Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '12
5/1

Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '12

Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Religion and Culture

Volume 5, No. 1

Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '12
Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture
Volume 5, No. 1 (2012)

CONTENTS

Just Published…

In the Heart of Mongolia. 100th Anniversary of W. Kotwicz's Expedition to Mongolia in 1912 Studies and Selected Source Materials. Edited by Jerzy Tulisow, Osamu Inoue, Agata Bareja-Starzyńska and Ewa Dziurzyńska. Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cracow 2012, 413 pp.; Booklet with Indexes; Map; DVD; ISBN 978-83-7676-133-6 – Fragment from the Foreword by Dr. Rita Majkowska

132–133

Some questions concerning the Chinese transcription of the SHM I.

J. Lubsangdorji, Charles University in Prague

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

0. Introduction

The fact that the original manuscript of the SHM was written in Mongolian in the Uighur-Mongolian script, is an accepted fact at present. This is demonstrated by its Chinese sign transcription.

This transcription clearly shows the elaborate system of the correct spelling of the classical Mongolian written language. Mongolists think that this system of spelling of classical Mongolian was designed by the scribes not earlier than the 17th century. However, similar rules had already been used for the written language by the authors of the SHM in the 13th century. I think that such detailed, elaborate and unified rules of spelling, grammar and stylistics require at least five hundred years of development. The transcription of the SHM in Chinese signs has preserved the most valuable document of the cultural heritage of the Mongolian nation. D. Cerensodnom rightly appreciates the merit of the Chinese transcription when he writes (1990, p. 22): "The transcription of this admirable document gives us the possibility of reading it almost in its original form and the present and future generations should know it."

The SHM was translated into many languages and besides that is the subject of several dozen books written by scholars all over the world. Though their translations, including the translations into modern Mongolian, are continuously improving, we can say that they share the same mistakes handed down by tradition. These shared mistakes arose because of the fact that the translators did not work with the Mongolian original in Chinese signs, but

with the interlinear Chinese glossary and short Chinese translation, which was a supplement to the Chinese edition of the SHM.

Sumyabaatar (1990, p. 893) writes: "The Chinese transcription has such an unbelievably detailed system that we find it difficult to understand!" I think that he very correctly appreciates the fact that the Chinese transcription can record the Mongolian phonetic and graphic system very precisely. But in my opinion it is also very important to draw attention to the number of errors and mistakes in this transcription. The transcription was not created just by one or two people, but by many people from various Mongolian dialects from different regions, and besides that there were also Sartuuls (Uighurs), who occupied administrative offices of the Yüan dynasty and therefore learned the Mongolian language and script. This also clearly follows from the manner of transcribing.

1. Erroneous transcription due to the specific features of the Uighur-Mongolian script

1.1. MISTAKES OF WRONG READING OF LETTERS (GRAPHEMES) HAVING THE SAME FORMS (HOMOGRAPHS)

1.1.1. EXAMPLES OF READING THE INITIAL LETTER (GRAPHEME) *E* AS THE LETTER *A*

In the Uighur-Mongolian script the letter (grapheme) *e* in the initial position is often marked by "two teeth". This may mistakenly be read as *a*. With familiar words the scribes interpreted it correctly as *e*, but with unknown words they read *a*. And there are a number of such cases in the SHM. E.g.:

Alči Tatar, §141.5 (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 260): to be read *Elči Tatar* (name of the tribe meaning 'friendly, amiable Tartars'). Some scholars interpret the meaning of the word *Alči* as 'merchant, salesperson of Turkic origin' (Even-Pop 1994, p. 275). This is unlikely. The word *Elči* does not refer to the modern meaning 'ambassador, representative'. The word root is *ele- /el-* ('sociable, friendly'; Kh. элсэг, элэгсэг) + suffix *-či*.

Alčidai, §170.9 (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 238): to be read *Elčidei* (personal name, lit. 'sociable boy')

1.1.2. EXAMPLES OF READING THE INITIAL *E* AS THE SYLLABLE *NE*

We find examples of the initial letter (grapheme) *e* marked by "two teeth", erroneously read as the syllable *ne*. E.g.

negüġül, §97.8 (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 130): to be read *egügül* ('turn!, overthrow!' It refers to turning up the felt cover of the door; Kh. *эгүүл-, өргүүл-*); the Class. Mo. word *egegül /egügül* was written *ägüġül* in the SHM. The initial letter (grapheme) *ä* (e) was incorrectly transcribed as *ne.* The word *эгүүл-* has also been preserved in modern Mongolian with the original meaning.[1]

nembüle ger, §24.5 (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 28): to be read *embüle ger* ('dome-like dwelling', like a haycock; Kh. *эмбүүл /өмбөл гэр = овоохой гэр*)
   The word *embüle,* in the SHM written as *ämbüle,* the initial *ä* (e) was transcribed as *ne.* The word *embüle* (Kh. *өмбөл*) is derived from an iconopoeic word, Kh. *өмбий-, өмбөгөр.*[2]

1.2. EXAMPLES OF READING THE FINAL LETTER (GRAPHEME) *S* AS THE LETTER *N*

According to the rules, the letter (grapheme) *s* in the final position is written with a "short tail" (*богино сүүл*), but when transcribing the text, an unintended "long tail" could occur in the handwriting, which then was read as the final *n*. E.g.:

1.2.1. SAQAL-BAJAN ESEN ATUГAI, §105.26 (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 154): to be read *saqal bejes esen atuγai* (ironical) '[let our] beards and bodies remain healthy!' Metaphor: 'it is not necessary to get soaked in the cold water of autumn'. Due to the misunderstanding of this text in the the Ming glossary, the subsequent

---

1) Cf. Цэвэл 1966, p. 868 s.v. *эгүүлэх.* Further cf. Hangin s.v. 'to cause to turn back or return'.
2) Kh. *өмбий-, өмбөгөр* is not available in Hangin. The lexeme *(n)embüle-* is available neither in Hangin nor in Lessing. Kh. *өмбий- = бөмбий-* ('for s.th. round to protrude, bulge out; to be round or vaulted'; Hangin s.v. *бөмбийх*); *өмбөгөр = бөмбөгөр* (protruding /of s.th. round/, vaulted; spherical, globular'; Hangin s.v.). Both lexemes imply an emotionally positive feeling. Cf. also Hangin s.v. *овоохой* 'hovel, hut, shanty'; cf. Lessing s.v. *obuγaxai* 'hovel, hut, shanty'; (fig.) statue, idol'. Further cf. Hangin s.v. *овоолох* 'to put or set in a pile, heap up, accumulate'.

translations are misleading, e.g. Rachewiltz (2006, p. 36): 'May the sedge be in good growth! We shall bind our rafts with it, …'[3]

Context: Discussion about the shortest way to enemies and how to cross the broad Kilqo River by the shortest route, when the army under the command of Temujin, Jamuqa and Vang-Qan make an unexpected attack on the Merkit tribe. The word *esen* (*Kh.* эсэн) means 'health' (used about humans). In the Uighur-Mongolian script the word *beyes*, lit. 'bodies', was changed – the final *s* ("short tail") turned into *n* ("long tail") – and the word was erroneously read as *bajan* (rich).

This is how the phrase is to be understood in the context: *saqal beyes esen atuyai, sal hujažu oroja* '([let our] beards and bodies remain healthy, let's bind the rafts and cross)'.[4] This was uttered by Jamuqa who formulated it ironically – the beards and bodies need not be soaked, let us use the rafts! This event is dated to the middle of autumn 1179 AD (Сайшаал 2004, p. 149) and it dealt with a very important political issue, viz how to transfer the army over the river without soaking the soldiers in it.

In the Ming glossary the expression *saqal bajan* is transcribed as *sā-ḥă-l(è) pai-ién* (*71–73–40 80–81*) 'hair grass' (Sumyabaatar 1990, p. 154), which then was translated into German as *Borstengras* – 'bristle-like grass' (Haenisch 1962, p. 131), also into Mongolian 'grass like pig's hair'; Kh. *гахайн зогдор өвс*

---

3) "Бурный Хилок напрямки перейдем! Пуст себе знатные бороды глядят. Наши тем часам плоты свои ладят" (Козин 1942, p.100).

"cutting the Kilγo River ‐ let the *saqal bayan*[11] be in good state‐tying [with them] rafts, we shall enter [into] the land of the enemy]" (Cleaves 1982, p. 41; plus note 11 reads: Lit., "beard rich." For this plant name cf. Antonie MOSTAERT, op. cit., p. [45], n. 43).

Cf. also the Czech translation: *prám z přeselnatého béru* ('a raft from *Setaria verticillata*', i.e. 'bristly foxtail' or 'hooked bristlegrass' by common names; Poucha 1955, p. 47).

The French translation similarly refers to a species of 'grass': *Si tan est que la laîche a poussé d'abondance, Nouons aves des radeaux et entrons dans l'eau, …* (Even-Pop 1994, p. 77).

As for the Hungarian rendering, Ligeti (2004, p. 124) considers this passage evidence that the early Mongols made rafts from wooden logs bound by grass.

Cf. also the recent Polish translation by Kałużyński (2005, p. 55): *niechaj ma się dobrze trawa sakal bajan, bo za jej pomocą związemy tratwy – wkroczymy na ziemie nieprzyjaciela* ('let the grass *sakal bajan* be good, because with its help we will bind rafts – we will enter the land of the enemy').

4) Cf. the modern Khalkha rendering by Čeringsodnam (1990, p. 76–77): *сахал (өвс) их атугай сал уяж оръё* ('let there be plenty of sedge (grass) let us make rafts and get /on them/'). Or Чоймаа (2011, pp. 57–58): *сахал өвс элбэг бөгөөд хүн амьтны хөлд өртөлгүй шинэ соргог байх болтугай, сал уяж оръё* ('since there is plenty of sedge, do not let it touch the feet of living creatures and keep fresh, let us make rafts /by it/ and get /on them/').

(Сайшаал 2004, p. 169); and into English as 'sedge', lit. 'rich beard'– species of *Cyperus*.[5]

It was thought that the rafts were made from a certain type of grass. In the Mongolian-Mongolian dictionary the grass name *сахал өвс* (lit. 'beard grass') is explained as *уул хээрт бут бутаар ургадаг, аливаа өвснөөс эрт хөхөрдөг* ('grass growing as bushes on hills and in the steppe, and becomes dry before other species of grass'; Цэвэл 1966, p. 473 s.v.). How could rafts be made from it?! There was sufficient timber in the forest to produce rafts, the ropes for binding the timber were produced by the soldiers (the nomads always carried some ropes from cattle hair for tying their saddled horses, and they joined the army also equipped with their own saddle and rope). Why should they make rafts from grass?! In the original there is no word referring to 'grass'. In my opinion, in the Ming glossary they made only a provisional 'guess' translation.

From among all the translations only that of S. Kozin (Козин 1941, p. 100) is somehow closer to the original idea: пусть себе знатные бороды гладят ('Let them stoke their aristocratic beards').

Concerning the line *Saqal-Bajan esen atuɣai,* Mostaert remarks that it was added by the Ming translators (Мостаерт 2010, p. 36). Similarly in other lines they split the sentences and inserted other words (Мостаерт 2010, p. 26). However, this surmise of his is disproved by the *Altan tobči* (1990, p. 26b), which has the very same text as the SHM.

1.3. SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE MANNER OF WRITING AND READING THE LETTERS (GRAPHEMES) *S, Č, J*

In the Uighur-Mongolian script these three letters (graphemes) have a special grapheme, and it would appear that none of them can be confused with the other two. And in fact in the Chinese transcription they were exactly differentiated, but still these three letters (graphemes) provoke serious questions. There is a possibility of mutual confusion concerning both the Graphic aspects and phonetics. For example:

---

5) According to Rachewiltz (2006, p. 415): "'*Sedge*' is a generic rendering of *saqal bayan* (lit. 'rich beard') which is properly the designation of a species of *Cyperus* (mo. *saqal ebesü*, kh. *saxal övs*) rendered in the Chinese vision as *chu-tsung tsʾao* 'bristle-grass', and used by the Mongols to make rafts (*sal*) when crossing rivers." Cf. also Дамдинсүрэн (1990, p. 64): *сахал өвс*.

1. Graphic confusion: at the early stage of the Uighur-Mongolian script the initial **J** was written as **Č**. Examples can be seen in Luvsandanjinʼs *Altan Tobči*. E.g. in the Altan Tovči, the SHM names *Žoči, Üžin, Žaγ̇ud-quri* and the like are spelled *čoči, üčin, ča*(*γ-un törü*). We can be sure that both the Uighur-Mongolian script and the SHM used the same spelling. The Chinese scribes copying the SHM mostly differentiated this **Č** correctly as **Č** and **Ž** according to the real pronunciation. However, the spelling of some of the mentioned names does not reflect this difference. E.g. the toponym *Balžuna* (§182, §183), *Balžud* (§129) is an already forgotten geographical term designating hills and elevations, which form ʻfoldsʼ along the river bank (Kh. *хуниас дүрт уул өндөрлөг)* – in classical Mongolian *balčin /balčun* has a figurative meaning referring to a rock formation in the countryside which is reminiscent of the folds on the sleeves of the Mongolian *deel* (Лувсандорж 2011b, p. 420).

2. **Phonetic confusion** is caused by the diferences in the pronunciation of the dialects at that time. The mutual confusion of these three consonants *S, Č, Ž* then produced incomprehensible and unclear words in the Chinese transcription. In the SHM this concerns many words related to culture and history. I should like to present here a new manner of reading and interpreting these words, e.g.: *čurγan ger* (1.3.1.1.); *jerene qabčiγaj* (1.3.1.2.); *ičigen žarγaγ* (1.3.1.3.); *kituγai žuγul-* (1.3.3.).

1.3.1. A) CONFUSION *S* > *Č*

Before we discuss this confusion of letters (graphemes), it is necessary to explain that in the graphemics of Classical Mongolian two folk terms ʻback and front *Sa*ʼ (*арын ба өврийн Sa*) are used.

Note on the back and front sa: The Buriats (Bargas), when using the classical Mongolian written language, pronounce and also write the Khalkha *s* according to their dialect pronunciation as *ča (č)* – this is called the "front sa", according to the Khalkha dialect pronunciation this letter (grapheme) *s* is called the "back sa". These two variants were distinguished by these two terms, e.g. Class. Mo. *časutu aγula* – Bur. *čačutu aγula* (Kh. *цаст уул* ʻsnow mountainʼ); Class. Mo. *giskigür* – Bur. *gičgigür* (Kh. *гишгүүр* ʻstep of a stairwayʼ); Class. Mo. *šaγajang* – Bur. *čiγajung* (Kh. *шаазан* ʻchinawareʼ) and the like.[6]

---

6) These examples were drawn from the xylograph Tibet-Mongolian Dictionary from the beginning of the 19th century, which was prepared by the Agin Buriat scholar and translator Kalpa Bhadra Daana: *Ner-e Udq-a-yi Todudqaγči Jula* neretü dokiyan-u bičig orusiba (Dictionary called Lamp Clarifying Words and Meanings).

The consonants *s* (back sa) and *č* (front sa) alternated between the central and eastern dialects on the basis of phonetic rules. The Buriats and their ancestors called the letter (grapheme) **ƶ** as the "front sa" and pronounced it as the consonant *s*. But in the Middle Mongolian and Western dialects this letter (grapheme) *č* was read as **ц** (ts).

The following example shows such a distortion, which, however, can be guessed from the context by modern Khalkha Mongol (qoted from the *Зуун Билиг;* Damdingsürüng 1959, p. 179):

*Nomtu-yin Rinčin kedün jil Siregetü bolju bayiyad daray-a ni qar-a bolju, Tayar-un ökin Bay-injil-i gergei bolyaju abuysan gedeg. Ene bol čuutai **bačayan** bayiysan yum.* "*Tayar-un yurban **bačayan**-u Tangkilqan ni Bayinjil*" *gejü arad-un dayu bayiday.*

Lama Nomtu-yin Rinčin was a bishop for several years and then he became a layman (ordinary man) and married Tagar's daughter Bainjil. This girl was very famous. She is also mentioned in a folk song: "From three daughters of Tagar the most beautiful is Bainjil".

The reading of the word (*basayan,* Bur. *басган* 'girl') was converted into *bačayan* in Khalkha pronunciation (in Khalkha there is no such word as *бацаган*), a distortion which used to happen at many places in of the Chinese transcription of the SHM.

In my opinion this "back and front **s**" originated from as early as the middle Mongolian written language. In the SHM we can find a great number of cases of confusion of this "back **s**" for "front **s**". This finding is essential for determining the exact meaning of words and appelations/names. Let us see some examples.

1.3.1.1. ČORƔAN GER, §115.2: to be read *čuryay < suryay;* Kh. *чургаг /сургаг / шургааг гэр* (wooden log cabin with a square ground plan, which, besides the form, keeps all the functional usess of the inner space of the yurt), the word *шургааг* means 'a wooden pole or bar'.

In the Ming glossary this word was not translated and was read and transcribed as *čoryan, čorqan, čuryan, čurqan*. That is why it was erroneously translated and commented upon either as an originally Mongolian, Turkic or Manchu-Tungus word with various meanings. Cf. *ам нь (үүд) цуурхай овоохой* 'conical (dwelling) with a slot-like entrance (opening to the sides) (cf. Kh. *цуурах* 'to tear, split'; Gadamba 1990, p. 304)[7]

---

7) Other translations of the phrase *čuryan ger* are e.g. *оцгор гэр* ('high conical yurt'; Дам-динсүрэн 1990, p. 70; this image is emotionally not very pleasant); 'lock-carts' (Rachewil-tz, p. 43), '*Čorqan* tents' (Cleaves, p. 48, Note 88 explaining the meaning as possibly 'lock'),

I interpret this word as *surɣaɣ* > *čirɣaɣ* (Kh. *сургааг /шургааг*, 'wodden pole, bar'). The final *ɣ* should be read as a "short tail" instead of a "long tail" (i.e. of the letter /grapheme/ *n*). Concerning the back and front *s* see above.

Since all dwellings other than a felt yurt are not perceived as pleasant by steppe Mongols, the expression *Čurɣan ger* carries an unpleasant emotional load (Lubsangdorji 2007, p. 68–69). It is a "yurt", which has a square ground plan. It is fixed in the ground and its walls and roof are from poles. In the winter season it can be covered by felt or plastered with clay. Some of these yurts also had two doors (cf. §112). Russian archaeologists found remnants of a square yurt in the excavation at the town of Sarai from the times of the Golden Horde and called it a "Mongolian House".

1.3.1.2. ČERENE (Širatori) /JERENE (Rachewiltz) QABČIƔAJ, 129.11: to be read *Sarana qabčiɣaj;* local name *Сарана хавцгай* (var. *сараанаг* 'closed, impenetrable rocks'; in colloquial Khalkha 'scrotum')[8]

The name *Čerene /Jerene* is a completely unintelligible word. But in the 13th century it must have been perfectly comprehensible, since at the time when Čingis Khan's army was chased to *Čerene qabčiɣai*, Jamuqa said mockingly, "So we chased them into the Onon *Čerene!*" and his army immediately returned, as it is described in the text of the SHM. In the text, the place name *Sarana(ɣ)* is written according to the pronunciation in the local dialect as *čarana*, but it was read erroneously as a 'female word' with front (female) vowels *Čerene /Jerene* (see "front and back *s*"). In the Mongolian-Mongolian Dictionary, Class. Mo. *saranaɣ,* Kh. *сараанаг* is explained as *хуухнаг* ('scrotum', Цэвэл 1966, p. 470; 'scrotum', Hangin s.v.). The metaphorical meaning of the word *хуухнаг* is 'dead end', from which it is impossible to return (Kh. *мухар хавцгай, хавцал* 'closed rock, rock barrage'). This text has an ironical modality, Kh. *Ононы хуухнаг!* 'Onon's Testicles'! In some local dialects the final consonant *г* of the word *хуухнаг* may be dropped and the word has the form *хуухна/ хууха(н)*.

In fact the loss of final *г* also occurred with the expression *saranaɣ,* which appears as *sarana* in this context. Due to the confusion of the "front and back *s*" the word *Sarana* was mis-read by the Ming copyists as *čerene /jerene*. In

---

'les grossières demeures' (Even, Pop 1994, p. 82), 'špičaté jurty' (lit. 'pointed yurts', i.e. yurts with a pointed upper part of the roof; Poucha 1955, p. 54). For a number of other interpretations cf. Gadamba 1990, p. 304, par. 400.

8) The phrase *jerene qabčiɣaj* was rendered e.g. as *зээрэн хавчил* ('antelope's canyon'; Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 82); *jeren-e qabčiɣai* (Čeringsodnam 1993, p. 98 = place name), *Жэрэнэ хавцгай* (Чоймаа 2011, p. 77 = place name); 'Jerene Gorge' (Rachewiltz, p. 54 = place name); J̌erene Narrows (Cleaves, p. 60 = place name).

modern colloquial Mongolian there is a plant, which is called *цагаан төмс* (white potato, its round roots are eaten), in the written language it is called *сараана* 'a lily', *Lilium tenui folium* Fisch. (Hanging s.v.); Class. Mo. *sarana*.[9] In my opinion this word has the metaphorical meaning 'small testicles', which has been forgotten.

The word *qabčiγaj* used in the Ming glossary is correctly translated as *Enge, Engpaß* (narrowness, narrow pass) into German (Haenisch 1962, p. 54).

So far this place with no escape, to which the army was driven by the enemy and where the form of the rocks was reminiscent of testicles, has not been identified. Perhaps it could be identified on the basis of this description. For example in *Altan Tobči* (1990, p. 35a) this place is called *čaranan qabčigai*. This also confirms that in the original of the SHM it was written with a "front **s**"(!) and if we read this word as *сараанан хавцгай* ('testicle narrows') it is comprehensible.

1.3.1.3. IČIGIN-ŽARΓAΓ (Širatori) **/ICIDUNG JARḪAH** (Haenisch) **/ILKIN JARQAQ** (Rachewiltz)**, §114.2:** to be read *isigen žarγaγ*; Kh. *ишигэн заргаг* (dress/*deel* from the skin of a little goat)[10]

Context: description of a *deel* of a five-year old boy taken hostage in war.

The expression *ičigen*, in Class. Mo. *isigen*, Kh. *ишиг(эн),* and Bur. *эшэгэн* means 'young goat'.

In the Mongolian-Mongolian dictionary (Norjin 1999, p. 998) the word ***jarqaγ*** is interpreted as: *халцархай*[11] *арьс, илэг,*[12] *сарьс.*[13] However, this explanation is not correct. The Mongolian word *халцархай* means bad-quality leather, whose hair has been shed, mounted leather. The word ***заргаг*** in fact means leather, whose hair has been carelessly cut by scissors. When hair on

---

9) 'Lilium tenuifolium, a lily with an edible bulb' (Lessing, s.v.); for further detailed explanation cf. also Цэвэл 1966, p. 470, s.v. *сараана.*

10) The word *ičigen žarγaγ* was rendered e.g. as *булган хөөмий дээл* '*deel* from cut strips of sable leather' (Дамдинсүрэн 1990, p. 70)*, илгэн дээл* (Чоймаа 2011, p. 64); *dress of otter skins cleared of hair and sewn together* (Rachewiltz 2006, I, p. 43); *raiment [made] of the skins of the water sable which had been stripped of their hairs* (Cleaves, p. 48, plus Note 35 for further reference to Mostaert's discussion of the term); *robe en peau de chevreau bordée de vison* (Even, Pop p. 82). Cf. also the Russian translation: *в шубке, подобранной из беленых обрезков соболиных шкурок* (Козин 1942, p. 105). Czech: *kožíšek z bobřiny* ('a little fur coat from beaver's skin', Poucha p. 53).

11) Cf. Hangin s.v.: 'grassless; hairless, featherless; bare'. This image of 'barness' implies the idea of being scraped, abraded, which is not very pleasant for Mongols.

12) Cf. Hangin s.v.: 'chamois, suede leather; kid, sheepskin, dogskin or the skin of a wild animal'. In fact this word can designate any leather, not just the specifically mentioned types.

13) Cf. Hangin s.v.: 'membrane, skin; rawhide; shagreen, grained leather; morocco'.

the tanned leather is cut by scissors, sometimes there are strips of uncut or badly cut hair. Since it evokes the image of a rugged, almost thorn-like sticking object (Kh. *зарайж сарайж,* iconopoeia), it is called *заргаг, сармай* (half-synonyms) 'rugged sticking'.[14] Leather tanned in this manner is put to the *xormoi*, the 'skirt' part of the *deel* or it is used to make sacks of various sizes with hair on the external side. *Заргаг уут* (a sack from *zargag*), *заргаг тулам* (leather bag made from the *zargag* of a whole goat), *цайн заргаг уут* (small sack for loose tea made from *zargag,* the remaining hair is outside)*, сармай (заргаг) дээл* (a *deel* made from *zargag*) and similar terms. The pictures of the object can be seen in the dictionary of Mongolian customs (МЁЗИТТ 1999, pp. 273–276). The word *заргаг* designates spring and autumn leather material used to make dresses.[15]

In the text there is mention of *ičigen žarγaγ usun-u buluγan jalγaγsan deǧel* ('*deel* made from the leather of a water sable and from goatskin'). It was a *deel* for children, the lower part of the skirt and sleeves of which were made from goatskin having sparse hair and the breast part was made from sable leather (turned inside out so the hair was on the inside). Since the allied armies conquered the Merkits in the middle autumn month, I think that was the reason why this boy was dressed in an autumn deel.

ADDITIONAL ETNOGRAPHIC NOTE:
According to the nomadic tradition the upper front part of the *deel* for children was often made from a fine leather (e.g. young sheep skin with soft wool) and the *hormoi*, the lower part of the *deel* was made from thin leather with a little hair (e.g. goatskin) . The two parts were then stitched together.[16] Besides a linen shirt the child would not wear anything else under the *deel* (but mostly not even the shirt was worn). That is why it was necessary that this part was well isolated and soft. This was different from the thin-leather *hormoi,* which was lighter (almost no hair) and had to be hanging over the trousers, which were again made from leather almost without hair.

Besides that it must also be mentioned that in the winter season the basic dress of the ancient hunters and herdsmen was the so-called *нэхий дээл* (a *deel* with long hair turned inside), in spring and autumnt the so-called

---

14) This may be rendered not very precisely in dictionaries, cf. e.g. Hangin, s.v. *сармай,* 'sheep skin without wool, hide without hair; hairless, tattered'.

15) In local Mongolian dialects the word has variants *жархаг /зархаг /заргаг* plus the half-synonym *сармай* and the like. Concerning the interchange of the initial letters (graphemes) *ж/з/с,* see above about the "back and front letter **s**".

16) It was exactly this type of *deel* that the author of this paper used to wear as a child.

сармай (заргаг) дээл (a *deel* with partly cut hair, however, remainders of the hair can be seen) was worn and in summer it was the so-called *илгэ сарьсан дээл* (*deel* and trousers from which hair was completely removed). In the Ming glossary this word was translated into German as *Puder-Pelz* – tanned leather without hair (Haenisch 1962, p. 80), which does not correspond to reality. As it was said above, the word *илэг* means finely tanned hairless leather, from which the hair has been completely removed in the process of tanning in a special liquid from milk etc. (cf. above). This word is incorrectly understood to designate fine leather from which hair has been shaved off. But nomads would never shave the hair from leather, they would remove it completely in the liquid. That is why this explanation is not pleasant to them. In some other cases we encounter e.g. a not very exact translation 'sable/otter leather with removed hair', (cf. Note 10 above), which I think is completely out of place. No matter how rich the nomadic aristocracy was, they would have never removed the hair from sable or otter leather.

1.3.1.4. BUCALГA- (to boil, cook) §129.14 (Sumyaabaatar 1990, p. 224): to be read *busangqa-* (to plunder, devastate, destroy)

Clas. Mo. *busangqa-* (Kh. *бусниул-*) appears in two places in the SHM correctly as *busangqa-* (§113, §207), but in one section of the manuscript (§129) one part of the letters (graphemes) *ng* disappeared, and the Chinese scribes would read it as the letter (grapheme) *l*, i.e. *bučalγa-* (Kh. *буцалга-*). And that is why in the translations of the SHM there is a myths about how the Mongols boil people alive in a kettle (for more detail see Lubsangdorji 2011a, pp. 28–29).

1.3.1.5. JEKEČELEN (Širatori) / YEKE-CEREN (Rachewiltz), §51.2: to be read Yeke-Saran; name of a man ('Great Moon')

The name of this prince was written with "back **sa**" (Yeke-Saran) in a manuscript. In some manuscript copies this was transcribed as "front **sa**" (Yeke-Čaran). This was read and written by the Chinese scribes as *Jeke čelen, and* probably they forgot to make a sign at the letter (grapheme) *l*, so that it may be read as *r*. Since it has been proved that the ancient Mongols worshiped the Moon rather than the Sun, it is justifiable that people would use the name *Yeke-Saran*. This name also appeared in Rashid Ad-Din's historical work as *Икэ-джаран* (Рашид-ад-Дин 1952, p. 268). This name could have existed, but in the Mongolian script the word *джаран* (sixty) is spelled as *jiran*.

1.3.2. B) *Č* > *S*

The modern Khalkha dialect phrase *цагаан цэцэг* (white flower) has the form (spoken and written) *сагаан сэсэг* in the Buriat language, i.e. *c* > *s*. Precisely this type of confusion of the consonants appears in the SHM: Class. Mo. *qočur-* (Kh. *хоцор-* 'to fall behind, be delayed') appears as *qosoraγsan-* (§114.4) 'which had remained behind' (Cleaves p. 48).

1.3.3. C) WITH > *Č* > *J*

Class. Mo. *kituγa suγul-* (Kh. *хутга сугала-* to draw a knife) – in the manuscript of the SHM this phrase was probably written as *kituγai čuγul-*. Chinese scribes wrote it as *kituγai žuγul-* 'to draw the knife' (§214.32). Though the initial *j* has its own grapheme (a *шилбэ,* i.e. 'shin, shank'), in some words it was written by way of the same sign as *č*. But though the word was read and written by the Chinese scribes erroneously as *žuγul-,* it was interpreted correctly.

An example of a similar confusion of the graphemes *č, j* is also in §55.13, *žuqus dutaγa-*, which should be Class. Mo. *čuqus tutaγa-* (to flee in haste, to run away unexpectedly, Kh. *цухас тутаа-*). However the translations are correct.

Conclusion

This is the first part of the discussion of the 'mis-readings' of the SHM text, which will be followed by further specialised analysis of the other types of 'objective' misinterpretations, in particular readings of Mongolian words written without diacritics and erroneous readings arising from some special aspects of the Chinese signs used in the transcription, but also mistakes of a more 'subjective' character resulting from the text.

Abbreviations

Bur.	Buriat language
SHM	*Secret History of the Mongols*
Class. Mo.	Classical Mongolian
Kh.	Khalkha dialect, modern Mongolian

References

ALTAN TOBČI 1990, Lubsangdanjin, *Erten-ü Qad-un ündüsülegsen törü yosun-u jokiyal-i tobčilan quriyaɣsan Altan Tobči kemekü orosibai. The Golden Summary which Relates Briefly the Deeds of Civil Governing Established by Ancient Emperors. The Mongol chronicle of the 17th century*. Ulus-un Keblel-ün Ɣajar, Ulaɣanbaɣatur, 177 pp.

CLEAVES, F.W., 1982, *The Secret History of the Mongols*. For the first time done into English out of the original tongue and provided with an exegetical commentary. Vol. I (translation). Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., London, lxv + 277 pp.

ČERINGSODNAM, D., 1990, *Dalangtai-yin Čeringsodnam "Mongɣol-un niɣuča tobčiyan"-u orčiɣuly-a tayilburi*. Ündüsüten-ü Keblel-ün Qoriy-a, Begejing, 545 pp.

EVEN, M.-D.; POP, R., 1994, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*. Gallimard, UNESCO, Paris, 350 pp.

DAMDINGSÜRÜNG, Ce., 1959, *Mongɣol-un uran jokiyal-un degeji* JAƔUN BILIG *orusibai*. Sinjileküi Uqaɣan ba Degedü Bolbasural-un Küriyeleng, Ulaɣanbaɣatur, 599 pp.

ƔADAMBA, Š., 1990, *Mongɣol-un niɣuča tobčiyan* (Монгол бичгээр сэргээсэн сийрүүлгэ). Ulus-un Keblel-ün Ɣajar, Ulaɣan-baɣatur, 417 pp.

HAENISCH, E., 1962, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an* (Yüan-Ch'ao Pi-ShiI). Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen. Franz Streiner Verlag Gmbh, Wiesbaden.

IRINČIN, Yekemingɣadai, 1987, *Mongqol-un niquča tobčiyan*. Öbürmongɣol-un yeke surɣaɣuli-yin keblel-ün qoriya, Kökeqota.

KAŁUŻYŃSKI, St., 2005, *Tajna* historia Mongołów, Anonimowa kronika Mongolska z XIII wieku. Bibliotheca Mundi, Państwowy Instytut Wydawaniczy, Warszawa, 191 pp.

LIGETI, L., 2004, *A Mongolok Titkos Története*. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, 201 pp. + 12 pictures.

LUBSANGDORJI, J., 2007, The Secret History of the Mongols in the mirror of metaphors (2). In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '07, Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics and Culture, Volume 1,* Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Triton, Prague 2007, pp. 55–85.

LUBSANGDORJI, J., 2011a, On the Chinese transcription, Ming Glossary and on translations of the Secret History of the Mongols into European languages. *In: Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '11. Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Religion and Culture*, 4/1. Charles University in Prague Faculty of Arts, Prague 2011, pp. 7–33.

MOSTAERT, A., 2010 = Мостаерт, А., *Монголын Нууц Товчооны зарим хэсгийн тухай* (Sur quelques passages de *l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*, ANTOINE MOSTAERT). "Антоон Мостаэрт" монгол судлалын төв, Улаанбаатар, 2009 (2010), 218 pp.

NORJIN, C., 1999, *Mongɣol kelen-ü toil*. Öbür mongɣol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a, Čiɣulultu Qaɣalɣ-a qota, 3142 pp.

OZAWA, Shigeo, 1984–1989, *Gen Cho Hi Shi Zenshaku*, Volumes I-YI, 1984–1989 (1984 – тэргүүн боть, 1985 – дэд боть, 1986 – гутгаар боть, 1987 – үргэлжлэлийн тэргүүн боть, 1988 – үргэлжлэлийн дэд боть, 1989 – үргэлжлэлийн гутгаар боть). Kazama Shoto, Tokyo.

POUCHA, P., 1955, *Tajná kronika Mongolů* [Secret Chronicle of the Mongols]. Praha, 279 pp.

RACHEWILTZ, Igor de, 2006, *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*. Translation with a Historical and Philological Commentary. Vol. I. II., Brill, Leiden-Boston, 1349 pp.

SUMYABAATAR, B., 1990, *The Secret History of the Mongols. Transcription* (*Mongɣol-un niɣuča tobčiyan. Үсгийн галиг*). Улсын Хэвлэлийн Газар, Улаанбаатар, 965 pp.

TAUBE, M., 1989, *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, Leipzig und Weimar, 321 pp.

VANGJIL, B., 1987, *KÖKE TÜLKIGÜR* (Хуучин үгсийн толь), Öbürmongɣol-un surɣan kümüjil-ün keblel-ün qoriya-a, Kökeqota, 696 pp.

* * *

Дамдинсүрэн, Ц., 1990, *Монголын нууц товчоо*. Улсын Хэвлэлийн Газар, Улаанбаатар, 255 pp.

Козин, С.А., 1941, *Сокровенное сказание, монгольская хроника 1240 г. под названием MON-GΓOL-UN NIΓUČA TOBČIΓAN – ЮАНЬ ЧАО БИ ШИ*. Монгольский обыденный изборник, Том I. Введение в изучение памятника, перевод, тексты, глоссарии. Издательство АНСССР, М.-Л., 619 pp.

Лувсандорж, Ж., 2011b, Чингис хааны төрсөн нутгаар зорчисон тэмдэглэл-2 (МНТ-ны зарим газар усны нэрийн үг утгасыг тодруулах нь). In: Антоон Мостаэрт монгол судлалын төв *АНТООН МОСТАЭРТ БА МОНГОЛ СУДЛАЛ*, Эрхлэн хэвлүүлсэн Г. Цэцэгдарь, Улаанбаатар, 2011, 621 pp.

МЁЗИТТ 1999: *МОНГОЛ ЁС ЗАНШЛЫН ИХ ТАЙЛБАР ТОЛЬ.* Монгол улсын их сургуулийн хэвлэл, Улаанбаатар, 1999, 503 pp.

МХДТТ 2009: *МОНГОЛ ХЭЛНИЙ ДЭЛГЭРЭНГҮЙ ТАЙЛБАР ТОЛЬ* (ТАВАН БОТЬ), Шинжлэх Ухааны Академи Хэл Зохиолын Хүрээлэн, Улаанбаатар.

Рашид-ад-Дин, 1952, *Сборник летописей*. Том 1, книга вторая. Издательство АНСССР, Москва-Ленинград, 314 pp.

Сайшаал, 2004, *Чингис хааны товчоон*. "Хаан Принтинг" ХХК, Улаанбаатар, дээд дэвтэр 533 pp., доод дэвтэр 537–994 pp.

Цэвэл, Я., 1966, *Монгол хэлний товч тайлбар толь*. Улсын хэвлэлийн хэрэг эрхлэх хороо, Улаанбаатар, 909 pp.

Чоймаа, Ш., 2011, *Монголын Нууц Товчоон* (эртний үг хэллэгийн түгээмэл тайлбартай шинэ хөрвүүлэг). "Болор судар" хэвлэлийн газар, Улаанбаатар, 291 pp.

Unpleasantness and contentment as experienced by the Mongolian nomads. I. Fear

Alena Oberfalzerová, Charles University in Prague

Summary: This paper continues the topic first considered in my paper in *Mongolo-Tibetica ʼ08* (Oberfalzerová 2008), which discussed the sources of contentment with Mongolian nomads, particularly in relation to the homeland, the place, which is permanently linked with every individual. In this paper I will deal with the basic cause of discontent or unpleasantness felt by nomads. This cause is nothing else but fear, something like a basal and original emotion, which has been supported and developed for many centuries as a part of Mongolian ethno-pedagogy, as an important communal means of protecting people against various dangers, which arise from wild, untransformed surrounding nature. This emotion is nowadays considered by psychologists to be the elementary protective mechanism of man, which awakens the ability to activate the body and save one's life, e.g. by running away or by circumspection when undertaking any action. In the Mongolian milieu this protective mechanism is far stronger than in sedentary cultures and it is supported by warnings on the part of parents and persons the child encounters, and this is done on the basis of a "verified" experience of the whole community participating in the process of eduction.

My work is based on ten years of field work in the Mongolian rural milieu, on tape-recorded (or only listened to) testimonies of a great number of informants (about one hundred), and also on the rich oral tradition of the nomads, which was recorded in their folklore. I have also tried to systematize the objects provoking fear, so that we can better comprehend this so very complicated and boundless emotion of fear.

Introduction

In our sedentary cultures the original function of fear – to protect man – is shifted to various levels. Religious systems often used and use the provocation of fear as an instrument of power to control the masses. Similarly at present, political systems use the spreading of panic and the news about the condition of the state, or of the world (e.g. the scarecrow of terorism), to disable the resistance and defensive mechanisms of people. This is because from the psychological point of view fear can more easily paralyze, immobilize modern man, making him indifferent to surrounding events. And this is an excellent instrument for manipulation on the part of psychotic individuals having the need to dominate their surroundings and to confirm their value through this power. We will not speak about such fear here, even though in modern

Mongolian politics the traditional support of fear is successfully used, i.e. fear of all that could happen, should man not treat nature with due awe. Let us turn to the protective function of fear as a weapon, which helps nomads to survive in such extreme conditions, when they depend fully on surrounding nature and have not yet lost the ability to respect it. And as against Euro-(non-native) American culture, they have not lost the ability to see themselves and the human world as a mere component part of nature, though inseparable from it.

Actually, we have to do with an animistic interpretation of the world (cf. e.g. Oberfalzerová 2007, 2008) saying that everything is alive and everything around us has a soul, including inorganic objects. We have to do with a form of thinking based on belief in magic and myth-producing dispositions that presume "repeated becoming". But essentially, fear and timitidy, this elementary Mongolian component of personality, used to have, and probably still has, a very practical function, as was mentioned above – to survive! It consists in the possibility to live here, at a place which provides me with everything I need to survive and at the same time demands respect from me, responsibility for my thoughts, behaviour and acts. From our point of view as researchers, who systematize everything, classify it, understand it, and thus "take possession" of it, the topic of fear can be seized only on the basis of accepting all psychological theories of development, starting from S. Freud, up to M. Mahler and E. Ericson etc. (e.g. if someone does not pass satisfactorily through a certain phase of development in childhood, it will appear in the form of inadequate fear in his/her adulthood). However, it is an inappropriate fear, which was launched in the person by an inadequate impulse or event and he/she is not aware of it.

Let us now analyse the meaningful/functional fear of the nomads in a systematic manner, even though from our point of view it may often belong to the world of children and fairy tales. However, this is not necessarily irreconcilable with our psychological conception.

We can classify the fear of the nomads according to the objects provoking it -surrounding nature, animals, the implementing (self-fulfilling) energy of the uttered word, deities, the dead, invisible entities etc. In this paper we will discuss the fear of Nature. I will specify the Mongolian terms expressing a certain type of fear or apprehension and will present a few short narrations of the nomads, which will illustrate their experience of fear. The terms and the texts are translated but they are also kept in the original for a better illustration of how to undersand the communicative situation. Now let us try to describe the system of fear of the nomads. It really is a system and it serves

specific life events on the basis of experience handed down daily by oral tradition, which is also reflected in the use of their language. At the same time we will try to map the way this fear is worked off (abreaction), mitigated, calmed down or completely dissolved.

The most important fear arises from *Uul Hangai* (Nature)

For a Mongolian nomad everything that is visible on the horizon – mountains, rivers, steppe – is beautiful, makes him enjoy a feeling of contentment, and though he may be alone, he can see far, can see the horizon, he is not afraid of such a view, because he is able to control it. But he is permanently close to his dwelling. When he rides alone to a distant place (a woman experiences it even more strongly), he feels uneasy in nature, he is afraid. But if he is together with more people, in a group, he does not experience fear. That is why nomads always go out in groups, e.g. to collect fruit or to hunt. Occasionally the whole settlement may travel for some purpose for several days together. Fear, however, is always present in a situation, when a man is alone or only part of a pair in nature. This is rather an involuntary solitude, the original/elementary fear of the superpower of Nature is awoken. At the same time he will remember the tales /narrations about what happened to solitary people and his fantasy would be stimulated. On the basis of such experience the need to be alone, to do things alone decreases and completely vanishes. It creates a clear image of oneself as a worthless individual without the collective that implies safety, power, survival. One can always rely on the others. We do not need privacy, we do not seek privacy. In fact there is no appropriate word for this concept in Mongolian. Let us subdivide the fear originating in Nature into individual constituents:

a) *Heer* – the endless steppe is a special source of anxiety in man, if he rides alone (*heer yava-*), he is afraid of the Lord of the steppe, of invisible things, e.g. *hii uzegdel* ('atmospheric or empty, invisible phenomena'), at night fear becomes even stronger. If he has a horse and sheep with him, they are his companions and and they reduce his fear. Fear is provoked immediately by certain unusual natural formations, a strange sound, whose origin is unknown. If the sound is repeated, a nomad would ascribe it to the invisible Lord of the steppe, its ruler, and a solitary Mongol would ask himself: *Heeriin ezen namaig dagaz' baina uu*? 'Is the Lord of the steppe following me?' He is uncertain, whether the Lord is annoyed by something or whether he is about to

harm him. *Heer* is full of invisible negative forces, which dwell there. An angry ruler can send them to harm a rider, they can put him in danger or become an obstacle for him. Some natural phenomena, animals, if they pass by, are 'omina', *dohio o'gc' baina* ('they give a signal, portent'), some ominous events are impossible to interpret, the fear is too great, sometimes even making the man reflect on whether to go on or return quickly. In colloquial Mongolian there are expressions like *ho'ndlongiin yum* ('things moving crosswise, horizontally and causing something'), *gu'idel* ('running of negative forces')*, ezen savdag* ('Lord of the place'; cf. Tib. *sa bdag*) – they describe those elementary constituents, of which one should be afraid. They do not do anything bad all the time, only if the rider displeases them or does something they do not like.

Riding through an uninhabited territory alone and particularly not on a road is always unpleasant to a nomad, then it is necessary to 'make nature happy' (*hangaig bayasga-*), e.g. by the smoke of crushed juniper needles (*arc*), to hear good words especially before a journey, which can purify the road by their power: *Sain yavna uu? Ayan zam c'ini o'lziitei boltugai!* 'Will you go well?[1] Let your journey be a cradle!'[2] There is a proverb, *cecen u'g*, which uses the type of danger (according to the situation) as the subject of the sentence: [*Gai /ayuul / zovlon / ovčin / saad*] *helz' irehgui hiisc' irne.* '[Misfortune /danger / suffering / sorrow illness, obstacle) does not come telling (you), (it) comes flying in the wind'. Before departure, the traveller should burn incense made from plants – *san tavih heregtei* (cf. Tib. *bsang* 'incense'). He should go round the fire three times, sprinkle his head with milk and the like: *su'u tolgoi deer dusaaz'* ('sprinkle milk on head'). If a child rides to school, to do military service and the like, his Mother or Granny, would sprinkle his stirrup with milk and utter a wish for good luck – *yo'rool*.

Thus it is necessary to reveal every strange sound on the way, to find out where it comes from. Riding fearlessly is based on a completely different principle than in the West, it is not that the hero does not fear anything, but on the contrary according to the proverb:

Aiz' yavbal
Amind o'lziitei.
Lit., 'If (man) goes / lives in awe, (he will be) alive (and) with a cradle' (i.e. 'he will remain alive and fortunate').

---

1) Formally this is a question, while the implied answer is positive.
2) In this case 'cradle' is used as a metaphor, the implication being 'auspicious'.

Every hero or soldier going to war, all of them keep to this rule, being afraid is not a shame, it is wise. Metaphorically the word *yavah* (to go, ride) means also 'to live'. In Mongolian there is another saying: *baigald / usand am garahiin zovlon* ('if you let your mouth on nature / water – i.e. if you underestimate it, sorrow / suffering [comes]'; for greater detail cf. Oberfalzerová 2006, p. 54). There is always retaliation, not necessarily immediately, perhaps in some time, but it will certainly come, if you are too daring, if you do not respect everything that is surrounding us and about which we know only a little.

The entity of *heer* ('steppe') also includes *uul* ('mountain, mountain range').

b) *Hadan uul* are rocky mountains (see Fig. 1), the Altai Mountain ranges are full of rocky mountains, they are high and have hight rocks – *hatan cohio* ('high rocky cliffs, crags'), *su'rleg hadan uulnaas su'rdez' baina* ('he is frightened by majestic high cliffs'). If one passes them, ends up in their vicinity, one is overpowerd by fear of their magnificence, fear that they would fall on one, collapse, a piece would break away and crush such a tiny individual. Besides that mountains and rocks have the forms of animals, of their wings, heads – e.g. *Arslan cohio* (Lion's Cliff) near the regional centre Cecerleg evokes the snout of a wolf, of an angry dog or the shape of a terrible mangas,[3] they are always terrifying. They provoke man's imagination, which then closely copies the local legends (*domog*) – these are within reach of the images conjured up, and for a nomad always a reality. If riding alone, he would be terribly afraid.

Hadnii hunh / hongil – abyss, promontory of a rock overhanging cave-like holes, anything can come out, crawl out, jump out from such places, or the horse gets suddenly startled by some animal, for example by a bird flying suddenly out of these places. The horse is an easily frightened animal, and if it gets startled, the rider falls from it and can end up in danger. The fear of rocks is so strong that their forms become the subject of worship, which turns them into protective entities (e.g. Pig's Cliff is a positive designation). A snake is always *lus savdagiin to'loologc'* ('the representative of the Lord of waters, earth and rock'). If a man encounters it near a cave, he would immediately ask himself, whether he did not tread on their nest, and would see

---

3) In Mongolian folklore a Mangas is a monster devouring everything alive, something like a cannibal. Its form is terrible, it can have 10, 25 even 90 heads. On various appearances of Mangases cf. Gaadamba, Cerensodnom (1978, pp. 154, 249, 250, 259 etc.); Dulam (2009, p. 308).

Figure 1. *Eez' Hairhan uul* (Govi-Altai).

a Lama or a Shaman as quickly as possible. Or he may also visit elderly people from whom he may learn what the meaning of the encounter was. And he will then always make an offering. A terrified person would be purified by knocking a sutra on his head (Lama's method), or an old lady would carry a burning ember (*cuc'ilaar hariulah,* lit. 'to send back by the burning ember') or dry dung around him while repeating *hurai hurai* (perhaps to be rendered by the interjection 'hurray hurray'). Similarly a spring flowing from a rock is an object of serious worship. Rocks in the shape of a snake are also a cause of fear, they are feared particularly by people who are at home in the steppe. Locals are accustomed to the surrounding rock, but the shape of a snake or lizard always evokes a bad omen. If their size is increased, we can see their interconnection with the terrible figure of the mythological lizard (*Avarga mogoi,* 'Giant Snake').[4]

---

4) *Avraga mogoi*. Cf. the legend about Taihar c'uluu (Gaadanba, Cerensodnom 1978, p. 209; also discussed on p. 157).

Hadan cohio 'Spiky Rocks' also easily provoke fear. It is necessary to pay tribute to the Lord of the place (*ezen savdag*). People prefer not to go there and they try to avoid such places. The Lord of the place of such solitary rocks in the middle of the steppe must always be offered something, nothing must be moved, or snapped off. In Mongolian there are the following expressions:

su'u cagaanii deez'iig o'goh ('to offer the best milk delicacy'),
urgamaliin utaa o'goh ('to offer the smoke of a plant').

And it is also necessary to make the Lord happy (*bayasgah heregtei*), he will then be helpful towards the activity of man. Most importantly, he should not be offended. Everything happens according to rules. From narrations[5] we learn that at present there are many people who do not bring offerings, kill animals or destroy plants. Therefore Nature takes offence and sends down drought (*gan*), heavy snowfall (*zud*) and the like. Nature can protect the man who respects rules, and help him. The Lord of the Mountains can destroy a person, but he can also fulfil his wishes. Therefore it is necessary to approach Him with awe.[6] Nature observes the activities of people and gives them signs.[7] We can see this from a narrative about how the Mother Rock started to be worshipped:[8]

Eez' had

1970 orc'im on yum. Bi Ih surguuliin bags' bolson baiv. Bags' nar yariv: To'v aimgiin Sergelen sumand neg teevriin tereg o'vliin s'ono motoor ni untarc'ihaad, z'olooc' ni asaah gez' argaa baraad, daarc' hecuu bolohod tergee orhiod neg gozgor hadnii derged oc'iz' toirc' gu'iz', no'mort ni suuz' tamhi tataad mas'in deeree oc'ood maniviildsan c'ini maniviil ganc erguuleed l motoor ni asaz' gene. Z'olooc' bayarlah gaihah zeregceed o'nooh gozgor hadiig neg toirood zamd garc'. Tegeed bucahdaa ter gozgor hadand ideenii deez', s'il arhi taviad eez' mini avarlaa gez' zalbirsan gene. Tegeed ter z'olooc' ter eez' hadnii tuhai tanih tanihgu'i olon hu'nd yariz'. Hotiin z'olooc' nar, masintai darga nar olnoor ter hadand oc'dog bolz' ter hadand "Avgai Maamaa" ner o'gson gene gez' yarilcaz' baiv.

---

5) Damdinz'av, recording, summer 2010.

6) In the SHM a situation is described of how the Tayičiud wanted to take hold of small Temu'z'in. Temu'z'in hid in a thick impenetrable forest, and spent three days and nights there without eating. When he wanted to return, in his way appeared a great white stone. "I should not leave yet," he understood the advice of Nature, and he stayd for three times three days – in total nine days, then the stone appeared again, but this time he was unable to survive without food, so he removed it. The stone was as big as a yurt, he was not able to obey the omen, and he was caught there at that moment. This is a story six hundred years old, it tells us how *Tenger Hangai* (Sky and Erth) help (SHM §80; cf. Cleaves 1982, p. 25).

7) In front of the yurt where Temudžin was born, there was a great stone, on which a great bird sat down and cried *c'ingis c'ingis*. The stone broke into two and a royal stamp appeared, which was a sign of future greatness (*Altan Tobči* 1990, pp. 12b-13a).

8) Recording of the memories of Z'. Luvsandorz', 2011.

Avgai Maamaa nerig sonsmogc l Filatova Cedenbaliig s'utegc'id ter neriig o'gson ni todorhoi baina gez' manai bags' nar bo'on eleg doog bolz' baiv. Hyatad helnii bags'-zohiolc' C. Bazarragc'aa "Avgai had" gedeg o'guulleg bic'iz' bilee.

Ternees hois' olon z'il o'ngorov. Avgai had odoo olon davhar torgoor oroolttoi, hadag yandart daruulsan, derged ni s'ahmal cai hana met o'roostei, s'iltei arhi, to'grog toogu'i olnoor baidag gazar bolson gelcdeg. Mongoliin z'uulcinii gazriin zuragt eez' had nereer temdeglegdsen bainalee*. Arhi mongiig hu'n avdaggui, avbal uhne gedeg. Heregcee garsan hu'n eez'ees arhi mo'ngo zeelz' boldog. Daraa zaaval bucaaz' o'dog gez' sonsson.

Mother Rock

It was about the year 1970. I became a university teacher. At that time my teachers told me that in the Sergelen Somon, in the Central Aimag, one winter night the motor of a lorry switched off, the driver tried to restart it in various ways, but could not manage to do so. Then he was cold and very uneasy, he left the car and started running around one protruding spiky rock, then he sat down at its lee side and lit a cigarette. Then he returned to the car and tried to start the car again, he turned the crank handle once and the motor started immediately. The driver was happy and at the same time he looked at the spiky rock, drove round it once more and set off. On his way back he stopped at the spiky rock once again and offered it (a sacrifice of) sweets and a bottle of vodka. He prayed in these words: "My Mother, you have saved me." Then the driver told about the Mother Rock to many acquaintances and strangers. Thus the drivers of directors' cars and of lorries started to stop at the rock and called it by the name 'Avgai maamaa'. Hearing the name 'Avgai maamaa', our teachers would say ironically that it was clear that the name was given by the followers of Filatova Cedenbal.[9] Teacher of Chinese and writer C. Bazarragc'aa wrote an article about Avgai Had (Rock). Then many years passed. I heard that Avgai Had was wrapped in many layers of silk, was covered by *hadag*s of different colours, next to it a wall from tea bricks grew up, many bottles of vodka and a lot of money. Reportedly all that is there still. On the map for tourists it is marked as *Eez' had*.[10] It is said that nobody would take away the vodka and the money. Should they do so, they are supposed to die. If someone needs it, he borrows vodka or money from Mother, and then he will always return it.

c) *Ih us* – great water. A further basic fear of the Mongolian nomads is the 'fear of great water' – *ih usnaas ai-*. This concerns a great river or lake *(tom goloos / nuuraas ai-)*, there are places in a river, which are dangerous and provoke a panic or dread, e.g. whirlpools below a projecting rock – *hadan cohiogiin eregdeg us,* deep places, or a permanent dwelling of a great animal. If I do something wrong or the like this will appear. If water is to be fetched, everything must be done quickly, seeing the yurt in the distance, and the fear disappears. The expression *ho'lgui us* (lit. 'no-foot water') refers to a place where the bottom is so deep that it cannot be seen, to which the feet

---

9) 'Avgai maamaa' was the way people would refer to the very influential Russian wife of the highest Mongolian political representative at that time, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Party and Prime Minister Tsedenbal.

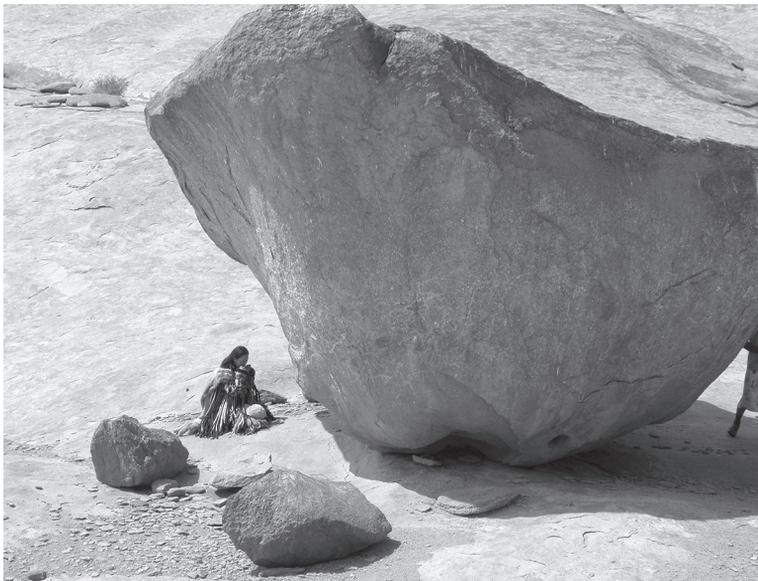10) *Road network map of Mongolia,* Ulaanbaatar 2006.

Figure 2. Shamaness offering to a rock of an unusual shape (Govi-Altai).

Figure 3. Shamaness ritually feeding a 'throat' (Govi-Altai).

of the horse may not reach. And the whirlpool is believed to draw people down – *usnii erguuleg hu'niig tatdag gedeg yum gene / s'uu*. Water is a source of great danger, in Mongolian there is a set phrase, a warning expression – *huilran bu'hii us, ulalzan bu'hii gal* – 'whirling water, glowing fire', signifying danger, or possibly death. A great lake has an infinitely deep bottom in the middle, a little pool has muddy, slushy places (*co'orom*), neither people nor cattle would go there, they are afraid of sinking into the mud. If a place is designated as **ho'lgui us**, man will be scared by these words and take them as a warning about such waters. According to local people, at the confluence of the Urd and Ar Tamir rivers horses from one family were drowned. There is reportedly a deep place interconnected with other rivers: *Dooguuraa holbootoi yum genelee!*[11] Everywhere on the whole territory of Mongolia there is a general awareness that lakes are interconnected undergound. For example nine lakes at the mountain Eez' are interconnected. When in one of them an animal died, its carcass appeared in another one. If man or animals dive in these lakes, they will die. The Lord calls for it – *u'hel duudaz' baina* (lit. 'he calls death', i.e. he invites it).[12]

As soon as the phrase *ho'lgui us / yoroolgu'i yum genelee* is uttered, it is a very strong expression. For example, using the phrase *ho'lgui dalai* (lit. 'no-foot ocean') is a straightforward intention to provoke fear. It often appears in fairy tales and in folklore, e.g. in the fairy tale *Doloon hoz'gor, neg moz'gor*.[13]

Another narration: *Tonhil sumiin oir, Tonhil Nuur, Hulam Nuurt holbootoi, Hulam Nuurt byaruu uhsen, Tonhil nuurt garsan* ('Close to Tonhil Somon there is the Tonhil lake, which is connected with the Hulam lake. Once a calf died in the Hulam lake and emerged in the Tonhil lake…".[14] The distance between these lakes is 30 km. Similarly it is believed that the Ho'vsgol and Baikal lakes are interconnected. I heard a similar narration about a two-year old horse, which died in the Ho'vsgol lake and emerged in the Baikal lake. Their mutual distance is 300 km, there are high mountains in between. *Gu'n us ayultai* ('Deep water is dangerous') – these words were reportedly uttered already by Chinggis Khagan (folk tradition), therefore it is not advisable to enter into deep water. There is a triple sudden danger, about which Mongols

---

11) Aimgaa, recording 2008.
12) For further details cf. also Oberfalzerová (2006, p. 77).
13) *Seven Little Pigmies and one Boldhead*. Poor Boldhead outwitted all seven rich pigmies, whom he enticed to enter the water whirlpool, where they drowned. In this way he took hold of their property and women (Gaadamba, Cerensodnom, 1978, p. 186).
14) Cend-ayus', recording 2012.
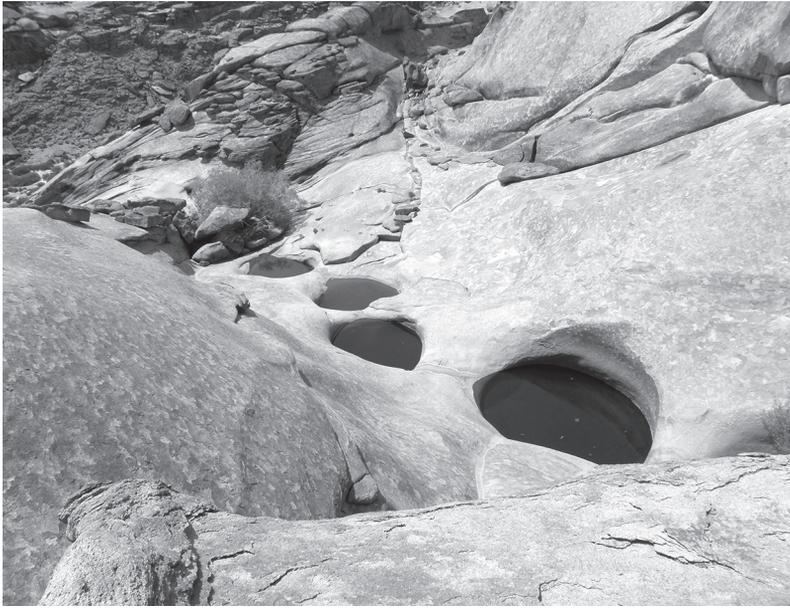
Figure 4. Lakes at *Eez' Hairhan uul* (Govi-Altai).

would warn you – *gurvan genetiin ayuul: usnii ayuul, galiin ayuul, duutai ca-hilgaantai boroo* ('danger of water, danger of fire and danger of lightning').[15]

d) Fear of trees in a thick forest (*mod, oin mod*). For nomads trees are a pure and sacred deity, they provoke fear. Deification took place particularly with willow (*burgas*), because in old times shamans and kings were buried on the branches of tall willows.[16] Therefore willows became objects of worship. On the other hand if there are two-meter-high willow bushes (*but burgas*) grow-ing at special places in the mountains around a spring – this is a place which a Mongol would not even approach, because it is considered to be a fero-cious place (*dogs'in gazar*), a place with a ferocious Lord. And should man damage a single little twig, it would necessarily revenge itself on him. If the willows are on river banks or islands, they are not dangerous. People believe that Something Strong dwells in the willow.

15) Mongols are also afraid of lightning, it is called by various euphemisms.
16) The body was placed on a wooden stretcher (looking like a ladder) in the tree top.

This sense of awe resulted in the worship of willows. First they are afraid because the white willow is terrifying – *cagaan burgas su'rtei*, then they pray to them and bring them offerings (they would mumble a small prayer or throw something small to eat). In Mongolian there is a set expression: *Bor ger holdoz' burgasan ger oirtoz'* (lit. 'the grey yurt is moving away and the willow yurt is approaching' – which means 'I am getting old and proceeding towards death'). It can be used as an answer to a greeting when being asked about 'health and situation (in life)'. This is then a friendly and conciliatory answer that the life of the man, who utters the phrase, is already beyond the zenith and is heading towards death. Because burials were also made in rocky places, there is a synonymous variant *Hanat ger holdoz' hadan ger oirtoz' baina* ('the yurt with walls is moving away and the rocky yurt is approaching'). This is a very subtle expression about getting old, conciliation with approaching death, nobody would laugh at such an expression. It was also because of the feeling of fear of rocks that they are also worshipped.

Udgan mod,[17] the female-shaman's tree is an object of worship, because the souls of dead female-shamans dwell in it. Next to such a tree the initiation tests of young shamans and female-shamans or elections of the Khan together with the appropriate celebration were organised.[18] Similarly worshipped is **olon salaa mod** ('a tree with many stems'), from which it is possible to obtain by begging personal health and good luck, fertility and the like (see Figs. 5–6). Similarly a place where larch trees form a group is considered by the Mongols to be an extraordinary place, to which it is necessary to pray. There are many such places all over Mongolia which have the toponym *zuun modnii bayan burd* ('Oasis / Rich Marsh of Hundred Trees'). If a willow has a ferocious Lord, it is called *Dogs'in burgas / mod* ('ferocious willow / tree', or by circumlocution *Cagaan burgas* – 'White willow'), and such a place is avoided. After a tree falls, there remains a mouldering stump (*o'mh hoz'uul*), about a meter high, there is always something bad dwelling in it, which provokes fear (*aidastai*). During the night-time it looks like a living monster and provokes terrible fantasies. There is a Mongolian saying: *Aisan hu'nd argal ho'dlono* ('For someone who is afraid even dry dung is moving'). Let us see

---

17) It is interesting that I have not encountered the term **bo'o mod,* which may imply that the female-shaman's tree is identified with Mother Earth *Etügen.* Could this have been the origin of the designation for *udgan,* the female-shaman (Class. Mo. *uduyan / iduyan*)?

18) SHM §57 mentions the so-called *saglagar mod*, 'tree with dense leaves' (Hangin s.v.); cf. Cleaves 1982, p. 14 ('the Branching Tree').

Figure 5. *Zuun salaa mod,* 'a tree with a hundred branches' (Arhangai).

the narration of old man C'uluunbata from the region of Naiman nuur (Eight Lakes), O'vorhangai Aimag about his mother:[19]

Ulaan nuʾdei cʾoʾtgor
Bi 10-aad nastai baiv. Eez' Burgastad (gerees 10-aad km gazar) bagiin hurald yavaad hural oroit-ood sʾono irev. Tegeed "Cagaan Hoʾtoliin tend zamiin hazʾuud neg ulaan nuʾdtei cʾotgor suuzʾ baihiig harlaa, uhaaldcʾihaad tuvt maani unsʾizʾ irlee" gev. Bi aidas hureed, aav dunger dunger maani unsʾizʾ eezʾid san tavizʾ baiv. Heden honogiin daraa eezʾ noʾgoo gazar luugaa mald yavaad irehdee ineegeed "oʾnooh cʾotgor cʾini zugeer l neg ulaan hozʾuul baina, gancaaraa sʾono aizʾ yavahad nadad l cʾotgor bolzʾ haragdsan baihguʾi yuu!" gev. Daraa bas neg bagiin hurald eezʾ namaig daguulaad yavav. Tegeed zamd noʾgoo hozʾuuliig zaazʾ "noʾgoo ulaan nudtei cʾotgor cʾini ene" geed ineezʾ bilee.

Cʾoʾtgor(devil) with red eys
I was about ten years old. My mother went to the meeting of our brigade, which was in Burgas about ten kilometers away from our yurt. The meeting took a long time and she was returning late at night. When she was passing through Cagaan Hoʾtol, all of a sudden she saw a cʾoʾtgor with red eyes sitting at the road, she was scared to death and she was praying all the time on her way home. She talked about it and I was terribly afraid, Father was mumbling prayers all the time and lit a sacrificial arc for Mother (he carried it around her to calm her down). A few days later Mother drove cattle around that place and came home laughing and said: "where that cʾoʾtgor of mine was sitting, there is one red tree stump. When I was walking alone at night, it turned into a devil cʾotgor!"

---

19) L. C'uluunbat, recording 2011.

Later again Mother went to a meeting of the bag[20] *(from every family someone had to come, it was a communist campain against religion) and took me along. On the way she pointed at the stump laughing, "this is the red-dyed* c'o'tgor."

A single solitary tree is also an object of fear – **o'nc'in mod** ('orphan tree'), it can be any solitary (orphan) tree. It is not said that Something is dwelling in it, but it is solitary, it will be hit by lightning – *ayanga buudag, ter ni uc'irtai* ('lightning would strike there, and there is a reason for that'). Therefore, in order to be secure, man would avoid it and not only during thunderstorms. It is necessary to be on one's guard, there may be some danger, therefore it is safer not to go close to it, particularly if one is alone. The following is a recollection of Z'. Luvsandorz':

Onc'in hailaas

Manai zuslangiin o'mno "Bo'on hailaas" nertei heseg mod urgana. Tu'unii baruun tald zuugaad alham gazart tasarhai urgasan ganc hailaas baih. Terniig onc'in hailaas gene. Bid bagadaa barag o'dor bu'r tiis' u'nee tugald yavna. Eez' maani: "ter o'nc'in modnii derged bitgii oc'iz' baigaarai. O'nc'in modruu cahilgaan buudag gedgiim. Suudert ni suuval ter Bo'on hailsand suuz' baigaarai" gez' heden udaa helsen yum. Ter o'nc'in hailaasnii dergeduur yavahad neg l aidas hureed baid-ag san. Is'nii ni holtos unaad ho'horc'ihson, tend ni tom ur urgac'ihsan. Ter ni neg tom cu'ntiisen gedes bolz' haragdaad aidas hu'rne. Huuhed baihad emegtein tom gedesnees c' aihgu'i l dee, harin er hu'nii tom gedesiig nucgen baihad ni harval aidas hurdeg baisiim. Ter gedesnees neg yum garc' ireh gez' baigaam s'ig sanagddag baisan.

Tegeed bid ter modnoos holuur yavdag baisan. Olon z'iliin daraa bi oyuutan bolood zun ger-tee harilaa. Ter o'ncin hailaasnii dergedees manai ger haragdaz' baiv. Bi tamhi tatdag bolc'ihson baisiim. Tegeed aav eez'ees dald neg tamhi tataz' avaya geed ter modnii derged buuv. Tegeed mor-doz' geriin zu'g yavahdaa "ee bi o'nc'in modnii derged buuz'ee, muu yum boloh bii dee, zaa dahiad ingehgui" gez' gems'eed yavsan bilee.

Solitary elm

In front of our hunting ground at the place called *Bo'on hailaas* (Group of Elms) there was a grove of trees. About a hundred steps to the right (i.e. west) from it was a separately growing solitary elm. It was called an orphan elm. As children we used to drive calves and small cattle around it almost daily. Our Mother would tell me many times: "Never approach the orphan elm. It is said that a solitary tree may be hit by lightning. If you need shadow, better go to Boon hailaas." Always when I passed this tree, I was overcome by a strange fear. In the middle of the stem its bark was stripped, the stem had turned blue and there was a great excrescence. It looked like a pendant belly, when I looked at it I became afraid. As a child I was not afraid of the great bellies of women, but when I saw a bare belly of a man, I was afraid of it. I felt like all of a sudden something might jump out of that belly. And therefore I kept avoiding the tree from afar. Many years passed and I became a student and once I was coming home in summer for holidays. I could see our yurt from the solitary elm, at that time I was beginning to smoke, so I wanted to

---

20) Cf. Hangin (s.v. *bag* 1): 'prior to the administrative reform of 1959, the smallest administrative unit in rural districts of the M.P.R., consised of 30–100 house-holds'.

Figure 6. 'Double-Tree', an object of worship (Bayan-Hongor).

get a last smoke so that my parents would not see it. I descended from my horse and sat down under the tree. When I remounted the horse and set out for home, I started to feel pangs of conscience: "Oh dear, I have stopped at the orphan tree, I hope nothing bad will happen to me, I will never do it again!"

Oi – deep forests are called *har mod, uulin mod*, in colloquial speech the expression *har modond yavah* ('to go to the deep forest') is used, while the word *har* is used to mean 'nothing but (trees)'. Note that in a special context *har mod* means 'larch'. This is a question of homophony in Mongolian. Deep or impenetrable, thick forest ***s'irenge***[21] always provokes fantasies about what may be hiding there, what may come out of it (a bear, a fox, negative energy). The fear of mountain forests is greater, the forest is always on the northern side of the mountain, there is hardly any forest on its southern slope. ***Haranhui mod*** ('dark forest')*, ih oi* ('great forest') always provokes general fear and because wood was traditionally hardly used, there was no habit of felling living trees (*bosoo mod avdaggu'i* – 'a standing tree is not taken'). One would only

---

21) Cf. Hangin, s.v. *s'irenge*: 'grove, densely growing bushes, thicket'.

collect dry branches on the edge of a forest, but mainly wood from the bank, which was brought there by water, the so-called 'scattered wood' (*tu'geemel mod*),[22] or whole trees deposited by water. So no trees were cut down or broken. The fuel of the nomads is mainly the camel's, cow's and horse's dry dung (*argal, homool*). Thus living trees were cut down only exceptionally. If an enclosure for horses and cattle was built, it was necessary to beg the permission of the Lord of the forest, the Lord of the mountains, the Lord of the tree. At the time of Lamaism they would summon a *lama*, who would burn *arc* and would beg the Lord of the forest. If a monastery was built, the *lamas* would visit the forest and say a special prayer (*tusgai uns'laga, sudar*).

A man who wilfully cuts down a living tree is called by the other people variously as **savaagui hu'n**, **savaagui zantai hu'n** (an ill-educated lout),[23] someone who does not respect *lus savdag, uul us* ('nature and its Lords'). Such a man will not get on in life, will not succeed – **o'odlohgui**, he will not do well and the local people do not respect him. The old woman Cerendez'id from the region of C'uluut in the Arhangai Aimag speaks about such a man:[24]

Gongoo
Manai o'volz'oonii derged Havcgain S'anaand 4 saihan Har-mod baisan yum. 1970 onii zun amraltaaraa oc'ihod neg ni alga bolson baiv. Bi eez'ees asuuv. Eez' helev:

– *O'ngorson o'vol Gongoo unagac'ihsan yum. Hangaigaa s'ogloson hu'n o'odlohgui ee, o'odlohgui, bagaasaa l savaagu'i huuhed baisan. Savaagu'i hu'n c'ini savaagu'i c'igeeree l o'toldog yum baina gev. Gongoog bi sain medez' baiv. Manai ho'rs' z'araad nasnii o'vgon, bic'ig u'seg medehgui, arhi tamhi tatahgu'i, yo'rdiin neg malc'in hu'n yum. Gevc' hu'uhdiig ailgah ih durtai, tuunees aihgu'i huuhed baigaagu'i.*

Manai zusland mogoi elbeg baisan. Gongoo mogoig bagalzuuraas ni c'imheed amii ni angaihad helii ni sugalz' hayaad, uliasnii holtson deer taviad C'uluutiin goloor ursgaz' baisniig bi sanalaa. Tegeed ter tuhai eez'id yarihad eez':

– *Tegdgiin tegdgiin. Urd, zaluu baihdaa helii ni sugalsan mogoigoo alc'uurt booz' ovortlood Manguu avgain gert orz' "mai z'aahan gedes" geed algan deer ni taviz'. Manguu zadalz' uzeed "ee halzaga" gez' has'giraad uhaaldaad unac'ihsan yum. Gongoo Manguu hoyor c'acuu yum. C'acuu uls biye biyee tohuurhaz' l baidag yum. Manguug tegz' aina gez' bodoogu'i baih.*

Gongoo oroi ni Manguud alc'uurt boodoltoi havsai hu'uhdeer o'guulsiim genelee. Manguu mogoi booson alc'uur gez' sez'igleed ter havsaig hog deer hayasan yum genelee gev.

Bi olon z'iliin daraa, barag 2000 ond nutagtaa neg oc'ihdoo Damdinz'av guaigaas Gongoog asuuv. Damdinz'av guai: "tedniihnees odoo amid mend hu'n baihgu'i. Gongoo z'ar garaad o'ngorson. Ayii ni s'oron orond yavz' baigaad nutagtaa irz' o'ngorson. S'o'otgor ni tavi hurev uu, u'gui yu o'ngorson doo, ho'orhii" gev. "Hangaigaa s'oglodog hu'n o'odlohgui" gesen u'g nadad sanagdaz' bailaa.

---

22) Cf. Hangin s.v. *tu'geemel:* 'universal, widespread' < *tu'geeh* 'to distribute, spread'.
23) Cf. Hangin s.v. *savaagu'i:* 'irrelevant, uncalled for, officious, unbeaten (of wool)'.
24) T. Cerendez'id, recording 2008.

Gongoo

Near our winter site on the slopes of the Havcgai hillock, four very beautiful great larches were growing. Once, when I came for a summer holiday in the year 1970, one of them had disappeared. So I asked my Mummy, what had happened and she said: "This winter it was felled by Gongoo. A man, who afflicts Hangai, will not get on in the world (lit. 'will not go up, advance'), he will not do well, ever since his childhood he has been mischievous. Such a terrible man remained a lout up to his old age." I remembered Gongoo well. He had been our neighbour for many years, about sixty years of age, he could not read or write, he did not drink or smoke,[25] such an ordinary herdsman he was. But he enjoyed scaring children, there was probably not a single child who was not afraid of him.

At our summer site there were very many snakes.[26] I remember, how Gongoo caught a snake's head by two fingers in such a way that it had to open the mouth and he would tear out its poisonous tongue,[27] placed it on an aspen bark and send it on the C'uluut river stream down. I told this my to Mummi and she said: "That's what he keeps doing, that's what he keeps doing. Earlier, when he was still young, he tore out the tongue of one snake, packed it into a fabric and kept it in his cleavage. Then he went into Mrs. Manguu's yurt saying, "Here, this is a bit of sheep entrails," and handed over to her the packaged piece of snake. Manguu unpacked the package and screamed: "Oo, halzag!"[28] and fainted. They were of the same age and people of the same age often tease each other. He probably did not think that Manguu would get so frightened."

Then the very same evening Gongoo sent Manguu a package of fried pastry through a child. Reportedly Manguu was so apprehensive that it might again be a packaged snake, that she threw it out.

Then many years later in the year 2000, I came to my native region and asked Mr. Damdinz'av about Mr. Gongoo and he said: "From his family nobody is alive any more. Gongoo died at sixty. Ayii (his son) spent some time in prison and then returned home and died. S'oodgor (his younger son), he may not have lived up to fifty and also died, poor boy." I remembered the words: "If you afflict Hangai, you will not survive, you will not prosper."

e) Fear of plants and mushrooms *(urgamal, mo'og)*. One type of plant, a bush called ***ulaan hargana*** (*Caragana pygmaea*), gows at places, where, as nomads believe, the demons *c'otgor* dwell, in Hangai they grow small, but in Hovd and Altai they are frequent in dry places, they propagate very quickly and such areas are not nice to look at. Here is one folklore narrative about a demon *c'o'tgor* being afraid of nettles from the memoirs of Z'. Luvsandorz':[29]

Hargana ba c'o'tgor (ulger)

Agaa gedeg emgen (aaviin egc') ene u'lgeriig yarisan: Urd neg hu'n s'ono heer yavz baiz'. C'otgor ireed ter hu'niig daguulaad Erlig Haanii ruu yavz' gene. "Zam hol baina. Yum yariz' yavaya" gez' c'otgor heleed yum yariz' yavav gene. Neg o'rgost hargana dairaldahad c'o'tgor "bi harganaas aidag

---

25) Which is perceived as unsusual.

26) Fear of animals, fear of snakes, etc. will be discussed in Part 2. (forthcoming).

27) The popular idea among the Mongolian nomads was that the dangerous part is the tongue of the snake.

28) Lit., 'penis', term of abuse.

29) Z'. Luvsandorz', recording of memoirs 2012.

yum. Holuur toiroyo" gez' gene. Tegeed hunees "c'i yuunaas aidag ve?" gez' c'o'tgor asuuz'. Hu'n "bi c'anasan honinii guya, dombotoi haluun cainaas aidag" gez'. C'o'tgor hargana ruu c'anasan honinii guya, dombotoi haluun cai s'idez' gene. Hu'n yaahav dee, targan mah ideel haluun suutei cai uugaal amar suuz' baiv gene. Tegtel u'ur caiz' gegee orohod c'o'tgor zailsan gedeg.

Caragana and demon c'otgor

Old woman Agaa, elder sister of my Daddy, told us about a Caragana and a devil:

    Once a man was walking in the steppe at night. A c'o'tgor came to him and drew him home to the hell to Erleg Khan, C'o'tgor says: "The journey is long, let us talk on the way about something!" And then they were talking. On the way they met a Caragana with thorns and the c'o'tgor said: "I am afraid of the Caragana, let us keep our distance from it". And he asks the man: "And you are afraid of what?" The man answers that he is afraid of boiled leg of pork and also of a jug full of hot tea. And as they went on, they again met a Caragana bush and the man jumped into it and crouched. The c'o'tgor threw at him a boiled leg of pork and a full jug of hot tea. And the man, how else, was eating the fatty meat, drank the tea and kept sitting comfortably. And when it became light, with the first rays the c'o'tgor had to leave, it is said.

On the other hand, the healing plant **vansemberu'u** (*Saussurea involuorata*, Snow Lotus) is a beautiful herb, which grows in high mountains of the Altai, Hangai and Hentei, on the sacred Otgon Tenger mountain, but also in the Himalayas. According to folk medicine it has magical healing effects, e.g. on cancer and diseases of the liver and stomach, it is a mythical Heavenly plant (*tengeriin urgamal*). It must not be collected purposelessly, for then man may die! One must first beg permission from the Sky, then erect a tent over the plant, so that the Sky (*Tenger*) does not see that they are collecting it. Only elderly people, shamans and lamas can collect it after a ceremony of chanting prayers (*tamlaga tamlah*). Then they will take two pieces, never more than that. It is a dioecious plant, and that is why both plants ('male' and 'female') are taken.

    Mo'og (**mushrooms**). Fear of mushrooms is based on their poisonous effects and also strange appearance. In particular all mushrooms growing on tree stumps and dung (the so-called *coohor mo'og* – amanitas) are considered to be absolutely poisonous and provoke fear.

Nomads are afraid of puffball (**tengeriin du'lii**), they would not even go close to it, the powder (*nuntag*) within the mushroom reportedly blinds the eyes. That is why they neither kick them nor touch them by hand (*Ter hortoi s'uu.* 'They are really poisonous.'). They loathe other mushrooms (*har mo'og* – black mushrooms), they neither collect them nor eat them. They do not touch them by hand, not even the boletes (*c'o'gruu*), even though these are the most common mushrooms of all variants in Mongolian forests. The only respected

mushrooms are the Mongolian field mushrooms growing in circles in mountainous regions (lat. *Agaricus mongolicus*) – **cagaan mo'og**.[30] They are considered to be 'all-healing', they are used especially to make a soup for new mothers after giving birth. Other mushrooms are almost taboo.

f) Fear connected with the time of nature – **baigaliin cagtai holbootoi aidas**. The fear of nature grows after the sunset, at the time of getting dark (*nar heviih u'ed*) and after nightfall it is not good to start new things, to carry out anything important, and if it is not absolutely necessary, it is better not to go out. On the contrary, all important matters are planned in the morning, as soon as there is the first ray of sun – *nar tusahad iim yum hiine* ('I will do this, as soon as the Sun shines') and the like. In western Mongolia there is still a habit of greeting the Sun (*nar garahad zolgoh*) during the feast of *Cagaan sar* (White Month). When at the time of sunset (*nar z'argaz' baigaa cagt*) a ray appears in the roof window of the yurt (*toono*), they put a stone or an iron into the fire. At sunrise they take it out and hit it with an axe and in this manner they greet the Sun and the New Year with flying sparks.[31] Nowadays burning matches are thrown away as a greeting.

The Moon (*sar*) was worshipped more than the Sun, on the tablets or badges of authority (cf. Lessing s.v. *paiza*) first a great Moon is depicted and only below it the Sun. **Sariin sain muu o'dor** ('a good or bad day in the month') is based on the nomadic tradition of following the heavenly bodies. They distinguish two 'full moons', *ulaan tergel* (lit., 'red full', i.e. 'full moon' proper) and *cagaan tergel* (lit., 'white full', i.e. 'new moon'). The first to fourth day after the 'red full moon' was when the especially 'hard' (*hatuu*) things were done – wars were started, letters were sent, spy missions were sent and the

---

30) These mushrooms have been bought in great amounts by the Chinese from the Mongols for many centuries. The Chinese think the Mongols smell like mushrooms. The Mongolian nomads reproduce a Chinese saying like: *Mo'og unertez' baina, mongol hu'n irsen baina.* 'Mushroom is smelling, a Mongol came'. My informants tell me that these mushrooms are becoming rare nowadays, because the Chinese come and buy them in great amounts.

31) In his collection Rashid-ad-Din describes this habit and adds a rare legend about how after the war against Turks only two families were left, but after a hundred years the area became overpopulated. So the hero **Ergune Hun** found a solution. He made fire so strong that it melted a mountain and so they could leave the overpopulated region closed in between high mountains. Thus arose the Borte čino family (cf. Rašid-Ad-din 1952, p. 9; also Luvsandordž, Vacek 1990, p. 162).

The name *Ergune* **is** identified with the Arguni River, which is considered to be the ancient homeland of the Mongols, nowadays the Dauria region of the Dagurs (northeastern area of Inner Mongolia).

like. After that nothing was started any more. On the other hand after the 'white full moon' (new moon) celebrations, wedding ceremonies or *hurals* and the like took place.

Conclusion

In Mongolian there are many expressions, which describe the timid respect and piety due to nature, to its magnificence and frearfulness:

There is a set phrase for the name of the Altai Mountains, *Su'rleg o'ndor Altai uul* ('Terribly High Altai Mountains). This reflects especially the fear of heights – *doos'oo hara-* ('to look down'), but also the fear of abysses – *dees'ee hara-* ('to look up').[32]

Su'rtei gazraar yavahad ('when passing through frightening places'), *su'rtei hu'n* ('fearful man'), in particular women collapse in such situations even physically.

Gazriin su'r[33] (grandeur of the place, fearfullness of the place), e.g. Altai Mountains look fearful – *su'rtei haragdaz' baina*; the implications of the meaning of *gazriin su'r* are mainly caused by the fact that the place is unknown.

The word **su'rde-** means to be frozen with fear. Precisely this original meaning of 'fear' linked with the syllable *su'-* has implications for the linguistic feeling of Mongolian speakers who feel that some words with this initial syllable have a special shade of meaning (this will be discussed in the following Part II); cf. e.g. the following examples:

su'ns – "soul", *su'ld* – "soul, emblem, coat of arms" (Hangin s.v.);
su'lder – "extraordinary power, extraordinary individial";
suut – "brilliant, a person of genius" and the like.

---

32) For the very first time Cybykov visited the Himalayas with Mongolian worshippers, and there were also many women and representatives of various ethnic groups. They rode on horseback and went to Lhasa to pay homage to the Dalailama. According to his testimony several Mongolian women fainted on the heights, they did not dare to utter the name of the pass and made offerings to the Lords of the places (Cybykov 2001, p. 72).

33) Cybykov (2001, p. 67) writes about the concept of *gazriin su'r* as "grandeur, power of the earth": "Besides that they believe that *su'r* is sent to the earth by ghosts, the Lords of mountains, rivers and the like, and they do so as a punishment for lack of reverence to them. And that is why the pilgrims go with visible diffidence along the Nayiji pass, they feel insecure as to whether they will be able to bear the su'r of that place, and they continue praying all the way."

However, this is not a romantic love of Nature, as many environmentalists would think. Of course, they love Nature, and if they are asked their answer cannot be different. But this love is based mainly on fear of Nature, of its retaliation. To begin with Nature is angry (*uurla-*), e.g. when hammering the spike to which cattle is bound (*gazriig nu'hle-*) into the ground, at this moment a nomad does not ask the earth. But when he removes the spike, he always fills the hole with clay and it is not for love, but because the Lord of the place may become furious (*lus savdag dogširo-*).³⁴ When, however, Nature becomes furious (*hilegne-*), then real danger is threatening. The punishmen comes to people within three days or a week: then it does not rain, grass does not grow, there is drought (*gan*), or heavy snowfall (*zud*).

Similarly this fear of Nature is also reflected in colloquial language. There are several patterns used in the langauge:
  – verb + *z' boldoggu'i* (this never happens);
  – verb + *-daggu'i* (this is never done);
  – *-iig* (Ak) *ceerlene* (doing this or that is prohibited);
  – verb + *-h ceertei* (doing this or that is prohibited);
  – verb + *-h muu / muu yor* (doing this is bad / a bad omen);
  – *tegvel tegne* (if you do this, that will happen) and the like.
  All of this has been passed on by oral tradition and it is a very effective means of nomadic ethno-pedagogy, which will be discussed in greater detail in Part II.

The timid relation to surrounding Nature resulted in thousands of micro-laws concerning what should not be done, i.e. 'prohibitions / bans' (*horig ceer*), which protect Nature against pollution and teach the Mongolian nomad fear of retaliation for his wilful behaviour.
  In the following paper I will discuss there micro-laws in greater detail, the fear of animals, fear of the cemetery and demons, the fear of human words and the like. And as the Mongolian law says: "If man lives in awe, he will remain alive and fortunate!" (*Aiz' yavbal Amind o'lziitei*!).

---

34) Of course the reasons for filling the hole are also practical – so that the legs of goats or sheep may not get stuck in it.

Database of recordings from the years 2008–2012:

Aimgaa, recording 2008.
Cend-ayus', recording 2012.
C'uluunbat, recording 2011.
Cerendez'id, recording 2008.
Luvsandorz', recording of recollections 2011, 2012.

References

Altan tobči, Lubsangdanjin, *The Golden Summary which Relates Briefly the Deeds of Civil Governing Established by Ancient Emperors. The Mongol Chronicle of the 17th Century*. Ulus-un Keblel-ün Γajar, Ulaγanbaγatur, 177 pp.

Bol'šoj akademičeskij mongol'sko-russkij slovar' v četyrjoh tomah (Great Academic Mongolian-Russian Dictionary in Four Volumes). Izdatel'stvo Moskva 'Academia', Moskva 2001.

Cevel, Ya., 1966, *Mongol helnii tovc' tailbar toli* (A Concise Dictionary of Mongolian). Ulsiin hevleliin hereg erhleh horoo, Ulaanbaatar.

Cleaves, F.W., 1982, *The Secret History of the Mongols.* Harvard University Press, Baltimore.

Cybykov, G.C., 2001, *Cesta k posvátným místům Tibetu* (The Journey to the Holy Places of Tibet; Russian original: Buddist palomnik u svjatyň Tibeta). Argo, Praha, 429 pp.

Dulam, S., 2009, *Mongol domog zu'in du'r* (Characters of Mongolian Mythology), MUIS Nu'udliin soyol, Irgens'il Sudlaliin to'v, Olon ulsiin mongol sudlaliin to'v. Ulaanbaatar, 380 pp. Иргэншил Судлалын Төв, Олон Улсын Монгол Судлалын Төв. Улаанбаатар, 380 pp.

Gaadamba, S'., Cerensodnom, D., 1978, *Mongol ardiin aman zohioliin deez' bic'ig* (An Anthology of Mongolian Folk Oral Literature). Ulsiin hevleliin gazar, Ulaanbaatar.

Hangin, G. (with Krueger, J.R.), 1986, and *Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Indiana University.

Luvsandordž, Dž., Vacek, J., 1990, *Otázky a odpovědi* (Questions and Answers). Státní pedagogické nakladatelství Praha, 247 pp.

Luvsanvandan, S'., 1968, *Orc'in cagiin mongol helnii bu'tec* (The Structure of Modern Mongolian). Ulaanbaatar.

Mongol ardiin duu (Mongolian Folk Songs). V., Ulsiin hevleliin gazar, Ulaanbaatar 1982.

Mongol helnii delgerengui tailbar toli (Great Monolingual Dictionary of the Mongolian Language). 5 Boti. Mongol ulsiin s'inz'leh uhaanii akademi hel zohioliin hu'reelen, Ulaanbaatar 2008.

Norjin, C., 1999, *Mongγol kelen-ü toli* (Dictionary of the Mongolian Language). Öbür mongγol-un Arad-un Keblel-ün Qoriy-a, Čiγulultu Qaγalγ-a qota, 3142 pp.

Oberfalzerová, A., 2003, The use of Mongolian in the perspective of cultural context. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '03, Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha, pp. 175–205.

Oberfalzerová, A., 2004, Language of dreams – one of the keys to the culture of nomads. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '04, Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony.* Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha 2004, pp. 11–62.

Oberfalzerová, A., 2006, *Metaphors and Nomads.* Triton, Praha.

Oberfalzerová, A., 2007, Perception of the landscape by Mongolian nomads. In: *Pandanus '07. Nature in Literature, Art, Myth and Ritual.* Vol. 1, 2007, Edited by J. Vacek. Charles University, Faculty of Arts; Triton, Praha, pp. 235–263.

Oberfalzerová, A., 2008, Fear and contentment as experienced by the Mongolian nomads. Nutag. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '08, Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics, religion and Culture*. Edited by Jaroslav Vacek and Alena Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha, pp. 9–43.

Rašid-ad-Din, 1952, *Sbornik letopisej.* Tom 1, kniga vtoraya. Transl. by L.A. Hetagurov. Izdateľ-stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad, 314 pp.

Traditional Mongolian Units and Terms of lengths and distances I.

Veronika Kapišovská, Charles University in Prague

Summary: The paper provides a description of traditional Mongolian units of length in terms of their linguistic appearance, use and semantic context. Starting from the anthropometrical units I further try to summarize what was the reference used by nomadic society in order to make their length and distance measurements and how it is reflected in the language. Furthermore, I examine several poetic means by which units of length are demonstrated. Traditional units are no longer officially used in Mongolia, but they are preserved in historical sources, oral narratives and from time to time still in colloquial speech, and in a way they affected the manner in which some of the metrical units are used by non-professionals today.

0. Introduction

From a linguistic point of view the traditional measurement terms have to be seen as a part of an ethnocultural lexicon of the language in question. What the main set of traditional units of length (and their names), in almost all languages, cultures and countries throughout the world, have in common is the use of the human body as a primary reference.[1] Despite the differences in their numerical values and a certain variability in structure the anthropometric units are basically derived from a finger (*prst, palec* – Cz., *pouce* – Fr.,

---

1) The perception of the sorrounding world and landscapes through the prism of the human body was described as early as the 18th century by Italian philosopher G. Vico in his Principle of the New Sciences, published for the first time in 1725. "(404) … it is worth noting that in all languages the vast majority of expressions concerning inanimate things were created by metaphorical extrapolation from the human body, its parts, the five senses and human passions. "Head" means the top or the beginning; that which is in the position of being first is the head; … All this is due to our axiom that the human being in his ignorance makes himself a measure of All…" (Vico 1991, p. 169). This phenomenon receives attention in various fields of scientific study as it comes up in various contexts. Speaking of the relationship between space and language Cassirer (1957, pp. 206–207) notes that "… the body becomes a model according to which [a man] constructs the world as a whole. In this perception of his body, he possesses an original set of coordinates, to which in the course of development he continually returns and refers – and from which accordingly he draws the terms which serve to designate this development." Hence it is natural that the human body was the first to be taken as a standard for measuring the surrounding world.

duim – Du., *перст* – Ru., *digitus* – Lat., Chin. – *cùn*, etc.), forearm (*loket* – Cz., *локоть* – Ru., *cubitus* – Lat., *cubit* – Eng., etc.), outstretched arm or arms (*fathom* – Eng., *sáh* – Cz., *сажень* – Ru., etc.), footstep (*stopa* – Cz., *foot* – Eng., *Fuß* – Ger., *pied* – Fr., etc.) and eventually from some other parts of the body. There is also a large amount of smaller hand-derived units that are based on distances between the different fingers, parts of the fingers, palm, width of several fingers taken together, etc.

Examples from many languages show the relation of some units of length to the typical artefacts, products or activities of the ethnic groups or nations and their way of life. Such is, for example, *barleycorn* (Robinson 2008, p. 51) or *furlong* which is one of the farm-derived units of measurement and both were used in medieval England, or *верста*² "verst" – the farm-derived unit known since early medieval Russian sources (Романова 1975, p. 17). It is observed that units of measure are quite easily subject to borrowing, most often as a result of mercantile contact, but political supremacy and introducing technical and industrial innovations play their role, too. As a rule these imported units are adapted to already existing sets of units without changing their original names.

Based on this the focus of the present contribution is to (1) summarize the basic traditional (pre-metric) units of length used by Mongols and track their possible use in Mongolian phraseologisms; (2) examine the other ways of expressing lengths and distances (if there are any) and (3) track the use of units of length in Mongolian oral narratives. This exploration on Mongolian length and distance terminology is a pilot one and the findings presented in it are based on a random study of historical sources, interviews with the informants and oral narratives.

1. Units of short lengths

1.1. ***Алд*** (alda MS) is the distance between the middle finger tips of the outstretched arms (Батжаргал 1976, p. 41) that according to most sources equals 160 cm.³ *Ald* pays for the basic unit of length. It is worth mentioning that it occurs in the most ancient inscription found so far in Mongolian, carved in

---

2) The original meaning of *верста* was "a turn of a plough", later "a furrow from one turn of the plough to another". Linguists find similar examples in measurement systems of other agricultural societies, too (Романова 1975, pp. 18–19).

3) Цэвэл 1966, p. 30; MED 2008, vol. I, p. 68; Lhagvasuren, p. 2 and Батжаргал 1976, p. 41 give a range of 160–165 cm.

traditional Mongolian script onto the stone known as Chinggis-khan's stone (*Чингисийн чулуу*). It is dated around 1225 and immortalizes the Yisüngke's[4] notable archery achievement of hitting a target as far as 335 alds (536 m) away, a feat that is considered to be unachievable (Lhagvasuren, p. 2). The text of the inscription is as follows (Ex. 1):

Ex. 1
činggis qaqan-i
sartaγul irged ayuliǰu bayuǰu qamuγ mongγol ulus-un
noyad-i Buqa-/s/očiqai quriysan-dur
*Yisüngke ontudur-un **γurban ǰaγud γučin tabun aldas***
***tur** ontudlya*
"[When] Chinggis Khan was holding an assembly of Mongolian nobles at Bukha-(S)ochiqai after he had come back from the conquest of the Sartuul people, Yisüngke hit a target **at 335 alds**."

The term *ald* occurs in very similar forms in all Mongolic languages: *алд* (Kh.), *алд* (Kalm.), *алда* (Bur.), *ald* (Baa., Khar., Sun., Ord.), *alda* (Oir., Dag., Mongr.), *anda* (Dun.), *aldə* (Bao.) and these forms have not much changed since those found in the historical sources: *alda* SHM, Mu., Qalq-a ǰirum (Ex. 2), etc.[5] According to Dondokova, who made a detailed etymological analysis of the units of measurement based on the Buryat terms, terms with the same meaning in Turkic and Manchu-Tungus languages are completely different from the Mongolian ones (Дондокова 2003, p. 11; Poppe 1938, p. 98), except for the Evenk language, where *алда* "fathom", apparently a borrowing from Mongolian, is used along with the local term *дар*.

Ex. 2
*… kedün qulaγayiči bolbasu čüm-i **qayiši qayiši-ban dürbe dürbe alda** örgen gün γaǰar uquǰu,*
nige ǰil dayustal-a qoriy-a.   (Qalq-a ǰirum-2, p. 20)
"… if [there are] several thieves, all [of them] are to be imprisoned in a deep [hole] dug [in the] ground **four alds wide at each side**."

In the terms of etymology Dondokova[6] extracts the root **al* with the general denotation of "distance, space between, interval", (she refers to it as "praal-taic"). It could also be interpreted as "anything outstretched" that can be a possible link between words with related meanings, such as *ал* (*ala* MS.) "groin", *алс* (*alus* MS) "distance", *алд* (*alda* MS) "the distance between the

---

4) Yisüngke was a son of Khasar, Chinggis Khan's younger brother.
5) Дондокова 2003, p. 11; Poppe 1987, p. 157; Poppe 1938, p. 98; Qalq-a ǰirum-2, p. 20.
6) Дондокова 2003, p. 11. For Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic paralels of this reconstruction see ibid.

outstretched arms" and apparently also its temporal meaning "around, in the interval of", *алха-* (*alqu-* MS) "to step" and their derivations. Moreover, the expression *алд тэврээр хэмжи-* "to measure by outstretched arms and embrace" implies an analogy of *ald* to the other units of the same nature in other languages: *fathom* (Eng.) ~ *fæðm* (Old English) "length of an outstretched arm"; "arms, grasp"; or Slavonic: *sáh* (Cz.), *сажень* (Ru.), *sąg* (Pol.) > *sęgati* "to stretch", i.e. a measure of what can be grasped with outstretched arms (Machek 2010, p. 535).

Even though the *ald* was displaced in from the active vocabulary it remains present, for example, in a lexical pair formed in combination with *дэлэм* (see below) that bears a methaphorical meaning and appears both in modern language and oral narratives. At the same time it still seems to be fixed in the ethnocultural vocabulary and used when appropriate if the topic of discussion is related to the traditional way of life (Ex. 3). *Ald* also forms a part of a lexical term *алд бие* with a final meaning "the whole body" found in early sources such as Guush Luvsandanzan's Golden Summary (*Altan tobči*) as demonstrated in Ex. 4, as well as in Modern Mongolian (Ex. 5).

Ex. 3

Аав аргамжийг элдэвлэн үзлээ. …Аргамжийг дугуйлан эвхсэн нэг гогцоог **нэг алд** *(манайхан* **уртыг алдаар** *л хэмжих) гэж үзвэл Шаалуу ахын шар суран аргамж* **есөн алд жаахан илүү** *байж. …*[7]

"[My] father examined the rope thoroughly. … If [we] consider that a roundly coiled sling of rope is **one ald** long (our people measure **length in alds**), Uncle Shaaluu's yellow leather rope was **nine alds and a bit**. …"

Ex. 4

aldan bey-e *minü alčiyabasu alčiyatuyai / ayu törü minü büü aldaratuyai* (altan tobči 1990, p. 106)
"If the **whole body** of mine is exhausted, let it be exhausted / don't let the great empire of mine weaken"

Ex. 5

Ц.Элбэгдорж: **Алд биеэ** *алдартал ард түмнийхээ төлөө зүтгэнэ*[8]
"Ts. Elbegdorj: [I will] strive for the sake of the people until the exhaustion of **my whole body**."

---

7) Шаалуу ахын шар суран аргамж / Дурсамж өгүүллэг/. Uncle Shaaluu's yellow leather rope for cattle (Reminiscence). On: http://www.anduud.net/index.php?option=com_content& view=article&id=2455&catid=22:2011–01–01–17–55–32&Itemid=55. Accessed on November 12th, 2012.

8) http://vip76.mn. Posted on 25.5. 2009. Accessed on December 18th, 2012.

1.2. Дэлэм (*delim* MS) is interpreted as the distance between a shoulder of one arm and the middle finger tip of the other outstretched arm (Батжаргал 1976, p. 41), or as the distance between the fingertips of two hands, when one hand is stretched out and another one's elbow is bent so that the fingers reach somewhere to the shoulder (or chest) of the side with the bent hand (Цэвэл 1966, p. 226; MED, vol. II, p. 804) and in different sources it equals from 80 cm (half an ald) up to 1 m. It is also explained as the distance between the upstretched hands of Mongolian wrestlers (Lubsandorji, October 2012).

Delem appears in very similar forms throughout all Mongolic languages and dialects: *дэлим* (Bur.), *делм* (Kalm.), *dələm* (Baa., Sun.), *delem* (Ord., Oir.), *deli:n* (Dag.), etc., but interestingly enough it is scarcely recorded in the early sources. Etymologically there is a clear connection to the verb *дэл-* "to stretch, load (the bow)" (Дондокова 2003, p. 13), and based on Kovalevski's dictionary (1844, vol. III, p. 1719), where the primary meaning of *delem* is "a space in which a bow can be loaded". It can be assumed that the transformation of *delem* into a unit of measure was a secondary development derived from the position of the hands at the moment of drawing the bow.

Unlike the *ald*, where only such derivations as *хос алд* "double *ald*" and *хагас алд* "half *ald*" appear, the derivations of *delem* are based on the position of the fingers and are the same as those with other lesser units of length: *үзүүр дэлэм* (lit. pinpoint *delem*) or *бүтэн дэлэм* (lit. whole *delem*) *delem* with outstretched fingers" and *мухар дэлэм* (blunt *delem*) *delem* with the fingers hidden in a fist".

Delem occurs also in combination with *ald* as *алд дэлэм* "one and a half *ald*", but very often has to be understood rather in its metaphorical meaning as "huge, great, very big", a meaning that is recorded both in contemporary language (Ex. 6) and in oral narratives (old saws, songs, epics, etc.) as in Ex. 7.

Ex. 6

*Ам, ажил хоёр нь **алд дэлэм** зөрүүтэй эр*[9]

"A man that says one thing and does another" (lit. his words differ from his deeds by **ald and delem**)

Ex. 7

*Амнаас гарсан үг **алд дэлэм** сунадаг*   (MED, vol. II, p. 804)

"Pronounced words spread out very fast among the people" (lit. words that came out of the mouth stretch **by ald and delem**)

---

9) http://factnews.mn/5×3, 08. 12. 2010, Accessed on November 30th, 2012.

1.3. There are different interpretations of **тохой** (*toqoi* MS; Цэвэл 1966, p. 547, MED, vol. IV, 2030) "elbow, cubit" in different sources in terms of terminology and its proper size. However, it appears in two variants: *үзүүр тохой* (lit. (finger)tip cubit) described as a distance from the elbow to the outstretched middle finger tip and is said to equal 45 cm, and *мухар тохой* (lit. blunt cubit), described as the distance from the elbow to the end of the hand clenched to fist, that equals 32 cm (Батжаргал 1976, p. 41; Цэвэл 1966, p. 547).

This unit is reported to be present in all Mongolic languages and dialects: *тоха* (Kalm.), *тохоног* (Bur.).

Tokhoi occurs as a unit of measure in oral narratives (Ex. 8) and even in modern language when appropriate and it can be used as a means of expressing a diminutive metaphorical meaning, as shown in Ex. 9.

Ex. 7

*Зүүн хүрээ Дашчойлон хийдийн хамба Ч.Дамбажав санаачлан тус хийдэд **80 тохой өндөр** Майдар бурхныг дуганы хамт сэргээн бүтээх ажлыг эхлүүлээд байгаа юм. **80 тохой** гэдэг нь **16 орчим метртэй** тэнцэнэ.*[10]

"The reconstruction of the **80 cubits high** [statue] of Maitreya and [its] temple initiated by Ch. Dambajav, the Khamba [lama] of Dashchoilin monastery [of] Züün khüree has started. **80 cubits** equals **approximately 16 meters**."[11]

Ex. 8

*мөс **гурван тохой** хөлдсөн нь нэг шөнийх биш, мөн нас өтлөж хөгширсөн нь нэг өдрийнх биш* (AcDic, vol. 2, p. 351)

"The ice does not become **three cubits** [thick] in one night, one does not get old in one day."

Ex. 9

*Ард нь **тохой чинээ** бэр,…* (Гаадамба 2005, p. 330)

"[And there is] a tiny little bride left behind …" (lit. as a **cubit**)

1.4. Төө (*töge* MS, but *töwē* MAA; Поппе 1938, p. 353) "span"[12] is one of the five basic hand-derived units. It denotes the distance between the thumb and the middle finger tip in their outstretched position and according to

---

10) 80 тохой өндөр Майдар бурхан зална. On: http://www.news.mn, 17.8. 2011, Accessed on November 30, 2012.
11) In this example a mistake in converting *тохой* "cubit" into meters must have occured. Since *тохой* equals 0.32 m (in case of "blunt cubit"), the statue must be at least 26.6 m high.
12) In English span is explained as "width of the outstretched hand, from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger", which differs from the Mongolian span. The Mongolian span is the distance between the tip of the outstretched thumb and the tip of the middle finger. Despite this difference I will use the term "span" in the Mongolian meaning for the purposes of this paper. The span where instead of middle finger forefinger is used will be referred to as "forefinger span" (see below).

different sources it equals between 18 cm and 22 cm (Батжаргал 1976, p. 41; Дондокова 2003, p. 128). *Töö* also occurs in two variants (*мухар төө* "blunt span" and *үзүүр төө* "fully outstretched span") depending on whether the knuckle-bones of the middle finger are hidden or outstretched. According to Dondokova (2003, p. 15) this term appears in all Mongolic languages and dialects: *mo* (Kalm.), *moo* (Bur.), *to:* (Baa., Khar., Ord., Sun.), *тиә* (Dag.), etc.

The equivalents of this term in Turkic languages differ from the Mongolian ones, though they are also related to a hand (Дондокова 2003, p. 15), as can be seen already in Muqaddimat al-Adab where the translation of the Mongolian term is *qarïš* (Поппе 1938, p. 353). But this unit, with linguistic representations very close to the Mongolian term, is found in Manchu-Tungusic languages.[13]

The etymology of *töö* is rather unclear, although based on the analogy with *sööm* (see below), the name for the middle finger in children's language in Buryat (*төөхөн төвшө*) and in the Nanai language (*токон чумчуен*, where *токон* means "middle") Dondokova (2003, p. 15) suggests its possible relation to the middle finger as such. Folk-etymology, on the other hand, explains *töö* as being related to a caterpillar (*төөлгүр*) whose movements are similar to those of a hand measuring with outstretched thumb and middle-finger (Lubsandorj, October 2012).

Apart from being a unit of length *töö* bears the meaning "tiny, small", as for example *төө зайгүй* "very close" (lit. no span is left [in between]). *Töö* also tends to form lexical pairs with other small units of length, including *чий* "foot" of Chinese origin, thus emphasizing the meaning of smallness and littleness (Ex. 10). It is often found in oral narratives, where for instance in Mongolian folktales it is present in the names of such characters as *төө алаг шартай эмгэн* "The old woman with one span [sized] piebald ox" (Гаадамба, Цэрэнсодном 1978, p. 190) and *Нэг төө биет, хоёр төө сахалт* "one span tall [man] with two spans long beard" (ibid. p. 184–185).

Ex. 10
a. *төө сөөм*   "very little, tiny"   (lit. **span and forefinger span**)
b. *төө ямх*   "very little, tiny"   (lit. **span and *yamkh***)[14]
c. *төө чий*   "a little"   (lit. **span and [Chinese] foot**)[15]

---

13) Dondokova (2003, p. 15) gives the list of equivalents for "span" in several Manchu-Tungusic languages. In my opinion, these parallels need to be explored thoroughly as they might be the result of a contact with Mongolic languages.

14) *Ямх* is a length of the upper bone of the thumb and it is said to equal 3.2 cm (Батжаргал 1976, p. 41).

15) *Чий* "foot" is borrowed from Chinese *chĭ*, that equals 32 cm (Сүхбаатар 1997, p. 213; Chinese Units of Measurements).

1.5. *Сөөм* (*sögüm* MS) can be explained as "forefinger span" as it denotes the distance between the thumb and the forefinger tip in their outstretched position. This term is also found to be present all over the Mongolic languages: *сөм* (Kalm.),[16] *hөөм* (Bur.), *so:m* (Oir., Ord., Sun. Baar., Kharch.), etc. According to Batjargal (1976, p. 41) *sööm* equals 16 cm. As with *töö*, *sööm* is also reported to have two variants – *мухар сөөм* "little blunt forefinger span" with the hidden knuckle-bones of the forefinger (12 cm – ibid.) and *үзүүр сөөм* "fully outstretched forefinger span" with the fully outstretched ones.

The linguistic equivalents of *sööm* are reported to be found in the Turkic languages, as for example *суйем* (Kaz.), *сөөм* (Alt.), *суям* (Uzb.), *соям* (Tat.), *соом* (Tuv.), *нойэм* (Bashk.) etc., as well as in Manchu-Tungus languages, as with *сум* (< Bur.), *сэм ~ сэмэ* (< Yak.) (Evenk.) and *сӱо* "forefinger" (Ude.). Thus, based on these examples some scholars extract a common root **söge*, which considering the name of the forefinger in Udegei (*сӱo*) and Turkmen (*суем бармак* – lit. fore-finger) might have been related to the forefinger as such (Дондокова 2003, pp. 14–15; also cf. Колесникова 1979, pp. 195–198). *Sööm* (Ex. 11), as well as some other small units of length such as *ямх* "the length of the upper knuckle-bone of the thumb" (32 mm) or *барим* "width of four fingers, i.e. of palm" (48 mm), does not seem to be so frequently used. On the contrary *хуруу* "finger" which equals 12 mm (Батжаргал 1976, p. 40) that denotes the width of a finger, is still occassionally used, as shown in example Ex. 12.

Ex. 11
*Монголыг хэрсэн нефтийн лиценз мал бэлчих **сөөм ч газар** үлдээхгүй нь*[17]
"Mongolia tied in the net of the petroleum licences will end up with **no forefinger span of land** for herding cattles."

Ex. 12
*… юбка нь өвдөгнөөс доош **дөрвөн хуруу** урт… тэр үед тийм юубка өмссдөг байсан юм.*
(Puntsagdulam, October 2012)
"… the skirt [was] **four fingers** long below the knees … at those times this kind of skirts used to be worn."

---

16) Rahmn gives *søym* in his Kalmyk dictionary (2012, p. 137).
17) Зууны мэдээ, 23. 04. 2010. On: http://news.gogo.mn/r/69303.

2. Units of length derived from the name of the measuring instrument

Many examples of the traditional units of measure provide evidence that people used to apply different instruments offered by their culture, surrounding landscape or subsistence way of life. Several units for the tiniest measures, such as a diameter of horse-hair (0.5 mm), the width of a corn (3 mm) and a diameter of a camel-hair (3.2 mm), are given in Batjargal (Батжаргал 1976, p. 40). One of my informants, 67-year-old T. Namjil, recalled the use of a louse as a unit of measure.

Thus, for a certain period of time Mongolian medieval warriors and hunters transformed the instruments of their everyday life – the arrow and bow – into units of length.

Some sources (Дондокова 2003, p. 16; Цэвэл 1966, p. 388) mention **нум** (*ниш* MS)[18] "bow" as a unit of length, one that was especially used for measuring the distance between the archer and target. According to Dondokova this distance was 30 or 40 *nums*, while Tsevel gives the same example refering to 45 *nums*. According to Tsevel and Batjargal (1976, p. 41) one *num* equals one *alkham* (*алхам* "step"), that is to say approximately 71 cm. Dondokova, referring to Sodnom (1968, p. 34), mentions the existence of a big, middle and small bow (*их гарын нум*, *дунд гарын нум*, *бага гарын нум* respectively) and the first one mentioned, *их гарын нум* (lit. big hand bow) equalled approximatelly 5 *үзүүр тохой* "(full) finger tips cubits".

In the recent past the new unit of length – *мод* "wooden stick" (lit. wood) – was derived from the wooden meter that is still used, especially by the older generation, for measuring fabric and textiles in the shops (Lubsangdorj, October 2012).

Ex. 13

Таван мод торго *авав.*   (Цэвэл 1966, p. 339)
"[He/she] has bought **5 wooden sticks** (i.e. metres) **of silk**."

It is worth noting that the same unit is reported as having been used among the Buryats (*модон* Bur.) as a unit of distance of around 1 km or 1.06 km according to Tsevel (Цэвэл 1966, p. 339). The term is apparently derived from the wooden poles that were lining the Russian postal roads (*столбовая дорога* – Ru. "pole's road") where the distance between the poles (*верстовой*

---

18) Kalm. *нумн*, Bur. *номо*, Sun., Oir. *ниш*, Baar., Darkh., Kharch. *ном*, Ord., Monguor *ниши*, Dag. *нэт*. There is also a verb derived from *нум* "bow" > *нумла-* "to measure by bows". (Цэвэл 1966, p. 388; AcDic, vol. II, p. 425; MED, vol. III, p. 1399).

столб – Ru. "verst pole") equaled 1 verst or 1.06 km (Даль, entry "столб", "верста"; Дондокова 2003, p. 18–19). Nevertheless Lubsandorji is not aware that the term *мод* "wood" was used by Mongols with the same meaning as it has in Buryat.

Ex. 14

Пржввальский Уссурын хязгаарын Буссийн өртөөнөөс Ханка (Ханх) нуурын орчим судалгаа хийжээ. Өвөл нь Уссурийн өмнөд хэсгийг судлаж, **1060 мод газар** *буюу 1100 км аялжээ.*[19]

"Przewalski was exploring the territory from the station of Buss at the boundary of Ussuri to the neighbourhood of Lake Khanka. In winter he explored the southern part of Ussuri and travelled for **1060 wood distances** or 1100 km."

As opposed to these quite precise and fixed units Batjargal (1976, pp. 40–41) gives many examples of very approximate units, or rather the items or distances between two items, that used to serve as an approximate reference to length in everyday life. For example *хүрз далдрам*[20] "the depth of the dig made by a shovel" (lit. [part of] shovel disappearing [in the earth]) (app. 40–70 cm), *уурган зэрэг* "size of the lasso pole" (app. 3–8 m), *үүдэн хоймрын зэрэг* "the distance from the door to the rear part of the yurt" (app. 6–10 m) , *бүсний чинээ* "the length of a (traditional) belt" (app. 3–6 m), *бүслүүрийн чинээ* "the length of the rope that encircles the yurt" (app. 30–40 cm), *гогцоо торгоны зэрэг* "roll of silk" (app. 8–12 m), *дээлийн торгоны зэрэг* "the length of silk needed for making one *deel*" (app. 4–6 m) and some others. In particular the last expression mentioned, and more often its simplified form (i.e. *дээлийн торго* "silk for *deel*") is still observed as a common unit of length of the silk or other kind of material used for making traditional *deel* (Ex. 15).

Ex. 15

Данжаад … Танд би бэлэг болгон **хоёр дээлийн хамба торго** *барья гэж айлтгажээ.*

(Пүрэв 2002, p.10)

"I have brought **khamba silk** (high quality silk decorated with big ornaments) **for two *deels*** as a gift for you, said the Chinese merchant respectfully."

---

19) Үндэстний цахим нэвтэрхий толь, Пржевальский Николай Михайлович.

20) *далдрам* is derived from the verb *далдра-* "to get hidden, to disappear" by adding the noun forming suffix *-м* (Болд 1986, p. 69), that is the same principle as in *дэлэм* (see above), *алхам* "step" derived from *алха-* "to step" and *барим* "the width of the palm or four fingers" derived from *барь-* "to take, grasp".

3. Measuring long distances

The traditional way of measuring long distances in Mongolian is the unique combination of units (reference measure) based on adapting to the surrounding landscape in everyday nomadic life, on visual and audio perception in the surrounding landscape and especially on converting spatial references into temporal forms of expression.

Some distances correspond to the distances between the place of living (yurt encampment) that can be compared to the center of the given space on the one hand and on the other hand the "orientational points" in the landscape represented by frequently used, referred to and known places or points, such as pastures (*бэлчээр*), sheep pastures (*хонины бэлчээр*), neighbouring families (*саахалт*), etc. (Ex. 16). Thus according to some sources the distance between neighbouring families' encampments (*саахалтын газар*) is 0.5–1 km, distance to the nearby pastures (*ойрын бэлчээрийн газар*) is 2–4 km and to the faraway pastures (*алсын бэлчээрийн газар*) even 6–8 km (Монголчууд 2011, p. 53). Though rather specific, several other "units" of this kind are based on the training and racing distances of race horses, such as:

морь хөлслөх газар "the distance for everyday training" (lit. distance of making the horse sweet) – from 10 up to 20 km,

морь тарлах газар "distance for horse racing the day before the main race" – from 1 to 5 km, and others (Батжаргал 1976, p. 44).

The distance between the seasonal yurt encampments is usually referred to as *нүүдлийн газар*, where *нүүдэл* denotes "moving the yurt or encampment". This, based on the fact that Mongolian nomads used to move usually on ox-carts in the past, is usually understood as approximately 15 km or 10 miles (Lubsandorji, December 2012 and Onon 2001, p. 39, respectively).[21] This term, although in a rather oral narrative-like sense, occurs as early as in the Secret History of the Mongols, where Duwa Soqor, a brother of Genghis khan's ancestor Dobun Mergen, was depicted as having only one eye on his forehead with which he was able to see at a distance of three journeys of the nomadic camp (Ex. 17).

---

21) According to Lubsandorji (December 2012) it must not be understood as continual whole-day journey, but rather as moving the whole household in a normal to slow speed with all necessary stops and end of the journey before the sunset. In case of need, however, the families were able to make even longer journey in one day when moving from one seasonal encampment place to another.

Ex. 16

Гөлөгдэй баатрын өргөөнөөс зайдуухан, **саахалт хирийн газар** *… найр хуримын чимэглэл-*
тэй сайхан хувцастай хүн цуглан … (Ринчен 2005, p. 161)

"Not far from the residence of Gulugdei baatar, at **little more than the distance in which usu-**
ally neighbouring families camp … people trimmed with nice festive dresses gathered …"

Ex. 17

Duwa-Soqor manlai dunda γayča nidütü **yurban negürid**[22] **γažar-a** *qaraqu bülege.*

(SHM, p. 10, § 4.1–4.2)

"Duwa-Soqor had a single eye in the middle of his forehead. Through it, he could see for **a dis-**
tance of three journeys [of the nomadic camp]." (Onon 2001, p. 39)

The unit for the longest distance from among these – *өртөө* – developed
from the word for postal relay stations in the extensive messenger system es-
tablished by Ögödei khan[23] and employed from then till the 1950s (Namjil,
October 2012). The stations provided messengers with spare horses, food and
shelter, thus enabling messages or letters to be delivered to the addressee with
the utmost speed. The distance between two stations was given by the maxi-
mum distance a horse was able to gallop at top speed (ibid.) and according
to most sources it was around 30 km on average.[24] Like the other nomadic
lived-space-based units when referring to the distance, *örtöö* is followed by
the word *газар* "distance, range" (Ex. 18).

Ex. 18

Гөлөгдэй баатрын өргөөнөөс **өртөө хиртэй газар***, манж цэрэг хуарагнаж …*

(Ринчен 2005, p. 160)

"Manchu soldiers had their heaquarters **at a distance of a little more than one örtöö (lit.post**
station) from Gulugdei baatar's camp."

There are several ways of expressing distance in Mongolian that are based on
audio and visual adaptation of the nomadic people to the surrounding space.
Thus Batjargal (1976, p. 43) mentions the distance at which sound of human
shouting is audible (*дуу хүрэх газар* – lit. distance to which sound can reach)

---

22) negürid is derived from a verb *negü-* "to move the nomadic camp" by adding the noun-form-
   ing suffix -ri (-*p*, -*рь* in Modern Mongolian)**,** where -*d* is the plural suffix. It has the same mean-
   ing as *нүүдэл* in Modern Mongolian. For more detail on Mongolian suffixes see Болд (1986).

23) Ögödei khan himself considered the establishing of the postal relay system one of his good
   deeds done after he had sat on the throne after his father (SHM, p. 885, § 281.4–5; Onon
   2001, p. 277).

24) Жуковская 2002, p. 37, Цэвэл 1966, p. 446; Батжаргал 1976, p. 44; Монголчууд 2011, p.
   196 – give the average of 25–30 km. For detailed information about the network of postal
   relay stations, its history, types and quantity of the stations, and the related rules and duties
   see Tseden, Oyun (Цэдэн, Оюун 1981, pp. 4–10).

as a distance of 1 km, and Dondokova (2003, p. 8) introduces a Buryat expression *нохойн дуунай газартаа* "at the distance of a dog's barking sound" to refer to a relatively nearby distance. Visual perception-based units are, for example, the distance at which things or people (lit. contour) become visible (*бараа харагдах газар,* i.e. 3–10 km; Батжаргал 1976, p. 43) and *хар цагааны газар* "the distance at which black and white can be distinguished", as most sources put it (Цэвэл 1966, p. 660; Qalq-a jirum-1, p. 11, etc.). The distance of black-and-white is as a rule interpreted as the distance at which white things can be distinguished from the black things to the naked eye and is about 1–2 km (Qalq-a jirum-1, pp. 11, 33; Жуковская 2002, p. 37, respectively).[25] According to Lubsandorji (November 2012) this measure is based on the ability visually distinguish black (i.e. dark) and white horses at a great distance and is very much landscape-dependent – in the plain steppe it might be up to 5 km. It is notable that this unit appears in the Code of Mongolian law known as *Khalkha Jirum* (Khalkha's Order) as a term of determination of distance (Ex. 19–20) along with the unit determined as "shot of the arrow" (*qarabal on tusaǰu kürkü).*[26]

Ex. 19
Basa yerü ken kümün … ǰasuy-un ongyulaysan yaǰar, **qoyar qara čayan-i yaǰar-ača** *dotuysi kümün bayuǰu mal-inu köndebesü mal-un eǰen-i köl mori abqu bai.* (Qalq-a jirum-2, p. 37)
"And also if anybody …were to get off the horse [or make a yurt] and his herd were to touch the area pronounced sacred by the governing authority **within two black-and-whites**, the owner of the herd will be punished by confiscating the horse [he was riding]."

Ex. 20
noyitan modun-i küriyen-i ǰaq-a-ača **qoyar qara čayan-i yaǰar-ača** *inayši modun-i büü oytal, …*
(Qalq-a jirum-2, p. 29)
"Do not cut the living trees (lit. wet tree) within the area of **two black-and-whites** from the suburb of the monastic area, …"

Apparently the most frequent way of expressing the measure of distance, especially concerning longer distances, was, and still is to some extent, based on converting distance into a temporal expression. Here the basic unit seems to be *хоногийн газар* "a distance that can be covered in one day and night". This unit as well as *өдөрчийн* or *өдрийн газар*, "a distance that can be covered in a day" is based on the maximum distance a horse is able to cover in a given time at

---

25) Zhukovskaya (2002, p. 37) adds that it is the distance at which one is able to distinguish black and white things at dawn and nightfall.

26) Tsevel (Цэвэл 1966, p. 415) defines the unit *он тусам* as the distance reached by an arrow shot slightly upwards.

a slow trot. Thus, *хоногийн газар* i.e. a day-and-night distance is from about 70 km (Монголчууд 2011, p. 53) up to 90 km (Жуковская 2002, p. 37) and *өдрийн газар,* i.e. a day distance is about 60 km (ibid.). Some other units observed are based on the speed of the camel, usually a camel in a caravane. With no obstacles on the road a loaded camel is able to move 4.8 km per hour, while an unloaded camel moves at 6 km per hour. Thus a day-and-night distance with camels is approximately 42 km (Монголчууд 2011, p. 53), while Batjargal (Батжаргал 1976, p. 44) puts the range as from 50 up to 120 km, if the camel caravan starts at dawn and continues till night-time. The lesser distances are:

бага удийн газар, "a distance passed by a caravan of camels from dawn till 11 o'clock" (lit. the distance of a small noon), that is 20–25 km, and
удийн газар, "a distance passed by a caravan of camels from dawn till noon" (lit. a noon distance), that is 40–80 km (Батжаргал 1976, p. 43).

Expressing distances through temporal concepts was known both in sedentary and nomadic societies. Romanova (Романова 1975, p. 123) argues that this way of determining distance or length is vague, since it depends on many circumstances such as the method of transport, the landscape and seasonal conditions, etc. But perhaps we have to recognise that the temporal representation of distance provides information about the time needing to be spent on a journey, with the means of transport and all the other factors that might affect the journey considered, if not additionally mentioned.[27] Thus, for the nomads, information about distance transformed into temporal expression is far more meaningful; it is complex and used in both a general sense as well as in concrete instances when information about time is being conveyed. Even today, many people who have become accustomed to expressing distances in kilometres specify a distance by its temporal equivalent first (Ex. 21).

Ex. 21[28]
 A: Элсэн тасархай хэр хол байдаг вэ?
"How far is Elsen tasarkhai?"

 *B: Зам гайгүй байвал **гурван цаг** явна.*
"If there are no problems on the road, it is **three hours**."

 B: 280 орчим километр …
"It is about 280 km."

---

27) In past the expressions *мориор сайн явбал* "if [you] go well by horse" or *тэмээгээр тайван явбал* "if [you] go calmly by camels" were used (Монголчууд 2011, p. 53).
28) A is the author of this paper, B is an unknown driver at the place, where drivers are hired near the Narantuul market in Ulan Bator.

3.1. EXPRESSING LONG DISTANCES IN MONGOLIAN ORAL NARRATIVES

The units of length in Mongolian folklore, especially in longer genres, serve usually as attributes of size (of things) – Ex. 22, faraway places – Ex. 23, skills (of heroes) – Ex. 24, and ability (most often of the horses). Their numerical value is as a rule highly exaggerated as can be demonstrated from all of the following examples. Most spectacular and poetic is the use of the measurement of distance as expressed by way of a temporal equivalent. This is a means of demonstrating the extraordinary quality of horses that can traverse long distances much more rapidly than 'ordinary' horses, as they can gallop at incredible speeds. Thus, for example, one month's distance might be traversed in one day; three months' distance in three days, and one year's distance in one month, as it is shown in Ex. 25.

Ex. 22

Үйзэн Алдар хааны	"It is said that Üizen Aldar khan's
Арван алд	**ten alds**
Гурван дэлэм захиа	**and three delems long letter**
Өнгийн солонго шиг	like a many-coloured rainbow
Агаар алдлан	spreading itself in the air
Нисч ирээд	[after] it has come flowing
Хаан цэцэн аавын	on Wise khan – father's
Хаш ширээн дээрх	jade table
Хаан эзний тамгын	right near the royal seal
Хажууд буугаад …	arrived desceding….
… Дэлгэгдэв гэнээ.	… it unrolled [itself]."
	(Жангар 2003, p. 25)

Ex. 23

Би одоо явна даа	"I am now going to leave
Арван таван жилийн газар	to the **place fifteen years away,**
Алсын өндөр ууланд	by the faraway high mountains
Ан гөрөө хийнэ	I will go hunting."
	(Эрийн сайн Хан харанхуй)

Ex. 24

Танай тэнд	"Over there in your place
Хэдий газраас харвадаг бэ гэсэнд	from what distance do [the archers] shoot, [Zurkh Mijid khaan] asked,
Гурван сарын газраас харавдаг *гэж*	**From three months' distance,**
Эрийн сайн	
Хан харанхуй хүү хэлжээ	young Khan Kharankhui, the best of all men, said.
…	…
Зүрх Мижид хааны харваачдад	Among the archers of Zurkh Mijid khan
Гурван сарын газраас	**from the distance of three months**

Харвах харваач нэг ч байсангүй   not a single archer was able to shoot."

(Эрийн сайн Хан харанхуй)

Ex. 25

(1) ***Жилийн газрыг сараар товчилдог***   (3) "When Wise and Beautiful Uranmaa

(2) *Жигүүртэй шаргаараа нисэхийн цагт …*   (2) flies by Yellowish-Winged [horse]

(3) *Уранмаа цэцэн дагина …*   (1) [that] covers a year's distance in a month …"

(Жангар 2003, p. 27)

4. Conclusion

The units of length used by Mongols as described in this paper can be clearly distinguished as belonging to three cathegories. The main set of these units comprises anthopometric units, that is to say the category that is to all apperances common to all people regardless of their subsistence way of life. As in other languages, while the etymology of certain units can be directly related to the relevant part of the body (*хуруу* "finger", *тохой* "cubit"), the others have changed to such an extent that their etymology becomes questionable (*төө* "span", *сөөм* "forefinger span"). With anthropometrical units it is remarkable that they usually formed verbs denoting "to measure by given units" (*алдла* – "to measure by fathoms", *төөлө-* "to measure by middlefinger spans", *сөөмлө* – "to measure by forefinger spans", etc.)

The units derived from the name of the measuring instrument and units – or, better said, the way of expressing distances included in other two categories, are worth special attention. These units are characterised by being derived from items, instruments and spacial references which the nomadic way of life and surrounding landscape (including its visual and audio perception) can offer to nomadic people. The method of transforming the spatial relations (distances) into temporal formulaes, though observed also in other languages, is apparently more enrooted in Mongolian and they are perhaps considered to be more reliable and conceivable.

Metrological analysis was not the aim of the this paper, but as can be seen the numerical value of some units, discussed and converted into the metric system, varies in different sources, or the range given is quite wide. This may be result of local differences, as well as of possible changes or adjustments in the course of history.

All of the units mentioned in this paper have been displaced from oficial use after the introduction of the metric system units around the middle of the 20th century. Even though, apart from only few cases of metaphorical meanings developed with in the case of anthropometrical units, the use of units of

length in phraseologism is rather limited, they appear in historical sources, as well as in different genres of oral narratives, in classical and modern literature, and they also represent a distinctive way of expressing length and distances that is often reflected in present-day communication.

Abbreviations

AcDic	The Great Academic Mongolian-Russian Dictionary (See Bibliography)
AG.	Ancient Greek
Alt.	Altai (language)
Baar.	Baarin
Bashk.	Bashkir
Bur.	Buryat
Chin.	Chinese
Cz.	Czech
Du.	Dutch
Eng.	English
Evenk.	Evenki language
Fr.	French
It.	Italian
Kalm.	Kalmyk
Kaz.	Kazakh
Kharch.	Kharchin
Lat.	Latin
Ru.	Russian
MED	The Detailed Explanatory Dictionary of Mongolian Language (see Bibliography)
Oir.	Oirat
Ord.	Ordos
SHM	Secret History of Mongols
Sun.	Sunit
Tat.	Tatar
Tuv.	Tuvan
Ude.	Udegei language
Uzb.	Uzbek

References

altan tobči (The Golden Summary). Ulus-un keblel-ün γaǰar, Ulaγan Baγatur 1990.

Cassirer, E., 1957, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms. Volume I. The Phenomenology of Linguistic Form*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Chinese Units of Measurements. On: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_units_of_measurement. Accessed in November-December 2012.

English Units. On: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English_units. Accessed in November-December 2012.

Kovalevski, O.M., 1844, *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français*. Университетская типография, Kazan.

Lhagvasuren, G., What is the script on the chinggis khan's stele about? A monument to top athletic performance? A Monument to the Uigarjin Mongolian script? On: http://www.atarn.org/mongolian/mongol_1.htm (Accessed on October 5th, 2012).

Machek, V., 2010, *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého* (The Etymological Dictionary of the Czech Language). Lidové noviny, Praha.

Online Etymology Dictionary. On: http://www.etymonline.com. (Accessed on September 8th, 2012).

Robinson, A., 2008, *Jak se měří svět. Příběhy z dějin měření.* (How the World is measured. The Stories from the History of Measurement). Euromedia, Praha.

Qalq-a jirum. Traduit en russe par Dr. Zamcarano. *Studia Mongolica*, Tomus I, Fasciculus I, Улаанбаатар 1959. [Cited as Qalq-a jirum-1]

Qalq-a jirum. Monumenta Historica Institute Historiae. Academia Scientiarum Reipublicae Populi Mongoli, Tomus II, Fasciculus I., Ulaɣan Baɣatur 1963. [Cited as Qalq-a jirum-2]

Vico, G., 1991, *Základy nové vědy a společné přirozenosti národů* (The Principles of the New Science Concerning the Common Nature of Nations). Academia, Praha.

***

Ам, ажил хоёр нь алд дэлэм зөрүүтэй эр (A man that says one thing and does another). On: http://factnews.mn/5×3, 08. 12. 2010, Accessed on November 30th, 2012.

Батжаргал, Б., 1976, *Эртний монголын математик. Тэргүүн дэвтэр.* (The Ancient Mathematics of the Mongols. First Volume). Шинжлэх Ухаан Академийн хэвлэл, Улаанбаатар.

Большой академический монгольско-русский словарь (The Great Academic Mongolian-Russian Dictionary). Academia, Москва 2001–2002. [Abbreviated as AcDic]

Бурятско-русский словарь (Buryat-Russian Dictionary). On: http://www.buryatia.org.

Гаадамба, Ш., 2005, Элбэгдсэн дээл (An oversized deel). In: *Some Modern Mongolian Stories in Mongolian and English*. p. 325–334. Admon, Улаанбаатар.

Гаадамба, Ш., Цэрэнсодном, Д., 1978, *Монгол ардын аман зохиолын дээж бичиг* (The Best of the Mongolian Oral Narratives). Улсын Хэвлэлийн Газар, Улаанбаатар.

Даль, В.И., *Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка* (Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language). On: http://slovardalja.net. Accessed in December 2012.

Дондокова, Д.Д., 2003, *Лексика духовной культуры бурят* (The Lexicon of Spiritual Culture of Buryats). Изд. Бурятского научного центра СО РАН, Улан-Удэ.

Жангар тууль (The Jangar Epic). "Мөнхийн үсэг" ХХК, Улаанбаатар 2003.

Жуковская, Н.Л., 2002, *Кочевники Монголии. Культура, традиции, символика.* (The Mongolian Nomads. Culture, Traditions, Symbolics). Изд. «Восточная литература» РАН, Москва.

Калмыцко-русский словарь (Kalmyk-Russian Dictionary.) Ред. Муниев. Изд. русс. яз., Москва 1977.

Монгол хэлний дэлгэрэнгүй тайлбар толь (The Detailed Explanatory Dictionary of Mongolian Language). ШУА Хэл зохиолын хүрээлэн, Улаанбаатар 2008. [Abbreviated as MED]

Монголыг хэрсэн нефтийн лиценз мал бэлчих сөөм ч газар үлдээхгүй нь (Mongolia tied in the net of the petroleum licences will end up with no forefinger span of land for herding cattles being left). On: Зууны мэдээ, 23. 04. 2010. On: http://news.gogo.mn/r/69303. Accessed in November 2012.

Монголын нууц товчоо (The Secret History of the Mongols). Rewritten into Modern Mongolian by Ts. Damdinsuren. Болор судар хэвлэлийн газар, Улаанбаатар 2003.

Пүрэв, Ж., 2002, *Хүн чулууны мөрөөр* (On the trace of stone figure). On: http://www.gia.gov.mn (section: Уран зохиол). Accessed on December 1st, 2012.

Ринчен, Б., 2005, Нууцыг задруулсан захиа (Letter of Betrayal). In: Some Modern Mongolian Stories in Mongolian and English. pp. 159–169. Admon, Улаанбаатар.

Романова, Г. Я., 1975, *Наименование мер длины в русском языке* (The Names of the Units of Lengh in Russian). Наука, Москва.

Сумъяабаатар, Б., 1990, *Монголын нууц товчоо. Үсгийн галиг.* (The Secret History of the Mongols. Transcription). Улсын хэвлэлийн газар, Улаанбаатар. [Abbreviated as SHM]

Үндэстний цахим нэвтэрхий толь (National Electronic Encyclopedia). Operated by Үндэстний цахим өв академи. On: http://mongol.undesten.mn. Accessed on December 6th, 2012.

Элбэгдорж, Ц.*,* Алд биеэ алдартал ард түмнийхээ төлөө зүтгэнэ (Ts. Elbegdorj: I will strive for the sake of the people until the exhaustion of my whole body). On: http://vip76.mn. Posted on 25.5. 2009. Accessed on December 18th, 2012.

Цэвэл, Я., 1966, *Монгол хэлний товч тайлбар толь* (The Concise Explanatory Mongolian Dictionary). Улсын хэвлэлийн хэрэг эрхлэх хороо, Улаанбаатар.

Цэдэн, Н., Оюун, Ж., 1981, *БНМАУ-ын шуудан* (The Post of Mongolian People's Republic). УДТДТМБ Хороо, Улаанбаатар.

Шаалуу ахын шар суран аргамж / Дурсамж өгүүллэг/. (Uncle Shaaluu's yellow leather rope for cattle /Reminiscence/). On: http://www.anduud.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2455&catid=22:2011–01–01–17–55–32&Itemid=55. Accessed on November 12th, 2012.

Эрийн сайн Хан харанхуй (Khan kharankhui – The Best of the Men). On: http://www.biirbeh.mn. Accessed in March 2012.

80 тохой өндөр Майдар бурхан зална (80 cubits high Maitreya will be consecrated). On: http://www.news.mn, 17.8. 2011, Accessed on November 30, 2012.

Particles in Mongghul.
2. Conjunctions, focus particles and adverbial particles

Ha Mingzong, Charles University in Prague

Summary: This is the second part of a study of particles in Mongghul. After presenting final, interrogative and negative particles in part one, this present part focuses on conjunctions, focus particles and adverbial particles. It also closely examines particles from Chinese and Tibetan that have entered Mongghul, including their functions and meanings. Considering the dramatic changes in meaning based on the position changes and usage circumstances of the particles listed in this paper, I explain and give examples of their use.[1]

0. Introduction

Grammatical particles are uninflected function words that are, according to *Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary*, "units of speech expressing general aspect of meaning or connective or limiting relation and include articles, most prepositions and conjunctions, and some interjections and adverbs."[2] Part one of this study dealt with final particles, interrogative particles and negative particles in Mongghul. While many of the particles have been borrowed from Chinese and a few from Tibetan, the result of centuries of close contact, some have also survived from Mongolian. As mentioned in part one, particles as inflexible and independent components of language are easily incorporated into a different language and thus witness the intensity of language influences. This part continues to explore the extent of the contact Mongghul has with Chinese and Tibetan by focusing on discourse particles. According to Faehndrich (2007, p. 225), discourse particles "help maintain the flow of the conversation, often illustrating the flow of time in the events discussed", including conjunctions, focus particles and some adverbial particles that have

---

2) Particle. (n.d.). In *Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary* (11th ed.). Retrieved from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/particle (accessed Dec. 5, 2011).

high frequency in Mongghul. This might engender disputes over the classi-
fication of particles and conjunctions. Nevertheless, this paper treats all rel-
evant conjunctions and adverbial function words listed as particles, whose
broad meanings and usages are best clarified with examples.

1. Conjunctions

1.1. PARTICLE *dii*:

Dii is one of the most frequently used sequential connectives in Mongghul.
It lacks a clear-cut meaning and may start a sentence, appear in the middle
of a sentence or end a sentence. The equivalent of the Mongghul particle *dii*
is *zai* 再 in the local Qinghai Chinese dialect 青海话 pronounced with the
second tone rather than the fourth as in standard Chinese. I will examine the
most important functions of this particle.

    1.1.1. When the particle *dii* appears in mid-sentence, it often connects two
actions in sequence, and can be roughly translated as "then" or "and then" in
English. In this case it is often preceded by perfective suffixes such as *–(y)*
aange, *–(y)aa*, *-gu* or the conditional suffix *-sa* or conditional particle *hao/ha*.
These two sequential actions may also be in a cause and effect relationship,
with the action following *dii* being the effect.

a.   *Niangniang*   *ganni*   *baokiyaange*   ***dii***
      NAME   3s-ACC   protect-VBLZR-PERF   PRT
      Bao'er   *kiji*   *daudaja*   *bai.*
      NAME   QUOTE-IMPERF   call-OBJ.PERF   PRT
      Niangniang protected him, he was then named Bao'er.

b.   *Gan*   *ire(y)aa*   ***dii***   *bu*   *xiiwa*   *bai.*
      3s   come-PERF   PRT   1s   go-PERF   PRT
      He came and then I went.

c.   *Tirii*   *xiigu*   ***dii***   *wari.*
      there   go-PERF   PRT   do
      Do it after you get there. / After you get there, then do it.

d.   *Tigiinge*   **hao**   **dii**   *buraaja*   *nuu?*
     like.this-one   COND   PRT   finish-OBJ.PERF   QUEST
     Is it finished like this/at this point?

e.   *Xjunduunge*   *puxii**sa***   **dii**   *qimu*   yaan   maange   yii?
     younger.sister-one   except-COND   PRT   2s-DAT.LOC   what   PRT   SUBJ.COP
     Except a younger sister, then, what other siblings do you have?

1.1.2. The particle *dii* is also often used by the speakers to allow themselves more time to formulate their ideas in the course of speaking, in which case, this particle might appear repeatedly.

a.   **Dii**   *kaashda*   *maalong-di*   *hao*   **dii**,   **dii**   *nengaa*
     PRT   mule   so.on-GEN   PRT   PRT   PRT   therefore
     dii   *muxi*   *shda-ji*   *gua*   *ya*   **dii**.
     PRT   study   able-IMPERF   OBJ.NEG.COP   PRT   PRT
     Then, because of mules and so on, then… then, therefore, then I wasn't able to study, actually.

Note: The last *dii* functions as an emphatic particle.

b.   *Han*   *duu*   *ghoor yii*,   **dii**   *dura*   **dii**   *gui.*
     PRT(still)   younger.brother   two   SUBJ.COP   PRT   below   PRT   SUBJ.NEG.COP
     I still have two more younger brothers, then below[3] (them), I have no more.

Note: The second *dii* may be translated "more".

1.1.3. This particle may also start sentences in colloquial Mongghul, in which case it indicates a sequence to the previous topic. The speaker may continue with the previous topic or change to another topic. The particle *dii* indicates a sequential connection between the topics.

a.   **Dii**   *ganni*   *taiyeni*   **dii**   *darang*   *yiina*   **bai.**
     PRT   3s-GEN   great.grandfather-3.POSS   **PRT**   still   live-OBJ.NARR   PRT
     And then, actually his great grandfather is still alive.

---

 3) Below = younger than.

b.   ***Dii***   *yaan*   *kileginii*   *kisa*
       PRT   what   talk-SUBJ.FUT   QUOTE-COND
       ndasgini   *lorjini*   *nige*   *tangxaalaya.*
       1p-GEN   history-ACC   one   talk-VBLZR-VOL
       Then, what I would like to talk about is to have a chat about our history.

Note: In contrast to *dii*, whose basic meaning is "then", the particle *do*, which will be mentioned later in this paper, means "now, next" and may be used to start a new topic and indicate that there is no relationship between the previous topic and the newly initiated topic, e.g. see 1.4.

1.1.4. *Dii* may also form correlative expressions with particles *aa*/ya and suffix *-ji*, such as *dii…aa…*, indicating something else, often unexpected, which happened when something else was happening, and *dii… ji…*, forming rhetorical questions. *Dii* may also be used to form fixed expressions and collocations as *dii nigeni* meaning "the other", *dii huino* meaning "and then later", e.g.

a.   ***Dii***   *zheng*   *muxi-gunii*   ***aa***
       PRT   just.the.time   study-SUBJ.FUT   PRT
       kudi   *laodongkun*   *gua.*
       family   laborer   OBJ.NEG.COP
       Then, when it was just the right time for me to study, my family lacked laborers, (so I had to stay at home and work).

b.   ***Dii***   *yiguala*   *muxi*   *shda-**ji**,*   ***dii***   *laodongkun*   *gua*   *bai.*
       PRT   all-COLL   study   able-IMPERF   PRT   laborer   OBJ.NEG.COP   PRT
       Then how could all of us go to school, we lacked laborers (at home), you know.

Note: The converb marker *-ji* forms a rhetorical question that is clear and requires no answer. For more see 2.4. The second *dii* may be translated as the colloquial "you know".

c.   *Ghaduu*   *ghoorla*   *wa.*   *Nigeni*   *dirii*   *soja,*
       brothers   two-COLL   COP   one-3.POSS   here   live-OBJ.PERF
       Dii   ***nigeni***   *tirii*   *soja.*
       PRT   one-3.POSS   there   live-OBJ.PERF
       There were two brothers. One lived here (and) the other lived there.

1.1.5. When the particle *dii* appears at the end of a sentence, it is an emphatic particle and may be translated as "actually".

a. *Tendi*   *xjun*   *dii*   *gua*   *ya*   ***dii****.*
    3s-DAT   daughter   PRT   OBJ.NEG.COP   PRT   PRT
    He didn't have any daughters, actually.

1.1.6. *Dii* often appears also as an auxiliary verb marker in a sentence, e.g.

a. *Bankaa*   *ire*   *dii*   *Hawandi*   *so**dii**ja.*
    move-PERF   come   PRT   NAME-LOC   settle-AUX-OBJ.PERF
    After they moved here, then they settled in Hawan (Village).

1.2. PARTICLE *naa*

Naa is another sequential connective that connects two sentences expressing related actions. The second sentence is often a conclusion drawn based on the first sentence. This particle is borrowed from Chinese and used in similar ways as its Chinese equivalent "na那". This particle may be translated as "then, in that case, if so, so" and sometimes is used interchangeably with the particle *dii*.

1.2.1. Often *naa* is used with the conditional -*sa*, and may be translated as "then", e.g.

a. *Qi*   *xii**sa***   ***naa***   *bu*   *yii*   *xiin.*
    2s   go-COND   PRT   1s   NEG.PRT   go-MOD
    If you go, then I will not go.

b. *Tigiinge*   *yii**sa**,*   ***naa*** *gansgi liang maa shanglana*   *nuu?*
    like.this-one SUBJ.COP   PRT   3p   tax   PRT   pay-VBLZR-OBJ.NARR PRT
    If it was like this, then did they have to pay tax and such or not?

c. *Gansgi*   *xii**sa**,*   ***naa**/**dii***   *budasgi*   *lai?*
    3p   go-COND   PRT   1p   PRT
    If they are going, then what about us?

Note: In this case, the particles *naa* and *dii* can be used interchangeably and indicate the same meaning.

d.   *Te*   *sihoudi,*   **naa**   *qi*   *jilaa*   *nuu,*
       that   time-LOC   PRT   2s   remember   PRT
       tani   *aadeehi*   *taraa*   *tarina*   *nuu*   *gua?*
       2p-GEN   grandfather-PL   grain   grow-OBJ.NARR   PRT   OBJ.NEG.COP
       At that time, then/in that case, do you remember if your grandfathers grew any crops or not?

1.2.2. The particle *naa* is used as an emphatic particle in the following case.

a.   *Gan*   *da*   *xiija*   *bai*   **naa,**   *qi*   *mushdaadii*   *uu?*
       3s   PRT   go-OBJ.PERF   PRT   PRT   2s   forget-AUX   PRT
       He went there as well actually, have you forgotten?

1.2.3. The particles *dii* and *naa* may also form correlative expressions such as *dii…dii…bai*, *naa…naa…bai*, *dii…naa…bai*, *naa…dii…bai*. All these collocations indicate similar meanings, e.g.

a.   **Naa/dii**   *seer*   **naa/dii**   *quguanna*   **bai**,   *te*   *sihoudi.*
       PRT   money   PRT   little-OBJ.NARR   PRT   that   time-LOC
       Actually we had little money at that time.

Regardless of how these two particles join with the particle *bai*, they all have similar meanings in the sentence above.

1.2.4. *Naa* is also used with other particles as fixed expressions, e.g., *naa han… nuu?*, *naa…bai.*, *naa… hao… zhao…*, *naa…nuu?*, and etc.

a.   **Naa**   *warijinni*   **han**   *yiina*   **nuu?**
       PRT   do-NMLZR-GEN   PRT   COP-OBJ.NARR   PRT
       Bu   *yiidaxja*   *ya.*
       1s   tire-AUX-PERF   PRT
       Then, are there still things to do? But I am so tired.
Note: *Naa* is translated "then" and *han* is translated "still" here.

b.   **Naa**   *Xihajia*   **hao**   *aaji*   *wa*   **zhao?**
       PRT   West.Ha.Clan   PRT   where   OBJ.COP   PRT
       Then where is (the) West Ha Clan (village)?
Note: *Hao* is a focus particle, more see e.g. 3.1.1., and *zhao* is an emphatic particle, which is used also in the local Qinghai Chinese dialect.

c. ***Naa***   *qi*   *mude-n*   ***nuu,***   *diriigu*   *nenige*   *kanna?*
PRT   2s   know-MOD   QUEST   here-GEN   this-one   who-OBJ.NARR
Then, do you know who this one here is?

Note: *Nuu* is an interrogative particle.

1.2.5. *Naa* also indicates agreement to the previous sentence or idea, based on the manner of speaking, either willingly (a.) or unwillingly (b.), e.g.

a. *Qi*   *kilesa,*   ***naa***   *qi*   *kile.*
1s   speak-COND   PRT   2s   speak
If you want to say, then you say.

b. *Bu*   *kileya*   *kisa,*   ***naa***   *qi*   *kile.*
1s   speak-VOL   QUOTE-COND   PRT   2s   speak
I thought I would speak, **but okay**, you speak **then**.

1.3. PARTICLE *jiu*

Jiu is another Chinese loanword and is used frequently in Mongghul to indicate different meanings based on its functions as an adverb, a modal particle or a conjunction.

1.3.1. As an adverb, *jiu* indicates the meaning "right now", "right away", "as soon as", "only" and etc.

a. *Gan*   ***jiu***   *ireguna.*
3s   PRT   come-OBJ.FUT
He will come right away.

b. *Gan*   *iraa*   ***jiu***   *yiudiiwa.*
3s   come-PERF   PRT   go-AUX-PERF
He started leaving as soon as he arrived. (He headed out not long after he had arrived.)

c. ***Jiu***   *nige*   *kunna*   *nuu?*
PRT   one   person-OBJ.NARR   PRT
Only one person?

1.3.2. *Jiu* as a modal particle expresses meanings that may be translated as "simply", "would" and "only if".

a. *Qi*   *ndaa*   *yii*   *xiighasa,*   *bu*   ***jiu***   *xiigunii.*
    2s   me   NEG.PRT   go-CAUSE-COND   1s   PRT   go-SUBJ.FUT
    Amanii,   *bu*   *qimu*   *qianglaji?*
    why   1s   2s-ACC   listen-VBLZR-IMPERF
    If you won't allow me to go, I will **simply** go. Why should I listen to you?

b. *Qi*   *xisa,*   *bu*   ***jiu***   *xigunii.*
    2s   go-COND   1s   PRT   go-SUBJ.FUT
    Only if you go, I will go as well.

1.3.3. *Jiu* may confirm and stress the action following and may be translated as "indeed".

a. *Gan*   *jurisan*   *pujigni*   ***jiu***   *ne*   *wa*   *ya.*
    3s   write-PERF.NMLZR   book-3.POSS   **PRT**   this   COP   PRT
    The book he has written is **indeed** this one.

1.4 PARTICLE *do*

1.4.1. *Do* is a particle with high frequency in Mongghul. It is etymological-ly connected to the Mongolian word *odoo* and can be roughly translated as "now, nowadays", but in many cases it does not express "now" or "nowadays" as such, and functions more like a particle. It allows the speaker a moment to collect his thoughts in the course of speaking.

a. *Xiigu*   *duraalan*   *guisa,*   ***do*** *naa* *bu*   *xiiya.*
    go-IMPERF   want-VBLZR-MOD   SUBJ.NEG.COP-COND   PRT   PRT   1s   go-VOL
    If he doesn't want to go, then let me go./I'd better get going myself.

b. ***Do***   *ganni*   *kudini*   *nige*   *kun*   *da*   *gua.*
    PRT   3s-GEN   home-3.POSS   one   person   PRT   OBJ.NEG.COP
    (Now) there isn't anyone at his house.

c. *Shgani*   *taada*   *gua,*   *lao'erni*   ***do***   *taada*   *yiina.*
    elder-3.POSS   near.by   OBJ.NEG.COP   second-3.POSS   PRT   near.by   COP-OBJ.NARR
    His elder (son) is not at home, but his second son is nearby them at home now.

d. ***Do***   *kileji*   *booji*   *iresa*   *gan*   *muni*   *aaga*   *wa.*
    PRT   say-IMPERF   down-IMPERF   come-COND   3s   my   younger.uncle   OBJ.COP
    So to speak now, he should be my younger uncle.

e. ***Do***   *ndaani*   *aadeesgi*   *kilesa*   *jiu*   *tigiinga*   *gina.*
    PRT   1p-GEN   grandfather-PL   say-COND   PRT   like.this-one   that-OBJ.NARR
    According to what my grandfathers say, it was like this.

f. *Ndasgini*   *tiriigu*   ***do***   *ne*   *juurani*
    1p-GEN   there-NMLZR   PRT   this   time-LOC-3.POSS
    Xinjiangja   *mianhua*   *dughulela*   *xiina.*
    NAME-PURP   cotton   pick-VBLZR-PURP   go-OBJ.NARR
    People from our place go to Xinjiang to pick cotton at this time of year.

g. ***Do***   *ne*   *dahui*   ***do***   *tigiini*   *guiladiija*   *ya.*
    PRT   this   time   PRT   like.this-GEN   SUBJ.NEG.COP-VBLZR-AUX-OBJ.PERF   PRT
    Actually nowadays there are not things like this anymore.

1.4.2. *Do* here suggests a pitying tone, and the speaker tends to say, *do amah-gii?* or "now what to do?"

a. *Aaya,*   *teni*   ***do***   *lii*   *mudena*   *bai.*
    EXCL   that-ACC   PRT   NEG.PRT   know-OBJ.NARR   PRT
    Too bad, I don't know anything about that.

1.5. COMBINED PARTICLES *diinaa*, *naadii, naado, donaa*, *diijiu, naajiu*, *dojiu*…

In Mongghul, two or three of the aforementioned sequential connectives *dii*, *naa*, *do* and *jiu* may be combined into more sequential connectives such as *diinaa*, *naadii*, *naado*, *diijiu*, *naajiu*, *donaa*, *dojiu*, or even *do diinaa*, due to the similarity in their meaning and function.

    It also appears to me that when combining these individual particles, there is a tendency for particles from different languages, Mongghul and Chinese

in this case, to combine. For instance, among the four original particles, *dii* and *do* are of Mongghul origin, while *naa* and *jiu* are Chinese loanwords. The only exception seems to be *naajiu*, which is a combination of two Chinese particles and has entered Mongghul.

1.5.1. *Diinaa* AND *naadii*

Diinaa and *naadii* may be ambiguous in terms of differences in meaning and may be used interchangeably as in the following examples:

a. *Tigiinge*   *yiisa*   ***naadii***   *nimbaageya.*
    like.this-one   COP-COND   PRT   right-VBLZR-VOL
    If this is like this, then we better say it is right.

b. *Tigiinge*   *yiisa*   ***diinaa***   *nimbaa.*
    like.this-one   COP-COND   PRT   right
    If this is like this, then that is right.

c. *Mongghulni*   *qi*   *mulaala*   *mudejiisa,*
    Mongghul-ACC   2s   young.age-ABL   know-SUBJ.PERF-COND
    naadii   *Qidarni*   *amakiji*   *suri-wa,*   *qi?*
    PRT   Chinese-ACC   how-VBLZR-IMPERF   learn-PERF   2s
    (We know) you have known Mongghul already from a young age, but then, how did you learn Chinese?

Diinaa and *naadii* may have slightly different meanings on occasions when the speaker deliberately prolongs the first syllable in *diinaa*. The particle then forms a rhetorical question and indicates pretended agreement in a sarcastic way. Unlike *diinaa*, when *naadii* is used by itself as in the question – *Naadii?*, it means – *Then what to do*?

Speaker A: *Gan*   *yaanni*   *da*   *mudena.*
             3s   all/everything-ACC   PRT   know-OBJ.NARR
Speaker B: ***Diinaa?***
             PRT
Speaker A: He knows everything.
Speaker B: Oh, really, does he? / Oh, how doesn't he?

1.5.2. *Diijiu*, *naajiu* AND *dojiu*

In distinguishing these particles, their literal translation provides crucial in-sights, however, it must be noted that these translations are highly relative and may not fit in all cases. *Diijiu* = then actually/ then just; *naajiu* = if so then; *dojiu* = now actually.

a.   *Yaanni   tangxaalageniikisa   **diijiu**   Hajia*
     what-GEN   talk-VBLZR-SUBJ.FUT-QUOTE-COND   PRT   Ha-clan
     kunni   lorjini   nige   tangxaalaya   bai.
     people-GEN   history-ACC   one   talk-VBLZR-VOL   PRT
     If asked what (we are) going to talk about, then let's talk a little about the history of the Ha clan people.

b.   *Tirii **diijiu** rjiga   ghoor laakiwanu   lantan daldi-la   xiiwa   bai.*
     there PRT   donkey two   take-VBLZR-PERF coke   sell-PURP go-PERF PRT
     I went there actually taking two donkeys with me and selling coke/coal-waste.

c.   *Gan   janglaji   yii   xiisa,   **naajiu**   qi   xii.*
     3s   stubborn-VBLZR-IMPERF   NEG.PRT   go-COND   PRT   2s   go
     If he acts so stubbornly and doesn't want to go, (if so), then you go.

d.   ***Dojiu*** *suanlai hao jiu   fuye   gaokina   bai.*
     PRT   count   PRT   PRT   sideline.occupation do-VBLZR-OBJ.NARR PRT
     Actually it could be counted as doing a sideline occupation.

e.   ***Do*** *digha booni   baahilaja,   **dojiu** Darmaxii wa   bai.*
     PRT egg   festival-3.POSS finish-VBLZR-OBJ.PERF PRT   NAME   COP   PRT
     The Egg Festival's finished, instead what is actually being held now is Darmaa Festival.

1.5.3. *Donaa* AND *naado*

These two particles have minor differences in meaning, for example in the following case, nevertheless, they seem strange to a native Mongghul speaker if their positions are switched. These two particles share and indicate similar meanings in most cases and may be used interchangeably.

a.   ***Donaa*** *yijing*   *tigiingela*   *xiija,*   ***naado*** *amahgii?*
       PRT   already   like.this-one-VBLZR   go(AUX)-OBJ.PERF PRT   how-SUBJ.FUT
       Now that this has already become like this, then what should we do?

2. Coordinating conjunctions

2.1. ADDITIVE COORDINATING PARTICLE *dai*

The additive conjunction in Mongghul *dai* joins two items, mostly nouns, of equal rank together, e.g.

a.   *Ndaani*   *aaba*   ***dai***   *ndaani*   *aama*   *kudi*   *soja.*
       1p-GEN   father   PRT   1p-GEN   mother   home   stay/live-OBJ.PERF
       Our (my) father and our (my) mother stay/live at home.

b.   *Kuu*   ***dai***   *xjunnaa*   *dodaji*   *ire.*
       son   PRT   daughter-REFL.POSS   call-IMPERF   come
       Call his own son and daughter to come.

c.   *Bu* *uladi*   *tani*   *mori* **dai** *ndaani* *morini*   *sgawa.*
       1s   mountain-LOC 2p-GEN   horse PRT 1p-GEN   horse-COND see-SUBJ.PERF
       I saw your horse and our horse in the mountain together.

d.   *Kilegu*   ***dai***   *wariguni*   *sarlan*   *gua.*
       say-NMLZR   PRT   do-NMLZR-3.POSS   same-MOD   OBJ.NEG.COP
       What he says and (what he) does are not the same.

2.2. ALTERNATIVE PARTICLE *yiuu*

In the previous paper, we have discussed the interrogative function of the particles *yiuu*, but actually this particle functions also as an alternative particle, for example:

a. *Mulong   yiuu   qinaadi   ireguna.*
    tomorrow   PRT   the.day.after.tomorrow   come-OBJ.FUT
    He will come tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.

b. *Xjun   yiuu bulai yii   hao, ujeji   iregha   adana.*
    Daughter PRT boy   COP PRT distinguish-IMPERF come-CAUSE not.able-OBJ.NARR
    I can't tell/distinguish if this is a girl or a boy.

2.3. PARTICLES *maa*, *maalong* AND *liao*

Maa and *liao* roughly correspond to "so on/forth", "the like" or "and such". It is important to differentiate the particle *maa* from the focus particle "ma" mentioned above.

2.3.1. Particle *maa*

a. *Tani   kudi   aasi   **maa**   yiuu?*
    2p-GEN   home   yak   PRT   COP-QUEST
    Do you have any yaks and the like/so on at home?

b. *Mulong   warijin   **maa**   yiisa   dii   iregu   murgu.*
    tomorrow do-NMLZR PRT   COP-COND PRT   come-IMPERF no.need
    If you have things and so on to do tomorrow, then you don't have to come.

2.3.2. This particle is often combined with the diminutive *nige* meaning "one" and forms the new particle *maange*, e.g.

a. *Kudi*   **nige**   *kun*   *yiisa*   *nuhuai*   **maange**   *yiisa*   *da*   *saina,*
    home   one   person   COP-COND   dog   PRT   COP-COND   PRT   good
    yii   *jiicoraaguna.*
    NEG   impatient-OBJ.FUT
    When you are alone at home, it would be actually better if you kept some pet like a dog, so you won't be lonely.

2.3.3. *Liao* is probably borrowed from local Chinese and is often used after each enumerated item, unlike the particle *maa*, which appears only after the last item enumerated, for example:

a. *Gandi* *luusa* **liao** *mori* **liao** *tirga* **liao***, do* *yaan*   *da*   *yiina.*
    3s-DAT   mule   PRT   horse   PRT   cart   PRT   PRT whatever PRT   COP-OBJ.NARR
    He has mules, horses, carts, actually just about everything.

2.3.4. *Maa* and *liao* are often also used together to form the expression "… liao tigiini maa…", which can be roughly translated as "or anything/things like this".

a. *Aadee,*   *qi*   *mulaa*   *sihoudi,*   *tani*   *kudi*
    Grandpa   2s   small   time-LOC   2s-GEN   home
    karsha   **liao**   *aasi*   **liao**   **tigiini**   **maa/maange** *yiuu?*
    mule   PRT   yak   PRT   like.this-GEN   PRT   COP-QUEST
    Grandpa, when you were small, did you have mules or yaks or anything like that at home?

2.4. ADVERSATIVE COORDINATING CONJUNCTION *ji*

2.4.1. The particle *ji* contrasts two statements in a sentence, in which case, it is often used with the particle *da*, e.g.

a. *Tiwarni*   *sainna*   **ji**   **da**
    Tibetan-3.POSS   good-OBJ.NARR   PRT   PRT
    qidarni   *tigii*   *sainna*   *gua.*
    Chinese-3.POSS   like.this   good-OBJ.NARR   OBJ.NEG.COP
    His Tibetan is good, but not as good as his Chinese.

b.   *Ndaa   ire   gena   **ji**   bu   xiiji   gui.*
     me   come   that-OBJ.NARR   PRT   1s   go-IMPERF   SUBJ.NEG.COP
     They asked me to come, but I didn't go. / Although they asked me to come, I didn't go.

c.   *Gan   ndaa   ghuaguna   **ji**   bu   yii   hgeliam.*
     3s   me   give-OBJ.FUT   PRT   1s   NEG.PRT   want-MOD
     Although he will give me (that), but I don't want it.

d.   *Qi   kileja   **ji**   gan   qimu   qianglaji   gua.*
     2s   tell-OBJ.PERF   PRT   3s   2s-ACC   listen-VBLZR-IMPERF   OBJ.NEG.COP
     Even though you told him, he didn't listen to you.

e.   *Gandi   yiina   **ji**   ughuam   uu*
     3s-DAT   COP-OBJ.NARR   PRT   give-MOD   PRT
     yii   ughuan   hao   ken   muden.
     NEG.PRT   give-MOD   PRT   who   know-MOD
     He has it, but who knows if he will give (it to) us or not.

f.   *Sgejii   **ji**   da   do   mushdadiijiisa   chuang.*
     see-PERF   PRT   PRT   now   forget-AUX-PERF-COND   PRT
     Although he saw it, he has probably forgotten about that now.

3. Focus particles

I have grouped the focus particles in Mongghul on the basis of the definition of Mongolian focus particles given by Tserenpil and Kullmann (2008, p. 345), given the common system Mongolian and Mongghul share in this respect. They suggest that,

The focus particles **form** together with the word (and clause, I suggest) they follow, **the focus of the sentence**. It's this focus that gets the attention. Some of these focus particles can **express the relationship** they have to the **contextual statement of the whole sentence**. This statement, resp. the theme of the sentence, is sometimes given without being expressed in words. The focus particles indicate whether the focus of the sentence **include** (= additive) or **exclude** (= restrictive) other things.

3.1. NEUTRAL FOCUS PARTICLES

3.1.1. PARTICLES *ha* AND *hao*

3.1.1.1. *Ha* and *hao* have the same essential meaning in this manner, except that *ha* is probably of Mongghul origin, while that of *hao* is controversial, since it is also extensively used in the local Chinese dialect.

a. *Ne   ayilni   Mongghullaa   **hao/ha** Shge   Ayil   gina.*
    this   village-ACC   Mongghul-INSTR   PRT   Big   Village   that-OBJ.NARR
    This village in Mongghul is called Shge Ayil.

b. Naa   *Dakeshidan **hao/ha**   dii   aanji   wa   zhao?*
    PRT   NAME   PRT   PRT   where   COP   PRT
    Then, where exactly is Dakeshidan?

c. *Ganni kudini   kun   ulon niuu ulon gui   **hao,** muden   uu?*
    3s-GEN home-3.POSS   people a.lot PRT a.lot SUB.NEG.COP   PRT   know-MOD PRT
    Do you know if there are a lot of people in his family or not?

d. *Gansgedi seer   yiina   **hao** dii ndasgedi nigiidi usghuaji   ughuwa.*
    3p-DAT   money COP-OBJ.NARR PRT PRT 1p-DAT   a.little lend-IMPERF give-PERF
    They had money, so they lent us a little.

e. *Te sihoudi   kunnanna   **hao/ha** dii xii shdaji   gui   aa.*
    that time-LOC poor-OBJ.NARR   PRT   PRT go able-IMPERF SUBJ.NEG.COP PRT
    (We) were poor at that time, that is why we couldn't go.

f. *Dii   kashda   manglangdi **hao/ha**   dii   lesga   ulonna   ya.*
    PRT   livestock so.on   PRT   PRT   work   a.lot-OBJ.NARR PRT
    There was a lot of work such as (taking care of) the livestock and so on.

3.1.1.2. Particles *ha* and *hao* are used as conditional particles as well.

a. *Dojiu   suanla   **hao/ha**   jiu   muni   aaga   wa.*
    now.then   count-VBLZR   PRT   PRT   1s-GEN   younger.uncle COP
    Actually he should be counted as my uncle.

b. *Tigiinge*   **hao/ha**   *dii*   *buraaja*   *nuu?*
    like.this-one   PRT   PRT   finish-OBJ.PERF   PRT
    Is it finished like this?

3.1.2. PARTICLE *ma*

Ma is borrowed from Chinese. Its equivalent is "嘛ma" in Chinese.

a. *Qi*   *nenkiji*   *kudinaa*   *so*   *soja*   **ma,**
    2s   like.this   home-REFL. POSS   sit   sit-OBJ.PERF   PRT
    seer   *zenla*   *shdam*   *uu?*
    money   earn-VBLZR able-MOD   PRT
    You just stay at your home, how can you earn money that way?

b. *Qi*   *kilejin*   *ne*   *ma*   *nige*   *maolasa*   *shihua*   *nimbaa.*
    2s   say-NMLZR   this   PRT   one   think-VBLZR-COND really   true
    This thing that you are saying, when you think about it, is really true.

c. *Gongzuonge*   *da*   *gua*   **ma,**   *yeri*   *amakiji*   *awugii?*
    job-one   PRT   OBJ.NEG.COP   PRT   wife   how   get-SUBJ.FUT
    He doesn't even have a job, how can he get a wife?

d. *Neni*   **ma**   *do*   *ken*   *da*   *yii*   *mudeguna.*
    this-ACC   PRT   now   who   PRT   NEG.PRT   know-QUOTE-OBJ.NARR
    Nobody would know about his anymore.

3.1.3. PARTICLE *lai*

This particle is also used both in Mongghul and in the local Qinghai Chinese dialect.

a. *Jieguo*   **lai,**   *taiye*   *dai*   *tainainai*
    result   PRT   great.grandfather   PRT   great.grandmother
    ghoorla   *guila*   *xiija.*
    two-COLL   die-VBLZR   go-OBJ.PERF
    The result was that both my great-grandfather and great-grandmother died.

b.
Naadii	*tesgini*	*aadee*	**lai,**	*te*	*biira*	*yiigu*	*sihoudi?*
PRT	2p-GEN	grandfather	PRT	that	side	COP-GEN	time-LOC

What about your grandfather, when he was over there?

c.
Dii	*awu*	*adajin*	*kunhi*	**lai**	*amanii*	*hao, muden*	*uu?*
PRT	buy	not.able-NMLZR	person-PL	PRT	what-SUBJ.NARR	PRT know-MOD	PRT

What about those that could not afford it, what did they do, do you know?

d.
Ai,	*ne*	**lai,**	*jiu*	**tigiinga.**
EXCL	this	PRT	PRT	like.this-one

Yeah, as long as this is concerned, it is actually like this.

3.2. ADDITIVE FOCUS PARTICLE *da*

The particle *da* is used similarly as the particle *ч* in Mongolian.

3.2.1. Words meaning "anything, nobody, never", etc. utilize the particle *da*, which also often appears with such words as *nige*, *nigiidi*, and *yama*.

a.
Qi	*yaan*	**da**	*bii*	*wari,*	*tirii*	*so!*
2s	what	PRT	PROHIB	do	there	sit

Don't do anything, just sit over there!

b.
Hajia	*kunra*	*lamadii*	**da**	*yiina.*
Ha.clan	people-LOC	monk	PRT	COP-OBJ.NARR

There were/are also/even monks among the Ha clan people.

c.
Kudi	*ken*	**da**	*gua.*	*Yiguala*	*ghada*	*ghari*	*xiija.*
home	who	PRT	OBJ.NEG.COP	all-COLL	outside	go.out	go-OBJ.PERF

Nobody is at home, they all have gone out.

d.
Nenkiji	*kijiidi*	**da**	*bii*	*maola.*
like.this	when	PRT	PROHIB	think-VBLZR

Don't ever/Never think like this/that.

e. *Gandi*   *kuu*   ***nige***   ***da***   *gua.*
    3s-DAT   son   one   PRT   OBJ.NEG.COP
    He doesn't have any sons. / He doesn't have even just one son.

f. *Nigiidi*   *ughua*   *kisa,*   ***nigiidi da***   *yii*   *ughuanna.*
    a.bit   give   QUOTE-COND   a.bit   PRT   NEG   give-MOD-OBJ.NARR
    When (I) asked (him) to also give me a little, (he) didn't give me anything/he didn't give me even a bit.

g. *Xiriira*   *dii*   ***yama***   *dongxi*   ***da***   *gua*   *bai.*
    table-LOC   PRT   any   thing   PRT   OBJ.NEG.COP   PRT
    There are/were nothing at all on the table.

3.2.2. This particle is used to express "even" and "also/too". However, the context determines whether "even" or "also/too" is meant.

a. *Niudur*   *ndaani*   *aaba*   ***da***   *ireji*   *gua.*
    today   1p-GEN   father   PRT   come-IMPERF   OBJ.NEG.COP
    Also/Even my father didn't come today.

b. *Ne*   *pujigni*   ***da***   *sainna.*
    This   book-3.POSS   PRT   good-OBJ.NARR
    Also/Even this book by him is good.

3.2.3. Indicating "even if".

a. *Budaghoorla warisa*   ***da***   *teni*   *buraagha*   *adaguna.*
    we.two   do-COND   PRT   that-ACC   finish-CAUSE   not.able-OBJ.FUT
    Even if the two of us worked together, we wouldn't be able to finish all that.

3.2.4. *Amakisa da*, meaning "in any case".

a. *Do amakisa*   ***da*** *mulang*   *xuetangdi*   *xiigu*   *xja.*
    PRT how-VBLZR-COND   PRT tomorrow   school-LOC   go-GEN   go(AUX)-OBJ.PERF
    In any case now, I need to go to school tomorrow.

3.2.5. When used with words like *yiixi*, *shihua*, etc, the particle *da* indicates emphasis, e.g.

a.   *Niudur bu niguudur yiuwa,   do **yiixi**   **da**   yiida xiija.*
     today   1s   whole.day   walk-SUBJ.PERF now too.much PRT tired become-PERF
     Today, I have been walking the entire day, and now I am really really tired.

b.   *Darmaaxiidira   kun   **shihua**   **da**   ulonna.*
     Danmaa.festival-LOC   people   really   PRT   a.lot-OBJ.NARR
     There are really a lot of people during Danmaa festival.

3.2.6. *Da…da…* used to indicate "both… and…"

a.   *Tesihoudi   kudi ghajar **da** ulonna,   jiading   **da** ulonna.*
     that.time-LOC home   field   PRT a.lot-OBJ.NARR family.member PRT a.lot-OBJ.NARR
     At that time, at home, we had a lot of fields/land and a lot of family members.

b.   *Gandi musijin   **da** yiina   ma rdejin   **da** yiina.*
     3s-DAT wear-NMLZR PRT COP-OBJ.NARR PRT eat-NMLZR PRT COP-OBJ.NARR
     He has both things to wear and things to eat.

3.3. RESTRICTIVE FOCUS PARTICLE *haan*

The focus particle *haan* is derived from the Mongolian suffix "-хан" as in "ганцхан". Even though Mongolian words like "ганцхан, хоёрхан, сайхан" are formed in this pattern in Mongghul with the particle *haan*, for example, *nigehaan*, *ghoorhaan*, *haan* has also become a separable function word in Mongghul. This particle is also often used with the diminutive *nige* or "one", and is combined into "haange".

a.   *Jang nige kun   **haan** yiisa   dii yama jingdao da gua   ya.*
     only   one   person PRT   COP-COND PRT any   strength PRT OBJ.NEG.COP PRT
     If there is only one person, then there is not any strength in this (action).

b.   *Ndaa   quguan   **haan**   uuji   ughua   juu.*
     1s.DAT   a.little   PRT   fill.bowl-IMPERF give   PRT
     Please fill my bowl moderately (not too much).

c.   *Sgarnaa   shge **haange**, bu yaan da yii   sunishidana.*
     voice-REFL.POSS big   PRT-one 1s what PRT NEG.PRT hear-OBJ.NARR
     Raise your voice, I can't hear anything.

4. Adverbial particles

4.1. PARTICLE *yiixi*

Yiixi is a progressive particle used to express "the more…, the more…"

a.   **Yiixi**   *mangdasa*   **yiixi**   *sain.*
     PRT   busy-COND   PRT   good
     The busier, the better.

b.   *Bulaisgeni* **yiixi** *pughasa* **yiixi da** *wanxiandan.*
     child-PL-ACC PRT   beat-COND PRT PRT naughty-VBLZR-MOD
     The more you beat children, the naughtier they get.

4.2. PARTICLES *yang*, *darang* AND *han*

Yang and *darang* are borrowed from Tibetan and mean "again" and "still, also", respectively. Like other loan conjunctions from Chinese mentioned earlier, these particles combine with Mongghul particles, for example, *do yang*, *dii yang*, and *dii darang*, see examples c) and d). The particle *han* is from Chinese and equivalent to *darang*. It is used interchangeably with *darang*. However, due to recent influence from Chinese in Mongghul, the particle *han* has slowly taken over *darang*, as younger people increasingly use *han* while elders prefer *darang*.

a.   *Qimu   tigii   ulon yiina,   qi* **darang/han** *hgiliaguniuu?*
     2s-DAT like.this a.lot COP-OBJ.NARR 2s PRT   want-SUBJ.FUT-
                                                              QUEST(.PRT)

     You have got so much, and you still want more?

b. *Qimu*   *silaa*   *yiuu*   *gui?*
    2s-DAT   free.time   COP-PRT   SUBJ.NEG.COP
    Budaghoorla **yang**   *tulii*   *paodila*   *yiu*   *ba?*
    we.two   PRT   hare   shoot-PRT-PURP go   PRT
    Do you have time or not? Shall we go shoot (hunt) some hares again?

c. *Qi* *jang* *tirii* *xiiaa*   *ireja,*   **do**   **yang**   *xiiguniuu?*
    2s   just   there   go-PERF   come-OBJ.PERF   PRT   PRT   go-SUBJ.FUT-
                                                                             QUEST(.PRT)
    You have just gone there and come back, now you are going again?

d. *Ne*   *kidila*   *puxiisa,*   **dii**   **darang/han**
    this   several-COM   not-COND   PRT   PRT
    ganni   *aabani*   *ireji*   *gua*   *nuu?*
    3s-GEN   father-3.POSS   come-IMPERF   OBJ.NEG.COP   PRT
    Except these ones, didn't his father come also?

5. Conclusion

This paper further contributes to the study of the Mongghul language and
is a continuation of the previous paper dealing with Mongghul final, inter-
rogative and negative particles. It presented certain high-frequency discourse
particles in Mongghul by grouping them into conjunctions, focus particles
and adverbial particles, which were further divided into more sub-categories.
In cases where Mongghul particles had their equivalents in other languages,
I have also referred to and compared them to their counterparts in the cor-
responding language, i.e., Mongolian, Chinese or Tibetan.

This article represented a descriptive introduction to a part of the unin-
flected function words used in colloquial Mongghul to maintain the flow
of a speech. It also further confirmed the hypothesis offered in part one
of the study (Ha Mingzong 2010, pp.125–156): extensive language contacts
with neighboring Chinese and Tibetan languages has meant that a significant
number of Mongghul particles are of Chinese origin, for example, *naa*, *jiu*,
ma, *han*, *lai* and *liao,* while a few particles are of Tibetan origin, for example,
yang and *darang*, as shown in this paper. It is further suggested that there is
a tendency of duplicating particles of the same meaning from two different
languages, namely, either Mongghul and Chinese, for example, *diinaa*, *do-
naa*, *diijiu*, *dojiu*, *naadii*, *naajiu*, etc., or Mongghul and Tibetan, for example,

dii darang, do yang and *dii yang.* As a fluent speaker of these typologically different languages, I perceive these newly formed particles as combined new words, and suggest that the duplication of these particles intensifies the meaning and renders a more explicit statement or follows the tendency of combining single syllable synonyms in Chinese to facilitate communication.

Another obvious difference in the use of loan particles is observable in terms of generations. Elders tend to use Tibetan loan particles, whereas younger generation uses their Chinese equivalents. This shows a lessening of the influence of the Tibetan language on Mongghul, since children are less exposed to and have less access to the Tibetan language at schools and in daily life. I attended the local primary school and had Tibetan language lessons, but Tibetan lessons were no longer offered at the school in 2011.

A dearth of linguistic research on Mongghul particles as a part of the communication system influences the way contemporary Mongghul is perceived. A more general audience takes considerable interest in archaic features preserved in Mongghul today rather than studying how it is currently spoken and written. Early scholarly works (Mostaert 1929, Todaeva 1973) on Mongghul grammar serve as a paradigm to studies on the etymological connection between Mongolic languages (Činggeltei 1988). However, in modern Mongghul, particles show a relatively weak affiliation to other Mongolic languages, unlike nouns and verbs, and are also a significant means used in the process of communication.

References:

Činggeltei [Qinggėer tai] 清格尔泰, 1988, *Mongyor kele ba Mongyol kele/Tuzuyu he mengguyu* 土族语和蒙古语 *[Mongghul and Mongolian].* In: *Mongyol törül-ün kele ayalyun-u sudulul-un čuburil 013.* öbür mongγol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a, Kökeqota/Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, Hohhot.

Faehndrich, Burgel R. M., 2007, *Sketch Grammar of the Karlong Variety of Mongghul, and Dialectal Survey of Mongghul.* (Unpublished dissertation) The University of Hawaii – Manoa.

Georg, S., 2003, Mongghul. In: Janhunen 2003, pp. 286–306.

Mostaert, A.; Smedt, A. de, 1929, Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansu Occidental (I+II). *Anthropos,* 24, pp. 145–165, 801–815.

Mostaert, A.; Smedt, A. de, 1929, Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansu Occidental (III+IV). *Anthropos,* 25, pp. 657–669, 961–973.

Mostaert, A.; Smedt, A. de, 1929, Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansu Occidental (V). *Anthropos,* 25, pp. 253–254.

Ha Mingzong, 2007, Politeness in Hawan Mongghul. In: *Mongolica Pragensia '07. Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony.* Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha 2007, pp. 29–54.

Ha Mingzong, 2010, Particles in Mongghul 1. Final, interrogative and negative particles. In: *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '10, Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Religion and Culture.* Vol. 2, No. 2. pp. 125–156.

Ha Mingzong; Stuart, K., 2006, Everyday Hawan Mongghul. In: *Mongolica Pragensia '06. Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony.* Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha 2006, pp. 45–70.

Ha Mingzong; Stuart, K., 2008, The Return rof the Goddess: Religious revival among Hawan village Mongghuls. In: *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '08,* Vol. 1, No. 2. *Special Issue. Mediums and Shamans in Central Asia.* Triton, Praha 2008, pp. 117–148.

Janhunen, J. (ed.), 2003, *The Mongolic Languages.* Routledge, London.

Janhunen, J., 2006, The Monguor: The emerging diversity of a vanishing people. In: Schram 2006, pp. 26–29.

Janhunen, J., Lionel Ha Mingzong and Joseph Tshe.dpag.rnam.rgyal, 2007, On the language of the Shaowa Tuzu in the context of the ethnic taxonomy of Amdo Qinghai. *Central Asiatic Journal,* Vol. 51, No. 2. Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 177–195.

Limusishiden (Li Dechun) and Stuart, K., 2006, Louis M. J. Schram's relevance to current Monguor ethnographic research. In: Schram 2006, pp. 60–79.

Lubsangdorji, J., Vacek, J., 2004, *Colloquial Mongolian. An Introductory Intensive Course.* Triton, Praha 2004.

Rona-Tas, A., 1966, *The Tibetan Loanwords of Monguor and the Development of the Archaic Tibetan Dialects.* Indo-Iranian Monographs, Volume VII. Mouton & Co., The Hague.

Schram, L.M.J., 2006 [1954, 1957, 1961], *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Border Part I: Their Origin, History, and Social Organization; Part II: Their Religious Life; Part III: Records of the Monguor Clans: History of the Monguors in Huangchung and the Chronicles of the Lu Family.* Edited by C. K. Stuart. Plateau Publications, Xining City.

Slater, K.W., 2003a, Mangghuer. In: Janhunen 2003, pp. 307–324.

Slater, K.W., 2003b, *Minhe Mangghuer: A Mongolic Language of China's Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund.* Routledge Curzon, London.

Todaeva, B.Ch., 1973, *Mongorskij jazyk: Issledovanie, teksty, slovar'.* Nauka, Moskva.

Tserenpil, D., Kullmann, R., 2008, *Mongolian Grammar.* Fourth revised edition. ADMON Co. Ltd, Ulanbatar, Mongolia.

Vacek, J., 2002b, Emphasizing and interrogative enclitic particles in Dravidian and Altaic. In: *Mongolica Pragensia '02. Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Dischrony.* Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha 2002, pp. 151–185.

Wang Qingshan, *A Grammar of Spoken Amdo Tibetan.* Sichuan Nationality Publishing House, Chengdu, 1995.

Appendix:

GLOSS ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS[4]

ACC	Accusative case
COLL	Collective (indicates two or more actors acting together)
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative case
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive
IMPERF	Imperfective aspect
LOC	Locative
NARR	Narrative
NEG	Negative
NMLZR	Nominalizer (turns a verb into a noun)
OBJ	Objective perspective (indicates that the speaker distances himself from the event)
SUBJ	Subjective perspective (indicates that the speaker associates himself with the event)
REFL.POSS	Reflexive Possessive (indicates possession by the subject; equivalent to 'one's own')
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural number
POSS	Possessive (indicates possession by a third person)
PROHIB	Prohibitive (negative used with imperatives: 'do not')
PRT	Particle (these particles have broad interactional or affective meanings)
QUEST	Question
VBLZR	Verbalizer
VOL	Voluntative (first person imperative)
1s	First Person Single
1p	First Person Plural
2s	Second Person Single
2p	Second Person Plural
3s	Third Person Single
3p	Third Person Plural
–	Morpheme boundary (used to indicate suffixes added to a root)
ØLOC	Zero locative

---

4) These glosses are based on Slater (2003).

Dravidian and Altaic 'fear, timidity, worry' I.

Jaroslav Vacek, Charles University in Prague

Summary: This paper lists three lexical parallels with an abstract meaning, namely 'fear, timidity, shyness' etc. to be found in Dravidian and Altaic:

Ta. *cūr* – Mo. *sür* – MT. *SURDĒK* – Yak. *sür*

Ta. *kōḻai* / *kūcu* – Mo. *xoryulza-* / *yasal-* – MT. *KARA-* / *ĠASLĀ-* – OT. *kork-*

besides

Ta. *kili* – Mo. *kirü-* / *gelme-* / *girbi-* – MT. *ŊĒLE* / *KIRI·* II / *GIRBE-* / *KISAN-* – Yak. *kiri*

Ko. *vekar-* – Mo. *begdere-* – MT. *MAKA-* / *NEŊDE-*

In the context of the relatively numerous lexical parallels with concrete meanings established in my previous papers, it is important to realise that there is a difference between these two types of parallels. Sharing abstract lexemes can be an essential 'qualitative' feature of the proposed language contact within an early linguistic area.

1.0. Introduction

So far most of the Dravidian and Altaic lexical parallels presented in my earlier papers have been lexemes with very concrete references, such as the environment, some animals (Vacek 2002c, 2004a), parts of the body (2005b, 2006c, 2007a, 2008a, 2010a),[1] kinship terms (Vacek, Lubsangdorji 1994), verbs

---

1) In some cases the 'concreteness' can go into unbelievable detail, e.g.

Ta. *eruku* (*eruki-*) to have loose motions (said of cattle); *eru* manure, excrement

Te. *ērugu* to go to stool; n. faeces; *eruvu* manure

Malt. *erǵe, erǵtre* to go to stool; etc. Ma., Ka., Kol., Nk. etc. (DEDR 813)

Mo. *ötüg* manure, dung, humus; fertilizer; fine manure dust which covers places where cattle were kept

As for the phonetic correspondence of a dental stop/liquid *-t-* // *-r-*, it may be a special case of a broader phenomenon of free variation of dentals and liquids: *d/t* vs. *r/l,* in some cases involving also the cerebrals, both stops and liquids, not only in the root-final position, but also in the stem extensions (cf. e.g. Vacek 2002a, pp. 282ff. and my paper on this problem, in preparation), e.g.

Ta. *maram* (DEDR 4711a) – Mo. *modu(n)* tree, etc. (cf. Vacek 1981, Par. 2.3; 2.15; 1987, p. 8)

Ka. *eṟu* to be full, complete; Tu. *erkuni* to be full of milk (as breast or udder) (DEDR 863)

– Mo. *ete-* 1. to fill with food // *ir-, irü-* a. to fill up; *irge-* to fill up, heap up;

or another term for 'fear', viz

Ta. *meruḷ* to fear, shy; n. fear (DEDR 5075) // *veru* fear, dread (DEDR 5489) // *miṟai* fear, trouble (DEDR 4875b) – Mo. *mita-* to fear, be scared.

(Vacek 2005a, 2006b, 2007b, 2009b, 2009c, 2011a[2]) etc. Only occasionally did the parallels include words with abstract meanings.[3] This can be seen from the individual topics of the previous papers (for selected references see below[4]).

In this paper I will present three etyma with the relevant meaning or its semantic extensions.

The implications of these parallels were discussed several times in my recent papers and do not need to be repeated here. Suffice to say that I perceive the material parallels as the result of a process of early **language contact** of immigrant groups of Central Asian pastoral nomads with the original population of the Indian subcontinent. The linguistic context was obviously an **early linguistic area**, possibly extending on the Indian territory from the northwest to the south and partly also to the east (in the area of Dakkhin). The contact should have been very close and intimate, the result being **two layers in Dravidian** ('Altaic' and originally 'Indian' – possibly Munda or 'Paramunda';[5] perhaps also the 'language X', cf. Masica 1979). These layers are represented to different degrees in different parts of Dravidian India, partly because the records of the linguistic material are not equally ancient, Tamil having the

---

Another lexeme with a very concrete meaning (at the same time displaying the variation of dental and cerebral liquids in the stem extension) is e.g.

Ta. *cekiḷ* (DEDR 2751) skin or rind of fruit; Kur. *cegalo* bark of tree

  – Mo. *saɣari(n)* horsehide, skin; leather; calluses on hands or feet, corn, scab (of an ulcer or wound)

  – OT. *saɣri:–* raw hide, etc. (Cl. 815)

Further cf. Ta. *cakkai* refuse as of sugar-cane after pressing, rind of fibrous parts of fruits, bark etc. (DEDR 2276).

2) The last paper has further references to a series of papers on *verba dicendi.*

3) E.g. Ta. *kai-* to adorn, decorate (DEDR 2024), also 'beauty' (Akanāṉūṟu, see S.V. Subramanian 1972, s.v.)

  Mo. *ɣoju-* to adorn oneself; *ɣoju, ɣoji* beautiful, etc.

  MT. *GOJO* proper, beautiful, etc. (2 languages; MTD I,158; Vacek 1987, p. 7)

  For several lexemes with abstract meaning cf. also Vacek (2013, in press).

4) In this paper only some of the references to the author's papers are listed. For a full survey of the author's publications on the topic cf. the relevant section (4.3. Dravidian and Altaic Relations) of the bibliography of the Institute of South and Central Asia, Faculty of Arts, Charles University at the address: http://ujca.ff.cuni.cz/UJCA-214-version1-bibliografie_ujca2012. pdf. For a summary of relations of Dravidian with other language families cf. Zvelebil 1990, 1991 or Vacek 2002a, 2007c, 2009a, 2009d.

5) Cf. also the discussion of the non-IA borrowings in the Rgveda and the fact that the majority of them are not Dravidian, but Munda, or 'Para-Munda', as Witzel (1999) calls them (on the question of two layers cf. Vacek 2009d). Cf. also Blažek 2006, 2007 concerning the possibility of an 'Australian substratum' in Dravidian. Inspiration may also be drawn from Southworth (2005) in his careful outline of the linguistic and social conditions on the ancient Indian scene.

oldest literary records going back two thousand years (some of them – Sangam – partly from the time of the early centuries B.C).

The arrivals of these immigrant nomads probably did not take place in a very distant past (judging from the relative closeness of the phonetic shapes of the parallels), therefore it could have happened at the same time as or just a little later than the immigration of the Indo-Aryans.[6] A possible 'candidate' to provide archaeological background for these linguistic findings could be the megaliths which were first constructed around the 11th cent. BC in Northern Iran and were spreading to the Indian subcontinent for the following almost thousand years.[7]

The early contact situation could possibly also have been reflected in the **typological transformation** to be observed in the earliest documented Dravidian language as it is recorded in the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions and also in the early Sangam literature. Chr. Pilot-Raichoor (2012, pp. 285f.), discusses the typological features of The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (ca. 3rd century B.C. to 4th century A.D.) in great detail and analyses the implications of the findings. She refers to Zvelebil et al. (1967, p. 37) who "was the first to clearly express the idea of a typological shift" in Old Tamil and spoke about "a turning point between two distinct types of grammar"… "an old system, where the grammar was of an isolating type, as well as features characteristic of the modern agglutinative type". According to Pilot-Raichoor (ibid., p. 285): "The Tamil-Brahmi data give evidence for both the isolating or 'analytical' tendency of the previous stage and the development of the process of agglutination."

---

6) However, the question of 'immigration' of the Indo-Aryans is a subject of extensive debate (cf. Bryant 2002).

7) This question deserves further investigation on the part of archaeologists, including classification of the types of megaliths, time, ethnic background etc. This has been studied to some extent, though there are still many open questions, cf. e.g. Rao (1988; cf. Chapter 8 for the questions of 'chronology, origin and migration', pp. 126ff.) or Ramachandra Murthy (2000; cf. Chapters VI and VII – 'the races' and 'chronology'). Further cf. also Allchin (1995) who discusses the topic from a different 'perspective'. Note also that Parpola (1973) proposed that the megalithic people were the Indo-Aryans. However, there is one interesting feature concerning the dwellings of the megalithic people (Parpola 1999, par. 4.4): 'These dwellings recall the yurts of the Central and East Asian nomads.' For a further discussion of this question cf. also Vacek (2009d, p. 101ff. and Note 62). Further cf. Bryant (2002) for an extensive discussion of the rather controversial picture of the position of the Indo-Aryans in relation to other linguistic and ethnic communities of ancient India, the question of migrations to and from India in prehistoric time etc. However, this is an important context for the consideration of the position of Dravidian and of its relation with the indigenous linguistic (and also ethnic) scene. This should be studied both from the point of view of linguistics (cf. also Blažek 2006, 2007) and cultural and ethnic history (cf. Parasher 1991).

This is an important observation, which can also be further specified by referring to other linguistic aspects. The language of the oldest Tamil literary documents, the Sangam poems from around the beginning of the Christian Era confirms the 'fluid' characteristics of the language, we can observe aspects of isolation and also agglutination. Such language situation may have been a reflection of an immediately preceding **intensive language contact**, presumably a rather complicated process (high contact; cf. Vacek 2010b), which would also explain the great variability (as can be documented in terms of some other features, especially phonetic variation).[8] In the following centuries the morphological 'fluidity' was stabilised in the form of agglutination and a relatively firm morphological structure (for some aspects of the development of agglutination cf. also Vacek 2012b).

Besides the formal phonetic variation there are a great number of **synonyms** for various concepts in Tamil and Dravidian, including the terms for the 'chieftain', 'king', 'instruments of power' and related terminology. This is very significant, because some of the synonyms appear to have parallels in Altaic (cf. Vacek 2009d). Similarly in this case, the following examples should also be viewed as synonyms or half-synonyms with the semantic variation from 'fear' to 'ghost', or only 'fear' or 'ghost' (partly also borrowed from Indo-Aryan). Besides *cūr* 'fear', 'malignant deity', there is a series of words in Tamil with similar meanings, e.g.:

pēy 'ghost', 'fear'; *kaḻutu* 'ghost', 'demon'; *paḻu* 'ghost', 'devil';

avuṇ, avuṇar 'Asuras' (cf. Skt. *asura-*);

payam 'fear, apprehension, alarm' (< Skt. *bhaya-*);

and especially

aṇaṅku, which is explained variously in the Tamil Lexicon, from 'deity' to 'demoness' or a beautiful 'celestial damsel', but also 'affliction, pain, fear' (cf. Vacek 2012a, pp. 36, 42, Footnotes 4, 21, 32, 33; and Footnote 17 below).

Another aspect of the process should have been the fact that the contact was of **varying intensity**, occasionally possibly resulting almost in 'creolisation', while in some cases there appear to have been 'unproblematic' nearly identical lexical parallels (cf. also the parallels discussed in my preceding papers). This must have been a situation in which the resulting parallels display great

---

8) The question of variation of the phonetic parallels was repeatedly discussed in my earlier papers. In such cases (in languages where the history of the linguistic phenomena is not known) it is clearly difficult or impossible to make any reliable phonetic reconstructions (cf. also Vacek 2002a, passim.; 2004b/2006a Section 1; etc.).

variation in their phonetic shapes – some of the parallels are practically iden-
tical, while some appear to be rather 'distorted', particularly where liquids and
sibilants are involved. This process obviously also took place in between the
individual Altaic branches, which display a similar picture, not only trans-
parent parallels with identifiable regular correspondences, but also various
degrees of irregularities which can be explained only on the basis of mutual
contact and borrowing.[9]

   This much had to be said in order to put the below few etymological nests
not only into an understandable 'historical perspective' but also a 'formal per-
spective'. And of course, they have to be evaluated in the context of the rela-
tively great number of other lexical parallels listed in my previous papers.[10]

1.1. Ta. *cūr* – Mo. *sür* – MT. *SURDĒK* – Yak. *sür*

Ta. *cūr*   to frighten, be cruel; n. fear, suffering, affliction, sorrow, disease,
             cruelty, malignant deity, celestial maidens[11]
    cūrppu   a cruel, ferocious deed
Ma. *cūr*   fiend, affliction, disgust   (DEDR 2725)

Cf.
Ka. *suruḷ*   to contract, shrivel, shrink; fear (s.v. DEDR 2687; Ta. *curuṅku* to
                                    shrink, contract etc.)
This Kannada lexeme may represent an overlapping of two etyma due to pho-
netic closeness (the Kannada lexeme is to be viewed as a homophone with two
distinct meanings), while the meaning 'shrinking etc.' (DEDR 2687) would
permit a semantic extension to 'fear'. But the phonetic closeness with DEDR

2725 would suggest that the Kannada lexeme should better be considered a homophone belonging to two different etyma.

***

Mo. *süre-*   to awe, inspire fear
 sürde-   to be(come) frightened, overpowered
 sür   commanding appearance; grandeur, majesty, impressiveness; militancy, might[12]
 sürij-e   majestic, impressive, or frightening appearance
 sürkei, sürekei   terrible(-ly), frightening(ly), terrific[13]

Kh. *su'r* commanding appearance, etc.[14]

? *dürbi-, dürbe-*   to be frightened, panic-stricken; to run or flee in panic
türni-   to lose presence of mind; to be agitated, confused (but cf. also *türgen* quick etc.)

***

MT. *SURDĒK*   frightful, dreadful (MTD II,129)
  Evenk. *surdēk* [< Yakut] frightful, dreadful, ferocious
  Orok. *surdeki* [< Yakut] strong (about wind)
 ?*ČŌRĬ-* to suffer (MTD II,409)
  Nan. *čŏrĭ-* to suffer (from pain); to moan

***

OT.
Yak. *sür*   fear, fright, horror, dismay[15]
 sürdääh   frightful, dreadful, terrible, fierce (MTD II,129)
 süräkäj   frightfully, awfully, extremely (Räs. 438a)

Sag. *süräa*   Schrecken (fright, scare)

---

12) Cf. also Räs. p. 438a s.v. *süräa*: Mo. *sürije, sürüge* 'Imposantheit, Schrecken' (impressive appearance, fright) < *sür* 'männliches Aussehen, Mut' (manly appearance, courage).

13) In colloquial Khalkha this word can also be used as an expression of 'admiration'.

14) As for Khalkha, Hangin gives the same meanings as Lessing for Classical Mongolian. However, in Khalkha the word also means 'fear' (personal communication Prof. J. Lubsangdorji). Cf. also Cevel s.v. *su'r* 1. hün am'tan ba yumnii gaihaltai bahdaltai buyuu aimaar, bolgoomz'ilmoor du'rs baidal. Obviously the two meanings – 'majestic appearance' vs. 'fear, fearful' – are represented as distinct homophones in both Mongolian and Turkic (cf. below).

15) Also 'scarecrow' (Räs. 437b).

Tub. *süröö*   id.   (Räs. 438a)

In Turkic the lexeme may be a homophone with two rather distinct meanings as reflected in different Turkic languages, cf. e.g.

Čag., Oir. *sür*   Ansehen, Bedeutung, Würde, Schönheit; Seele, Lebenskraft; Gespenst, Götzenbild, Heiligenbild (respect, importance, dignity, beauty; soul, vitality; ghost, idol, saint's picture; Räs. 437b; for Mongolian cf. above Note 12)

1.2. Initial velar, medial (cerebral) liquid / sibilant (*K‑V‑L/S‑*):

This formal etymon can be divided into two sub-groups, one with back vowels, the other one with front vowels. The variation of (cerebral) liquids and sibilants has been repeatedly discussed in a number of other lexical parallels.[16]

1.2. A. Back vowels: Ta. *kōḻai* / *kūcu* – Mo. *xorɣulza‑* / *ɣasal‑* – MT. *KARA‑* / *ĪASLĀ‑* – OT. *kork‑*

Ta. *kōḻai*   bashfulness, timidity; bashful person
Ma. *kōḻa*   bashfulness
? Ko. *koyed*   timidity, terror (or with 1876 Ta. *kūcu*)
Ka. *kōḍu*   to shrink, fear; n. shrinking, fear; a wonderful thing, wonder
Te. (B.) *kōḍ‑āḍu*   to be amazed or confounded   (DEDR 2250)

Ta. *kūcu* (*kūci‑*)   to be shy, coy, be ticklish, be tender (as an eye), recoil, shrink back
    kūcam, kūcal   shyness
    kūccam   shyness, ticklishness, hesitating, timidity
    kūccu   horripilation

---

16) This variation/correspondence is characteristic for both Altaic and Dravidian, while in Dravidian the liquids may also be cerebral (retroflex) or dental, but occasionally there may also be a retroflex stop (cf. the Kannada and Telugu examples below). For the sibilant / (retroflex) liquid correspondence and variation in both Dravidian and Altaic cf. references in my previous papers (e.g. Vacek 2011a, Note 4; 2009d, par. 2.3. B; etc. with further references).

Ma. *kūcuka*   to be shy, dread
    kūśal, (Kauṭ.) *kūccam* timidity, shyness
    mayirkūccu horripilation
? Ko. *koyed* timidity, terror (or with 2250 Ta. *kōḻai*)
Tu. *kusuruni*   to be afraid
   kūruni to hesitate
Te. (K.) *kosaru*   to hesitate, shrink, fear
Kui *kūja*   shame, bashfulness, shyness (DEDR 1876)

***

Mo. *xoryulza-*   to be afraid; to shirk, avoid, hold back
   xariy   timid, bashful
   xalasira-, xalsira-   to be afraid of, to be reluctant or reserved

   ?*xalus-*   to evade, avoid; to be(come) timid, lose courage
   ?*xaluri-*   to step back, retire; to flee; …. to loose courage; to become lazy
   ?*xaliya-*   to have an aversion

   yasal-   to be sorrowful or afflicted; to regret, grieve, lament; to whine,
          yelp (of dogs)

Kh. *hulc'ganah*   to be afraid; to dread; to be timid
   hulc'gar   timid, frightened; (pallid, wan, insipid)
   hulc'iih   to be afraid, fear; (to become pallid, wan)
   hulc'ilzah   to fear, be afraid; (for a wan or pallid thing to move)

***

MT. *Ḳ̣ULI-*   to become stiff (from fear) (MTD I,428)
     Ma. *ḳuli-*   to become stiff, numb, silent (from fear)
       ḳulisita-   to turn stiff (from fear); to circumspect

    ?*KULULI*   motionlessly (MTD I,429; for Altaic cf. Starostin et alia 2003 1, p. 715
              below)

    KARA- to be ashamed (MTD I,380)
     Evenk. *kara-*   to be ashamed; to be confused, embarrassed
       karavsī   shame; diffident

    ΓASLĀ-   to be sorrowful (MTD I,143)
     Sol. *gaslā-*   to be sorrowful

Neg. *gasa-*   to worry, be anxious, to be upset
Oroch. *gasa-*   to worry, be anxious
Olcha *ġasa-*   to pine for
Orok. *ġassa-*   to worry, be anxious
       ġassam   grief, melancholy, anxiety, uneasiness
Nan. *ġasa-*   to pine for, to be sad, to worry, be anxious
       ġasā   grief, melancholy
Ma. *ġasa-* to be sad, sorrowful, etc.

***

OT. *kork-*   to fear, be afraid of (s.o. or s.th.) (Cl. 651)
    QORQ-   to fear, to be frightened (OTD, s.v. p. 458)
    QORQU   fear, awe (OTD, s.v. p. 459)
    ?*QOSQĬ*   mild; humble, meek (OTD, s.v. p. 460)[17]

Šor., Sag. *kölär*   to shy (about horses)
Sag. (Hak.) *köler*   to shy (about horse) (Räs. 289; cf. Starostin et alia, 2003, 1, p. 715)

***

Cf. also
      Altaic **kǒlé*   to be afraid, distressed *ǒ*
          MT. **kul-,* Mo. **kulči-,* Tur. **Köl-* (Starostin et alia 2003, 1, p. 715)

1.2. B. Front vowels: Ta. *kili* – Mo. *kirü-* / *gelme-* / *girbi-* – MT. *ŊĒLE* / *GIRBE-* / *KIRI-* II / *KISAN-* – Yak. *kiri*

Ta. *kili*   fear, fright
Ma. *killu*   doubt
Ko. *giḷy*   extreme fear
Ka. *gili*   fear
Tu. *gilkụ, gilki*   fear, trembling
Te. *gili*   fear, terror (DEDR 1572)

***

Mo. *kirü-*   to have fear; to be afraid

---

17) Variants *QOZQĬ, QOTQĬ, QOϑQĬ* (OTD s.vv.). Another form with a voiced sibilant (properly Turkic form) and related meaning could be Šoric *kožak* 'ein Geist, der den Menschen Krankheiten schickt' (a ghost which sends diseases on people; Räs. s.v., p. 285). For the semantic relation of 'fear' and 'ghost' cf. the first etymon above (Ta. *cūr,* Mo. *sür,* etc.) and for Ta. *cūr* cf. Dubianskiy (2012, p. 228) and Vacek (2012a, p. 42).

kirdki-, kiridki-   to shudder with fear, be terror-stricken
kiregüü   timid, fearful, apprehensive; obstinate
gelme-   to become frightened or terrified
girbi-   to be bashful, shy, modest, cowardly; to be afraid
girbi, girbik   cowardly, timid   (s.v. *GIRBE-* MTD I,155)
?*kilamki-*   b. to lose one's head, take fright; to be worried[18] (a. to look
         about, look behind one)[19]

∗∗∗

MT. *ŊĒLE*   fear   (MTD I,667–9; cf. also Starostin et alia 2003, 2, p. 1026)[20]
      Neg. *ŋēle-, ŋēlexet-/č-*   to be afraid, to startle, get scared
      Oroch. *ŋēle-*   to be afraid, to startle (etc. total 7 languages have initial *ŋ-*)
      Ma. *ġolo-, gele-*   to be afraid, to startle

    GIRBE-   to be confused, embarrassed   (MTD I,155)
      Evenk. *girbe-*   1. to be confused, embarrassed, to feel embarrassed, shy; 2. to avoid (s.o.)
         girbel-   to be confused, embarrassed, to feel embarrassed, shy
      Ma. *giru-*   to be ashamed, to blush (from shame)[21]

    ?*KILNI-*   to be sorry   (MTD I,393)
      Evenk. *kilni-*   to be sorry, anxious
      Nan. *kila-*   to be sorry

    KIRI- II   to suffer   (MTD I,398)
      Ma. *kiri-*   to suffer, to endure; to hide (from fear; about birds, wild animals); to nod
          one's head
        kirinža-   to endure patiently
        kirinžun   endurance
        kiriba, kiribe   patient, generous; unforgiving; cool-headed, ruthless

---

18) However, the meaning (b) could be a semantic extension of the meaning (a), though (or because?) there is some amount of assonance with *kirü-*, etc.
19) Cf. Mo. *kilui-* to look askance, squint; to look at s.o. with scorn or anger; *gilbe-* b. to look in askance; (?possibly also semantic overlapping with *gilzii-* to be inclined or bent to one side, to awry).
    MT. *KILTEN-* to open the eyes (MTD I,393);
      KĒLAR slanting, oblique (also 'squint' etc.) (MTD I,387);
    further cf. MT. *XESIXEŠE-* to look behind one, keep casting glances (Ma.) (MTD I,483).
    Further cf. Turkic, e.g. Kaz. *kylčaj* 'von der Seite blicken' (to look from one side).
20) Starostin et alia (2003, 2, p. 1026) link this MT. etymon with another set of Turkic etyma, which probably indicates an original dental initial (*jAl-,* e.g. Osm. *jal-,* Kaz. *žala-,* Oyr. *ďala,* and the like).
21) But cf. Turkic **kyz* 'rot werden' (to turn red; Räs. s.v. p. 269a) – overlapping or related formally and semantically overlapping(?).

?KIRAΓA   cautious   (MTD I,397)
Ma. *kiraya*   cautious, circumspect; cautiously

XIRI-   to hide (Oroch.)   (MTD I,466)

KELČERE-   to hide   (MTD I,447)
Evenk. *kelčere-*   to hide; to feel embarrassed, shy, to be timid

KISAN-   to worry   (MTD I,399)
Evenk. *kisan-, kihan-*   to worry, to worry about s.o.; to feel s.th.
     kihalga [< Yak.]   need, bother, suffering; anxiety

∗∗∗

OT.
Yak. *kiri, kirbik, kilbik, kibik*   timid, diffident   (MTD I,155)
     kisai-   to oppress (in difficulty)
     kisan-   to force o.s.; to worry about s.th.

1.3. Ko. *vekar-* – Mo. *begdere-* – MT. *MAKA- / NEƝDE-*

Ko. *vekar-*   to be puzzled, astounded, thunderstruck; caus. *vekarkc-*
To. *pek ïn-* (*ïḏ-*)   to be afraid (song phrase)
Ka. *bekkasa*   astonishment, amazement
     begaḍu, begar, begaṛ, bigur   to be amazed, astonished, fear; ***n.*** amaze-
                              ment, fear, alarm
     bigurvu   that which is formidable or terrific
     vigurvisu, vigurbisu   to become or be formidable
     vigurbaṇe   a fearful object
Tu. *bekkasụ*   surprise, wonder
     bekkasuni   to wonder, be surprised
     begaḍuni   to be alarmed, bewildered
Te. *vegaḍu*   astonishment, surprise, confusion, embarrassment, anxiety
     vegaḍu-paḍu   to be anxious
     beg(g)aḍu   to be afraid, fear; *n.* fear, terror
     begaḍu-paḍu, beggaḍil(l)u   to fear, be afraid
     begaḍu-paṛacu   to frighten
     beggalamu   fear, concern
     beggalincu   to be afraid

    beggalikamu   fear
    beggil(l)u   to be afraid, tremble
Kol. *bekaḍyak*   fearful, cowardly (Pat., p. 103) (cf. 5443 Ta. *viṛai*) (DEDR 5465)

∗∗∗

Mo. *begdere-*   to become or be left stupefied or nonplussed; to be paralyzed
                with fear
    mengde-, megde-, mengdeni-[22]   to be(come) excited or worried;
                be(come) embarrassed, troubled, perplexed, or confused; to
                remain motionless and without feeling, remain paralyzed; (to
                become stupid or imbecilic; to be in a hurry, rush)
    ?*meke*   deceit, fraud, trick, ruse; cunning, artfulness; astuteness; dis-
                similation

∗∗∗

MT. *MAKA-*   to be afraid (MTD I,522)[23]
        Ud. *maka-*   to be afraid
        Orok. *maḳḳa*   repulsively, unpleasantly

---

22) Concerning the initial variation of labial stop/nasal both in Dravidian and Altaic, there are
    some more pairs like:
    Ta. *meḷuku* to cleanse floor with cow dung solution, smear as the body with sandal paste;
        To. *mösk-* to smear with the dung; Br. *miring* to plaster (DEDR 5082);
      – Mo. *milaγa-* to anoint, smear with oil; *bila-, bilaγa-* to coat with, smear
      – MT. *BIRE-* to knead the dough (Nan., Ma.) (MTD I,85) (Vacek 2004b, No. 29; repr. 2006a)
    Ta. *mey* body (DEDR 5073b) – Mo. *bej-e(n)* body, physique – MT. *BĒJE* (MTD I,122) (cf. Va-
        cek 2007c, No. 28; 2009a, par. 2.1–2; 2010a, Note 1)
    Kur. *bē̆ēnā* (DEDR 4427) – besides Go. (Tr.) *maiānā* to be (s.v. Ta. *maṉṉu-* DEDR 4778) – Mo.
        bai- to be, etc. (Vacek 2004b/2006a, No. 24; cf. Vacek 1992, 258f.)
    Mo. *böküi- / bögtüre-* to bend down, bow; *meküi-* to bow, incline, bend
      – MT. *BOΓINČA-* to bow (MTD I,87); *MOḲPULĬ-* to bend etc. (MTD I,544)
    Mo. *boγus* – MT. *MOṆNON* stomach (MTD I,545)
    Particularly variable and ʼtellingʼ is the following Altaic complex of related lexemes with ini-
        tial labial stop/nasal and also medial labial stop (fricative) / velar nasal(+ stop):
    Mo. *böge* shaman
      – MT. *MAΓUN-* to make a shamanistic ritual (MTD I,520); OT. *bögüle-* to make magic,
        bewitch (Cl. 327); besides MT. *BOBI* fortune-telling (MTD I,86); *hĀṆET-/Č-* to tell for-
        tunes; Nan. *paŋga-* id. (MTD II,316, loss of initial voiceless labial); *MEVU-* to perform
        a shamanistic ritual (MTD I,562).
    For a variant with an initial labial stop (plus medial labial < velar) and its various representa-
        tions cf. Cincius 1983, p. 31, No. 12: *pʼap ʼsorceryʼ (also loss of the initial labial, e.g. Mo.
        ab 2. a. witchcraft, sorcery, charms; (b. temptation, allurement, enticement).
23) Starostin et alia (2003, 2, p. 896) link this etymon with Mo. *meke* deceit etc. This may be
    another case of phonetically close lexemes, which may be etymologically distinct.

NEŊDE-   to be dumbfounded (MTD I,622; cf. Mo. *meŋde-* above)[24]
Olcha *neŋde-*   to be dumbfounded (from fright, terrible dream)

?*ВОГВĬ-*   to worry, be anxious (MTD I,87)
Nan. *boγbĭ-*   id.
      boγbĭlo-   to worry, be anxious
      boγbĭso/ŭ   anxious, worrying

Conclusion

These three etymological nests (which will be followed by a few more examples) reflecting the lexical parallels of abstract concepts of 'fear, timidity' etc. should be evaluated in the context of the previous studies and lists of parallels of lexemes with more concrete meanings (Vacek 1978ff.). If the above parallels were perceived as isolated parallels, they might be considered to be only coincidental formal similarities.

In this context we could also ask about the implications of the fact that lexical parallels may include not only lexemes with concrete references, but also lexemes with abstract references. Is there a 'qualitative' difference or are these lexical parallels (concrete or abstract) to be seen on the same level? It would seem that in the proposed context of a language contact within an ancient linguistic area (see Vacek 2009d), this would be another implication of a very intimate and rather close, not only linguistic but also social, contact of the early speech (language) communities involved, resulting in an interpenetration of the various layers of language.[25] Under such conditions not only lexemes with very concrete meanings, but also lexemes with abstract meanings could have been shared more easily in the same way as some basic

---

24) For the variation of initial labial and dental nasals cf. Vacek 2004b(or 2006a), No. 29:
Ta. *meḷuku* to smear etc. (DEDR 5082); Kur. *nīṛnā* to rub down, etc. (DEDR 3691b);
Mo. *milaγa-* to anoint, smear with oil; *nila-* to smear (plus ibid., Note 55 for more examples).

25) This has been described in various ways in recent decades, e.g. in the book by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and also Trudgill (1989 and the whole volume where this contribution appears). These and other publications provide a great inspiration for seeing language development in a new light against the background of language contact. Concerning the implications for the early development of Dravidian cf. Vacek 2010b. The importance of perceiving language generally in its social context and the implications for historical linguistics (as against the 19th century Young Grammarian or Neogrammarians' concept of language) are also underlined by Ananthanarayana (2008; with reference to William Bright, Charles A. Ferguson, William Labov, Uriel Weinreich and others).

grammatical morphemes.[26] This, however, will have to be further specified and defined also in the context of more precise contours of the external history of these linguistic phenomena, based on the early textual references (as far as and to the extent that they are available) and particularly on the available archaeological data.[27]

References[28]

Allchin, F.R., 1995, *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia. The Emergence of Cities and States.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, XVII +371 pp.

Ananthanarayana, H.S., 2008, Interface between historical linguistics and sociolinguistics. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* (Trivandrum, India), Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, January 2006, pp. 201–207.

Balakrishnan Nayar, T., 1977, The Problem of Dravidian Origins: A Linguistic, Anthropological, and Archaeological Approach. University of Madras, Madras, V + 238 pp.

---

26) E.g. verbal nouns/temporal suffixes (cf. Vacek 1978), stem extensions (2004b, repr. 2006a, Section 3; Vacek 2009a, p. 232) and also emphasizing and interrogative enclitic particles (Vacek 2002b).

27) A similar requirement was voiced by Balakrishnan Nayar (1977, p. 1): 'even a partial solution of this problem would require a correlation of linguistic, anthropological and archaeological data'. Balakrishnan Nayar offers a systematic survey of Dravidian origins from the point of view of linguistics, anthropology and archaeology, though his data may have to be updated and critically revised. Such an interdisciplinary debate is not always easy, as can be seen in the discussions concerning the position of Indo-Aryans (cf. Bryant 2002), which at first sight may appear to be rather clearly defined from the purely linguistic point of view. However, Bryant's book offers a thrilling presentation of an equally thrilling intellectual discourse stretching over the last almost two hundred years, though it may often be affected by various shades of ideological (nationalistic, communal, post-colonial) or merely emotional bias. Even without bias it is sometimes obvious that there is no correlation between the archaeological and literary evidence, as it can be demonstrated in Old Tamil Sangam literature, cf. the paper by K. Rajan (2006) discussing the questions of memorial stones (pp. 28–30) and numismatics (pp. 30–33). A brief critical discussion of the relationship between archaeology and linguistics with regard to Dravidian was published by W. Bright (1986).

28) Abbreviations used for some dictionaries:
Cl. – Clauson 1972.
DEDR – Burrow, Emeneau 1984(2).
MTD – *SRAVNITEL'NYJ SLOVAR' TUNGUSO-MAN'ČŽURSKIH JAZYKOV*.
OTD – *DREVNETJURKSKIJ SLOVAR'*.
Räs. – Räsänen 1969.
    As for the abbreviations of languages 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.

Blažek, V., 2006, Was there Australian substratum in Dravidian? In: *Mother Tongue* XI, pp. 275–294.

Blažek, V., 2007, Dravidian numerals. In: *Mother Tongue* XII, pp. 203–214.

Bright, W., 1986, Archaeology, linguistics, and ancient Dravidian. In: *South Asian Languages. Structure, Convergence and Diglossia.* Ed. by Bh. Krishnamurti, Assoc. Editors C.P. Masica, Anjani K. Sinha. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna-Madras, pp. 108–112.

Bryant, Edwin, 2002, *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture. The Indo-Aryan Migration Debate.* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, XI + 387 pp.

Burrow, T., Emeneau, M. B., 1984(2), *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford, XLI + 853 pp. [abbreviated as DEDR]

Cincius, V. I., 1984, Etimologii altajskih leksem s anlautnymi gluhimi pridyhatel'nymi smyčnymi gubno-gubnymi **p*" i zadnejazyčnym **k*" (The Etymologies of the Altaic lexemes with initial voiceless aspirated labial consonants **p*" and velar **k*"). In: *Altajskie etimologii.* Izd. "Nauka", Leningrad, pp. 17–129.

Chaudhary, Shreesh, 2009, *Foreigners and Foreign Languages in India. A Sociolinguistic Study.* Foundartion, Delhi, Bangalore etc., XIII + 586 pp.

Clauson, G., 1972, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford, XLVIII + 989 pp. [abbreviated as Cl.]

DREVNETJURKSKIJ SLOVAR' [Old Turkic Dictionary]. Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', Leningrad 1969, XXXVIII + 676 pp. [abbreviated as OTD]

Dubianskiy, A., 2012, Some observations on the mythology of Cūr in early Tamil poetry. In: *T. Ya. Elizarenkova Memorial Volume*, Book 2. Ed. L. Kulikov and M. Rusanov. Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow, pp. 225–238.

Lessing, F.D., 1960, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, XV + 1217 pp.

Masica, C.P., 1979, Aryan and non-Aryan elements in north Indian agriculture. In: *Aryan and non-Aryan in India.* Edited by M.M. Deshpande and P.E. Hook. The University of Michigan Center for South and Southeast Asian Studie, Ann Arbor, pp. 55–152.

Parasher, Aloka, 1991, *Mlecchas in Early India. A Study in Attitudes towards Outsiders upto AD 600*. Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, XIV + 350 pp.

Parpola, A., 1973, *Arguments for an Aryan Origin of the South Indian Megaliths*. State Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu, 74 pp.

Parpola, A., 1999, The formation of the Aryan branch of Indo-European. In: *Combining Archaeological and Linguistic Aspects of the Past* (World Archaeology: Archaeology and Language series, 3.). Edited by Roger Blench and Matthew Spriggs. Routledge, London, pp. 180–207.

Pilot-Raichoor, Chr., 2012, Tamil Brahmi inscriptions: A critical landmark in the history of the Dravidian languages. In: *New Dimensions in Tamil Epigraphy.* Edited by Appasamy Murugaiyan. Cre-A:, Chennai, pp. 285–315.

Rajan, K., 2006, Archaeology and Tamil Literature. In: *Negotiations with the Past: Classical Tamil in Contemporary Tamil.* Edited by Kannan M., Carlos Mena. Institute Français de Pondichéry, Pondichéry and Tamil Chair, University of California, Berkeley, pp. 25–42.

Ramachandra Murthy, P., 2000, *Megalithic Culture of the Godavari Basin.* Sharada Publishing House, Delhi, 214 pp. + 28 Figs. + XXIV Plates.

Räsänen, M., 1969, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, Helsinki, Vol. I, XVI + 533 pp.; Vol. II, 134 pp . [abbreviated as Räs.]

Rao, K.P., 1988, *Deccan Megaliths.* Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, XVI + 175 pp. + 16 Figs. + 16 Plates.

Southworth, F.C., 2005, *Linguistic Archaeology of South Asia.* RoutledgeCurzon, London and New York, XIV + 369 pp.

SRAVNITEL'NYJ SLOVAR' TUNGUSO-MAN'ČŽURSKIH JAZYKOV [A Comparative Dictionary of the Manchu-Tungus Languages]. Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', Leningrad 1975–1977. Vol. I, XXX + 672 pp.; Vol. II, 992 pp. [abbreviated as MTD]

Starostin, S., Dybo, A., Mudrak, O., 2003, *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 8/1–3. Brill, Leiden, Boston. Vol. I, 858 pp.; Vol. II, pp. 859–1556; Vol. III, pp. 1559 – 2096.

Subramanian, S.V., 1972, *Grammar of akanaanuuRu with Index*. University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 359 pp.

Thomason, S.G., Kaufman, T., 1988, *Language contact, creolization and genetic linguistics*. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, XIII + 411 pp.

Trudgill, Peter, 1989, Contact and isolation in linguistic change. In: *Langauge Change. Contributions to the Study of Its Causes*. Ed. by L.E. Breivik and E.H. Jahr. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, pp. 227–237.

Vacek, J., 1978, The Problem of the Genetic Relationship of the Mongolian and Dravidian Languages. *Archív Orientální* 46, 2, 1978, pp. 141–151.

Vacek, J., 1981, The Dravido-Altaic relationship – lexical and sound Correspondences. In: *Proceedings of the Vth International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies*. Madurai 1981, Vol. 1, Madras, pp. 159–170.

Vacek, J., 1987, Towards the question of comparing Dravidian and Altaic. With special reference to Dravidian and Mongolian. In: *Information Bulletin*. No.13. International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, Moscow 1987, pp. 5–16.

Vacek, J., 1992, Dravidian and Mongolian 'to be, to become, to exist (in a place)' and the negative verbs of existence. In: *Ex pede pontis*. Sborník Orientálního ústavu ČAV, Prague 1992, pp. 253–263.

Vacek, J., 2002a, *Dravidian and Altaic 'Water – Viscosity – Cold'*. An Etymological and Typological Model. Charles University, The Karolinum Press, Prague, 359 pp.

Vacek, J., 2002b, Emphasizing and interrogative enclitic particles in Dravidian and Altaic. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '02, Ethnolinguistics and Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha, pp. 151–185.

Vacek, J., 2002c, Dravidian and Altaic "deer – antelope – bull". *Indologica Taurinensia* XXVIII, pp. 251–266.

Vacek, J., 2004a, Dravidian and Altaic "sheep – deer – cattle". In: *South-Indian Horizons (Felicitation Volume for François Gros on the occasion of his 70th birthday)*. Edited by Jean-Luc Chevillard (Editor) and Eva Wilden (Associate Editor) with the collaboration of A. Murugaiyan. Institut Français de Pondichéry, École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris 2003, pp. 333–345.

Vacek, J., 2004b, Dravidian and Altaic – In search of a new paradigm. *Archív Orientální*, Vol. 72, pp. 384–453. Reprinted as 2006a.

Vacek, J., 2005a, Dravidian and Altaic 'to break, to beat, to crush, to rub' (Ta. *kavi* – Mo. *xabir-* / *xayar-* – MT. *KAPU-* / *KAVЪL-* / *KAŊTARĀ-* – OT. *kam-* / *kak-*). *Archív Orientální*, Vol. 73, pp. 325–334.

Vacek, J., 2005b, Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body 1. Breast. In: *Acta Mongolica*, Vol. 5 (246). Dedicated to the 100th Birthday of Professor Yo'nsiebu' Biyambyin Rinc'en (1905–1977). Ulaanbatar 2005, pp. 65–70.

Vacek, J., 2006a, Dravidian and Altaic – In search of a new paradigm. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* (Trivandrum, India), Vol. XXXV, No. 1, January 2006, pp. 29–96. (Reprint of Vacek 2004b)

Vacek, J., 2006b, Dravidian and Altaic 'to bow, bend, stoop, incline, curve'. 1. (C)VC- roots with initial labials and medial velars or labials. *Archív Orientální*, Vol. 74, pp. 183–202.

VACEK, J., 2006c, Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body 2. Hair, feather. In: *Acta Mongolica*, Vol. 6 (267). Dedicated to the 90th birthday of professor Denis Sinor. Edited by Ts. Shagdarsuren. Ulaanbaatar 2006, pp. 79–82.

VACEK, J., 2007a, Dravidan and Altaic parts of the body 3. Heart, chest, inside, mind, thought. In: *Mongolian Studies*, Vol. 22, (Seoul, The Korean Association for Mongolian Studies), pp. 27–45.

VACEK, J., 2007b, Dravidian and Altaic 'to bend / to bow – elbow / knee / ankle'. Initial dental stop or nasal, medial velar or labial. *Archív Orientální* 75, No. 3, pp. 395–410.

VACEK, J., 2007c, Dravidian and Altaic – a new macrofamily on the horizon? In: *MONGOLICA,* An International Annual of Mongol Studies, Vol. 20 (41), 2007, pp. 429–443. A special issue containing the papers of The 9th International Congress of Mongolists convened under the patronage of N. Enkhbayar, President of Mongolia (8–12 August, 2006, Ulaanbaatar) Ulaanbaatar, Secretariat of the International Association for Mongol Studies.

VACEK, J., 2008a, Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body 4. Liver, spleen. In: *Acta Mongolica*, Vol. 8 (306). Dedicated to the 70th Birthday of Professor D. Tumurtogoo. Ulaanbaatar 2008, pp. 7–14.

VACEK, J., 2009a, Dravidian and Altaic – problems and solutions. In: *Oriental Studies*. Proceedings of the International Conference of Oriental Studies. 55 years of the Committee of Oriental Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1952–2007), *Rocznik Orientalisticzny* 62, 2009, 1, pp. 224–235.

VACEK, J., 2009b, Dravidian and Altaic 'to bend' – Ta. *kavi- / kaviḻ-*, Mo. *kebüi- / köbüre-*, MT. *KAMPĬ- / KEBILE-*. In: *MONGOL STUDIES* (Research Papers), Volume XXX (318). Editors-in-chief D. Zayabaatar, M. Uuganbayar. School of Mongolian Language and Culture, National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 2009, pp. 157–168.

VACEK, J., 2009c, Vacek, Dravidian and Altaic 'to wave / to tremble – arm / shoulder-(blade) / wing'. In: *Acta Mongolica*, Vol. 9 (320). Dedicated to the 80th Birthday of Professor Rachelwitz. Ulaanbaatar 2009, pp. 7–14.

VACEK, J., 2009d, Dravidian and Altaic – two layers in Dravidian due to ancient high contact? In: *MONGOLO-TIBETICA PRAGENSIA '09, Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture*. Vol. 2/2, 2009. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha, pp. 75–107.

VACEK, J., 2010a, Dravidian and Altaic parts of the body 5. 'Extremities' – head, finger, foot/leg. *Rocznik Orientalisticzny* 63,1, pp. 271–283.

VACEK, J., 2010b, Dravidian and Altaic – ancient high contact languages? *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistic* (International School of Dravidian Linguistics, University of Trivandrum), Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 117–138.

VACEK, J., 2011a, *Verba dicendi* and related etyma in Dravidian and Altaic 5.2. Etyma with initial vowels (*i-, e-, u-, o-, a-*) and root-final liquids. In: *MONGOLO-TIBETICA PRAGENSIA '10. Linguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Religion and Culture.* Vol. 4/1. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha 2011, pp. 135–160.

VACEK, J., 2011b, Dravidian and Altaic – a new beginning. Paper read at the World Classical Tamil Conference in Coimbatore. June 2010, in press.

VACEK, J., 2011c, Tamil and Altaic languages. *International Seminar on the Contributions of Tamils to the Composite Cultre of Asia*. Institute of Asian Studies, 2011, 16–18 January 2011, in press.

VACEK, J., 2012a, 'Ghost' – *pēy* – in Old Tamil Sangam literature, select characteristics. In: *Pandanus '12. Nature in Literature, Art, Myth and Ritual*. Vol. 6/1. Edited by J. Vacek. Charles University, Faculty of Arts; Triton, Praha 2011, pp. 29–46.

VACEK, J., 2012b, In the margin of grammatical categories of Old Tamil. Paper read at the Conference *Morphological Studies on Classical Tamil* (2.–4.2. 2012). Dept. of Dravidian and Computational Linguistics, Dravidian University, Kuppam.

Vacek, J., 2013, Dravidian and Altaic 'little, small, a little' – a few parallels. In: *V.I.Subramanian Memorial Volume. IJDL*, Trivandum. In press.

Vacek, J., Lubsangdorji, J., 1994, Dravidian-Mongolian-Chuvash kinship terms. *Archív Orientální* 62, pp. 401–414.

Zvelebil, K.V., 1990, *Dravidian Linguistics, An Introduction*. Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, Pondicherry, XXVI + 156 pp.

Zvelebil, K.V., 1991, Long-range language comparison in new models of language development: The case of Dravidian. *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies* 1,1, pp. 21–31.

Zvelebil, K., Glazov, Ju.Ja., Andronov, M.S., 1967, *Introduction to the Historical Grammar of the Tamil Language.* Pt. 1. *Preliminary Textual Analysis*. Nauka, Mokva, 212 pp.

The various lexical and grammatical functions of the verb *dgos* in spoken Tibetan[1]

Zuzana Vokurková, Charles University in Prague

Summary: The aim of the present paper is to show the different uses and meanings of the verb *dgos* ("need", "must", "want") in spoken Tibetan. This verb 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.

1. Introduction: General characteristic of spoken Tibetan[2]

The word order in the Tibetan sentence is generally subject – object – predicate (SOV) but the order OSV is also possible. The grammatical words of the verbal domain (i.e. verbal auxiliaries/endings and interrogative and imperative particles) always follow the verb. The declination of nouns (or nominal phrases) is realised by case particles that are attached to the noun (or the nominal phrase) expressing, therefore, its syntactic function in the sentence (e.g. subject, direct or indirect object, instrument).

One of the characteristic features of Tibetan is ergativity, i.e. marking the subject (agent) of transitive verbs (see DeLancey 1990 and Tournadre 1995, 1996a for Tibetan; also Plank 1979, Dixon 1994 in general). Just as in other Tibetan cases, the ergative is realised by case particles. Tibetan is a split-ergative language because the ergative particle is normally used only in the perfective (Ex. 1 and 2).

---

2) The term "Tibetan" used in this paper corresponds to the language that is based on the dialect of Lhasa and its neighbourhood, which is a variety of Central Tibetan (*dbus.skad*). It is used as the lingua franca in the Tibetan Autonomous Region and in the Tibetan diaspora (India, Nepal, U.S.A., Europe). It is spoken by about one and a half million people, 130 000 of whom live in the diaspora. In Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003) it is called "Standard Tibetan". For more detail, refer to Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003), Tournadre (2005), Wang (1994), *Zangyu lasahua yufa* (2003).

Evidentiality³ or evidential modes are another characteristic feature of Tibetan (see DeLancey 1986, Sun 1993, Agha 1993, Denwood 1999, Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001, LaPolla (ed.) 2000, 2001, Garrett 2001, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, Vokurková 2011). Each evidential mode highlights a different source of information for the speaker who bases what he says on this source. They are expressed by various evidential endings. The use of each evidential ending depends on several parameters, such as the verbal aspect and tense, and the speaker's point of view. The evidentials are: factual, egophoric, sensory, and inferential (see Hu, Tan et al. 1989; Tournadre, N., Konchok Jiatso 2001; Vokurková 2008, pp.110–117).

In the spoken language, verbs are, as a rule, followed by verbal endings that have several important functions (Ex. 1 and 2). They indicate the end of a sentence and they convey tense, aspect and modalities, and are thus called 'TAM verbal endings'. They do not express the grammatical categories of gender, voice and number.

Tense may be expressed in two ways: by an archaic verbal inflection of the lexical verb and/or by TAM verbal endings following the verb. Most of the verbs have now only one or two stems, the past and/or the present-future. The Tibetan inflectional system has been largely replaced by another system based on final auxiliaries that behave in combinations with verbal nominalizers/connectors as verbal endings. This can be seen from the following two examples:

1. *khong*   *– gis*   *yi.ge*   *btang*⁴   *– pa.red*
    he/she   – ERG   letter   send   – PFV+FACT
    She sent some letters.

2. *khong*   *yi.ge*   *btang*   *– gi.'dug*
    he/she   letter   send   – IMPF+SENS
    She is sending letters.

2. The use of *dgos* in different syntactical structures

The verb *dgos* is an example of a verb with multiple uses. In spoken Tibetan, it may be used in several syntactical structures: as a lexical (main) verb

---

3) Concerning this topic, refer also to Aikhenvald (2004), and Chafe and Nichols, eds. (1986).
4) In Classical Tibetan, this verb has four stems: *btang* (past), *gtong* (present), *gtang* (future), *thongs* (imperative). In spoken Tibetan, only the first one is used for all tenses.

in possessive bivalent structures, as a modal (secondary) verb, and also as a verbal auxiliary that is called a "verbal ending" in this paper. In the spoken language, it is pronounced [ko] in all its functions.⁵ This paper first aims at showing the various uses of *dgos*, and secondly pays a special attention to the comparison of *dgos* with verbs or verbal endings that convey a similar meaning.

2.1. THE USE OF *dgos* IN POSSESSIVE STRUCTURES (LEXICAL VERB *dgos*)

The verb *dgos* may function as a lexical bivalent verb. In Tibetan, there are several types of structures with bivalent verbs: ergative, mixed ergative, possessive, and affective. The verb *dgos* is used in possessive structures. These structures consist of a goal marked by the oblique case particle, a patient in the absolute case and a non-controllable⁶ verb. This structure is illustrated by the following example:

Possessive structure: Goal (OBL) + Patient (ABS) + Verb 2 (N-CONTR)

3.   *nga*   *– r*   *lde.mig*   *dgos*   *– yod*
      I   – OBL   key   need   – PRS+EGO
      I need a key.

The oblique particle has to mark the goal of the possessive structure as in Ex. 3, and it cannot be omitted as in Ex. 4. Neither is it possible to use the ergative particle instead of the oblique (Ex. 5):

4.*   *nga*   *lde.mig*   *dgos*   *– yod*
      I   key   need   – PRS+EGO
      Intended: I need a key.

---

5) It is thus sometimes spelt *dgo* insted of *dgos*.
6) The distinction between controllable (or controlled) and non-controllable (or non-controlled) actions is one of the main characteristics of Tibetan verbs. Control is an essential criterion for the compatibility or incompatibility of verbs with certain verbal endings. This criterion is merely relevant to the first person. As regards the controllable verbs, the action depends on the control and/or intention of the agent. He can willingly decide to do the action or not to do it. Compare the examples of controllable and non-controllable verbs, respectively: *yong* 'come' – *slebs* 'arrive', *nyan* 'listen' – *go* 'hear', *lta* 'watch' – *mthong* 'see', *nyal* 'go to bed' – *gnyid.khug* 'fall asleep'.

5.*   *nga*   – *s*   *lde.mig*   *dgos*   – *yod*
      I   – ERG   key   need   – PRS+EGO

      Intended: I need a key.

As shown in Ex. 3 and 5, the verb *dgos* does not appear in ergative structures when it is used as a lexical (main) verb. Nevertheless, *dgos* is used in ergative structures when it follows another main verb, thus acting as a secondary verb (see 2.2.).

2.2. THE USE OF *dgos* IN ABSOLUTIVE AND ERGATIVE STRUCTURES (SECONDARY VERB *dgos*)

The verb *dgos* may also function as a modal (secondary) verb. A secondary verb[7] is a verb which occupies the syntactic position between the lexical verb and the verbal ending. The secondary verb specifies the meaning of the lexical verb. There are about twenty secondary verbs that are frequently used in spoken Tibetan. They include modal, aspectual and directional verbs. There are two types of secondary verb.[8] The first type has the same syntactic behaviour as lexical verbs and is followed by TAM verbal endings. The other one behaves like nominalizers and, therefore, can only be followed by auxiliaries that are identical to copulas. The verb *dgos* belongs to the first group.

The secondary verb *dgos* is used in absolutive and ergative structures. The absolutive structure has the agent marked by the absolutive case (Ex. 6, 7); the ergative structure consists of the agent in the ergative case, the patient in the absolutive and the verb (Ex. 8, 9):

Absolutive structure: Agent (ABS) + Verb

6.   *nyi.ma*   *gnyid.khug*   – *song*
      Nyima   fall asleep   – PFV+SENS

      Nyima fell asleep.

---

7) The term 'secondary verb' was introduced by Kesang Gyurme (*bya.tshig phal.ba*) and translated by Nicolas Tournadre. See Kesang Gyurme (1992).

8) The division of secondary verbs into two types was suggested in my D.E.A. dissertation, see Vokurková (2002):
    1) Sec 1: *thub, dgos, chog*1 (modal), *shes, srid, nus, ran, tshar, bsdad, 'gro, yong, myong*.
    2) Sec 2: *'dod, chog*2 (aspectual), *rtsis, long* and *grabs*.

7.   *da.lta*   *rang*   *ʾgro*   *dgos*   *– kyi.red*
     now   you   go (PRS)   must   – FUT+FACT
     You have to go now.

Ergative structure: Agent (ERG) Patient (ABS) + Verb

8.   *nyi.ma*   *– s*   *ja*   *btungs*   *– song*
     Nyima   – ERG   tea   drink   – PFV+SENS
     Nyima drank tea.

9.   *nga*   *– s*   *dngul*   *sprad*   *dgos*   *– byung*
     I   – ERG   money   give   must   – PFV+EGO
     I had to pay (for it).⁹

2.3. THE USE OF *dgos* IN ALLOCENTRIC FUTURE STRUCTURES (VERBAL ENDING *dgos*)

The verb *dgos* also belongs to a group of verbs which occupy the final position in the sentence, resembling thereby verbal endings. This is an example of the grammaticalization of a lexical word into a verbal ending. It can be seen in cases such as *dgos* "need", *chog* "may", *yong* "come", *tshar* "end" and *myong* "have an experience of". They are preceded, with the exception of *myong*, by the past stem of the lexical verb (if this is used in the spoken language). The subject is always in the first person. Moreover, the subject of the sentences containing *dgos, chog* and *yong* is always in the ergative case (Ex. 10), while that of the sentences containing *tshar* and *myong* is always in the absolutive. The former three express the egophoric allocentric future (see 3.4.). From a phonetic point of view, they are all toneless.

10. *nga*   *– s*   *nyos*   *dgos*
     I   – ERG   buy (PAS)   FUT+EGO ALL
     I will buy it for you.

It is impossible to use any verbal ending after *dgos* in the above sentence, cf. the following example:

---

9) This example is taken from Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003, p. 223).

11.*	*nga*	*– s*	*nyos*	*dgos*	*– yod*
	I	– ERG	buy (PAS)	FUT+EGO ALL	– PRS+EGO

Intended: I will buy it for you.
Or:
I have to buy it for you.

3. Semantic differences among sentences containing *dgos*

3.1. DEONTIC MODALITIES[10]

[Deontic modality is] "the enabling or compelling circumstances external to the participant as some person(s), often the speaker, and/or as some social or ethical norm(s) permitting or obliging the participant to engage in the state of affairs." (van der Auwera & Plungian 1998, p. 81)

The term 'deontic' refers to the kinds of modality "containing an element of will" (Jespersen 1924, p. 320) and it is associated with the concepts of obligation and permission. Apart from 'deontic', other terms are used for this type of modality, e.g. 'root', 'discourse-oriented', 'non-epistemic' modality. However, these terms are not always perceived as identical. Coates (1983, pp. 20–1), for example, disagrees with the use of the term 'deontic' and instead she uses the term 'root', claiming that the range of this type of modality is not limited to the area of obligation and permission to which the term deontic mostly refers.

Deontic modality is sometimes divided into sub-types and degrees, starting with obligation and going through permission up to prohibition. In a number of linguistic studies, on the other hand, deontic modality is restricted to directives.

Palmer (1986, p. 97) discusses other possible types of deontic modality, namely volitives and evaluatives. They express feelings and attitudes, such as hope, wishes, fear, or regret. However, he adds that their status within deontic modality is questionable and they are therefore situated on its margins. Similarly, Tournadre (2004, p. 59) regroups deontic modalities with evaluatives under one type called 'deontico-axiologic' modalities since they are closely connected from a semantic and pragmatic point of view.

---

10) Refer also to: Bybee, Fleischman (eds.) (1995), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994).

3.2. THE VERB *dgos* MEANING 'OBLIGATION'

The verb *dgos* conveying the meaning 'obligation' is a secondary verb. As with other secondary verbs, its use with final endings is irregular. In the present, it drops the suffix *kyi* which is generally used with other verbs. It concerns the conjugations *dgos+(kyi+)yod*, *dgos+(kyi+)yod.red* and *dgos+(kyi+)'dug*. Moreover, another conjugation, which does not normally appear with other verbs, is frequently used with *dgos* in the present: *dgos+red*. The conjugation *dgos+kyi+red* also exists but is limited to future contexts. In the past tense, the following endings may be used after *dgos*: *byung, byung.song, byung.pa.red*. The lexical verb preceding *dgos* is in the present-future stem. Look at the following examples:

12. *nga*   *las.ka*   *byed*   *dgos*   *– yod*
     I   work   do (PRS)   must   – PRS+EGO
     I have to work.

13. *kho.rang*   *ku.shu*   *nyo*   *dgos*   *– yod.red*
     he   apple   buy (PRS)   must   – PRS+FACT
     He has to buy apples.

14. *rang*   *hab sbri*   *'di.dras*   *rgyag*   *dgos*   *– 'dug*   *– gas*
     you   sneeze   like this   VBZ   must   – PRS+SENS   – Q
     Do you have to sneeze like that?

15. *gzab.gzab*   *byed*   *dgos*   *– red*
     attention   VBZ   must   – PRS+FACT
     One has to be careful.

16. *sang.nyin*   *las.khungs*   *– la*   *'gro*   *dgos*   *– kyi.red*
     tomorrow   office   – OBL   go (PRS)   must   – FUT+FACT
     (We) will have to go the office tomorrow.

17. *nga*   *– 'i*   *na.tsha*   *'di*   *– la*   *bshag.bcos*
     I   – GEN   illness   this   – OBL   operation

     byed   *dgos*   *– byung*
     do (PRS)   must   – PFV+EGO
     Suffering from this illness, I had to be operated on.

18. | *spu.gu* | *– tsho* | *– s* | | *khang.pa* | *gtsang.ma* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| child | – PL | – ERG | | house | clean |

bzo	*dgos*	*– byung.song*
do (PRS)	must	– PFV+SENS

The children had to houseclean.

Other verbal endings cannot be used with the secondary verb *dgos*, namely: *kyi.yin, song, bzhag, myong, red.bzhag* and *pa.yin*. The use of the verbal ending *pa.red* after the secondary verb *dgos* was only accepted by one Tibetan informant. Accordingly Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003, p. 223) say that "*dgos – pa.red* [is] usually not acceptable". Look at the example below:

19. * | *khong* | *– gis* | *las.ka* | *byed* | *dgos* | *– pa.red* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| he/she | – ERG | work | do (PRS) | must | – PFV+FACT |

Intended: He had to work.

Concerning the use of the secondary verb *dgos* with epistemic verbal endings,[11] it is compatible with most present perfect endings (e.g. *yod.pa.ʼdra*, Ex. 20) and imperfective epistemic endings.[12] It is not used with *pa.yod, pa.ʼdra* and the perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*, Ex. 21). Compare the following sentences:

20. | *khong* | *tshogsʼdu* | *– la* | *ʼgro* | *dgos* | *– yod.pa.ʼdra* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| he/she | meeting | – OBL | go (PRS) | must | – PERF+EPI 2+SENS |

It seems he's got to go to the meeting. (The speaker saw him going to the office.)

21.* | *khong* | *– gis* | *phyag.las* | *gnang* | *dgos* | *– pa.yin.gyi.red* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| he/she | – ERG | work+H | do+H | must | – PFV+EPI 2+FACT |

Intended: "Most probably, he had to work."

In spoken Tibetan, there is also a construction consisting of a controllable lexical verb, the verb *dgos* and the verb *byed* "do" (Ex. 23), conveying a similar meaning as a sentence with the secondary verb *dgos* (Ex. 22). When the

---

11) For more detail on epistemic verbal endings and secondary verbs in spoken Tibetan, refer to Vokurková (2008), Vokurková (2010).

12) It can be used with the following epistemic endings and constructions: *kyi.yod.ʼgro, yod.ʼgro, kyi.a.yod, a.yod, kyi.yod.pa.ʼdra, yod.pa.ʼdra, kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red, yod-mdog.kha.po-red, kyi.yod.kyi.red, yod.kyi.red, kyi.yod.pa.yod, yod.pa.yod, kyi.yod.sa.red, yod.sa.red, mi.yong. ngas.* Its use with *pa.ʼdug* is rare.

agent is in the first person, it expresses a non-controllable action though the lexical verb is originally controllable:

22.	*nga*	*khrom*	*– la*	*ʾgro*	*dgos*	*– yod*
	I	market	– OBL	go (PRS)	must	– PRS+EGO

I must go to the market.

23.	*nga*	*khrom*	*– la*	*ʾgro*	*dgos*	*byed*	*– kyis (kyiːdug)*
	I	market	– OBL	go (PRS)	must	do (PRS)	– PRS+SENS

I have to go to the market. (Something or someone makes me go.)

3.2.1. THE SECONDARY VERB *dgos* VERSUS THE DEONTIC VERBAL ENDINGS *rgyu.yin* OR *rgyu.red*

This construction, consisting diachronically of the nominalizer *rgyu*[13] and the essential auxiliary *yin* or *red,* is synchronically an example of a verbal ending: *rgyu.yin* and *rgyu.red* are verbal endings. They are used in future contexts that, besides an evidential meaning (*rgyu.yin* egophoric, *rgyu.red* factual), often have deontic connotations: conveying the meaning of obligation or capacity. They correspond in English to the verbs: 'intend', 'have yet to', 'need to'. These verbal endings only occur in affirmative sentences. Their use is illustrated by the following examples:

24.	*nga*	*tshogsːdu*	*– r*	*ʾgro*	*– rgyu.yin*
	I	Meeting	– OBL	go (PRS)	– FUT+EGO+DEO

I have yet to go the meeting.
Or:
I have to go to the meeting. (The meeting hasn't started yet.)

25.	*khong*	*– gis*	*mog.mog*	*bzo*	*– rgyu.red*
	he/she	– ERG	momo	make (PRS)	– FUT+FACT

She has yet to make *momo* dumplings.

The secondary verb *dgos* used in future contexts and the deontic verbal endings *rgyu.yin* and *rgyu.red* may convey similar meanings. Both express some degree of obligation on the part of the agent of a sentence in the future. They differ in the degree of that obligation: the sentences containing the secondary

---

13) In this case, it is impossible to use the nominalizer *yag* (**yag.yin, *yag.red*) instead of *rgyu* (refer to Vokurková 2007).

verb *dgos* usually express a higher degree of obligation; the *rgyu.yin/rgyu.red* sentences have a somewhat weaker degree of obligation. The latter are often used to express the meaning of "not to have done yet, thus having yet to do". Moreover, as stated above, these sentences are only used in the affirmative, never in the negative. The *dgos*-sentences do not have such a restriction.

3.3. THE VERB *dgos* MEANING 'WANTING' AND 'NEEDING'

The lexical verb *dgos* expresses the meaning of the verb "need" and may sometimes correspond to the verb "want". As a lexical verb, *dgos* may only be used with some verbal endings, namely: *kyi.'dug, kyi.yod.red, kyi.yod* and *kyi.red.* The nominalizer *kyi* is usually dropped in the spoken language and, as Tournadre and Sangda Dorje (2003, p. 222) state, "the various tenses (future, present, past) have to be deduced from the context". Look at the examples below:

26. *kho.rang*   – *la*   *dngul*   *dgos*   – (*kyi.*)*'dug*
    he   – OBL   money   need   – PRS+SENS
    He needs some money.

27. *kho.rang*   – *la*   *dngul*   *dgos*   – (*kyi.*)*yod.red*
    he   – OBL   money   need   – PRS+FACT
    He needs some money.

28. *nga*   – *r*   *dngul*   *dgos*   – (*kyi.*)*yod*
    I   – OBL   money   need   – PRS+EGO
    I need some money.

29. *dus.tshod*   *mang.po*   *dgos*   – (*kyi.*)*red*
    time   much   need   – FUT+FACT
    A lot of time is needed.

When the evidential is egophoric, the ending is often dropped (Ex. 30). Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003, p. 222) suggest that these sentences may best be translated as "I (do not) want", and the sentences with the verbal ending *kyi.yod* following the lexical verb *dgos* as "need", as in example 28 below:

30. *nga*   – *r*   *dngul*   *dgos*
    I   – OBL   money   need
    I want some money.

Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003, p. 223) give the following examples:

31. *nga*   *– r*   *kha.btags*   *dgos*   *– yod*
     I   – OBL   offering-scarf need   – PRS+EGO
     I need offering-scarves.

32. *nga*   *– r*   *ja*   *mi*   *dgos*
     I   – OBL   tea   NEG   need
     I don't want any tea.

3.3.1. THE LEXICAL VERB *dgos* VERSUS THE SECONDARY VERBS *ʼdod* AND *snying.ʼdod*[14]

In Tibetan, the meaning of the English verb "want" is also conveyed by the secondary verb *ʼdod*. It is preceded by the present-future stem of the lexical verb and it is usually used with the following verbal endings: *kyi.red, yod, yod. red, ʼdug, byung, byung.song* and *byung.ba.red*. In the present, it usually drops the nominalizer *kyi*: *ʼdod+(kyi.)yod, ʼdod+(kyi.)yod.red* et *ʼdod+(kyi.)ʼdug*. This secondary verb cannot be used with the egophoric verbal endings *kyi.yin* and *pa.yin*. Look at the examples below:

33. *kho.rang*   *slob.sbyong*   *byed*   *ʼdod*   *– kyi.red*
     he   study   do (PRS)   want   – FUT+FACT
     He will want to study.

34. *nga*   *gangs.ti.se*   *– r*   *ʼgro*   *ʼdod*   *– yod*
     I   Kailash   – OBL   go (PRS)   want   – PRS+EGO
     I want to go to Mount Kailash.

35. *bu*   *de*   *gso.ba.rig.pa* *sbyang*   *ʼdod*   *– byung.ba.red*
     boy   that   medicine   learn   want   – PFV+FACT
     The boy wanted to learn medicine.

The verb *ʼdod* often appears in sentences with long-term, generic or repeated actions. There is another frequent verb in the spoken language, *snying.ʼdod,* which has a similar meaning to *ʼdod*. However, it is used for short-term

_____

14) Concerning the verbs *dgos*, *ʼdod* and *snying.ʼdod*, refer to Vokurková (2002). The examples in this part of the paper are taken from this dissertation.

volition and it only combines with controllable verbs. The verb *snying'dod* is, in general, used with imperfective endings but its use with the present perfect endings is not excluded either. The use of *'dod* and *snying'dod* is illustrated by the examples below (Ex. 36 and 37). The sentence with the verb *snying'dod* has a similar meaning to the previous example containing *'dod*. They differ from each other by the duration of the agent's wanting her studies (long-term vs. short-term):

36. *khong*   *slob.grwa chen.mo*   *– r*
    he/she   university   – OBL

    slob.sbyong   *byed*   *'dod*   *– yod.red*
    study   do (PRS)   want   – PRS+FACT
    She wants to study at university. (e.g. She has been preparing for the entrance exam.)

37. *khong*   *dbyin.ji*   *slob.sbyong*   *byed*   *snying'dod*   *– kyi.yod.red*
    he/she   English   study   do (PRS)   want   – IMPF+FACT
    She wants to study English [now].
    Or:
    She feels like studying English (e.g. She has seen a film in English, instant volition)

In Ex. 38–40, both sentences, that with the verb *'dod* and that with the verb *snying'dod,* convey a similar meaning to the sentence with the lexical verb *dgos.* However, the first one may be used in habitual contexts, while the latter is rather connected to the very present moment, cf.:

38. *nga*   *– r*   *ja*   *mi*   *dgos*
    I   – OBL   tea   NEG   need
    I don't want tea.
    Or:
    I don't need tea.

39. *nga*   *ja*   *'thung*   *'dod*   *– med*
    I   tea   drink (PRS)   want   – PRS+EGO+NEG
    I don't want to drink tea. (e.g. because it is not healthy, etc.)

40. *nga*   *ja*   *'thung*   *snying'dod*   *– kyi.mi'dug*
    I   tea   drink (PRS)   want   – PRS+SENS+NEG
    I don't feel like drinking tea.

Unlike the verb *dgos*, *ʼdod* cannot be used as a lexical verb. It only functions as a secondary verb. Nevertheless, these two verbs may convey a similar meaning of "wanting", cf. the examples below: The sentence in example (42) corresponds to the other sentence (Ex. 41), the only difference being the use of the lexical verb *rag* in order to make the sentence (Ex. 42) grammatical. Otherwise, it would not be grammatical, as shown in example (43):

41. *nga*   *– r*   *dngul*   *dgos*   *– yod*
     I   – OBL   money   need   – PRS+EGO
     I want some money.
     Or:
     I need some money.

42. *nga*   *– r*   *dngul*   *rag*   *ʼdod*   *– yod*
     I   – OBL   money   get   want   – PRS+EGO
     I want to get some money.

43.* *nga*   *dngul*   *ʼdod*   *– yod*
      I   money   want   – PRS+EGO
      Intended: I want some money.

3.4. ALLOCENTRIC FUTURE

Allocentric[15] future implies future actions that the speaker intends to do for the benefit of another person. The agent, always first person, is marked by the ergative particle, and the verb is obligatorily in the past stem (if this is used in spoken Tibetan). It is followed by the allocentric ending *dgos*. See the following example:

44. *nga*   *– s*   *phyin*   *– dgos*
     I   – ERG   go (PAS)   – FUT+EGO ALL
     I'll go [there] (for you).

There are other allocentric endings used in similar contexts. These are *chog* and *yong*. Below is an example of the use of the verbal ending *chog*:

---

15) The term 'allocentric' is used e.g. in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003).

45.	*nga*	*– s*	*len*	*– chog*
	I	– ERG	take	– FUT+EGO ALL

I'll get [it] (for you).

The verbal endings *dgos, chog* and *yong* can all be used to express the speaker's promise. Look at the following examples:

46.	*nga*	*– s*	*byas*	*– dgos*
	I	– ERG	do (PAS)	– FUT+EGO ALL

I'll do it (I promise).
Or:
I promise to do it.

47.	*nga*	*– s*	*byas*	*– chog / yong*
	I	– ERG	do (PAS)	– FUT+EGO ALL

I'll do it (I promise).
Or:
I promise to do it.

The allocentric ending *dgos* differs from the other two endings in frequency and in secondary meanings. In the spoken language, *dgos* is more common than *chog*. Unlike *dgos*, the verbal ending *yong* is also used in the near future when the speaker warns someone of an imminent danger or risk (basing him view on his own experience; (see Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001; Vokurková 2008, p. 123). The verbal ending/copula *yong* may have other meanings than only imminent danger. It is also used in contexts implying threat, irritation or annoyance (for more detail, refer to Vokurková 2008, p. 280).

3.5. THE USE OF *dgos* AS A CONNECTOR IN SENTENCES WITH THE FIRST PERSON SUBJECT AND THE LEXICAL VERB *bsam* 'THINK'

The verb *dgos* is sometimes used in sentences with the first person agent with the lexical verb *bsam* "think". In these sentences, *dgos* does not convey the meaning of "need" or "must" but it is used as a grammatical connector. The connector *dgos* is used instead of a verbal ending (Ex. 48). In sentences of the same type with the agent being third person, *dgos* is not used (Ex. 49). When used, it conveys its original deontic meaning as in Ex. 50. Look at the following examples:

48. *nga*   *de.ring*   *ʼgro*   *dgos*   *bsam*   – *gyiʼdug*
     I   today   go (PRS)   must   think   – PRS+SENS

     I think I'll go today.
     Or:
     I am thinking of going today.

49. *nga*   – *s*   *kho*   *de.ring*   *ʼgro*   – *gi.red*
     I   – ERG   he   today   go (PRS)   -FUT+FACT

     bsam   – *gyiʼdug*
     think (PRS)   – PRS+SENS

     I think he will go today.

50. *nga*   – *s*   *kho*   *de.ring*   *ʼgro*   *dgos*   – *kyi.red*
     I   -ERG   he   today   go (PRS)   need, must– FUT+FACT

     bsam   – *gyiʼdug*
     think (PRS)   – PRS+SENS
     I think that he will have to go today.
     Or:
     I think he has to go today.

3.6. THE EXPRESSION V + *dgos* + *byung* MEANING 'OF COURSE'

In spoken Tibetan, there is an expression consisting diachronically of the verb *dgos* and the verbal ending *byung,* which synchronically conveys the meaning 'of course'. This expression is preceded by the present-future stem of a lexical verb (if this one is used in the spoken language). Below are two examples of this construction:

51. A: *nga*   – *dang*   *mnyam.po* *ʼgro*   – *gas*
         I   – ASS   together   go (PRS)   – Q
         Are you coming with me?
     B: *ʼgro*   *dgos+byung*
         go (PRS)   of course
         Of course (I'm coming).

52.   A: *khyed.rang*   *– la*   *pa.se*   *yod*   *– pas*
            you (H)   – OBL   ticket   exist, have – Q
            Have you got a ticket?
       B: *yod*   *– dgos+byung*
            exist, have   – of course
            Of course, I have. (Zangyu lasahua yufa 2003, p. 154)

4. Conclusion

The verb *dgos* is an example of polysemy. Based on the structure it is used in, *dgos* is either a lexical verb or a modal (secondary) verb (possessive vs. ergative structures). The lexical verb *dgos* expresses the meaning of the verb "need" and may sometimes correspond to the verb "want". In this case, it has a similar meaning to the modal verb *ʾdod.* As a secondary verb, it conveys the meaning of obligation and in future contexts it may have a similar meaning to the deontic verbal endings *rgyu.yin* and *rgyu.red.* However, they differ in terms of the degree of obligation.

     The verb *dgos* has been grammaticalized, and in some future contexts, it now functions as a verbal ending conveying an allocentric meaning. Furthermore, the verb *dgos* is sometimes used as a grammatical connector in sentences with the first person agent with the lexical verb *bsam* "think", and in the expression *dgos+byung* "of course".

Abbreviations

ALL	allocentric	OBL	oblique
ASS	associative	PAS	past
DEO	deontic	PFV	perfective
EGO	egophoric evidential	PERF	perfect
EPI	epistemic	PL	plural
ERG	ergative	PRS	present
FACT	factual evidential	Q	interrogative particle
FUT	future	SENS	sensory evidential
GEN	genitive	VBZ	verbalizer
H	honorific		
IMPF	imperfective		
NEG	negative		
N-CONTR	non-controllable		

References

Agha, A., 1993, *Structural form and utterance context in Lhasa Tibetan*. Peter Lang, New York.

Aikhenvald, A.Y., 2004, *Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Auwera, J.; Plungian, V., 1998, Modality's semantic map. In: *Linguistic Typology* 2. pp. 79–124.

Bybee, J.L., Fleischman, S. (eds.), 1995, *Modality in Grammar and Discourse.* John Benjamins Publishing Comp, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.

Bybee, J.L.; Perkins, R.; Pagliuca, W., 1994, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World.* University of Chicago, Chicago.

Chafe, W.L.; Nichols, J. (eds.), 1986, *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology.* Ablex, Norwood, NJ.

Coates, J., 1983, *The semantics of modal auxiliaries.* Croom Helm, London.

DeLancey, S., 1986, Evidentiality and volitionality in Tibetan. In: *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology.* Edited by W.L. Chafe and J. Nichols. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, pp. 203–13.

DeLancey, S., 1990, Ergativity and the cognitive model of event structure in Lhasa Tibetan. In: *Cognitive Linguistics.* 1–3, pp. 289–321.

Denwood, Ph., 1999, *Tibetan.* John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Dixon, R.M.W., 1994, *Ergativity.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Garrett, E. J., 2001, Evidentiality and assertion in Tibetan, Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles.

Hu, Tan et al., 1989, *Lasa kouyu duben* (A Textbook of Lhasa Dialect). Minzu chubanshe, Beijing.

Jespersen, O., 1924, *The Philosophy of Grammar.* London.

Kesang Gyurme, 1992, *Le Clair Miroir.* Translated by H. Stoddard and N. Tournadre. Prajna, Paris. [Translation of skal-bzang 'gyur-med 1981]

Lapolla, R.J. (ed.), 2000, *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*. Vol. 23.2. University of California, Berkeley.

Lapolla, R.J. (ed.), 2001, *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*. Vol. 24.1. University of California, Berkeley.

Palmer, F., 1986, *Mood and modality*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Plank, F., 1979, *Ergativity: towards a theory of grammatical relations*. Academic Press, London.

Sun, J.T.-S., 1993, Evidentials in Amdo-Tibetan. In: *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, Academia Sinica 63–4, pp. 945–1001.

Tournadre, N., 1995, Tibetan Ergativity and the Trajectory Model. In: *New Horizons in Tibeto-Burman Morphosyntax*. Edited by Y. Nishi, J. A. Matisoff, Y. Nagano. Senri Ethnological Studies, 41. National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka.

Tournadre, N., 1996, *L'Ergativité en tibétain, approche morphosyntaxique de la langue parlée*. Peeters, Louvain.

Tournadre, N., 2005, L'aire linguistique tibétaine et ses divers dialectes. In: *LALIES,* No. 25, pp. 7–56.

Tournadre, N., Konchok Jiatso, 2001, Final auxiliary verbs in literary Tibetan and in the Dialects. In: *LTBA*. Vol. 24.1. University of California, pp. 49–111.

Tournadre, N., Sangda Dorje, 2003, *Manual of Standard Tibetan. Language and Civilization*. Snow Lions Publications, Ithaca, New York.

Vokurková, Z., 2002, *La modalité en tibétain standard: Compatibilité des verbes secondaires avec les auxiliaires finaux.* Université Paris 8 – Saint-Denis (D.E.A. Dissertation, ms.).

Vokurková, Z., 2007, The process of grammaticalization of nominalizing morphemes and auxiliaries in spoken Standard Tibetan. In: *MONGOLICA PRAGENSIA '07, Ethnolinguistics and*

Sociolinguistics in Synchrony and Diachrony. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Triton, Praha 2007, pp. 115–130.

Vokurková, Z., 2008, *Epistemic modalities in spoken Standard Tibetan*. Charles university, Prague. 377 pp. (PhD. Dissertation, ms.)

Vokurková, Z., 2010, Epistemic modality in Tibetan: The use of secondary verbs with epistemic verbal endings. In: *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia '10. Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Religion and Culture*. Edited by J. Vacek and A. Oberfalzerová. Charles University and Triton, Praha, Vol. 2/2, 2010, pp. 35–58.

Vokurková, Z., 2011, Evidential and epistemic modality in Standard spoken Tibetan. In: *In the Mood for Mood*. Edited by T. Mortelmans, J. Mortelmans and W. De Mulder. Editions Rodopi B.V., Amsterdam-New York, Cahiers Chronos 23, pp. 117–139.

Wang, Zhijing, 1994, *Zangyu Lasa kouyu yufa.* (A Grammar of Spoken Lhasa Tibetan). Zhong-yang minzu daxue chubanshe, Beijing.

Zangyu lasahua yufa (*bod kyi lha.sa'i skad kyi brda.sprod*) (A Grammar of Lhasa Tibetan), Min-zu chubanshe, Beijing 2003.

Review Section

The Early Mongols: Language, Culture and History. Studies in honor of Igor de Rachewiltz on the occasion of his 80ᵗʰ birthday. **Edited by Volker Rybatzki, Alessandra Pozzi, Peter W. Geier and John R. Krueger. Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Book Series, Volume 173 – The Denis Sinor Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Bloomington, Indiana 2009, XXXIII + 217 pp.; Hardback, price not specified; ISBN 978-0-933070-57-8 – Reviewed by Ľudmila Miškaňová**

The book under consideration presents studies in the area of language, culture and history of the early Mongols, which were written by Mongolists from all over the world in honour of Igor de Rachewiltz on the occasion of his 80ᵗʰ birthday.

De Rachewiltz is a historian and philologist specializing in Mongol studies born on April 11, 1929 in Rome to a Russian mother and an Italian father. He graduated with a law degree from a university in Rome and also read Asian History, Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian and other subjects in both Rome and Naples. In 1955 he went to Australia on scholarship and stayed there for the rest of his academic career. "As Igor de Rachewiltz states himself, his main research interests are in three areas: 'Political and cultural history of China and Mongolia in the 13ᵗʰ and 14ᵗʰ centuries', 'East-West political and cultural contacts, especially in the 13ᵗʰ and 14ᵗʰ centuries', and 'Sino-Mongolian philology'."[1] His life-long research on the *Secret History of the Mongols* is particularly well-known. Recently he became Emeritus Visiting Fellow at the *Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies* at the Australian National University in Canberra.

The volume honouring this remarkable scholar starts with the *Preface* written by the editors and *Tabula gratulatoria*. These chapters are followed by short memoirs of Igor de Rachewiltz's sister Vera and of his associate John R. Krueger, which describe not only de Rachewiltz's work, but also many interesting details about his personal life, allowing us to imagine who he is much more vividly than a mere list of his activities ever would. For example, Vera mentions his infinite curiosity observable in him since childhood and leading to interest in various things like particular alphabets, antique fountain pens, repairing clocks and knife throwing.[2] Krueger mentions that de

---

1) *The Early Mongols* (2009, page x).
2) *The Early Mongols* (2009, p. xvii): "Un altro hobby di Igor era il lancio dei coltelli. Avevamo in casa una bellissima collezione di coltelli antichi e Igor cominciò ad utilizzarli lanciandoli e, non essendoci in casa un vero bersaglio, li lanciava su tutti gli infissi di legno delle porte e delle finestre (mamma non era molto contenta). Era bravissimo e lo è tuttora. Infatti nella

Rachewiltz had learned to speak English very well and therefore was able to work for various American film companies filming in Italy, Ischia and Sicily from 1950 to 1952, where he made acquaintance with many of the stars famous during those years. The introductory part of the book ends with a complete *Bibliography of Igor de Rachewiltz.*

The main section consists of 21 studies on various topics. Their contributors are: Thomas T. Allsen, Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky, Paul D. Buell, Hok-lam Chan, Sharav Choimaa, Charles J. Halperin, Juha Janhunen, Daniel Kane, György Kara, Yuan-Chu Ruby Lam, Dai Matsui, Ruth I. Meserve, Johannes Reckel, Volker Rybatzki, Yoshio Saitô, Alice Sárközi, Borjigijin Ul-aan, Nobuhiro Uno, Käthe Uray-Kőhalmi, István Vásáry and Michael Weiers. The book is written in English but with some Italian, German and French fragments. The authors use miscellaneous sources in many languages, which are listed in the Bibliography in the end of each contribution. Amongst the sources are works of I. de Rachewiltz, I., Rashīd al Dīn Juvaynī, V. Rybatzki, N.N. Poppe, G. Kara, Nai-xian, F.W. Cleaves and others.

The studies in question are all very interesting; each one brings a new point of view on respective subject. However it is impossible to review all the contributions, therefore I will mention few of them so the readers might have at least a basic idea what they can expect.

In a contribution titled *A Note on Mongol Imperial Ideology* (pp. 1–8) Thomas T. Allsen formulates the idea (p. 7) that "the Mongols communicated their ideology in a compact formula, individual elements of which were familiar to their subjects, both nomadic and sedentary. As befits a vast and diverse empire, their political message had something for everyone." He refers to Igor de Rachewiltz who was the first to lay out clearly the basic contours of this complex political ideology and showed that according to the Mongols' world view Eternal Heaven conferred upon Chinggis Qan and his descendants the right to rule over a universal empire through a dispensation of special good fortune which ensured their success.

This special good fortune or royal charisma could be inherited within a dynastic line as is documented in *Secret History*, but according to Allsen there were also other means of acquiring this most precious commodity. The alternative source was the good fortune of previous dynasties. Author mentions that the Mongols actively sought to capture this spiritual residue by engaging in considerable historical and archaeological research and consequently

sua casa a Canberra ha un grande bersaglio che ogni tanto sistema nel giardino e si diletta a lanciare I coltelli."

locating their new capital, Qara Qorum, in the Orkhon river valley, where the Türk and Uighur rulers had situated their capitals and from which it was deemed proper to govern the steppe empire, in view of the spiritual power of the place. The third type of transfer of good fortune was horizontal and flew between the ruler and his closest associates, which made certain their loyalty and their success in carrying out the ruler's commands. This type is also occurring in *Secret History*. The spiritual bonding between the ruler and his retinue was accomplished through a continual exchange of gifts which were animated and thus contained some of the essence of the giver. These Mongolian ideas were reasonable for both steppe and sedentary people and easily encouraged passive acceptance of Mongolian rule.

In the contribution named *Dialectal Traces in Beilu Yiyu* (pp. 9–20) Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky reviews the linguistic position of Beilu Yiyu by comparing it with other sources of Middle Mongol and with some modern peripheral Mongolic languages. As for Beilu yiyu, it is a Sino-Mongol glossary containing a significant body of Middle Mongol lexicon, the earliest version of which is dated in 1599, though the incorporated data may be older. The author examines the preservation and change of initial *h-*, palatal prebreaking, transformation of diphthong sequences, *ö > ü* merger, labial harmony and vocabulary. Regarding the last criterion, Beilu Yiyu is rich in lexical items unknown or uncommon in modern Mongolic or in other Middle Mongol sources.

Apatóczky comes to the conclusion that the lexical data of Beilu Yiyu consist on the whole of both phonologically and lexically typical Middle Mongol items. On the other hand, there are also numerous cases of atypical occurrences that might be attested in other Middle Mongol sources separately, but no other Middle Mongol source has them all. This might mean that the language in Beilu Yiyu is a relatively late version of Middle Mongol, in which linguistic changes leading to the formation of dialect had already taken place in some instances, or that it is much older(from about early *Ming*) than its oldest extant edition in 1599. Another possible reason is foreign influence. In any case, Apatóczky finds this glossary a good starting point for further studies of Middle Mongol dialects.

The volume gives us a decent survey of present-day research in the area of language, culture and history of the early Mongols and opens new space for discussions. Since there are so many scholars with different interests involved, the book is colourful in themes and opinions and therefore very inspiring. It is indeed pleasant to read and I recommend it not only to the experts but to everyone who would like to learn something new and interesting about the Mongols.

Just Published…

In the Heart of Mongolia. 100ᵗʰ Anniversary of W. Kotwicz's Expedition to Mongolia in 1912 Studies and Selected Source Materials. **Edited by Jerzy Tulisow, Osamu Inoue, Agata Bareja-Starzyńska and Ewa Dziurzyńska. Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cracow 2012, 413 pp.; Booklet with Indexes; Map; DVD; ISBN 978-83-7676-133-6**

Fragment from the Foreword by Dr. Rita Majkowska (Director of the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow, Poland)

We present the readers with a book compiled mostly on the basis of very valuable, diverse and rich archival materials from the collection of an outstanding scholar Władysław Kotwicz, preserved in the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow. Some of them were brought by this prominent explorer of Asia from the expedition he undertook to Mongolia in 1912 together with a Russian archeologist K.A. Maskov and a Buryat scholar Tsyben Jamtsarano. These rare materials have so far only in part been used in scholarly publications. This was probably caused by the outbreak of the First World War and later developments in the lives of the expedition's participants. The preserved material covers, among other things, 2 notebooks documenting the expedition, written by Kotwicz, estampages of the medieval inscription from the Erdene Zuu monastery, Maskov's sketches from archeological excavations in Qar-a Balγasun, the ancient Uighur capital located in today's Mongolia, a Mongolian manuscript with a biography of the First Jetsundampa, Jamtsarano's description of the interiors of temples in the monastic complex of Erdene Zuu, several maps of old Mongolia and hundreds of photographs of various themes (only approx. 10 per cent of the photographs have been published so far). Among the unpublished materials there is also a list of historical monuments of Mongolia based on the original document written for the last Manchu amban of Mongolia, and an unpublished article by Kotwicz presenting the newest at that time findings on the inscription of Erdene Zuu.

Authors of the present publication have decided to issue those unique source materials accompanied by their own articles explaining the nature and the enormous value of the presented collection. Each of the contributors conducted independent research in order to determine whether a given source material, having been out of the sphere of interest of scholars for one

hundred years, is still of academic value. For that purpose archaeological excavations were undertaken at places shown on Maskov's sketches and new search was conducted aiming at finding fragments of a stone inscription described in unpublished article by Kotwicz. Mongolian maps and manuscripts were carefully examined. Handwritten notes by Kotwicz and Jamtsarano have been partly deciphered and translated in order to recreate the description of the appearance and functioning of the Erdene Zuu Monastery as well as the famous ritual *čam* dance performed there. It was attempted to faithfully reconstruct the original notes and to add to them supplementary comments. A detailed identification of photographs from Kotwicz's archive was made. Summing up all these works, we may safely say that the source materials from Kotwicz's archive did not let the modern-day researchers down. Each of them was able to present in this volume the innovative results of their scholarly work. […] This publication could happen owing to financial contribution of several institutions, especially University of Shimane of Japan.

Participants of the Kotwicz expedition to Mongolia in 1912. Prof. Kotwicz in the center, with Tsyben Jamtsarano on his left and K.A. Maskov on his right accompanied by Cossaks. (Photograph 6329 from the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow; with kind permission of the Archive).