, some versions of hyperbolic formula appear. They express the time needed for drawing the bow and aiming:

Мангас нум сумаан/ Онилж аваад/ Өглөөний улаан наранд татаад/ Үдийн улаан наранд/ Мултахыг үзвээ. (‘They saw *tangus*/ Aimed his bow and arrow./ In the morning red sun he drew the bowstring/ In the noon red sun/ He shot his arrow.’ 62–66).

The syntactic parallelism reinforced by the symploche is applied in the horse's rhetorical question to the hero, through which he suggests that once he had advised him on the war trick, the hero himself should know how to kill the mangus:

Хардаг сайхан нүд хайчлаа?/ Харавдаг сайхан эрхий хайчлаа? ('Where has it gone, the perfect seeing eye?/ Where has it gone, the perfect shooting thumb?' 264–265).

Throughout the text, epithet formulas designating weapons and equipment appear in a very strong form. Each weapon, each part of the horse gear, each piece of clothing, everything that belongs to the hero or other key characters has its fixed ornamental epithet, which characterizes it, and points to its uniqueness and exceptionality. The whole formula directly expresses the weapon (dress, tool), including its nature, character and appearance. Regarding weapons, their epithetic formulas, of course, are increasingly applied in descriptions of battles and fights.

The epithet of hero's sword (as already mentioned in the first part of this paper; Kočková 2011, pp. 112–115) appears in this passage four times, and with only slight modifications is always adapted to the needs of the surrounding text (98–101, 132–134, 321–323, 327–328). Other weapons with epithet expressions include the bow

Өвгөн аавын эрчтэй эрэн нум ('The old father's Mighty motley bow'; 42, other variations also in 125, 306),

and arrows

Гучин хоёр цагаан сумны/ Содон зандан цагаан сум ('The finest of his thirty-two white arrows/ The marvellous sandal white arrow'; 81–82, other variations in 126–127, 304–305).

As for the unique arrow used by the hero, we can notice the variability and various combinations of words *мүрүү* ('first, main'), *содон* ('marvellous, excellent') and *зандан* ('sandal').¹³ *Mangus's* spear also has an interesting epithet *Гумтаа улаан жад* ('Red spear Gumtaa') (162). In this case, however, it is not entirely clear whether the term *гумтаа* is the name of the spear or whether it is now an obscure epithet, whose purpose was to develop the meaning of the whole clause. The etymology of the word is unclear, although the possible connection with "*yunatu-yin ulayan jida*" seems to be obvious. According to Dulam's interpretation, it refers to the triangle form of an

13) This variability is caused either by the specific metric conditions or by the prompt improvisation under the circumstances of rapid oral composition. It is an excellent example of the characteristics of oral formulas which must be understood as both stable and fluid (Cf. Lord, A., 1960, pp. 30–67).

arrowhead or spearhead. It also indicates some extraordinary qualities of the weapon, e.g. its sharpness, which is able to penetrate any kind of material or enemy, an exceptional fighting power (Dulm-a, S. 2009, pp. 411, 412). Dulam illustrates his hypothesis about the meaning of the word in an excerpt of “*Er-e yin sayin Kečeküü Berke*” (The best of men Khetsuu Berkh), which is part of the ornamental epithet of the spear:

(...) *yurban yeke tal-a-yi dabtayad yaryaysan/ yurbaljin köke üjügür-i qarayidayad yaryaysan/ köke temör toli-tai/ yunatu-yin ulayan jida yanju yanju-bar bayuba* (...) (...) Its three great sides have been hammered,/ Its blue triangular spearhead has been rasped,/ With blue iron shiny flats,/ In such a form *Guntiin* red spear has come down (...)

It is necessary to mention that another etymological explanation can be proposed. There is a significant similarity with the sanskrit word “*kuntah*” (V. Zikmundová), which means ‘spear’. In that case, the epithet could be an example of the *хоршоо* *yz* frequently used in the epic, which are composed of foreign and Mongolian expressions with the same meaning and usually have honorific modality. As for the epithet *улаан* (‘red’), it does not indicate the color of the weapon, but has a symbolic nature there – it is the colour of the battle, a symbol of victory. In addition to weapons, the epithet formula of the hero’s *deel* occurs in this example (see quotes in extract No. 1; Kočková 2011, pp. 106, 109).

In this passage, next to the ninety-five-headed mangus the one-eyed khan of *Shulams* appears. His epithet is

Оройн ганц нүдэт шулмын хаан (lit. ‘The khan of *Shulams* with one top eye’; 113–114),

which can be viewed in the context of the one-eyed creature conception in Mongolian folklore. In Mongolian oral tradition, there is a legend about Lal or Lalar, which almost coincides with the ancient Greek legend about the giant Cyclops.¹⁴ The motif of one-eyed creature is found also in the Secret History of Mongols – one of Chinghiskhan’s ancestors Duva sohor (*Дува сохор*) had a single eye in the middle of his forehead.¹⁵ According to J. Luvsandorj a single eye is a sign of great strength of character. At the same time, an image of

14) Cf. Цэрэнсодном (1989): *Түмэн хар хоньтой Түнтгэр хар өвгөн* [The black old man Chubby with ten thousand black sheep] (p. 141); *Лал (Лалар)* [Lal (Lalar)] (p. 142). In the first story the Lalar is described as a giant with only one eye, in the second as a giant creature without a head with his one eye on his shoulders and with his mouth on his waist. A number of comparative works deal with the parallels between Greek and Mongolian mythology, e.g. some works of B. Rinchen.

15) Cf. “4. Дува сохор, магнай дундаа ганц нүдтэй, гурван нүүдлийн газар харах бүлгээ.” *Монголын нууц товчоо* (1957, p. 25).

the creature with one eye on the forehead or on the top of his head evokes ugliness, which is significant for the picture of a negative inhuman creature. As for the term *shulam* (*шулам, шулмас, шумнас*), it indicates a demon, dirty power, causing all sorts of obstacles and difficulties. As a demonic creature (often female), *shulam* mostly occurs in fairy tales.

The last monster featured in this part is

Арван таван толгойтой/ Аалзын чинээ хар мангас (lit. 'Fifteen-headed/ Black *mangus* like a spider'; 253–254; 295),

whose core epithet is further developed by the descriptive formula

Дан цагаан морь унасан/ Хөх төмөр хэдрэгтэй ('With blue iron scraper/ Riding a pure white horse'; 251–252, 292–295).

Mangus is being compared to a black spider. This comparison, which is a part of *mangus*'s core epithet, does not indicate *mangus*'s size, but it rather describes his ugly appearance. The expression *хэдрэг* ('scraper') is a culturally specific term denoting the scraper for skin tanning. We can say this scraper is an attribute of *manguses*, occurring in some fairy tales as well.

In addition to ornamental epithets and other formulaic expressions mentioned above, several other symbolic comparisons appear in this sample. They all belong, as stated in the introduction (Kočková 2011, pp. 102–104), to one of the typical form of expression of the epic language. Comparisons are often very hyperbolic. We can say that they are the fundamental means of hyperbolization. In the above passage, the comparison *төхмийн чинээ* ('as great as a gorge'), which we saw also in the first sample in the depiction of the battle between Luu mergen khan and Khadargaa Khar Boomon tenger (Kočková 2011, pp. 107, 109), is repeatedly applied. Interestingly, this comparison is applied both in connection with the hero and with his enemy – *mangus*. A positive or negative quality is expressed in the presence of the epithets *цагаан* (*цээж/хэнхдэг*) ('white breast/chest'; 51–52; 73–74) or *хар* (*гэдэс*) ('black belly') for *mangus* (103). In battles fought with bow and arrows, the enemy's arrow bounces off the hero's chest with a bang, "as if it hit the rock":

Хаданд тусч байгаа юм шиг ханхийгээд (75).

In the noise of battle, the hero 'reaps' millions of enemies 'like a crop of good (rich) year':

Сайн жилийн тариа мэт (138; 214).

Comparing a number of enemy warriors to ‘the poisonous red sea’:

Хорт улаан далай нэвтэлж/ Байгаа юм шиг (242–243)

is very expressive.

Comparison is closely linked to metaphor and metaphorical expressions. Metaphors that can be found in this extract are expressions like *дайны үр тасрах* (lit. ‘seed/fruit – i.e. the duration of the war is interrupted’; 272) used in the sense of ‘to definitely end the war, to get rid of enemies once and for all’. An interesting metaphor appears in a situation where the hero is about to shoot the great mangus who has the power to revive defeated warriors. It is a decisive moment of the war and the hero fires an arrow saying:

Энэ дайны мэргэ чи байж! (307).

The word *мэргэ* can be translated as ‘a stroke’, ‘a target hit’ and as the arrow’s target itself, its ‘food’ (*сумын хоол, идэш*) (J. Luvsandorj). On the other hand, the same expression means ‘prediction, forecast, prophecy’. In this context, both expressions can be used, they both make sense; the hero’s shout can be perceived as ‘You were a stroke of the war’ as well as ‘You were a prophecy of the war’ (i.e. you decided how the war ends). This remarkable and quite possibly a deliberate effect also beautifully illustrates the relationship of both meanings of the word and conveys metaphorical character of Mongolian folk thought, which is strongly reflected in the language.

The word *сүмбэдэх* (313, 316) appears in the text as a metaphor, whose original meaning is ‘to clean a gun with a cleaning rod, to pound with a cleaning rod’ (BAMRS). Figuratively, this word is commonly used to express a rapid, direct, very fast movement forward and can be translated as ‘to shoot out, fly like an arrow, whistle’. It is thus a so-called lexicalized metaphor. Another lexicalized metaphor occurs in the clause *өстөнг өрлөх* (‘to take revenge’; 220). The word *өрлөх* is used to depict the opening of the abdominal cavity of small animals at slaughter and it figuratively means ‘to kill, to put to death’. In this phrase it expressively depicts the killing of the enemy in taking revenge. The fixed saying *өвдөг нийлэх* (lit. ‘to join knees’; 255) is a synecdoche expressing how two horse riders get very near to each other (so they can almost touch each other’s knees). Among the idioms that are commonly adopted in folklore as well as in literature is *үнэгэн харанхуй* (lit. ‘fox dark’; 166), which indicates the early morning hours just before the dawn when it is still dark (it is supposed to be the darkest part of night).¹⁶

16) BAMRS; Жанцангийн Бат-Ирээдүй (2009, p. 210).

In addition to the hyperbolic expressions mentioned above in connection with comparisons and formulas, there are several other examples of strong epic hyperbolization in the text. They are partly verses depicting the defeat of the first *mangus*:

Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү/ Гучин хоёр цагаан сумны/ Содон зандан цагаан сумыг
аваад/ Мангасын голт зүрхээр/ Нэвт тавиад/ Мангас уулыг дэрлээд/ Хөрсийг өрлөөд/
Ойр хавийнхаа/ Хуурай нойтон модыг/ Няцар хэмхэр даран/ Нурахыг үзвээ. ('They saw
Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of men/ Take the finest of his thirty-two white arrows,/ The marvel-
lous sandal white arrow and/ Shoot through / The mangus's heart./ Mangus collapsed,/ He put
a mountain under his head,/ He hit the earth with his breast and/ All the close surroundings/
Dry and wet trees/ He smashed to smithereens.' 80–90),

and partly formulas ending the big battle with the enemy:

Хоёр жилийн дотор/ Цастын цагаан уулын өвөрт/ Махан овоо, цусан далай/ Хийхийг
үзвээ. ('In two years/ On the southern slope of Snow-white mountain/ He made/ A pile of meat,
a sea of blood. 332–335).

The hyperbole is pervasive throughout the text: enemies amount to tens of millions, the battles last for many years, etc. We can say that this hyperbolization is a principal characteristic of the whole epic text and passages depicting fighting in particular.

As regards the specific vocabulary, in addition to several expressions mentioned above there are also some 'painting' words (Мо. *дүрслэх үг*) in this extract. *Хангинах* (50) is an onomatopoeic word originally meaning 'to ring, jangle, jingle, rattle, buzz' (Šima 1987). It is used to describe the sound of the ringing or rattling of metal objects, ringing of bells, the sounds of music, but also when we talk about the sound of human voices.¹⁷ In the text, it appears in the phrase *хангинатал унгалдаад* (lit. 'he whinnied till it clanked/rattled'; 50) where the expression has the function of sound intensificator. The onomatopoeic word *ханхийх* (75) is of the same etymological origin.

A parallel between the hero and his horse, which is reflected in the text in various forms in different situations, is an interesting phenomenon. The figure of the horse is very significant in all epics. We can say that its role is often decisive (even in this excerpt, it is obvious that without the horse's

17) Another meaning of the word is 'to grumble, to tell off'. In the figurative sense it can be used referring to severe winter (*хүйтэн хангинах* – 'the frost clangs'), to the reeking odour (*өмхий хангинах* – 'to stink'), to the sharpness of sth. (*хангинаж өвдөх* – 'to feel a sharp pain') or to someone's liveliness, vivaciousness (*хангинасан хүн* – 'vivacious person'). Cf. Цэвэл (1966).

advice and contribution the hero would hardly defeat the enemy. In other parts the horse helps to bring the hero to life. These are very common motifs in the heroic epic). The practically equal relationship between the hero and his horse is depicted in various parts through parallel comparisons. In this passage, this phenomenon is apparent at the moment when the hero asks his horse whether he has seen a creature that brings killed enemies back to life (222–230), in the passage describing the healing of the hero’s and his horse’s wounds (180–194), and also in verses 280–285 where the hero and his horse are about to start the final battle. Syntactic parallelism strengthening the connection between hero and the horse is obvious.¹⁸

2. Extract No. 4

1. Өвгөн аавын их эдэлж явсан
Түүхий улаан юлдрүүтгээ
Энэ дайны үр
Үнэн ёсоор тасарчуу? [гээд]
5. Ажиглан хараваа.
Их хар юлд [нь]
Хуйнаасаа огшин ахиад
Өөрийн нь хуйлсан хэмжээнээс
Хоёр хуруу хираатай илүү
10. Сугарсан байхыг үзвээ.
[Тэгэхэд нь Хийсвайдарихүү:]
–”Дайны үр тасраагүй ээ!” [гээд]

Их хар юлдийг
Суга татаж аваад
15. Хатан авгайн гэдсийг
Хүүлэн ававаа.
Арван таван толгойтой
Атгаалжин хар мангас гарч
Тулга гурав тойрч зугтаагаад

20. Эс баригдан өгвөө.
Болзоотын бор толгой
Гурав тойрч зугтаагаад
Эс баригдаж өгвөө.

1. He [said] to his Crude red sword
Used very much by his old father,
Was the seed/fruit (i.e. *duration*) of this war
Really interrupted?
5. And watched carefully.
[Her] great black sword
Push itself out of the scabbard and
He saw it had slipped out
By two fingers more
10. Than his own (*sword*).
[Then Hiisvaidarihu’u said:]
–”The seed/fruit (i.e. *duration*) of the war was
not interrupted!”

He drew
Her great black sword and
15. Ripped
The belly of Khatana.
Fifteen-headed Atgaaljin
Black mangus went out,
Three times he circled around the *tulga* run-
ning away and
20. Didn’t let himself get caught.
Three times he circled around
The grey hill of meetings running away and
Didn’t let himself get caught.

18) More thoroughly I dealt with the role of a horse in the particular epic in my M.A. thesis where I translated and analysed some extracts concerning horses. For more details on the relationship between the hero and his horse in Mongolian heroic epic, see also Karyy, 2013, pp. 190–217.

19) Lit. ‘to grope genitals’ (i.e. to exterminate all males of the family/clan).

Гэдэснээс гарсан хүү
 25. Зугтаан байж өгүүлвээ.
 –"Манай хааны хүйсийг
 Үнэн шавхаж
Хүйс тэмтэрч байгаа
 Нэр нь олддоггүй
 30. Ганц сайн эр гэдэг
 Та байзаач гэм!
 Маргааш өглөөний
 Өөд улаан наранд
 Энэ толгой дээр (115)
 35. Хоёулаан уулзая!
 Эдлэл зэвсэг
 Хаа байдгийг
 Би мэдэхгүй ээ!
 Аав ээжийн хийсэн
 40. Махан бодиор
 Тантай уулзнаа!
 Нэг дийлдэнэ, танд,
 Нэг дийлнэ, таныг!" [гэсэн]
 Энэ үгийг өгүүлээд хүү
 45. Үгүй болчихыг үзвээ.
 Хийсвайдарихүү дороо одон хоновоо.
 –"Өглөөний өөд улаан наранд
 Чамайг эс ирвэл
 Хаа байсан газраас чинь
 50. Олон ална, чамайг" [гэж бодов.]
 Заа, өглөөний өөд улаан наранд
 Өнөө мангас хүү хүрч ирвээ.
 Хүрч ирээд өгүүлвээ.
 –"Эр хүн зорьсон зоригондоо!" [гээд]
 55. Аав ээжийн хийсэн махан бодиор
 Барилцан авааа, хоёулаа.
 Өглөөний чин улаан наранд ноцолдоод
 Үдийн чин улаан наранд
 [Хийсвайдарихүү]
 60. –"Язгуурын язгуурт
 Үрийн үрд

Running away, the boy
 25. Who emerged from the belly said:
 –"You, the only good man (*hero*)
Who can't be named (who is unnamable)
 Who is really up to the end
 Wiping out all the clan¹⁷
 30. Of our khan,
 Wait, I am telling you!²⁰
 Tomorrow in the morning
 Red rising sun
 Let's get together
 35. On this hill!
 I don't know
 Where
 The arms are!
 I will meet you
 40. With my mere body²¹
 Made by father and mother!
 Once I will be defeated, by you,
 Once I will defeat you!"
 He saw the boy said these words and
 45. Disappeared.
 Khiisvaidarikhū rode down (*the hill*) and
 stayed overnight.
 –"If you don't come
 In the morning red rising sun,
 I will find you wherever you are
 50. And I will kill you," [he thought].
 So, in the morning red rising sun
 That mangus boy came there.
 He came and said:
 –"Each man follows his own goal!"
 55. They started to fight
 With their mere bodies, made by father and
 mother.
 In the *very* red morning sun they fought and
 In the *very* red noon sun
 [Khiisvaidarikhū]:
 60. –"In the root of roots
 In the seed of seeds²²

20) The pattern "–*аач гэм!*" means the very pressing demand, imperative. "Гэм" may be derived from the term "хэмээх" and therefore it is probably underlining an imperative in the sense of "....., I am telling you!" (J. Luvsandorj).

21) Махан бодь is a mongolized corruption of the originally sanskrit word ('element, substance, matter') with the same meaning as the phrase *бүе махбод* ('body, organism').

22) I.e. from generation to generation. A set folklore phrase. It has the same meaning as *үеийн үед* ('for time immemorial, ever before, for ever and ever, from generation to generation').

Мангасын дайн гэдгийг
Манай гүрэн ердөөн үзэхгүй ээ!” [гээд]

Хүүг дороо хийж аваад

65. Түмэн хүний толгойд

Түг таг тааруулсан

Түүхий улаан юлдээр

Хүүгийн гэдсийг хагалваа.

Хоёр хонгор шар зөгий

70. Гарч ирвээ.

Хийсвайдарихүүг буруу зөвгүй

Шивээд

Зөгийн хор болгон унагааваа.

Хоёр зөгий (116)

75. Ардаг хар морийг шивэвээ.

Ардаг хар морь

Урагшаа гурав самарч

Тушаагаа тастаад

Хойшоо гурав самарч

80. Чөдрөө тастаад

Таван өнгийн солонго болон

Хурмаст өөд [гарч]

Хурмастын долоон дагинасын үүдэнд

Морь биеэрээн тодорвоо. (117)

...

85. Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү

– “**Би яасан их унтсан билээ?**” гээд

Сэрэн өндийгөөд ирвээ.

Ардаг хар морь өгүүлвээ.

– “Сайн эр байтлаа

90. Санаа үгүй (119)

Сайхан хүний үр байтлаа

Ухаан үгүй!

Таны хийсэн ажил аа!

Нэг дийлнэ, нэг дийлдэнэ гэж

100. Тэр хүүг хэлж байхад

Юундаа гүзээгий нь хагалсан билээ?

Хоёр их увидас [нь]

Хоёр их зөгий болж

Хордуулж унагасан билээ!” [гэхэд]

105. Хурмастын гурван дагина өгүүлвээ.

– “Хаан аавын эрдэнийн цагаан шил[ийг]

Авчирсан билээ,

Дордын газар.

Ардаг хар морины чинь

Our empire will not see

The mangus’s war!”

He *knocked* the boy down and

65. Split the boy’s belly apart

With the crude red sword

Precisely made (*adapted*)

For the heads of ten thousand men.

Two honey yellow bees

70. Flew out and

Stung

Khiisvaidarikhuu on right and left and

They beat him with the bee poison.

Two bees

75. Were stinging Untamed black horse.

Untamed black horse

Kicked forward three times

And broke his fetter,

He kicked backward three times

80. And broke his hobble,

He became a five-colour rainbow,

[Went] up on Khurmast and

At the door of seven Churmast’s princesses

(*daakinii*)

He emerged in his horse’s body.

...

85. Hiisvaidarihu’u, the best of men

Woke up, lifted himself up, and said:

“Oh, how long have I slept?”

Untamed black horse said:

– “Though you are a good man (*hero*),

90. You do not think,

Though you are a nice mancub,

You are so foolish!

It’s your work!

When the boy said,

100. Once (*you*) will defeat, once (*you*) will
be defeated,

Why did you split his belly apart?

[His] two great magics (*secret powers*)

Have become two great bees

And indeed poisoned and defeated you!”

105. Khurmast’s three princesses said:

– “We brought

Into the lower land

The precious white glass of father the khan.

There is still seen

110. Эмээлийн бүүрэгний
Хойт хонхон дор
Болжимхан бор шувуу болж
Харагдаад байна аа!
Тэрний хоёр далавчийг
115. Та сөхөөн орхи!
Таныг хордуулсан
Хоёр хонгор шар зөгий
Тэр шувууны далавчин дор
Хоёулаа байна аа!
120. Эрдэнийн цагаан шил дотор татуулаад

Ам өчгий нь авъя.
Авах байх хоёрыг
Та өөрөө мэдээрэй!" [гэсэн]
Энэ үгийг өгүүлвээ.
125. – "Аа, тэгье" гээд
Хийсвайдарихүү босоод
Эмээлийн хонхон дор
Очин үзвээ.
Болжимхан бор шувуу
130. Шургасан байхыг үзвээ.
Хурмастын гурван авхай
Эрдэнийн цагаан шилийг онгойлгоод
Ардаг хар морины эмээлийн
Хонхон дорж барьж байгаа.
135. Хийсвайдарихүү бор шувууны (120)
Хоёр далавчийг сөхвөө.
Хоёр хонгор [шар] зөгий
Далавчин дороос гараад

Эрдэнийн цагаан шилд
140. Орохыг үзвээ.
Орсоны дараа
[Хоёр хонгор шар зөгий:]
– "Халахцагай, халахцагай!
Алтан сайхан амий минь авар!
145. Харанхуй шөнө харах
Хоёр нүд чинь больё.

110. The *small lovely sparrow*²³ who got
To the rear hole²⁴
Of the cantle
Of your Untamed black horse!
Lift
115. His two wings!
Under the wings of the bird
There are both of them,
The two honey yellow bees
Who poisoned you!
120. Let them draw into the precious white
glass and
Let's take their testimony.
Whether to catch them or not
You need to know yourself!"
These words they said.
125. – "Ah, let's do so"
Khisvaidarikhoo said,
He stood up, came and looked
Inside the hole of the saddle.
He saw the *small lovely sparrow*
130. Had crept into the hole.
Khurmast's three maidens
Opened the precious white glass and
Held (it) at the hole²⁵
Of the saddle of Untamed black horse.
135. Khisvaidarikhoo lifted
Two wings of the sparrow.
They saw
Two pale [yellow] bees fly out from under
the wings and
Fly
140. Into the precious white glass.
After flying in
[Two pale yellow bees said:]
– "Ouch, ouch, it's burning!
Save my dear golden life!
145. We'll become your two eyes
Seeing in the dark night.

- 23) Болжимхан – an epithet of a small bird, lark or sparrow. It designates the small, lovely and adorable birdie, its modality is nice and caressing. It is an adjective etymologically related to the term for sparrow (or lark) in various dialects, e.g. *болжмор*, *болжуухай*, *бонжоон*, *богиоотой* and the like. (J. Luvsandorj).
24) A hollow under the front and the back wooden curve of a saddle. It is a space where provisions can be placed as the air flows there and makes it comparatively cold.
25) *Хонхон дорж* – probably an error of transcription, typing or a slip of the tongue. Correctly: *хонхон дор*. (J. Luvsandorj).

Хангай газар хань болъё.

Амь биеий тань сахих

Хоёр их тэнгэр болъё!” [гэв.]

150. Хийсвайдарихүү өгүүлвээ.

– “Наад талын тань

Чадал ч үгүй болж

Хүн хордуулж чадахдаа л

Сайн юм байна.

155. Цаашаа юу болдог

Ид шид байна, та хоёрт?” [гэхэд]

– “**Хоёр мөрөнд тань**

Төгссөн цолчийн дүрээр

Явах газар тань

160. Хоёр мөрнөөс тань

Холдолгүй

Хоёр шүдлэн үхрийн чинээ

Хар эрээн бүргэд

Шар эрээн бүргэд

165. Болж сахъя,

Хоёр мөрий тань!” [гэв.]

Хурмастын гурван авхай өгүүлвээ.

– “Ирсэн билээ, бид гурав.

Энэ хоёрыг алалгүй

170. Хүлээж аваа!” [гэхэд]

Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү

Аятай сайхнаар хүлээж авааа.

Эрдэнийн цагаан шилийг онгойлгоод

Хийсвайдарихүүгийн мөрөн дээр

175. Шүдлэн үхрийн чинээ (121)

Хар эрээн бүргэд

Шар эрээн бүргэд

Болон сууваа, хоёулаан. (122)

We'll become partners in the wild forested mountains.

We'll become two great tengers

Guarding your soul and body!

150. Khiisvaidarikhoo said:

You have not

Any great power,

You are only good at

Poisoning people.

155. What other thing you can turn yourself into

by your magic power, you two?”

– “On your two shoulders

In the form of a *perfect guardian*,²⁶

Wherever you go

160. We'll never move away

From your two shoulders,

We'll become

Black motley eagle *and*

Yellow motley eagle

165. As big as two three-year-old cows

And we'll guard your two shoulders!”

Khurmast's three maidens said.

– “Indeed, we came, the three of us.

Accept

170. These two without killing them!”

Khiisvaidarikhoo, the best of men

Received them nicely.

They opened the precious white glass and (*The bees*) have become

175. Black motley eagle *and*

Yellow motley eagle

As big as a three-year-old cow

And they both sat on Khiisvaidarikhoo's shoulders.

The duel in the fourth sample has a magical rather than fighting nature and is an example of a conflict with an enemy different from those of previous passages. The decisive role is not played by the hero himself and his special abilities, but by his horse and three heavenly princesses-*dakinies*, whose merit is that the killed hero is resurrected and wins two magical guardians.

26) Цолч – this word's meaning is problematic. It could be understood naturally as ‘a person conferring a title’, or possibly as having the same meaning as the word ‘цолтон’ – ‘a bearer of the (particular) title’. But from the context of the word, we can understand and translate it as ‘permanent guardian, defender’. (J. Luvsandorj).

Also in this passage we can observe many recurring phenomena and formulas already mentioned above and which therefore will not be mentioned here again. In addition to these, several other formulas are present, and once again the typical syntactic parallelism, required alliteration, possibly anaphora or epiphora, repeating of the same words or phrases and euphony are applied here. These are verses describing *mangus's* escape from the hero:

Тулга гурав тойрч зугтаагаад/ Эс баригдан өгөө. / Болзоотын бор толгой/ Гурав тойрч зугтаагаад/ Эс баригдаж өгөө. ('Three times he circled around the tulga running away and/ Didn't let himself get caught./ Three times he circled around/ The grey hill of meetings running away and/ Didn't let himself get caught.' 19–23)

and quatrains expressing the prancing of the hero's horse in order to get free from his hobble:

Урагишаа гурав самарч/ Тушаагаа тастаад/ Хойшоо гурав самарч/ Чөдрөө тастаад ('He Kicked forward three times/ And broke his fetter,/ He kicked backward three times/ And broke his hobble' 77–80).

Furthermore, there is the formula in which the captured enemies beg for mercy under the promise of their usefulness for the hero in the future:

Алтан сайхан амий минь авар!/ Харанхуй шөнө харах/ Хоёр нүд чинь болъё./ Хангай газар хань болъё./ Амь биеий тань сахих/ Хоёр их тэнгэр болъё! ('Save my dear golden life!/ We'll become your two eyes/ Seeing in the dark night./ We'll become partners in the wild forested mountains./ We'll become two great tengers/ Guarding your soul and body!' 144–149)

and the following oath:

Хоёр мөрөнд тань/ Төгссөн цолчийн дүрээр/ Явах газар тань/ Хоёр мөрнөөс тань/ Холдолгүй/ Хоёр шүдлэн үхрийн чинээ/ Хар эрэн бүргэд/ Шар эрэн бүргэд/ Болж сахъя./ Хоёр мөрий тань! ('On your two shoulders/ In the form of a perfect guardian,/ Wherever you go/ We'll never move away/ From your two shoulders,/ We'll become/ Black motley eagle and/ Yellow motley eagle/ As big as two three-year old cows/ And we'll guard your two shoulders!' 157–166).

In this part, repetition of the same phrase 'Your two shoulders' is very noticeable. Also hyperbolic comparison appears:

шүдлэн үхрийн чинээ ('as big as a three-year-old cow'; 162, 175).

A plea for mercy appears in other parts of the epic as well; while a promised service differs in various situations, the way it's described doesn't change.

The fixed folk formula, which in connection with the motif of the killing and subsequent revival of the hero appears in the heroic epic of other nations

as well, is also noteworthy. It concerns a question asked by the hero immediately after his magical awakening:

Би яасан их унтсан билээ? (‘For how long have I slept?’ 86).

In terms of metaphorical expression and in addition to the above mentioned phrase *дайны үр тасрах* (lit. ‘to break the seed/fruit of the war’, i.e. ‘to finally put an end, to prevent the continuation, enduring of the war’; 3–4, 12) a related metaphorical formula appears in the text:

язгуурын язгуурт / үрийн үрд (lit. ‘in the root of roots/ in the seed of seeds’; 60–61),

identical in meaning to the phrase *үеийн үед* (‘always, ever since, for all ages, from generation to generation’). Here I would like to point out that while in Indo-European languages the two distinct words “seed” and “fruit” have metaphorically opposed meanings in terms of “cause” and “effect” respectively, in Mongolian these two things, actually identical (at least if we have in mind cereals), are expressed by the same word “*үр*”. The metaphorical use of the word then affects the whole continuum, duration, something which it is necessary to respect in translations.

The idiom *хүйс тэмтрэх* (lit. ‘to grope genitals’; 28), deep-rooted in a metaphorical sense of ‘to completely eradicate gender, to kill all the male offsprings’, is also interesting. The origin of the idiom derives from the custom of old Mongols which is to verify a gender of infants of defeated enemies to make sure there are no male survivors so that there is no danger that a winning tribe or clan will be threatened by revenge in the future.

3. Extract No. 5

1. Дунд хаан өгүүлвээ.
–”Зэр зэмсгээ
Гурван хаан зэмсэглэж аваад
[Хойноос нь хөөс” гээд]
5. Гурван хаан
Хар мориндоо мордоод
Хожгор хүүгийн хойноос
Хөөн туун ирвээ.
Дунд хаан ирээд өгүүлвээ.
10. –”Аянгийн хүү аяндаа

Замын хүү замдаа явахгүй,
Чи муу хожгор хүү

1. The middle khan said:
–”We the three khans, let’s arm ourselves
With our weapons and
[Let’s chase him”]
5. Three khans
Mounted on their black horses and
Chased
Bald boy.
The middle khan came and said:
10. –”The boy of journey *doesn’t follow* his
journey
The boy of route doesn’t follow his route,
You, bad bald boy,

Манайхыг дайрч
Бид гурвыг

15. Гурван тэмээ болгож
Юундаа дайрав, чи?

Чамтай байлдаж
Гарын шар ус тараана!" [гэж]
Дунд хаан энэ үгийг өгүүлвээ.

20. Хожгор хүү хэлвээ.
–"Дөрвүүлэн сууж байгаад

Учраа мэдээд
Үгээ задалсан бол
Үнэн сайн хаад санжээ.

25. Намайг явснаас хойш
Бүсгүй хүнээр сүвэгчлүүлээд
Ингэж байгаа бизээ, та гурав!
Байлдаа яахав!

Богд хааны болгоон хийсэн

30. Зэв сумаар тулна билүү?

Аав ээжийн хийсэн

Махан бодиор тулна билүү?

Та гурвын
Аль таалалтайгаар нийлье" [гэв.]

35. Дунд хаан өгүүлвээ.

–"Богд эзний болгоон хийсэн
Зэв сумаар тулья!" гэж.

[Хожгор хүү өгүүлэв.] (165)

–"Намайг хөөж ирснээрээ

40. Ямар янзын газраас

Яаж харвалзахыг

Та гурав хэмжээ!" [гэв.]

Дунд хаан хэлвээ.

–"Хожгор хүү, чи тэр

45. Зүүн уулын толгой дээр зогс!

Бид гурван хаан

Баруун уулын

Толгой дээр зогсоно.

Халж дайрснаараа

50. Чи урьтаж

Бид гурвыг харвана билүү?

Халагдаж дайрагдснаараа

Бид гурав урьтаж тавьна уу? [гэсэн]

Энэ үгийг хэлвээ.

55. [Хожгор хүү өгүүлэв.]

–"Халагдаж дайрагдснаараа

Та гурав

Why have you come to us and
Insulted us

15. Turning the three of us
Into three camels?²⁵
I will fight you and
I will scatter yellow water of (my) hands!"
These words the middle khan said.

20. Bald boy said:

"If we have talked sincerely
and if we have understood each other
when we four were sitting together,
You had been truly good khans.

25. After I left

You let a woman work it out
And now you *act* this way, you three!

Let's fight then, why not!

Shall we fight with arrowheads,

30. Made by the Holy khan?

Shall we fight with our mere bodies,

Made by father and mother?

Let's do

What the three of you like.

35. The middle khan said:

–"Let's fight with arrowheads,
Made by the Holy lord!"

[Bald boy said:]

–"As you came chasing me,

40. You three specify

From what kind of place

And how we will shoot!"

The middle khan said:

–"Bald boy, you

45. Stay on the top of the eastern mountain!

We the three khans

Will stay on the top

Of the western mountain.

Will you shoot first

50. At the three of us,

Being the one who attacked us?

Shall we shoot first,

Being those who were attacked?

They said these words.

55. /Bald boy said:/

"As you were attacked,

You three

27) I.e. 'Why didn't you, bad bald boy, follow your own way and instead of that come here, turn the three of us into camels and so insult us'.

Гурван сумаа тавиа!
Та гурвын сумнаас
60. Би гардаг болбол
Эргээд намайг
Хариугаа тавихын цагт
Та гурвын тоолон
Гурван сум тавьж байвал
65. Эр хүн холын аянд сульднаа.

Намайг ганцхан сум тавихын цагт
Гурвуулаа давхарлаж зогсоод байгаарай!”
[гэсэн]

Энэ үгийг хэлцэн зөвлөвөө.
Хожгор хүү
70. Зүүн уулын толгой дээр очвоо.
Гурван хаан
Баруун уулын толгой дээр одвоо.
Хамуутай бор даагыг
Өндөр уулын ард
75. Модноос уячирхаад
Хожгор хүү
Сур сармай дээлийн
Товчийг тайлаад (166)
Хэнхдэг биеэ гаргаад
80. Гурван хаан
Гурван сумаа онилж аваад
Өглөөний улаан наранд татаад

Үдийн чин улаан наранд
Тавихыг үзэв боловуу гэнэ.
85. Гурван сумны
Утас хазайлгүй ирээд
Хожгор хүүгийн
Зүрхний [тус] газар тусаад
Хаданд тусч байгаа юм шиг
90. Хаг хийгээд,
Хар чулуунд тусч байгаа юм шиг
Таг хийгээд
Биеий даагаагүй эргэн

Газрын дунд тогтохыг үзвээ.
95. Дунд хаан нүүрэндээ зогсоод

Гурвуулаан давхарлан өгөхийг үзвээ.
Хожгор хүү
Үдийн чин улаан наранд

Shoot your three arrows!
If I survive
60. Your three shots,
At that time
I will shoot back,
If I shot three arrows
Towards each of you three,
65. A man would get exhausted from the long
journey.
At the time I will shoot a single arrow,
You three stand together one behind the
other!”
They discussed these words.
Bald boy
70. Went to the top of the eastern mountain.
Three khans
Went to the top of the western mountain.
Bald boy
Tied the mangy gray colt
75. To the tree
Behind the high mountain,
He unbuttoned
His *deel* made of cattle hide,
Uncovered his chest,
80. He saw three khans
Targeted their arrows and
In the morning red sun they drew *their*
bowstrings,
At the *high* noon’s²⁶ red sun
They shot.
85. They saw three arrows
Without deviating from their path
Make impact with the heart
Of Bald boy,
They collided
90. As they would hit the rock,
They cracked
As they would hit the black stone,
They did not get through the body, bounced
back and
Got stuck in the ground.
95. He saw the middle khan stand up in front
and
All three lined up behind him.
They saw Bald boy
At the noon’s red sun

28) Probably from *жин*(хэн) үд (synonym for яг үд – ‘high noon’). (J. Luvsandorj).

Сумаан онилж аваад

100. Үдшийн улаан наранд

Мултлахыг үзвээ.

Гурван хааны хөндий цээжээр нь

Нар сар гартал

Нэвт харваад³⁰

105. Сум нь цаашаа цөмрөн

Үгүй болохыг үзвээ.

Гурван хаан

Хар цагаан чулуугаар таглаад,

Хар цагаан хадгаар

110. Шархаа боолж баглаад

Эргэж очиж сумы нь аваад

Хоёр талаасаа газрын дунд

Дөрвүүлэн уулзваа.

Дунд хаан өгүүлвээ.

115. –"Хүн харахад,

Ийм муухай амьтан,

Харваж байгаа харвалы чинь (167)

Санаж байгаа санаагий чинь үзэхэд

Чи ер нь хүн биш

120. Шулам байгаа!

Бид гурвыг харвахдаа

Амь биеий минь алахгүй

Юуны учраас ингэж

Хөндий цээжээр харвааа?" [гэж асуув.]

125. Хожгор хүү өгүүлвээ.

–"Төрийг барьж байгаа

Гурван гүрний хаан,

Мөртөө байгаа хоёр хааныг

Таны биенд хавсран

130. Үрж болохгүй юмаа!

Тэгсэн дээрээс хөндий газар

Тааруулан сумаа тавилаа.

Ганцхан тантай тулж байгаа

Болохоос биш,

135. Энэ хоёр хаантай би ер тулаагүй!

Богд эзний болгоон хийсэн

Ээм сумаар та бид хоёр

Хоёр биеэ дийлэхгүй юмаа!

Аав ээжийн хийсэн

140. Махан бодиор

Aim his arrow,

100. In the evening red sun

He shot.

They saw it went through

The hollow²⁷ chest of three khans,

So the sun and the moon appeared²⁸,

105. His arrow flew through and

Disappeared.

Three khans

Filled (*the wounds*) up with black and white stones,

Wrapped their wounds

110. With black and white khadags.

They went back, took their arrows and

All four of them met

In the middle *of the way*.

The middle khan said:

115. –"When one looks (*at you*),

Such an ugly creature,

When one sees the shot you fire,

The ideas you think,

You are not a human at all,

120. You are a shulam!

When you were shooting at the three of us,

What was the reason that

You shot through the hollow chest

Not to kill soul and body?"

125. Bald boy said:

–"The ruling

Khans of three empires,

It is not possible to waste *the lives of*

The two khans that are not concerned,

130. (*Killing them*) together with you!

That's why I shot my arrow

To hit the hollow spot.

Only with you

It is necessary to fight.

135. I didn't fight with these two khans at all!

You and me, we won't overcome each other

With arrowheads

Made by the Holy lord!

Let's fight just the two of us

140. With the mere body

29) I.e. He shot into the part of thorax where no vitally important organs are located. (J. Luvs-andorj).

30) It refers to the rapidity of the shot and the size of the round hole in the khans' bodies caused by the shot's penetration.

Тасархай ноцолдъё, хоёулаан!” [гэж]
 Хожгор хүү энэ үгийг өгүүлвээ,
 Гурван хааны дунд хаанд.
 Дунд хаан – “тэгье” гэж өгүүлээд
145. Үдшийн шөнө барилцан аваад

Өглөөний улаан нар гартал ноцодвоо.
 Хожгор хүү өгүүлвээ.
 – “Ингээд ноцолдож байтал
 Таны **яс халж**

150. Сайн баатрын шинжээр
 Улайрдаг цаг ирдэг үү?” [гэж]
 Энэ үгийг асуув, дунд хаанаас.
 [Дунд хаан өгүүлэв.]
 – “Долоон өдөр, долоон шөнө
155. Миний яс сая халж
 Сайн баатрын шинж орж ирдэг!” [гэв.]
 (168)

[Хожгор хүү:]
 – “Долоон өдөр, долоон шөнө
 Таныг хүлээж ноцолдтол
160. Газрын хол аян сульднаа!” [гэсэн]
 Сайн эрүүдийн байлдалгааны
 Энэ үгийг дунд хаанд
 Хожгор хүү өгүүлээд,
Далан гурав даялж

165. Далны нь маяг хэмх гуядаад

Гучин гурав бухаж
Дунд чөмгий нь хуга гуядаад

Дунд хааныг алан авахыг үзвээ. (169)

Made by father and mother!”
 Bald boy said these words
 To the middle khan.
 The middle khan said: “let’s do so” and
145. By the evening night *they started to*
wrestle,
 Until the morning red sun rose they fought.
 Bald boy said:
 – “Fighting like this,
 Does the moment come when your bones
 warm up and
150. You turn red
 As a sign of a mighty hero?”
 These words he addressed to the middle khan.
 [The middle khan said:]
 – “In only seven days and seven nights
155. My bones warm up and
 The sign of a mighty hero comes!”

[Bald boy:]
 – “If I fight waiting for you
 For seven days and seven nights
160. I will get exhausted from a long journey!”
 Bald boy said these words
 Of the fight of good men (*heroes*)
 To the middle khan,
 They saw the boy *circle* him seventy-three
 times,
165. He shattered and broke the neck of his
 shoulder-blade,
 He turned him over thirty-three times³¹,
 He flicked and broke the midpoint of his
 thighbone and
 (So) he killed the middle khan.

Compared with earlier passages, the last selected sample of the battle has again a rather specific character. The reason for this is that it is the battle with three khans, who were ordinary people, not creatures like *manguses*, powerful deities – *tengers*, or other entities possessing magical powers. Therefore, magic and supernatural forces do not play a major role here and even hyperbole, though still present, has a somewhat more moderate nature. It seems

31) Verb *бухаж* refers to the movement that comes from hero’s upper body (he does not turn his enemy just with his hands, but with the movement of his whole body from side to side). (J. Luvsandorj).

that this ‘moderation’ of description is reflected in the nature of language and the lexical techniques used.

As in previous passages, here also a formulaic method of composition is obvious. It seems popular, especially in the speeches, to depict epic characters in the form of syntactic parallelism. This is seen particularly in verses 10–11, where the middle khan complains that the hero (in this episode in the miserable disguise of a poor bald boy on a mangy black colt) ‘did not follow his way’, and instead visited three khans and insulted them (which was the roguish hero’s revenge for their big-mouthed speech and presumptuous self-applause):

Аянгийн хүү аяндаа/ Замын хүү замдаа явахгүй (“The boy of journey *doesn’t* follow his journey/ The boy of route doesn’t follow his route”),

and further on the already familiar formula for determining the manner of fighting:

Богд хааны болгоон хийсэн/ Зэв сумаар тулна билүү?/ Аав ээжийн хийсэн/ Махан бодиор тулна билүү? (“Shall we fight with arrowheads/ Made by the Holy khan?/ Shall we fight with our mere bodies,/ Made by father and mother?” 29–32)

and the order in which the archery will take place:

Халж дайрснаараа/ Чи урьтаж/ Бид гурвыг харвана билүү?/Халагдаж дайрагдснаараа/ Бид гурав урьтаж тавьна уу? (“Will you shoot first/ At the three of us,/ Being the one who attacked us?/ Shall we shoot first/ Being those who were attacked?” 49–53).

The hyperbole is reflected in the formulas expressing the half-day duration of drawing the bow-string and the duration of the fight without arms:

Өглөөний улаан наранд татаад/ Үдийн чин улаан наранд/ Тавихыг үзэв боловуу гэнэ. (“In the morning red sun they drew *their* bowstrings,/ At the *high* noon’s red sun/ They shot.”; 82–84);

Үдийн чин улаан наранд/ Сумаан онилж аваад/ Үдшийн улаан наранд/ Мултлахыг үзвээ. (“At the noon’s red sun/ Aimed his arrow,/ In the evening red sun/ He shot.” 98–101);

Үдшийн шөнө барилцан аваад/ Өглөөний улаан нар гартал ноцодвоо. (“By the evening night *they started to wrestle*,/ Until the morning red sun rose they fought.”; 145–146).

There are two key examples of dramatic narrative and its corresponding language peculiarities and “concentration” of artistic means in this part of the text. There’s the moment of the hero’s invulnerability, when the arrow of three khans bounced back off his chest, which is reflected in the hyperbolic imagery metaphor, ‘as they would hit a rock’ or ‘black stone’, whereas the description is supported by onomatopoeic words like *хаг хийх*, *таг хийх*, which both

depict the sound of an arrow bouncing back off a stone (it is sort of a voiceless or muffled sound, as it is authentically portrayed in used consonants) (J. Luvsandorj). We also find syntactic parallelism, as well as alliteration and epiphora as a means of expressing a sound, in the passage:

Хожгор хүүгийн/ Зүрхний [тус] газар тусгаад/ Хаданд тусч байгаа юм шиг/ Хаг хийгээд,/ Хар чулуунд тусч байгаа юм шиг/ Таг хийгээд/ Биеий даагаагүй эргэн/ Газрын дунд тогтохыг үзвээ. ('Made impact with the heart/ Of Bald boy,/ They collided/ As they would hit the rock,/ They cracked/ As they would hit the black stone,/ They did not get through the body, bounced back and/ Got stuck in the ground.' 87–94).

Another moment of importance is the description of the killing of the middle khan (as the middle khan was the main speaker and initiator of the conflict) in the battle which is the culmination of this episode:

Далан гурав даялж/ Далны нь маяг хэмх гуйдаад/ Гучин гурав бухаж/ Дунд чөмгий нь хуга гуйдаад/ Дунд хааныг алан авахыг үзвээ. ('They saw the boy circle him seventy-three times,/ He shattered and broke the neck of his shoulder-blade/ He turned him over thirty-three times,/ He flicked and broke the midpoint of his thighbone and/ (So) he killed the middle khan.' 164–168).

The hyperbole in this scene suggests the playfulness with which the hero handles his opponent. It points to the fact that for him the khan is not a matching rival, let alone a threat. The poetic methods used here are again the same.

In addition to these situations, the basic modalities of the epic formula are applied in expressing how the three khans heal the wound, where the parallelism and anaphora is joined by euphonic use of the vocal harmony of words *баглах* and *таглах*:

Хар цагаан чулуугаар таглаад,/ Хар цагаан хадгаар/ Шархаа боолж баглаад ('They filled (the wounds) with black and white stones,/ Wrapped the wounds/ With black and white khadags'; 108–110).

Among the phenomena, mentioned earlier, there are two variants in this example of the metaphorical formula expressing the useless length of some actions:

Эр хүн холын аянд сульднаа ('Man gets exhausted from a long journey'; 65);
Газрын хол аян сульднаа ('I will get exhausted from a long journey'; 160).

The metaphor applied in the description of the penetration of all three khans by one arrow of the hero: the arrow flew through their bodies, ‘causing the sun and the moon to appear’:

Нар сар гартал (103).

In this example, there are also two idioms associated with physical activity, namely the phrases *гарын шар ус тараах* (lit. 'to disperse yellow water by hand'; 18) and *яс халах* (lit. 'the bones will warm up'; 149). According to the traditional conception, poor mobility or bad health is caused by the accumulation of so-called 'yellow water'. It is an abstract fluid which could be understood as a redundant accumulated energy that should be 'dispersed' by physical activity. It is used idiomatically in this case: the khan says to his rival cavalierly that in the duel with him he'll just stretch his body a bit; he supposes the fight to be child's play and not dangerous to him. (J. Luvsandorj). The idiom *яс халах* refers to the moment when the hero warms up his body and starts to fight at full stretch, with all his strength. The fact that his rival needs a longer time to get warmed up also points out that his physical power and skills can to a great extent not compete with the hero's one.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to map the basic forms of artistic expression and language practice in the Mongolian heroic epic. The source material is the text of a little-known epic *Нэгэн зуун тавин таван насыг насалсан Хөгшин Луу Мэргэн хаан* ('One Hundred Year-Old Dragon Wise Khan'). For translation and subsequent analysis of the forms of expression I have chosen five examples depicting various battles and fights. The reason for this was that these battle scenes by their nature and content require a form to match their purpose that can affect the listener. In passages of this nature, a kind of thickening and intensification of language appears, so that more artistic and poetic expressions are present. They provide greater expressiveness, dynamics and drama.

The basic feature of epic language is its formulaic nature, namely the presence of fixed formulas used to express a variety of events and realities, and repetitive sentence patterns. Concerning poetic devices, one of the most important poetic figures of epic expression is undoubtedly a fantastic hyperbolization. There are, however, other figures of speech – in addition to the hyperbole there are metaphors, metonymy, and synecdoche. The sound figures are particularly abundant in forms of alliteration, anaphora and epiphora or, in many cases, euphony. Among other artistic means used in the text are rich metaphorical comparisons and syntactic parallelism. One important type of formula is that of fixed ornamental epithets, whose strong presence is characteristic of the heroic epic. Culturally specific to the Mongolian environment is the use of so-called "iconopoeic" words. In terms of Mongolian

language studies so-called honorifics, idioms and culturally specific terms are also interesting and frequent.

Despite their great attractiveness the linguistic aspects and specifics of the Mongolian heroic epic have been little explored. I intend the present work to be a contribution to this topic, as well as to the study of epic language in general, and I believe that the poetics of the Mongolian heroic epic should be further studied using the broader material, whose comparative study would help to reach more general conclusions and deeper findings.

Abbreviations

BAMRS Great Academic Mongolian-Russian Dictionary
Mo. Mongolian

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Mongolian ethnopedagogy – A preliminary study

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Summary: This article presents some of the results of field research undertaken in the Mongolian steppe regions of the Hangai mountains. The author presents a brief outline of the ethnopedagogic approach to studying Mongolian culture, supplemented by examples of this approach. Using examples of field research the author discusses three main pillars of the life of children in Mongolia: the community as tutor, nature as teacher, playmate and game, and cattle a form of children's activity. The examples are derived from interviews taken from herdsmen during field research, which have been transcribed and translated. They provide a survey of their viewpoint concerning modern processes that are changing traditional society and their world-view. All examples are accompanied by the author's commentary which is based on knowledge acquired from detailed observation and the relevant literature.

0. Introduction

The ethnopedagogic field in Mongolian studies is one of the less studied, yet it could serve as a great tool for examining the present state of Mongolian nomadic culture. Investigating traditional forms of children's upbringing can shed light on some deeply-rooted elements of Mongolian nomadic culture. In recent years nomadic culture has been shifting significantly due to the influence of the globalized world and is now at a turning point.

One of the long-running factors influencing Mongolian culture, one which can be observed by means of an ethnopedagogic approach, is more than eight decades of the compulsory boarding school system based on soviet models and applied in the Mongolian state. All children at the young age of six have been forced to attend at least four grades at schools which have often been far from the children's families and native land. This system inhibited access to a traditional upbringing, and weakened relations with the family, livestock and native land. This caused a massive loss in the traditional oral forms of upbringing, as can be seen when speaking with interviewees of different generations, where the older have retained more knowledge. Hence the general approach towards children and their upbringing has only been partly preserved.

The other factor, more contemporary though a stronger influence on the culture is the massive expansion of modern technologies. Television sets,

accompanied by solar batteries and satellite dishes, have been distributed in recent years to nearly every *ger* and have become a part of herders' lives. The standard variety of the Mongolian language, emptied of the richness of the nomad's lively speech, is spread by the modern media. A global cultural message is also being spread through these channels, influencing the world view of Mongolian nomads. Their culture is losing its richness and uniqueness by adapting to global trends.

The necessity of capturing such a turning point in the culture is obvious, as is the necessity of capturing as much as has survived of the deep and intriguing nomadic culture of Mongolia. The ethnopedagogic approach has proved very useful for this. Research themes concerning children and childhood were easily accepted by most of the older speakers and brought a notable amount of usable material. In the following text I intend to present some results of field research using this approach and I also hope for more results from other researchers who could adopt a similar approach and possibly be inspired by it.

1. Methodology

This article is based on material used for the completion of my Masters thesis and in some ways it reproduces elements of the thesis (Makúch 2013). Material has been acquired during field research, conducted in different regions of the Hangai mountains in 2009, 2011, 2012 and 2014.¹

The main methods of research have involved observation, photographic documentation, and structured interviewing. Each of the methods has been used to a different degree, depending on the context on the ground. Structured interviewing has proven to be most suitable for researching the knowledge of elders, while observation and photographic documentation has proved to be most suitable for researching the contemporary lives of youngsters. At some points the methods have overlapped so it is not possible to limit any method to any one of the focus groups.

1) The 2009 research has been conducted at C'uluutiin bag, Cecerleg somon, Arhangai aimak. The 2011 research at Ulaan Am, Orhon 1-r бага, Bat-O'lzii somon, O'vorhangai aimak. The 2012 research has been conducted at Naiman nuur National reservation, which is located between Uyanga somon, and Bat-O'lzii somon, O'vorhangai aimak. The 2014 research has been conducted at Orhon 1-r бага, Bat-O'lzii somon and Uliastain denz' bag, Bat-O'lzii somon of O'vorhangai aimak. The 2009 research was funded by Nadání Marie, Josefa a Zdenky Hlávkových. The 2011 research was funded by an internal grant from the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague.

I have arranged three main focus groups. Firstly, the elders of the community – nomads usually older than 60 years, who provided valuable comparisons between former educational methods and those of the present day. Secondly, a group of actual parents, whose age varied from 20 to 50 years, though this group has not proved very informative. Thirdly and very importantly, children up to the age of 16 years. This group provided me with insight into their daily activities, games and other pursuits. This group has proved very informative due to children's natural and unartificial behaviour and also thanks to the researcher's position in the nomad community, which is comparable to that of the children.

All the examples used from the collected material are provided with an English translation, transcribed into Roman characters and thematically arranged. The examples are accompanied with commentaries. All the transcriptions and translations have been considered by native speakers.

2. Ethnopedagogy

The actual use of the term 'ethnopedagogy' varies according to the field of research it is used in. The term has been used widely from the 1960s pedagogic practice, but has now been replaced by more accurate "culturally relevant teaching" or "multicultural education". Hence it is still being used, mostly in Russian pedagogical practice. In this sense, its purpose lies in making education culturally relevant, usually by trying to implement aboriginal or migrant educational practice in order to provide a standard western education more effectively (see Burger 1968; Mel 2008; Průcha 2004). In this approach there is clear emphasis on using the cultural knowledge of minorities in order to teach them the culture of the majority. It is therefore more of a didactic approach.

As for this topic of research I prefer the approach of G.N. Volkov, who defined the term in his dissertation focused on the ethnopedagogy of the Chuvash nation. He defines the subject matter of ethnopedagogy as *national pedagogical tradition* and delivers a few main principles of such a tradition: the importance of unity amongst a community, the role of nature and of the spoken word in various ethnicities' upbringing. Volkov successfully discovers cultural specifics in the empirical experience of children in being brought up. He also deals with the ethical and aesthetic view of the family, as exemplified by members of a given culture (see Volkov 1999, p. 6).

This theoretical approach inspired many scholars in Eastern academic spheres, including that of Mongolian, during the late sixties. It initiated

surveys firstly into Siberian, but later into many other ethnic groups. Volkov was, though, mainly focusing on using the results of research into contemporary didactics.

Ethnopedagogy as an academic method is widely used by scholars of Mongolian studies at Charles University, Institute of South and Central Asia. In some ways the approach there is in accordance with Volkov's definition. It is considered part of much broader research into the cultural specifics of the traditional thought of Mongolian nomads and their world-view. Such is the approach which has inspired my own studies.

Where Mongolian nomads are concerned, the living environment is a very significant factor. The character of nature, which is rough and inhospitable to European eyes, explains the fear and awe of the nomads' surroundings, which are also the cornerstone of Mongolian ethnopedagogy. This can be seen from the system of good and bad omens which concerns every individual. If one ignores them, that affects not only oneself but also one's family and the whole community which lives in the same milieu (Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 38).

The potency of spoken words gives interdictions and instructions validity, as they are transmitted orally in the form of experience and proven practice. Such an experience is usually stored within the wide range of oral narrative, but it can be found in the traditional speech of nomads, as it is stored in the tradition of Mongolian ethnopedagogy. In her book Oberfalzerová draws attention to the interesting phenomenon that people who have gone through a traditional upbringing express themselves with much more precision and wealth of speech than those who have gone through modern educational institutions (Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 21).

An inquiry into ethnopedagogy, or the traditional upbringing of children, is suitable for understanding the traditional patterns of nomadic thinking and their world-view. The study of ethnopedagogy could be divided, as Lub-sangdorji does, according to Erdene-Oc'ir (his 1971 article), in a manner that is usable even nowadays:

1. Mongolian oral narrative;
2. unwritten folk ethical laws, conserved and handed down from ancient times;
3. native Mongolian language;
4. games and pastimes;
5. experience of home upbringing;
6. written works.²

2) In Mongolian as follows: 1. *Mongoliin ardyn aman zohiol*, 2. *Tu'men on dagan z'uramlasaar dadsan bic'mel bus huul' ardiin zan zans'liin zuils*, 3. *To'rolh mongol hel*, 4. *Togloom naad-gain zu'ls*, 5. *Geriin surguuliin ih turs'лага*, 6. *Bic'mel zohiol bu'teelud*. Z'. Luvsandorz':

3. Community, Nature and Cattle in Children's lives

The community, nature and cattle are the main determinants of the lives of Mongolian children. At this point I would like to present some of the results of field research in order to highlight three factors.

3.1. Community as a common tutor

For a Mongolian nomad, living with his cattle amidst wild nature, there is no other life backup apart from himself, his family and the people in his surroundings. Mongolians usually migrate four times a year through a pattern of campgrounds inherited from previous generations. They live in families of different sizes, the wife being the one who moves into her husband's family. Such campgrounds and surrounding grazing lands are the known world of Mongolian children. And people living on the land, travelling through it, or being on a visit in a *ger* designate their community from within these parameters.

In her book Oberfalzerová remarks that an individual has responsibility not only for himself but also for all of his community (Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 166). The informants also illustrate that older siblings, parents, all of them are educators and teachers, and that there are lot of educators – even the old people of a region are there to teach.

Such a viewpoint prevails up to these days. Older children usually care for and teach youngsters, and such a system is working even in schools with mixed pupils, as with 15-year-old Altangerel being *ahmad* (leader, lit. captain) of a little boarding school comprising about a dozen pupils of different ages. He had almost absolute authority during the time when the teacher or another older person was not around, and has been responsible in the event any problems occur at such a time.

According to some herdsmen the affinity of some children to a community and elders is changing:

[Children] had more respect for elders in the past, now they have loose morals, visiting school as they please...

*deer u'ed nastai hu'n ayadag, odoo zambraagu'i, surguulia duraaraa hiideg..*³

Mongol ardyn surgan hu'muuz'uuleh zu'in o'v ulamz'lal (Heritage of Mongolian traditional upbringing) In: *Surgan hu'muuz'uuleg'* 1971, No 2.; cited by Erdene-Oc'ir 1979, p. 8.

- 3) In this place I will refer to the interviewee who provided the information. I will list the interviewees and write some relevant details in the appendix. Interviewee Sorsorbaram.

Based on observation, it could be stated that the level of obedience to older siblings and respect for elders varies and is dependent on the setting in which the children grow up. However the love of older siblings for youngsters and the love of grandparents for the youngest generations apparently endures.

One of the informants gives us the notion of community-based upbringing:

So the adults raised children together. ... There are not many people [in this land], so it's good that **everybody looks after all the others**.

*Tegeheer nasan hu'rsen ter tom hu'muus gedeg bol niiteeree l hu'uhduudee hu'muuz'ilz' baisan. ... Hu'n co'ohon. Ter odoo hu'n hu'muuz'uuleh gez' baigaad sain.*⁴

The word upbringing, or education stands for *hu'muuz'il*, as it was used in the given extract in verbal form. According to Lubsangdorji it is possible to derive the word *hu'muuz'il* from the stem *hu'n* (or *kümün* for classical script) and analyze it as follows: *kümün-ji-l*, where *-ji-* is a verbal derivative suffix showing a process of becoming and *-l* is a nominal suffix. In such an etymology the Mongolian *hu'muuz'il* could be understood as 'forming a man' or 'becoming a man'. Erdene-Oc'ir, who describes the word *hu'muuz'il* in terms of a traditional didactic principle *hu'neer hu'n hiih*, literally 'to make a man through (another) man', i.e. to give him the human quality (Erdene-Oc'ir 1998, p. 20), supports such a view. If we consider the wide extent of denotations which the word *hu'n* can carry, some of them of a highly abstract nature, we can better translate the principle as giving a human quality to somebody. It is similar to *z'inhene hu'n bolgoh*, 'to become a genuine man', or *hu'n hu'muuz'uuleh* in the given extract.

Battogtoh considers the community to be an instrument of upbringing. The community influences the child through individuals, thus making him a well-mannered human (Battogtoh, 2011, p. 106). The idea can be found in another extract from the research material:

When you shout down the child like that two or three times, it will realize, that to do such a thing is forbidden and it knows it. Such is a collective upbringing.

*Tegvel bolohgu'i bol hoyor, gurav tegeed aas'laad zagnuulaad zasahgu'i, tegeed buruu yumaa dahiad u'ldez' baihan bolc'ihod medne, tiim l baisan. Za hamtiin hu'muuz'il yum daa.*⁵

The child is therefore understood as raw material from which it is necessary to shape an adult. The same idea can be spotted in the Mongolian word *zaluu*, which stands for 'young man', or 'a youth'. Erdene-Oc'ir describes it as *zalah* ('to straighten out, correct or smooth out something crooked, askew or out

4) Interviewee Luutai.

5) Interviewee Luutai.

of position'), accompanied by the suffix *-uu(gu)*, depicting prolonged activity (Erdene-Oc'ir 1998, p. 20).

The transformation of a child, throughout youth, into a genuine man (i.e. adult), according to Mongolian understanding, is acquired by influence from without through the influence of community. However, Erdene-Oc'ir does not forget to imply that this transformation must be accompanied by the child's own activity (Erdene-Oc'ir 1998, p. 20).

The use of force is also highlighted in an interview:

... like if I am going over there and would pour water into a marmot's hole, harming him, then anyone older than me who went past and saw it would come and straight away, sitting on a horse, would hit me with his whip, even if he's a complete stranger. And his parents wouldn't intercede (they would be on the stranger's side).

*z'is'eel yum bol bi ten oc'ood zuramnii nu'hend us cutgaad, zuram alaad hyataad baiz'ee yum daa, tegeh yum bol nadaas ahmad hen c' baisan hu'n ireed namaig morittoi hu'rc'iheed hoy-ortoi cu'lbuuereer oroolgood, zodood gesen u'g tiimee, tegeed as'ig c' aas'laad yavna, tegeed eez' aav ni yo'roosoo o'moorohgu'i, o'moorohgu'i.*⁶

Even a complete stranger can scold or punish the child. As Luutai says, parents have nothing to say about this. Not that they do not care about their children, but because they do they consider this a proper education. There is a very clear influence of the community on every child with no exception. In the eyes of Mongolian nomads, everyone is concerned with raising the child properly, even complete strangers. Everybody has the same concern about children. Thus nobody would treat them too harshly.

3.2. Nature as teacher, playmate and game

The main feature of Mongolian folk ethnopedagogy consists of the knowledge through which nomads educate their future generations, living scattered on the wide steppe, under the 'Eternal blue heaven' in a situation where nature's and society's needs are supporting each other while at the same time being in constant struggle.

Thus Lubsangdorji⁷ explains the importance of nature in studying Mongolian ethnopedagogy.

6) Interviewee Luutai.

7) Cited by Erdene-Oc'ir 1979, p. 15: Z. Luvsandorz': Mongol ardyn surgan hu'muuz'uuleh zu'in o'v ulamz'lal (Heritage of Mongolian traditional upbringing). In: *Surgan hu'muuz'uuleg*' 1971, No 2.

Nature is for children their first teacher, who teaches everybody without exception every hour, day and night. Living in nature, besides fear, awe and the first lessons in life, brings joy and fun. Besides that nature is many a time in the position of tutor. It can also be a toy or playmate.

Our observations show that contemporary children, growing up in the steppe could name every part of the landscape in the vicinity of their campgrounds. They know the mountains and rivers; they are familiar with the direction of the roads. Children recount which places are *ovoo*, thought they could not name them. Even five-year-olds know when the camp is moving and which direction they will leave in.

Children of the steppe are bound to nature and are acquainted with it. One of the informants illustrates how far nomads and their children are bound to nature:

To survive here you need wood from the mountains to make a fire, that's what we do for a living, you graze the herds, moving constantly, working to bring water from up there, you see we don't have tap water around here... You are constantly on the move here in Mongolia, you have to do something all the time, your mind is continually engaged. ... it is in all things, there is no movement without thinking.

*End baigaa c'ini amidrahiin tuld to'ot tend oc'iz' uulaas mod avc'irdag, gal tu'lne, ene c'ini ho'dolmor biz dee, malaa mallana, dandaa ho'dolmor, usaa endees avc'irna, o'noo krant neehgu'i. ... Mongold iim bainga biyen ho'dolmortei ac'aaltai oyun uhaan dandaa ni az'ilna. ... yum bodnuud dandaa uhaan bodoz' baiz'... yum bu'rt, bodohgu'i ho'dol az'il neg c' baihgu'i, tiimee.*⁸

The centre of their lives is *ger*, it is the only shelter against inclement weather. It is predominantly the duty of children to bring wood and water to the *ger*, and to drive home cattle whose pen is situated next to the *ger*. As Luutai depicts quite blatantly, living in nature requires constant awareness, labour not only of the muscles but also of the brain. Movement is paramount on the steppe. The old adage "It's better to be a mobile moron than a sitting sage"⁹ fits the nomad's situation exquisitely. "It is the sort of life where herders get by with practical common sense, isn't it?" as one of the herders puts it. And it is this 'common sense' (Mo. *har uhaan*) or else reason, which children learn by living in nature, on grazing land with cattle, in the forest while gathering wood, at the river scooping water. Vagaries of nature, which could affect children on grazing land, make their behaviour quick and responsible. After all

8) Interviewee Luutai.

9) *Suusan cecnees yavsan teneg deer*. In Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 99.

they are in charge of a flock amounting usually to more than hundred heads and they have to make sure it will not fall prey to predators or accidents.

As mentioned above, nature teaches children also by way of a game. Little stones of different sizes and forms that could be found elsewhere in the steppe have so far been the most widespread instruments of play in some regions of Mongolia. All of the older interviewees have recollected in an instant that you can ‘build your own *ger* out of the stones’ (Mo. *c’uluugaar ger o’ordson, ger barih; c’uluu ger, horoo; bagiin togloom* etc.). The game consists of finding stones, pieces of *argal*,¹⁰ and splinters of crockery of the best shapes and pretty colours, as illustrated by the following two interviewees:

Collecting nice pebbles of white and other colours from a nice/beautiful river with pebbles, [we] use to play as if they were sheep and goats ... and distinguishing the brown cattle according to [its] various colours (appearance).

*C’uluugaar ho’orhon goliin cagaan magaan ho’orhon c’uluunuudiig c’ini tu’ugeed honi yamaa bolgoz’ togloodog, ..., hu’reen malaa bol tegeed yuugaar ni zu’s zu’seer ni yalgaad l.*¹¹

As for the yurt, children usually put the cabinet by way of such a rectangular stone and play. So imaginative it was.

*Ger gehed avdariig engeed iim do’rvo’lzin c’uluugaar engeed tavic’ihdag hu’uhed toglohod baina, tiim to’soololtei l baisan yum.*¹²

There are a huge number of variations, as some stones could be reminiscent of bull horns, camel humps, hitching posts, utensils and nearly anything out of the life of the steppe that a child’s mind can imagine. In the world of the game there are different grazing grounds, campgrounds and even mountain passes. The best stones can be found in the rivers and streams, on mountain slopes or hills.

There are so many colours of the pebbles you can’t count them. There are red, green, yellow, grey, blue, brown, white stones and they can be of one colour or multi-coloured. Some of them are tender, stiff, soothing or irritating, sharp or blunt, shiny and even slightly warm and affable.¹³

10) *Argal* is dry bovine droppings, used predominantly for fires heating.

11) Interviewee Dolgorsu’reen.

12) Interviewee Damdinjav.

13) “*C’uluuniii o’ngo ni toolz’ bars’gu’i olon. Ulaan, nogoos, sar, bor, ho’h, hu’reen, cagaan c’uluunuud dangaar buyuu holildon ors’ino. C’uluu bas zo’olon, hatuu, haluun, hu’iten, irtei, irgu’i, mo’lc’oor bas bu’leehen eyeldeg baina. O’ndor uuliin oroi dahi c’uluu mo’n salhinii ursgald elegden zo’olorson bolovc’ hu’iten baina. Harin asgiin c’uluu yuund c’ elegdeegu’i uc’ir hatuu hurc bas hu’iten baidag.*” L. Tu’dev: *Horvootoi tanilcsan tu’uh* (Tale of acquaintance with the world). Unfortunately I could not find this book on the internet. The text mentioned here is retrieved from: “7-r angiihand L. Tu’dev “Horvootoi tanilcsan tu’uh” zohioloos” (From the book *Tale of Acquaintance with the World* for students of 7th grade

Thus Tu'dev the writer tells us in his memoir from childhood.

Children build a circular ground plan of a *ger* out of stones and supply it with other suitable pebbles. The rectangular stones serve as caskets, tables or beds. From other stones children make utensils, horses, cattle, dogs and even the cattle pen outside a *ger*. Older children play at being parents, while the younger ones become their children. If there are too many children they divide into families. They enact the activities of a herdsman's family, from waking up, lighting a fire, boiling tea, and milking the animals to grazing the cattle. When they are visiting each other, they learn good manners during a visit. When they wrap a stone in a candy packaging, they get ceremonial food and celebrate the 'new lunar year' (Mo. *cagaan sar*) with all the little details provided, according to their customs.

In such a way children discover what it means to be an adult. They practise the virtues of being a herdsman. Older children enact household duties and in the role of play-parents teach the younger ones. They learn which side of the *ail* the cattle reside, that sheep and goats are usually on the north side, camels on the south and so forth. Children therefore experience all of tradition in a playful inviting manner. "In other words, in the process of playing traditional games children gain the idea of herdsmen's work, their customs and traditional principles as well as nature around them, they cultivate and enrich their vocabulary and their thought."¹⁴

Herdsmen's children are bound to nature, they live and learn from it. The basic elements of the bond with nature for traditional herdsmen are lack of dependence on external resources, taking from nature all things essential for life. In the present herdsmen are more dependent on the external world than before, mainly due to the introduction of modern clothing, footwear and technology. However, even in this domain they retain some degree of autonomy. For example, they use solar batteries for lighting and television. One of the interviewees gives another explanation for the reduced level of autonomy:

In the past we cared for nature thanks to our customs. But then nature was very beautiful, [people were] not cutting trees as they please or polluting the surroundings [as they do now]... Now everything is polluted, the river Orhon flows with a rust-stained colour.

by L. Tu'dev) on blog page <http://byamba12.blogmn.net/50735/-7-r-angiinhand-l.tudev-%22horvootoi-taniltssan-tuu%22-zohioloos-.html>.

14) "O'oroor helbel ardiin togloomoor togloh yavcdaa hu'n ardiinhaa ahui amidral zan zans'il, yos surtahuun, baigali orc'nii tuhai oilgoltiig olz' avc' hel yariya oyun setgelgegee bayaz'uulan ho'gz'uuldeg baiz'ee." (Battogtoh 2011, p. 102).

*Baigal deer u'ed yos zans'il, baigal ih saihaan hariulz' yavsan, deer u'ed baigal ih saihaan baisan, mod duraaraa ustgahgu'i, bohirduulahgu'i ... odoo u'ed baigal bohirtos' baina, Orhon mo'ron odoo ulaanaar ursgaz' baigaa.*¹⁵

Many other herdsman agree that nature in itself is clean but through the human environment is decaying, the water is getting polluted, forests are being destroyed, grazing lands steadily lose density. The bad treatment of nature has reached the stage when traditional sacred places, the *ovoo*, which are meant for worshipping the spirits and deities of nature, are beset with litter. For elders it is a sad situation, though according to some of them it is getting better.

Mongolians are thus aware of their bond with nature. They live in the heart of nature from birth and they care about it. And hopefully they will be more aware that modern debris decays in nature for much longer than the traditional organic materials which they used for centuries, and thereby kept their raw but beautiful nature healthy.

3.3. Child labour, the child and its livestock

Caring for livestock is the main form of employment for Mongolian children, living on the steppe. It is not only the lives of the children but also of adults which are determined by their animals. As animals cannot be protected against sickness and beasts without herders, the same applies to herders who would not survive without their cattle. When questioned from which age children start to tend cattle, the informants reply with some variation that it is from 5 to 8 years old. Even 7-year-old children could be seen in pastures close to home, or far away riding a horse. Five-year-old children can freely move about the home and when they see a herder carrying out a task, they observe and mimic it. However no task is given to them there, so far as my observation goes. Though much depends on whether there is an older sibling dealing with the necessary tasks.

It is interesting that when both children and adults are questioned about cattle, they always talk about work. Some mention only work but, for example, the interviewee Altka mentions that children usually play in pastureland. Children sit on the lambs and ride on them, they tussle with a two-year-old calf or colt.

15) Interviewee Luvsansamdan.

This little play with cattle is described by the words *maliig nooloh*, which can be approximately translated as 'teasing cattle'. Lubsangdorji clarifies the meaning of the term by words *nocolodoh*, *orolodoh*, which both mean physically affecting some object or person. Mentioning *nooloh* the herders usually bring up an image of children who fight for fun, roll about and tussle – *hu'uhed nooloh*, or else an image of children who tease their grandparents by climbing on them, poking fingers in their ears or noses and preventing them from drinking tea – *emee o'voogoo nooloh*. Grandparents are usually not keen on such behaviour and it is tolerated by them out of love for little children. From teasing of grandparents arises the aforementioned *maliig nooloh*. Children twiddle the ears of small cattle, tug at their tails, mount them as horses and so on. Herders tolerate such behaviour but only to some extent, because cattle get tired and nervous from such behaviour.

The expression *maliig nooloh* also has the figurative meaning of 'growing up amidst livestock'. As was mentioned before, cattle are a great teacher of life in the steppe and this is vital for survival. The natives have a saying that herders grow up amidst livestock, just as the grass grows in soil. By living in close contact with livestock, herders gain priceless wisdom and experience. Hence the gap between the nomadic and sedentary Mongolian population.

Herders point this situation out labelling themselves *bi mal noolz' o'sson hu'n*, literally 'I am a man brought up (raised) by teasing cattle'. The idiom represents the idea that a herder grows up among cattle and this educates him. The same goes for the idiom *ter o'voogoo noolz' baigaad medleg sursan*, literally 'I learned wisdom teasing that elder'. This idiom illustrates the third figurative meaning of the word *nooloh*. It reflects the wisdom which has been gained by living in the native land close to family herds and with native people from childhood.

4. Conclusion

The lives of Mongolian children are determined by nature, livestock and people. These three elements frame their world of experience. With the beginning of the 20th century such a traditional scheme has been distorted by the compulsory boarding school, and later in the 20th century by introduction of modern technologies, which has become a constituent of a Mongolian nomad life. Many of them are aware of the changes that have occurred, mostly pointing out the fact that children are steadily abandoning traditional forms of play and are not familiar with old customs. Some of the herders accept the

situation, emphasizing the advent of a new era which cannot be avoided. They mention that television, school and modern technologies introduce forms of knowledge which help children to orientate in the new era. Nevertheless, almost all the interviewees criticise the material excess which accompanies the new life style, because it is corrupting children's character. Some of the herders also complain about pollution and highlight the fact that without nature in its purity cattle will fall victim to diseases – and no life is possible on the steppe without cattle.

The importance of school attendance and the effect it has on children was a theme about which interviewees expressed some discontent. The elders said that living in a school handicaps children when tending livestock. They are less agile and incline not to have good relations with cattle. Herders of the middle generation usually understand school to be a necessity for life in a new era and presume that it will open the gates to the great repository of global wisdom, though even among this generation of interviewees there were those who treated school as inappropriate for a herder. I met with two boys who never attended a school. They spoke about their horses in a traditional manner, using culturally specific terms to refer to the age of a horse. This brings up the question of to what extent the number of years in school education relates to the culturally specific speech used in nomadic communities, which would be a good theme for future research.¹⁶

During my research it turned out that Mongolian ethnopedagogy expresses its rules by using ordinary words, comprehensible to anybody. In its main principles it is quite universal, and valid for lots of other, even sedentary cultures. However, the ways in which these universal principles manifest themselves are unique and form the foundation of ethnopedagogy. Through them it is possible to discover a considerable part of the Mongolian nomad's worldview. One of the main differences between sedentary and nomadic cultures is the significance of memory. This is particularly so given the inappropriateness and absence of data recording within a flexible nomadic culture. There is great emphasis on memory recollection, visual as well as audible, in Mongolian nomad ethnopedagogy.

It is crucial to be aware of the differences between the cultural experience of Mongolian nomads and the sedentary population of the West. Even though in Western globalized society there are doubtless benefits for other cultures, there are also some upsetting qualities. The benefits in Western

16) Which has been already posed by Oberfalzerová, though mentioning adult speakers. Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 21.

society derive from the cultural historical experience it has lived through in developing such a culture.

Though Mongolian culture has had important connections with the sedentary cultures of India and China throughout history, the mass penetration of sedentary cultures into the Mongolian one occurred concurrently with the introduction of socialism at the dawn of the 20th century. In the 1990s American society was idealised in Mongolia and the fruits of Western civilization appropriated without questioning. This is where Mongolians encounter the absence of cultural values that are evident for westerners in the sedentary Western world. In practical terms it leads to a situation where the basics of “Western advanced culture” take on in the Mongolian cities the chilling form of a metropolitan hive without awareness of past or future.

When interviewees condemn “civilized nations” they judge on the basis of television broadcasts and their experience of civilized culture as they see it in Mongolian cities. The warnings they deliver apply most likely to Mongolian townsfolk, who – being in the midst of global changes – forget their own cultural historical experience, which is definitely not meagre when compared to the “civilized” alternative. There is hardly more to do than hope that despite the pressure of urbanization there will still be children on the steppe who know the value of a parent’s experience that has come to them from times long past.

5. Appendix – List of Interviewees

Below is a list of interviewees, extracts from whose interviews have been used in this work. This list is shown in the following manner: Name: region in which interview was taken, year when the interview was conducted, education, age.

Damdinz’av: Arhangai, 2009, no school attendance, basic literacy learned in the army, over 80 years.

Dolgorsu’reu: O’vorhangai, 2012, 4 years of school attendance, age unknown.

Luutai: O’vorhangai, 2011, full school attendance, teacher’s course, 75 years.

Luvsansamdan: O’vorhangai, 2011, full school attendance, technical specialization, over 70 years.

Sorsorbaram: O’vorhangai, 2011, 4 years of school attendance, 66 years.

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Dravidian and Altaic ‘fear, timidity, worry’ II.

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Summary: This paper continues the topic of the semantic ‘nests’ with the abstract meaning ‘fear’ etc. (cf. Vacek 2012b) and offers a few more lexical parallels with this meaning and with an occasional semantic extension to ‘ghost, good or bad spirit’ etc. to be found in both Dravidian and Altaic:

Ta. *meruḷ* / *miṛai* / *veru* / *pēḷkaṇi* / *veḷku* / *pēti* – Mo. *mita-* – MT. *BELIN* / *BILE* II / *MĒLKEN* / *PŌŽA* / *MUSUN* – OT. *beliṇ*

Ta. *aḷukku* / *araḷ* – Mo. *olixai* 1. / *ürge-* – MT. *OLO-* / *URĖU-* – OT. *ürk-*

Ka. *agi* / Ta. *akkili* / *aṅkalāy* / Ma. *amparakka* etc. – Mo. *ayara-* / *egenegsi-* / *ab* 2. / *abayaldai* / *ʔabuly-a* / *ʔongyun* – MT. *AFA* II / *EKSERĪ* / *OTĖŇĀ* / *OGŽO* / *ABASY* / *ABAṬALDAJ* / *IBĀGĀ* – OT. *evze-* / Yak. *abāsy*

These lexical ‘nests’ further document the possible transmission of lexemes with other than concrete meanings in the course of the intensive early contact of the ancestors of the relevant languages as suggested in the first part of this paper (Vacek 2012b).

2.0.

This paper presents another group of lexemes with the meaning ‘fear’ etc. (for the first part, see Vacek 2012b) to be found in Dravidian and Altaic languages. The individual sets of formally close lexemes display a range of forms which, however, are within the ‘permissible’ range of phonetic variation defined in my previous papers on the topic.

Liquids in the medial position (both dental *r*, *l* and cerebral *ḷ*, *ṛ*) vary with dental stops (*t*, *d*), alveodentals (*r*) or cerebral stops (*ḍ*) in Dravidian, for which the Altaic correlation is either a dental stop (*t*, *d*), a dental liquid (*l*, *r*) and/or a sibilant (*s*, *ž*). It is to be noted that the correlation sibilant / liquid is an important feature of Altaic and that it can also be observed within Dravidian, including parallels with dentals and cerebrals (both liquids and stops; cf. Vacek 2002, pp. 32f.).¹ Analogical variation also appears in the mutual Dravidian and IA borrowings and in principle we could ask, whether this is an

1) There is a number of cases in which the variation cerebral / dental liquid in Dravidian appears to be parallel with the sibilant / liquid variation in Altaic, cf. e.g.

irregular feature or rather a regular feature.² It is of course difficult to decide which is the original, the liquid or the sibilant – cf. the Turkic-Mongolian sibilant / liquid parallels (Tur. *s, z* vs. Mo. *l, r*).³ Besides that, there appears to be an alternation between velar and labial consonants in the medial position, including a nasal + homorganic consonant (*-k-* / *-g-* / *-ng-* besides *-b-* / *-mp-* etc.), which was also discussed previously (cf. e.g. Vacek 2002, pp. 66, 169, 252, 268).

As for the initial labials (below 2. 1.), there is an alternation between a stop, both voiced and voiceless (*p-*, *b-*), a labiodental fricative (*v-*) and a nasal (*m-*). This phenomenon has been observed in a number of other parallels including absence (or ‘loss’) of the initial labial (cf. e.g. Vacek 2006b, Note 10; Vacek 2007b).⁴

As for the range of vowels, they vary both in Dravidian and Altaic between high front and mid front vowels (*i*, *e*, *ē*) on the one hand, and on the other hand high back and mid back vowels (*u*, *o*, *ō*) with occasional *a* in some languages (Ta. *veḷku* / *vaṭku*, DEDR 5500a; Go. *waritānā* / *veri-*, DEDR 5489; below).⁵

Semantically the basic meaning ‘fear’ appears to have extended or narrowed meanings (‘shy, confused, bewildered’; ‘to tremble’ etc.), though the meaning ‘to oppress’, for example, may be a result of contamination or approximation with etymologically different homophones (see below, Note 6).

A special ‘applied meaning’ appears to be that of ‘ghost’ (cf. Vacek 2012b, p. 99, note 17), which may be a variant meaning of some lexemes (for more literary examples from old Tamil Sangam literature, cf. Vacek 2012a and

Ta. *oruvu* ‘to abandon, renounce’, etc. (DEDR 993); Ta. *oḷi* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to cease, be finished’;

Ka. *oḍi* ‘to separate from, leave’, etc. (DEDR 1009);

Mo. *orki-* ‘to give up, abandon’, etc.;

MT. *OLTOV-* ‘to leave, forsake, abandon’ (MTD II,16); ŌS- ‘to retreat’ (MTD II,25–26); etc. (Vacek 2013a, Section 2).

Further cf. Vacek 2012b, Sections 1.2. A,B.

2) Cf. e.g. Southworth 2005, p. 70, Phonological assumptions, No. 1; discussion of Burrow’s proposal and question of regularity vs. irregularity and ‘spontaneity’ of phonetic ‘fission’ etc. (ibid. p. 71); for some more examples of this variation, cf. ibid., Tables pp. 257f.

3) For the sibilant-liquid correspondence in Turkic and Mongolian cf. Poppe 1960, pp. 73f.; for Altaic cf. Doerfer 1984 and Tekin 1986 with further references; for Dravidian cf. Vacek 2002, pp. 30–31, 277f.; Helimskij (1986) discussed this problem in the context of Nostratic.

4) This variation exists also in Dravidian, cf. Mo. *ōri* 1. ‘debt, obligation’; Ta. *ari* / *vari* (DEDR 216, 5266) ‘tax, impost, toll, contribution / tax, duty; tribute’ etc.). Cf. also the formal difference (initial labial) between the following two lexical nests – 2.1. and 2. 2.

5) For further discussion of the implications with further references, cf. Vacek 2012b, Introduction, pp. 92f.

Dubianskiy 2012). In some cases it is the only meaning, though the phonetic form of the words corresponds to the relevant lexical nest. Such cases are mentioned below with a question-mark to avoid misunderstanding, and they may have to be considered more systematically with more extensive material in future.

**2.1. Ta. *meruḷ* / *miṛai* / *veru* / *pēḷkaṇi* / *veḷku* / *pēṭi* – Mo. *mita-*
– MT *BELIN* / *BILE* II / *MĒLKEN* / *PŌŽA* / *MUSUN* – OT. *belin***

Ta. *meruḷ* to fear, shy; n. fear

meruḷi shy person

miral, *miral* to be frightened, startled

miraṭṭu to frighten; fascinate, deceive, drive away

Ma. *meruḷuka* to be scared

meruḷ fright

miraḷuka to start, be shaken by fear

miraṭṭal frightening

To. *mīḍ-* to look fiercely

? Te. *meramera* doubt, suspicion, fear, anxiety, guilty conscience (cf. 5489

Ta. *veru*) (DEDR 5075)

Ta. *miṛai* n. fear, trouble, [torment]

Ma. *miṛa* excitement, fear

Te. *meramera* fear, anxiety

?Malt. *merḡtre* to act furiously (DEDR 4875b)⁶

6) This etymon may conveniently be divided into two: DE DR 4875a = 'to oppress, harass'. It may be parallel to other formally close etyma with this meaning and it may be a result of contamination by these etyma:

Ta. *miṛai* to oppress, harass; suffer, be afflicted; n. torment

Te. *meramu* to cause pain or mortification; rankle; (K. also) pierce, stab

merumu to pierce, stab

meramera rankling

merameram-anu, *merameral-ādu* to rankle

? Malt. *merḡtre* to act furiously (DE DR 4875a)

Cf. Ta. *miti* 'to treat on, trample, insult, attack'; etc. (DE DR 4861)

This variation may be a confirmation of an intensive process of contact between various languages at an early period of history. Further cf.

OT. *bas-* 'to press, crush, oppress, make a surprise attack' (Cl. 370)

Cf. Ta. *milāntu-* to gaze, stare; to look ghastly, like dying persons (TL s.v.)⁷

Ta. *veru* fear, dread

veruvu to be afraid of, be alarmed, frightened or startled; n. fear, fright

veruḷ, viraḷ to be startled, perplexed, bewildered, be frightened, shy, be skittish; n. fear, perplexity, that which is fearful

virattu to frighten, intimidate

veruḷi bewilderment, that which causes terror, bugbear, scarecrow

veruṭtu to terrify, frighten, confuse, stupefy, drive away (as animals)

veruṭci bewilderment, shyness, skittishness, fear

viṛa to fear

viṛappu fear

veri to be frightened; n. fear

Ma. *veruḷuka* to be frightened, confused, furious

viraḷuka to start, be shaken by fear

viraḷi scarecrow

virattuḷa to frighten

virattuḷ frightening

Ko. *vern-* to become extremely afraid

verṭ- to cause (cattle) to have extreme fear

To. *pe-ḷ-* (buffaloes) are frightened and run away

pe-ṭ- to frighten (buffaloes) and cause them to run away

Ka. *bercu, beccu* to be frightened, scared; n. fear, dread; a scarecrow

bercisu, beccisu to frighten

beccaḷisu to be confused, become perplexed or bewildered, be deprived of consciousness, be beguiled

[*beppaḷa* amazement, alarm, fear, etc.

beppu wandering of the mind, confusion

bebbarisu to get bewildered from fear, be greatly frightened

bebbala alarm, confusion]

birut(u) (PBh.) having feared

beragu fear

Koḍ. *borad-* to be thrown into confusion by fear

borat- to frighten and make run in all directions (usually of cattle)

7) Or could this word be a dialectal variant of Ta. *viḷi* 'to open the eyes, wake from sleep, gaze, shine, be clear' etc. (DEDR 5429)? But cf. the suggestion of a Hungarian parallel proposed by Bálint (1897, p. 298, s.v. Hung. *méla* 'melancholisch'): Tam. *milāndu-* 'regarder d'un air triste, effrayé, trouble'.

- ? *bott-* (*botti-*) to fear, be frightened
- Te. *veṛa* fear, terror, surprise
veṛacu to fear, be afraid
veṛapari timid person
veṛapincu to frighten, terrify, alarm
veṛapu fear, fright, dread, terror, alarm
- Go. *warītānā* (Tr.) to fear
warhuttānā, *waristānā* to frighten
warhūcar scarecrow
veri- (A. M. S. Ko.), *ver-* (Y.), *vaṛi-* (Ma.) to fear
rey- (Ma.) to be afraid
reīnā to fear; *repīh* fear (L.)
verē (ASu.) fear
- Kui *bree inba*, *brehe inba* to be afraid (cf. 5075 Ta. *meru!*) (DEDR 5489)⁸
- Ta. *pēlkaṇi* to be afraid
- Ka. *peḷagu* fear, alarm
peḷar to tremble, fear; n. fear, alarm
peḷarisu to cause to fear, frighten
peḷpaḷisu, *beḷpaḷisu* to tremble, fear
- Tu. *perci* shying, starting suddenly
percuni to shy, start aside suddenly
- Te. *pelukuru* to fear, be alarmed
- Pa. *bir̥k-* to be startled (DEDR 4419)
- Ta. *veḷku* to be bashful, to fear, shudder, be perplexed
veṭku to be bashful, be afraid
veṭkam, *vekkam* bashfulness, coyness
vaṭku to be shy, bashful; n. shyness
- Ma. *veḷkka* to be afraid

8) There is another etymon, which is close formally and semantically:

- Ta. *veṛu* to detest, loathe, hate, be angry at, dislike, renounce, be afflicted
veṛukkai, *veṛuppu* aversion, loathing, dislike
- Ma. *veṛukka* to avoid, abstain from, loathe, hate, renounce
veṛuppu aversion, dislike, abomination
veṛuppikka to cause anger
virakkam repugnance
- Ko. *verv-* (*vert-*) to dislike
- Kur. *birkha'ānā* to disgust with, make sick of, disaffect from
birkhārnā to grow disaffected, conceive a disgust for, be sick of (DEDR 5512)

- Ka. *beḷkar* to become afraid, fear
beḷkane to turn pale through fear (K.2)
 Tu. *boḷcuni* to shy, start aside suddenly as an animal
boḷci, boḷcelu shyness, starting aside, suddenly
boḷcāvuni to make shy
boḷacceleḷu shying (DEDR 5500a)⁹
- Ta. *pēṭi* fear; to be afraid
 Ma. *pēṭi* fear, cowardice
pēṭikka to be afraid, to shy (a horse), fear
 Ka. *hēḍi, ēḍi, pēḍi* (PBh.) coward
bēḍa timid man
pōṭa coward
 Koḍ. *po-ḍi* fear
 Tu. *hēḍi, hēḍe, ēḍi* coward; timid
pōḍiyuni to be afraid
pōḍiyāvuni, pōḍipāvuni to frighten, threaten, terrify
pōḍigē fear, fright (DEDR 4434a)¹⁰

9) On semantic grounds, this DEDR etymon may better be split into 5500a – ‘fear’; and 5500b – ‘to be ashamed’; though the concrete meanings seem to oscillate around a general common meaning and the possibility of semantic extension is not *a priori* ruled out:

- Ta. *veḷku* to be ashamed, be coy
veṭku to be ashamed
veṭkam, vekkam shame, modesty
vaṭku to be ashamed; n. shame, modesty
viḷi- to be overcome with shame
viḷivu shame
 Ma. *veḷkka* to be ashamed
vekkam shame

Ko. *vekm* (obl. *vekt-*) feeling of modesty, shame (DEDR 5500b)

10) In my opinion, this DEDR etymon should be split into a/b and DEDR 4434b should be attached to DEDR 4395a (Ta. *peṇ* ‘woman’, etc.) and 4395b (Ta. *peṭtai* ‘female of animals and birds’ etc.):

- Ta. *pēṭi* hermaphrodite; (impotence)
pēṭan hermaphrodite with male characteristics predominating
pēṭu hermaphrodite; female sex, female of birds and of certain quadrupeds
pēṭai female of birds, hen
 Ma. *pēṭa* female of a deer, turtle; a pea hen, etc.
 Ka. *hēḍi, ēḍi, pēḍi* (PBh.) effeminate man, hermaphrodite; *hēṭe, hēṇṭe, hyāṭe* hen
 Koḍ. *po-ḍe ko-ḷi* hen
 Te. *pēḍi* eunuch, hermaphrodite
pēḍe having no moustache, beardless man. (Cf. Skt. *poṭā-* hermaphrodite) (DEDR 4434b).

In the following Dravidian etymon the meaning ranges from 'trembling' to 'awe, fear', which may represent a semantic extension, or a contamination of homophones (see above):

- Ta. *pirāl* to tremble¹¹
pirālcci, *pirālvu* shivering, trembling
pirakkam awe, fear
pirappu fear, alarm
Ka. *piriki* coward
Te. *piriki* id.; timid, cowardly (DEDR 4200a)
Pa. *purki* (S.) timid (DEDR 4200b)¹²

- Mo. *mita-* to fear, be scared; to be nonplussed
mital fear
mitamayai timid, afraid
mitara- to be afraid, cower, quail; to lose confidence or courage

?berbei- b. to be frightened, shy (a. to chill, grow numb from cold)

However, for an analogical semantic extension cf. below the semantic extension s.v. MT. *BELIN* 'hysteries' etc. (plus note 13 below).

- 11) The meaning 'to tremble' etc. may be also found in phonetically 'close' Altaic forms, cf. OT. *bez-* shiver, tremble, shudder (Cl. 389) (OTD *BEZ-* to tremble, shudder, p. 97)
BEZIK BEZ- to tremble, shudder strongly (OTD, s.v., p. 97)

In fact, this lexeme may be an example of the process of semantic shift, as documented by Clauson:

bez- originally 'to shiver, tremble, shudder'; in the medieval period it came to mean 'to shudder at the sight of (something)' and thence 'to feel aversion from (something)' and the like (Cl. 389).

- 12) The Parji form in DEDR 4200b demonstrates that the medial *-u-* replaces the front vowel *-i-* after the initial *p-*. In several languages there is a medial double velar stop:

- Ka. *pukkalu*, *pukku* fear, timidity
pukkala, *pukka* timid man, coward
Koḍ. *pukkilē* coward
Tu. *pukku*, *pukku* fear, timidity
pukke, *pukkele* coward (DEDR 4200b)

The double consonant *-kk-* may be a reflection of an earlier liquid plus stop, while at the same time it is formally close to another semantically relatively 'close' etymon: Ta. *pukai* 'to burn as the heart, be chagrined, grieve; n. distress' etc. (DEDR 4456).

MT. *BELIN* hysteric (MTD I,124)

Evenk. id.;

belin- to be frightened, to shudder*belimukên-* to cause fright, fear, hysterics*belin* timid, full of fear (getting startled from every noise)*belinmukêt-/č-* to frighten s.b., (by an unexpected noise)Ud. *beli^he*, *beli^hente* young women (heroines of fairy tales)¹³Neg. *belin* first diseaseNan. *belčī* stupid; foolMa. *beli*, *bel'er* stupid, absurd; fool, little fool; mocker

?BILÉ II devil (MTD I,83)

Evenk. *bile* devil (rel. obsolete)Cf. Yak. *būlā-* to revenge, persecute; *bulayai*, *bylayai* evil; unhappy circumstance; hate

?MĒLKEN ghost (MTD I,567)

Evenk. *mēlkun*, *mēlken* (folklore) ghost (evil, forest)*mēlkēt-/č-* to occur, appearMa. *melken* phantom, apparition; mirage*melkeše-* to gleam, flash; to sway, to be seen (about a phantom)*melketu* shell (in the sea, into which pheasants are supposed to transform)

Cf. also

Nivh *milk* devil, evil spirit (Savel'eva, Taksami 1970, p. 185)

?PESKE- to be astonished, surprised (MTD II,48)

?BODA-BODA BI sad (MTD I,87)

Olcha *boda-boda bi*, *bodū* sad; exhausted

PŌŽA ghost – lord of the fire (MTD II,40)

Neg. *pōža*, *puža*, *puži* (relig.) id.Oroch. *puža* relig. ghost – lord of the fire, hearthUd. *puža* ghost – lord of the fire (also female)Olcha *pōža* (relig.) ghost – lord of the fireNan. *pōža*, *foža* (relig.) ghost – lord of the fire*foža mama* spirit of the fire (image of a female); deity of fire (female)

13) Note that there is a similar semantic variation as above in Dravidian (cf. above note 10)

MUSUN ghost (MTD I,561)

Evenk. *musun*, *muhun*, *mušun* power of movement (in the phenomena of nature);
(relig.) ghost – lord of the phenomena of nature;
mood; talent

musučī talented; ethnogr. having a spirit-lord
Even. *mūsūn*, *mūhon*, *mūhūn* ghost, apparition; (folklore) fairy; ghost – lord of the
place

mūholkan magical

mūsān töör, *būy mūsannī* etc. ghost – lord of the earth; forest spirit

MĀSĪ ghost – patron of the house (MTD I,532)

Neg. *māsī* (relig. obsolete) ghost – patron of the house
Olcha *māsī* id.

?MALU I (honorary) place in the house (MTD I,525)

Evenk. *malu*, *malū* id.; icon

MŮRĀN invisible being (MTD I,558)

Even. *mūrān* invisible being, ghost

OT. *beliŋ* panic, terror (Cl. 343)¹⁴

beliŋle:- to be panic-stricken, terrified (Cl. 344)

BELIŋ fear, panic, horror

BELIŋLĀ:- to be afraid, terrified (OTD s.vv., p. 94)

Yak. *muosāni* a special spirit, to which the shamans run (MTD I,561)

Cf.

Hung. *fél*- fürchten (Bálint 1897, p. 219)¹⁵

14) Clauson (p. 343, s.v.) remarks that this lexeme survives in NE Alt., Tel., and SW Tkm. and until recently in Osm.; elsewhere it was displaced by derivatives of other roots, *kork*- or *ürk*-. For the former cf. Vacek 2012b, p. 99, for the latter cf. section 2.2. below.

15) Bálint refers to Ta. *pīlu* 'peur'; *pīlugaŋ* 'home peureux, timide'; Ka. *bīlu*- 'to fear' and refers to Skt. *bhīla* (peureux timide) and Ta. *vel-gu*- (avoir peur, honte, s'effrayer). The first Tamil and Kannada words are obviously derived from Skt. *bhī*- 'to be afraid'; *bhīlu*-, *bhīru*- 'timid' etc. For the last Tamil word see above.

2.2. Ta. *aḷukku* /*araḷ* – Mo. *olixai* 1. / *ürge*- – MT. *OLO*- / *URĖU*- – OT. *ürk*-

Ta. *aḷukku* to be perturbed, frightened

Ma. *aḷukkuka* to start, shrink, cramp of limbs

aḷukkam awe, fear

aḷarkka to lament, cry

aḷarcca bellowing

aḷappu shriek

Ka. *aḷar*, *aḷaku*, *aḷiku*, *aḷuku*, *aḷku*, *aḷkar* to fear

aḷarīsu, *aḷakīsu*, *aḷikīsu* to frighten

aḷar, *aḷaku*, *aḷku*, *aḷarpu* fear, anguish

aḷasu sound in coitu

Tu. *alkuni*, *aḷkuni* to be afraid, start, shudder

alku timidity; timid, frightened

Te. *aluku* to be afraid; n. fear, dread

aḷuku = *aluku* n.

aḷukari coward (DEDR 306)

Ta. *araḷ*, *aruḷ* to be terrified

araṭṭu, *aruṭṭu* to terrify, frighten; n. fear

araṭṭi fear

aruṭṭi quaking, trembling, agitation

araṭci, *aruṭci* confusion of mind, bewilderment

aruku, *arukku* to be afraid

Ma. *araḷuka* to shrink

araṭṭuka to frighten, alarm

Ko. *arkl* fear because discovery of one's misdeeds is expected, feeling of anxiety about getting a living, sorrow because of bereavement

Ka. *araḷ*, *araḷa*, *aruḷu*, *arulu*, *arlu*, *aralu* bewilderment, terror, fear

are, *aremare*, *aremarike* hesitation, doubt

Tu. *naraṅguni* to waver, hesitate, be reluctant

naraguri a sheepish man, coward

nareṅguni to hesitate

nareṅgele a dull, tardy, slow, hesitating man

Te. *aragali* hesitation, doubt

aramara, *aramarika* id., consciousness of being a stranger

aravāyi diffidence, hesitation

Kol. *ari* fear

ars to fear

- arp-*, *arsip-*, (Kin.) *arplip-* to terrify
 Nk. *ari* fear
 ars- to fear
 artip- to terrify
 Nk. (Ch.) *ari* fear
 arus-/ars- to fear
 arup-/arp- to frighten
 Pa. *nar* fear
 narc- to fear
 narpip- to frighten
 Ga. *nar* (Oll.) fear
 nars- (Oll.) to fear
 narupp- (Oll.) to terrify
 nar (S.) fear
 narc- (S.) to fear
 Malt. *arkare* to be terrified
 arkatre to terrify
 Br. *narring* to flee, run away (DEDR 3605)¹⁶

- Mo. *olixai* 1. nervous, jumpy, jittery
 olig wretch, coward; sloppy, slovenly

dölü- to be timid, not to dare¹⁷

- ?*alyasa-* a. to be distracted, confused, absentminded, inattentive; to be unstable; to be worried; to be concerned; [b. to miss, skip]
alyasal a. distraction; confusion; [b. missing, skipping]
alyasamayai absent-minded, distracted; worried, anxious
alyasangyui distraction, lack of attention or concentration; inattentive, heedless; inadvertent; worrying

?*erlig, erglig* King of hell, god of death

16) As for the initial nasal in Tulu, Parji, Gadba and Brahui, cf. below: Mo. *dölü-* 'to be timid, not to dare'. The alternation of initial stops and nasals (both dental and labial) was discussed in Vacek 2007b, p. 396f. with more examples.

17) Cf. above select examples with initial nasal in DEDR 3605.

?*albin* demon, devil, evil spirit, sprite
albid- to be possessed by an evil spirit

?*almas* 2. a legendary tribe of savage people; female demon, witch (also an invective referring to women)

?*ada* evil spirit; demon, devil; object of aversion; nuisance; obstacle, hindrance

adala- to obsess, bewitch; to maltreat, treat as a nuisance; to rage like one possessed

adalayda- to be obsessed, bewitched; to be maltreated

adatai a. possessed by a demon; devilish

ürge-, ürege- 1., *ürgü-* to be(come) alarmed or frightened

ürgege- to frighten or scare away; to stir up game

ürgemekei, ürgemetegi timorous, fearful, timid

MT. *OLO-* to be frightened (more languages) (MTD II,15)

OLĖOBA cautious, careful (Ma.) (MTD II,14)

URĖU- to be frightened (Ma.) (MTD II,286)

OT. *ürk-* to be startled, scared, frightened (Cl. 221)

ürkün panic (Cl. 225)

ürkünç panic, panic-stricken (Cl. 225-6)

ürkit- (caus.) to startle (s.o.), to scare (game etc.) away (Cl. 226)

?*erlig* both 'possessing power or authority' and 'possessing free-will or independence, free to do as one likes' (Cl. 224)

2.3. Ka. *agi* / Ta. *akkili* / *aṅkalāy* / Ma. *amparakka* etc. – Mo. *ayara-* / *egenegsi-* / *ab 2.* / *abayaldai* / *?abuly-a* / *?ongyun* – MT. *AḠA II* / *EKSERĪ* / *OTĒNĀ* / *OGŽO* / *ABASY* / *ABAḠALDAJ* / *IBĀGĀ* – OT. *evze:-* / Yak. *abāsy*

Ka. *agi* to tremble, fear
agurvū, agurbu amazement, terror; a terrible form
agurvisu to be terrifying or formidable; terrify
 Tu. *aguruni* to totter, stagger
 Te. *agurvū* fear, terror (KR)
agurpu, agurvū (VN) 'bhayaṅkaramu' (DEDR 12)

Ta. *akkili-pikkili* confusion, confusion of mind (loc.)
 Ka. *akkūlisu* to fear, flinch, withdraw
 Te. *akkilipaḍu* to be confused, bewildered (DEDR 25)

There is one etymon with a medial nasal-labial, which is a possible formal variant (see Introduction) and which is also semantically close:¹⁸

Ma. *amparakka* to be confounded, perplexed
amparappu perplexity
 Ka. *amberpu* (Hav.) hurry
 Tu. *ambarappu* hurry, confusion, perplexity (DEDR 172)

18) There is another set of forms with medial labials in both Dravidian and Altaic displaying semantic and formal closeness in the following list of etyma, which may be perceived as a component part of a 'continuum' of forms and meanings (cf. Vacek 2004, No. 27b):

Ta. *avalam* suffering, pain, distress, poverty, want, sorrowing, care, anxiety, fault, sickness, disease

etc.

Te. *āvali* trouble

Br. *avalēnging* to become confused, feel embarrassed (DEDR 265)

Mo. *ebed-* to be taken ill, be sick; to hurt, feel pain

MT. *AVŪL-I* to become melancholic, be bored (MTD I,10)
 (Evenk., Even.)

ABALAN- to be distressed (Evenk. < Yakut) (MTD I,3)

EVLĒN- to feel sorry, regret (Evenk.) (MTD II,435)

?OT. *EVŠŪK* aged person's ailments, decrepitude (OTD s.v.)

Yakut *abalā-* to distress, grieve (MTD I,3)

Mo. *ayara-* to be confused, dumbfounded; to be at a loss for words

egenegsi- a. to be inspired, be possessed by demons (cf. MT. *IBĀGĀ* below)

ab 2. a. witchcraft, sorcery, charms; (b. temptation, allurements, enticement)

abayaldai a shamanistic idol; a mask representing a shamanistic god; larva, chrysalis (cf. the same Manchu-Tungus word further below)

?*abuly-a* evil spirit¹⁹

?*ongyun* (shamanist) spirit inhabiting a material object, genie, guardian spirit, tutelary deity; spirit of a deceased person, ghost; pure, holy, sacred, consecrated; tomb of a saint or an eminent person, family tomb; shamanist ancestral idol; [naturally white hair]

The Manchu-Tungus parallels seem to be only from the semantic field of deities or various spirits:

MT. *ATA* II name of a deity (MTD I,11)

Nan. *aya*, *axe* obs. name of a deity (a spirit resembling man – patron of hunting; was hung to the belt)

EKSERĪ god (MTD II,444)

Evenk. *ekserī* god

eksejīn well, happily

Oroch *eksuke(n-)* spirit of the forest (soul of a dead person, which did not reach the world of the dead)

19) Colloquial Khalkha usage (*avalga* / *avлага*), which is folk-etymologically considered to be related to the root *ab-* 'to take, grasp' etc. Lessing has the form *abuly-a* a thing to be taken; something to which one has a claim; claim; a debt to be collected; the ability of taking, absorbing, or understanding

In colloquial usage it can designate an 'unknown entity', which has taken away something from you (personal communication Prof. J. Lubsangdorji). Cf. also MT. *ABASY* below.

OEŇĀ evil spirit (MTD II,5)Evenk. *oyēñā* evil spiritNeg. *oyēñā* evil spirit**OGŽO** evil spirit (MTD II,5)Ud. *ogžo* evil spirit, devil*ogžodi-* to tell fortunes**ONFUN** a deer that is taboo (MTD II,21)Evenk. *onjun, enjun, enjun* (rel. obsolete) a deer that is taboo (set free for the sake of a spirit – master of the taiga; usually white colour)**ABASY** evil spirit (MTD I,3)Evenk. *abasy, abāsy* [< Yak.], *avahī* evil spirit, devil; enemy, hero of the lower world; monster; spirit, the Lord of the forest*avahima* harmful (about humans); impenetrable

(Even., Neg.)

ABAΓALDAJ spirit – assistant of the Shaman (MTD I,8; cf. Mongolian above)**IBĀGĀ** devil (MTD I,294; cf. Mo. *egenegsi-* above)Sol. *ibāgā, ivāgā* devil

Neg., Olcha, Nan., Ma.

OT. *evze:-* to be flurried, confused, distressed (Cl. 17)Yak. *abāsy* evil, evil beginning; evil spirit, devil; enemy, hero of the lower world; monster (MTD I,3)Cf. **oŋan*: Yak. *oŋonjor, oŋonjor* old man, bear (Räs. 362b: < Mo. *ongyun* spirit etc., see above)**2.3.1. Appendix**

There are a few lexemes with initial labial, which are polysemous and also designate the various aspects of magical or supernatural powers and which may be in fact related to the group summed up in 2012b, Section 1.3.:²⁰

20) Ko. *vekar-* – Mo. *begdere-* – MT. *MAKA-* / *NENDE-* / *BOΓBĪ-*.

Ta. *makiṭi* trial of magical powers between two enchanters in which one hides some treasure from the other and challenges him to discover it by mantras; common play where things are hidden by one player and discovered by another

mōṭi trial of magical power

Ma. *mōṭi* anything placed by a conjuror who tries to prevent its being removed

Ka. *mōḍi* = Ta. *makiṭi* trial of magical powers, etc.

Tu. *mōḍi* anything placed by a conjuror to try the ability of another, conjuration, delusion, sorcery

Te. *mōḍi* a sort of magic or jugglery (DEDR 5132a)

Ta. *makiṭi* a kind of hautboy used by snake-charmer

mōṭi snake-charmer's pipe

Te. *magiḍi* a kind of musical instrument used by a snake charmer (DEDR 5132b)

Ta. *mōṭaṇam* 4. magic, enchantment; 5. folly, stupidity (TL s.v.)²¹

?*mōṭi* Durgā (TL s.v.)²²

Compare also the following Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus and Turkic lexemes (Vacek 2012b, footnote 22) which in fact may be a component part of this formal and semantic nest:

Mo. *böge* shaman

bögeci shaman,

bögecile- to perform shamanic rites, shamanize, practice magic, evoke spirits

MT. *MAFUN-* to make a shamanistic ritual (MTD I,520)

BOBI fortune-telling (MTD I,86)

hĀNET-/Č- to tell fortunes; Nan. *paŋḡa-* id. (MTD II,316, loss of initial voiceless labial)

MEVU- to perform a shamanistic ritual (MTD I,562)

21) No. 5 is derived from Ta. *mōṭan* 'fool, blockhead', which the TL derives from Skt. *mūḍha-*.

22) The TL proposes the probability that this word may be derived from Ta. *mōṭu* 'height, hill, eminence', etc. But this may be a folk etymology and its relation to the etyma in DEDR 5132a is not ruled out.

OT. *bögüle-* to make magic, bewitch (Cl. 327)

For a variant with an initial labial stop (plus medial labial < velar) and its various representations cf. Cincius 1984, p. 31, No. 12: **p"ap* 'sorcery' (for a loss of the initial labial, see for example Mo. *ab* 2. a. 'witchcraft', etc. above).

2.4. Conclusion

In concluding this topic I should repeat that we have dealt with rather abstract lexemes (with tolerable phonetic variation and semantic extensions), which are to be found among the lexical parallels between Dravidian and Altaic. This is an important fact that should be taken into account in the general interpretation of these parallels.²³

However, besides a number of definable lexical parallels and selected morphological correspondences (verbal stem formation, etc.; cf. Vacek 2004, 2006a), there are also significant *lacunae* in the lexical correspondences (pronouns, numerals). This has been underlined several times in my earlier contributions. This fact should be interpreted in terms of modern concepts of sociolinguistics and contact between languages, and also in the context of other disciplines helping to outline the possible 'external' history and the potential time and area of the early contact, not necessarily in terms of

23) There are more parallels with abstract meanings, cf. e.g.

Ta. *ala-* to suffer, be in distress, suffer privation, be in want
alacu- to suffer, be distressed, be exhausted, become weary
alu- to be weary, tired by overwork or care
 etc.

Ka. *ala, alapu, alupu, alavu, alvike, alasike* fatigue, weariness, trouble

Tu. *alasuni, alajuni* to be fatigued, vexed, suffer griping pain

Te. *alayu-* to be tired, be disgusted

etc. (DEDR 236)

Mo. *alza-* to suffer, be unable to bear

alzija- to be(come) tired, exhausted, weary; to be troubled

MT. *ALĪĪ-* to get tired, be exhausted (MTD I,32; five languages)

OT. *ALP-* II difficulties, difficult experiences; difficulty, danger; difficult (OTD s.v.)

a language family in the Young Grammarian sense.²⁴ Inspiration can also be drawn from 'linguistic archaeology' as elaborated from the old Indian lexical material by Southworth (2005). It is very probable that the lexical material of the Dravidian languages has two layers (Vacek 2009b), one originally indigenous and one definably parallel with the Altaic lexical stock, and that the early language contact was rather 'intensive' or 'intimate' (cf. also Vacek 2010, 2012b, section 1.0. with further references).

Developing this subject further and understanding more subtle aspects of the ancient situation will require further systematic research into the lexical material of the relevant languages (for more lexical parallels from various semantic fields see my earlier papers on the topic, for more extensive lists see Vacek 2007a, 2009a, 2012b, 2013a,b). This should be done in the context of the other branches of knowledge (available sources of ancient history, besides archaeology, physical anthropology etc.), while using the theoretical 'instruments' of modern linguistics (cf. e.g. Ananthanarayana 2008; Thomason, Kaufman 1988; further cf. Vacek 2012b with further references).

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24) For a survey of various views on long-range comparison of Dravidian, see Zvelebil 1991 with further references.

25) Abbreviations used for some dictionaries:

Cl. Clauson 1972.

DEDR Burrow, Emeneau 1984(2).

MTD SRAVNITEL'NYJ SLOVAR' TUNGUSO-MAN'ČŽURSKIH JAZYKOV.

OTD DREVNETJURSKIJ SLOVAR'.

Räs. Räsänen 1969.

As far as abbreviations of languages are concerned, I use those abbreviations commonly used and listed e.g. in the DEDR (Burrow and Emeneau 1984, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*), in the MTD (SRAVNITEL'NYJ SLOVAR' TUNGUSO-MAN'ČŽURSKIH JAZYKOV) and in Räsänen 1969.

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Expressing permission, possibility, ability and preparedness in spoken Tibetan with special attention to the secondary verb *chog*

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Summary: The present paper deals with the different uses and meanings of the verb *chog* (“be allowed”, “can”, “be ready”) in spoken Tibetan. As a modal verb, it is mainly used for expressing permission, and sometimes possibility. As an aspectual verb, it is used to express preparedness. It will be discussed from a syntactic and a semantic point of view. Furthermore, it will be compared to other verbs or verbal endings that have a similar meaning, such as *nyan*, *thub*, *grig*, *rgyu.byung* or *rtsis byed*.

1. Introduction

1.1. General characteristic of Tibetan¹

In spoken Tibetan, an SOV (subject-object-verb) language, in which the verb always comes at the end, the grammatical words of the verbal domain, such as verbal auxiliaries or verbal endings, always follow the verb. Verbal endings have several important functions: they indicate the end of a sentence and they convey various tense-aspects and modal meanings, and may thus be called ‘TAM (tense-aspect-modality) verbal endings.’² Tense may be expressed in two ways: by verbal flexion (stems) and/or by TAM verbal endings. However, the TAM categories are nowadays systematically indicated by verbal endings

1) In this paper, the term “Tibetan” corresponds to the language that is based on the dialect of Lhasa and its neighbourhood, which is a variety of Central Tibetan (*dbus.skad*). In Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003) it is called “Standard Tibetan”. For more detail, refer to Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003), Tournadre (2005), Wang (1994), *Zangyu lasahua yufa* (2003). With some differences, it is also spoken in the exile community in India, Nepal and other countries. For the exile variant of *dbus.skad*, I would like to express thanks to Geshe Nyima Choekhortshang for his help. I also thank to my Lhasa informants, Mr. 'Phin.las rgyal.mtshan and Mr. Mig.dmar.

2) The Tibetan TAM verbal endings can be divided in two types: evidential verbal endings (Garrett 2001; Tournadre, Sangda Dorje 2003, on evidentiality see: Chafe, Nichols [eds.] 1986; Aikhenvald 2004; Guentcheva, Landaburu [eds.] 2007) and epistemic verbal endings (Vokurková 2009; on epistemic modality see: Nuyts 2001; Boye 2012).

rather than by verbal inflection of the lexical verb (stems) which has now become archaic and most of the verbs have now only one or two stems, the past and/or the present-future.³

1.2. Secondary verbs

In Tibetan, there is a group of verbs that go between the lexical verb and the verbal ending, and are thus called “secondary verbs”.⁴ They include modal, aspectual and directional verbs. These specify the meaning of the lexical verb. There are two types of secondary verbs.⁵ The first type (Sec 1) behaves syntactically in the same way as lexical verbs and it is followed by TAM verbal endings (ex. 1).

LEXICAL VERB (PRS OR PAST) + SEC 1 + VERBAL ENDING

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. | <i>khong</i> | <i>rgya.gar</i> | <i>- la</i> | <i>'gro</i> | <i>chog</i> | <i>- pa.red</i> |
| | s/he+H | India | - OBL | go (PRS) | be allowed | - PFV+FACT |
- He was allowed to go to India.

The other type (Sec 2) behaves like nominalizers and, as a result, can only be followed by auxiliaries that are identical to copulas (ex. 2, Vokurková 2007, p. 117).

LEXICAL VERB (PRS) + SEC 2 + VERBAL AUXILIARY

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| 2. | <i>nga</i> | <i>- tsho</i> | <i>thon</i> | <i>chog</i> | <i>yin</i> |
| | I | - PL | set out | be ready | AUX (EGO) |
- We are ready to set out.

From a semantic and syntactic point of view, many secondary verbs behave in a particular way, e.g. they are limited to one tense, they combine with a limited number of verbal endings (or auxiliaries), or they change their meaning (for more details refer to Vokurková 2010).

3) For more details refer to Vokurková, 2012.

4) The term ‘secondary verb’ was introduced by Kesang Gyurme (in Tibetan *bya.tshig phal.ba*) and translated by Nicolas Tournadre (see Kesang Gyurme 1992).

5) The division of secondary verbs into two types was suggested in my D.E.A. dissertation (Vokurková 2002).

2. Grammatical and semantic differences among sentences containing *chog*

2.1. The modal verb *chog*: (a) “be allowed, be permitted, may”, (b) “can”

The modal verb *chog* is primarily used to express permission and corresponds in English to “may” or “be allowed”. Modal *chog* combines with verbal endings and it cannot be reduplicated (ex. 4). The lexical verb may be either the present-future or the past stem (ex. 5). It is compatible with the majority of verbal endings (*gi.red*, *gi.yod.red*, *gi.dug*, *pa.red*, *song*, *bzhag* (*shag*)) except the egophoric endings *pa.yin*, *gi.yin*. The use of *byung* is very rare.

3. *pa.se med na nang -la 'dzul chog -gi.ma.red*
 ticket have(NEG) if inside - OBL enter be allowed - FUT+FACT(NEG)
 Without a ticket, it is not permissible to enter inside. (*Zangyu lasahua yufa* 2003, p.149)
4. *khong -gis byed chog / *chog.chog -gi.red*
 s/he+H - ERG do (PRS) be allowed - FUT+FACT
 He will be allowed to do it.

Moreover, modal *chog* sometimes expresses the same meaning as the modal verb *thub* ‘be able’ (see ex. 5 and 3. 2. 1., ex. 23).

5. *kha.btags khrom -nas nyo/nyos chog -gi.red*
khatak market - ABL buy (PRS/PAS) can - FUT+FACT
 (We) can buy *khatak* in the market. (Tournadre, Sangda Dorje 2003, p. 245)

2.2. The aspectual verb *chog* “be ready to (do), be prepared to (do)”

The aspectual verb *chog* implies preparedness. It is often reduplicated (*chog.chog*) and it is followed by verbal auxiliaries (ex. 6). The lexical verb may be either the present-future or the past stem.

6. *khong -gis byed chog/chog.chog red*
 s/he+H - ERG do (PRS) be ready be (FACT)
 He is ready to do it.

The aspectual verb *chog* can combine with existential and essential auxiliaries. It is compatible with the following auxiliaries: *red*, *yin*, *yod.red*, *'dug*,

yod. When used with an existential auxiliary, the verb *chog* is oriented to the syntactic patient ('something is ready', ex. 7), with an essential auxiliary it is oriented to the agent ('someone is ready', ex. 8).⁶

7. *rang* (- *la*) *kha.lag* *za* *chog.chog* *yod* - *pas*
 you (-OBL) meal eat (PRS) be ready exist (EGO) - Q
 Have you got a ready meal? (i.e. is there a meal ready for you to be eaten?)
 The existential auxiliary *yod* relates to the object of the action, i.e. the meal.

8. *rang* *kha.lag* *za* *chog.chog* *yin* - *pas*
 you meal eat (PRS) be ready be (EGO) - Q
 Are you ready to eat?
 The essential auxiliary *yin* relates to the action of the verb, i.e. eating.

2.3. Use of *chog* in allocentric future

In the spoken language, *chog* is used as a verbal ending in sentences expressing the allocentric⁷ future.⁸ It implies future actions that the speaker intends to do for the benefit of other people. The agent is always first person and is marked by the ergative. The verb is obligatorily in the past stem.⁹

9. *nga* - *s* *phyin* - *chog*
 I - ERG go (PAS) - FUT+EGO ALL
 I'll go [there] (for you).

The allocentric *chog* may sometimes express annoyance, i.e. one saying that one is doing something unwillingly for the other (e.g. an elderly person to a younger one). The semantic interpretation is conditioned by prosody (i.e. different intonation).

6) For more details, refer to Vokurková (2010:45).

7) The term 'allocentric' is used e.g. in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003).

8) Apart from *chog*, there are two other allocentric endings used in similar contexts. These are *dgos* and *yong* (see Vokurková 2012).

9) But only if the past stem is used in the spoken language.

2.4. Use of *chog* in optative sentences

The verb *chog* is used in constructions expressing an optative meaning. These consist of the verb *chog* ‘be allowed’ and the epistemic ending *ga* (*ga* < *pa* from the epistemic ending *pa*.’*dug*, *chog* – *pa*.’*dug* > *chog* – *ga*) which are attached to a lexical verb, conveying the meaning of ‘May... (do)’, ‘I wish ...’ or ‘I hope ...’, and not ‘to be allowed’ or ‘to be ready’. The lexical verb is in the past stem. This type of sentence is frequently used in the Lhasa dialect.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| 10. | <i>kho</i> | <i>log</i> | <i>yong</i> | <i>chog</i> | - <i>ga</i> |
| | he | return | come | “wish” | - FUT+EPI+SENS |
| | May he come back! | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 11. | <i>nga</i> | <i>yig.tshed</i> | <i>de</i> | <i>lon</i> | <i>chog</i> - <i>ga</i> |
| | I | exam | that | pass | “wish” - FUT+EPI+SENS |
| | I wish I could pass the exam! | | | | |

As published in Vokurkova (2009), some epistemic endings may convey obligation, hope and other deontic derived meanings. In determining these meanings, one has to consider illocutionary modalities and speech acts (Palmer 1986, Tournadre 2004, p. 52). Prosody is also an important parameter for a relevant semantic interpretation.

3. Other verbs and constructions expressing a similar meaning to the verb *chog*

3.1. Expressing the meaning of “permit” and “allow”

3.1.0.

The modal verb *chog* is not the only means for expressing the notions of “permit”, “be allowed”, etc. There are several other verbs conveying a similar meaning. These are *nyan*, *grig*, *lo* and *os*. Moreover, a construction with the nominalizer *rgyu* is also used in the spoken language.

3.1.1. The verb *nyan* “be ok, be allowed”

The verb *nyan*¹⁰ is often used in colloquial Tibetan in the sense of permission. It has a similar meaning to the modal verb *chog*. For this meaning, it is used more often in speech than *chog*. The lexical verb preceding *nyan* is in the present-future stem. Just like *chog*, it is compatible with the majority of verbal endings (*gi.red*, *gi.yod.red*, *gi.dug*, *pa.red*, *song*, *bzhag* (*shag*)) except the egophoric¹¹ endings *pa.yin*, *gi.yin*. The use of *byung* is very rare.

12. *khyed.rang* *gro* *nyan* - *gyi.ma.red*
 you (H) go (PRS) be ok - PRS+FACT (NEG)
 You cannot go. (Lhakpa Tseten 1998, p.176)

3.1.2. The verb *grig* “be fixed, be all right”

The verb *grig* is another important means of expressing permission in spoken Tibetan. Unlike *chog*, this verb is not a secondary verb. Instead, it is used in a construction with the particle *na* “if, whether”. Therefore, it corresponds to the present conditional. It has the same meaning as the English question “May I (do) ...?” used when asking for permission:

13. *'di.dra* *byas* *na* *grig* - *gi.red* - *pas*
 this way do (PAS) if be all right - FUT+FACT - Q
 May I do that? (Tournadre, Sangda Dorje 2003, p.195)

3.1.3. The verb *lo* “suit, be suitable, fit”

The verb *lo* expresses the meaning of suitability and it may thus be, in some contexts, synonymous with the modal verb *chog*. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. It is compatible with the majority of verbal endings (*gi.red*, *gi.yod.red*, *gi.dug*, *pa.red*, *song*, *bzhag* (*shag*)) except the egophoric endings *pa.yin*, *gi.yin*. The use of *yod* is not common either.

10) The lexical verb *nyan* conveys the meaning “listen to”.

11) It is so because egophoric endings imply control on the part of the agent, which is not compatible with the meaning of the verbs *nyan* or *chog* “may”.

14. 'di za lo - gi.ma.red
 this eat (PRS) be suitable - FUT+FACT (NEG)
 This is not fit for consumption. (Goldstein 2001, p. 1083)

3.1.4. The verb 'os “be appropriate, be suitable”

The verb 'os is often used in similar contexts in spoken Tibetan to the verb *chog*. However, it differs semantically and syntactically. In English, it conveys the meaning of “being appropriate” or “being suitable”. When used in a sentence, 'os is nominalized by *pa* (ex. 15), and in negative sentences, the negation is preverbal (ex. 16), not postverbal (ex. 17).

15. 'di za 'os - pa red
 this eat (PRS) be appropriate - NOM be (FACT)
 It is appropriate to eat it.
16. 'di za mi 'os - pa red
 this eat (PRS) NEG be appropriate - NOM be (FACT)
 It is not appropriate to eat it.
17. * 'di za 'os - pa ma.red
 this eat (PRS) be appropriate - NOM be (FACT+NEG)
 Intended: It is not appropriate to eat it.

The verb 'os is not used with verbal endings:

18. * 'di za 'os - kyi.ma.red
 This eat (PRS) be appropriate - PRS (FACT+NEG)
 Intended: It is not appropriate to eat it.

3.1.5. Construction: V + *rgyu* + *yod.ma.red* or *mi'dug* expressing “not permitted”

In the spoken language, there is a construction consisting of a verb, the nominalizer *rgyu* and the negative auxiliary *yod.ma.red* or *mi'dug* expressing the meaning of “ought not (to do), should not” (ex. 19). The verb stem of the lexical verb is the present-future:

19. *a.rag* *'thung* - *rgyu* + *yod.ma.red*
 Alcohol drink (PRS) - NOM + AUX (FACT+NEG)
 (You) shouldn't drink alcohol.

Unlike in other uses, the nominalizer *rgyu* may not be replaced by the more spoken *yag* (ex. 20) in the Lhasa variant of Tibetan:¹²

20. *a.rag* *'thung* - *yag* + *yod.ma.red*
 alcohol drink (PRS) - NOM + AUX (FACT+NEG)
 Intended: * (You) shouldn't drink alcohol.

In the above sentence, only the interpretation "There is no alcohol to drink." is possible.

The construction with *rgyu* conveys a similar deontic meaning to the modal verb *nyan* (or more literary *chog*) but unlike *chog* it is only used in negative contexts (ex. 21, 22).

21. *a.rag* *'thung* *nyan / chog* - *gyi.red / gi.red*
 alcohol drink (PRS) be ok / be allowed - PRS (FACT)
 It is allowed to drink alcohol.
22. * *a.rag* *'thung* - *rgyu* + *yod.red*
 alcohol drink (PRS) - NOM + AUX (FACT)
 Intended: It is allowed to drink alcohol.

12) It was suggested by a native speaker from the Tibetan diaspora that the sentence in ex. 20 may convey the meaning "(You) shouldn't drink alcohol." Nevertheless, it should be underlined that Tibetans living in the exile communities generally accept more grammatical structures than those living in central Tibet since the dialectal variations are more numerous in the diaspora than in central Tibet. The deontic interpretation of ex. 20 was at first accepted by my informants from Lhasa as well. However, they immediately refused this interpretation and they themselves suggested the sentence with the nominalizer *rgyu*, ex. 19.

3.2. Expressing the meaning “can”

3.2.0.

As discussed above, the modal verb *chog* may sometimes convey the meaning of “can”. It is thus similar to other verbs and expressions having the meaning of “ability” or “possibility”. These are the secondary verb *thub*, the constructions with the nominalizer *yag* or *rgyu* and an existential auxiliary (*byung/byung.song/byung.pa.red* or *yod/yod.red/'dug*), and the secondary verb *srid*.

3.2.1. The secondary verb *thub* “be able, can”

The modal verb *thub* is the most common verb expressing ability. Just like *chog*, it is compatible with the majority of verbal endings (*gi.red*, *gi.yod.red*, *gi.'dug*, *pa.red*, *song*, *bzhag* (*shag*)) except for the egophoric endings *pa.yin*, *gi.yin*. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem.

23. *nga* *yar* *langs* *thub* - *gyi.mi.'dug*
 I up rise be able - PRS+SENS (NEG)
 I can't get up.

As shown above (2. 1. , ex. 5), the verb *chog* may sometimes be used in a similar context¹³ to the verb *thub*, when conveying the meaning of “can” (ex. 24).

24. *kha.btags* *khrom* - *nas* *nyo* *thub/ chog* - *gyi.red/gi.red*
 khatak market - ABL buy (PRS) can - FUT+FACT
 We can buy *khatak* in the market.

However, this is not possible in sentences expressing ability, having the meaning of “be able” (ex. 25, impossible to use *chog*):

25. *de.ring* *nga* - *r* *dus.tshod* *mi.'dug*
 today I - OBL time HAVE (SENS)
 a.ni *kha.btags* *nyo* *thub / *chog* - *ma.byung*
 thus *khatak* buy (PRS) be able / * can - PFV (EGO REC+NEG)
 I didn't have time today. So I couldn't buy *khatak*.

13) However, the contexts in which these two are used might not be identical.

3.2.2. Construction: V + the nominalizer *yag/rgyu* + existential auxiliary *byung/byung.song/byung.pa.red* or *yod/yod.red/'dug*

This construction is an example of an intermediary stage of the process of grammaticalization of lexical items (a nominalizer and an auxiliary developing in a suffix, Vokurkova 2007).

3.2.2.1. S (animate) + VERB – *yag/rygu* + AUX *byung/byung.song/byung.pa.red*

In spoken Tibetan, ability or opportunity are sometimes expressed by a construction consisting of a verb, a nominalizer *yag* or *rgyu* and an auxiliary *byung*, *byung.song* or *byung.pa.red*. The sentence conveys the past tense having the meaning of “to have had the opportunity, to have been able to”. (Tournaire, Sangda Dorje 2003, p. 298) The subject of the sentence is animate.¹⁴

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 26. | <i>nga</i> | <i>'gro</i> | - <i>yag/rgyu</i> | <i>byung</i> |
| | I | go (PRS) | - NOM | AUX (EGO) |
| | I had the opportunity to go there. | | | |

3.2.2.2. S (animate) VERB – *yag/rgyu* AUX *yod/yod.red/'dug*

Similarly, the construction consisting of a verb followed by the nominalizer *yag* or *rgyu* and the existential auxiliary *yod*, *yod.red* or *'dug* implies the meaning of “have an opportunity” or “have time” in the present tense. The subject of the sentence is animate.¹⁵

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| 27. | <i>nga</i> | - <i>'i</i> | <i>a.ce</i> | <i>phyi.rgyal</i> | - <i>la</i> | <i>'gro</i> | - <i>yag</i> | <i>yod.red</i> |
| | I | - GEN | wife | abroad | - OBL | go (PRS) | - NOM | AUX (FACT) |
| | My wife has a chance to go abroad. | | | | | | | |

14) Note that the subject is not marked by the oblique case particle.

15) Note that the subject is not marked by the oblique case particle.

3.2.2.3. S (inanimate) VERB – *yag* + AUX *yod/yod.red/’dug*

The construction of a verb followed by the nominalizer *yag* and an existential auxiliary *yod/yod.red/’dug* with an inanimate subject (without the oblique case suffix) implies the meaning of possibility or potentiality and is often translated in English by “-able”.¹⁶

28. *shel.dam* *’di* *chag* - *yag* - *mi.’dug*
 bottle this break - NOM AUX (NEG+SENS)
 This bottle is unbreakable. (e.g. It is solid.)

In this construction, only the nominalizer *yag* is used in spoken Tibetan and it generally cannot be replaced by the nominalizer *rgyu*. Although *rgyu* expresses the same meaning of potentiality in the affirmative, in negative sentences it conveys the meaning of “ought not” (see 3. 1. 5., ex. 19), and thus the meaning of potentiality cannot be understood.

29. *shel.dam* *’di* *chag* - *rgyu* - *mi.’dug*
 bottle this break - NOM AUX (NEG+SENS)
 This bottle mustn’t be broken.
 * This bottle is unbreakable.

3.2.3. The secondary verb *srid* “be possible”, “may”

The secondary verb *srid* has an epistemic meaning expressing “possibility”. It is compatible with verbal endings (Sec1) but the combinations are very limited. It usually combines only with the future factual ending *kyi.red* and with the perfective past factual ending *pa.red* (ex. 31). The other verbal endings are generally not used with this secondary verb. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. It is often used in the negative (ex. 30).

30. *’di.’dras* *yin* *srid* - *kyi.ma.red*
 like this be be possible - FUT+FACT+NEG
 It is not possible like this.

16) For more details, refer to Vokurkova 2007.

Nevertheless, it is sometimes also used in the affirmative:

31. *phal.cher de.ring char.pa btang srid - pa.red*
 perhaps today rain VBZ be possible - PFV+FACT
 It might rain today.

While *chog* stresses permission (external rule) and *thub* the ability (internal capabilities), *srid* is epistemic and rather neutral. It just states that something is possible (it may be so because one is capable of doing it or because one is allowed to do so or for another reason). Compare the following two examples (32 and 33) with example 34:

32. *a.rag khrom - la 'tshong chog - gi.red*
 alcohol market - OBL sell (PRS) be allowed - FUT+FACT
 It is authorized to sell alcohol in the market.

33. *a.rag khrom - nas 'khyer thub - gyi.red*
 alcohol market - ABL bring (PRS) can - FUT+FACT
 [I] can fetch alcohol from the market. (e.g. it is not too heavy)

34. *rang a.rag khrom - nas nyo srid - kyi.red*
 you alcohol market - ABL buy (PRS) be possible - FUT+FACT
 It is possible for you to buy alcohol in the market.

3.3. Expressing the meaning of “preparedness” and “be ready”

3.3.0.

The secondary verb *chog* has, furthermore, an aspectual meaning of being ready. In Tibetan, there are other means for conveying similar aspectual meanings. Nevertheless, these are not the same as sentences with aspectual *chog*. These are the construction *rtsis + byed* and the secondary verb *gro'o*.

3.3.1. The construction *rtsis + byed* “get ready for”

In spoken Tibetan, there is a construction consisting of a lexical verb, the verb *rtsis* “intend” and the verb *byed* “do”, i.e. *V + rtsis + byed*, which is

compatible with imperfective endings. It implies that the preparations of an action have already started:

35. *nga* *kha.lag* *za* *rtsis+byed* - *kyi.yod*
 I food eat (PRS) get ready - IMPF+EGO
 I am getting ready to have a meal./I intend to have a meal.

Unlike this construction, the aspectual verb *chog* expresses the fact that the preparations have been finished and that the action is ready to be done, see below:

36. *nga* *kha.lag* *za* *chog.chog* *yin*
 I food eat (PRS) be ready be (EGO)
 I am ready to eat.

3.3.2. The secondary verb 'gro'o (*grabs*)

In spoken Tibetan, there is an aspectual verb 'gro'o which has a similar meaning to the aspectual verb *chog*. The verbal status of 'gro'o, which is derived from the word *grabs* used in literary Tibetan, is problematic.¹⁷ In this paper, however, it is treated as an aspectual verb. Since it is incompatible with verbal endings, it belongs to the type Sec2, which combines with verbal auxiliaries. Followed by an existential auxiliary, 'gro'o implies the meaning of 'be about to do'. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem.

37. *nga* *kha.lag* *za* 'gro'o *yod*
 I food eat (PRS) be about to exist (EGO)
 I am just about to eat.

Nevertheless, 'gro'o differs from the aspectual verb *chog* in that it implies that the action of the verb is about to start (In ex. 37, the agent of the action is about to start his or her meal), while the sentence with aspectual *chog* (*chog.chog*) expresses the fact that only the preparations for the action have been made. It does not necessarily imply that the action itself is about to start (ex. 38):

17) It is either considered to be an adverb, see e.g. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (1985), or as a verb, see e.g. Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:196). From the syntactic point of view, 'gro'o occupies the same position as the secondary verbs that are followed by auxiliaries (after the lexical verb and before the auxiliary).

38. *nga* *kha.lag* *za* *chog.chog* *yin*
 I food eat (PRS) be ready be (EGO)
 I am ready to eat.

The verb *'gro'o* is also used with essential auxiliaries to refer to the recent past expressing the meaning of 'have (just) done'. The lexical verb is usually in the past stem (ex. 39):

39. *nga* *kha.lag* *bzas* *'gro'o* *yin*
 I food eat (PAS) have just be (EGO)
 I have just eaten.

4. Conclusion

The notions of permission, ability and possibility are expressed in spoken Tibetan by various lexical and grammatical means. This paper has demonstrated the main differences and similarities in meaning and use between these notions. It has especially focused on the verb *chog* and the verbal auxiliary *chog*. *Chog* is used in several ways: modal (deontic), aspectual, allocentric, and optative. In deontic contexts, it is usually replaced by the verb *nyan* in the spoken language. However, concerning its other functions, it is commonly used in spoken Tibetan.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ALL	allocentric
AUX	auxiliary
EGO	egophoric
EPI	epistemic
ERG	ergative
FACT	factual
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
H	honorific
IMPF	imperfective
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer

OBL	oblique
PAS	past
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRS	present
REC	receptive
Q	interrogative particle
SENS	sensory evidential
VBZ	verbalizer

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Review Section

Luvsandorj, Z. (Лувсандорж, Ж.), 2014, Монголын Нууц Товчоон (Монгол улсын нууц түүх) [The Secret History of the Mongols (The Secret History of Mongolia)]. АНТООН МОСТАЕРТ Монгол Судлалын Төв, Улаанбаатар, 571 pp.; Price not specified; ISBN 978-99962-3-278-7 – Reviewed by Rachel Mikos

The volume under consideration, a translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols* into Khalkha Mongolian, with philological and cultural considerations provided in the form of an extensive commentary, represents the culmination of a lifetime of research on the part of the author, J. Lubsangdorji. Professor Lubsangdorji, as many are aware, is a highly distinguished scholar and linguistic anthropologist who has been teaching at Charles University for the past twenty-five years, raising in turn a new generation – themselves now mid-career – of extraordinarily highly accomplished Mongolists such as Veronika Zikmundová, Alena Oberfalzerová, and Veronika Kapišovská.¹

The *Secret History of the Mongols* (*Mongoliin Nuuts Tovčoon*) must definitively constitute one of the most enigmatic of all the medieval chronicles to have been treated and considered in post-Enlightenment scholarship, whether from the West or Asia. As far as modern research is concerned, it has only been available through the rather obfuscating medium of a phonetic transcription of the Mongolian text into Chinese characters. Hence the entire work cannot begin to be comprehended without the necessary re-transcription back into pre-classical Mongolian. While hopes of the eventual discovery of a Mongolian-script original may die out with difficulty, Lubsangdorji notes certain reports that the original manuscript was in fact burnt (p. 6).

In the meantime, scholars must make do with transcriptions and indeed, some of the most important scholars in Altaic and Mongolian studies (Ts. Damdinsu'ren, Lajos Ligeti, E. Haenisch, and de Rachewiltz, to name just a few) have re-transcribed the text. This transcribed version is then translated into the target language. The volume under review also looks at how the English, German, French, Hungarian, and Japanese versions of the *Secret History* have rendered some of the most problematic expressions. With the above-mentioned almost unprecedented philological hindrances in mind, it is hardly a secret that the opportunities for misreading and mistranslation lurk nearly within every phrase.

1) In the interests of full disclosure, I should mention that I have been privileged to study with all of these scholars. In addition, J. Lubsangdorji consulted with me on certain aspects of the volume under review – the French and Hungarian translations of the *Secret History*.

In terms of the enormous challenges the *Secret History* poses more specifically for translators, one could cite the following: a correct apprehension of the metaphorical language the text uses throughout (i.e., a tendency to translate these metaphors literally, or to misapprehend them altogether); the correct identification of the given word or name which has been filtered through a language in which the phonic and graphic systems are almost diametrically opposed to those of Mongolian); and finally, correctly interpreting words which have fallen out of usage since the 12th–13th centuries, especially those making reference to specific ethnographic contexts now identifiable only with great difficulty, despite the general physical continuity of nomadic life in Mongolia up until the present day. In this respect, the current volume, which is comprised of an introduction, a new transcription into Khalka (Section I), and an extremely detailed commentary (Section II), comprising word reconstructions, analysis, and ethnographic context – drawing upon the author’s personal memories of growing up in the countryside, a profound acquaintance with the pre-classical monuments of Mongolian literature and the Mongol-Uyghur script, as well as literally decades of field work crisscrossing the entire country – is nothing less than a treasure for anyone who seeks to comprehend this crucial and enigmatic text on a profound level.

Every term or phrase that has been appended with a commentary is italicized in the Khalka text, and so is very easily locatable in the commentaries in Section I, which follow the standard paragraph numbering. While I am not a native speaker of Mongolian, and thus am arguably ill-equipped to judge any translation or transcription, the Khalkha text seems to read beautifully and clearly; one is struck anew by the intense poetry of the original text.

To give one example of a mistranslation (found in Cleaves’ and de Rachewiltz’s versions) addressed in this volume: in §229.19, in the middle of a long passage, as Chinggis Khan is issuing orders to his night guards, we find, in the transcription of the original: *kebteḡül süni ordo horčīn kebtežü* (pp. 455–6). The correct reading of this fragment in modern Khalka is: *Хэвтүүл сөнө орд орчин хэвтэж/хэвтгэж*. Cleaves’s translation reads: ‘... the nightguards at night lying round about the ordo ...’ In terms of the transcription dilemma, we see that the Chinese phonetic version of *orčīn*, (‘around, about’) acquired an epenthetic ‘h’; an alteration that appears to be rather common in the Chinese phonetic rendering. This error, however, has been solved correctly. What clearly was not interpreted correctly was the phrase *kebteḡül ... kebtežü*, in which *kebteḡül* does refer to the night guards, but *kebtežü* does not mean ‘lying round about’ (as it does in the modern language, *hevte-*, ‘lying, to

lie down'). The expression instead references the idiom *heviig sahiul-*, which literally means 'to guard the form, the cast [of something]'. Metaphorically, however, it conveys a meaning akin to 'guarding the status quo'. This metaphorical meaning of an imprint or cast of something representing an ongoing satisfactory state of affairs has been preserved to a marked extent in the modern language in phrases such as *heveeree baina*, for example, which, when responding to a query about one's health, etc., indicates that 'things are the same, nothing [dramatic or life-changing] has occurred'.

In the same utterance, a perhaps more slightly comical misunderstanding occurs with the phrase *egüide daružu baiysad kebtegül*, which has been rendered as 'nightguards which have stood, stopping the door...' (Cleaves); 'Die Nachtwachen, welche die aufgestellt sind, um die Tür zuzudrücken...' (Haenisch), or in Czech, 'noční strážé, které jsou postaveny, aby přitlačily dveře...' (Poucha). In all of these cases, the translators have followed the Ming interlinear translation, which renders *darah* as 'to push, to press against'. This is indeed the standard dictionary meaning of the word, but in this case, *egüide daru-* refers to an early idiom expressing 'to guard the door' (p. 456): the guards are not standing there pressing their bodies up against it. Given that in medieval Mongolia, most yurt 'doors' consisted of a hanging piece of thick felt, the guard would actually most likely plunge right into the yurt if he tried to lean against the 'door'.

As Lubsangdorji points out in the brief but highly valuable Introduction, the heavy reliance of many translators, particularly those translating into Western languages, on the Ming interlinear translation has led to many misunderstandings. To assume that the Ming interlinear translation is a privileged locus of information for the more obscure and difficult passages of the *Secret History* is a stance that most definitively deserves to be questioned. It is to be greatly hoped that future translators of the *Secret History of the Mongols* will avail themselves of this volume, painstakingly compiled by one of the most knowledgeable Mongolists of our age, and thus comprising a truly precious resource.

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Сусеева, Д.А., Котяева, Е.С., Олядыкова, Л.Б., Ярмаркина, Г.М., 2013, *Русские переводы XVIII века деловых писем калмыцких ханов и их современников: тексты и исследования* (The Russian Translations of Official Letters by Kalmyk Khans and their Contemporaries: Texts and Examinations). Издательство ФГБОУ ВПО “Калмыцкий государственный университет”, Элиста, 743 pp. Paperback, price not specified; ISBN 978-5-94587-550-0 – Annotated by Ondřej Srba

During the last decade, several excellent publications by Kalmyk researchers based on Kalmyk archives of the 18th century have given us a first glimpse of the large archives of the Kalmyk Khanate from 1714–1771, preserved in the National Archives of the Republic of Kalmykia which had been previously unknown to Mongolian studies.

The present edition follows the previous partial editions: *Письма наместника Калмыцкого ханства Убаши (XVIII в.)* (The Letters by the viceroy of the Kalmyk Khanate Ubasi – 18th century) by D. B. Gedeeva (2004) and an extensive edition of Kalmyk Clear Script letters by D. A. Suseeva: *Письма калмыцких ханов XVIII века и их современников* (The Letters by Khan Ayuka and his contemporaries, 2009).

Several linguistic analyses have also been published on the basis of these archive sources, *Письма хана Аюуки и его современников (1714–1724 гг.): опыт лингвосоциологического исследования* (The Letters by Khan Ayuka and his contemporaries 1714–1724: Tentative Sociolinguistic Examinations, 2003) and *Грамматический строй калмыцкого языка XVIII века: морфонология и морфология* (The Grammar System of Kalmyk in the 18th century: Morphonology and Morphology, 2011) written by the director of the Research Center “Bičg” Prof. Danara Aksenovna Suseeva. Also some of the new treatments of Kalmyk history of the 17th and 18th centuries have already reflected the intensive study of Kalmyk archives done in the last decade (eg. V. T. Tepkeev: *Калмыки в Северном Прикаспии во второй трети XVII века* (Kalmyks in the Northern Prikaspiy in the second third of the 17th century, 2012).

Almost all of the written documents of the Junghar Khanate were lost during the Qing conquest. Oirat archive materials from the time of the Qing dynasty’s rule over the Western Mongols (1758–1911) are equally very scarce, despite the fact that the local Oirat rulers, under the administration of the Governor General in Khovd, adopted the Mongolian Script instead of the Clear Script (*Todo üzüg*). Regarding this sorrowful situation, the Kalmyk

archives represent the oldest and at the same time unique group of preserved Clear Script manuscripts in the world.

The present edition contains over 200 selected letters in the Clear Script accompanied by contemporary Russian translations. The manuscripts of both groups are given in easily readable black-and-white facsimiles and transliterations. The letters are taken from the correspondence of Ayuka Khan and other Kalmyk rulers, mainly with boyars, voyevodas, governors and commandants of Astrakhan dated between 1713–1724. It has been preserved thanks to the careful archival activity of the 18th century Office of the Governor of Astrakhan and its subordinate Office of “Kalmyk Affairs” (*ведомство Калмыцкие дела*). It is to be found among the voluminous materials of the Fond 36 in the National Archives of the Republic of Kalmykia. The edition is followed by concise surveys about the situation of the Kalmyk and Russian languages in Kalmykia during the period under consideration and a preliminary analysis of the Russian language in the original translations of Kalmyk official letters. The ongoing correspondence between Kalmyks and the Russian authorities influenced the style of both the Kalmyk and Russian languages.

There is also a chapter describing the functioning of the Office of Kalmyk Affairs and especially the process of handling the Kalmyk letters, their translating, archiving and other proceedings which are of interest for Mongolian studies. Furthermore, the authors deal with orthography, transliterations of Kalmyk names and lexical and grammatical peculiarities in the Russian translations, using a diachronic approach (letters of 1713, 1716, 1717, 1718; letters of 1715; letters of 1722, 1723–1725 and 1724).

The authors recall that Kalmyk rulers in the second part of 17th century, especially Dayiċing khan in the 1660s and 1670s, still used the Classical Mongolian Script in their correspondence with the Russian tsars. Subsequently, on account of the plentiful correspondence by Ayuka khan and his contemporaries, written entirely in the Clear Script, the authors conclude that the Clear Script had spread and established among Kalmyks as late as during the rule of Ayuka khan (p. 659). By way of comparison, the official use of the Clear script in the Junghar Khanate has been attested since 1678 by letters of Galdan bošoytu to Kangxi Emperor.

Above all, the present work is important as an edition of the hitherto unpublished historical sources of the relations between the Kalmyk Khanate and the Russian Empire in the first quarter of the 18th century. Beyond that, it can be used as a practical reader of *Todo üzüg* chancellery handwriting and, of course, of Russian palaeography of the transitional period of script reforms under Peter the Great.

The structural and linguistic analysis of the published materials is very inspiring for a similar (and hardly begun) work with the Mongolian administrative correspondence from Central Asia, which in the same period started to be noticeably modified by Manchu and Chinese stylistics. The Written Oirat of Ayuka Khan's period was at the same time the beginning of the development of a separate Written Kalmyk as well as a part of Literary Mongolian language, which the Clear script had been originally designed to record. As long as the Mongolian monuments of administrative style from the 17th century remain relatively scarce, the comparative value of the Kalmyk letters will be considerable.

Furthermore, the work of Kalmyk specialists with official letters in the Clear Script uncovers the important finding that the orthography of the Clear Script, previously known mainly from the manuscripts of Buddhist canonical works, was not tied to the original orthography of Zaya Pandita's scriptures but varied considerably through time.

All of the incoming editions of the Clear Script materials from the Kalmyk archives will be impatiently anticipated before being highly appreciated by Mongolists.

Кузьмин, Ю.В., 2014, П.А. Бадмаев – ученый, дипломат, предприниматель. (P.A.Badmaev – scholar, diplomat, entrepreneur). Издательство КМК, Москва, 181 pp.; ISBN 978-5-87317-979-4 – Annotated by Veronika Zikmundová

This book by the Russian historian Yu.V. Kuz'min is the first scholarly monograph dedicated to that distinguished and controversial personality of St. Petersburg, the baptized Buryat, businessman and physician P.A. Badmaev.

The book is arranged into twenty short chapters, including introduction and conclusion. Each chapter is followed by examples drawn from archive documents, historiography, memoirs and fiction concerning Badmaev.

In the introduction and the following three chapters: “*Whitespaces in the biography of P.A.Badmaev*”, “*Two approaches towards the activities of the doctor of Tibetan medicine P.A. Badmaev, and their characteristics*”, and “*The memoir literature about P.A. Badmaev*” the author describes the general characteristics of the main character of his book, emphasizing his various activities and roles. He extensively describes the contradictory approaches towards Badmaev adopted by various authors and the way he is portrayed by them: as a learned doctor of Tibetan medicine who, by curing thousands of patients, initiated the spread of Tibetan healing methods in the West, and as an astute quack who, using illegal methods, preyed on his patients and even engaged in aggravating the illness of the Czar Nikolay II. He is also portrayed as an Asian specialist with theoretical and practical knowledge of China, Mongolia and Tibet, but also as a superficial intriguer whose naïve counsels led Russian policy into disaster. Other approaches describe him as a generous sponsor and protector of his own countrymen both in St. Petersburg and in Transbaikalia, but also as a cunning Asian who used his acquaintances solely in for the sake of his personal benefit.

The following sixteen chapters deal with various aspects of Badmaev's life and activities: Badmaev's family background, his birth and early years, his career as a doctor of Tibetan medicine, his involvement in the foreign policy of Russia, especially in its relations with Tibet, China and Mongolia, his role and personal involvement in imperial policy in Transbaikalia, his relationships with the key political figures of his time, such as Prince Ukthomsky, A. Dorzhiev, Count S.Yu. Vitte, or G. Rasputin. Some aspects, such as Badmaev's commercial activities, are analysed in great detail, while others – his suspected role in the Russo-Japanese war or his masonry – are outlined rather as topics for further research.

As a result of the author's years-long collection of archive materials and oral information, – the present book is not an epic biography, but a thematic study, which brings a multitude of facts and opinions together, creating a dialectical and multifaceted image of this historical personality.

One of the author's concerns, stemming from the peculiarity of the stereotypes surrounding Badmaev, seems to be the search for balance between the sharply negative evaluation of his contemporaries in St. Petersburg and the ardently apologetic approach of his relatives and countrymen.

On the other hand, the great quantity of historical facts, presented in a concise form in the course of this study, introduces the reader not only to Alexander Petrovich Badmaev – the ambitious and successful merchant and doctor, a less successful backstage manipulator of political events during the last years of Czarist Russia, and a key member of the group of modern Buryat intelligentsia in St. Petersburg on the turn of the 19th century – but also paints a vivid picture of the general political and social atmosphere, main concerns, fears, hopes and stereotypes of Russian society during the period under study.

