

OIRAD
AND
KALMYK
LINGUISTIC
ESSAYS

ÁGNES
BIRTALAN



SZÉCHENYI PLAN

T Á L E N T U M S O R O Z A T

OIRAD AND KALMYK
LINGUISTIC ESSAYS

SERIES
EDITORS



ERNŐ KULCSÁR SZABÓ
GÁBOR SONKOLY

T Á L E N T U M S O R O Z A T • 1 1 .

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ELTE EÖTVÖS KIADÓ • 2012

TÁMOP 4.2.1/B-09/1/KMR-2010-0003

“For Knowledge on a European Scale, ELTE—Dialogue between Cultures Subproject”

The project has been supported by the European Union,
co-financed by the European Social Fund.

TÁMOP 4.2.1/B-09/1/KMR-2010-0003

„Európai Léptékkal a Tudásért, ELTE – Kultúrák közötti párbeszéd alprojekt”

A projekt az Európai Unió támogatásával,
az Európai Szociális Alap társfinanszírozásával valósul meg.



SZÉCHENYI TERV



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MAGYARORSZÁG MEGÚJUL



A projekt az Európai Unió támogatásával, az Európai
Szociális Alap társfinanszírozásával valósul meg.

Edited by Ágnes Birtalan

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ISBN 978 963 312 116 0

ISSN 2063-3718



**ELTE
EÖTVÖS
KIADÓ**

www.eotvoskiado.hu

Executive Publisher: The Dean of the Faculty
of Humanities of Eötvös Loránd University
Editor-in-Chief: Dániel Levente Pál

Cover: Nóra Váraljai

Layout: Gábor Péter

Printed in Hungary by Prime Rate Kft.



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INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

THE IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCHING THE OIRADS

Researching Oirad materials is particularly important among Mongolic languages. The reason is that once living in a compact unity, the ethnic group has widely scattered but they still preserve their specific language and culture even surrounded by a different majority (Mongolia, China, Russia). Living separated from each other since the 17th century and some of their groups changing territory several times, the Oirad groups have conserved archaisms in their dialects that could contribute to the study of the development and changes of other Mongolic languages. The examination of other changes in majority environments, of the strategies of preserving their language and culture might provide grounds for drawing linguistic and cultural inferences of general validity.

PRELIMINARIES TO THE EXPEDITION

Allow me to start with a personal recollection, as a new generation of Mongolists has grown up since the launching of the *Hungarian-Mongolian Joint Expedition for the Research of Mongolian Dialects and Traditional Culture* some two decades ago. My interest in West Mongolian Oirads began during my studies when György Kara gave me a manuscript on three Buddhist monasteries of the Zakhchins (Khal. Jaxčin, Jaxčin, Oir. Zaxčin, Jaxčin).² Since that time I have been

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¹ University ELTE, Department of Inner Asian Studies.

² Birtalan, Ágnes 1985; since this article contains the only known version of the manuscript, the article *Geschichte der heiligen Götterbilder der drei Klöster unseres Jaxačin Volks* – or at least the facsimile included in it –, became a venerated object in the Tögrög Monastery in Mankhan of the Zakhchins.

interested in the language/dialects and culture of the Oirads also including the Zakhchins. During my first longer trip to Mongolia (university studies 1981–1982) I sought out Ĵ. Colō, a researcher of Zakhchin origin and asked his help to interpret the manuscript and to visit the Oirads, not guessing at that time that we laid the foundations of a fruitful collaboration lasting to this day. My first West Mongolian research trip took place in 1984 after considerable organization and the acquisition of a regimen of permits;³ at that time I had already been collecting Oirad linguistic and folklore materials systematically. The next step was to organise the Hungarian-Mongolian expedition initiated by Alice Sárközi and luckily supported by the officials of the Hungarian and Mongolian Academies of Sciences in charge of foreign relations. I refrain from enumerating the stations of the annual expeditions as they are detailed in the publications listed below (cf. chapter *Fieldwork among the Oirads*). I would rather speak of the Mongolian colleagues with whom we could work on the Oirad projects.⁴ C. Önörbayan, Ĵ. Colō, O. Sambūdorĵ, B. Katū were the scholars and teachers of Oirad origin who were involved in the project either as members of the Expedition fieldwork (Colō, Sambūdorĵ), or researchers participating in the elaboration of the materials (Colō, Sambūdorĵ, Önörbayan, Katū). Their contributions are included in the volumes of the Expedition and their valuable advice helped us better understand the world of the Oirads. Three of them were also lectors of the Department of Inner Asian Studies, in temporal order: Önörbayan, Colō, Katū, and took part in teaching Khalkha and also Oirad to the students.

LINGUISTIC COLLECTIONS OF THE EXPEDITION AND THE CONCEPT OF THE PRESENT VOLUME

This book is the first part of a series aimed to present the activity of the Hungarian-Mongolian Joint Expedition for the Research of Mongolian Dialects and Traditional Culture over the past two decades. The starting volume jubilates the beginning of the Expedition twenty years earlier and is connected to the language and dialect researches of the fieldwork since 1991.

The complete history of the Expedition, with its exact itineraries and interrelations of group and individual research trips has not been written yet, although

.....
³ I wish to express my gratitude here, too, to my teacher the late R. Ĵagwaral, who made preparations for this trip and arranged for the permits which was extremely hard to acquire at that time.

⁴ Researches among the Darkhats of Khöwsgöl will be discussed in a future volume.

the editor of this volume has outlined the main ranges of the work at Hungarian and international scholarly forums and a great part of her publications are concerned with the elaboration of the Expedition materials.

It has long been a pressing need to publish a series in foreign languages in addition to the studies by Expedition members mostly in English or German. This book is the first part of this series. While the series in Hungarian focuses on shamanism and popular religion, folklore and customs, the first book of our series in foreign languages is devoted to the presentation of the linguistic and dialectal material.

The most important principles of elaborating the fieldwork collections are the philologically accurate documentation and comparative contextual research, traditional methods at the Department of Inner Asian Studies founded by Lajos Ligeti. Many kinds of different approaches may be involved in contextual research. Since the research of Oirads and Kalmyks is an international endeavour and the Oirads belong to the few Mongolic groups whose members are represented in a variety of social and linguistic situations in considerable numbers, representatives of the international scholarly community have been invited to present their own researches related to the main theme of the volume. Though all accepted the invitation, some studies could not be finished within the short deadline. We hope to be able to read them in subsequent volumes. Articles of this book represent the summary of a particular research period and will hopefully inspire further researches. Questions remained open in most papers and not all the material collected on the spot and related to the discussed topics could be included.

Although the Expedition materials encompass all the Oirad dialects in Mongolia and China, this volume does not include separate papers on all of them. This owes to the different character of field records and the degree of elaboration. Studies on dialects and related materials not represented here will be published in the subsequent volumes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIRTALAN, ÁGNES 1985: Geschichte der heiligen Götterbilder der drei Klöster unseres Ĵaqaĉin Volks. *Acta Orientalia Hung.*, 39. 177–203.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ba.	Bayad/Bayid by Colō	Mong.	Written Mongolian
Bar.	Barimjaa	Ö.	Ööld by Colō
D.	Dörwöd by Colō	Russ.	Russian
Dž.	Zakhchin by Colō	Skr.	Sanskrit
Kalm.	Kalmyk	T.	Torguud by Colō
Khal.	Khalkha	Tib.	Written Tibetan
Kho.	Khoton by Colō	U.	Uriankhai by Colō
Oir.	Oirad (Spoken)	W.Oir.	Written Oirad

SPECIAL SYMBOLS USED IN THE TRANSCRIPTION OF MONGOLIAN TEXTS

10

The exact sound denoted by certain symbols may depend on the particular dialects.

- ä Open/near-open central unrounded vowel
- ä Near-open front unrounded vowel
- c Voiceless (aspirated or unaspirated) alveolar affricate
- č Voiceless (aspirated or unaspirated) palato-alveolar affricate
- ε Open-mid front unrounded vowel
- ə Mid central vowel
- ï Close central/back unrounded vowel
- γ Voiced velar fricative
- j Voiced alveolar affricate or voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate
- ǰ Voiced palato-alveolar affricate or voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate
- ñ Velar nasal (Béla Kempf's article)
- ŋ Velar nasal
- ö Close-mid central/near-back rounded vowel
- ö Close-mid front/central rounded vowel
- ø Close-mid central rounded vowel
- š Voiceless (aspirated or unaspirated) palato-alveolar sibilant
- ś Voiceless alveolo-palatal sibilant
- ü Near-close/close central/near-back rounded vowel
- ü Near-close/close front/near-back rounded vowel

Diacritical symbols

- ˉ long vowel (e.g. ā)
- ˘ overshort or reduced vowel (e.g. ĭ)
- ˈ palatalisation (e.g. t')

FIELDWORK AMONG THE OIRADS

ACTIVITY OF THE HUNGARIAN-MONGOLIAN JOINT EXPEDITION FOR THE RESEARCH OF MONGOLIAN DIALECTS AND TRADITIONAL CULTURE

The idea to launch a Hungarian-Mongolian joint expedition for the research of Mongolian dialects and traditional culture (hereinafter Expedition) was raised by Alice Sárközi, senior research fellow of the Research Group for Altaic Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the late 1980s. The new Expedition wished to revive the field-working tradition of the expedition that researched Mongolia in 1957 (György Kara, András Róna-Tas, Katalin Uray-Kőhalmi)² and widen it as much as possible under the changed political circumstances. The agreement on which basis the Expedition could start work in 1991 was signed by the Research Group for Altaic Studies of the Hungarian Academy and the Department of Inner Asian Studies of Eötvös Loránd University on the Hungarian part and by the Institute for Linguistics and Literature of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences on the Mongolian part. The central goal of researches was to diversely document the dialects and folk culture of the ethnic groups in the western provinces of the Mongolian Republic (first of all Khowd and Uws), and in the northern province of Khöwsgöl. The expedition has been active since 1991, the early research goals having been extended with the exploration of historical and religious sources in archives and private collections. Researchers spend 1 to 2.5 months with field or archival research. Field researches are directed by Ágnes Birtalan and Alice Sárközi, archival research is led by Zsolt Szilágyi and Géza Bethlenfalvy. The PhD students of the Department are constantly involved in the researches and other research fellows who graduated from the Department join with individual research trips: István Seres, Dávid Somfai Kara. The Mongolian coordinator is the Institute for Linguistics and Literature of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, the colleagues involved in field-work and in publications include: X. Sampil-dendew, Ĵ. Coló, O. SambūdorĴ, O. Süxbātar, B. Katū, G. Gantogtox.

Field and archival research carried on in the Mongolian Republic was extended to researches among the Mongolian nationalities of China from 2006 with support

¹ University ELTE, Department of Inner Asian Studies

² On 20th century field researches cf. Birtalan–Sárközi 1997: 119–122.

from the Hungarian and Chinese Academies of Sciences declared in 2006. Field research in China is organized by Alice Sárközi and Mátyás Balogh.

The database of the documentation of the Expedition is permanently enlarged, the publications (studies, books in Hungarian and foreign languages; for a bibliography of the involved researchers see the webpage of the Department of Inner Asian Studies)³ do not only serve the elaboration and presentation of the material but also get incorporated in the educational material of the Department.

The Expedition, whose main organiser in Hungary is the Department of Inner Asian Studies of University ELTE, is a high-priority project in the cultural and educational agreement signed by the Hungarian and Mongolian sides in 2007. The scholarly and political leaders of Mongolia – including Batarin Čadrā, the former president of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Batboldin Enxtüwšin, president of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Nacagin Bagabandi, former president of the state, Danjangin Lündejancan, former president of the Mongolian Parliament, Öljisaixan Enxtüwšin, minister of education, Süxbatarin Batbold, prime minister of the Mongolian People's Republic and Ombosürengin Erdenečimeg, the former ambassador of the Mongolia – stressed the salient importance of Mongolistic education at the Department of Inner Asian Studies and the academic and educational importance of the Expedition during their visits to Hungary.⁴

The work and publications of the Expedition have been supported by the following institutions and foundations:

- Hungarian Academy of Sciences
- Mongolian Academy of Sciences
- Mongolian Embassy in Hungary and personally by Her Excellency Dr. Ombosüren Erdenečimeg
- Hungarian Ministry for Education
- OTKA (e. g. K 62501, currently K 100613)
- AMFK (368/94)
- ARNOLD – STEIN Foundation (Great Britain) (SA-39129)
- Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation (Republic of China)
- UNESCO
- TÁMOP (financed by the European Union and co-financed by the European Social Fund; grant agreement № TÁMOP 4.2.1/B-09/1/KMR-2010-0003)

³ www.innerasia.hu

⁴ This paragraph is based on Birtalan 2008.

RESEARCH IN OIRAD TERRITORIES

Below a detailed account of researches among the Oirads is given from among the research trips over the two decades.

1991 July-September. Route: centre of Khowd province, the city of Khowd → Mankhan and Dsereg districts populated by the Zakhchins → Erdenebüren district where the Öölds live → Mönkhkhairkhan and Duut districts populated by the Uriankhais. Research topics: recording of dialects, folklore texts in dialects (folksongs, epics, ritual texts), customs (taboos, feasts), reviving Buddhism. Participants: Géza Bethlenfalvy, Ágnes Birtalan, Alice Sárközi, J. Colô.

1992 July-August. Route: starting from Ulaanbaatar → Töv province → Öwörkhangaï province → Arkhangai province → Dsawkhan province → Bayankhongor province → Gowi-Altai province → Khowd province. Research topics: Zakhchins, Öölds, Uriankhais in Dsereg, Mankhan, Erdenebüren, Mönkhkhairkhan districts and Khowd city, similarly to the previous year; new research areas: Myangad district where Myangads live → Uws province (Bayids and Dörwöds in Malchin, Khyargas Naranbulag districts). Research topics: dialect, folklore texts in dialects (folksongs, epics, ritual texts), customs (taboos, feasts), reviving Buddhism and shamanism (the activity of shamaness Yamānā Čulūn). Participants: Ágnes Birtalan, László Hajnal, O. Sambüdorj, among students studying Mongolian studies: Zoltán Füredi, Andrea Iván, László Mátyus, Zsolt Szilágyi.⁵

1995 July-August. Route: Töv → Arkhangai → Dsawkhan → Uws provinces; In Uws: Dsüün turuu, Baruun turuu, Malchin, Khyargas, Naranbulag districts. Research topics: dialects, spiritual and material culture of the Bayids, Dörwöds, Khotons, with particular emphasis on the activity of the Bayid shamaness Yamānā Čulūn (of Tuwa origin) and her son Kürl shaman, as well as shamaness Amarjargal in Baruun turuu district. Participants: Ágnes Birtalan, Alice Sárközi, students studying Mongolian studies: Ákos Apatóczy and Csaba Gáspár.

1999 July-August. Route: Töv → Arkhangai → Dsawkhan → Uws provinces (researching Bayids, Dörwöds, Khotons in Baruun turuu, Malchin, Khyargas and Tarialan districts). Research topics: studying dialects and the spiritual and material culture of Oirad ethnic groups, first of all Khotons. The largest amount of material was recorded among the Khotons in Tarialan district practicing Muslim religion. Participants: Ágnes Birtalan, Zsolt Szilágyi, Attila Rákos, J. Colô.

2001 July-August. Route: centre of Khowd province (city of Khowd) → Mankhan, Möst, Üyench, Altai and Bulgan districts. Research topics: studying dialects,

⁵ On a few occasions students of other major subjects also joined the expedition and contributed valuably to the documentation. The complete list of participants can be found in the introductions to the Hungarian series (*Őseink nyomán*, cf. below).

religious traditions and their changes among the Zakhchins. This year a new research theme was added: the language and culture of the Torguuds of Khovd province. Participants: Géza Bethlenfalvy, Attila Rákos, Alice Sárközi, J. Coló.

In 2006 the expedition so far only led in the Mongolian (and Buryat) Republic was extended to areas of China where Mongolian groups live. We prepared the extension of the expedition in Beijing within a cooperation agreement between the Hungarian and Chinese Academies. We negotiated with Prof. Chao Gejin, Prof. Gong Lon Chen (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), and Prof. Kešigtoytu (Beijing University). Under the agreement the associates of the Department of Inner Asian Studies and the Institute for Minorities of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences carry on joint research in the following topics: folk religion, customs, folklore, dialects. Route of the Expedition: in the provinces of Northern China, Qinghai province Xining: University of the Nationalities and the Geser Institute (talks on cooperation with Prof. Čoi) → Kumbum monastery (documentation of Buddhist religious life and monastic curriculum) → Yeke kötögechin (cooperation talks with ethnographer Dr. Čültem) → Kukunor – studying the life of Khoshuud and Torguud shepherds (collecting comparative material for the documents collected among Altai Oirads, recording dialectal material) → Dulaan – collecting material from Khoshuud and Torguud families: customs, dialects.

2007 August-September. Route: Centre of Khovd province and the following districts: Dörgön, Myangad, Erdenebüren → Bayan Ölgii province (Cagaan nuur, Ulaan Khus) → center of Uvs province, the city of Ulaangom, and Tarialan district. Research topics: recording dialectal and folklore material, documentation of the revival of popular medicine and religion (sound and video recordings), visual collection of activities related to animal husbandry (digital photos, video recording). Participants: Ákos Avar, students: Ádám Halász, Máté Rottár, Krisztina Szótér.

2007 June-July. We managed to continue research among the Mongols in China begun in 2006. The main objective of field research was to extend the Department archives with new materials and negotiate for the involvement of new areas into future field research and expeditions. Route and research themes: documentation of the dialect of the Khoshuuds living on the outskirts of the Tsaidam basin west of the Kuku-nor lake. Participants: Mátyás Balogh and Zsuzsanna Simonkay.

MATERIALS OF THE EXPEDITION IN PUBLICATIONS

Here, according to the main aim of the book i. e. to present the field research of the Expedition, a list of the editor's publications concerning the Oirad field records is also introduced.⁶

Studies devoted to the activities of the Expedition⁷

- A magyar-mongol nyelvjárás és népi kultúra kutató expedíciók. [Researches of the Hungarian-Mongolian Joint Expedition for the Research of Mongolian Dialects and Traditional Culture] *Néprajzi Hírek*, [Ethnographic Review] 1992, pp. 37–42.
- A Magyar-mongol nyelvjárás- és népi műveltségkutató expedíció tevékenysége. [The Activity of the Hungarian-Mongolian Joint Expedition for the Research of Mongolian Dialects and Traditional Culture.] *Vallástudományi Szemle*, 2008/2., pp. 197–206.
- Introduction. In *Ulamjlalt mongol soyol. / Traditional Mongolian Culture. Part I. Material Culture. / Traditionelle mongolische Kultur. Teil I. Materielle Kultur. / Hagymányos mongol műveltség I. A mongol nomádok anyagi műveltsége*. DVD. IVA-ICRA Verlag – ELTE, Belső-ázsiai Tanszék, 2008, Wien–Budapest.
- A Survey of the Activity of the Hungarian–Mongolian Joint Expedition (1991–). In *Mongolian Studies in Europe. Proceedings of the Conference held on 24–25, November 2008 in Budapest*. Department of Inner Asian Studies, 2010, Budapest, pp. 25–37.
- Hungarian explorers of Mongolia in the twentieth century. In *A new dialogue between Central Europe and Japan*. Together with Sárközi Alice. Institute for Social Conflict Research, HAS – The International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1997, Budapest–Kyoto, pp. 119–122.



Cover of the Material Culture DVD

⁶ The routes of expeditions between 1991 and 2006 were plotted by Máté Rottár, cf. birtalan.innerasia.hu.

⁷ The author of these publications is Ágnes Birtalan, also as editor of the volumes; she is not named for each entry.

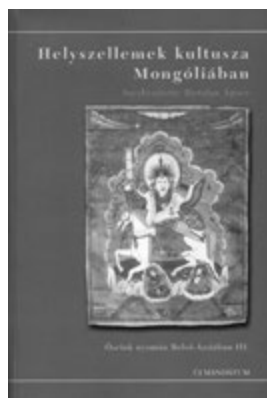
Series of books on the activity of the Expedition, entitled *On the Traces of our Ancestors*⁸

▪ *Tanulmányok a mongol népi hiedelemvilágról. /Őseink nyomán Belső-Ázsiában, I./* [Studies on Mongolian Beliefs. /On the Traces of our Ancestors, I./] Edited by Ágnes Birtalan. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1996, Budapest.

▪ *Hitvilág és nyelvészet. /Őseink nyomán Belső-Ázsiában, II./* [Studies on Belief and Linguistics. /On the Traces of our Ancestors, II./] Edited by Ágnes Birtalan. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1998, Budapest.

▪ *Helyszellemek kultusza Mongóliában. /Őseink nyomán Belső-Ázsiában, III./* [Cult of Genii Loci in Mongolia. /On the Traces of our Ancestors, III./] Edited by Ágnes Birtalan. Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, 2004, Budapest.

▪ *Védelmesítő istenségek és démonok Mongóliában és Tibetben. /Őseink nyomán Belső-Ázsiában, IV./* [Protecting Deities and Demons in Mongolia and Tibet. /On the Traces of our Ancestors, IV./] Edited by Ágnes Birtalan, Béla Kelényi and Zsolt Szilágyi. L'Harmattan, 2010, Budapest.



Cover of the third volume of the Hungarian series of the Expedition

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Works elaborating the Oirat texts collected during the Expedition

In all studies devoted to the elaboration of materials collected during the expedition there is a brief summary of the given year's collection. The works processing the Darkhad project of the Expedition, mainly the activities of shamans and traditions of sacred texts are not listed here, see: www.birtalan.innerasia.hu.

▪ Mongol szarvasvadászdalok. [Mongolian Deerhunting Songs.] *Keletkutatás*, 1993. ősz. pp. 31–44.

▪ An Oirat Ethnogenetic Myth in Written and Oral Traditions. A Case of Oirat Legitimacy. *Acta Orientalia Hung.*, 55. (2002, Volume commemorating the 100th birthday of the founder Louis Ligeti.) pp. 69–88.

▪ Battulag's Ölöt Wordlist – Some Features of an Oirat Dialect. *Dialectological and Sociolinguistical Aspects. Inner Asian Survey*, 1. (2002 Spring) pp. 18–33.

▪ Ritualistic Use of Livestock Bones in the Mongolian Belief System and Customs. In *Altaica Budapestinensia MMII. Proceedings of the 45th Permanent International*

⁸ The title of the series was the outcome of editing policy. It is justified inasmuch as the expedition provides analogies for the research on Hungarian cultural history, but the main aim is the documentation of the language and culture of the Mongols. The editor has often deliberated the changing of the series title but editing policy has foiled these attempts so far.

Conference Budapest, Hungary, June 23–28, 2002. Edited by Alice Sárközi and Attila Rákos. Research Group for Altaic Studies HAS – Department of Inner Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, 2003, Budapest, pp. 34–62.

- A Western-Mongolian Heroic Epic: *Ülġ Tiw*. A Story About the Sworn Brotherhood. *Central Asiatic Journal*, 48.1 (2004) pp. 8–37.
- *Dsakhchin* (West-Mongolian) Folksongs with Buddhist Content. *Acta Orientalia Hung.*, 61. (2008) pp. 415–429.
- *Zahcsin viselkedési tabuk.* [Taboos of Behaviour among the *Zakchins*.] In *Tanulmányok a mongol népi hiedelemvilágról.* /*Őseink nyomán Belső-Ázsiában, I./* [Studies on Mongolian Beliefs. /On the Traces of our Ancestors, I./] Edited by Ágnes Birtalan. Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1996, Budapest, pp. 20–27.
- A Föld és a Víz gazdászellemeinek kultusza a nyugat-mongóliai zahcsinoknál. [The Cult of Spirits of Earth and Water among the Western-Mongolian *Zakhchins*.] In *Helyszellemek kultusza Mongóliában.* /*Őseink nyomán Belső-Ázsiában, III./* [Cult of Genii Loci in Mongolia. /On the Traces of our Ancestors, III./] Edited by Ágnes Birtalan. Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, 2004, Budapest, pp. 51–68.
- Systematization of the Concept of Demonic and Evil in Mongolian Folk Religion. In *Christian Demonology and Popular Mythology.* /*Demons, Spirits, Witches, II./* Edited by Gábor Klaniczay, Éva Pócs in coll. with Eszter Csonka-Takács. Central European University Press, 2006, Budapest – New York, pp. 250–264.
- Rituals of Sworn Brotherhood (Mong. *anda bol-*, Oir. *and*, *ax düü bol-*) in Mongol Historic and Epic Tradition. In *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History, University Szeged.* 7–8. 2007–2008, Szeged, pp. 44–56.
- Nyugat-mongol (dzahcsin) buddhista népdalok. A Magyar-mongol nyelvjárás- és népi műveltségkutató expedíció 1991-es gyűjtéséből. [West-Mongolian (*Dsakhchin*) Folksongs. On the Basis of the Hungarian-Mongolian Joint Expedition for the Research of Mongolian Dialects and Traditional Culture.] *Keréknyomok. Orientalisztikai és Buddhológiai Folyóirat*, 2008. tél, pp. 25–36.

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THE OIRADS⁹

In the above-listed studies and books detailed summaries have been included on the history, language and culture of the Oirads. Since the main subject-matter of the book is the presentation of the Oirad language from different angles, a brief historical and statistical survey is presented here to provide a backdrop to the linguistic material.

Today, Oirads live in the western part of Mongolia, in China's Xinjiang-Uigur Autonomous Region, Inner Mongolia and Gansu province. In Mongolia, the following Oirad groups can be differentiated: in Uws province (*aimag*): Dörwöd,

⁹ E.g. Birtalan–Rákos 2002; The most thorough summary of earlier sources to date: Okada 1987: 181–211. In the wake of the political changes in the 1990s, the “national” awareness of the Oirads in Mongolia increased. An outcome of the changing climate is the summary of the situation of the Oirads at home and abroad: Cerel 1997.

Bayid, Khoton (Dörwöd, Bayid/Bayad, Xoton), in Khowd (Xowd) province: Zakhchin, Torguud, Ööld, Myangad, Uriankhai (Jaxčin/Zaxčin/Ĵaxčin, Torgūd, Ōld, Myangad, Urianxai/Urānxā) groups totalling some 220,000 people. Smaller groups, e. g. Uriankhais, live in some districts of the Kazakh-populated Bayan-Ölgii (Bayan-Ölgi) province (the westernmost county of Mongolia). A group of Öölds got stuck in the valley of the river Orkhon (Orxon) in the districts of Öldsiit, Ögiinuur, Khotont (Öljit, Ögīnūr, Xotont) in the Arkhangai (Arxangai) province, probably during the military campaign of Galdan (Taldan) khan in the late 17th century. They must be a few thousand only, no longer speaking their Oirad language but still advocating their Oirad identity.¹⁰

About the ethnic groups in Xinjiang-Uigur Autonomous Region of China in the country's Eastern Turkestan area Thomas Hoppe has written a detailed monograph.¹¹ In Chinese Turkestan mainly Torguud, Khoshuud (Xošūd), and smaller Öölds groups can be found scattered and fairly isolated. Most of them live in the districts of Bayangol, Bortala, Tacheng, Ili, as well as the Altai region and in cities such as the centre of the province Urumchi (Urumqi). They are estimated at around 135 thousand.

The remnants of the Khoshuuds of Güshi (Gūši) khan (1582–1655) living in the Gansu province of China are known as Deed (*dēd* “upper”) Mongols.¹²

There are also Khoshuuds in the Alsha region (Alašan) of Inner Mongolia. They had been integrated in the bureaucracy of the Manchu Ching (Qing) empire after Galdan's fall. The current size of their populace is unknown.¹³

The Sart-Kalmyk (Sart-Qalmaq/Sart-Kalmyk) people living by the Isik köl lake in Kyrgyzstan are also Oirads despite their Kalmyk name. The Sart-Kalmyks living in a few villages e. g. Chelpek (Čelpek) and Börü Bashi (Börü Baši, east of the Isik köl Lake) are descendants of Ööld and Torguud groups who had fled from Jungaria in 1880.¹⁴ They number some 6,000 today.

The ethnonym of the Oirads or the “Four Oirads” (Mong. *dörben oyirad*) as the sources more often call them is interpreted in a variety of ways. One prevalent explanation derives the name from the phrase *hoi-yin irgen* (Mong.) meaning forest people. Another interpretation stresses the alliance of the Oirads, tracing the word back to the Mong. word *oyira* “close, nearby”: those who are close to

¹⁰ Cerel lists several myths of origin to explain the settling of the Öölds in Khalkha areas. Small groups of Öölds live in Ömnögow' and Khöwsgöl provinces, too (Cerel 1997: 128–131).

¹¹ Hoppe 1995; cf. also Chabros 1993; Rybatzki 1994.

¹² Ĵebsig–Sarangerel 1986; Stuart–Bulag–Gimpl 1989.

¹³ Süngrib–Sečenbilig 1989.

¹⁴ Dorj 1990; the latest field research and summary of research literature: Somfai-Kara 2004: pp. 243–254 and cf. his article in the present volume.

one another are allies.¹⁵ There are folk etymological explanations for nearly all the clan names of the Oirads.¹⁶

*Oirad Population in Mongolia (2010)*¹⁷

Total population of Mongolia	2,647,545	100.00%
Khalkha	2,168,141	81.89%
Oirad	236,067	8.92%
Dörwöd	72,403	2.73%
Bayad	56,573	2.14%
Zakhchin	32,845	1.24%
Uriankhai	26,654	1.01%
Ööld	15,520	0.59%
Torguud	14,176	0.54%
Khoton	11,304	0.43%
Myangad	6,592	0.25%
Other ethnicities	243,337	9.19%

SOME FACTS FROM THE OIRADS' HISTORY¹⁸

Information about the Oirads – or as later sources often call them, “the Four Oirads” – is available from the 13th century onward. Their ancestral home (similarly to the Buryads) was probably the southern strip of the forest belt, west – southwest of Lake Baikal. Large groups of their forebears probably lived around the river-head of the Yenisei – the “land of the eight rivers”¹⁹ as Persian Rašīd

¹⁵ Summary of theories: Zlatkin 1983: 19–24.

¹⁶ The name Dörwöd presumably derives from *dörwn* (Mong. *dörben*) “four” also included in the designation of the alliance of the clans or tribes (see *dörben oyirad*). Myangad, Mingad meaning “thousands” (*myanga*) is another numeral, probably alluding to a military division. The name Bayid is traced to Turkic-Mongolian *bayan* “rich.” Zakhchin can be verified as meaning “frontier guard”, “one moved to the border”; upon imperial order some ethnic group fragments were selected and resettled in their present locations along the borders to render frontier defence services in the Manchu period. The Khotons are an agrarian people of Turkic origin coming from Turkestan. They were moved to the territory of Mongolia in the time of the Jungar Empire their name alluding to their being “town-dwellers” (*xot*). The clan name Uriankhai already features in the *Secret History of the Mongols*. The interesting folk etymological explanation of the name, well exemplifying name-giving by a neighbouring clan or ethnic group, is “the torn[-clothed ones]” (Mong. *uru-* “get torn”).

¹⁷ http://www.toologo2010.mn/doc/Main%20results_20110615_to%20EZBH_for%20print.pdf (last downloaded: January 2012)

¹⁸ Zlatkin 1983; Okada 1987: 181–211; Cerel passim; also Halkovic 1985.

¹⁹ Ketagurov 1952: 181–182.

ad-Dīn called the area in his *Collection of Chronicles* – belonging to the forest peoples (Mong. *hoi-yin irgen*). In the 13th century the Oirads left their original home on the edge of the forest belt and “moved” to the grassy steppe, which also entailed a change of lifestyles. By the 14th century they were gathered in an alliance verging on statehood and they played an important role in the history of Inner Asia for a long time after their appearance. The heyday of the Oirads was the time of the Jungar Empire or the Khanate²⁰ of Jungaria (mid-17th c. – mid-18th c.). The power of the empire reached its apogee during the reign of Galdan (1670–1697), Cewangrabdan (1697–1727) and Galdanceren (1727–1745). However, the “campaign of the three emperors” between 1718 and 1739 and the campaign of 1754–1759 sealed the fate of the Jungar Empire, all resistance was crushed in 1759 and Eastern Turkestan came under Manchu sway (called Xinjiang “New frontier”).

Buddhism played a significant role among the Oirads. A decisive figure of Oirad, and Mongolian, culture and Buddhism was the creator of the Oirad script (Mong. *todo üsüg*; Oir. *todorxoi üzüq*) Zaya Pandita, Oqtoryuyin dalai (1599–1662).

The Oirads managed to preserve their relative independence within the Manchu empire, and today when they are more and more integrated in the language-environment they live in, they still keep up several of the specific features of their culture and cherish the awareness that they descend from one or another Oirad clan.

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²⁰ Miyawaki 1990.

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INTRODUCTION TO OIRAD
DIALECTOLOGY

The present article – as an introduction to Oirad dialectology – is not intended to discuss the details of Oirad dialects or establish new theories and solutions for open questions concerning Oirad linguistic researches. It is merely aimed to briefly summarize the position of Oirad among Mongolian languages, draw an outline of some common features characteristic to Oirad dialects and describe the short history of former researches. Although several features and examples of various Oirad dialects are provided here, most of the presented material is based on the Altai Oirad dialects.

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In: *Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*, Edited by
ÁGNES BIRTALAN. Budapest, 2012,
ELTE Eötvös Kiadó. /Talentum II./ 25–58.

DIVISION OF OIRAD DIALECTS

The Oirad groups living scattered throughout the territory of four countries (Mongolia, China, Russia and Kyrgyzstan) in wide areas of Eurasia can be divided according to several considerations: geographic location, historical background, linguistic features, ethnic and cultural environments. All these factors exercise influence on their present situation and language, and altogether specify six separate Oirad groups:

- Oirads of Western Mongolia (Uws, Xowd and Bayan-Ölgii provinces)
- Oirads living in Eastern Turkestan or Xinjiang (mainly Bortala and Bayangol Mongol Autonomous Prefectures)
- Kalmyks living in Kalmykia (Russia, Eastern Europe) and its vicinity
- Sart Kalmyks at the Yssyk-köl in Kyrgyzstan
- Oirad population of Inner Mongolia's Alasha League
- Oirad groups living on the territory of historical Amdo area (Deed Mongols in Gansu and Qinghai provinces of China)

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¹ Department of Inner Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University

According to their ethnic and cultural environment the Oirads can be divided into two main groups:

- Oirad population living in larger groups and/or in close vicinity of other Mongolians
- isolated groups being under the strong influence of the surrounding nationalities

The Oirads of Western Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan and Alasha region as well as Kalmyks belong to the first group, while Sart Kalmyks and various units of Deed Mongols are classified into the second one. The size of the Oirad speaking population, as well as the ethnic and cultural environment, strongly influences the vitality of particular Oirad dialects. Linguistic, cultural and ethnic assimilation and the speed of its progress highly depend on these factors.

The Oirad dialects are divided in different ways by scholars and there is no consensus on these classifications. Vladimircov classes Oirad dialects into the western branch of Mongolian languages (together with Moghol) and he divides them on mostly territorial basis. The westernmost group is Kalmyk which has two dialects by his opinion: Dörwöd and Torguud. He divides Dörwöd into the subdialect spoken in the *Yeke Dörböd* ulus and the subdialect of Don Buzawas, while Torguud into Uralian and Orenburgian.

According to Vladimircov the Oirads of Western Mongolia form another larger group which includes Khowd Dörwöd, Bayid, Altai Torguud, Altai Uriankhai, Zakhchin, Dambi-Ööld and Mingad. Vladimircov divides these dialects into northern (Dörwöd, Bayid) and southern groups (the others). He also establishes three subdialects of the Khalkhaized Bayids, Dörwöds and Zakhchins.

The smaller Oirad groups scattered throughout Inner Asia do not form an independent group in Vladimircov's system – due to the lack of enough information he did not classified them. He just mentions that the Oirads living in the Alasha and Khobuq sayir region speak a dialect similar to Torguud of Western Mongolia.²

Although Vladimircov divided the language of Oirads into numerous groups, he did not state that any of them could be considered as an independent language. He admits the existence of one Mongolian language only, and asserts that each Mongolian dialect (including Oirad dialects) is the dialect of one and the same language.

Poppe takes a different position and states that Kalmyk is an independent language, which is very close to other Oirad dialects, but due to the strong Russian and Turkic influence exercised on its vocabulary it should be separated from them. In Poppe's opinion Kalmyk has three dialects: Dörwöd, Torguud and Buzawa, but

² Vladimircov 1929: 6–7.

he counts to Kalmyk the so-called Sart Kalmyk in Kyrgyzstan, too. According to Poppe, the Oirad dialects (without Kalmyk) form a separate language, which has Dörwöd, Bayid, Torguud, Uriankhai, Zakhchin, Dambi-Ööld and Mingad dialects in Western Mongolia, and Torguud in Alashan, Qinghai and Jungaria.³

Ägnes Birtalan uses a division of Mongolian languages which has a western group containing Kalmyk and Oirad. Kalmyk has three dialects (Dörwöd, Torguud, Buzawa), while Oirad has seven (Dörwöd, Torguud, Bayid, Uriankhai, Khoton, Zakhchin, Ööld). As she states, Mingad is a transitional dialect between Oirad and Khalkha.⁴

It seems to be obvious that dialects and languages should be separated by their differences, but it is very difficult to decide what kind and amount of differences are enough to classify the speech of a group of people as a separate dialect or language. Beside the linguistic arguments also the self-determination of Oirad groups should be taken into consideration.

There are 7–8 Oirad groups living in Western Mongolia, which have a distinctive self-identification. These groups differ from each other in their language to varying extent and even the speech of individual members of the same group can differ, too. There are rather tendencies characteristic to a particular dialect instead of exclusive and consistent features. We can observe several exceptions in one and the same dialect, as well as the existence of features peculiar to another dialect.

Sart Kalmyks living in the vicinity of Yssyk-köl in Kyrgyzstan and migrated there in the 19th century are an isolated Oirad group, mostly converted to Islam. Their relation to other Oirads, especially to the Kalmyks is interpreted somewhat controversially. Some authors classify their language as a dialect of Kalmyk and even emphasize their common self-identification with the Kalmyks⁵, while others have an opposite view, stating that Sart Kalmyks distinguish themselves definitely from the Kalmyks of Kalmykia. Anyway, it seems that beside their ethnonyms there is nothing common in Sart Kalmyks and Kalmyks what could suggest closer relationships between them than with any other Oirad group.

The position of dialects spoken by Mongols of Oirad origin living in the Alasha league of Inner Mongolia is also an open question. These dialects show some characteristic features of Oirad (preservation of /k/ in front-vowel words, some imperative suffixes, elements of vocabulary, etc.), but also have several features more typical of Khalkha or some Inner Mongolian dialects (e.g. affricate /j/ in contrast with Oirad /z/, forms of personal pronouns, labial attraction, etc.). Actually the Alasha dialect seems to be a transitional form between Oirad and Mongolian proper. Deed Mongol also behaves similarly to Alasha dialects in many respects.⁶

³ Poppe 1955: 18–19.

⁴ Birtalan 1996: appendix.

⁵ Tenišev 1976: 87.

⁶ See Todajeva 1960b for both Alasha and Deed Mongol ('huhu-norskij') data.

According to the material available on Oirad dialects and ethnic groups the following division can be established:

- Altai Oirad (Oirads of Western Mongolia), dialects are Dörwöd, Bayid, Zakhchin, Ööld, Uriankhai, Torguud, Khoshuud, Khoton and Mingad
- Jungarian Oirad (Oirads living in Eastern Turkestan or Xinjiang), dialects are Torguud, Ööld, Khoshuud
- Kalmyk, dialects are Torguud, Dörwöd and Buzawa
- Sart Kalmyk (Oirads living at the Yssyk-köl in Kyrgyzstan)
- Alasha Oirad (spoken in Inner Mongolia's Alasha League)
- Deed Mongol (Oirad groups living on the territory of historical Amdo area, today's Gansu and Qinghai)

28 HISTORY OF THE RESEARCHES ON OIRAD DIALECTS

First information on the Oirad dialects became available for the European academic audience from the records of voluntary or non-voluntary travellers visiting Kalmyk lands on the Southern borders of Russia. At the end of the 18th century Peter Simon Pallas compiled a valuable material concerning the life and culture of the Kalmyks including some short samples of their language in Latin transcription.⁷ Somewhat earlier Philip Johan von Strahlenberg of Swedish origin visited some Mongolian people of Russia as a prisoner of war between 1711 and 1721. After returning home he published a book entitled *Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia* with the results of his geographical, anthropological and linguistic studies.⁸ The collected records of Strahlenberg and other European travellers containing Kalmyk glosses or even short vocabularies were published by Gerhard Doerfer in 1965.⁹

Academic researches on the Mongolian (including Oirad) language started in Russia in the 19th century. The very first grammar of Mongolian was published by Isaac Jakob Schmidt in St. Petersburg in 1831. In 1835 he also published a Mongolian–German–Russian dictionary. Although his grammar and dictionary dealt with Written Mongolian only, Schmidt was among the founders of not only Mongolian, but Oirad studies, too. The mission of the Moravian Church located in Sarepta,

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⁷ Pallas 1776, 1801.

⁸ Strahlenberg 1730.

⁹ Publications already referred in the text with author's name and date of publication will not be referred once more in the footnotes – please see the bibliography.

South Russia, where Schmidt was working from 1798 till 1807 maintained intensive relationship with the neighbouring Kalmyks and became a base for collecting material on the Kalmyk and Written Oirad languages. Later on another missionary, Heinrich August Zwick, who worked in Sarepta between 1818 and 1837, published a grammar and a dictionary of Written Oirad in 1851 and 1853.

An emerging centre for Mongolian studies in Russia was Kazan, where the Mongolian–Russian–French dictionary of Joseph Kowalewski was published in 1844, shortly followed by the very first grammars of Oirad (Kalmyk) language in 1847 and 1849. The grammar of Aleksandr Popov¹⁰ exclusively focused on Written Oirad, the written language of the Kalmyks in that time, while Aleksej Bobrovnikov's work¹¹ dealt with both Written Mongolian and Written Oirad. Narmen Smirnov compiled a Russian–Kalmyk dictionary and published it also in Kazan in 1857.

Although Written Mongolian, the written language of the Mongols was quite far from the contemporary spoken language, and even Written Oirad was slightly different from the living speech, all these grammars and dictionaries mentioned above were limited to written languages since there was no writing system in use for rendering the contemporary pronunciation of the Mongols. Bobrovnikov made some notes on the real Kalmyk pronunciation of written forms, but the first grammar dealing specifically with the spoken language was written by Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, who collected a significant amount of material on the living Kalmyk language during his travel to Astrakhan in 1871–1872, as well as on East Mongolian dialects when he visited Mongolia in 1873. Although his grammar contains an introduction to Mongolian and Oirad scripts, its entire content is devoted to the spoken languages rendering the texts in Latin characters. The exact date when Bálint finished his *Romanized Grammar of the East- and West-Mongolian Languages* is not known (after 1882) and unfortunately it was not published at that time. The manuscript has been published only recently by Ágnes Birtalan¹², who has also published Bálint's Kalmyk texts.¹³

The Kalmyks remained in the focus of the researches in Russia and several scholars were working on studies related to their language and culture. E.g. Aleksej Pozdnejev, the famous Mongolist published a Kalmyk–Russian dictionary¹⁴ as well as several Kalmyk written monuments. Russia was one of the most important centres for Mongolian studies in the 19th century (and still remains that up to the present), but also scholars of other European countries have been involved in the researches on Mongolian and Oirad languages. E.g. in 1866 Bernhard Jülg published the Kalmyk (Written Oirad) text of some tales from the *Vetalapañ-cavimsati* together with a brief Kalmyk–German vocabulary.

¹⁰ Popov 1847.

¹¹ Bobrovnikov 1849.

¹² Birtalan 2009.

¹³ Birtalan 2011.

¹⁴ Pozdnejev 1911.

Due to the growing interest in the study of spoken Oirad dialects a grammar of spoken Kalmyk was published by Vladislav Kotvič in 1915 and 1929. The first large-scale dictionary of the spoken Kalmyk language was compiled by Gustaf John Ramstedt and published in 1935. This dictionary is not only a valuable source for the Kalmyk dialects, but contains several data on the Oirad dialects of Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia.

As can be seen, the Kalmyks and their language were represented in the researches much higher than other Oirad groups and dialects. Although some information was available on the Oirads of Western Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan and other territories, no significant linguistic material was published until Boris Jakovlevič Vladimircov's works. Vladimircov carried out fieldwork in Western and Central Mongolia in 1908 and 1911–1915 and collected huge amount of linguistic material concerning the Oirad dialects of the visited area. His observations on the Oirad dialects were published in several articles and included in his comparative study of the Written Mongolian and Khalkha languages.¹⁵ A valuable material of his collection of Western Mongolian Oirad folklore texts was published in 1926 in Cyrillic transcription.

Beginning with the 1950s a new generation of Mongolists started to work in Mongolia and the expanding academic activity initiated and vitalized the study of Mongolian dialects spoken in the territory of the country. The Mongolian Academy of Sciences organised expeditions for studying Mongolian dialects on a regular basis, often jointly with academic institutions and researchers from abroad.¹⁶ This work is still going on and younger linguists are also involved in the researches continuously. The most outstanding Mongolian linguists studying Oirad (and other) dialects in the past and present are Ĵ. Colō, E. Wandui, X. Luwsanbaldan, D. BadamdorĴ, Š. Luwsanwandan, S. Mōmō, O. SambūdorĴ, S. PūrewĴaw, X. Oyūn and many others.

Oirad dialects of China also remained less studied until the 1950s. At that time Soviet expeditions visited various Mongolian groups living in China to study their language and collect linguistic material. This work was led by Buljaš Todajeva and several of her studies containing Oirad material have been published since then.¹⁷ In the past few decades local Mongolian linguists in China have also been involved in the reseaches on Oirad dialects. The works of Lüntü, ŐlĴeibüren, SangĴai, Sayinbulay, Bulay-a, Süngrüb, ČoyĴungĴab, Čimai and others need to be mentioned here.

The activity of Todajeva and other Kalmyk linguists is also focused on the study of Kalmyk dialects. Over the past decades Kalmyk researchers such as DordĴi Pavlov (Pawla DorĴ), Pjotr Bitkejev (Bitkän Petr), B. Munijev (Munin Bembe),

¹⁵ Vladimircov 1929, 1989.

¹⁶ Colō 1988: IV.

¹⁷ Todajeva 1960a, 1960b, 1981, 1985, 2001.

A. Kičikov (Kičgä Telä), C. Korsunkijev (Korsunkin Cern), Nikolai Ubušajev (Ubšin Nikolay), Svetlana Trofimova, Grigorij Pjurbejev and others have played the main role in the study of their language, publishing a series of articles, grammars and dictionaries. Not only Kalmyk, but several other linguists working in Russia (Valentin Rassadin, Edhjam Tenišev and so on) are also actively involved in the study of Kalmyk dialects.

Noted scholars in Europe researching and writing on Oirad dialects during the past decades include Penti Aalto, György Kara, Uwe Bläsing, Johannes Benzling and Ágnes Birtalan. Among the recent publications *The Mongolic Languages* edited by Juha Janhunen¹⁸ also contains a good summary of Altai Oirad by Ágnes Birtalan,¹⁹ as well as Kalmyk by Uwe Bläsing.²⁰

As mentioned above, the researches on the Oirad language started with studies on the written language and written monuments. Although the study of the spoken language has become increasingly important, researches on the written language have not stopped and are still going on. Written Oirad is beyond the scope of the present article, but we should mention the Oirad-English citation dictionary by John R. Krueger²¹ as a useful aid for reading Oirad texts, and the grammars of Written Oirad published by Natalja Jahontova in 1996 and Attila Rákos in 2002.

The above summary on the history of studies on Oirad language and dialects could not be complete, of course. Listing the names and publications of all researchers involved in these studies exceeds the boundaries of the present article and I apologize to all those who have been left out from the description.

PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTIC OF OIRAD DIALECTS

The phonological system of Oirad dialects can be examined comprehensively, focusing on the common features of all Oirad dialects, and also separately for each particular dialect. Common features characterizing all (or most) dialects are some of the main distinctive features distinguishing Oirad from other Mongolian languages and dialects.

Reviewing the literature dealing with the phonology of various Oirad dialects, one finds that the sound system of Oirad seems to be subject to debates and various interpretations. There are several different and controversial opinions concerning especially the vowel system.

¹⁸ Janhunen 2003.

¹⁹ Birtalan 2003.

²⁰ Bläsing 2003.

²¹ Krueger 1978, 1984.

Vowels

There is consensus on dividing Oirad vowels into front and back groups by the place of articulation (and vowel harmony, see later), as well as into three categories on the basis of quantity: short, long and overshoot (or reduced). Beside these points however several controversial questions exist.

The vowel system of Oirad is usually examined by taking account of Written Mongolian and Written Oirad, and most interpretations classify vowels according to their origin, rather than according to their role and position in the current vowel system. This diachronic approach is noticeable in the interpretation of vowel length (quantity) in non-first syllables. Although Oirad dialects clearly distinguish short and long vowels in the first syllables, the original short and long vowels of non-first syllables are fairly reduced: short vowels become overshoot (and mostly lose the distinctive character of their quality), while the length of the original long vowels become almost identical with the length of short vowels of first syllables. Several classifications of the Oirad vowel system bear the effect of a diachronic approach, which ignores some results of these changes that took place in vowel quantity.

The typical Oirad vowel system consists of 8 short (/a/, /o/, /u/, /i/, /e/, /ä/, /ö/, /ü/) and 8 long (/ā/, /ō/, /ū/, /ī/, /ē/, /ā̃/, /ō̃/, /ū̃/) phonemes. There are also several variations of an overshoot vowel, some of which could be considered phonemic or non-phonemic depending on the interpretation of the consonant system. Most overshoot vowels are certainly non-phonemic, but an overshoot /i/ could be phonemic if palatalized consonants are considered non-phonemic variations of the non-palatalized ones. Beside /i/ we can assume the existence of another overshoot phoneme: /ə/. According to Sambūdorj the reduced vowels of Uriankhai dialect should be regarded as illabial vowels, because in stressed position they always sound as long illabials.²² Considering the lack of labial attraction in Oirad, these illabial vowels could be the very short variants of /a/, /ä/ and /i/: /ǎ/, /ǣ/ and /ĩ/. Colō practically says the same when he states that the Zakhchin dialect has three reduced vowel phonemes: /ě/, /ǎ/ and /ĩ/.²³ These observations could be extended also to other Oirad dialects, but if we take into consideration that [ǣ] and [ǎ] show complementary distribution (due to vowel harmony) they can be considered as variants of the same neutral phoneme /ə/. If we assume that palatalized consonants are also phonemes in contrast with non-palatalized ones, then [ĩ] could be treated as the allophone of /ə/, too.

Some short vowel phonemes (/a/, /u/, /i/, /ä/, /ü/) can occur in any syllable, while others (/o/, /e/, /ö/) only in the first syllable, with the only common

²² Sambūdorj 1998: 147.

²³ Colō 1965: 40–41.

Front		Central	Back	
Unrounded	Rounded		Unrounded	Rounded
<i>i</i> <i>ī</i> (<i>ĩ</i>)	<i>ü</i> <i>ũ</i>	<i>ə</i>		<i>u</i> <i>ū</i>
<i>e</i> <i>ē</i>	<i>ö</i> <i>õ</i>			<i>o</i> <i>ō</i>
<i>ä</i> <i>ā</i>			<i>a</i> <i>ā</i>	

exception of /o/ occurring in the negative particle -go (the latter has a variant -g^ua in Altai Oirad). It should be mentioned however that /u/ and /ü/ can have variants [o] and [ö] in non-first syllables, so the difference between [u] and [o] as well as [ü] and [ö] is non-phonemic in non-first syllables. Long vowels are found only in the first syllable, and overshort vowels exist in non-first syllables only. Overshort vowels can alternate with zero.²⁴ The actual situation can be formulated so that vowel quantity is a distinctive feature only in the first syllable.²⁵

Although diphtongs are usually considered as not typical of Oirad, various Oirad texts published in phonetic transcription contain obvious traces of diphtongs. Diphtongs are found in Vladimircov's folklore text collection (Western Mongolian dialects),²⁶ Colō's Zakhchin²⁷ and Wandui's Dörwöd²⁸ material, as well as in Ramstedt's Kalmyk folklore texts²⁹ (but not in his dictionary) and in many other publications. Audio recordings of the Hungaro-Mongolian Joint Expedition also contain evidence on diphtongs occurring in Western Mongolian dialects. Existence of diphtongs in Altai Oirad dialects could be explained by the influence of Khalkha, but this explanation cannot be applied to Kalmyk.

Distribution of diphtongs in Oirad dialects shows occasional and irregular alternation with long vowels developed from the common Mongolian *Vyi* sound complexes. This alternation rules out that these diphtongs have phonemic sense. Obviously the development of original diphtongs into long vowels did not take place completely in Oirad dialects and diphtongs remained as free variations of the new long vowels (but not that of the original ones).

In spite of the facts discussed above scholars mostly deny the existence of diphtong phonemes in Oirad dialects, and some Mongolian researchers are the only exceptions. While Colō accepts the existence of a single and marginal diphtong phoneme only (^uā in the short form of the negative particle -g^uā),³⁰

²⁴ Since this alternation is non-phonemic and various sources show great diversity concerning the presence and quality of reduced vowels, these vowels are not indicated in samples provided in the present article.

²⁵ See the similar conclusion of Bläsing concerning Kalmyk: Bläsing 2003: 231.

²⁶ Vladimircov 1926.

²⁷ Colō 1965.

²⁸ Wandui 1965.

²⁹ Ramstedt 1962, 1966.

³⁰ Colō 1965: 40–41.

Wandui gives 11 variants (see the table below). On the basis of audio sources of the Hungaro-Mongolian Joint Expedition recorded in Western Mongolia and my personal experiences I admit that several diphthongs exist in Western Mongolian Oirad dialects as variations and allophones of long vowel phonemes, but they are certainly not independent phonemes. Existence of these diphthongs could not be explained exclusively by the influence of Khalkha, but the frequency of their occurrence shows a clear correlation with that.

The existence of the back vowels [ɨ] and [ɯ] as phonemic vowels in Oirad is also a debated question. Some scholars (mostly Mongols) state that Oirad has primary or secondary [ɨ] and [ɯ] vowels and these are phonemes.³¹ However, there is no real reason to propose such an idea, since there are no word pairs containing [ɨ]/[ɯ] and [i]/[u], which could be considered as minimal pairs. It is obvious that some difference may exist in the pronunciation of /i/ and /u/ in words containing back or front vowels, but these variations are non-phonemic.

As a demonstration of various classifications established by scholars concerning the vowel system of Oirad dialects, the table below shows the vowel phonemes of Dörwöd, Zakhchin and Torguud dialects spoken in Western Mongolia based on the work of E. Wandui, J. Colō and O. Sambūdorj:

The vowel system of some Oirad dialects

		Front	Back
Wandui ³² (Dörwöd)	Short vowels	ä, e, i, ö, ü	a, o, u
	Long vowels	ā, ē, ī, ō, ū	ā, ō, ū, ī
	Diphtongs	ā ⁱ , ū ⁱ , ō ^e , ū ^e	ō ⁱ /ō ⁱ , ū ⁱ /ū ⁱ , ō ^e , ō ^a , ū ⁱ
	Reduced vowels ³³		
Colō ³⁴ (Zakhchin)	Short vowels	e, i, ö, ü	a (ä), o, u
	Long vowels	ē (ē), ī, ō, ū	ā (ā), ō, ū
	Diphtongs ³⁵		"ā
	Reduced vowels	ě, ĭ	ǎ
Sambūdorj ³⁶ (Torguud)	Short vowels	ä, e, i, ö, ü	a, ĭ, o, u
	Long vowels	ā, ē, ī, ō, ū	ā, ī, ō, ū
	Diphtongs ³⁷	öü, öe, eē, ōō	ou, ua, oa, aā, oō
	Reduced vowels	ě, ĭ, ō, ū, ǎ	ǎ, ĭ, ō, ū

³¹ Wandui 1965: 20–27; Sambūdorj 1996: 23.

³² Wandui 1965: 20–62.

³³ Wandui does not determine exactly the set of reduced vowels.

³⁴ Colō 1965: 40–41.

³⁵ By Colō's opinion "ā is the only diphtong in Zakhchin, which occurs in the shortened form of the negative particle (-g"ā).

³⁶ Sambūdorj 1996: 23–24.

³⁷ Sambūdorj does not use the term diphtong (Khal. *xos egšig*), instead he writes *xosorxog egšig* 'diphthong-like vowel' and says that these vowels are not phonemes, just variants or allophones.

Due to the Khalkha influence Oirad dialects spoken in Western Mongolia adopted some Khalkha sounds as variations or allophones of labial vowel phonemes. Thus the common Oirad pronunciation of the phonemes /ö/ and /ü/ as [ö] and [ü], as well as the phonemes /o/ and /u/ as [o] and [u] alternates with the centralized labial vowels of Khalkha.

Vowel harmony and labial attraction

Vowel harmony is a typical feature characterizing Mongolian languages. Oirad vowel harmony divides vowel phonemes into three groups: 1) back vowels – /a/, /o/, /u/; 2) front vowels – /ä/, /e/, /ö/, /ü/; 3) neutral vowel – /i/. A word (except compound and foreign words) can contain vowels from the same group only, but a neutral /i/ can occur together with any other vowel. In some dialects (mostly in Dörwöd) the vowel /ä/ is also treated as neutral.

The basis of vowel harmony and division of vowels into two classes is the place of their articulation. Original Mongolian vowels were divided into back and front vowel groups, which has been retained in Oirad dialects in contrast to Khalkha, Buriad and Inner Mongolian dialects, where vowels are centralized and vowel harmony is rather based on the position of the tongue root (retracted or advanced).³⁸

Lack of labial attraction is a typical feature of Oirad in contrast with other Mongolian dialects. In Oirad labial vowels of the first syllable can be followed by illabial vowels /a/, /ä/ and /i/, as well as labial vowels /u/ and /ü/ only, according to the vowel harmony. Thus suffixes can contain these vowels only, too.

This however seems to break to some extent in Altai Oirad, because of Khalkha influence (Khalkha has labial attraction). Some examples can be found in which the word stems show labial attraction of the Khalkha type. E.g. AO *nox* ~ *noxo* 'dog' ← Khal. *noxoi*; AO *noyan* ~ *noyon* 'green' ← Khal. *nogōn*; AO *boran* ~ *boro* 'rain' ← Khal. *borō*, etc. It is interesting however, that such labial attraction found in word stems does not affect the suffixes: E.g.: *šoroyar* 'by clay'. A similar phenomenon could be observed concerning labial attraction in the Alasha dialect and Deed Mongol.

Consonants

There are 26 consonant phonemes in Oirad, and some of them have several variants depending on the position and the surrounding sounds. The phonemes and their variants are the following ones:

³⁸ Svantesson 2008: 7–8.

/b/	Voiced bilabial plosive [b] or voiced bilabial fricative [w]. Allophone [b] can occur in any position, while [w] mostly in non-initial positions. Even initial [b] can alternate with [w] in fast speech. Unvoiced variant [p] can occur in some dialects at the end of words or end of syllables, where the next syllable begins with a stop or affricate. E.g.: <i>büdüün</i> ‘stout’; <i>xolba</i> ~ <i>xolwo</i> ‘connection’; <i>xöb</i> ~ <i>xüb</i> ~ <i>xüw</i> ‘part, destiny’; <i>nogaptr</i> ‘greenish’.
/p/	Voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ is a marginal phoneme occurring in loanwords and onomatopoeic words only. E.g.: <i>pargram</i> ‘programme’.
/c/	Voiceless alveolar affricate /c/ corresponds to Mong. <i>čV</i> , where <i>V</i> is any vowel except <i>i</i> . Sometimes Mong. <i>či</i> also results in /c/ in Oirad. Consonant /c/ occurs in any position. E.g.: <i>cayan</i> ‘white’; <i>acan</i> ‘cargo, caravan’; <i>garc</i> ‘exit’.
/č/	Voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /č/ has been developed from Written Mongolian’s <i>čV</i> , where <i>V</i> is mostly <i>i</i> , but sometimes any other vowel. At present it can stay in any position, but in final position it is often followed by a reduced, non-phonemic [i]. E.g.: <i>čödr</i> ~ <i>čüdr</i> ~ <i>čidr</i> ‘hobble’; <i>gič</i> ‘guest’; <i>önčn</i> ‘orphan’.
/d/	Voiced alveolar plosive /d/ can stay in initial, middle or final position. As final it can become unvoiced [t]. E.g.: <i>dotr</i> ‘in, inside’; <i>bodx</i> ‘to think’; <i>ūd</i> ‘bit, snaffle’.
/d’/	Palatalized variant of a voiced alveolar plosive /d’/ stays instead of original /d/ in vicinity of an original /i/. E.g. <i>bod’sad</i> ‘boddhisattva’.
/j/	Voiced palato-alveolar affricate /j/ corresponds to Mong. <i>jV</i> complex, where <i>V</i> is <i>i</i> , or rarely any other vowel. /j/ can stay in any position in Oirad, but at word ends it is often followed by a reduced, non-phonemic [i]. E.g.: <i>jora</i> ‘amber’; <i>ūjm</i> ‘wide’; <i>kögj</i> ‘mold, mildew’.
/g/	Voiced velar plosive /g/ corresponds to Mong. <i>g</i> and <i>γ</i> where the latter is not followed by a vowel. In final position it becomes unvoiced and has a variant [k]. E.g.: <i>nutg</i> ‘homeland, territory’; <i>gerl</i> ‘light’.
/γ/	Voiced uvular fricative /γ/ corresponds to Mong. <i>γ</i> followed by a back vowel. E.g.: <i>γurwn</i> ~ <i>γuru</i> ‘three’; <i>γolya</i> ‘intestines’.
/x/	Voiceless velar fricative /x/ is found in back-vowel words and front vowel-words derived from back-vowel ones (due to the effect of original [i]), as well as in Nomen Futuri’s - <i>x</i> suffix, which can be connected to either back or front-vowel verb stems. E.g.: <i>xār</i> ‘love’; <i>asxn</i> ‘evening’; <i>xaša</i> ‘fence’; <i>sūx</i> ‘to sit’.
/y/	Palatal approximant /y/ occurs in any position and corresponds to Mong. <i>y</i> or sometimes Mong. <i>j</i> . E.g.: <i>yasx</i> ‘to arrange’; <i>biy</i> ‘body, oneself’; <i>bayn</i> ‘rich’.
/k/	Voiceless velar plosive /k/ corresponds to Mong. <i>k</i> , so it mostly occurs in front-vowel words. Due to the Khalkha influence /k/ can alternate with [x] in Altai Oirad. E.g.: <i>kirü</i> ‘hoarfrost’; <i>kök</i> ~ <i>kok</i> ‘blue’; <i>taka</i> ‘hen, chicken’.
/l/	Lateral approximant or fricative /l/ rarely occurs in initial position (mostly in loanwords). E.g. <i>law</i> ‘sure’; <i>xalun</i> ‘hot’; <i>xöl</i> ‘meal’
/l’/	Palatalized /l’/ appears in the surroundings of original /i/. E.g. <i>āl’a</i> ~ <i>al’a</i> ‘elfish’; <i>ūl’</i> ‘cuckoo’.

/m/	Bilabial nasal /m/ occurs in any position. E.g.: <i>ām</i> ‘life’; <i>medx</i> ‘to know’; <i>selm</i> ‘sword’.
/m’/	Palatalized bilabial nasal /m’/ occurs in the surrounding of original /i/. E.g.: <i>am’</i> ‘life’.
/n/	Alveolar nasal /n/ can occur in any position. In final position [n] can alternate with [ŋ], while an original /n/ ending can become /ŋ/, but an original /ŋ/ never changes to /n/. E.g.: <i>nogan</i> ~ <i>nogon</i> ‘green’; <i>xancu</i> ‘sleeve’.
/n’/	Palatal nasal /n’/ appears in the surroundings of original /i/. E.g.: <i>xān’ādn</i> ‘cough’.
/ŋ/	Velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs as syllable coda only. E.g.: <i>bāšŋ</i> ‘building’; <i>mōŋgn</i> ‘silver’.
/r/	Alveolar trill /r/ occurs as initial sound in loanwords only. E.g.: <i>ükr</i> ‘cow’; <i>rašān</i> ‘mineral spring, holy water’.
/r’/	Palatalized alveolar trill /r’/ appears in the surroundings of original /i/. E.g.: <i>sār’sn</i> ‘leather’.
/s/	Voiceless alveolar sibilant /s/ occurs in any position. E.g.: <i>sāxn</i> ‘beautiful’; <i>bögs</i> ‘rear, backside’; <i>zems</i> ~ <i>jems</i> ‘fruit’.
/š/	Voiceless palato-alveolar sibilant /š/ occurs in all positions. E.g.: <i>šar</i> ‘yellow’; <i>xarš</i> ‘harmful’; <i>bušu</i> ‘quick’.
/t/	Voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ occurs in any position, but final /t/ is often followed by a non-phonemic reduced vowel. E.g.: <i>bat</i> ‘strong’; <i>bortx</i> ‘flask’; <i>tümn</i> ‘ten thousand’.
/t’/	Palatalized voiceless alveolar plosive /t’/ occurs in positions preceding an original /i/. E.g.: <i>bot’</i> ‘volume (of a book)’.
/z/	Voiced alveolar sibilant /z/ corresponds to Mong. <i>ǰV</i> (<i>V≠i</i>) or sometimes <i>ǰi</i> . Due to Khalkha influence, [z] alternates with voiceless or semi-voiced alveolar affricate [j] in Altai Oirad. E.g.: <i>galzu</i> ~ <i>galju</i> ‘rabid’; <i>zāŋg</i> ‘news’; <i>boz</i> ‘liquid made from milk’.

It should be mentioned that phonemic correlation between palatalized and non-palatalized consonants exists in back-vowel words only. Moreover if we consider /i/ as a phoneme, these palatalized consonants could be treated as non-phonemic allophones of their non-palatalized pairs. Due to the alternation of overshort vowels with zero, some consonants can form a syllable on their own.

OIRAD MORPHOLOGY

This chapter contains introductory material to some selected areas of Oirad morphology. These include noun cases, personal pronouns, personal possessive markers, personal predicative markers and some verbal suffixes characteristic of Oirad dialects.

Noun cases

Oirad has ten noun cases. Some case suffixes have variants according to vowel harmony or depending on the final sound of the word stem. Some suffixes having two variants with either /a/ or /ä/ in most of the dialects can have a single form with /ä/ (neutral to vowel harmony) in Dörwöd. There is a special group of words having a non-stable final *n*. This *n*-stem appears before certain noun cases, plural and derivative suffixes, but does not appear elsewhere. The appearance of the *n*-stem is sometimes inconsistent, the final *n* can be both stable and unstable even in the same word depending on the dialect or speaker. Before suffixes beginning with a full (non-reduced) vowel a connecting *g*/*γ* appears when the word stem ends with a full (non-reduced) vowel or a consonant *ŋ* originated from Mong. *ng*.

Noun case suffixes

Nominative	Ø
Accusative	Ø, -ig, -i, -g, -ag/äg
Genitive	-i, -in, -n, -a/ä, -an/än
Dative-Locative	-d, -t
Ablative	-as/äs
Instrumental	-ar/är
Sociative 1	-ta/tä
Sociative 2	-la/lä
Directive	-ur/ür
Terminative	-ca/cä

Suffixes shown in the table above are common Oirad forms. Some of the variants of accusative and genitive case endings occur in different distribution in particular Oirad dialects. As a comparative material the following table shows the system of noun case suffixes of some Oirad dialects as it is described in the literature. The table contains data as it appears in the particular sources.

Noun case suffixes in the literature

	ZakhC ³⁹	DörW ⁴⁰	TorS ⁴¹	Birtalan ⁴²	Todajeva ⁴³	Kalmyk ⁴⁴	SKalmP ⁴⁵	SKalmT ⁴⁶
Nominative	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Accusative	-ig, -g	-ig/ġg, -g	-āg/āg, -ig, -g, -i (= -i?)	-ig, -g	-iz, -z	-ig, -g	-ig, -gi, -g	-uz, -z
Genitive	-ān/ūn/ēn, -nā/nū/nē, -ñ, -ñ	-ā/ā, -ān/ān, -īm/īm, -gīm, -n	-ān/ān, -(n)ā/(n)ā, -īm, -n	-A, -ā, -An, -ān, -in, -gh-in	-ā/ā	-a/ā, -in, -gīm, -n	-ā/ā, -ān/ān, -īm, -n	-uH, -H, -a/ə
Dative-Locative	-d	-d/t	-d/t	-d/t	—	-d/t	-d/t	-d
Ablative	-ās/ūs/ēs, -nās/nūs	-ās/ās (-nās/nās)	-ās/ās	-As -gh-As	-āc/āc	-as/ās, -yas/γās, -gas/gās	-ās/ās	-ac/əc
Instrumental	-ār/ūr/ēr, -γār/γūr/gēr	-ār/ār	-ār/ār	-Ar -gh-Ar	—	-ar/ār, -yar/γār	-ār/ār	-ap/əp
Sociative 1	-tā/tū	-tā	-tā/tā	-tA, -tā	-mā/mā	-ta/tā	-tā/tā	-ma/mə
Sociative 2	-lā/lē	-lā	-lā/lā	-lA, -lā	-nā/nā	-la/lā	—	-naa/nəə
Directive	-ūr/ūr, -ād/əd	-ūr/ūr	-ūr/ūr	-Ur, -Ar, -DA, -Ad	-yp/yp (Ööld only)	-ur/ūr, -yur/γūr, -gur/gūr	—	-yyp/yp
Terminative	-cā/cē	-cā	-cā/cā	-tsA	-uā/uā	—	—	-uaa/uəə
Vocative	—	—	-ā/ā/ō/ō	—	—	—	—	—

³⁹ Coló 1965: 70–73. ⁴⁰ Wandui 1965: 94–107. ⁴¹ Sambudorj 1996: 29–31. ⁴² Birtalan 2003: 216–218. ⁴³ Torguud and Ööld, Todajeva 1960b: 31–33.
⁴⁴ Hereby I mean literary Kalmyk on the basis of Bitkejev 1983: 104–109. ⁴⁵ Pawla Dorj 1990: 24–27. ⁴⁶ Tenišev 1997: 71.

Personal pronouns

Oirad distinguishes three persons in singular and plural, but there are no real personal pronouns for Sg. 3 and Pl. 3, and the demonstrative pronouns are used instead. The declension of personal pronouns is similar to that of nouns, but stems change depending on noun cases.

The following table lists personal pronouns used in Altai Oirad dialects. Some traces of Khalkha influence are noticeable and the inflectional stem of pronouns in other dialects can be somewhat different. E.g.: Ablative, Sg. 1.: AO *nadas*, Kalm., OirT. *nanas*, Khal. *nadās*; Instrumental, Sg. 1.: AO *nadar*, Kalm., OirT. *nanar*, Khal. *nadār*, etc.

Personal pronouns of Altai Oirad

	Singular						
	1 st person	2 nd person		3 rd person			
		Impolite	Polite	Near		Far	
Nominative	<i>bī</i>	<i>čī</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ter</i>	<i>ter</i>
Accusative	<i>namag</i> <i>nāmāg</i>	<i>čamag</i> <i>čamāg</i>	<i>tanig</i>	<i>ūnig</i>	<i>enūnig</i>	<i>tūnig</i>	<i>terūnig</i>
Genitive	<i>mini</i>	<i>čini</i>	<i>tani</i>	<i>ūnā</i>	<i>enūnā</i>	<i>tūnā</i>	<i>terūnā</i>
Dative-Locative	<i>nadd</i>	<i>čamd</i>	<i>tand</i>	<i>ūnd</i>	<i>enūnd</i>	<i>tūnd</i>	<i>terūnd</i>
Ablative	<i>nadas</i>	<i>čamas</i>	<i>tanās</i>	<i>ūnās</i>	<i>enūnās</i>	<i>tūnās</i>	<i>terūnās</i>
Instrumental	<i>nadar</i>	<i>čamar</i>	<i>tanar</i>	<i>ūgār</i>	<i>enūgār</i>	<i>tūgār</i>	<i>terūgār</i>
Sociative 1	<i>nadta</i> <i>nadtā</i>	<i>čamta</i> <i>čamtā</i>	<i>tanta</i> <i>tantā</i>	<i>ūntā</i>	<i>enūntā</i>	<i>tūntā</i>	<i>terūntā</i>
Sociative 2	<i>nadla</i> <i>nadlā</i>	<i>čamlā</i> <i>čamlā</i>	<i>tanlā</i> <i>tanlā</i>	<i>ūnlā</i>	<i>enūnlā</i>	<i>tūnlā</i>	<i>terūnlā</i>
Directive	<i>nadur</i>	<i>čamur</i>	<i>tanur</i>	<i>ūnūr</i>	<i>enūr</i>	<i>tūnūr</i>	<i>terūnūr</i>

	Plural						
	1 st person				2 nd person		
	Inclusive		Exclusive				
Nominative	<i>bid</i>	<i>bidnūs</i>		<i>mānr</i>	<i>mānus</i>	<i>tānr</i>	<i>tānus</i>
Accusative	<i>bidnig</i>	<i>bidnūsīg</i>		<i>mānrīg</i>	<i>mānusīg</i>	<i>tānrīg</i>	<i>tānusīg</i>
Genitive	<i>bidni</i>	<i>bidnūsīn</i>	<i>mana</i> <i>manā</i>	<i>mānrīn</i>	<i>mānusīn</i>	<i>tānrīn</i>	<i>tānusīn</i>
Dative-Locative	<i>bidnd</i>	<i>bidnūst</i>	<i>mand</i>	<i>mānr̄t</i>	<i>mānust</i>	<i>tānr̄t</i>	<i>tānust</i>
Ablative	<i>bidnās</i>	<i>bidnūsās</i>		<i>mānr̄as</i>	<i>mānusas</i>	<i>tānr̄as</i>	<i>tānusas</i>
Instrumental	<i>bidnār</i>	<i>bidnūsār</i>		<i>mānr̄ar</i>	<i>mānusar</i>	<i>tānr̄ar</i>	<i>tānusar</i>
Sociative 1	<i>bidntā</i>	<i>bidnūstā</i>	<i>manta</i> <i>mantā</i>	<i>mānr̄ta</i>	<i>mānusta</i>	<i>tānr̄ta</i>	<i>tānusta</i>
Sociative 2	<i>bidnlā</i>	<i>bidnūslā</i>	<i>manla</i> <i>manlā</i>	<i>mānr̄la</i>	<i>mānusla</i>	<i>tānr̄la</i>	<i>tānusla</i>
Directive	<i>bidnūr</i>	<i>bidnūsūr</i>		<i>mānr̄ur</i>	<i>mānusur</i>	<i>tānr̄ur</i>	<i>tānusur</i>

	Plural					
	3 rd person					
	Near			Far		
Nominative	<i>ed</i>	<i>ednr</i>	<i>ednüs</i>	<i>ted</i>	<i>tednr</i>	<i>tednüs</i>
Accusative	<i>ednig</i>	<i>ednrig</i>	<i>ednüsig</i>	<i>tednig</i>	<i>tednrig</i>	<i>tednüsig</i>
Genitive	<i>ednä</i>	<i>ednrin</i>	<i>ednüsün</i>	<i>tednä</i>	<i>tednrin</i>	<i>tednüsün</i>
Dative-Locative	<i>ednd</i>	<i>ednrt</i>	<i>ednüst</i>	<i>tednd</i>	<i>tednrt</i>	<i>tednüst</i>
Ablative	<i>ednäs</i>	<i>ednräs</i>	<i>enüsäs</i>	<i>tednäs</i>	<i>tednräs</i>	<i>tenüsäs</i>
Instrumental	<i>ednär</i>	<i>ednrär</i>	<i>ednüsär</i>	<i>tednär</i>	<i>tednrär</i>	<i>tednüsär</i>
Sociative 1	<i>edntä</i>	<i>ednrtä</i>	<i>ednüstä</i>	<i>tedntä</i>	<i>tednrtä</i>	<i>tednüstä</i>
Sociative 2	<i>ednlä</i>	<i>ednrlä</i>	<i>ednüslä</i>	<i>tednlä</i>	<i>tednrlä</i>	<i>tednüslä</i>
Directive	<i>ednür</i>	<i>ednrür</i>	<i>ednüsür</i>	<i>tednür</i>	<i>tednrür</i>	<i>tednüsür</i>

For comparison's sake the table of personal pronouns in Kalmyk is given below:

Personal pronouns of Kalmyk

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	Singular						
	1 st person	2 nd person		3 rd person			
		Impolite	Polite	Near		Far	
Nominative	<i>bi</i>	<i>či</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ter</i>	<i>ter</i>
Accusative	<i>namag</i>	<i>čamag</i>	<i>tanig</i>	<i>enüg</i>	<i>üg</i>	<i>terüg</i>	<i>tüg</i>
Genitive	<i>mini</i>	<i>čini</i>	<i>tana</i>	<i>enünä</i>	<i>ünä</i>	<i>terünä</i>	<i>tünä</i>
Dative-Locative	<i>nand</i>	<i>čamd</i>	<i>tand</i>	<i>enünd</i>	<i>ünd</i>	<i>teründ</i>	<i>tünd</i>
Ablative	<i>nanas</i>	<i>čamas</i>	<i>tanas</i>	<i>enünäs</i>	<i>ünäs</i>	<i>terünäs</i>	<i>tünäs</i>
Instrumental	<i>nanar</i>	<i>čamar</i>	<i>tanar</i>	<i>enügär</i>	<i>ügär</i>	<i>terügär</i>	<i>tügär</i>
Sociative 1	<i>nanta</i>	<i>čamta</i>	<i>tanta</i>	<i>enüntä</i>	<i>üntä</i>	<i>terüntä</i>	<i>tüntä</i>
Sociative 2	<i>nanla</i>	<i>čamlä</i>	<i>tanla</i>	<i>enünlä</i>	<i>ünlä</i>	<i>terünlä</i>	<i>tünlä</i>
Directive	<i>nanur</i>	<i>čamur</i>	<i>tanur</i>	<i>enünür</i>	<i>ünür</i>	<i>terünür</i>	<i>tünür</i>

	Plural					
	1 st person		2 nd person		3 rd person	
					Near	Far
Nominative	<i>bidn</i>	<i>madn</i>	<i>tadn</i>	<i>tānr</i>	<i>edn</i>	<i>tedn</i>
Accusative	<i>manig</i>	<i>madnig</i>	<i>tadnig</i>	<i>tānrig</i>	<i>ednig</i>	<i>tednig</i>
Genitive	<i>mana</i>	<i>madna</i>	<i>tadna</i>	<i>tānrin</i>	<i>ednä</i>	<i>tednä</i>
Dative-Locative	<i>mand</i>	<i>madnd</i>	<i>tadnd</i>	<i>tānrt</i>	<i>ednd</i>	<i>tednd</i>
Ablative	<i>manas</i>	<i>madnas</i>	<i>tadnas</i>	<i>tānräs</i>	<i>endäs</i>	<i>tednäs</i>
Instrumental	<i>manar</i>	<i>madnar</i>	<i>tadnar</i>	<i>tānrar</i>	<i>ednär</i>	<i>tednär</i>
Sociative 1	<i>manta</i>	<i>madnta</i>	<i>tadnta</i>	<i>tānrta</i>	<i>edntä</i>	<i>tedntä</i>
Sociative 2	<i>manla</i>	<i>madnla</i>	<i>tadnla</i>	<i>tānrla</i>	<i>ednlä</i>	<i>tednlä</i>
Directive	<i>manur</i>	<i>madnur</i>	<i>tadnur</i>	<i>tānur</i>	<i>ednür</i>	<i>tednür</i>

Personal possessive markers

The existence of personal possessive markers is a characteristic feature of Oirad dialects. Although there are other Mongolian dialects having similar suffixes (e.g. Buriad, Daur), they should be mentioned here as a typical feature of Oirad.

A personal possessive marker indicates the possessor and its suffix is attached directly to the possession. It is the very last morpheme in a word, preceded by plural suffixes and case endings. All personal possessive markers have been developed from the genitive form of personal pronouns and traces of a similar structure have been found even in the earliest sources of the Mongolian language (e.g. Mong. *bičig manu* ‘our writing’).

Personal Possessive Markers

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	- <i>m</i>	- <i>mdn</i>
2 nd person	- <i>čn</i>	- <i>tn</i>
3 rd person	- <i>n/n'</i> , - <i>i</i> , - <i>y</i>	- <i>n/n'</i> , - <i>i</i> , - <i>y</i>

There are two variants for the 3rd person: -*n/n'* and -*i/-y*. Suffix -*n/n'* is the common Oirad form, while -*i* and -*y* are typical of Torguud and Uriankhai.⁴⁷ The latter are not unique Altai Oirad forms and – according to Todajeva – similar forms exist in the Ööld dialect spoken in Eastern Turkestan.⁴⁸ E.g.: TorCJ. *Ket nutgtn xamaw* ‘Where is your homeland?’, TorCJ. *Kürl altn dülxiy ümsč awad* ‘Putting on his bronze and gold helmet’, BaV. *altn amim öršä* ‘spare my golden life!’, Zakh. *Äwm tã ter tamyan tawn tüšmdtägän nãrltn* ‘Oh my father, make a feast with your five seal-officers!’, DörV. *ter sãxn maxn cusn amsksn keličn üjiy* ‘Let me see your tongue, which tasted that good blood!’.

Personal predicative marker

Personal predicative markers could be connected to both verbal and nominal predicates and indicate the person and number of the subject. Rarely some verbal adverbs also occur together with them. These personal suffixes take their origin from the personal pronouns. Although the presence and regular use of these suffixes seem to be relatively new, some traces of similar constructs (placing personal pronouns after the predicate) are found in even the earliest sources, such as the *Secret History of the Mongols*.

⁴⁷ Sambüdorj 1996: 31–32.

⁴⁸ Todajeva 1960b: 33–34.

Personal predicative markers are similar in all dialects. The only exception has been found by Wandui in Dörwöd, where *-wt* stays instead of *-wdn* for 2nd person plural.⁴⁹

Personal predicative markers

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	-w/b	-wdn
2 nd person	-č	-t/tn
3 rd person	Ø	Ø

Some examples demonstrating the usage of personal predicative markers: TorCJ. *Neritn sonsjw* 'I have heard your name'; TorCJ. *Xama kürdwt* 'Where are you going?'; Zakh. *Tana tawn tamyān tüšmdin tendäs irüw* 'I came from your five seal-officials'.

Imperatives

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Oirad dialects have several imperative forms for different purposes. Some of these forms correspond to similar suffixes of Written Mongolian, Written Oirad, Khalkha, Buriad and other Mongolian dialects, but others are different. Imperative forms are connected to certain person and number, and could be used only in these well-defined cases. Some imperative suffixes can hold a limited set of personal predicative markers.

The simplest imperative form has no suffix and is identical with the verb stem. It expresses a strict demand, an order or command in Sg. or Pl. 2, and could also be used toward persons with younger age, lower position, or simply in case of informal relations. E.g.: TorCJ. *Zalu zandar tülš kã* 'Make firewood from young santal!'; *či gurw xonat ir* 'Come back after three days (passing a night three times)'; BaV. *altm amim örsä* 'Spare my golden life!'; Zakh. *önä sögin dotr yaza šilm bāšm bārül giye* 'Build a glass building tonight! – he said'.

If the personal predicative marker *-tn* (*-tñ* in Zaxčín⁵⁰) follows the verb stem, then it modifies the meaning of the pure imperative, and expresses a polite request in Sg. 2 or Pl. 2. Poppe and Sanžev write that Oirad *-tn* probably goes back to Mong. *-ytun/gtün*, but Sanžev also finds possible that it is connected with the first element of Mong. *-tuyai/tügei*.⁵¹ E.g. TorCJ. *Manad tüer satj / Xöl idtn* 'Stay a little bit with us, and eat some meal!'; Zakh. *dū axnrtayan xuwaj idtn* 'Eat it dividing between your brothers and sisters!'; Zakh. *undan utñ, xōlan idtn* *giy kelle* 'Drink your drink and eat your meal! – he said'; Zakh. *Āwm tā ter tamyān tawñ tüšmdtägān nārln* 'Oh my father, make a feast with your five seal-officers!'

⁴⁹ Wandui 1965: 118. ⁵⁰ Colō 1965: 76–77; Pürewjaw 3. ⁵¹ Poppe 1955: 254; Sanžev 1964: 102–104.

The imperative suffix *-i* could be used either for impolite and polite purposes, depending on the personal predicative marker connected to it. Together with personal predicative marker for Sg. 2 *-č*, it expresses the same as the verb stem, but the *-t* of Sg. and Pl. 2 indicates a polite or plural form. This imperative form cannot be used without *-č* or *-t*, and could be followed only by these personal predicative markers. In Wandui's opinion Dörwöd has a back vowel variant *-ič/it*.⁵² E.g.: DörW. *Ta sūyit* 'Sit down, please'; TorCJ. *Ta yowad biyän neg šinjäd irit* 'Go, check it yourself and come back!'; BaV. *amr mēd mor'it* 'Leave peacefully!'

According to Colō and Sambūdorj Zaxčīn and Torguud have a polite imperative suffix *-ju/jü* for Sg. 2. Additionally a variant *-tnju/tnjü* occurs for Sg. 2 or Pl. 2 in Zaxčīn.⁵³ These are probably the same forms mentioned above, with an additional confirmative particle (*jü* ← *jā* + interrogative particle *ü* 'is it okay?'). E.g.: ZakhC. *nūdl sāxn gidg ālān yazayur yowtnju* 'Go by the outside of the ail called *nūdl sāxn*, is it okay?'

The imperative form *-ara/ärä* is mostly typical of Khalkha and Buriad, but – maybe under the influence of Khalkha – it can also occur in Oirad. Sanžejev doubts the existence of this suffix in Oirad and states that Popov's and Ramstedt's data are not established properly.⁵⁴ It is true that there is no such form in Kalmyk, but Oirad dialects of Western Mongolia sometimes use it. This opinion is also supported by Birtalan⁵⁵ and Sambūdorj⁵⁶, who provide examples, too. By all means the question is decided by the fact that suffix *-ara/ärä* occurs several times in Vladimircov's collection and other folklore texts. E.g.: TorCJ. *Ĵā sän yowara* 'Well, have a pleasant journey! (lit. Go well!)'; BaV. *cāyur nāyur irerä* 'Please come by this way and that way!'

The imperative suffix *-txa/txä* (*-tya/tyä*) is the direct descendant of Mong. *-tuyai/tügei*. Depending on the context it can express a command, request, wish or desire in any person, both plural and singular. Suffix *-txa/txä* is frequently connected to the auxiliary verb *bol-* 'to become'. E.g.: BaV. *gurwn mör'ä čin bolwl min awyäg čī abtxä* 'If you win the three competition, let's take my wife'; UrV. *Aw'dän dergd törx boltyä* 'Be reborn beside Amithaba.'

Suffix *-g* is used for Sg. 3 and Pl. 3 (sometimes Sg. 2 or Pl. 2) and it expresses permission or approval to do something. E.g.: TorCJ. *Xān Sīr bātr axan / Orj nutgtiy kürg giĵe* 'Hero Xān Sīr, you can go to your brother's land – he said.'

The voluntative forms for Sg. 1 and Pl. 1 are *-s(u)/s(ü)* as well as *-i, -y, -ya/yä*. These suffixes express intention, desire or a future action. E.g.: TorCJ. *Tana arwn nām̄n bātrmudin / Arwñ yesdxxiy bolsū* 'I become the nineteenth of your eighteen heros'; TorCJ. *Ada bi baxn untj, amry* 'Now I will sleep and rest a little bit'; BaV.

⁵² Wandui 1965: 119.

⁵³ Colō 1965: 76; Sambūdorj 1996: 38.

⁵⁴ Sanžejev 1964: 98.

⁵⁵ Birtalan 2003: 221.

⁵⁶ Sambūdorj 1996: 38.

ewrän üky geј bodat ‘I will die by myself – he thought’; DörV. *ter sä'xn maxn cusn am'sksn keli-čn üjiy* ‘Let me see your tongue, which tasted that good blood!'; DörV. *ömär yowy* ‘Let's go to the south’.

Suffix *-asa/äsä* expresses a wish or hope for something to happen. E.g.: *amrgm iräsä* ‘I wish that my dear arrived’.

Suffixes *-wza/wzä*, *-uza/üzä*, *-za/zä* express a fear for something to happen, a wish to avoid an event or action. E.g.: BaV. *namrin budɣd törwüje* ‘Do not lose your way in the autumn fog’.

For prohibition Mongolian languages use a particle preceding the prohibited verb and Oirad has the phonetic variants of the same particle corresponding to Mong. *bütegei* ~ *bitegei* ‘no, do not’: *bičä*, *bičkä*, *bitkä*, *bitä*. Theoretically the prohibitive particle can be used with any imperative form, but it occurs only with a limited set of them. E.g.: Zakh. *Gert bitkä işkr nügl gidkčn ter bāxg^a yū dā* ‘This is the taboo: don't shout inside the yurt, isn't it?'; Zakh. *Ō āwm bitä yaran salabčltn* ‘Oh, my father, do not thrash your hand!'; DörV. *bičkä xä'tn* ‘Do not search for him'; BaV. *tā bitkä üktän* ‘Please, do not die!’

Tenses

Oirad has four tenses very similar to those of other Mongolian languages. These suffixes can be followed by personal predicative markers, interrogative or emphatic particles only.

Tenses

Praeteritum Perfecti	-w(a)/w(ä)
Praesens Perfecti	-la/lä
Praeteritum Imperfecti	-j(ä)/č(ä)
Praesens Imperfecti	-n(a)/n(ä)

Since all these correspond to common Mongolian forms, they do not need further explanation and only some examples are provided here:

Praeteritum Perfecti: BaV. *yowј yowtln neg jaluta xaryldwa* ‘While he was going, he met a young man’; Zakh. *Za en altɣ tamy ken xulyaļ aww* ‘Well, who did steal this golden seal?’

If a personal predicative marker for Sg. 1 (-w) follows after the -w of Praeteritum Perfecti, then the latter becomes vocalized and develops to *u* or *ü*. E.g.: Zakh. *Tana tawn tamyan tüšmdin tendäs irüw* ‘I came from your five seal-officials’.

Praesens Perfecti: MinV. *jā gū'clä* ‘Well, I finished it’; UrV. *Narnä abyä jū jūdlla* ‘The wife of the Sun had a dream’; Zakh. *Altɣ tamy aldkdla* ‘The golden seal has been lost’; Zakh. *undan ütɣ, xōlaɣ idtɣ giј kelle* ‘Drink your drink and

eat your meal! – he said'; DörV. *nadlä xaryxd keltä yowlä* 'When he met me, he had his tongue yet'.

Praeteritum Imperfecti: TorCJ. *Xōran Möngn xānayur / Tarad gūlgād yowġ* 'After that he rode away toward *Möngn Xān*'; Zakh. *Ter noyn tawn tüšmdin öränd orġ mörgül keġ* 'That nobleman went into the room of the five officials and prayed'; DörV. *yamr ām'tnā maxn cusn āmtāxn sänġ? gič surxla* 'When he asked which living being's meat and blood seemed to be tasty'; Zakh. *önädr ik sonim bollā* 'Today there was a very interesting thing'.

Praesens Imperfecti: Zakh. *yū kesnig bī sām medxg^a a bānā* 'I do not know what I did at all'; DörV. *tūnās gakcxn tayk xubxrnā* 'Only one stick breaks from them'; DörV. *tegsn xō'n čamag alnāw* 'After that I will kill you'.

Verbal nouns

Suffixes to form verbal nouns also correspond to common Mongolian forms in Oirad. Even the merging of word *yum* 'something' or *mön* 'same' with some of the preceding suffixes of a verbal noun is similar to the same process occurring in Khalkha.

Verbal nouns

Nomen Perfecti	-sn (-sim), -ksn/gsn (archaic)
Nomen Imperfecti	-a/ā
Nomen Futuri	-x (-xmn, -ximn, -xim)
Nomen Usus	-dg (-dmn, -dimn, -dim)
Nomen Actoris	-gč, -kč
Nomen Possibilitatis	-m

Nomen Perfecti: Zakh. *dah nas kürsn öwgn tüšmd tamyan yazr orsn* 'An old official who had reached seventy, went into the office'; Zakh. *önāx soktsn kümn uxan orad ködldär* 'when that drunken man regained his consciousness and made a move'; DörV. *ter sä'xn maxn cusn ām'sksn keli-čn üjiy* 'Let me see your tongue, which tasted that good blood!'; ZakhC. *Dörwdüd Ulanymd odġ sūsīm giġ dūllow* 'I heard that the Dörwöds went to Ulāngom and settled down there'.

Nomen Imperfecti: TorCJ. *Tā nr xamayās xāran oč yowā ulsw* 'Where are you going from, and where are you going to?'; Ba. *Mini tom kū, Kürlā giġ bāya* 'My elder son is Kürlā'.

Nomen Futuri: MinV. *očdarn ene-čn čama abx* 'When you go there, he will take you'; UrV. *ter xanā kūk abč-irwl, Narnā köl uryx* 'If you bring the khan's daughter, the leg of the Sun will grow out'; Zakh. *Bucxdan ezn xāna altn tamy xulyalad apče* 'When he came back, he stole the golden seal of the khan'; DörV. *nadlä xaryxd keltä yowla* 'When he met me, he had his tongue yet'; BaV. *xoyr*

nüdän an'at, xoyr čik atxat orximn 'He will go in closing his two eyes and gripping his two ears'; BaV. *Bi Cayan lus gedk bā'ximn* 'I'm Cayan lus'.

Nomen Usus: ZakhC. *Ĵaxčn xošuna dotr xulxačig šitgdg xül' bāĵe* 'In the Zaxčn district there was a law that convicted the thieves'; BaV. *en-čn xō'n kenā xō'n geĵ asuĵ xar'uldk ulsas* 'Whose sheep are these sheep – he asked from the shepherd-ing people'; DörV. *tegāt xortin moyä iddk bolĵ* 'and then he started eating poisonous snakes'; In *düg oda Ĵaxčn, Öld, Torgudd dūldim* 'At present Zaxčins, Öölds and Torguuds are singing this song'; ZakhC. *Ikö irt bosad adunda yowdim* 'They usually wake up very early and go to the herd'; BaV. *bas tergn čirdimn* 'they also pull a cart'; BaV. *en yamr yum kebtimn* 'What is this thing lying here?'.

If the interrogative particle or the personal predicative marker for Sg. 1 follows the suffix of Nomen Usus, then its *g* drops out. E.g.: TorCJ. *Xama kürdwt* 'Where are you going?'

Nomen Actoris: BaV. *amrig öskkč ejn āwn xoyr-l* 'the mother and father, who raise the love'.

Nomen Possibilitatis indicates an action that may be performed sometime. It is often used together with the postposition *cacu*, and in this case can be translated as 'when'. E.g.: DörV. *noy bolm köwü medkdnü?* 'Does somebody know a man who could become a lord?'

The negative form of verbal nouns is formed with suffix *-go* (or variant *-g^a* in Altai Oirad) and particle *uga*.

Verbal adverbs

Since Oirad has mostly the same or similar suffixes for verbal adverbs as other Mongolian languages, here only those suffixes will be mentioned, which are different or typical of mostly Oirad only.

The most common suffix for expressing conditionality in Altai Oirad is **Adverbium Conditionale's** *-wl*, which has a variant *-ul/ül* and an archaic form *-was/wäs*. E.g.: Zakh. *malxayar belk ögsn bāwl ter malxag bolul ärütxĵ ömsĵänä* 'If somebody presents a cap to someone as a gift, he cleans it and then puts it up'; UrV. *ter xanä kük abč-irwl, Narnä köl uryx* 'If you bring the khan's daughter, the leg of the Sun will grow out'; BaV. *gurwn mör'ä čin bolwl min awyäg čĵ abtxä* 'If you win the three competition, let's take my wife'; TorCJ. *En Ĵanyr bolul xaršg^a* 'Concerning Ĵangar, he never retreats'.

Suffix *-wl* has a limited spread among Oirad dialects, it is practically absent in Kalmyk. Kalmyk rarely uses the *-was/wäs* form suffix, especially in folklore texts, and suffix *-wl* appears in exceptional cases only.

Adverbium Successivi has two variants: *-xla/xlä* and *-xlarn/xlärn*. Both of them express that right after the finishing of an action another one begins. In Altai

Oirad usually both can be simply translated by ‘when’, but variant *-xla/xlä* is not so frequent as in Kalmyk. In Kalmyk *-xlarn/xlärn* is very rare, while *-xla/xlä* is practically the only form for expressing conditionality. Suffix *-xla/xlä* and *-xlarn/xlärn* are not unique Oirad forms, the former exists in Ordos, Khorchin and Arukhorchin, while *-xlarn/xlärn* has parallels in Buriad and Khalkha. E.g.: Zakh. *nilx kūkdig bolxlar sūda xapčj yowad gēčdk* ‘As regards the [corpse of] infants, [people] usually go out taking them in the armpit and lose them’; DörV. *yamr àm’tnä maxn cusn àmtäxn sànj? gič surxla* ‘when he asked which living being’s meat and blood seemed to be tasty’; DörV. *kelnig garyxla, kelnig xarad awad-okj* ‘When he put his tongue out, the swallow took it’.

Suffix *-xar/xär* of **Adverbium Finale** acts as final clause, and indicates an action that the subject wants to perform. E.g.: *čamta xargldxar yowla* ‘I went to meet you’.

Adverbium Concessivi has several suffix variants. Its original form is the contraction of Praeteritum Perfecti’s *-w* and particle *čign*, which resulted in *-wčg*, *-wčn*, *-wč* and *-uč/üč*. At present each variant is current in spoken Oirad. These suffixes have similar meanings as Mong. *-baču/bečü* and suffixes of other Mongolian languages corresponding to them. E.g.: BaV. *cāsn nimgn bolwüčg* ‘although the paper is thin ...’

In Vladimircov’s texts there is a morpheme *-xdar/xdär*, which has no direct parallels in the literature. Although it occurs in today’s dialects, too, there is no similar suffix described in Oirad and Kalmyk grammars. This suffix expresses simultaneity and its role is close to the Nomen Futuri + Dative-Locative structure. E.g.: MinV. *očxdarn ene-čn čama abx* ‘When you go there, he takes you’; Zakh. *yamr neg kümn nas barxdar terüg barun xäw’rgär n’ keptüläd* ‘When somebody dies, we lay him on his right ribs ...’; Zakh. *köwün orad irxdär taranasa neg atx tara ögče* ‘When the boy went in, she gave him one handful of grain from her grain’.

Colō and Sambūdorj refer to some unique conditional forms in Zakhchin and Torguud. These are *-jm*, *-jmč*, *-jmt*, *-jglām*, *-jglāmč*, *-jglāmt*, *-jglāj̄m*, *-jglāj̄mč* and *-jglāj̄mt* in Zaxčīn⁵⁷, while *-jm*, *-jmč* and *-jmč* in Torguud⁵⁸. Morphemes *-č* and *-t* at the end of these suffixes are probably the personal predicative markers. E.g.: ZakhC. *Ūnig suylj čīdwl Dörwn Ōldin tūx, es čīdjlāj̄m Dörwn Ōldig bidnūs ezlnä*’.

⁵⁷ Colō 1965: 77.

⁵⁸ Sambūdorj 1996: 35.

VOCABULARY

The vocabulary of Oirad dialects consists of mostly common Mongolian words. These common words are either of Mongolian origin or loanwords present in all Mongolian languages (it means the relatively older layer of loans). Nevertheless there is a significant number of Oirad words not found in or being less typical of other Mongolian languages. These lexical items characteristic of Oirad can be divided into groups discussed below. The list is far from being complete of course, it is just an excerpt from the vocabulary of Oirad for illustrative purposes.⁵⁹

Words of common Mongolian origin having quite different or uncommon surface forms in comparison with other Mongolian languages

- Oir. *āy* ‘cup’ – Mong. *ayaya(n)* ‘cup’; Khal. *ayag* ‘cup’
- Oir. *cār* ‘beyond sg, in that direction’ – Mong. *činaysi* ‘beyond sg, in that direction’; Khal. *cāš* ‘beyond sg, in that direction’
- Oir. *car* ‘ox’ – Mong. *šar, čar* ‘ox’; Khal. *šar* ‘ox’
- Oir. *dewl* ‘caftan, garment’ – Mong. *debel, degel* ‘caftan’; Khal. *dēl* ‘caftan’
- Oir. *ēm* ‘collar-bone’ – Mong. *egem* ‘collar-bone’; Khal. *egem* ‘collar-bone’
- Oir. *gesn* ‘stomach’ – Mong. *gedesün* ‘stomach’; Khal. *gedes* ‘stomach’
- Oir. *γaza* ‘outside’ – Mong. *γadaya* ‘outside’; Khal. *gadā* ‘outside’
- Oir. *γosn* ‘boots’ – Mong. *γutal, *γutalsun* ‘boots’; Khal. *gutal* ‘boots’
- Oir. *γuyr* ‘flour’ – Mong. *γuril, γulir* ‘flour’; Khal. *gulir* ‘flour, noodles’
- Oir. *iškā* ‘felt’ – Mong. *isegei* ‘felt’; Khal. *esgī* ‘felt’
- Oir. *jiwr* ‘wing’ – Mong. *jigür* ‘wing’; Khal. *jigür* ‘wing’
- Oir. *köwün* ‘boy’ – Mong. *köbegün* ‘boy’; Khal. *xū* ‘boy’
- Oir. *kümn* ‘man’ – Mong. *kümiün* ‘man’; Khal. *xün* ‘man’
- Oir. *manj* ‘novice’ – Mong. *bandi* ‘novice’; Khal. *bandi* ‘novice’
- Oir. *maxlā* ‘hat, head-gear’ – Mong. *malayai* ‘hat, head-gear’; Khal. *malgai* ‘hat, head-gear’
- Oir. *mōrsn* ‘cartilage’ – Mong. *mögörsün* ‘cartilage’; Khal. *mögörs* ‘cartilage’
- Oir. *nār* ‘this side of sg, in that direction’ – Mong. *inaysi* ‘this side of sg, in that direction’; Khal. *nāš* ‘this side of sg, in that direction’
- Oir. *nuryñ* ‘spine, back’ – Mong. *niruyun, nuruyun* ‘spine, back’; Khal. *nurū(n)* ‘spine, back’; Bur. *n’urgan* ‘spine, back’

⁵⁹ A longer Oirad vocabulary is presented in Birtalan 2002. See also Ágnes Birtalan’s article in the present volume: *Oirad – The Prestige Language. Ethnolinguistic Approach to the Altai Oirad Language and its Dialects*.

- Oir. *örgn* ‘jaw’ – Mong. *eregüü* ‘jaw’; Khal. *erü(n)* ‘jaw’
- Oir. *sü* ‘armpit’ – Mong. *suya* ‘armpit’; Khal. *suga* ‘armpit’
- Oir. *uga*, -go ‘not’ (negative particle) – Mong. *ügei*; Khal., Bur. *ügüi*, -*güi*
- Oir. *üs*, *üsn* ‘milk’ – Mong. *sü*, *üsün* ‘milk’; Khal. *sü(n)* ‘milk’
- Oir. *ut* ‘long’ – Mong. *urtu* ‘long’; Khal. *urt* ‘long’
- Oir. *xama* ‘where’ – Mong. *qamiya* ‘where’; Khal. *xā*, *xāna* ‘where’
- Oir. *xōn* ‘sheep’ – Mong. *qonin* ‘sheep’; Khal. *xoni(n)* ‘sheep’
- Oir. *xuryñ* ‘finger’ – Mong. *quruyun* ‘finger’; Khal. *xurü(n)* ‘finger’; Bur. *xurgan* ‘finger’
- Oir. *yasx* ‘to arrange’ – Mong. *ḡasaqu* ‘to arrange’; Khal. *jasax* ‘to arrange’

Words formed on the basis of common Mongolian roots, where the word does not exist in other Mongolian languages or it has different form

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- Oir. *al'd(ar)* ‘where’ – Mong. *ali* ‘which’, *qamiya* ‘where’; Khal. *ali* ‘which’, *xā*, *xāna* ‘where’
- Kalm. *ködlmš* ‘work’ – Mong. *ködelmüri*, *aḡil* ‘work’; Khal. *xödölmör*, *aḡil* ‘work’
- Oir. *manydr* ‘tomorrow’ – Khal. *margāš* ‘tomorrow’
- Oir. *örün* ‘morning’ – Mong. *örlüge* ‘morning’; Khal. *öglō* ‘morning’
- Oir. *xawsn* ‘rib’ – Mong. *qabiryan* ‘rib’; Khal. *xawirga* ‘rib’

Words existing in other Mongolian languages, but having a different meaning (quite different or additional meaning)

- Oir. *arat* ‘fox’ – Mong. *ariyatan*, *arayatan* ‘carnivorous animal’; Khal. *arātan* ‘carnivorous animal’
- Kalm. *dasx* ‘to learn’ – Mong. *dasaqu* ‘to get accustomed or used to’; Khal. *dasax* ‘to get accustomed or used to’
- Kalm. *degtr* ‘book’ – Mong. *debter* ‘book, volume, copybook’; Khal. *dewter* ‘booklet, copybook’
- Oir. *elkn* ‘genus’ – Mong. *elige(n)* ‘liver’; Khal. *elge(n)* ‘liver’
- Kalm. *ködlx* ‘to move, to work’ – Mong. *ködelkü* ‘to move’; Khal. *xödlöx* ‘to move’
- Oir. *kündx* ‘to talk, converse’ – Mong. *kügüneldükü* ‘to talk, converse’; Khal. *yarilcax*, *xöröx* ‘to talk, converse’
- Kalm. *nom* ‘science, religious doctrine’ – Mong. *nom* ‘religious doctrine, religious book, book’; Khal. *nom* ‘book, religious doctrine’
- Oir. *surx* ‘to ask’ – Mong. *surqu* ‘to learn, to study, to ask’; Khal. *surax* ‘to learn, to study’, Bur. *huraxa* ‘to learn, to study, to ask’

- Oir. *xalx* ‘face’ – Mong. *qačar* ‘face’, *nigür* ‘face’; Khal. *xacar* ‘face’, *nür* ‘face’
- Oir. *xaryx*, Kalm. *xarycx* ‘to meet’ – Mong. *ayuljaqu* ‘to meet’; Khal. *üljax* ‘to meet’
- Oir. *xäly* ‘road’ – Mong. *qayalya(n)* ‘gate, door’; Khal. *xälga(n)* ‘door’
- Oir. *xäsn* ‘cooking pot’ – Mong. *toyu(n)*, *toyuya(n)* ‘cooking pot’; Khal. *togō(n)* ‘cooking pot’

Words (loans or of other origin) mostly or exclusively typical of Oirad dialects

- Oir. *arxd* ‘leather bag for holding kumiss’ – Mong. *köküür* ‘leather bag for holding kumiss’; Khal. *xöxür* ‘leather bag for holding kumiss’
- Oir. *asxn* ~ *asyn* ‘evening’ – Mong. *oroï* ‘evening, late’; Khal. *oroï* ‘evening, late’
- Oir. *ayu* ‘bear’ (< Turkic)
- Oir. *āšx* ‘to approach, to come’ – Mong. *ayisui* ‘to approach’; Khal. *oirtox* ‘to come’
- Oir. *ärg* ‘irrigation canal’ (< Turkic)
- Oir. *ār* ‘fork’ – Mong. *serege* ‘fork’; Khal. *serē(n)* ‘fork’
- Khot. *čačmg* ~ *čačwg* ‘a kind of female hair decoration’ (< Turkic)
- Oir. *čigān* ‘kumiss’ – Mong. *ayiray* ‘kumiss’; Khal. *airag* ‘kumiss’
- Oir. *erkn* ‘doorstep’ – Mong. *bosoy-a*, *bosoyan* ‘doorstep’; Khal. *bosgo(n)* ‘doorstep’
- Oir. *kičk* ‘pup, young dog’ (< Turkic) – Mong. *gölüge* ‘pup, young dog’; Khal. *gölög* ‘pup, young dog’
- Oir. *kilḡ* ~ *kilg* ~ *kiln* ‘shirt’ – Mong. *čamča* ‘shirt’; Khal. *camc* ‘shirt’
- Oir. *lawšg* ‘a kind of female garment’
- Oir. *lug* ‘all, every’ – this word is known among Oirads of Western Mongolia and China, but missing from Kalmyk; Mong. *bügüde* ‘all, every’; Khal. *bügä* ‘all, every’
- Oir. *mal’a* ~ *mälä* ‘whip’ – Mong. *tasiyur* ‘whip’; Khal. *tašūr* ‘whip’
- Oir. *ödmg* ‘bread’ (< Turkic)
- Oir. *samyn* ‘older woman’ – Mong. *samayan*, *emegen* ‘older woman’; *emgen* ‘older woman’; Bur. *hamga(n)* ‘wife, woman’
- Oir. *sewgr* ‘girl’ – Mong. *keüken* ‘child, girl’; Khal. *xūxen* ‘girl’
- Oir. *terlg* ~ *terlk* ‘women’s caftan’ (< Turkic)
- Oir. *tērm* ‘the grating wall of the yurt’ – Mong. *qana(n)* ‘the grating wall of the yurt’; Khal. *xana(n)* ‘the grating wall of the yurt’
- Oir. *terz* ‘window’ (< Turkic)
- Oir. *tewn* ‘a big needle’ (< Turkic)
- Tor. *tōku* ‘the footwear of Torguuds’

- Oir. *tüntg* ‘pillow, cushion’ – Mong. *der-e*; Khal. *der* ‘pillow’
- Oir. *xälāx* ‘to see’ – Mong. *qaraqū* ‘to see’; Khal. *xarax* ‘to see’
- Oir. *xarač* ~ *γarač* ~ *γarac* ‘the smoke-hole of the yurt’ – Mong. *toyonu* ‘the smoke-hole of the yurt’; Khal. *tōno* ‘the smoke-hole of the yurt’
- Oir. *xot* (1) ‘food’ – Mong. *qoyula* ‘food’; Khal. *xōl* ‘food’
- Oir. *xot* (2) ‘stomach’ – Mong. *qodoyudu* ‘stomach’; Khal. *xodōd* ‘stomach’

INFLUENCE EXERCISED ON OIRAD BY OTHER LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

Turkic languages⁶⁰

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The influence of Turkic languages on Mongolian is a well-known phenomenon and has been studied for a long time. This influence consists of several layers, it was exercised in different periods of time by different languages and dialects of Turkic origin, and its effect is also different concerning various Mongolian languages and dialects. The traces of the earliest contacts between Turkic and Mongolian can be observed in all Mongolian languages and these early layers affect both the vocabulary and some parts of the morphology. Later on, after the collapse of the Mongolian Empire, Oirads were the most significant group of Mongolian origin living in the close neighbourhood of Turkic people.

Oirads living in the territory of today’s Eastern Turkestan had close relations with Turkic people for a long time and it has exercised a significant influence on Oirad, mostly in the form of loanwords. Their neighbours were speakers of various Turkic dialects (Turki, Kipchak, etc.) on one side, and Mongolians on the other side. The vicinity of other Mongolian groups and relations with them probably helped to maintain and preserve the common Mongolian vocabulary of Oirad, but still numerous words have been taken over by Oirad from Turkic languages. Various groups of Turkic origin assimilated by the Oirads (see Kho-tons in Western Mongolia) also contributed in the increasing of Turkic loans in Oirad dialects.

Kalmyks who had migrated to the region of Lower Volga and the Caspian Sea from Jungaria in the 17th century became separated from other Mongolian groups and surrounded by Turkic (mostly Tatar and Kipchak) people and Russians. These Turkic dialects exercised a significant influence on Kalmyk in the form of loanwords.

⁶⁰ See also Béla Kempf’s article in the present volume: *Kalmyk – Semantical Categories of Turkic elements in Kalmyk*.

Sart Kalmyks are the other Oirad group strongly influenced by Turkic, namely Kyrgyz. Since Sart Kalmyks speaking their Mongolian tongue are all bilingual or trilingual in Kyrgyz and Russian, this dialect was also affected by those languages.

Russian

Kalmyk is the Oirad dialect strongly influenced by Russian. Although Kalmyks are living in the close neighbourhood of Russians since the 17th century, due to the nature of their interrelations the influence of Russian remained relatively small for a long time. An increasing impact of Russian began in the 20th century parallel with the forced settling of Kalmyks from their nomadic lifestyle, especially after the deportation of the Kalmyks to Siberia in 1943 and their return in 1956. Recently the high dominance and prestige of Russian among the Kalmyks threatens seriously the long-term survival of their language, since a significant part of Kalmyks do not speak their Oirad language very well or do not speak it at all.

Mongolian dialects

Oirads living in Western Mongolia have come under strong influence of the neighbouring Khalkha dialects for a long time. Vladimircov already pointed out the results of this influence on the basis of his material collected in Western Mongolia at the beginning of the 20th century.⁶¹ Recently Khalkha – as the official language of the country – affects Oirad (and other) dialects increasingly through public education, media and mass communication. The slow assimilation of Western Mongolian Oirad to Khalkha seems to be unavoidable, but language revitalization programmes could pull back or reverse this process.

Other languages

There are two more languages exercising a great impact on Oirad dialects: Chinese and Tibetan. Chinese has a huge influence on all Mongolian languages spoken in the territory of China. The Oirad dialects of Eastern Turkestan however are in a relatively fortunate position, since Xinjiang is a multi-ethnic area where the Chinese language and population could not affect the majority especially in rural areas.

Tibetan is most important concerning Deed Mongols living in Gansu and Qinghai. Several groups of Deed Mongols live there surrounded by a Tibetan majority and significant groups were already assimilated by them. Deed Mongols

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⁶¹ Vladimircov 1923: 32–52

living in Henan Mongol Autonomous County in Qinghai already changed their tongue to a local Tibetan dialect and only few people speak their original Mongolian language.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AO	Altai Oirad, from the collection of the Hungaro-Mongolian Joint Expedition
Ba	Bayid in Western Mongolia, from the collection of the Hungaro-Mongolian Joint Expedition
BaV	Bayid in Western Mongolia, Vladimircov 1926
Bur	Buriad
DörV	Dörwöd in Western Mongolia, Vladimircov 1926
DörW	Dörwöd in Western Mongolia, Wandui 1965
Kalm	Literary Kalmyk
MinV	Mingad in Western Mongolia, Vladimircov 1926
Mong	Written Mongolian
Oir	Common Oirad
OirT	Torguud and Ööld in Eastern Turkestan (Jungaria), Todajeva 1960
Tor	Torguud in Western Mongolia, from the collection of the Hungaro-Mongolian Joint Expedition
TorCJ	Torguud in Western Mongolia, Colō – Jagdsüren 1982
TorS	Torguud in Western Mongolia, Sambüdorj 1996
UrV	Uriankhai in Western Mongolia, Vladimircov 1926
Khal	Khalkha
Kho	Khoton in Western Mongolia, from the collection of the Hungaro-Mongolian Joint Expedition
Zakh	Zakhchin in Western Mongolia, from the collection of the Hungaro-Mongolian Joint Expedition
ZakhC	Zakhchin in Western Mongolia, Colō 1965

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OIRAD – THE PRESTIGE LANGUAGE

ETHNOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE ALTAI OIRAD LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS

THE PHENOMENON AND THE APPROACH

In order to introduce the discussion of the phenomenon and to avoid some unnecessary misunderstandings as the approach indicated in the title could be comprehended in different ways as well, it is inevitable to establish and expose the frame how it is implied concerning the Altai Oirad language on the basis of my fieldwork material.

The key notions and factors in the frame of which Altai Oirad is examined in the present article are:

- determination of the ethnic group, ethnic identity,
- relation between the community (ethnic group) and the individual(s) of the group,
- strategies, means of self-identification of an Oirad individual,
- the determination of the prestige language among the Oirads,
- use of the language/dialect as means of prestigious self-identification.

The approach to be followed in these lines focuses on how ethnic peculiarities and aspects appear or do not appear at various linguistic levels of a language and a dialect (phonetics, morphology, syntax and thesaurus). As for the definition of the ethnic group,² it will be discussed in both senses: as the affiliation endeavour to the supra-group of Oirads and to a particular Oirad group (Bayad, Dörwöd, Khoton, Myangad, Ööld, Uriankhai, Torguud, Zakhchin), too.³ This dichotomy is realised at the levels of the language (Oirad) and the dialect (e. g. Bayad, Dörwöd, Ööld, Torguud, Uriankhai, Zakhchin, etc.).⁴

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² On the problem of the “ethnicity” and “local communities” in Western-Mongolia, cf. Szykiewicz 1984, 1986, 1992; Oberfalzerova 2007; On the problem of ethnic group cf. among others: Barth 1969; Banton 2007; Brubaker 2004; Wimmer 2008.

³ The Khotons are of Turkic origin, and also have an Oirad self-identification; their case is more complicated and needs to be investigated specifically.

⁴ The detailed elaboration of particular dialects cf. Birtalan 2003 and Rákó's article in the present volume.

The notion of an Oirad ethnic group is used in its traditional comprehension, as

- a group of people claiming to have common ancestry (Oirad ethnogenetic myths),⁵

- common language and dialect,
- identical material (dwelling, food, dressing, objects, artefacts)⁶ and spiritual culture (folklore, customs, religion),
- and share a common homeland (presently the Altai region).

The Oirads are clearly recognized also by the national majority Khalkhas as a diverse group with well-definable characteristics as well. However, the boundary discerned internally and externally seems to be flexible depending on the situation an individual appears in. The Oirads have a double or maybe triple identity: they are Mongols, and they belong to the Oirads, and also identify themselves with a particular group of the Oirads.⁷ The investigated situation on the pages of the present article is the discourse between the native informant and the foreign researcher, the reactions of the informants in the situation in which the research topic “being Oirad” turns up. What do the ethnic group and the individuals identify themselves with? What does “being Oirad” mean? On the basis of the field research (sporadically from 1982, regularly in 1991–2001), as well as investigations in 2007–2009, two different responses emerge. At the level of a group mainly the cultural (material and spiritual cultural) aspects appear as the means of self-identification, whereas at the level of the individual the language (the Oirad language with its dialects) is the first and spontaneous instrument for self-identification. The self-identification endeavour of an ethnic group or an individual wishing to demonstrate his belonging to a particular ethnic group, is manifested in a variety of ways, such as

- using objects (usually wearing items of clothing) referring to that group,
- following specific behavioural rules,
- performing or simply citing specific folklore genres characterising that group and
- the language usage.

These markers clearly bear the message suggesting that one should perceive the individual(s) as representative(s) of the particular ethnic group.

⁵ In detail, cf. Birtalan 2002b.

⁶ On the basis of the records of the Expedition a DVD devoted to the material culture of ethnic groups living in Mongolia has been issued, the readers are invited to consult the articles concerning particular areas of the material culture: Birtalan 2008.

⁷ Cf. the phenomenon in the case study on the Khoshuuds (Xošūd) living among the Torguuds (Torgūd) in Khovd province written by Szynekiewicz 1986.

THE COMPREHENSION AND DEMONSTRATION OF “BEING OIRAD” IN DOMESTIC DISCOURSE⁸

In the Republic of Mongolia the Oirads are comprehended as a well-defined ethnic group and also a minority with characteristics features. Primarily the Khalkhas as the majority ethnicity are meant here in whose linguistic and cultural environment the Oirads determine themselves. Several segments of their “Oirad culture” are obvious and known to other ethnic groups as well.

What makes an individual or a group Oirad? The Oirad material culture is well demonstrated in various albums devoted to the everyday life; concerning the spiritual culture, collections of folklore genres promulgating the treasure of Oirad heritage have been published too. These publications convey not only academic purposes to introduce aspects of the Oirad culture, but endeavour to communicate the Oirad pride, too. The magnificent album (*The Cultural Monuments of Western Mongolia*) of Amgalan, an artist of Zakhchin origin, is a meticulously compiled survey of the Oirad material culture (with a brief outlook on the Kazaks’ culture and with an additional archaeological survey).⁹ Bāsanxū published another album under the title: *Material Culture of Mongol Altai Region* examining primarily, but not exclusively the Oirad culture in a regional (predominantly Khalkha) context.¹⁰ Concerning the spiritual culture, historical and religious documents and folklore genres have been presented in several series devoted to the Oirad cultural heritage. Far from being complete, here only some specimens are referred to in proof of the diversity of the publishing activity in circles endeavouring to preserve the diversity of the Oirads’ culture. The most important series of Mongolian folklore edition is the **Collection of Mongolian Folklore** (*Mongol aman joxiolin čūlgan*) which includes several volumes devoted to Oirad dialectal folklore genres, e.g.:

- *The Songs of the Thirteen Horses (Collection of Oirad Folklore)* (Arwan gurwan xūlgīn dūn /Oird aman joxiolin comorlog/),¹¹
- *The Torguud Folklore (Torgūd ardīn aman joxiol)*,¹²

⁸ There are, however, obvious tendencies for internationalising this inner discourse, including other Oirad groups living in Russia and China (cf. some homepages discussed below).

⁹ Amgalan 2000.

¹⁰ Bāsanxū 2006.

¹¹ Coló 1987.

¹² Katū 2002.

- *The Dsakhchin*¹³ *Folklore (Jaxčin ardīn aman joxiol)*,¹⁴
- *The Dörwöd Folklore (Dörwöd ardīn aman joxiol)*, etc.¹⁵

There are other series devoted only to Oirad materials, such as:

- *Documenta Oiratica Collecta. Oirad sudlalīn čūlgan* (already 14 volumes) e.g.:
- *The Pure Offerings to the Thirteen Altais (Arwan gurwan Altain ariun sangūd oršiwoi)*,¹⁶
- *The Uriankhai Tradition (Urianxain öw soyol)*,¹⁷
- *From the Thesaurus of Oirad Folklore (Oirad aman joxiolīn san xömrögös)*,¹⁸
- *Songs of the Thirteen Altais (Arwan gurwan Altain dūn)*, etc.¹⁹

The series *Bibliotheca Oiratica* (already 20 volumes) includes the re-edition of previously published sources on the history and religion of the Oirads; with newly added more elaborated annotation, the volumes are put on the homepage of the Mostaert Centre Ulaanbaatar: <http://www.mostaertcenter.mn/4/page/2/>

The above listed abundant series testify to the enthusiastic activity of scholars mostly of Oirad origin to preserve their cultural heritage and to communicate its richness to other non-Oirad groups as well in both national (Mongolian Republic) and international respects. Although these series are of an academic nature, many of them are aimed at the larger public as well. The particular folklore editions focus in most cases on the folk genre(s) of a specific ethnic group, while fewer are concerned with the demonstration of a larger scale of Oirad groups. However, by carefully reviewing the genres and the texts, one can define a great number of common Oirad items. My personal fieldwork experience verifies the same tendency: during the recording of folk songs among various ethnic groups several texts were comprehended as their own heritage.²⁰ There are, however, aetiological myths that connect some stories to a particular ethnic group. An example is the song *Bātr beilīn ung* quoted in the Appendix; it was recorded by B. Ja. Vladimircov at the beginning of the 20th century and translated by me into German. The text in the Appendix is part of the manuscript devoted to the elaboration of Vladimircov's folk songs.²¹

¹³ The transcription of the Khalkhaised pronunciation of the ethnonym, i. e. Dsakhchin is used only if Khalkha material is referred to, otherwise its Oirad form, i. e. Zakhchin is used.

¹⁴ Katū–Pürewjaw 2004.

¹⁵ Katū 2005.

¹⁶ Colō 1999.

¹⁷ Colō–Mönxceceg 2008.

¹⁸ Pürewjaw–Colō–Önörbayan 2009. Nominhanov's further materials are also published in the series.

¹⁹ Colō–Enebiš 2011.

²⁰ In detail: Birtalan, Ágnes (manuscript): *Oiratische Volkslieder der Vladimircov-Sammlung. Gattungen und Sprache im Licht der neuen Feldforschungen*.

²¹ Birtalan: *Oiratische Volkslieder*.

More popular ways to demonstrate material culture and oral folklore tradition are the web pages on the Internet, such as: <http://www.oirad.mn>, or <http://www.west.mn> which help to internationalise their culture. Both sites are very detailed concerning e. g. the foremost personalities of Oirad history and culture, peculiar Oirad objects and customs, using the possibilities given by the Internet with a lot of illustrations and short movies.

OIRAD – THE PRESTIGE LANGUAGE²²

The above academic and popular works focus on representing the historical and ethnocultural aspects of “being Oirad” and pay less attention to the language and dialects. Even the publications on Oirad folklore genres are published in Khalkha or a “mixed language” in-between the Oirad and Khalkha. In order to acquaint the real pronunciation of the Oirad dialects a more precise transcription is needed. Very exhaustive descriptive linguistic publications on particular dialects and summarising studies concentrating on a specific language feature exist, and offer the basis for Oirad dialectological research.²³ However – as far as I know – there are not any popular works focusing on the peculiarities of the common Oirad or its dialectal appearance.

While the coherence of Oirads as a group is clearly expressed via the historical and cultural phenomena (publications, festivals) for internal and external discourses, at the level of the individual(s) the language is always “present” and is the easiest instrument to convey a kind of self-determination as the member of a specific group. Talking in the language that expresses the self-identification does not need any specific preparation, contrary to the festivals of Oirad identity where Oirad costumes, typical objects are demonstrated to show Oirad awareness.²⁴ A native – foreign / informant – researcher discourse, which takes place

²² For the theoretical background of the analysis cf. among others: Cseresnyési 2004; Wimmer 2008; Landweer (internet source: <http://www.sil.org/sociolx/ndg-lg-indicators.html>); Mufwene (internet source: <http://www.rnld.org/sites/default/files/Mufwene%202003.pdf>).

²³ Coló 1965; Wandui 1965; Sambūdorj 1996; Battulga–Badamdorj 2005; for further detail cf. Birtalan 2003, and the article of Rákos in the present volume.

²⁴ Among the many local and also wider arrangements, the festival *Ix xögsü* was the most impressive. A lot of internet sources witness its magnificence: cf. homepages on *Ix xögsü*. The ethnomusicologist and singer Č. Otgonbatar of Zakhchin origin interviewed the main organisers of the event, Sanjid (Uriankhai) and Čapajev (Kazak) about its significance. They elucidated that named the festival in accordance with the meaning of the Mongolian *xög* “tune, harmony” (with additional -s plural suffix). I would enhance this revelation with the clarification of -ü, as an emphatic ending.

occasionally and spontaneously, generates – especially at the first meeting – the intention to demonstrate “being Oirad” and the given means is the language.

As the enumeration of the publication series, events and internet sources suggests, the individuals are endowed with a highly developed awareness of belonging to the Oirads at the group level. In the discourse between informant and researcher, when the research purpose turns out, the reaction of the majority of the Oirad informants is similar: they say Oirad words, expressions. The main purpose is to demonstrate their familiarity with typical Oirad language phenomena. People with Oirad awareness reveal their “being Oirad” through language usage and in a native – foreigner relation this acquires even greater value. Regardless of being fluent in Oirad or having only reduced command of the language, all informants knew the typical basic features. Though Khalkha is the language of the national majority and the official language, and in this regard it appears in the role of the prestige language, the Oirads use at least the characteristic minimum (lexicon, typical phonetic features) as the means of self-identification and in this respect as the prestige language. The mentioned discourse appears in two different situations, either in the Oirad homeland (Altai, provinces Uws and Khowd) or in an urban environment, i. e. in Ulaanbaatar, meeting representatives of Oirad ethnic groups living torn from their original territory. In the previous case the language usage is obvious, the prestige language becomes apparent at the first meeting with the researcher when the informant enumerates some typical expressions, demonstrating his/her proficiency in his/her language and also to test the foreigner how deeply he/she is trained. The second case is similar to one of the research approaches to the prestige language, the aspect of the rural–urban relation.²⁵ Adapting this theory to the Mongolian situation, *rural* is taken for the countryside and *urban* is for Ulaanbaatar. In this situation the majority of my informants were students who came to study in the capital city. In our communication the reaction was similar even if they did not switch from Khalkha to Oirad: they uttered almost the same group of words, expressions as people in the countryside, to show their proficiency in Oirad. By inserting particular words into the fluent Khalkha speech act they tried to exert perlocutionary effect on the speaking partner with their utterances. The further question is whether the informant identifies him- or herself only with the Oirads or also with a special group of the Oirads? In the majority of the cases, the informants did not deny their Oirad awareness, but identified themselves with a particular group, i. e. Dörwöd, Bayad, Zakhchin, Ööld. etc.

Which is the basic vocabulary that creates the milieu of a prestige language and demonstrates belonging to an ethnic group? Regardless of belonging to

²⁵ Cf. Landweer (internet).

any of the particular Oirad groups, the most frequently mentioned lexicon was almost identical. According to my experience, the most frequently uttered items can be arranged into two categories:

1. typical Oirad expressions, including syntactic units,
2. lexemes common with the Khalkha vocabulary, but pronounced “in the Oirad way”.

To group 1 belong the following most frequently mentioned words regarded as “typical” Oirad words; they are partly of Turkic origin²⁶ and they are not used in Khalkha. Below the “top thirty” have been chosen from my fieldwork; it is noteworthy that the lexemes follow an approximate hierarchy according to the order in which the informant uttered them. It must be mentioned here that Khalkhas acquainted with the Oirad language also remember the following ones:²⁷

- *garāc*, *xarāc*, *xarāč* “smoke hole” (Khalkha *tōno*),
- *tērm* “wall of the yurt” (Khal. *xana*),
- *kīlg* “shirt” (Khal. *camc*),
- *örün* “morning” (Khal. *öglō*),
- *asgn* “evening” (Khal. *oroī*),
- *xās* “pot” (Khal. *togō*),
- *xašg* “spoon” (Khal. *xalbaga*),
- *sewger* “girl” (Khal. *xūxen*),
- *samgan* “woman, wife, old woman” (Khal. *emgen*, *exner*),
- *arxad* “leather sack also for kumis” (Khal. *xōxūr*),
- *edrŋ* “a toothed implement of wood or metal” (Khal. *xedreg*),
- *mal’ā* “whip” (Khal. *tašūr*),
- *odāk* “other, that one” (Khal. *nōgō*),
- *ul’r* “snow cock” (Khal. *xoīlogo*).

To group 2. belong lexemes known in Khalkha as well but pronounced differently (as developed from the common Mongolian form according to the phonetic rules):²⁸

- Typical Oirad long vowels versus the diphthongs in Mong. and Khal.
- *āg*, *āg* “bowl” (Khal. *ayaga*)
- *kīŋ* “cold” (Khal. *xüiten*)

²⁶ For detailed data on the Turkic parallels of particular lexemes cf. Kempf’s article in the present volume; data from the source languages will not be mentioned here.

²⁷ No special detailed research has been carried out on this aspect of the present topic, it is the task of the future.

²⁸ For the particular phonetic features of Oirad dialects in detail cf. Birtalan 2002a and Birtalan 2003, further, the article of Rákos in the present volume.

- Strong palatalisation in the surroundings of *i*
 - *xō, xōnā üsn* “sheep, sheep milk” (Khal. *xon’, xoninī sū*)
- Labialisation of *i* in front of *ü* (< *-egü, -ayu*)
 - *bürü* “two-year-old calf” (Mong. *birayu*, Khal. *byarū*)
- Preservation of Mong. *i* (breaking occurred only to a certain extent in Oirad dialects)
 - *ilā* “fly” (Mong. *ilaya*, Khal. *yalā*)
- Preservation of ancient Mongolian *k*- and *-k*- in words with palatal vowels
 - *kün, kümün* “man” (Khal. *xün*)
 - *ken* “who” (Khal. *xen*)
 - *kezē/kezā* “when” (Khal. *xejē*)
- Preservation of Written Mongolian *q* before *-i*
 - *kimr* “a kind of drink, salted boiled mixture of milk and water” (Khal. *xyaram*)
- Final *-s* versus *-l* of Mong. *-(l)sun/- (l)sün*: followed by the disappearing of *-d/-t-*
 - *γosn* “boots” (Mong. *γutalsun*, Khal. *gutał*)
 - cf. also *gesn* “belly” (Mong. *gedesiün*, Khal. *geds*)
- Consonant metathesis
 - *malxā, maxlā* “cap” (Khal. *malgai*)
 - *üs* “milk” (Khal. *sū*),
- Dropping of consonants
 - *ut* “long” (Khal. *urt*),
- Differing suffixation of adverbs
 - *cārān* “away” (Khal. *cāšā*),
 - *gazā* “outside” (Khal. *gadā*),
 - *igān* “hither” (Khal. *išē*),
 - *tigān* “thither” (Khal. *tišē*),
 - *urūyān* “forward” (Khal. *uragšā*),
- Further frequent examples;
 - *bašlg* “cheese” (Khal. *byaslag*)
 - *ülzŋ* (Khal. *öwöljō*),

The above examples show a strong connection between the Oirad culture and language, as many of the most frequently uttered examples refer to the traditional nomadic way of life. Semantically numerous items designate objects. The measure of “being Oirad” is the Khalkha culture and language and although the above items occur in the nomadic Khalkha culture as well, their names with their typical Oirad forms provide the specifying characteristic of the Oirad community. It is also remarkable that the items are linked to the social sphere of life and the natural phenomena are almost wholly missing. The numerous adverbial expressions

that are not in connection with the traditional nomadic culture (prestige culture) prove their everyday use in the communities, as numerous informants remembered them among the very first Oirad words. Sometimes fragments of popular folk songs are also quoted, such as *Nārič!* “Come here” (Khal. *Nāš ir!*). These items in the above list certainly occur in several other text types (folklore texts, everyday conversations, answers on linguistic questionnaires) recorded during the field trips by the members of the Expedition.

CONCLUSION

According to my field experience, informants behave themselves almost the same way in their Oirad environment, i. e. in the local community and being uprooted, removed from it usually in the “urban, i. e. Ulaanbaatar” milieu. The physical location does not make any difference. Whenever I informed an Oirad person of my investigation purpose, the usual reaction was a change in the Khalkha language usage and the enumeration of a series of words considered to be real Oirad, which is the situative means of the self-identification in a personal identity discourse. In this respect the common Oirad lexicon and phonetic features appear as the identification of the informant with the Oirads and also with a particular group of the Oirads as well as with a particular dialect.

APPENDIX I

An example how the songs can be interpreted in the Oirad context (from Birtalan's manuscript). The song (Nr. 23 in Vladimircov's collection) is extended with notes and remarks on its history, and main motifs.

23. Bātr beilān unγni (Bajit)

Das Fohlen des Bātr *Beile*²⁹
ist ein stolzes, otterfarbenes (*xaliūn*) Pferd,
sein Zaum ist aus schnee[weißem] Silber,
es ist ein weißgestiefelter Otterfarbener.

Mein am Berggrat laufender
Brauner (*bor*), mit dünner Mähne,
springt losstürmend
am abschüssigen Boden.

Ein richtig kräftig schreitender
Halbpassgänger [ist], mein fleckiges Pferd.

Im Wasser von *Jambudvīpa*³⁰
ist mein Pferd ohne Bindung.³¹
Ohne Überdruß³² erinnere ich mich
an meine Mutter und meinen Vater.

Am Geigenstegförmigen Hügel
wiegen sich die Artemisia und das Eurotia.³³
Laß die Brüder jenes Lagers
sich in Ruhe und Wohlstand freuen.

²⁹ *Bātar beile* (auch *Bātar beise*) ist eine häufige Figur der Volkslieder, er war der Herrscher des administrativen Gebietes *Bātar wangin xošū*, mong. *bayatur wang-un qošiγu*, das in der Mandschu Zeit (seit 1754) und auch zur Zeit der Autonomie (1911–1919) an der Grenze der heutigen Provinzen Uws und Khowd lag (siehe die Landkarten № 17–18. in *Mongol ard ulsīn ugsātñi sudlal xelnī šinγlelīn atlas*. I–II. Ed. B. Rinčen Ulānbātar 1979 [*Ethnographic and Linguistic Atlas of Mongolian People's Republic*]). Ma. *beile* „Gebieten, Herrscher; kaiserlicher Prinz dritten Ranges“ (Hauer 84).

³⁰ *Jambutibīn usndo*; vgl. skr. *Jambudvīpa* „Welt, Weltteil“, die Ausdruck „im Wasser von *Jambudvīpa*“ ist im bildlichen Sinne zu verstehen: „auf der Welt“. Zur Phänomen *Jambūd vīpa* in der Folklore siehe: Birtalan, *Mythologie* ... 999–1000.

³¹ *Uydān-ugā*; lies *uyā(n)-ugā* (?), *uyā* + *-n'* (gesungene Mehrsilbe) + *-ugā* (negative Partikel).

³² *Uidlān-ugā sanakčī*; ~ *uidlān-ugā sanakdgčī* Passiv statt Aktiv, vgl. *uidlān-ugō sankkčī/ēji āwa xoyir* (VI.10. 4cd).

³³ Vgl. VI.1. 5b.

An der Spitze des *Burtuk*³⁴ Berges
stößt Nebel und Schnee.
Ich wollte zurückkehren
da mir meine Mutter und mein Vater in den Sinn kamen.

Die sumpfige Gegend
schimmert [in der Ferne] und ist kaum zu sehen.³⁵
Der Sprössling der guten Menschen
ist weggegangen und kam gesund zurück.

Am Berghang des dreieckigen Khangai
feiern wir zu dreizehntausend.
Die schön³⁶ geborenen Nachkommen
spielen zu dreizehntausend.

Ut dūn; Inhaltsgruppe: Pferd mit Lobpreisungsmotiven. Ein typisch ojratiches Lied, das auch in khalkhaischen Gebieten bekannt wurde. Die Varianten haben *Magtāl*-Struktur. Im AGXD erzählt ǰ. Colō eine kurze aithologische Sage über den Ursprung des Liedes: Das (beste) Fohlen von Batar *Beile* (Bannerfürst im Gegend der heutigen Uws Provinz, Ömnögowi Bezirk) wurde dem mandschuischen Kaiser geschenkt, aber es floh in seine Heimat zurück, wurde von den ölotischen Pferdehirten (Var.: ein Pferdeknecht, namens Solōn-dā) gefangen, die dieses Lied schafften, deshalb wird es auch für ein ölotisches Lied gehalten. Das Motiv der weggenommenen, weggeschickten und zurücklaufenden Pferde kommt häufig in den Erzählungen und Liedern der mongolischen Tradition vor. In mehreren Varianten des Liedes erscheinen als Refrain Zeilen, die auf die Wünsche des Fohlens

³⁴ Kalm., oj. *burtk* „Schmutz, Unrat; unrein, abscheulich“ (KW 62), aber Bergsnamen pflegen nicht solche Bedeutungen haben; vgl. noch burjatiches *burtag* „čāšča, valežnik, burelom (poroššij lesom); dremučij gluxoj“ (BOS 114), welche Bedeutungen passen besser für einen heilig verehrten Berg, oder es steht ein türkischer Name im Hintergrund tr. *tag* „Berg“ mit oj. *bor* „grau“ *bortag* „Grauer Berg“.

³⁵ *Seksn dūngārāt xarakdnā*; lies *seksrn dūngāgāt*..., kalm. *seksr-* „schütteln, umschütteln, rüttelnd bewegen“ (KW 322) „id.“ (XOT 447), kalm. *dūngā-*, *dūngi-* „kaum zu sehen sein, sich in der Ferne erhöht zeigen“ (KW 105) „id.“ (XOT 219), oj. *dūngkā-*, *dūngā-* (OA 194, ONA 599).

³⁶ *Guljinxā töröksn; gulji- + -ngxā (-mxā)* (Nomen cup.), vgl. oj. *guljin* „2. *yoyo üjesküleng*; 3. *erke dur-a-bar ösögsen keüked buyu aysum, doyšın mayu jang-tai bayidal-tai*“ (ONA 395–396) „schön, wunderschön; verwöhntes Kind, oder jemand, der hitzig, rasend, mürrisch ist“, in den Volksliedern sollte es mit der Bedeutung „schön, usw.“ übersetzt werden, vgl.:

<i>Keger qaltar mori ni</i>	Das braune gefleckte Pferd
<i>ken-ü-ben adayun-du taryulday.</i>	wird in wessen Herd dick?
<i>Guljin tere ni</i>	Sie, die Wunderschöne
<i>ken-ü-ben qosiyun-du qariyalaydaday.</i>	gehört zu wessen Banner?

(OA 395–396).

In den ojratichen Volksliedern kommt als Attribut häufig vor, z. B. ein urjankhaisches Lied:

<i>ǰe, guljaixan jantai čamaig</i>	Hei, Dich, mit wunderschönen Eigenschaften
<i>ǰe, martna gēd yadaw.</i>	versuchte ich zu vergessen, aber ich konnte es nicht.

(UAD 32; Strophe 2)

um wegzulaufen hinweisen: *togtōdgüi xaliun* „Otterfarbenes, das nicht bleiben wird“, oder auch ein Element des Loblieds *tīm sonin xaliun* „so ein merkwürdiges Otterfarbenes“.

Die vollständigste Variante dieses Liedes besteht aus vierzehn Strophen, vgl. zwei, in unserem Lied nicht vorhandenen Strophen, mit weiteren Motivenelementen:

<i>Tōw saixan čixtei</i>	Es ist ein spitzohriges,
<i>dögereg nüdtei</i>	rundäugiges,
<i>erxim gurwan šinj</i>	mit den drei verehrten Merkmalen und
<i>id būrdsen mor'.</i>	Zauberkraft vollständiges Pferd.

<i>Xād xādīn ūden dēr</i>	Obwohl es an den Toren der Khane
<i>xar torgōr nogtlogdowč,</i>	mit schwarzer Seide angehalftert war,
<i>xaw'tj dasaŋ togtolgüi</i>	lief das otterfarbene Pferd
<i>xar'j güisen xaliūn mor'.</i>	ohne sich dorthin zugewöhnen, zurück.

(MAUD 84. 49-50. Strophen 2. und 6.).

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Weitere Varianten: eine ölotische Variante aus Stadt Khowd (NPM 194) eine dsakhtschinische Variante aus Mankhan (NPM 204–205); mehrere (ölotische, dsakhtschinische, bajitische) Varianten hat Ĵ. Colō kontaminiert (AGXD 240–242). X. Sampildendew veröffentlichte auch eine Kontamination und bezeichnet als ein torgutisches Lied; andere Variante: MUDÜ2. 63-64., MAD 82. 22-23., MDS 257., TOO 272.

Eine der letzten bajitischen Ausgaben des Liedes ist eine Wiedergabe der noch lebendigen Überlieferung:

<i>Bātar beilīn unaga</i>	Das Fohlen des Bātar <i>Beile</i>
<i>bardam xaliun mori</i>	ist ein stolzes Otterfarbenes,
<i>bardam omogtoi bolno gedeg.</i>	man sagt es hat einen stolzen Charakter.
<i>Xād noyodīn tetgemj</i>	Der Unterhalt der Khane und Adligen
<i>bayan örgön bolino [lies bolno?] gedeg.</i>	ist reich und weit – sagt man.

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APPENDIX II

An example of the interpretation of the *Ix xögsü* festival in the Internet press.

Ойрад түмний “Их Хөгсүү” наадам болно 2010 оны 11-р сарын 1
Ойрад түмний биет болон биет бус өвийг судлах, сурталчлах, олон нийтэд түгээн дэлгэрүүлэх, хөгжүүлэх зорилгоор Ойрад Түмний “Их Хөгсүү” холбоо үүсгэн байгуулагджээ. Тус холбооноос өнөөдөр хэвлэлийн бага хурал хийлээ.

Тус холбоо Ховд, Баян-Өлгий, Увс, Дархан Уул, Орхон, Сэлэнгэ аймгуудад болон Улаанбаатар хотноо өөрийн салбараа байгуулжээ. Мөн ОХУ-ын Тува, Халимаг, Горны алтай мужид, Шинжаан Уйгар, Өвөр монголд бүрэн эрхэт төлөөлөгчөө томилон ажиллуулаад байгаа юм байна.

Тэдний мэдээлснээр энэ сарын 11, 12, 13-нд Улаанбаатар хотноо Баруун аймгууд болон Улаанбаатар хот, Дархан Уул, Орхон, Сэлэнгэ аймгийн ардын авьяастан, урлаг, соёлын зүтгэлтэнгүүд, ОХУ-ын Тува, Халимаг улс, Уулын Алтайн хязгаар, БНХАУ-ын Шинжаан Уйгар, Дээд Монгол, Ордос, Өвөр Монголын Алшай эзний хошууны төлөөлөгчид оролцсон Ойрад Түмний Урлаг, соёлын “Их Хөгсүү” Анхдугаар Их наадмыг санаачлан зохион байгуулж байгаа гэнэ.

“Их Хөгсүү” наадмын хүрээнд байгаль, ан амьтан, түүх, ёс заншил, ардын уламжлалт зан үйлийг харуулсан киноны хэсгүүдээс үзүүлэхээс гадна Ойрад түмний хэл соёл болон түүхийн сэдэвтэй түүхийн ховор олдворууд, өвлөгдөн хадгалагдаж ирсэн зүйлсүүд, ном зохиол, тоглоом наадгай, хувцас хэрэглэлийн үзэсгэлэн зохион байгуулах аж.

“Их Хөгсүү” наадам нь зөвхөн урлагын арга хэмжээ биш Ойрад түмний урлаг соёл, хэл, ёс заншил, ардын зан үйлийг олон нийтэд таниулах сурталчлах зорилгоор өргөн хүрээ хамарсан арга хэмжээ зохиогдох талаар холбогдох хүмүүс мэдээлж байна.

Энэхүү наадмын хүрээнд:

- Ойрад түмний үндэсний хувцасны баяр цэнгүүн – Сүхбаатрын талбайд 11-ний 11 цагаас
- Ойрад түмний угсаатан зүй, Үндэстэн, ястны хувцас, хэрэглэл, тавилга, эд зүйлсийн, үзэсгэлэн – 11-ний 15 цагаас Занабазрын нэрэмжит Дүрслэх урлагын музейд
- Ойрад түмний урлаг, соёл шинжлэлийн олон улсын эрдэм шинжилгээний бага хурал – 12-ны 11 цагаас Улсын филармоний зааланд
- Ардын авьяастнуудын Нэгдсэн тоглолт, үзэсгэлэн худалдаа – 11.12-ний өдрүүдэд 19 цагаас, 13-ны өдөр 17 цагаас Монгол бөхийн өргөөнд тус тус болох юм байна.

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“Их Хөгсүү” наадамд Ойрад угсааны Дөрвөд, Торгууд, Хошууд, Урианхай, Баяд, Захчин, Өөлд, Мянгад, Хотон, Хойд, Тува, Баатад, Хотгойд ястны туульчид, магтаалчид, хөөмийчид, ихэлчид, бийчид, цоорчид, урт болон магтаар дуучид, бөлбөөчид, исгэрээ, аман ташлага, бух ноолдоон, бөө мөргөл, Ойрадын ёс заншилыг харуулсан зан үйлийн үзүүлбэр, Гар урлал болон хүнсний бүтээгдэхүүнээ үзэсгэлэн худалдаа явагдах бөгөөд “Их Хөгсүү” –д одоогоор 350 орчим хүн оролцон зохион байгуулахаар болоод байгаа ажээ.

Ч.Туяа

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О НЕКОТОРЫХ ОСОБЕННОСТЯХ ОЙРАТСКИХ ГОВОРОВ МОНГОЛИИ

НА МАТЕРИАЛАХ ЭКСПЕДИЦИИ
В ЗАПАДНУЮ МОНГОЛИЮ В 2007 Г.

75

Как известно Западная Монголия на протяжении длительного времени занимала важное место в исследованиях отечественных ученых: географов, этнографов, геологов, историков, биологов, языковедов. На примере исследования русскими путешественниками данного региона Монголии в XVIII–XX вв. наглядно видно, как происходило становление отечественного востоковедения (в частности, монголистики и тюркологии). Почти сто лет назад по территории Северо-западной Монголии пролегал маршрут известного монголоведа, академика Б. Я. Владимирцова, который выявил бытование семи ойратских наречий, или говоров, зафиксировал особенности различных жанров устного народного творчества, особенности быта, религиозных обрядов, связанные с кочевым укладом жизни.²

Западная Монголия является одним из самых уникальных регионов Центральной Азии, представляя собой наглядное свидетельство великих переселений народов древности. Поэтому исследования данного географического ареала Монголии имеют большую ценность не только как источник наших знаний об истории, языках и этнографии региона, но и как важный этап развития российской науки, свидетельство преемственности, углубления и совершенствования научных методов в изучении стран зарубежной Азии.

В 2007 и 2008 годах сотрудники Калмыцкого института гуманитарных исследований РАН совместно с монгольскими учеными провели две научные экспедиции в Западную Монголию, в места компактного проживания ойратских этнических групп.

Необходимо отметить, что выбор региона (Западная Монголия) для экспедиционного исследования обусловлен тем, что ойраты Монголии и калмыки Поволжья, сформировавшиеся в едиnorodственной среде и имеющие общие исторические корни, на протяжении последних более чем трех столетий развиваются в разных ойкуменах Евразии. События

In: *Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*, Edited by
AGNES BIRTALAN. Budapest, 2012,
ELTE Eötvös Kiadó. /Talentum II./ 75–83.

¹ Киги Ран, Элиста

² Владимирцов 1909a; 1909b; 1910; 1912; Владимирцов–Самойлович 1916

конца XVI – начала XVII вв., произошедшие в Западной Монголии и Джунгарии, послужили рубежом, отделяющим ойратскую историю от истории калмыков. Именно в этот период крупная этнополитическая группировка торгутов и часть дербетов откочевали в пределы Западной Сибири и Нижнего Поволжья и, добровольно войдя в состав Российского государства в 90-х гг. XVII в., образовали Калмыцкое ханство. С этого момента можно говорить об образовании новой монголоязычной этнической общности – калмыков. Историческое развитие калмыков в условиях новой природной среды, новых этнокультурных и торгово-экономических связей, вдали от основного монголоязычного (монголо-ойратского) массива закономерно проявилось в разных сферах культуры этноса. Вместе с этим, необходимо отметить, что на современном этапе вопросы духовной и материальной культуры, языка, хозяйства калмыцкого народа с ойратскими этносами Монголии и Китая в сравнительно-типологическом плане изучены крайне слабо. В связи с чем, предпринятые экспедиционные исследования являются особенно актуальными.

В современной Монголии, по данным переписи 2005 года, проживает более 2,5 миллионов человек и насчитывается около тридцати национальностей и этнических групп. Большинство населения Монголии составляют халха-монголы. В Западной Монголии (административно-территориальная единица из 5 аймаков – Баян-Улгий, Говь-Алтай, Завхан, Увс, Ховд) проживает около 409 тысяч человек, 13 национальностей и этнических групп. Среди них представители субэтнических групп родственных калмыкам (дербеты, торгуты, захчины, баиты, элюты, хошуты, хойты, алтайские урянхайцы), а также этнические группы, входившие в состав ойратов Джунгарии (хотоны, мянгаты и др.). Как отмечает в своей статье монгольский ученый-лингвист Ж. Цолоо, «в МНР (Монголия) слово «ойрат» не является названием определенной народности. Это исторически принятое название, под которым подразумеваются дербеты, баиты, торгуты, урянхайцы, элеты и дзахчины».³ Кроме того, здесь проживают халха-монголы, а на территории Баян-Улгийского и Увс аймаков казахи и тувинцы. По данным информационных материалов, предоставленных в распоряжение членов экспедиции монгольской стороной, общее количество ойратов в Западной Монголии составляет более 200 тысяч человек, а во всей Монголии – около 400 тысяч человек.⁴

³ Цолоо 1985: 127

⁴ Кручкин 2005; информант На. Сухбаатар, к.и.н., преподаватель Монгольского государственного педагогического института.

В 2007 году полевые исследования проводились в течение десяти дней (31 июля – 8 августа), в 2008 году – 14 дней (с 25 июля по 7 августа). Маршрут экспедиции пролегал по населенным пунктам двух аймаков⁵ Западной Монголии – Увс и Ховд: город Улаангом, баг «Боршоо», баг «Хагин гесн», баг «Баян зуркн» сомона Сагил, баг «Хоот Мост», баг «Бич», баг «Баян хайрхан», баг «Усго» сомона Тургэн, баг «Улан Эргэ» сомона Ховд, сомон Ховд, город Ховд, сомон Улгий, сомон Тариалан, баг «Хандагайты» сомона Сагил, сомон Манхан, сомон Булган. Большинство населения этих населенных пунктов составляют дербеты, захчины и торгуты. Большой интерес вызвали хотоны, этническая группа тюркского происхождения, компактно проживающие в сомоне Тариалан Увс аймака, почти полностью ассимилировавшаяся под влиянием доминантной, дербетской, этнической общности.

В настоящей статье мы хотели бы отметить некоторые ареальные особенности в области фонетики, грамматики и лексики языка ойратов Монголии (на примере дербетского и торгутского говоров), которые были отмечены в ходе экспедиционного исследования, в сравнении с таковыми в современном калмыцком языке и с современным монгольским литературным языком.

Характеризуя языковую ситуацию Монголии, в социолингвистическом плане, необходимо отметить, что процесс нивелировки ареальных диалектов и говоров под влиянием халхаского диалекта, который лежит в основе современного монгольского литературного языка, продолжает ускоренно развиваться. Диалекты Западной Монголии в этом плане не является исключением. Это вызвано, прежде всего, тотальным функционированием халхаского диалекта в сфере образования, СМИ, а также в официальном общении (на административном уровне, в бизнесе, производстве и т.д.). Соответственно, можно говорить о низком статусе (не престижности) родного диалекта по отношению к социально значимому – халхаскому и иностранным языкам, особенно, среди молодого поколения, уезжающего на учебу в Улан-Батор и за рубеж. Отчасти это объясняется личностными ценностными ориентациями носителей диалектов, продиктованными современными экономическим, социально-экономическим развитием, процессами глобализации. Необходимо отметить, что в начале прошлого столетия академик Б. Я. Владимирцев писал, что «монгольские наречия и говоры Западной Монголии делятся на две большие группы: халхаскую, представленную халх-зап., сартульским и некоторыми другими говорами,

⁵ Территориально-административное деление: «аил» – 2–3 войлочные юрты, семья; «баг» – бригада, ферма (объединяет 5–15 «аилов»); «сомон» – поселок, село (объединяет 3–5 «багов»); «аймак» – район, область (объединяет 10–15 «сомонов»).

и ойратскую, заключающую следующие диалекты: дэрбэтско-Кобдоский, баитский, элэтский-Кобд., захачинский, торгутский-Алтайский, урянхайский-Алтайский, причем каждый из этих диалектов разбивается порой на ряд говоров. Как, с одной стороны, халхаские говоры, так и, с другой стороны, ойратские диалекты, несмотря на свои значительные особенности, очень близки друг другу». Кроме того, он выделил «промежуточную» группу – хотогойтский говор и говор Кобдоских мингатов, которые представляли собой «результат смешения халхаского [диалекта] с ойратским». ⁶ В *Сравнительной грамматике монгольских языков* профессор Г. Д. Санжеев отмечает, что «постепенный процесс монголизации или халхаизации ойратов и дархатов, который начался еще раньше, до революции, значительно ускорился в эпоху национальной консолидации монголов». ⁷

На сегодняшний день функциональное развитие ойратских диалектов превалируют в сфере семейно-бытового общения. Особенно, это проявляется в сельских местностях, где до сих пор сохраняется традиционный кочевой уклад жизни. В ходе исследования было отмечено, что ойратские диалекты существуют только в разговорной форме, преимущественно среди старшей возрастной группы населения, от 50 лет и выше. Многие, из старшего поколения информантов, в частности дербеты сомона Сагил⁸, отмечали, что мы, калмыки, говорим на их «материнском языке» (*ээжин келн*). Это объясняется тем, что калмыки, в силу исторического развития оказавшись в иноэтничном окружении, вне контактов с другими монголоязычными этническими группами, в значительной мере сохранили элементы, свойственные ойратским говорам. Однако, академик Б. Я. Владимирцов в своем *Отчете о командировке к дэрбэтам Кобдинского округа летом 1908 года* при сравнении языков дербетов Западной Монголии и астраханских дербетов, пишет, что их фонетический и морфологический уровни представляют большие отличия. ⁹ Необходимо отметить, что помимо отличий между современными языками ойратов Монголии и калмыков на фонетическом и морфологическом уровнях, большие изменения претерпевает лексический состав этих, исторически родственных, групп, главным образом, за счет заимствований. На что также обращал внимание и Б. Я. Владимирцев. ¹⁰ В современном языке ойратов мы встречаем халхаские заимствования, причем не только в тех областях, которые касаются

⁶ Владимирцов 2005: 80

⁷ Санжеев 1953: 62

⁸ Информанты: Делгр, 74 года, дербетка из овога Шаазнг, баг «Баян зурх» сомона Сагил; Володя-аха, дербет, 63 года, баг «Улаан Эргэ» сомона «Бөк Мөрн».

⁹ Владимирцов 2005: 57

¹⁰ Владимирцов 2005: 59

основных и ведущих отраслей общемонгольского производства, культуры, литературы, науки, но и в бытовой, хозяйственной лексике, которая является наиболее устойчивой и живучей частью словарного состава местных диалектов по отношению к общегосударственному языку. В современный калмыцкий язык заимствования проникают, главным образом, из русского и тюркских языков. Например:

Ойратский язык Монголии	Калмыцкий	Халх - Монгольский	Значение
тооно	харач	тооно	дымник в юрте (круг верхнего отверстия юрты)
хана	терм	хана(н)	решетчатая стенка юрты
талх	өдмг (тюрк. одмек)	талх(ан)	хлеб
хоймор	деед бий	хоймор	почетное сторона в юрте
бороо	хур	бороо(н)	дождь
өөр	талдан	өөр	другой, иной
ингээд (хийх)	иигэд (кех)	ингээд (хийх)	так (делать)
аян-зам, зам	хаалh	аян-зам, зам	дальняя дорога, дорога
ойглох	медх	ойлгох	понимать, разбираться
том, ик	ик	том, их	крупный, большой

Между тем, компактное проживание и территориальная обособленность (Западная Монголия) ойратских племен от халхасцев позволяет им сохранять некоторые особенности, характерные всем, исторически развившихся из общего ойратского корня, современным языкам (калмыцкий язык, язык ойратов Китая). Поэтому язык ойратов Монголии воспринимается калмыками намного легче, нежели халхаский диалект.

Фонетические особенности:

1. Сохранение гласных переднего ряда [ö] и [ü]. Например: [nï̥xe] «кочевать», [döč̥in] «сорок», [kü̥mün, kü̥n] «человек». Вместе с тем обращает внимание тот факт, что в языке ойратов Монголии имеются гласные [ô] и [û], представляющие собой среднее между [ö], [ü] и [o], [u]. Например: [dôč̥in] «сорок», [kô̥gš̥in] «старый», [xô̥rin] «двадцать». Однако их употребление непостоянно, поэтому одни и те же слова произносятся в одних случаях с гласными [ô] и [û], а в других – [ö] и [ü]. В современном калмыцком языке гласные [ô] и [û] отсутствуют.
2. Употребление переднего мягкого звука [ä, ä̃], который развился из обще монгольской фонемы [a] посредством «регрессивного ассимилирующего

влияния предыдущего (или последующего) палатализованного согласного и гласного [i] стоящего за ним». ¹¹ В калмыцком языке то же самое – обобщенно-монгольская [a] перед *i везде дало звук [ä], который в современной калмыцкой орфографии обозначается буквой «э». Современные монгольские фонетисты, отмечают в современном халха-монгольском языке тот же процесс, но смягчение гласного [a] реализуется в нем намного слабее. ¹²

3. Сохранение в словах переднего ряда, а также и заднего ряда в положении перед [i], раннего смычного согласного [k]. В халхаском этот гласный развился в проточный [x]. ¹³ Например: [üker] «корова», [berke] «важный», [iki] «большой», [köwün] «мальчик, сын», [kelen] «язык», [akad] «странный». Ср. х-монг. [üxer] «корова», [xü] «мальчик, сын».
4. Отсутствие лабиализации гласных в не первых слогах, [odā] «сейчас», [bolād] «став», [ösād] «вырастив», [tolyā] «голова», [xorxā] «насекомое, червь». Ср. х-монг. [odō] «сейчас», [bolōd] «став», [tolgoi] «голова», [xorxoi] «насекомое, червь».
5. Сохранение последних слогов слова полностью [elken] «печень», [gün] «кобылица», [oron] «место», [tōson] «пыль». Ср. х-монг. [eleg] «печень», [gü] «кобылица», [oro] «место», [tōs] «пыль».
6. Отсутствие дифтонгов.
7. Употребление спиранта [z]. Например: [zalū] «мужчина», [zün yar] «левая рука», [zam] «дорога». В халхаском произносится свистящий аффрикат [dz]. Например: [dzalū].

Из грамматических особенностей отметим следующее:

1. Наличие соединительного (-ла) и направительного падежей (-ур, -үр). Например: *Надла эмдрлэ* «Жил со мной»; *Шуд надур ирэд, шулухн халхм үмснэ* ¹⁴ «Подойдя прямо ко мне, поцеловал меня в щеку».
2. Наличие условного деепричастия на -хна/-хнэ. Причем в торгутском говоре употребляют форму на -хна/-хнэ. Например: *Гарад хэлэхнэ, му көгшм күрэд ирвэ* ¹⁵ «Выйдя посмотрев, /увидела что/ прибыл мой плохонький старик». В калмыцком языке употребляется формы на -хла/-хлэ и, редко, -вас/-вэс.

¹¹ Рассадин 1982: 8

¹² Мөөмөө 1975; Лувсанвандан 1974

¹³ Санжеев 1953, 34

¹⁴ Информант: Цэрэн Лхагва, 54 года, дербет, г. Улангом.

¹⁵ Информант: Бадрах Герел, 40 лет, торгут, с. Булган, Ховд аймак.

3. Наличие лично-предикативных частиц, представляющих собой краткие формы личных местоимений: *-в*, *-бден/-биден*, *-ч*, *-т*, *-тн*. Например: *би ирнэв* (халх. *би ирнэ*), *чи ирнэч* (халх. *чи ирнэ*).
4. В языке ойратов Монголии, как и в калмыцком языке, наблюдается морфологический процесс называемый «сращением морфем». Например: вспомогательный глагол *билээ* развился в частицу *лээ*, *тиймлэ* (халх. *тийм билээ*) «также было», постпозиционная частица отрицания *бишээ* употребляется в форме частицы (*-и*), например: *медхи* (халх. *мэдэхгүй*, **мэдэх биш*) «не знает», *иржэхеш* (халх. *ирэхгүй*, **ирж байх биш*) «не придёт».¹⁶

Несмотря на процессы, связанные с заимствованиями из халхаского языка, лексика ойратов Монголии все же сохраняет пласт собственных слов, отличных от халхаских. Например:

Ойратский язык Монголии	Калмыцкий	Монгольский (халхаский)	Значение
<i>башиг</i>	—	<i>бяслаг</i>	сыр
<i>бичкэ, бичгэ</i>	<i>бичэ, бичкэ</i>	<i>битгий</i>	нет
<i>мөөрсөн</i>	<i>мөөрсн</i>	<i>мөгөөрс</i>	хрящ
<i>аргамж</i>	<i>арһмж</i>	<i>бугуйл</i>	аркан, лассо
<i>насва</i>	—	<i>хамрын тамхи</i>	насвай, нюхательный табак
<i>чимкэр</i>	<i>чимкүр</i>	<i>галын хайч</i>	щипцы
<i>асхэн</i>	<i>асхн</i>	<i>үдэш, орой</i>	вечер
<i>аашна</i>	<i>аашна</i>	<i>ирнэ</i>	идет
<i>гуяр</i>	<i>гуйр</i>	<i>гурил</i>	мука
<i>госон</i>	<i>госн</i>	<i>гутал</i>	сапоги
<i>булмаг</i>	<i>булмг</i>	<i>тостой гурил</i>	мука с маслом
<i>хама</i>	<i>хама</i>	<i>хаана</i>	где
<i>хайсан</i>	<i>хээсн</i>	<i>тогоо</i>	котел
<i>мангадар</i>	<i>манһдур</i>	<i>маргааи</i>	завтра

Таким образом, предварительные результаты научных экспедиций свидетельствуют о том, что язык ойратов Западной Монголии в нынешнем их состоянии представляет уникальный объект изучения, особенно в сравнительно-типологическом освещении с родственными языками. В условиях развития национального литературного языка и доминирующей роли халхаского диалекта, происходит нивелировка территориальных диалектов

¹⁶ Вандуй 1962: 28

и возникновение «смешанных халхаско-ойратских, халхаско-бурятских, халхаско-убурлогчинского говоров».¹⁷ Однако, анализ полевых лингвистических материалов, позволяет сделать вывод о том, что ойратские этнические группы до сих пор сохраняют особенности исконного ойратского диалекта. Кроме того, необходимо отметить, что в последнее время в среде ойратов Монголии появилась тенденция роста этничности, чему способствует стремление сохранить и возродить свою культуру, этническое самосознание. В рамках этого, язык может стать одним из определяющих факторов формирования этнического самосознания и этнической идентификации ойратов Монголии.

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¹⁷ Цолоо 1985: 127

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ÖÖLD – SOME PHONETIC PECULIARITIES

¹The Öölds of Tsambagaraw (Cambagaraw) live on the territory of Erdnebüren (Erdenebüren) *sum* in Khowd *aimag*, Mongolia. The Erdenbüren *sum* is located on the north-eastern foothills of the Altai Mountain, on the southern part of Mount Tsambagaraw. It is at a distance of 64 km in north-eastern direction from the centre of Khowd *aimag*. In that *sum*, as of 1st of January, 1983 there were more than 2500 persons in 486 households who spoke the Ööld dialect.

Mention about the Ööld dialect there was made quite rarely in the works of Mongolists.²

Sanžev³ while discussing the Oirad dialects, remarked that the Khalkhaisation process of Khotgoid and Ööld had begun at a quite early date.

Luwsanwandan⁴ also noted that the language of the Oirads of Khowd as concerns its vocabulary came very close to the Khalkha dialect, and it is fairly clear that young people speak Khalkha.

In his book on the Dsakhchin dialect Colō⁵ writes that although there are quite a lot of words in the Dsakhchin dialect that are missing from Torguud, Dörwöd, and Ööld, the differences between these dialects are not significant.

In her paper *Materials on the folklore of the Mongols of Xinjiang* Todajeva⁶ notes that in the Uighur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang there live about 60,000 Torguud, Khoshuud, Ööld, Dsakhchin, Chakhar people, and with her observations on the language of the Öölds of Dörwöljin (Dörwöljin) she serves interesting additions to our knowledge on the Ööld dialect.

What follows are the main peculiarities of the Ööld dialect spoken by the Öölds living in Erdenbüren *sum* in Khowd *aimag*.

¹ University ELTE Department of Inner Asian Studies – Mongolian State University

² Birtalan 2002; Battulga–Badamdorj 2005.

³ Sanžev 1953: 8.

⁴ Luwsanwandan 1961: 163.

⁵ Colō 1965: 79.

⁶ Todajeva 1960: 228.

1. In comparison with the Written Mongolian language the following peculiarities appear. E. g.:

a. The consonants *g*, *γ*, *b* in an intervocalic position do not disappear:

Written Mongolian	Khalkha	Ööld	
<i>debel</i>	<i>dēl</i>	<i>dewēl</i>	“gown”
<i>quruyu(n)</i>	<i>xurū</i>	<i>xurgā</i>	“finger”
<i>niruyun</i>	<i>nurū</i>	<i>nurgā</i>	“spine”
<i>yaya-, yayakikü</i>	<i>yāx</i>	<i>yagāx</i>	“What to do?” etc.

b. The vowel *i* after an initial consonant *n*-, *č*-, *š*-, *ǰ*- does not show an assimilated form. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Khalkha	Ööld	
<i>nidonon</i>	<i>nodnin</i>	<i>nidnān</i>	“last year”
<i>čidaqu</i>	<i>čadax</i>	<i>tšidāx</i>	“to be able”
<i>čidal</i>	<i>čadal</i>	<i>tšidāl</i>	“ability”
<i>sinay-a</i>	<i>šanaga</i>	<i>šināgā</i>	“ladle, scoop”
<i>silyaqu</i>	<i>šalgax</i>	<i>šilgāx</i>	“to examine, to check”
<i>ǰiryal</i>	<i>ǰargal</i>	<i>džirgāl</i>	“happiness”
<i>ǰiran</i>	<i>ǰar</i>	<i>džirān</i>	“sixty” etc.

c. In words containing front vowels, there appears the allophone *k* of the velar consonant. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Khalkha	Ööld	
<i>kümün</i>	<i>xün</i>	<i>küm</i>	“man”
<i>üker</i>	<i>üxer</i>	<i>ükēr</i>	“ox, cow”
<i>yeke</i>	<i>ix</i>	<i>ik</i>	“big”
<i>köke</i>	<i>xöx</i>	<i>kök</i>	“blue” etc.

d. Some words are close in their pronunciation and form to their original form. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>örlüge</i>	<i>ürün</i>	<i>öglö</i>	“morning”
<i>mangyadar</i>	<i>mangādār</i>	<i>margāš</i>	“tomorrow”
<i>arasun, arisun</i>	<i>arās</i>	<i>ar’s</i>	“skin”
<i>ör, üür</i>	<i>ör</i>	<i>ür</i>	“dawn”
<i>ǰasaqu</i>	<i>džsāx, yasāx</i>	<i>jasax</i>	“to repair, to correct” etc.

The above mentioned features demonstrating the closeness to the Written Mongolian language certify that the modern form of the Ööld variety still preserves peculiarities of the Old Mongol language. In the Tabgach language of the Toba Empire that constitutes part of the monuments of the Old Mongol language in the 4–5th centuries, the Written Mongolian word *aq-a* is *aqan*, the Written Mongolian word *qoni-čin* is *qoyinčin*. The Ööld forms like *axān* “brother”, *xō* “sheep” show some parallels and similarities with the dialect of the Tabgach.⁷

⁷ Vladimircov 1929: 356; Ligeti 1969: 115.

2. There are no diphthongs in the Ööld dialect. Diphthongs of the Written Mongolian appear as long vowels in the Ööld dialect. For example, the word-final Written Mongolian diphthongs *ai*, *oi*, *ui*, *üi*, *ei* are pronounced as *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, *ǖ*, *ī*, *ē*. E. g.:

<i>ai</i> > <i>ā</i>			
Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>noqai</i>	<i>noxā</i>	<i>noxoi</i>	“dog”
<i>yaqai</i>	<i>gaxā</i>	<i>gaxai</i>	“pig”
<i>toluyai</i>	<i>tolxā</i>	<i>tolgoi</i>	“head” etc.
<i>oi</i> > <i>ō</i>			
Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>qoyiši</i>	<i>xōr</i>	<i>xoiš</i>	“backwards” etc.
<i>ei</i> > <i>ā</i>			
Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>eregtei</i>	<i>irēktā</i>	<i>eregtei</i>	“male”
<i>emegtei</i>	<i>imēktā</i>	<i>emegtei</i>	“female”
<i>keregtei</i>	<i>kirēktā</i>	<i>xeregtei</i>	“necessary” etc.
<i>ui</i> > <i>ū</i>			
Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>quyiq-a</i>	<i>xūx</i>	<i>xuix</i>	“scalp”
<i>duyui</i>	<i>dugū</i>	<i>dugui</i>	“circle” etc.

The word-final sequences *-ba/-be* of the written language in Ööld appear as the long vowels *ū/ǖ*. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>arban</i>	<i>arū</i>	<i>araw</i>	“ten”
<i>yurban</i>	<i>gurū</i>	<i>guraw</i>	“three”
<i>dörben</i>	<i>dörū</i>	<i>döröw</i>	“four”
<i>kerbe</i>	<i>kirū</i>	<i>xerew</i>	“if”
<i>aliba</i>	<i>alū</i>	<i>aliwā</i>	“any, every” etc.

The sequence *-üyi-* e. g. in the Written Mongolian words *küyiten*, *küyisü* has changed to the long vowel *ī*.

3. It is very interesting that in the Ööld dialect there are palatalized long vowels. E. g.
a. For the Written Mongolian initial and inlaut diphthong *ai* there stands an *ā* in Ööld.

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>sayin</i>	<i>sān</i>	<i>sain</i>	“good”
<i>nayir</i>	<i>nār</i>	<i>nair</i>	“feast”
<i>naima(n)</i>	<i>nām</i>	<i>naim</i>	“eight”
<i>ayil</i>	<i>āl</i>	<i>ail</i>	“encampment”

In the same manner, the Written Mongolian words that have an *i* in their first syllable and a final *ai* diphthong appear in Ööld featuring such a palatalized long vowel. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>čirai</i>	<i>tširā</i>	<i>carai</i>	“face”
<i>nirai</i>	<i>nirā</i>	<i>nyarai</i>	“new-born”

The *y* consonant of back-vowelled words may also result in a palatalized long vowel. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>ayaya</i>	<i>āgā</i>	<i>ayaga</i>	“bowl, cup” etc.

b. The *oi* diphthong of Written Mongolian is represented in Ööld by a palatalized long vowel. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>oi</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>oi</i>	“forest”
<i>oyir-a</i>	<i>ōr</i>	<i>oir</i>	“near, close”
<i>oyimasu(n)</i>	<i>ōms</i>	<i>oims</i>	“stockings”
<i>qoni</i>	<i>xō</i>	<i>xon'</i>	“sheep” etc.

c. In some Written Mongolian words that have an *i* in their first syllable, the sequence *-ayu-* has resulted in the palatalized long vowel *ū*. E.g.:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>birayu</i>	<i>burū</i>	<i>byarū</i>	“calf”
<i>kirayu</i>	<i>kirū</i>	<i>xyarū</i>	“hoar-frost”
<i>irayu</i>	<i>irū</i>	<i>yarū</i>	“harmonious” etc.

Although the lexicon of the Ööld dialect and that of the literary language basically coincide, it is not difficult to find differing words. For example there are a lot of words the form of which shortened and became items of the lexicon. E. g.:

1. The inlaut consonants *d* and *t* are not pronounced. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>gedesün</i>	<i>gess</i>	<i>gedes</i>	“belly, stomach”
<i>yadasun</i>	<i>gass</i>	<i>gadas</i>	“stake, nail”
<i>yutulsun</i>	<i>goss</i>	<i>gutal</i>	“boot” etc.

2. Final short or long vowels disappear. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>qoyulai</i>	<i>xōl</i>	<i>xōloi</i>	“throat”
<i>qančui</i>	<i>xants</i>	<i>xancui</i>	“sleeve”
<i>jögei</i>	<i>džög</i>	<i>jögī</i>	“bee” etc.

3. In some cases the elements *n*, *g* of the words disappear. E. g.:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>sün</i>	<i>üs</i>	<i>sū</i>	"milk"
<i>söni</i>	<i>sō</i>	<i>šönö</i>	"night"
<i>qonin</i>	<i>hō</i>	<i>xon'</i>	"sheep"
<i>qongyur</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>xongor</i>	"light bay"
<i>qongyu</i>	<i>xoŋ</i>	<i>xongo</i>	"the back of the thigh"
<i>suyu</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>suga</i>	"out, apart" etc.

4. The consonant *r* in an inlaut position is not pronounced in some words:

Written Mongolian	Ööld	Khalkha	
<i>urtu</i>	<i>ut</i>	<i>urt</i>	"long"
<i>mögeresün</i>	<i>mös</i>	<i>mögörs</i>	"cartilage"

There appear several dialect words in Ööld that are not present in Modern Mongolian. E. g.:

<i>akād</i>	"interesting" etc.	<i>kilēn</i>	"shirt"
<i>arxād</i>	"leather sack for kumis"	<i>manz</i>	"lapel"
<i>garāts</i>	"roof-ring"	<i>pil</i>	"dish, plate"
<i>güz</i>	"cupboard"	<i>sagsāg</i>	"lambskin"
<i>idrēn</i>	"a toothed implement of wood used in dressing skins"	<i>tsuglā</i>	"wrapping"
<i>ilkā</i>	"trouser-belt"	<i>tsuglāx</i>	"to wrap"
<i>irkā</i>	"threshold"	<i>xantšir</i>	"peritoneum"
<i>kidžēm</i>	"saddle-cloth"	<i>xās</i>	"pot"
<i>kīgās</i>	"odd, uneven"	<i>xāx</i>	"to shoot"

Homonyms occur in great numbers in the Ööld dialect. E. g.:

<i>xōl</i> "food"	~	<i>xōl</i> "throat"
<i>sū-</i> "to sit"	~	<i>sū</i> "apart"
<i>üs</i> "hair"	~	<i>üs</i> "milk"
<i>tsar</i> "dish"	~	<i>tsar</i> "ox"
<i>öndör</i> "high, tall"	~	<i>öndör</i> "today"
<i>dzet</i> "the head-part of the rafter"	~	<i>dzet</i> "nail-skin" etc.

In comparison with the Khalkha dialect the following main differences may be observed.

1. In Ööld there appears an initial *g-* in the case of some words. E. g.:

Khalkha	Ööld	
<i>olgöē</i>	<i>golgā</i>	"large intestine"
<i>uyrāx</i>	<i>guyrāx</i>	"to be moved, to be touched"
<i>urxi</i>	<i>gurāx</i>	"snare" etc.

2. Short *e* of the first syllable appears as *i* in Ööld. E. g.:

Khalkha	Ööld	
<i>enē</i>	<i>inā</i>	"this"
<i>terē</i>	<i>tirā</i>	"that"
<i>erēgtē</i>	<i>irēktē</i>	"male, man"
<i>belēg</i>	<i>bilik</i>	"gift, present" etc.

3. X in front-vocalic words is represented by *k*. E. g.:

Khalkha	Ööld	
<i>xöx</i>	<i>kök</i>	“blue”
<i>ix</i>	<i>ik</i>	“big”
<i>xē</i>	<i>kē</i>	“ornament” etc.

4. Diphthongs are missing from Ööld. E. g.:

Khalkha	Ööld	
<i>tolgōē</i>	<i>tolxā</i>	“head”
<i>gaxāē</i>	<i>gaxā</i>	“pig”
<i>xōēš</i>	<i>xōrā</i>	“backwards”
<i>xūētēn</i>	<i>kitn</i>	“cold”
<i>xūēs</i>	<i>kīs, kūs</i>	“navel” etc.

The above material well illustrates that the Ööld dialect is worth being subjected to further academic examinations and comparative works.

The presented material is based on the results of the expedition carried out with the aim of collecting Ööld linguistic material from speakers of Tsambagaraw, in 1983. The age of the informants exceeded 55 years.

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ZAKHCHIN – AN EXAMPLE OF THE PERLOCUTIONARY SPEECH ACT

THE NÜGL/NÜGEL/NÜGÜL/NÜL

THE ZAKHCHINS

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In: *Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*, Edited by
ÁGNES BIRTALAN. Budapest, 2012,
ELTE Eötvös Kiadó. /Talentum II./ 90–105.

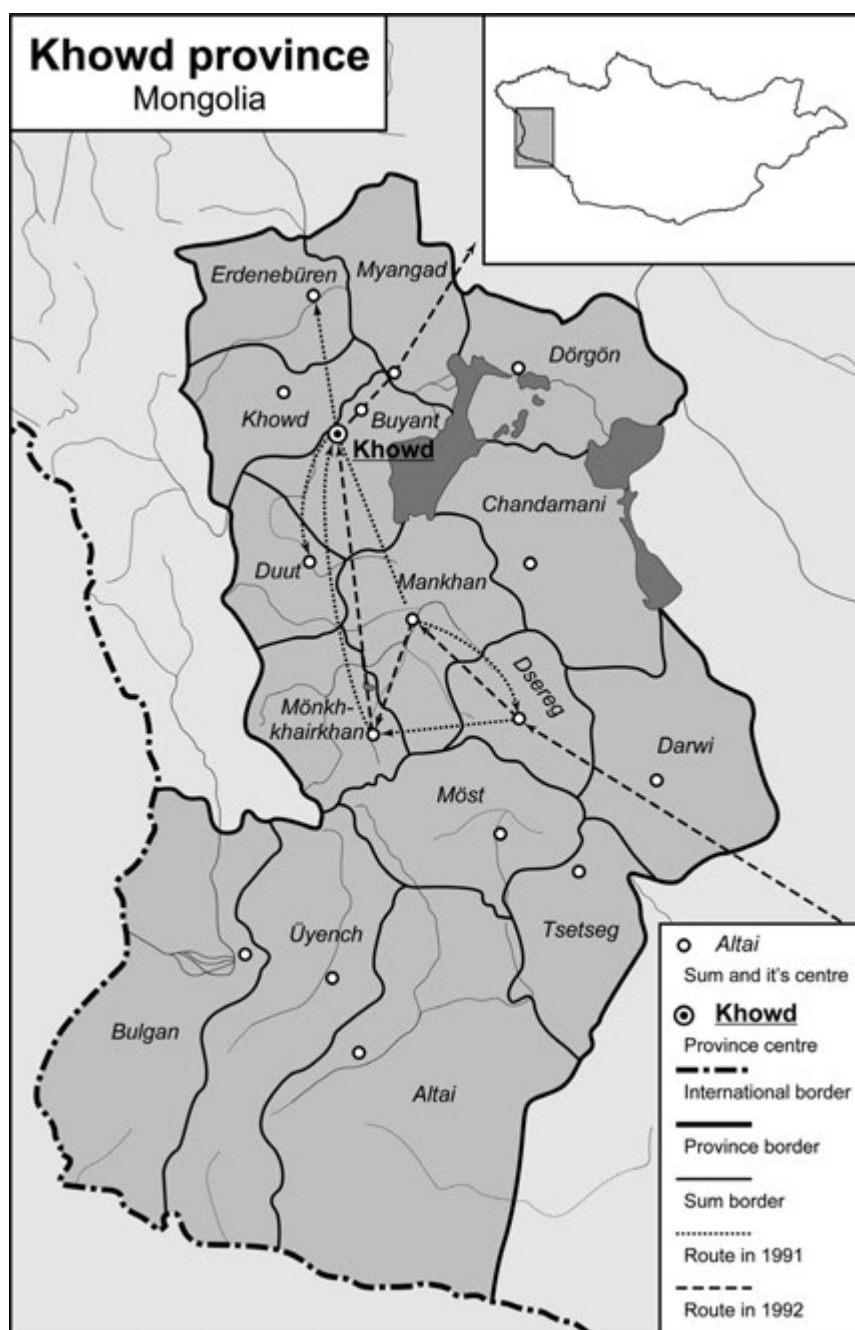
Thanks to its highly motivated researchers, and primarily to Ĵ. Colō, E. Menes and E. Pürewĵaw, a large quantity of material has been issued about the Zakhchin dialect, folklore, religions and history. As an independent ethnic group of Western-Mongolian Oirads, the Zakhchins – called also Jakhchin and in Khalkha Dsakhchin (Oir. Zaxĉin, Ĵaxĉin, Khal. Jaxĉin) – emerged during the 18th century. According to the contemporary Mongolian and Manchu sources, Mongolian and also some Turkic ethnic groups took part in the ethnogenetic process of the Zakhchins.² During the Manchu period the Zakhchins served as front guards in the Altai region, the ethnonym itself indicating their profession: Zakhchin *zax*, *jax*, Mong. *ĵaq-a* means “frontier, border, edge, collar” with the additional suffix of the nomen actoris *-ĉin*. In the last decade approximately 30,000 – 40,000 Zakhchins lived in five *sum*-s of Khowd district, namely Altai, Dsereg (Jereg), Mankhan (Manxan), Möst, Üyench (Üyenĉ). The Expedition carried out field-work among the Zakhchins of Mankhan (1991, 1992, 2001, 2002, 2007), Dsereg (1991, 2001), Üyench (2001), and Altai (2001) *sum*-s.

REMARKS ON THE ZAKHCHIN DIALECT

The most comprehensive work and reference study on the Zakhchin dialect of Altai Oirad is still the descriptive monograph of Ĵ. Colō based on his field research, reflecting the features and condition of the dialect in the middle of

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² On the history, religion and ethnography of the Zakhchins: Gongor 1964: 51–52; Colō 1965; Birtalan 1985; Menes 1996: 334–377; Hashimoto–Pürewĵaw 1998; Hashimoto–Pürewĵaw 2000; Oĉir (manuscript); numerous volumes of the series *Bibliotheca Oiratica* are devoted to the Oirad historical and religious sources.



Map of the routes of the Expedition 1991 and 1992

the 20th century.³ The Zakhchin dialect – as it was observable during the field research of the Expedition – has preserved its Oirad peculiarities⁴ during the nineties and the first years of the 2000s. The degree of the presence of the Oirad features in the conversation act depends evidently on the speaker(s) and the situation, too (cf. the article *Oirad – The Prestige Language* in the present volume). The lexemes and phonetic features used in the “prestige language”, as well as the majority of the texts of the folklore genres preserve more extensively the characteristics of Oirad. The influence of Khalkha gets stronger especially in the everyday conversation in each age and predominantly among the younger generation (under 30). In longer conversations the informants often switch from the “prestige language” to the Khalkha standard known from educational institutions and the mass media. The results of interviews made by using the phonological/phonetic questionnaires of Michael Weiers also revealed that most of the Zakhchin informants (including the younger generation, from age 20–) are familiar with Oirad phonetic forms and a great number of typical Oirad lexemes if they are asked specifically about a particular expression.

It can be concluded that in the first 15 years of the Expedition the Zakhchins still preserved typical features of the common Oirad language and also some Zakhchin peculiarities (cf. Ĵ. Colō’s dictionary) as the features of their own dialect. As for the follow-up project, with the dialectal records the tasks of the next years are:

1. To examine the phonologic/phonetic character of the dialectal records, prepare transcriptions made by a native researcher, and an objective transcription of neutral character, made by a non-native speaker.⁵
2. To evaluate the results of the questionnaires.
3. To study the folklore texts and folklore-connected utterances in cultural and intercultural contexts.

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³ Colō 1965.

⁴ Most features of Altai Oirad dialects are common. Concerning the phonetic and lexical divergence between the particular dialects, Ĵ. Colō’s dictionary (Colō 1988) is to be consulted as a comprehensive reference list. However, in the speech of individuals distinct phenomena can emerge in comparison with the data given in the dictionary.

⁵ The transcription made by a learned, skilled native researcher has its good advantages (a better understanding of the text, more accuracy in hearing particular phonetic phenomena), and can be used as a research topic as well (the correlation between the native researcher and his/her own dialect). However it is assumable that the tendency of preserving the purest state of the dialects might cause misinterpretations.

XUYAGĪN BAYARMAGNAI, ONE OF OUR ZAKHCHIN INFORMANTS

One of our Zakhchin informants was Xuyagĭn Bayarmagnai (1917–1992), a personal friend of Ĵ. Colō, who introduced us to him. He was interviewed by Colō and Birtalan during the first research trip of the Expedition in August 1991. He was interviewed earlier also by other researchers, such as Ch. Bawden,⁶ G. Cerenxand and G. Batnasan.⁷ He performed three epics (Oir., Khal. *tūl'*), several folksongs (*dūn*, Khal. *dū*), aetiological myths (*domg*, Khal. *domog*), tales (*ūlgr*, Khal. *ūlger*), shared with us a lot information on the Zakhchin folk belief-system, customs, traditions in forms of short utterances on the prohibitions of the everyday life called “taboo” (Oir. *niügl/nūl*, Khal. *cēr*) and longer narratives (cf. Khal. *xūč yaria*). While working on the texts recorded from him and preparing one of his epics (*Üln Tiw*) to be published I summarised the main events of his life as follows:⁸

“Xuyagĭn Bayarmagnai was born in Mankhan in 1917 (the year of the horse) and was living in Khowd town when we met him in August and September 1991. The next time we visited Khowd again in 1992, he had already passed away, so the materials we could record from him are the last ones... He and his elder brother Xuyagĭn Wangir were skilled bards among the Zakhchins in Mankhan. Ch. Bawden also interviewed Xuyagĭn Wangir, whom he calls Gongor in his account, in 1967 in Mankhan *sum*. Ch. Bawden introduced Wangir’s performing skills in his article dedicated to the performance of Mongolian epics.⁹ Xuyagĭn Wangir was the performer of the well-known allegoric heroic epic, *Xorin dörwön salā ewertei uxā dōnön buga* [The four-year-old, light red deer, with antlers of twenty four branches].”¹⁰

Bayarmagnai was born in Mankhan (at the beginning of the century the territory belonged to Tögrög administrative unit) on the spring camp of his family, at the river Tögrög in 1917. As he explained to us, he used to be a very timid child, afraid of strangers and even of adults. When he was 18, he started his military services, and in the middle of



Bayarmagnai in Khowd, 1991 August (with Ĵ. Colō)

⁶ Bawden 1979.

⁷ Čulün 2011: 152–154.

⁸ Fragments from my article with some additional notes, and to some extent modified transcription cf. Birtalan 2004.

⁹ Bawden 1979: 42–43.

¹⁰ Published by Katū 1991: 136–144.



*Bayarmagnai in Khowd, 1991 August
(with Ágnes Birtalan)*

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named Joyful life”),¹¹ although he was not a real member of the Revolutionary Party. This paradoxical situation caught someone’s eyes and he was sent to a veterinary hospital to work there. When his wife fell ill, and she needed continuous medical attendance, they moved to Khowd town, where he worked as a night-watchman. Six children were born to his wife, six sons, and three of them were alive at the beginning of the nineties. Besides his jobs, he lived on livestock herding, and as he explained to us, also on cultivating land and sometimes hunting.

Bayarmagnai told us that he learned his epics from his father, who used to calm him reciting heroic epic. He was the youngest son (*otgn xũ bāsn*)¹² in the family and his father recited to him epics (*tũl’ xālaǰ bāsn*) as a cradle-song.¹³ Bawden also remarked about Wangir (Bayarmagnai’s brother) that he learned the heroic epics from his parents “Like Tsevēnaravdan, he had learned his epics, in his case from his parents though he claimed to have made his own melody. As for the practical use of his skill, he used his epics to rock his children to sleep, as his parents had done with him.”¹⁴ Bayarmagnai performed for us two heroic epics: besides the *Ūln Tiw*, also a version of *Ejn tengr xān* [Lord Heaven khan]. ... He knew fragments of the text of another Oirad epic, the *Carig cagān ing* [The robust white camel cow], and performed to us his prosaic variant with some rhyming parts.¹⁵

¹¹ On the activity of the Collective and its members, cf. in detail: Čulūn 2011: 62, 70, 146, passim.

¹² If it is not indicated, the terms are quoted from Bayarmagnai’s Zakhchin dialect.

¹³ According to Katū (Katū calls him Bayarsaixan in his book) he learned the epics from a bard called Janjā (Katū 1991: 25).

¹⁴ Bawden 1979: 43.

¹⁵ Birtalan 2004: 9–10.

PECULIARITIES OF BAYARMAGNAI'S ZAKHCHIN DIALECT

Bayarmagnai's language usage in folklore texts as well as in everyday conversation was characterised by the peculiarities of the mixed dialects (Khalkhaised Oirad) and a strong tendency of talking in Zakhchin (i. e. using the Altai Oirad phonetic forms, typical morphs and lexemes). Besides the Khalkhaisation process of Altai Oirad dialects, his long stay in the Eastern-Mongolian language environment (Dornod district while serving in the army) should be considered as an influential factor upon his original Zakhchin dialect.

In my previous study on the epics *Ūln Tiw* I have already summarised the peculiarities of Bayarmagnai's language usage.¹⁶ Below the data extracted from that article are reissued predominantly with examples from the text-corpus of *nügl*-items.

Concerning phonology, the Dsakhchin palatal *k-*, *-k-* (versus Khal. *x-*, *-x-*) are well preserved in almost all cases, e. g.: *kümmün* “man, person”, *küküddän* “for her sons”, *erektä* “man, male”, also in front of the *i* of back vowel words: *dakād* “again”, *alj orkād* “had killed”. Though the typical Oirad spirant *z-*, *-z-* (versus Khal. *j-*, *-j-*) has been changed for the Khalkha affricate in the text of the epic, e. g.: *jandan* “sandal tree”, *gajā* “outside”, in the texts of the *nügls* it appeared in most cases, e. g. *zūn* “left, eastern”, *zūdukguā* “does not bite”. The palatal vowels *ö*, *ü*, *ō*, *ū*, are closer to the original Oirad pronunciation in most cases, but sometimes he pronounced them more centralised, similarly to Khalkha. The original Mongolian diphthongs became long vowels in Oirad dialects, and this Oirad feature is well preserved in Bayarmagnai's speech, e. g. *bādim* “is, use to be” (Khal. *baidag yum*, Mong. *bayiday yum*), *seterkā* “broken” (Khal. *seterxi*; Mong. *seterkei*), *cā* “tea”, (Khal. *cai*, Mong. *čaj*). The originally velar vowels became palatalised in the surroundings of *i*: *bārūltā* “with handle” (Khal. *bariultai*, Mong. *bariul-tu* ← *bari'ul-tu*). The original *i* in the first syllable preserved its features without breaking: *čirlād* “shouted and ...” (Khal. *čarl-*, *čarlād*, Mong. *čirla-*), *čidlān* “his strength” (Khal. *čadlā*, Mong. *čidal-yuyan*), *nislād* “knuckled and ...” (Khal. *nyasla-*, Mong. *nisla-*). The use of unrounded vowels in non-initial syllables after rounded vowels is not consequent, it shows Oirad features: *orād* “entered and ...” (Khal. *orōd*, Mong. *oruyad*), *öwrār* “with/from horn” (Khal. *ewrēr*, Mong. *eber-iyer*), *dolāyād* “licked and ...” (Khal. *dolōgōd*, Mong. *doliyayad*), *nökārtān* “to her husband” (Khal. *nörxörtō*, Mong. *nöker-tegen*) and Khal. characteristics as well: *orōd* “entered and ...” (Khal. *orōd*, Mong. *oruyad*). The Mong. and Khal. *-g-* turns *-x-* occasionally in back vowel words: *utxata* “having the meaning” (Khal. *utagtai*, Mong. *utqa-tu*), *asxarna* “it flows” (Khal. *asgarna*, Mong. *asqaramui*).

¹⁶ For the language of the epic *Ūln Tiw*, cf. Birtalan 2004: 13–15.

Morphologically, a typical Oirad feature is the use of predicative personal endings. Bayarmagnai usually used them in his folklore texts, but in the *Üln Tiw* they only appeared in a few cases: *emtāw* “I have remedy” (cf. Mong. *em-tei bi*). A typical Zakhchin form is the use of *-dār* as locativus *tolxādār* “on the hill” (Khal. *tolgoid*), *orandārān* “in his bed” (Khal. *orondō*) and the adverbium conditionale *-jim*, *boljim* “if [you] are ...” (cf. Khal. *bolbol*, Mong. *bolbasu*).¹⁷

There appear some words in typical Oirad phonetic forms: *āy* “bowl” (Khal. *ayag*), *büşü* “Is not [it]?” (cf. Khal. *biš-ü*), *igād* “doing so and ...” (Khal. *inge-*, *ingēd*), *kokšan* “old” (Khal. *xögšin*), *jarātrād* “felt upset” (cf. Khal. *jarailg-*, *jarailgād*), *yāylāwči* “What did you do?” (cf. Khal. *yā-*, *yālā čī*), *yowsār* “[he] went for a long time”, *yowyn* “on foot” (Khal. *yaw-*, *yawsār*, *yawgan*), *yültguā*, *yūt kūtguā* “without anything” (cf. Khal. *yū č ügei*), *nuryān* “her back” (Khal. *nurügā*), *öwrār* “with/ from horn”, (Khal. *ewrēr*), *tolxādār* “on the hill”, (Khal. *tolgoid*); and typical Oirad words: *yarāc* “smoke-hole” (Khal. *tōno*), *xās*, “pot” (Khal. *saw*), *teremtā* “having walls” (cf. Khal. *xanatai*), etc.

THE ZAKHCHIN NÜGL/NÜGEL/NÜGÜL/NÜL “THE BEHAVIOURAL TABOOS”

Lexicographic data

Below a special form of the speech act will be introduced, the *nügl*¹⁸ which is a designation among the Zakhchins for the comprehension of “prohibitions ruling the life of an individual and of the community”. The meaning of the common Mongolian lexeme is “sin, misdeed, and crime”, cf. Mong. *nigül*, Khal. Bur. *nügel*; *nül*, the form in Kalmyk and some other Oirad dialects (Dörwöd and Torguud), follows the phonetic rule of the disappearance of the intervocalic spirant (-g-), while Zakhchin shares the Khalkha-like phonetic form with Ööld, Uriankhai, Bayad and Khoton and preserves the intervocalic -g-: *nügl/nügül*. The form with an intervocalic -g- bears a somewhat archaic character.¹⁹

¹⁷ Colö 1965: 77; Birtalan 2003a: 225.

¹⁸ Hereafter common Oirad *nügl* is used without marking any reduced sound. The form *nügül* is the suggestion of Colö form Bayarmagnai’s pronunciation.

¹⁹ A careful study of the context of using this lexeme and not its synonyms (*gem*, *burū*, *yal*) in contemporary Khalkha reveals its limited semantic fields. Cf. frequently in the opposition *nügel* – *buyan*, “sin – merit”, *arwan xar nügel* “ten black sins”, etc.

Nügl/nül

Oir. *nül* (Dö. T.), *nügül* (Dž., Ö., U., Ba., Kho.) “[Khal.] nügel: [Russ.] greh, pregrešenije, porok; *bitškā nül xurā* [!] [Khal.] bitgī nügel xī!”²⁰

W.Oir. *nüöl* “sin”, *nüül* “sin, fault”²¹

Kalm. *nül* “Sünde”, *nül kilnc* “id.”, *nül kexe* “sündigen”, *nültē kereg* “ein sündhaftes Werk, Sünde”,²² *nültā* “grešnyj, grehovnyj; očen', udivitel'no, porazitel'no”²³

Cēr

The concept for which the lexeme *nül* is used by our informant is known as *cēr* (Khalkha form, cf. Mong. *čeger*) “taboo, prohibition” in the majority of the Mongolian languages, cf. Khal., Kalm. Bur. *cēr*. The meanings given in various dictionaries are slightly different, but it is commonly known that it refers to “an object, a person, or an action that must be avoided”, that “is tabooed”.

Oir. *deest* (Colō 1988).

W.Oir. *cēr* “abstinence”,²⁴ *cērle-* “to use carefully”,²⁵ *cērtei* “abstaining”, *cērle-* “to vow to abstain”, *cērlel* “moderation”²⁶

Kalm. *cēr* “Enthaltsamkeit, *cērtē* verboten, mit Enthaltsamkeit belegt; die Sitte, gefürchtete od. für gefährlich angesehen Sachen mit Tiere nicht mit ihrem eigentlichen Namen zu nennen, sondern Synonyme od. anders leicht verständliche Umschreibung anzuwenden; *cērtē ödr* Fastentag; *cērtē üg* ein verbotenes od. unaussprechliches Wort”,²⁷ *cērllyn* “zaprešenije, sobljudenije tabu, vozderžannost', karantin”,²⁸ *cērtā* “zapretnyj, zapreščonnyj, karantinnyj”²⁹

The comparison of the above lexicographic data reveals that Bayarmagnai used the lexeme *nügl* (in his pronunciation *nügül*) in the sense of the notion *cēr*. He used the expression *cēr* as well, but mostly for “omina”, e. g. “forecasts, predictions during a journey, on a long way” (*xol yumnd yowx cēr*) and for the taboo-system concerning the fire and fire cult (*galān cēr*). It is a further task to examine how consequently he applied the terms, whether the semantic fields of *nügl* and *cēr* can be strictly differentiated or they are synonyms in particular cases.

The nügl as a folklore genre (?)

Although *nügl* is not an established oral literary³⁰ form in the Mongolian folklore genre typology, Bayarmagnai used a fairly fixed pattern to formulate the majority of the *nügl*-items. Moreover, the same applies to the written collections of *cērs*, where a similar system can be observed regarding the syntactical structure

²⁰ Colō 1988: 682.

²¹ Krueger 1987: 225, 229.

²² Ramstedt 1976: 283.

²³ Munijev 1977: 390.

²⁴ Krueger 1987: 626.

²⁵ Krueger 1987: 627.

²⁶ Krueger 1987: 627.

²⁷ Ramstedt 1935: 428.

²⁸ Munijev 1977: 631.

²⁹ Munijev 1977: 631.

³⁰ Or at least it is not yet – according to the material at my disposal.

and moulding of the *cēr*-entries.³¹ On the basis of the text-corpus recorded from Bayarmagnai in Khowd in August 1991, the following could be concluded: although the *nügl* or *cēr* does not (or not yet) seem to be a separate folklore genre, it tends to have a fixed structure – at some points similar to proverbs –, but lacks such poetical means as alliteration and parallelism, characteristic of almost all the Mongolian folklore genres. In her excellent book devoted to the ritual poetry of the Kalmyks Bordžanova quoted omina and prohibitions from previous records (Žiteckij, Dušan) and from her own fieldwork. Bordžanova presented a series of omina, presages (Kalm. *sän yor*, *mū yor*, etc.) and also taboos in the Kalmyks' life.³² She also compared the phenomena “taboo and prohibition” with the notion *buzr* “dirty” whose meaning fits many *nügl*-items of Bayarmagnai. In Bordžanova's opinion, the “primety” (Russ.) – as she collectively determines the taboos, prohibitions and omina – has already formed a separate folklore genre.³³ She only examined the content of her items without touching upon their special structure in details.

In my view, probably it is better to separate omina from taboos, prohibitions, as they have a different purpose and if an approximately consistent structural system can be established on the basis of Bayarmagnai's corpus, it will differ in the case of the omina from the prohibitions.

The *nügl* as a perlocutionary speech act³⁴

Though *nügl* and *cēr* are part of the Mongolian folk tradition they do not seem to form a separate folklore genre, due to the lack of poetical means. They are rather a part of the speech act with a more or less fixed structural form and used for educational purposes. A *cēr* or a *nügl* consists either of a single utterance (1) – presenting the taboo (what is prohibited, what must be avoided or done), or of two parts (2): an utterance and an explanation (why something is prohibited, why something must be avoided or done).

Most of the *nügls* are of a declarative character, in form of an utterance/statement introducing a behavioural taboo. The declarative part of the *nügl* includes sometimes an imperative syntagm, too, with a warning of doing or not doing something. This structural basis is the core that is realised in various forms: either in the form of an only utterance in order to remind the listener of the behavioural taboo (1), or it appears with attached information (2), i. e. *why* something should be avoided or done. The additional information is necessary for

³¹ E. g. Nyambū–Nacagdorj 1993; Sonom–Sodnamdorji–Sayijiraqu 1991.

³² Bordžanova 2007: 99–134.

³³ Bordžanova 2007: 99–134.

³⁴ On the basis of Searle 1969 and internet sources: Kelemen, Ilyefalvi.

educational purposes to train the children, the younger generation in the proper behaviour and it also occurs in the discourse of the informant with a researcher (regardless whether native and foreign). This second part is not always included in the *cēr*- and *nügl*-items. It is not obligatory when adult people of the given community are present who are evidently aware of its content. For the education of the younger generation taboo-tales/myths are also narrated. Bayarmagnai also remembered five such narratives explaining the origin of a taboo that must be observed (e. g. Why is it prohibited to embrace the pillar of the yurt?).³⁵ These narrations are masterpieces of folklore; they contain aetiological motifs and are told in the manner of the *xūč yaria* “reminiscence stories”, a vivid and beloved genre among the Mongols.³⁶ Concerning their syntactical pattern, the *nügl*s are constructed from reduced syntactic elements in accord with the purpose of their utterance during a speech act. Namely, a *nügl* is told not only in order to teach the children and the younger generation how to behave themselves, it is uttered also spontaneously if someone violates the behavioural rules of the community. A kind of minimalizing tendency can be observed in the formulation of the message, which is required by a warning to do or avoid an action. This warning is generated by the situation (cf. above, the violation of the rules). The *nügl* as a perlocutionary speech act encloses warning in various ways: either as an utterance (A) or with an implied imperative (B).

Example for (A):

4. *Yowyan sūdukguā – nügültā. Yowyan sūdul dān daǰindā yārsaŋ gidik.*

4. One may not squat [in the yurt] – [it is] sinful. Squatting means that the person is hurrying to war or pillage.

The grammatic means is the use of *nomen usus* with an enclitic negative particle – otherwise a neutral utterance –, while its perlocutionary function is expressed with further syntactic means, as the pause in utterance and the use of the lexeme *nügl* with a suffix *-t(a)³ⁱ* (and its dialectal variants) expressing possessing something (lit. “with sin, having sin, bearing sin”). The explanation that follows the utterance has a simple declarative nature.

Example for (B):

7. *Ėmektā kümīg Bitā zāmīlǰi sū! genā – nügül.*

7. Women are told: ‘Don’t sit cross-legged!’ – [it is] a sin.

The most direct imperative form of Mongolian languages, the bare word stem is used in this item, strictly prohibiting doing something. The prohibitive utterance

³⁵ *Baxna tewerdeguā – nügül. Baxna iki zowajādāk ‘Xamak küčtā yumān nadār tululčād.’ – gidik.* “The pillar should not be embraced – [it is] a sin. The pillar suffers much. It is said: “I am forced to bear all that is strong [= heavy]”.

³⁶ I have published such a narrative of Bayarmagnai concerning the treatment of various animal bones, cf. Birtalan 2003b: 48–50.

is followed again with the lexeme *nügl* emphasising the perlocutionary effect of the speech act. Here the additional explanation is lacking.

Above and in many further examples introduced below, the use of the verbum dicendi *ge-* is important in the meaning “they say, one says, it is said”. It stresses the commonly accepted character of the behavioural rules.

Returning to syntactic instruments of *nügl*s, the minimalizing tendency is expressed with the following means:

1. in the declarative part of the utterance:
 - 1.1. use of nomen usus instead of more complicated compound verbal syntagms; it provides generalisation of the message,
 - 1.2. use of simple imperative forms, for stressing the perlocutionary effect,
 - 1.3. there is a tendency to eliminate verbal predicates; use of zero copula, instead of long explanation,
 - 1.4. the closing lexeme is *nügl* or *nügltä* that follows a pause in the speech act,
 - 1.5. the role of pause units in the speech act emphasises the perlocutionary effect, too.
2. The additional explanation (the second part of the speech act) differs from the *nügl*-utterance; it is formed with the use of various syntactic means and does not tend to be minimalized as the utterances referring to the *nügl*s do. In an everyday discourse, and not in the discourse with the researchers, the addressee is – as mentioned above – a child to be taught or a violator of rules. In a spontaneous situation the communicative value of the *nügl*-utterance is without doubt very effective – as we could observe in some situations, regarding e. g. the way of sitting in the yurt, and the eating manners the rules of which are broken in our days very often.

Specimens from the *nügl*-text corpus

The *nügl*-corpus offers several approaches and possibilities of grouping the particular items, such as:

- classification in the order in which Bayarmagnai told us the *nügl*-items: it carries information about the most important items for the informant, the most general ones, about the sequence of being retrieved from his memory,
- classification according to their structure (cf. the above analysis),
- classification on a semantic basis; there are various possibilities to establish semantic groups, e. g. by linking them to certain fields of the traditional material and spiritual culture,
- classification according to the social status, gender, age.³⁷

³⁷ The throughout elaboration of the classification groups is the task of a further study, here only some possible approaches are chosen without a complete list.

Below I chose two approaches³⁸ to introduce some items of the text-corpus: gender, i. e. *nügl*s concerning the behaviour of women, and *nügl*s relating to objects in traditional nomadic culture.

Some *nügl*-items concerning the behaviour of women

1. *Ėmektā kümün nuryān ūrdükguā – nügül. Tere yayād nügül bānā gixdār ere nökärtān xarš, erektā kūküddān xarš. Ere nökrāsān xayacanā gisin ānā.*³⁹
1. A woman may not walk with hands folded behind her back – [it is] a sin. Why is that a sin? Because it causes misfortune to her husband and it causes misfortune to her son. It also means that she will be divorced from her husband.⁴⁰
2. *Ėmektā kümün gerte sun'āji boloxguā – nügül. Ene yāyād gixlār, ene gerin süldü, erektā kūnā süldü, gerin un', yarācad bādak.*
2. A woman may not stretch herself [in the yurt] – [it is] a sin. Why is this [a sin]? Because the protecting spirit of this yurt – the protecting spirit⁴¹ of a man – is in the rafters and roof-ring of the yurt.⁴²
3. *Ėmektā kümün orandārān keptād kölān termān tolyā ōd yozālyadakguā – nügül. Ere nökärtān xarš!*
3. A woman may not stretch her legs up towards the “heads” of the lattice-wall – [it is] a sin. It causes misfortune to her husband.
4. *Yowyan sūdükguā – nügültā. Yowyan sūdül dān daġindā yārsanġ gidik.*
4. One may not squat [in the yurt] – [it is] sinful. Squatting means that the person is hurrying to war or pillage.⁴³
5. *Ėmektā kümün gerān zūn talār yoldū sūdük bāsānġ. Ėm uchrās 'Ūdün talinān ōbdāgġ bosxaġ sū!' – ginā. Erektā kümüm barüm biyār sūdük uchrās barün ōbdāgān bosxaġi sūnā.*

³⁸ Studying the idioms (*xelc üg*) in the vocabulary of the *nügl*-items seems to be an intriguing further approach as well. Cf. Bat-Irēdūi's article (internet source).

³⁹ Here I follow the transcription of the tape record made by Ĵ. Colō, the foremost researcher of Zakhchin phonetics. He marked even such phenomena as the assimilation of consonants.

⁴⁰ Walking in this manner is the habit of old men and not allowed for women of any age. Cf. Hamayon 1971: 156–157.

⁴¹ On the notion of *sülde* and further literature about it, cf. Birtalan 2001: 1042–1043.

⁴² There are many taboos connected with the roof-ring. It is well-known that during the moving to another pasture the roof-ring must be carried on the first camel, as the “head” of moving. *Tōnġ nūx ačālxadā xamāgūi awč yawaxġ cērlene. Ĵāwal ačā barānġ dēr unax oičōs seremġlen ačġ yawna. Ĵörčwōs ewderč sewtene, ail gerin sür xīmor't mū gene.* (Nyambū–Nacagdorġ 1993: 45) “The roof-ring cannot be carried [while moving] in any place [in the caravan]. It must be on the top of the load, one moves taking care not to drop it down. If it becomes flawed, it causes misfortune to the spirit of the family.”

⁴³ On the rudeness of this way of sitting, cf. Žukovskaja 1988: 314–315; Batnasan 1982: 32–33.

5. A woman sits on the left [i. e. eastern] side in the yurt that is why she is told: 'Sit raising your knee which is closer to the door!'⁴⁴ A man sits on the right side of the yurt that is why he sits raising his right knee.⁴⁵
6. *Ėmektā kümig 'Bitā zāmilji sū' genā – nügül.*
6. Women are told: 'Don't sit cross-legged!' – [it is] a sin.⁴⁶
7. *Ėmektā kümün gerān xōmārtā sūdukguā. Tere gerān xōmār yalān ekīg kündütkeji bāyā yum, xadmūdān kündütgesen kerek. Ėmektā kümün yalān ekende yarakguā, yalān amnās ōd öngärdäkguā bāw. Bere kümüm boljim.*
7. Women do not sit on the place of honour.⁴⁷ The place of honour is for the reverence to the Mother of Fire and means that [a daughter-in-law] should respect her parents-in-law. A woman may not go up to the Mother of Fire or go [into the yurt] farther than the "mouth" of the Fire[place]. That applies to a daughter-in-law [in her mother-in-law's yurt].⁴⁸
8. *Deseñ dēgūr erektā kümün alxalj bolnā. Ėmektā kümün erctā deseñ dēgūr alxadakguā – nügültā. Či amarjixdārān kī-čini orāld'dīm.*
8. A man may step over ropes. A woman does not step over a twisted rope – [it is] sinful. If you give birth to a child, the umbilical cord will be twisted round [your baby].

Some *nügl*-item concerning the objects used in the household

9. *Xās keltkā tāwdäkgüē – nügül. Buyun asxarnā gisim bādīm.*
9. A kettle may not be put slanting – [it is] a sin. People say that merit might disappear [lit. flow away].⁴⁹
10. *Āyatā cānās ūji bāyād, āldā zārim kümüsūd āyatā cānānā talin' üldāgād yarnā – nügül. Ene yayād giwil tere āl kişik buyan kēgād ögčāxād kişik buyin' bügdin' kürtüčixād yaraxa yostā. Āyān dolāyād tāwālā.*
10. When drinking a bowl of tea in someone else's home, some people happen to leave half of the drink and go – [it is] a sin. Why is it? Because the host family

⁴⁴ This way of sitting is the most commonly accepted way among the Mongols, see Khal. *comcoij sūx* or *boxirox*. Cf. Sampildendew 2009 (1975); Batnasan 1982: 32.

⁴⁵ Cf. the above note.

⁴⁶ According to the tradition only the lamas, sacred persons, venerated old men are allowed to sit cross-legged. Cf. *Aild öwdgō salāwclax, xölō ačij sūxig taw'targüi, yos ūl medegč xemēx tul cērlene*. Nyambū–Nacagdorj 1993: 7; Batnasan 1982: 32.

⁴⁷ North, northwest side among the Zakhchins.

⁴⁸ Bayarmagnai told us numerous *nügl*- and *cēr*-items connected to the fire. On publication and Hungarian translation cf. Birtalan 1996: 23–24 and the Appendix to the book. The daughter-in-law has very limited space for moving into her mother-in-law's yurt, as it is indicated in the above taboo, cf. Hamayon–Bassanoff 1973.

⁴⁹ Every opened and empty thing and objects with a hole cause misfortune if they are not closed or covered.

offered fortune and merit, and one should depart after having consumed the whole of that fortune and merit. One puts down the bowl licked clean.

11. *Āyān ama zūdukguā – nūgūl. Xōsaŋ āyān ama bür zūji bolaxguā; xōl oldaxguā gisin utxatā ügü bolūdā.*
11. The edge of the bowl should not be bitten – [it is] a sin. It is strictly forbidden to bite the edge of an empty bowl. This saying means that one will not find food.
12. *Seterkā āyad cā ūdukguā! Ūnā, texdān seterkāgni cā kēji ögsāŋ kümün ōd xarūlād seterkā, emterkāguā talāsn'i ūnā. Dolāŋ seterkā āyig xayaḡasan.*
12. One should not drink tea from a bowl with a broken edge. One may drink it but should turn the broken edge towards the man who served the tea and drink it at the unbroken part of the edge. A bowl with seven cracks is thrown away.⁵⁰
13. *Āya xayalalguā xayadakguā. Bütünj āyā kēr kepteāxdān 'Kezā nadig minī ezen irji apča cā ūxu bolbū?' – gisin utxatā.*
13. A bowl is not to be thrown away while unbroken. An entire bowl lying in the steppe will ask: 'When does my owner come and take me for drinking tea?'⁵¹
14. *Galān xāč dēgūr alxadakguā – nūgūl. Galān burxaŋ zālñā gidik bāw.*
14. One may not step over the fire tongs – [it is] a sin. It is said that [if one does this], the Fire-Buddha will leave [the place].
15. *Ūrya, šilbūr dēgūr bitā alxa!' – nūgūl. Buyām barnā, unāguā xocarnā.*
15. 'Do not step over the lasso-pole and whip!' – [it is] a sin. Virtue will be exhausted, and [you] will remain without a saddle animal.

⁵⁰ *Ayaganī amsar emterxī bol aliw xünd cai und xīj barixīg cērelne. Xerew tīn, ül xündesen bolno.* Nyambū–Nacagdorj 1993: 11. "It is a taboo to give tea or food in a bowl with broken edge. If somebody does this, it means that he does not honour [others]." People use broken bowls, vessels as furnishings in funerals. Cf. *Pyal tawag cawtai buyū emtersen bolj idē, xōl tawaglaīg cērlene. Cawtai, emterxī tawag xereglewēs öljī bus bolno, dord üjsentei adil bolno. Talīgāčid idē, budā dagaldūlax bol cawtai pyald xīj bolno.* Nyambū–Nacagdorj 1993: 38. "If the bowl or the plate is broken or has a crack, it is tabooed to put food into it. If one uses a broken or cracked plate, it means that he contemns [others] and there will not be good luck. For the deceased it is possible to put food on a cracked plate [offering]."

⁵¹ *Ayaga šājangā xamā bus xayax, sacaxīg cērelne. Buyan xišgē ürgexgüin tul xyamagdaḡ xairla geḡ surgadag.* Nyambū–Nacagdorj 1993: 11. "It is tabooed to throw away a bowl and jar. It is taught that keep [the bowl and jar] for keeping good luck."

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О СИСТЕМЕ ВОКАЛИЗМА ЯЗЫКА ДЕРБЕТОВ КАЛМЫКИИ И МОНГОЛИИ²

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In: *Oirat and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*, Edited by
AGNES BIRTALAN. Budapest, 2012,
ELTE Eötvös Kiadó. /Talentum 11./ 106–115.

Ниже мы делаем попытку осуществить сравнительное исследование системы вокализма языка дербетов Калмыкии с таковой языка дербетов Монголии. При исследовании мы опирались на работу А. Ш. Кичикова³ и собственные наблюдения над говором дербетов Калмыкии. Материал по говору дербетов Монголии взят из работ Э. Вандуя⁴ и Ж. Цолоо.⁵

Сравнительное исследование вокализма дербетского говора, одного из основных говоров калмыцкого языка наряду с торгутским и бузавским говорами⁶, со звуковым строем языка дербетов Монголии, составлявших с дербетами России некогда (несколько сот лет тому назад) единый народ в составе Джунгарского ханства в Центральной Азии, позволило получить некоторые результаты.

Прежде всего следует отметить, что сравнение общего состояния звукового строя дербетского говора со звуковым строем языка дербетов Монголии показало, что между ними не выявилось принципиальной разницы. Их звуковой строй в своих основных классификационных чертах сходен и позволяет объединить язык дербетов России и язык дербетов Монголии в единый язык, входящий в самостоятельный ойратский ареал монгольских языков, сформировавшийся, по всей вероятности, со своими специфическими чертами еще в глубокой древности. В ходе формирования ойратского ареала в звуковом строе языков ойратских племен, в том числе и дербетов, одних из предков калмыков, происходили единые эволюционные процессы, в результате действия которых современные калмыцкий язык и ойратские говоры Монголии, несмотря на то, что их носители

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⁴ Вандуй 1962; Вандуй 1965

⁵ Цолоо 1988

⁶ Убушаев 2006: 5–6

в течение более четырехсот лет разделены многотысячным пространством, сохраняют сходные фонетические черты.

Характерные специфические признаки звукового строя ойратского ареала явственнее всего проявляются при сравнении ойратской фонетики с фонетикой соседствующего халха-монгольского языка, ибо в их основе лежит звуковой строй одного и того же монгольского праязыка, из которого они развились.

В области вокализма сравнение выявило следующую картину эволюции гласных фонем. Современная система вокализма как языков ойратского ареала, так и халха-монгольского включает три группы гласных фонем: группу кратких гласных, долгих гласных и дифтонгов.

По своим характерным признакам краткие гласные четко делятся на краткие гласные, употребляющиеся только в первом слоге, и на гласные, используемые в последующих слогах. У этих двух групп кратких гласных разные акустические признаки. Современные краткие гласные первого слога являются гласными полного образования и имеют четко выраженные акустические классификационные признаки: постоянную длительность, устойчивую тембровую окраску, и определяются как передне- и заднеязычные по месту образования.

В языках калмыцких дербетов, дербетов Монголии и халха-монголов краткие гласные первых слогов произносятся одинаково четко и с полной артикуляцией. Дербеты Калмыкии употребляют следующие краткие гласные: три твердоядных – *a*, *o*, *y*; пять мягкорядных – *э* (*e*), *э*, *ө*, *ү*, *и*. В системе вокализма говора дербетов Монголии в принципе представлена та же система кратких гласных первого слога, что и вышеупомянутая калмыцкая система.

Процесс становления системы кратких гласных в языке дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии происходил следующим образом: четыре древнемонгольских твердоядных кратких гласных **a* (*a*), **o* (*o*), **y* (*u*), **ɣ* (*i*) частично сохранились, частично трансформировались.

При этом гласный **a* (*a*) продолжает оставаться в первом слоге многих твердоядных слов как общедербетского, так и халхаского языков в словах типа дерб. *арвāн*, х.-монг. *арав* // *арван* (< др.-монг. **arban*) «десять»; дерб. *амāн*, х.-монг. *ам* // *аман* (< др.-монг. **aman*) «рот, уста»; дерб. *баййн*, х.-монг. *баян* (< др.-монг. **bayan*) «богатый». Гласный *a* в первом слоге в некоторых случаях появляется вместо **i* в результате действия раннего перелома гласного **i*. Например, дерб. *махāн*, х.-монг. *мах* // *махан* (< др.-монг. **tiqan*) «мясо» (> стп.-монг. *tiqan* > бур. *мяхан* id.); дерб. *ямаан*, х.-монг. *ямаа* // *ямаан* (< др.-монг. **yimaγan* «коза» < др.-тюрк. *jīṭuγa* «самка дикого горного козла» ~ *īṭuγa* «коза»), ср. стп.-монг. *imaγan* > бур. *нимаан*~*ямаан* «коза».

Твёрдорядный краткий гласный *o (o) либо продолжает сохраняться от состояния древнего монгольского языка, например, дерб. *долаан*, х.-монг. *долоо(н)* (< др.-монг. **doluyan*) «семь»; дерб.К. *йоса́н*, дерб.М. *йосу́н*, х.-монг. *ёс* // *ёсон* (< др.-монг. **yosun*) «обычай, традиция»; дерб. *ола́н*, х.-монг. *олон* (< др.-монг. **olan*) «много», либо развился в результате перелома гласного *i ~ *i, например, дерб. *жолаа*, х.-монг. *жолоо* (< др.-монг. **jiluua*) «поводья»; дерб. *жораа*, х.-монг. *жороо* (< др.-монг. **jiruua*) «иноходец»; дерб. *чонй*, х.-монг. *чоно* (< др.-монг. **činua*) «волк». Особенностью языка дербетов Калмыкии является своеобразное оканье, когда в говоре во многих словах, главным образом перед согласными *м* и *в*, произносятся в первом слоге *о* вместо *у*, например, дерб.К. *совса́н* «жемчуг», дерб.М. *сувсу́н* «бусы» (< др.-монг. *subsun* «жемчуг»); дерб.К. *горва́н*, дерб.М. *гурву́н* (< др.-монг. *yurban*) «три».

Краткий твёрдорядный *у (u) аналогичным образом либо сохраняется от состояния древнемонгольского языка, например, дерб. *улаан*, х.-монг. *улаан* (< др.-монг. **ulayan*) «красный»; дерб.К. *уса́н*, дерб.М. *усу́н*, х.-монг. *ус* // *усан* (< др.-монг. **usin*) «вода», либо развился из *i ~ *i в результате процесса перелома, например, дерб.К. *уда́н*, дерб.М. *удгу́н*, х.-монг. *удаган* (< др.-монг. **iduyan*) «шаманка» (< др.-тюрк. *iduiq* «священный, святой»); дерб. *утхă*, х.-монг. *хутга* (< др.-монг. **qituua*) «нож»; дерб.К. *цуса́н*, дерб.М. *цусу́н*, х.-монг. *цус* // *цусан* (< др.-монг. **čisin*) «кровь»; дерб.К. *нурга́н*, дерб.М. *нургу́н*, х.-монг. *нуруу* (< др.-монг. **niruiun*) «спина» (> стп.-м. *niruiun* > бур. *нюрган* id.).

Краткий гласный *ы (i) твёрдого ряда в первом слоге современных калмыцкого, ойратского и монгольского языков не сохранился, перейдя либо в другие твёрдорядные гласные в результате перелома, либо перешёл в мягкий переднеязычный *i*, что часто наблюдается в калмыцком и ойратском языках. Твёрдорядные слова часто при этом переходят в мягкорядные. Примеры: дерб. *жирга́л*, х.-монг. *жаргал* (< др.-монг. **jiryal*) «счастье»; дерб. *чиня́р*, х.-монг. *чанар* (< др.-монг. **činar* < ***tinar*) «качество»; дерб.К. *килга́сн*, дерб.М. *килга́су́н*, х.-монг. *хялгас* (< стп.-м. *kilyasin* < др.-монг. **qilyasin*) «конский волос» (< др.-тюрк. *qıl* id.).

В мягкорядных словах в языках дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии используются краткие гласные *э (e), *ä (ä), *ө (ö), *ү (ü), *и (i). Как и гласные твёрдого ряда, приведённые мягкорядные гласные произносятся с полной артикуляцией и достаточно чётко лишь в первом слоге. В других слогах они используются лишь в аффиксальных морфемах, например, *бүчиг* «письмо» – *бүчигин* «письменный», *амйн* «жизнь» – *амнээ* «жизненный». Кроме того, эти краткие гласные мягкого ряда в калмыцкой орфографии используются для обозначения соответствующих мягкорядных долгих гласных в любом слоге, поскольку долгие гласные в калмыцком литературном письменном

языке в отличие от дербетских говоров и халха-монгольского языка могут сокращаться до состояния кратких гласных полного образования, например, калм.-лит. *сэн* – дерб. *сээн*, х.-монг. *сайн* «хороший» (< стп.-монг. *sayin* id.); калм.-лит. *өрүн* – дерб. *өрүүн* «утро»; калм.-лит. *темэн* – дерб. *темээн*, х.-монг. *тэмээ(н)* «верблюду» (< стп.-монг. *temegen* id.).

Процесс формирования системы кратких мягкорядных гласных общедербетского языка происходил следующим образом: *э (е) прежде всего наследует древнемонгольскую фонему *e первого слога, например, дерб. *энэ*, х.-монг. *энэ* (< др.-монг. *ene) «этот»; дерб. *эмээл*, х.-монг. *эмээл* (< др.-монг. *emetel) «седло»; дерб. *текё*, х.-монг. *тэх* (< др.-монг. *teke) «козёл». В единичных случаях начальный гласный е развился из древнемонгольского гласного *i, например, дерб. *негён*, х.-монг. *нэг* // *нэгэн* (< др.-монг. *nigen) «один».

Относительно появления гласного «э» в системе мягкорядных гласных языков ойратского ареала, в том числе и в языке дербетов, следует отметить, что этого гласного не было в древнемонгольском языке, а развился он лишь в ойратском ареале на месте твёрдорядного гласного *а под влиянием гласного *i < *i второго слога древнемонгольских слов вследствие действия ассимилятивных процессов. Древние монгольские соответствующие слова при этом переходили в разряд мягкорядных слов. Наличие гласного э является спецификой системы гласных языков ойратского ареала, например, дерб. *бэрхё*, х.-монг. *барих* «схватить, поймать» (< стп.-монг. *bariqu* id.); дерб. *хэрхё*, х.-монг. *харих* «возвращаться домой» (< стп.-монг. *qariqu* id.).

Гласный *ө (ö) обычно сохраняется от древнемонгольского состояния, например, дерб. *өндёр*, х.-монг. *өндөр* (< др.-монг. *öndür) «высокий»; дерб. *көл*, х.-монг. *хөл* (< др.-монг. *köl) «ноги»; дерб. *мөсён*, х.-монг. *мөс* // *мөсөн* (< др.-монг. *mölsün) «лёд». В ряде случаев калмыцкие и ойратские ө в первом слоге развились из древнемонгольских гласных *е и *i под влиянием процессов ассимиляции, например, дерб. *өдёр*, х.-монг. *өдөр* (< др.-монг. *edür) «день»; дерб. *өвсён*, х.-монг. *өвс* // *өвсөн* (< др.-монг. *ebüsün) «трава»; дерб. *шөлён*, х.-монг. *шөл* // *шөлөн* (< др.-монг. *šilün < **siliün) «бульон». В то же время отмечается закономерность перехода твёрдорядного «о» первого слога под влиянием гласного и (i) второго слога в мягкорядный гласный ө, что повлекло за собой превращение твёрдорядного слова в мягкорядное, например, др.-монг. *morin > х.-монг. *морь* // *морин* – дерб. *мөрін* «лошадь, конь»; др.-монг. *qorin > х.-монг. *хорь* // *хорин* – дерб. *хөрін* «двадцать»; др.-монг. *qoyina > х.-монг. *хойно* – дерб. *хөөнэ* «после»; др.-монг. *qonin > х.-монг. *хонь* // *хонин* – дерб.К. *хөөн*, дерб.М. *хөөн*, *хөө*, *хөй*, *хөөн* «овца». В языке дербетов, причём как в Калмыкии, так и в Монголии, наблюдается употребление ө вместо ү перед согласными м и в, например, дерб.К. *хөөё*,

дерб.М. *хөб~хүб~хүв*, х.-монг. *хувь* (ср. стп.-монг. *qibi*) «судьба, доля»; дерб. *хөмхё*, х.-монг. *хумих* (ср. стп.-монг. *qitiqiu*) «собрать, сложить».

Начальный гласный *ү (*ü*) языков ойратского ареала, как и в халха-монгольском языке, обычно наследует в этой позиции древний монгольский гласный *ii, например, дерб. *күрхё*, х.-монг. *хүрэх* (< др.-монг. **kürekü*) «достигать»; дерб. *күсёл*, х.-монг. *хүсэл* (< др.-монг. **küsel*) «желание»; дерб. *үсён*, х.-монг. *сүү* // *сүүн* (< др.-монг. **üsün*) «молоко». В ряде случаев начальный гласный «ү» в языке дербетов развился на месте гласных *e и *i первого слога древнемонгольского языка в результате действия процессов ассимиляции, например, дерб.К. *өвёл*, дерб.М. *үвёл*, х.-монг. *өвөл* (< др.-монг. **ebül*) «зима»; дерб. *нүдён*, х.-монг. *нүд* // *нүдэн* (< др.-монг. **nidün*) «глаз, глаза»; дерб. *үлүү*, х.-монг. *илүү* (< др.-монг. **ilegü*) «излишек, избыток»; дерб. *бүрүү*, х.-монг. *бярүү* (< стп.-монг. *bīraui* < др.-монг. **bīraui*) «телёнок двух лет».

Гласный *и* (*i*) языка дербетов в мягкорядных словах наследует древнемонгольский гласный *i, например, дерб. *бичкён*, х.-монг. *бяцхан* (< др.-монг. **bičiqan*) «маленький»; дерб. *жижёг*, х.-монг. *жигиг* (< др.-монг. **jiŋig*) «мелкий»; дерб. *ичхё*, х.-монг. *ичих* (< др.-монг. **ičikü*) «стыдиться». Кроме того, *и* появляется в твёрдорядных словах языка дербетов на месте древнемонгольского *i, о чем было сказано выше.

Краткие гласные непервых слогов являются гласными неполного образования, имеют нечёткую артикуляцию, неустойчивую длительность и определяются как неясные гласные, способные к полной редукции. По своим артикуляционным признакам они скорее относятся к гласным смешанного образования и произносятся в твёрдорядных словах как звуки, колеблющиеся между фонемами [a] и [ы], в мягкорядных словах – как звуки средние между фонемами [э] и [и], обозначаемые нами как *ä* и *ë*, часто сохраняется также и [и] в виде *ĩ* там, где в старомонгольском языке было *i*, например, *мөрін* (< *morin*) «лошадь». Наблюдения над реальным произношением гласных разных слогов дербетских и халха-монгольских слов показали, что в халха-монгольском языке неясные гласные вторых и следующих слогов имеют в общих чертах сходную артикуляцию, что и в языке дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии. Разница состоит в том, что в халхаском языке эти гласные подвергаются меньшей редукции, что поддерживается их орфографическим оформлением, причем с сохранением огубленных *о* и *ө* под влиянием халхаского губного сингармонизма (напр. *явсан* «ушел», *ирсэн* «пришел», *болсон* «был», *өгсөн* «дал»). В языке дербетов Калмыкии краткие неясные гласные обычно значительно сокращаются, что часто приводит их к полному исчезновению. Это дало основание калмыкам полностью отказаться от их обозначения на письме (напр. *йовсн* «ушел», *ирсн* «пришел», *болсн* «был», *өгсн* «дал»). В дербетских говорах Монголии,

которые, кстати, не имеют своей письменной формы, в отношении этих гласных наблюдается картина средняя между калмыцким и халха-монгольским языками. В речи эти гласные, хотя и кратко, но произносятся, видимо под влиянием халхаского языка, их редукция не столь явно выражена, как в калмыцком языке. Так, монгольские учёные обозначают данные гласные знаком «*ʷ*», который они ставят над буквой второго, третьего и т. д. слога, где они встречаются согласно гармонии гласных, например, *altān* «золото; золотой», *okā, okō, okān, okūn* «дочь», *anīsxā* «веки», *kemkēdēk* «злой, кусачий (о собаке)», *mōnggūn* «серебро; серебряный», *axlātšī* «старшина, глава» и т. п.

В системе вокализма современных дербетских говоров как Калмыкии, так и Монголии, а также халха-монгольского языка, представлены долгие гласные, причем все они вторичные, образовавшиеся на месте двослогов в результате выпадения интервокальных согласных и слияния двух соседних гласных. Характер долготы при этом определяется по второму гласному двослога. Процесс образования долгих гласных происходил по типичной модели, что можно наглядно проиллюстрировать примером: др.-монг. **aγūla* > **a'ūla* > **ō'ūla* > **i'ūla* > современные дерб.К. *уулă*, дерб.М. *уул*, х.-монг. *уул* «гора». Образование долгих гласных на месте преобразования двослогов прослеживается во всех современных монгольских языках.

В дербетских говорах Калмыкии и Монголии имеется три долгих твёрдых гласных *aa, oo, uu* и пять мягкорядных – *ээ (ee), ээ, өө, үү, ии*.

Наблюдение над эволюцией конкретных долготных комплексов с согласными *-γ-* и *-g-* в инлаутной позиции позволило получить здесь следующую картину:

- *-aγa-* > *-aa-* (др.-монг. **bayatur* > дерб. *баатăр* «богатырь, герой»; др.-монг. **ulayan* > дерб. *улаан* «красный»);
- *-aγu-* > *-uu-* (др.-монг. **baγuqi* > дерб. *буухă* «слезать»; др.-монг. **taγu* > дерб. *муу* «плохой»);
- *-uγa-* > *-aa-* (др.-монг. **doluγan* > дерб. *долаан* «семь»; др.-монг. **jiruγa* > дерб. *жораа* «иноходь; иноходец»);
- *-iγa-* > *-iγa-* > *-aa-* (др.-монг. **niγaqi* > дерб. *наахă* «приклеивать»; стп.-м. *jiγaqi* > дерб. *заахă* «указывать»);
- *-oγa-* > *-oo-* (др.-монг. **toγa* > дерб. *тоо* «число»; др.-монг. **toγa-bar* > дерб. *тоогаар* «числом»);
- *-uγu-* > *-uu-* (др.-монг. **biuγura* > дерб. *буурă* «верблюд-самец»; др.-монг. **tiuγurγa* > дерб. *туургă* «войлочная стена юрты»; др.-монг. **qiγur* > дерб. *хуур* «смычный музыкальный инструмент»);
- *-iγu-* > *-iγu-* > *-уу-, -үү-* (др.-монг. **niγuqi* > дерб. *нуухă* «утаивать»; стп.-м. *qariγu* > дерб. *хэрүү* «ответ»);

- *-ege- > -ээ-, -ее-, -ээ- (др.-монг. **emegel* > дерб. *эмээл* «седло»; др.-монг. **egemeteg* > дерб. *ээмэг* «серьги в виде большого кольца»; др.-монг. **deger-e* > дерб. *деерё* «навёрху»);
- *-egü- > -үү- (др.-монг. **egülen* > дерб. *үүлэн* «облако»; др.-монг. **degü* > дерб. *дүү* «младший брат, сестра»);
- *-ige- > -ээ-, -ее- (др.-монг. **šigekü* > дерб. *шеехэ* «мочиться»; др.-монг. **jige* > дерб. *зее* «племянник; внук по дочери»);
- *-igi- > -ии- (др.-монг. **čigig* > дерб. *чииг* «сырость, влага; роса»; др.-монг. **čigigtei* > дерб. *чиигтээ* «сырой, влажный»);
- *-igü- > -үү- (др.-монг. **serigün* > дерб. *серүүн* «прохладный»; др.-монг. **terigün* > дерб. *түрүүн* «головной, передовой»);
- *-ügü- > -үү- (др.-монг. **küjügün* > дерб. *күзүүн* «шея»; др.-монг. **ügürmeg* > дерб. *үүрмэг* «мелкий»);
- *-üge- > -ээ- (др.-монг. **čilüge* > дерб. *чөлээн* «свобода»; др.-монг. **örlüge* > дерб. *өрлээ* «утро»);
- *-öge- > -өө- (др.-монг. **töge* > дерб. *төө* «пядь»; др.-монг. **jögekü* > дерб. *зөөхэ* «перевозить»; др.-монг. **jögelen* > дерб. *жөөлөн* «мягкий»);
- *-aβ- > -аи- > -уу- (др.-монг. **taβlai* > стп.-м. *taulai* > дерб.К. *туулээ*, дерб.М. *туулаа* «заяц»; др.-монг. **aβуан* > стп.-м. *аиуан* > дерб. *уугайн* «первенец»);
- *-eβ- > -ей- > -үү- (др.-монг. **teβke* > стп.-м. *teüke* «история» > дерб. *түүкэ* «повесть, сказание»; др.-монг. **keβken* > стп.-м. *keüken* > дерб. *күүкён* «девушка, девочка»);
- *-oβ- > -ои- > -уу- (др.-монг. **čoβqur* > стп.-м. *čoiqur* > дерб. *цоохёр* «пестрый»; др.-монг. **qoβ* > стп.-м. *qoi* > дерб. *хуу* «весь, всё»).

Долготные комплексы, в которых в интервокальном положении вместо увулярного -у- и заднеязычного -g- в истории древнемонгольского языка находился среднеязычный щелевой -у- (-й-), также подвергались в процессе эволюции звукового строя языков ойратского ареала трансформации за счет выпадения этого интервокального согласного. При этом, как было рассмотрено выше, после выпадения смычных согласных на месте долготного комплекса развивались долгие гласные, после выпадения же щелевого среднеязычного -у- (-й-) в разных монгольских языках развились гласные различного качества: как дифтонги, так и долгие монофтонги, причем дифтонги развились в основном в халха-монгольском, бурятском, дагурском и др. языках, кроме ойратских и западных бурятских говоров. В дербетских говорах и в западных бурятских говорах вместо дифтонгов появились долгие гласные, при этом как в позиции анлаута и инлаута, так и ауслаута.⁷

⁷ Рассадин 1982: 117

Следует отметить, что развитие древнего двоедлого **-ayī-* в истории монгольских языков дало разные результаты: в халха-монгольском языке и в языке восточных бурят в этой позиции развился твёрдорядный дифтонг *-ай-*, а в языке западных бурят и в дербетских говорах – соответственно мягкорядный долгий гласный *-ээ-*. Это хорошо прослеживается при сравнении соответствующих примеров: др.-монг. **ayīnat* > х.-монг. *айна*, вост.-бур. *айна*, зап.-бур. *ээна*, дерб.К. *ээнэ*, дерб.М. *ээнэ* «боится»; др.-монг. **ayil* > х.-монг. *айл*, вост.-бур. *айл*, зап.-бур. *ээл*, дерб. *ээл* «двор; хозяйство»; др.-монг. **tayilaqu* > х.-монг. *тайлах*, вост.-бур. *тайлаха*, зап.-бур. *тээлха*, дерб. *тээлхэ* «развязывать, отвязывать, снимать одежду»; др.-монг. **bayīnat* > х.-монг. *байна*, вост.-бур. *байна*, зап.-бур. *бээнэ*, дерб.К. *бээнэ*, дерб.М. *бээнэ* «имеется, есть»; др.-монг. **dayin* > х.-монг. *дайн*, вост.-бур. *дайн*, зап.-бур. *дээн*, дерб. *дээн* «война».

Комплекс **-oyī-* дает либо твёрдорядный дифтонг *-ой-* в халха-монгольском языке и в восточнобурятских говорах, либо долгий мягкорядный *-өө-* в западнобурятских и в дербетских говорах, например, др.-монг. **oyira* > х.-монг. *ойр*, вост.-бур. *ойро*, зап.-бур. *өөра*, дерб. *өөрэ* «близко, поблизости»; др.-монг. **noyir* > х.-монг. *нойр*, вост.-бур. *нойр*, зап.-бур. *нөөр*, дерб. *нөөр* «сон»; др.-монг. **qoyīna* > х.-монг. *хойно*, вост.-бур. *хойно*, зап.-бур. *хөөна*, дерб. *хөөнэ* «после».

Комплекс **-uyī-* в халха-монгольском языке и восточнобурятских говорах дает дифтонг *-уй-*, в западных бурятских говорах здесь развился долгий мягкорядный *үү*, в дербетских говорах – твердорядный *уу*, например, др.-монг. **uyilaqu* > х.-монг. *уйлах*, вост.-бур. *уйлаха*, зап.-бур. *үүлаха*, дерб. *уульхэ* «плакать»; др.-монг. **uyidaqu* > х.-монг. *уйдах*, вост.-бур. *уйдаха*, зап.-бур. *үүдха*, дерб. *уудхэ* «скучать, грустить».

Комплекс **-eyī-* в халха-монгольском дал дифтонг *-ий-*, в бурятских говорах, как в восточных, так и западных, а также в дербетских говорах дал долгий *-ии-*, например, др.-монг. **deyilekū* > х.-монг. *дийлэх*, зап.-бур., вост.-бур. *диилэхэ*, дерб. *диилхэ* «победить»; др.-монг. **eyitī* > х.-монг. *ийм*, вост.-бур., зап.-бур. *иимэ*, дерб. *иимэ* «такой».

Комплекс **-īyī-* в халха-монгольском языке и в восточных бурятских говорах трансформировался в мягкорядный дифтонг *-үй-*, в западных бурятских говорах, и в языке дербетов – в долгий мягкорядный *-үү-*, например, др.-монг. **īyisūn* > х.-монг. *үйс* // *үйсэн*, вост.-бур. *үйһэн*, зап.-бур. *үүһэн*, дерб. *үүсён* «кора березы»; др.-монг. **tīyūiter* > х.-монг. *түймэр*, вост.-бур. *түймэр*, зап.-бур. *түүмэр*, дерб. *түүмёр* «лесной пожар». В некоторых случаях этот комплекс в дербетских говорах, как и в западных говорах бурятского языка, вместо долгого мягкого *-үү-* развился в долгий *-ии-*, например, др.-монг. **kīyūiten* > х.-монг. *хүйтэн*, зап.-бур. *хиитэн*, дерб.

киишён «холодный»; др.-монг. **küyisiin* > х.-монг. *хүйс* // *хүйсэн*, вост.-бур. *хүйһэн*, зап.-бур. *хиһэн*, дерб. *киисён* «пупок»; др.-монг. **siyike* > х.-монг. *сүйх*, бур. *һиһэ*, дерб. *сиикё* «серьги».

Комплекс *-iya-*, зафиксированный как таковой в старописьменном монгольском языке, развился в современном монгольском языке и во всех бурятских говорах в долгий гласный *-aa-* с палатализацией предшествующего согласного, например, стп.-монг. *tariyan* > х.-монг. *тариа(н)*, бур. *тараян* «хлеб, зерно; урожай»; стп.-монг. *takiya* > х.-монг. *тахиа*, вост.-бур. *тахая*, зап.-бур. *тахяа~тасяа* «курица». В языке же дербетов на месте этого комплекса развился долгий *-ээ-*, например, дерб.К. *такээ* «курица», дерб.К. *тэрээн* «хлеб, зерно; посев». Здесь прослеживается влияние гласного *-i-*, поскольку в этих словах наблюдается переход твёрдорядного слова в его мягкорядный вариант под действием гласного *-i-*, как это наблюдается и в словах без долготного комплекса, например, дерб. *бэрүүл* «рукоятка» (< стп.-монг. *bariyul* > х.-монг. *бариул*, бур. *барюул* id.).

Комплекс *-iye-*, зафиксированный как таковой в старописьменном монгольском языке, развился в современном монгольском языке и во всех бурятских говорах в долгий мягкорядный *-ээ-*, а в языке дербетов в долгий *-ээ-*, например, стп.-монг. *küliyekü* > х.-монг. *хүлээх*, бур. *хүлээх*, дерб. *күлээхё* «ждать, ожидать»; стп.-монг. *üniyeu* > х.-монг. *үнээ(н)*, бур. *үнеэн*, дерб. *үнээн* «корова».

Дифтонги, стоящие в ауслауте монгольских древних слов хорошо сохранились в халха-монгольском языке и восточных бурятских говорах, но перешли в долгие гласные в языке дербетов и в западных бурятских говорах. При этом твёрдорядные дифтонги зачастую дают здесь долгие монофтонги согласно принятой гармонии гласных. В ойратском ареале вместо дифтонгов произносятся долгие широкие гласные, причём во многих случаях наблюдается в данном случае наряду с твёрдорядными долгими гласными также мягкорядные гласные, то есть либо *aa*, либо *ээ*. Примеры: др.-монг. **dalai* > х.-монг., вост.-бур. *далай*, зап.-бур. *далээ*, дерб.К. *далэг* // *дэлэг*, дерб.М. *далаа* «океан»; др.-монг. **yaqai* > х.-монг., вост.-бур. *гахай*, зап.-бур. *гахээ*, дерб.К. *гахээ*, дерб.М. *гахаа* «свинья»; др.-монг. **delekei* > х.-монг. *дэлхий*, вост.-бур. *дэлхэй*, зап.-бур. *дэлхээ*, дерб. *делкээ* «вселенная»; др.-монг. **begelei* > х.-монг. *бээлий*, вост.-бур. *бээлэй*, зап.-бур. *бээлээ*, дерб. *беелэг* «рукавицы»; др.-монг. **oi* > х.-монг., вост.-бур. *ой*, зап.-бур. *өө*, дерб. *өө* «лес»; др.-монг. **qiryui* > стп.-монг. *kirui* > дерб.К. *кирһүү* «кобчик, перепелятник», ср. х.-монг. *хяргуй* id.

Таким образом, сравнительный анализ показывает, что в языке дербетов Калмыкии, как и у дербетов Монголии наблюдаются одни и те же процессы развития долготных комплексов и дифтонгов и превращение их

в монофтонги, которые опереждаются, если в словоформе присутствует гласный *i*. Под влиянием **i* произошло также опереднение кратких твёрдых гласных первого слога и переход всего слова в мягкий ряд. Это характерно для всего ойратского ареала. Дербетам Калмыкии присуще употребление долгого *ээ* в словах твёрдого и мягкого ряла.

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СОКРАЩЕНИЯ ЯЗЫКОВ И ГОВОРОВ

- бур. – бурятский язык
 вост.-бур. – говоры восточных бурят
 дерб. – общедербетское слово
 дерб.К. – язык дербетов Калмыкии
 дерб.М. – язык дербетов Монголии
 др.-монг. – древнемонгольский язык
 др.-тюрк. – древнетюркский язык
 зап.-бур. – говоры западных бурят
 калм.-лит. – калмыцкий литературный язык
 стп.-монг. – старописьменный монгольский язык
 х.-монг. – халха-монгольский язык

СРАВНИТЕЛЬНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ СИСТЕМ КОНСОНАНТИЗМА ЯЗЫКОВ ДЕРБЕТОВ КАЛМЫКИИ И МОНГОЛИИ²

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In: *Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*, Edited by
AGNES BIRTALAN. Budapest, 2012,
ELTE Eötvös Kiadó. /Talentum 11./ 116–133.

В настоящей статье мы делаем попытку осуществить сравнительное исследование систем консонантизма языка дербетов Калмыкии и языка дербетов Монголии на предмет установления их сходств и различий. Данная тема представляется достаточно актуальной, имеющей большое научное значение, поскольку дербеты Монголии составляли с дербетами Калмыкии некогда (более четырёхсот лет тому назад) единый народ в составе Джунгарского ханства в Центральной Азии. Весьма важно сравнить их языки и установить общемонгольскую основу их консонантизма, особенности ойратского ареала и черты, характерные для языка дербетов как Калмыкии, так и Монголии.

При исследовании звукового строя языка дербетов Калмыкии мы опирались на работу А. Ш. Кичикова «Дербетский говор»³ и использовали также наши собственные наблюдения. Материал по языку дербетов Монголии взят из работ Э. Вандуя⁴ и Ж. Цолоо⁵. В качестве источника по литературному калмыцкому языку мы пользовались «Грамматикой калмыцкого языка»⁶ и «Калмыцко-русским словарём» под редакцией Б. Д. Муниева⁷.

Поскольку классификацию согласных фонем принято осуществлять по месту их образования в полости рта и по участию в артикуляции активного речевого органа – языка, губ и маленького язычка, – мы и будем их рассматривать, сгруппировав по этому принципу – губные, переднеязычные, среднеязычные, заднеязычные, увулярные.

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¹ Калмыцкий Госуниверситет, Элиста

² Работа выполнена при финансовой поддержке РГНФ, грант № 11-24-03-005а/Мон.

³ Кичиков 1963

⁴ Вандуй 1962; Вандуй 1965

⁵ Цолоо 1988

⁶ Санжеев 1983

⁷ Муниев 1977

ГУБНЫЕ СОГЛАСНЫЕ

Губные согласные, у которых активным артикулирующим органом являются губы, фактически подразделяются на два вида: губно-губные и губно-зубные. У первых в образовании звуков принимают участие обе губы – верхняя и нижняя, в образовании вторых участвует нижняя губа и верхние зубы. По участию в артикуляции звуков голосовых связок согласные могут быть глухими, если голосовые связки не работают, и звонкими, если они работают. При множестве вариантов произнесения губных согласных с разными характеристиками практически в языке дербетов используются лишь некоторые. Здесь мы находим из ртовых губно-губных звуков звонкий согласный *б* и глухой *п*, из губно-зубных звуков звонкий согласный *в* и глухой *ф*. Из носовых сонантов в этой группе согласных используется губно-губной *м*. При этом данные согласные в сопоставляемых языках ведут себя по-разному в зависимости от позиции в слове, причём различают позиции анлаута – начала слова, инлаута – середины слова с интервокальной, постконсонантной и предконсонантной позициями и ауслаута – конца слова. Рассмотрим ниже эти согласные в зависимости от места артикуляции по активному органу и от позиции в слове.

Звонкий ртовый губно-губной смычный согласный *б* встречается в языке дербетов главным образом в начале слова, например: дерб.К. *баавъ* «отец, папа» (ср. торгут. *баавъ* «мама»), *бархъ* «держать; ловить; хватать», *беелэ* «рукавицы, варежки», *бозлэг* «суслик-самец», *болхъ* «быть; стать», *боръ* «серый», *бухъ* «бык-производитель», *бучёр* «ветка». В середине слова согласный *б* дербетского языка ограничен в употреблении постконсонантной позицией после согласного *м*, например: *жомбаа* «калмыцкий чай», *жомбаахъ* «выпячиваясь, вытягиваться (о губах)», *домбъ* «кувшин», *домбър* «домбра», *кембё?* «кто?», *юмбъ?* «что такое?». А. Ш. Кичиков утверждает, что в языке представителей подгруппы больших дербетов Калмыкии во многих словах согласный *б* сохраняет смычный характер и в интервокальном положении, например, *абъ* «возьми», *табё* «положи», *гөбё* «сбей», *сабъ* «страхни». ⁸ Если в орфографическом варианте он занимает позицию ауслаута, то в реальном калмыцком произношении этот *б* оказывается после *м* перед гласным звуком. Исследователь звукового строя калмыцкого языка проф. П. Ц. Биткеев, говоря о фонеме *б*, определяет её как обычную для начала слова, но редкую для середины и конца слова, и иллюстрирует это положение примерами: *табба* «поставил», *шаб-шаб* «звукоподражательное

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⁸ Кичиков 1963: 4

слово».⁹ Далее он утверждает, что «в произношении представителей пожилого возраста наблюдается факультативное употребление *б* вместо *в* в середине слова перед сильными смычными или смычно-щелевыми согласными и в абсолютном исходе односложных слов, например, произносят *эбтэ* вм. литературного *эвтэ* (ловкий) *хабчур* вместо *хавчур* (скрепка), *киб кив* (предприимчивый)».¹⁰

По нашим наблюдениям, в абсолютном конце слова этот согласный в калмыцком языке встречается достаточно редко, преимущественно в изобразительных словах, например: *шаб* – звукоподражательное слово, *көл дор бальчг шаб-шаб гинэд бээв* «грязь хлюпала под ногами».¹¹

Э. Вандуй, исследователь языка дербетов Монголии, говорит, что согласный *б* здесь произносится достаточно ясно и в любой позиции в слове, например, *бачим* «торопливый», *башлик* «домашний сыр», *абдър* «сундук», *тобчи* «пуговица», *шилби* «петля для пуговицы».¹²

Дербетский согласный *б* наследует древнемонгольский **b*, который в монгольских языках частично сохранился, особенно в анлауте, в середине слов по соседству с согласными, хорошо был представлен в позиции ауслаута древнемонгольского языка¹³, например, др.-монг. *bi* – общедерб. *би*, х.-монг., бур. *би* «я»; др.-монг. *bariqi* – общедерб. *бэрхэ*, х.-монг. *барих*, бур. *бариха* «держать; ловить»; др.-монг. *qobdu* – общедерб. *хобдэ*, х.-монг. *ховд*, бур. *хобдо* «длинный узкий ящик»; др.-монг. *tobči* – общедерб. *тобчи*, х.-монг. *товчи*, бур. *тобишо* «пуговица»; др.-монг. *šilbi* – общедерб. *шилби*, х.-монг. *шилбэ*, бур. *шэлбэ* «петля для монгольской пуговицы»; др.-монг. *ab* – дерб.К. *абэ*, х.-монг. *ав*, бур. *аба* «возьми».

Глухой ротовый губно-губной смычный согласный *п* встречается в языке дербетов Калмыкии гораздо реже, чем *б*, преимущественно в начале относительно немногих слов. Например: *надърхэ* «пылать, пламенеть», *пард гихэ* «ёкнуть (о сердце)», «вспыхнуть (об огне)», *пиигхэ* «шипеть; свистеть; бахвалиться», *пилгэхэ* «быть в изобилии», *пилд* – звукоподражание шлепку, падению с шумом, грохотом, *пиш* – звукоподражание звуку взрыва, *порсэг* «корсак», *пөө* – междометие, выражающее восклицание, удивление, сожаление, *пүрвэ* «четверг», *пүргэхэ* «быть многословным, болтать». В основном этот согласный употребляется в позиции анлаута заимствованных слов, например: *паар* «пара», *пальто* «пальто», *панър* «фонарь», *паряница* «француз», *патър* «квартира», *паспорт* «паспорт». Очень редко согласный *п* встречается в середине слова, причём зачастую лишь в заимствованных словах, например: *капканицэ* «карлик», *помпаахэ* «быть выпуклым», *капитан*

⁹ Санжеев 1983: 28¹⁰ Санжеев 1983: 28¹¹ Муниев 1977: 658¹² Вандуй 1965: 70¹³ Рассадин 1982: 71

«капитан», *капитал* «капитал», *кепк* «кепка». В языке дербетов Монголии, по заключению Э. Вандуя¹⁴, это тоже весьма редкий звук, встречающийся в начале немногих слов, например, *пагдгяр* «приземистый», *пйтән* «бидон», *поолйосон* «алюминий», *пинзё* «поднос».

Согласный **n* был весьма редкий звук в древнемонгольском языке, каковым продолжал оставаться и в современных халхаском, бурятском и калмыцком языках¹⁵, встречаясь в основном в заимствованных словах и в образных и звукоподражательных словах и их производных, как это видно по дербетским материалам.

Звонкий ротовой губно-зубной щелевой согласный *в* в языке дербетов Калмыкии в позиции анлаута предствлен главным образом в заимствованных словах, например: *вагон* «вагон», *варень* «варенье», *верандă* «веранда», *винтовкă* «винтовка», *вокзал* «вокзал». В собственно калмыцких словах этот согласный встречается в середине и в конце слова, например: *аваад ирхѣмн* «принесёт», *аврăйтă* «спасение», *завсър* «промежуток», *зовлăң* «мучение», *таваад* «по пять», *тăвăад* «по пятьдесят», *арвээ* «овёс», *гаруув* «я вышел», *тов* «пушка», *ов-тов* «редкий», у малых дербетов *авă* «возьми», *тăвѣ* «поставь». Особенно частотен этот звук в позиции инлаута. В языке дербетов Монголии согласный *в* тоже, как утверждает Э. Вандуй¹⁶, используется в середине и в конце слов и слогов, например, *кăвээ* «кайма; берег», *навай* «нюхательный табак», *хуувăн* «печка», *давхăң* «плащ», *кедүүв?* «сколько?». В позиции анлаута встречается в заимствованных словах, например, *ваадăн* «кусочек материи для завёртывания», *ваар* «ваза». В исконных собственно монгольских по происхождению словах этот согласный развился из смычного **b*, например, др.-монг. *arbai* – общедерб. *арвээ*, х.-монг. *арвай*, бур. *арбай* «ячмень»; др.-монг. *tabun* – общедерб. *тавăн*, х.-монг. *тав* // *таван*, бур. *табан* «пять», др.-монг. *qob* – общедерб. *хов*, х.-монг. *хов*, бур. *хоб* «сплетня».

Глухой ротовый губно-зубной щелевой согласный *ф* в языке дербетов Калмыкии представлен лишь в начале слов, заимствованных из русского языка в советское время вместе с русской орфографией, например: *фронт* «фронт», *фашизм* «фашизм», *ферм* «ферма», *футбол* «футбол» и т. п. Заимствования раннего периода имеют в этой позиции звук *п*, например: *панёр* «фонарь», *паря́нцӑс* «француз», *патӑр* «квартира» (из просторечного русск. *фатера* id.). Как произносительный вариант встречается на месте звука *в*, находящегося перед глухим согласным в середине слова или в конечной позиции слова, например: *авсн* – произносится как *афсӑн* «взял», *кевтӑэн* – произносится как *кефтӑэн* «по-прежнему», *товч* – произносится как

¹⁴ Вандуй 1965: 70

тофч «пуговица». Э. Вандуй отмечает, что этот звук встречается в заимствованных словах типа *фороонт* «фронт», *офицеер* «офицер», *фотоо* «фото». ¹⁷ В древнемонгольском языке этой фонемы не было, вместо неё была фонема **φ*, давшая совсем другие рефлексy. ¹⁸

Звонкий носовой губно-губной смычный сонант *м* достаточно хорошо представлен в языке дербетов Калмыкии в разных позициях – в анлауте, инлауте и ауслауте – как в собственных, так и в заимствованных словах, например: *май* «май», *майка* «майка», *майга* «юбка», *мадан* «мы», *мода* «дерево // деревянный», *медхэ* «знать, ведать», *аман* «рот», *амнаа* «удила», *амар* «спокойствие, покой», *наман* «восемь», *жомбаа* «калмыцкий чай», *кембэ?* «кто?», *сам* «гребень, расчёска», *саам* «удой, надой», *сөөм* «пядь». В языке дербетов Монголии, по свидетельству Э. Вандуя, это тоже весьма частотный согласный, встречающийся в слове в любой позиции, например, *махлаа* «шапка», *мангадар* «завтра», *самарсан* «кедровый орех». ¹⁹

Согласный *м* в языке дербетов как Калмыкии, так и Монголии является наследником древнего общемонгольского **т*, который здесь неплохо сохранился во всех позициях слова ²⁰, например, др.-монг. *тауи* – общедерб. *муу*, х.-монг. *муу*, бур. *муу* «плохой»; др.-монг. *атаи* – общедерб. *аман*, х.-монг. *ам* // *аман*, бур. *аман* «рот»; др.-монг. *атин* – общедерб. *эмин*, х.-монг. *амь* // *амин*, бур. *амин* «жизнь»; др.-монг. *ет* – общедерб. *эм*, х.-монг. *эм*, бур. *эм* «лекарство».

ПЕРЕДНЕЯЗЫЧНЫЕ СОГЛАСНЫЕ

У переднеязычных согласных активным артикулирующим органом является передняя часть спинки языка, которая образует с верхними зубами смычку, щель, а также совмещение смычки со щелью, в результате чего образуются аффрикаты. Рассмотрим эти звуки по порядку.

Переднеязычными смычными согласными являются *т*, *д*, *н*. Особая артикуляция у согласного *л*, который относится к смычным, но с боковой щелью, через которую проходит воздушная струя. Это по сути дела ртовый переднеязычный смычный плавный боковой сонант. Есть мнение считать его переднеязычным сверхслабым щелевым боковым ртовым звуком. ²¹ Как бы там ни было, но он произносится с кончиком языка, плотно прижатым к передним зубам, что позволяет отнести его к смычным согласным.

¹⁷ Вандуй 1965: 70

¹⁸ Рассадин 1982: 68–69

¹⁹ Вандуй 1965: 70

²⁰ Рассадин 1982: 72

²¹ Санжеев 1983: 32

Глухой ртовый переднеязычный смычный согласный *t* достаточно распространённый в языке дербетов Калмыкии звук, как и вообще в калмыцком языке, в позиции анлаута и инлаута, например: *таавър* «предположение, догадка», *то* «число», *товчъ* «пуговица», *титим* «корона», *алтйн* «золото // золотой», *тавтаа* «пятилетний», *үстээ* «волосатый», *цутхэхъ* «лить, отливать», *шатъ* «лестница». «В абсолютном исходе односложного слова, – по свидетельству П. Ц. Биткеева, – согласный *t* не встречается, а в многосложных может выступать, если ему предшествует краткий гласный. Примеры ограничиваются глагольной формой, аффикс которой исторически восходит к личному местоимению *та* (вы): *ирит* (придите), *авыт* (возьмите), *татыт* (тяните)». В языке дербетов Монголии этот звук также распространён и встречается в этих же позициях, например, *таваг* «лапа (верблюда)», *темээн* «верблюд», *таших* «бить ладонью», *утаан* «дым», *ириит* «придите».

В языке дербетов как Калмыкии, так и Монголии звук *t* является наследником того же **t*, что и в древнем монгольском языке²², например, др.-монг. *ta* – общедерб. *та*, х.-монг. *та*, бур. *та* «вы»; др.-монг. *temegen* – общедерб. *темээн*, х.-монг. *тэмээ*, бур. *тэмээн* «верблюд»; др.-монг. *iyuta* – общедерб. *уутъ*, х.-монг. *уут*, бур. *уута* «мешок»; др.-монг. *utaγan* – общедерб. *утаан*, х.-монг. *утаа*, бур. *утаан* «дым».

Звонкий ртовый переднеязычный смычный согласный *д* в языке дербетов Калмыкии очень употребительный звук, встречающийся во многих словах в любой позиции, например: *даалһавър* «поручение», *дундъ* «средний», *доръ* «внизу», *дүүрѐң* «наполненный», *дүрсѐн* «внешний вид», *адъг* «конец», *меддѐг* «знающий», *инээдтээ* «смешной», *зуд* «бескормица скота», *арваад* «по десять», *ирээд* «придя». В позиции ауслота оглушается, как и в конце слога перед глухим согласным. В языке дербетов Монголии этот согласный весьма распространён и ведёт себя аналогичным образом, например, *девѐл* «шуба», *дарюун* «после, затем», *белдхѐл~белтхѐл* «подготовка», *йоваад* «уйдя», *суугаад* «сев».

В языке дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии, как и в других современных монгольских языках, этот звук наследует древний общемонгольский **d* во всех позициях слова²³, например, др.-монг. *dörben* – общедерб. *дөрвѐн*, х.-монг. *дөрөв* // *дөрвөн*, бур. *дүрбэн* «четыре»; др.-монг. *dutyu* – общедерб. *дутуу*, х.-монг. *дутуу*, бур. *дутуу* «недостающий»; др.-монг. *čidaqi* – общедерб. *чидхѐ*, х.-монг. *чадах*, бур. *шадаха* «мочь, выдержать»; др.-монг. *boluγad* – общедерб. *болаад*, х.-монг. *болоод*, бур. *болоод* «сделавшись; став; будучи».

²² Рассадин 1982: 72–73

²³ Рассадин 1982: 74

Звонкий носовой переднеязычный смычный сонант *н* в языке дербетов Калмыкии употребляется повсеместно в любой позиции слова: *наадан* «игра», *наавар* «наклейка», *намар* «осень», *негн* «один», *ниитё* «общество», *нокёр* «товарищ», *андайгаар* «клятва», *эндё* «здесь», *тендё* «там», *энё* «это, этот, эта», *зуун* «сто», *арвйн* «десять», *юмйн* «вещь», *юун* «что». Аналогичным образом этот согласный ведёт себя и в языке дербетов Монголии, например, *наадгээ* «игрушка», *наар* «сюда», *насвай* «нюхательный табак», *нерён* «имя», *олёнцог* «чепрак», *андсйн* «соха, плуг», *бениш* «пельмени», *шаанцаг* «клин», *келён* «язык», *унайган* «жеребёнок».

В языке дербетов как Калмыкии, так и Монголии этот согласный *н* продолжает употребляться в тех же словах и в тех же позициях, что и в древнем монгольском и современных монгольских языках²⁴, например, др.-монг. *науйтап* – общедерб. *нээмён*, х.-монг. *найм* // *найман*, бур. *найман* «восемь»; др.-монг. *епе* – общедерб. *энё*, х.-монг. *энэ*, бур. *энэ* «этот»; др.-монг. *ниген* – общедерб. *негён*, х.-монг. *нэг* // *нэгэн*, бур. *нэгэн* «один».

Звонкий ртовый переднеязычный смычный боковой сонант *л* в языке дербетов Калмыкии представлен достаточно хорошо – он употребляется в начале слов, в середине и в конце без каких-либо ограничений, например: *лаа* «свеча», *лаваар* «верно, точно», *лавийг* «накидка, халат», *литё* «календарь», *лошхй* «репейник», *алвйн* «налог», *актайлхй* «активировать, составлять акт», *алаг* «пегий», *улаан* «красный», *гъал* «огонь», *жил* «год», *көл* «нога, ноги», *көкүүл* «грудной (о ребёнке)». В языке дербетов Монголии *л* употребляется без ограничения в тех же позициях, например, *лагдй* «доска для раскатывания теста», *лавийг* «летний халат», *көглжиргён* «голубь», *келдүүр* «деревянная лопатка для золы», *мал* «скот».

Этот согласный стоит в тех же словах в тех же позициях слова, что и в древнем монгольском и современных монгольских языках²⁵, например, др.-монг. *lab* – общедерб. *лав*, х.-монг. *лав*, бур. *лаб* «правильно, верно»; др.-монг. *алау* – общедерб. *алаг*, х.-монг. *алаг*, бур. *алаг* «пегий (о масти)»; др.-монг. *mal* – общедерб. *мал*, х.-монг. *мал*, бур. *мал* «скот».

К переднеязычным щелевым согласным в языке дербетов Калмыкии относятся *с*, *з*, *ш*, *р*. Если первые три звука являются обычными щелевыми звуками, то у *р* щель сопровождается дрожанием кончика языка, и он представляет собой дрожащий щелевой звук.

Глухой ртовый переднеязычный щелевой свистящий согласный *с* здесь весьма употребительный звук, встречающийся в любой позиции слова, например: *саад* «препятствие», *саарйа* «буланный», *саахй* «доить», *серхё* «просypаться», *тасайлхй* «отрывать», *усйн* «вода», *усён* «молоко», «волос

²⁴ Рассадин 1982: 87–92²⁵ Рассадин 1982: 92–95

на голове», *цэсэйг* «любитель чая», *махсэйг* «любящий мясо», *ирсён* «пришедший», «пришёл», *авсён* «взявший», «взял», *тарвас* «арбуз», *терс* «иноврец», *барс* «барс». Весьма обычный частотный согласный и в языке дербетов Монголии, встречающийся в слове в любой позиции, например, *сарён* «луна», *севгёр* «девочка», *сиик* «серьги», *сөө* «ночь», *улаасён* «осина», *усён* «вода», *туульс* «сказки».

В языке дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии этот согласный употребляется на месте древнемонгольского *s в любой позиции слова²⁶, например, др.-монг. *sapaγsan* – общедербет. *сансён*, х.-монг. *сансан*, бур. *һанаһан* «задуманный»; др.-монг. *söni* – общедерб. *сөө*, х.-монг. *шөнө*, бур. *һүни* «ночь»; др.-монг. *usun* – дерб.К. *усён*, дерб.М. *усён*, х.-монг. *ус* // *усан*, бур. *уһан* «вода»; др.-монг. *arasun/arisun* – дерб.К. *арсён*, дерб.М. *арсён*, х.-монг. *арс*, бур. *арһан* «шкура»; др.-монг. *alus* – общедерб. *алёс*, х.-монг. *алс*, бур. *алас* «дальний, далёкий».

Звонкий ротовый переднеязычный щелевой согласный з в языке дербетов Калмыкии активно употребляется в позиции анлаута и инлаута и очень редко, буквально в единичных иностранных по происхождению словах в ауслауте, например: *за* «саксаул», *заалтй* «указатель», *завсёр* «промежуток», *залаатэа* «хохлатый», *залуу* «мужчина», *зэатэа* «имеющий свободное место», *зевтэа* «ржавый», *зузаан* «толстый (о плоском)», *азй* «счастье», *аздй* «буян, дебошир», *терзё* «окно», *бузёр* «грязный», *тээз* «сцена». В языке дербетов Монголии, по свидетельству Э. Вандуя, относительно данного согласного положение не однозначное.²⁷ Дело в том, что калмыцкий свистящий согласный з развился из свистящей аффрикаты дз, которая возникла на месте шипящей аффрикаты *дж, как это и произошло в определённый исторический период эволюции северо-западных монгольских языков – халхаского, калмыцко-ойратского и бурятского – потомков древнего языка монголов-шивеев. В языке ойратов Монголии, как и в языке дербетов Калмыкии, представлен результат этого же процесса, то есть развитие з на месте дз (< *дж).²⁸ Однако у дербетов Монголии давно уже наблюдается смешение в употреблении свистящих щелевого з и аффрикаты дз, особенно это заметно в анлауте, где применяют и з и дз, например, *зам~дзам* «путь» (ср. др.-монг. *jam*, х.-монг. *дзам*, бур. *зам* id.), *дзайсён~дзайс~зайсён* «рыба» (ср. др.-монг. *jiγasun*, х.-монг. *дзайс*, бур. *зайһан* id.), *зургаан~дзургаан* «шесть» (ср. др.-монг. *jiγuiγan*, х.-монг. *дзургаа*, бур. *зургаан* id.). В середине слова, главным образом между гласными, обычен з, например, *езён* «хозяин» (ср. др.-монг. *ejen*, х.-монг. *эдзэн*, бур. *эжэн* // *эзэн* id.), *базй* «свояк» (ср. др.-монг. *baγa*, х.-монг. *бадз*, бур. *база* id.).

²⁶ Рассадин 1982: 77–78

²⁷ Вандуй 1965: 72–76

²⁸ Рассадин 1982: 76

Э. Вандуй объясняет такое двоякое произношение влиянием халхаского языка. Хотя и редко, встречается и в конце слова, например, *бигбёрз* «кузнечик», *шууз* «щёлка».

Глухой ротовый переднеязычный щелевой шипящий согласный *ш* в языке дербетов Калмыкии довольно активен и употребляется в словах в любой позиции, например: *ша* «ревматизм», *шаазгээ* «сорока», *шаваатээ* «обмазанный», *шонтал* «дятел», *шүдэн* «зуб, зубы», *шакишг* «куст», *ааишх* «приближаться», *ааиш* «характер», *өшгэн* «мечь, ненависть», *бээшг* «дворец», *тогш* «крендель», *барш* «барыш, прибыль». Не менее распространён этот согласный и в языке дербетов Монголии, встречается в любой позиции, например, *шалчааг* «лужа», *шikir* «сахар, конфеты», *шүүгүүл* «метла», *аишк* «мочка уха», *баишк* «колос», *баишк-баишг* «домашний сыр», *идэш* «корыто (для кормления животных)».

В древнемонгольском языке *š был довольно редким звуком, который произносился либо в монгольских образных словах, либо в заимствованных словах или в виде самого š, или как субститут č.²⁹ Позднее в монгольских языках, в том числе и в языке дербетов как Калмыкии, так и Монголии, развился из *s в позиции перед *i, например, др.-монг. *sitaqu* > стп.-монг. *šitaqu* – дерб.К. *шатхă*, дерб.М. *шитăхă*, х.-монг. *шатах*, бур. *шатаха* «гореть»; др.-монг. *sidün* > стп.-монг. *šidün* – общедерб. *шүдэн*, х.-монг. *шүд* // *шүдэн*, бур. *шүдэн* «зуб; зубы»; др.-монг. *asiy* > стп.-монг. *ašiy* – общедерб. *аишг*, х.-монг. *ашиг*, бур. *ашаг* «выгода, польза».

Звонкий ротовый переднеязычный дрожащий щелевой согласный *р* в языке дербетов Калмыкии в анлауте собственно калмыцких слов не употребляется, используется в этой позиции только в русских заимствованных словах типа *район* «район», *радио* «радио», *реформ* «реформа», *рулетк* «рулетка» и т.п. В собственно калмыцких словах стоит как в позиции инлаута, так и ауслаута, например: *арвāн* «десять», *гъорвāн* «три», *дөрвөн* «четыре», *зургаан* «шашь», *жирён* «шестьдесят», *йирён* «девяносто», *деерё* «наверху», *дорй* «внизу», *дораагуур* «низом, понизу», *кир* «грязь», *кирээр* «по мере». Аналогичную картину бытования этого согласного мы видим и в языке дербетов Монголии, например, *аршаан* «минеральная вода, родник с минеральной водой», *хөрйн* «двадцать», *гъурвāн* «три», *гъараар* «руками».

В языке дербетов как Калмыкии, так и Монголии согласный *r не был характерен для позиции анлаута в собственно монгольских словах, но обычен в середине и конце слова³⁰, например, др.-монг. *наган* – общедерб. *нарāн*, х.-монг. *нар* // *наран*, бур. *наран* «солнце»; др.-монг. *γar-iγar* – общедерб.

²⁹ Рассадин 1982: 85–87

³⁰ Рассадин 1982: 95–97

гъараар, х.-монг. *гараар*, бур. *гараар* «руками»; др.-монг. *патир* – общедерб. *намър*, х.-монг. *намар*, бур. *намар* «осень».

К переднеязычным смычно-щелевым согласным в языке дербетов Калмыкии относятся аффрикаты *ц*, *ч*, *ж*, хотя П. Ц. Биткеев считает *ч* и *ж* среднеязычными соответственно сильным и слабым смычно-щелевыми звуками.³¹ Вероятно переднеязычная отодвинутая назад смычка привела его к такому выводу. Но как бы там ни было эти аффрикаты весьма активны в языке дербетов.

Глухой ротовый переднеязычный свистящий смычно-щелевой согласный *ц* представлен в калмыцком языке «... в начале и середине слова: *царцаха* (кузнечик), *цэцэн* (мудрый), *эцке* (отец), *цэ* (чай), *бакиць* (бахча). В исходе слова обычно не выступает, но в произношении молодёжи *ц* наблюдается в конце некоторых слов, где он следует после краткого гласного: *төрүц* (совершенно, совсем)».³² То же можно утверждать об употреблении этой аффрикаты и в языке дербетов Калмыкии, хотя встречается она в начале и середине слова, например, *цайц* «надгробие», *цаар* «туда», *цар* «вол», *цецэг* «цветок», *ацаан* «груз». Аналогичное распространение этот согласный имеет и в языке дербетов Монголии, например, *цар* «вол», *царцгээ* «орёл», *цогц муутээ* «беременная», *цагаан* «белый».

Восходит эта аффриката к древнемонгольской шипящей аффрикате *č, развившейся позднее в монгольских языках северо-западного ареала, куда входят халха-монгольский, ойратский и бурятский язык, во многих словах в свистящую аффрикату *ц* (бурятский перевёл её в *s* и *š*)³³, например, др.-монг. *čaγaγan* – общедерб. *цагаан*, х.-монг. *цагаан*, бур. *сагаан* «белый»; др.-монг. *časin* – общедерб. *цасан*, х.-монг. *цас* // *цасан*, бур. *саһан* «снег»; др.-монг. *čisin* – дерб.К. *цусан*, дерб.М. *цусун*, х.-монг. *цус* // *цусан*, бур. *шуһан* «кровь»; др.-монг. *čečeg* – общедерб. *цецэг*, х.-монг. *цэцэг*, бур. *сэсэг* «цветок».

Звонкий ротовый переднеязычный шипящий смычно-щелевой согласный *ч* в языке дербетов Калмыкии активно употребляется главным образом в начале и середине слова, например: *чавчаачи* «рубщик», *чадмаг* «умелый, искусный», *чи* «ты», *чикээр* «прямо», *чөлээн* «свободное время», *чичирхэ* «трястись», *ачи* «внук (по мужской линии)», *ачаачи* «грузчик», *модачи* «плотник», *келчкэ* «скажи-ка», *авчкэ* «возьми-ка», *кенчён* «кто-то». «В исходе слова выступает только как показатель 2-го лица единственного числа при спряжении глаголов, например, *одыч* (пойди ты, пожалуйста), *авыч* (возьми)».³⁴ То же употребление у этого согласного находим

³¹ Санжеев 1983: 26, 29

³² Санжеев 1983: 25

³³ Рассадин 1982: 75–76

³⁴ Санжеев 1983: 26–27

и в языке дербетов Монголии, например, *чи* «ты», *чигчгээ* «мизинец», *чинээ* «размером с...», *чагчээхээ* «саранча», *бачим* «торопливый», *ириич* «приходи».

Во многих словах языка дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии аффриката *ч* сохраняет свой шипящий характер и наследует древнемонгольскую шипящую аффрикату *č,³⁵ например, др.-монг. *či* – общедерб. *чи*, х.-монг. *чи*, бур. *ши* «ты»; др.-монг. *čilaγun* – общедерб. *чолуун*, х.-монг. *чулуу*, бур. *шулуун* «камень»; др.-монг. *čilüge* – дерб.К. *чөлээн*, дерб.М. *чөлээ*, х.-монг. *чөлөө*, бур. *сүлөө* «свободное время»; др.-монг. *čošiqi* – дерб.К. *чочхй*, дерб.М. *чочйххй*, х.-монг. *цочих*, бур. *сошохо* «вздрагивать от испуга».

Звонкий ртовый переднеязычный шипящий смычно-щелевой согласный *ж* весьма активен в языке дербетов Калмыкии и употребляется в позиции анлаута и инлаута без ограничения, например: *жажйльвр* «жвачка», *жигишүүр* «брезгливость», *жораа* «иноходь; иноходец», *жөөлён* «мягкий», *жанжаалхй* «скандалить», *тежээл* «питание; корм». В конце слова, по мнению П. Ц. Биткеева, данная фонема не встречается.³⁶ В то же время А. Ш. Кичиков в своей работе утверждает, что аффриката *ж* встречается во всех позициях слов и даже в ауслауте, например, *йовааж* «оказывается».³⁷ В языке дербетов Монголии *ж* произносится в виде шипящей аффрикаты *ж* (*дж*) во многих словах в начале и в середине слов, иногда в конце, например, *жа* «ладно», *жиргйл* «счастье», *жөөлён* «мягкий», *жирмаахээ* «мальки рыб», *дүүжйн* «железное ведро», *ажйргй* «жеребец», *соджж* «жареная печень».

Во многих словах языка дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии аффриката *ж* сохраняет свой шипящий характер, присущий древнемонгольской аффрикате *j (*dž*), не перешедшей в *dz*³⁸, например, др.-монг. *ḡiryal* – общедерб. *жиргйл*, х.-монг. *джаргал*, бур. *жаргал* «счастье»; др.-монг. *jögelen* – общедерб. *жөөлён*, х.-монг. *дзөөлөн*, бур. *зөөлэн* «мягкий»; др.-монг. *ajiryu* – общедерб. *ажйргй*, х.-монг. *адзрага*, бур. *азарга* «жеребец».

СРЕДНЕЯЗЫЧНЫЕ СОГЛАСНЫЕ

Среднеязычные согласные образуются в результате подъёма средней части спинки языка к твёрдому нёбу, где образуется либо щель, либо смычка.

Самым распространённым в языке дербетов Калмыкии среднеязычным согласным является ртовый щелевой сонант *й*, встречающийся в любой позиции: как в начале слова, так в середине и в конце без ограничения.

³⁵ Рассадин 1982: 75–76

³⁶ Санжеев 1983: 29

³⁷ Кичиков 1963: 12–13

³⁸ Рассадин 1982: 76–77

ЗАДНЕЯЗЫЧНЫЕ СОГЛАСНЫЕ

Заднеязычные согласные образуются смычкой или щелью, создаваемыми задней частью спинки языка и мягким нёбом или границей твёрдого и мягкого нёба. В эту группу согласных в языке дербетов Калмыкии входят *к, г, х, ң*. Фонема *х* относится также к увулярным звукам.

Глухой ротовый заднеязычный смычный согласный *к* встречается в языке дербетов Калмыкии не только в начале и середине мягкорядных слов, но употребляется в этих же позициях и в твёрдорядных словах, например: *каа* «дворцовая стража, охрана», «телохранитель», *каакълзэхъ* «прохаживаться с высокомерным видом», *каачхъ* «уничтожать, истреблять», *кавжишхъ* «быть приземистым», *кальчишхъ* «накреняться, наклоняться набок», *караглэхъ* «высокомерничать, чваниться», *комишхъ* «быть чем-л. недовольным», *коочишхъ* «деформироваться, терять форму», *кулишхъ* «косо смотреть», *курдаг* «норовистый», *аксён* «высохший», *актэ* «хороший конь; мерин», *бокархъ* «скрючиваться», *зокаал* «правило; положение; порядок», *зокэхъ* «подходить, соответствовать», *зокъяал* «произведение», *такаа* «кураца». В начале и середине мягкорядных слов этот согласный в языке дербетов Калмыкии сохранился с древнемонгольских времён, не перейдя в заднеязычный *х*, как это наблюдается в халха-монгольском и бурятском языках,⁴³ например: дерб.К. *көвүүн* – стп.-монг. *köbegün*, ср. х.-монг. *хөвгүүн*, бур. *хүбүүн* «парень; сын»; дерб.К. *келён* – стп.-монг. *kelen*, ср. х.-монг. *хэл*, бур. *хэлэн* «язык»; дерб.К. *күрхэ* – стп.-монг. *kürküi*, х.-монг. *хүрэх*, бур. *хүрэхэ* «доходить, достигать»; дерб.К. *көкё* – стп.-монг. *köke*, ср. х.-монг. *хөх*, бур. *хүхэ* «синий»; дерб.К. *экён* – стп.-монг. *ekin*, х.-монг. *эх*, бур. *эхин* «начало». В конце калмыцких слов этот согласный не употребляется.⁴⁴ В языке дербетов Монголии тоже констатируется наличие смычного *к* как в мягкорядных, так и в твёрдорядных словах, например, *көвүүн* «парень», *көкё* «синий», *күкүүр* «кожаная фляга», *такаа* «кураца», *такэггэр* «кривой, изогнутый».

Звонкий ротовой заднеязычный смычный согласный *г* в языке дербетов Калмыкии в мягкорядных словах употребляется без ограничения во всех позициях, например: *герёл* «свет, освещение», *гергён* «жена», *гегээн* «свет; освещение; заря, рассвет», *гигдэхэ* «называться», *мөргён* «обух топора», *гигжэг* «затылок; коса, косичка», *гидёг* «называемый», *керёг* «дело». В твёрдорядных словах этот согласный обязателен в ауслауте, где он оглушается и фактически превращается в глухой *к*, хотя в угоду орфографии пишется *г*, например, *алак* (алг) «пегий; полосатый», *амрак* (амрг) «друг, приятель», *барак* (барг) «сторожевой пёс», *шурак* (шург) «гончая (собака)», *барак-бүрэк* (барг-бүрг)

⁴³ Рассадин 1982: 98–102⁴⁴ Санжеев 1983: 27

УВУЛЯРНЫЕ СОГЛАСНЫЕ

Увулярные согласные производятся смычкой или щелью, образуемой задней частью спинки языка и маленьким язычком, находящимся в гортани, называемым *увула* (*Uvula*). В языке дербетов Калмыкии, как и вообще в калмыцком языке, имеется два увулярных согласных – *x* (в фонетической транскрипции обозначаемый знаком *χ*) и *гъ* (смычный вариант) и *ε* (щелевой вариант) одной фонемы, в калмыцкой орфографии не совсем корректно обозначаемой буквой *h* (*aи*).

Глухой ротовый увулярный щелевой согласный *x* употребляется в языке дербетов Калмыкии в позиции анлаута и инлаута твёрдорядных слов, например: *харй* «чёрный», *хальтйрхаа* «скользкий // скользко», *хамйр* «нос», *хавйр* «весна», *холй* «далёкий // далеко», *холваа* «связь», *хуриχйн* «довольно острый», *алхйм* «шаг», *архааχй* «громоздиться», *аχйлхй* «начальствовать». Кроме того, увулярный *x* встречается в начале и середине мягкорядных слов, например: *эрлхё* «уходить, удаляться», *бээхё* «быть, находиться», *ирхё* «приходить», *медхё* «знать, ведать», *хээлхё* «плавить, расплавлять, растапливать; таять, оттаивать», *хээхё* «искать, разыскивать», *хээцхээхё* «разыскивать (о многих)», *хөөн* «овца», *хөөнё* «после, после того», *хөрён* «двадцать», *хөвээрлхё* «распределять», *хөвё* «часть, доля, пай». Как можно видеть из примеров, щелевой согласный *x* употребляется вопреки ожиданиям в мягкорядных словах, поскольку есть правило сохранения здесь смычного *k*, которое неукоснительно соблюдается. Но только причастие будущего времени использует щелевой *x* со всеми глаголами, даже мягкорядными. В языке дербетов Монголии причастие будущего времени зачастую использует с мягкорядными глаголами звук *kx*, который появляется и в ряде других случаев, как это видно на примере слов *туңкхуу* «чайник», *киикхё* «делать» (ср. дерб.К. *кеехё* id.), хотя в то же время есть случаи и сохранения этого причастия со смычным *k*, например, *кевлёкё* «печатать» (ср. дерб.К. *кевлхё* id.). Появление щелевого *x* в мягкорядных словах в других случаях объяснимо тем, что эти слова первоначально были твёрдорядными и в них древний смычный *k* (*q*) закономерно перешёл в щелевой *x*, а затем, если в слове был гласный **i*, всё слово подвергалось опереднению и переходило в мягкий ряд, например, общедерб. *хөрйн* «двадцать» < др.-монг. *qorin* id., общедерб. *хөөн* «овца» < др.-монг. *qonin* id. В целом же картина употребления щелевого *x* одинакова как в языке дербетов Калмыкии, так и Монголии.

На определённом этапе развития монгольских языков, в том числе и языка дербетов как Калмыкии, так и Монголии, древнемонгольская смычная фонема **q*, стоявшая в твёрдорядных словах, перешла в щелевой глухой *x*, что наблюдается ещё, например, в языках халха-монголов

и бурят: др.-монг. *qorin* – общедерб. *хөрйн*, х.-монг. *хорь* // *хорин*, бур. *хорин* «двадцать»; др.-монг. *qadquqi* – общедерб. *хатхяха*, х.-монг. *хатгах*, бур. *хадхаха* «колоть, пронзать».

Звонкий ртовый увулярный согласный, обозначенный в калмыцкой орфографии как *h*, в языке дербетов Калмыкии реализуется в двух вариантах – смычном *гъ* и щелевом *г*. П. Ц. Биткеев верно определяет: «Фонема *Г* – увулярный слабый смычный ротовой звук. ... Согласный *Г* имеет ограниченное позиционное употребление. Встречается в начале и в середине слов твёрдого ряда после увулярного оттенка носовой фонемы *н*, а в мягкорядных словах – в начальной позиции перед гласными *э*, *эа*, например: *Гал* (огонь), *шаңГъ* (ковш), *моңГъл* (монгол), *Гэрэ* – собственное имя». ⁴⁷ Орфографически это выглядит следующим образом: *һал* «огонь», *шаңһ* «ковш», *моңһл* «монгол», *һэрэ* – собственное имя. Относительно щелевого варианта П. Ц. Биткеев пишет: «Фонема *Г* – увулярный сверхслабый щелевой срединный ротовой звук. ... Встречается только в середине слова: *аагъ* (чашка), *цаган* (белый), *тээген* (собака)». ⁴⁸ Орфографически это обозначается так: *ааһ* [ааһъ] «чашка», *цаһан* «белый», *тээһн* [тээһен] «охотничья собака». Этот щелевой увулярный согласный встречается и в середине мягкорядных слов в интервокальной позиции, например: *зееһин* – родительный падеж слова *зе* «внук; племянник». Выше мы уже говорили, что в современной калмыцкой орфографии для передачи звуков твёрдорядного смычного *гъ* и твёрдорядного щелевого *г* (г) не совсем удачно принята буква *h* (латинская *аш*), что приводит к искажению произношения. В языке дербетов Калмыкии слово, например, «рука» звучит не *һар*, а *гъар*, «выводить наружу» не *һарһх*, а *гъаргъяха*, то есть в начале слова и в середине слова перед гласной после некоторых согласных эта фонема реализуется в смычном варианте. В положении же между гласными и в середине слова после некоторых согласных она звучит в щелевом варианте, то есть как *багъ* «малый», *догълхъ* «хромать», *балгъ* «глоток» и т. п. Эти же звуки и в том же употреблении представлены и в языке дербетов Монголии, о чём свидетельствует Э. Вандуй, ⁴⁹ обозначая смычный вариант этой увулярной фонемы как *г* (напр., *ласън* «кол», *луур* «предплечье»), а щелевой вариант как *г* (напр., *багълцаг* «предплечье», *хаалгъ* «дорога»).

Эта фонема языка дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии в твёрдорядных словах восходит к древнемонгольской фонеме **γ*, которая частично сохраняется, а частично исчезает. На месте её исчезновения в долготном комплексе (гласный + согласный **γ*~**g* + гласный) образовалась вторичная долгая

⁴⁷ Санжеев 1983: 30

⁴⁸ Санжеев 1983: 34

⁴⁹ Вандуй 1965: 77, 79

гласная⁵⁰, например, др.-монг. *ayula* > общедерб. *уулă*, х.-монг. *уул*, бур. *уула* «гора»; др.-монг. *sayulyaqui* – общедерб. *суулгăйхă*, х.-монг. *суулгах*, бур. *һуулгах* «посадить». Примеры сохранения древней фонемы *у: др.-монг. *yal* – общедерб. *гăл*, х.-монг. *гал*, бур. *гал* «огонь»; др.-монг. *yaqai* – дерб.К. *гăхээ*, дерб.М. *гăхаа*, х.-монг. *гахай*, бур. *гахай* «свинья»; др.-монг. *arga* – общедерб. *аргă*, х.-монг. *арга*, бур. *арга* «способ; хитрость».

Проведённый сравнительный анализ систем консонантизма языков дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии не выявил существенной разницы между ними. Они в основном сохраняют общемонгольский (в пределах северо-западной группы монгольских языков) характер консонантизма. При этом спецификой ойратского ареала, в который входит язык дербетов как Калмыкии, так и Монголии, является сохранение смычного характера древней фонемы *к в мягкорядных словах и произнесение щелевого увулярного х в твёрдорядных, наличие четырёх аффрикат – ч, дж, ц, дз, – развившихся на месте двух древних *ч и *дж, в языке дербетов Монголии, что сближает его с языком халха-монголов, при этом для дербетов Монголии характерно смешанное произношение аффрицированного дз и щелевого з. В языке дербетов Калмыкии полностью отсутствует аффриката дз и во всех словах бытует только щелевой з. Появление аффрикаты дз, особенно в анлауте многих слов рассматривается как халхаское влияние. Для ойратского ареала, в том числе и для дербетов Калмыкии и Монголии, характерно также произнесение чисто переднеязычного н в ауслaute большинства слов, как это было характерно для древнего монгольского языка и что отличает от них халха-монгольский и бурятский язык, в которых каждый конечный н звучит как ң, то есть, например, др.-монг. *on* – общедерб. *он*, общеойрат. *он*, х.-монг. *он* (*оң*), бур. *он* (*оң*) «год»; др.-монг. *modin* – дерб.К. *модăн*, дерб.М. *модăн*~*моддн*, х.-монг. *мод* // *модон* (*моддн*), бур. *модон* (*моддн*) «дерево; деревянный»

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⁵⁰ Рассадин 1982: 151–153

KALMYK – SEMANTICAL CATEGORIES
OF TURKIC ELEMENTS IN KALMYK²

THE KALMYK PEOPLE

134

In: *Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*, Edited by
AGNES BIRTALAN. Budapest, 2012,
ELTE Eötvös Kiadó. /Talentum II./ 134–162.

The Kalmyk people are those descendants of the Oirads who left the common Oirad homeland during the times of the Jungar Empire (mid-17th – mid-18th century).

After the collapse of the Chingisid Empire, the Oirads themselves increased their military and political power in the 15th century, under the rule of their leaders Togon (1416–1440) and Esen (1440–1455), so they expanded their territory from the Altai-Range up to the valley of the Ili River. From this time up to the 18th century Oirads and their realm played an important role in the history of Inner-Asia. The golden age of this khanate is connected to the rule of Galdan (1670–1697) and that of his successors Cewangrabdan (1697–1727) and Galdanceren (1727–1745).

At the beginning of the 17th century, the intentions of the Oirads was to find an influential ally to balance the increasing power of the Chinese. To some degree these intentions met with the Russian's objective to incorporate Siberian people into the Russian Empire.³ As a result intensive diplomatic and commercial contacts emerged between the Oirads and Russians. At the same time part of the Oirads, mostly Torguts, probably for internal political reasons (to escape from the unification objectives of the Zūngar tribe of the Oirads) asked the Russians to admit them as subjects of the Russian Tsar. From this period they are called Kalmyks. By migrating to the area of the Irtiś River, the Kalmyks began to carry out the last phase of the so-called Eurasian nomadic migration. In several waves they moved to the lower reaches of the Volga River, and the region of the Caspian Sea. It is interesting to observe the nature of their migration, since their movement was not a constant one, from East-Turkestan up to the Volga, but a gradual

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² The Project is supported by the European Union and co-financed by the European Social Fund (grant agreement № TAMOP 4.2.1/B-09/1/KMR-2010-0003).

³ For details on the Russian–Oirad diplomatic activity in this period see Maksimov 2008: 1–15.

one, progressively inhabiting first the south-eastern periphery of Russia, the areas around Tobolsk, Tjumen' and Tara, then moving more and more westwards. The first Kalmyk groups arrived in the West in 1630, the last wave appeared there in the middle of the 18th century.

From this time they have lived under Russian supremacy. Although Russians could use the nomadic Kalmyk military in several of their wars, from time to time Kalmyks failed to send their troops to help the Tsar. After the death of the most outstanding Kalmyk ruler Ayūki, the Russians tried to reduce their relative autonomy. One of the means for this was a strong Russian immigration to the Kalmyk territory, which resulted in interethnic conflicts due to the differences between the nomadic and the agricultural ways of life. The reorganization of their administrative system also meant a further step towards abolishing the Kalmyk autonomy.

In 1770, Kalmyks who did not wish to give up their relative independency, came to the decision to migrate back to their original pastures. The plan was to start moving in the winter, after the Volga froze over, and made the crossing of their herds from the western side of the river possible. The crossing, however, was prevented by the mild winter of that year. Finally, on the 5th of January, 1771 the Torguts departed, telling those trapped on the western side to follow them as soon as the weather permitted. Following backwards the way on which they arrived to the Volga, under very hard circumstances aggravated by the constant attacks of the Kazakhs, from the 100,000 Torguts about 70,000 arrive back in the Valley of the Ili, which by then already formed part of the Manchu Realm.⁴

Accordingly, today's Kalmyks are those people who were stuck on the western side of the Volga. Their later history will be not touched upon in the present paper. It is also self-evident from the above-told story that the Kalmyk language is closely related to Oirad.

Today the Kalmyk language is spoken by more than 100,000 people,⁵ mainly in the Kalmyk Republic of the Russian Federation. There are Kalmyks present also in neighboring areas of the republic, like in Volgograd, Astrakhan. A group of Kalmyks lives in the Orenburg area.

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⁴ For a detailed bibliography on this topic, cf. Birtalan-Rákos 2002.

⁵ According to the 2002 Russian census (www.perepis2002.ru), the number of ethnic Kalmyks on the territory of the Russian Federation is 173,996. The same census measured the number of speakers to be 153,602. This number according to my own observations seems to be excessive.

THE TURKIC CONNECTIONS OF THE KALMYK LANGUAGE

It would not be an exaggeration to state that the Kalmyk language and its predecessor during their history were in constant contact with several Turkic languages. It appears that these contacts were bilateral, Turkic elements in the Mongolic languages are attestable⁶ and so is the Mongolic influence on Turkic.

While Mongolic elements of different Turkic languages were the topic of several works,⁷ researches focusing on the Turkic elements of the Mongolic languages are not presented satisfactorily in the literature.⁸ This is particularly true in connection with the Turkic elements detectable in Kalmyk. The only existing work on this topic is that of Rassadin.⁹

The Kalmyk language, like all other Mongolic languages, possesses a considerable amount of Turkic loanwords. Several of these Turkic loanwords are shared with other Mongolic languages as well. This reveals that the borrowing of the word happened at a relatively early date. The loanwords in this group belong to the early layer. Such loanwords are so numerous, and the circle of lexical categories that were influenced by these contacts is so broad that it is not by chance that the genetic relationship of the Turkic and the Mongolic languages was supposed. As loanwords of this type are discussed by several basic works of comparative Altaic studies, they will only serve here as comparative data. However, to give an insight into these words, I list some of them here selectively: Kalm. *adg* 'der od das letzte; Ende, Mündung des Flusses' (KWb 1a),¹⁰ Kalm. *aǰryǎ* 'Hengst' (KWb 2b),¹¹ Kalm. *al* '(D veraltet) hellrot' (KWb 6a),¹² Kalm. *arān* 'Backenzahn' (KWb 12b) and Kalm. *arātā* 'Fuchs' (KWb 12b),¹³ Kalm. *belgě* 'Kennzeichen, Wahrzeichen, Omen; (euphem.) männliches geschlechtszeichen' (KWb 41b),¹⁴ Kalm. *berkě* 'schwer, schwierig (zu machen), zu viel fordernd, böse (vom Charakter),

⁶ For geographic reasons it seems to be very likely that Mongolic elements of Kazakh and Kirgiz originate from the Oirad.

⁷ Cf. Birtalan 1992, 1994, Csáki 2006, Kalużyński 1962, Khabtagaeva 2009, Kincses-Nagy 2009, Rassadin 1980, Róna-Tas 1975, 1982, Schönig 2000, Somfai Kara 2003, Tatarincev 1976.

⁸ Of course not the literature on the early Turko-Mongolic relations is meant here, but the Turkic elements of different modern Mongolic languages, e.g. Nugteren 1998 discusses the Turkic elements in Monguor, Bao'an and Dongxiang.

⁹ Cf. Rassadin 1983.

¹⁰ Cf. Old Turkic *adak* 'leg, foot' (ED 45).

¹¹ Cf. Old Turkic *adǰır* 'stallion' (ED 47).

¹² Cf. Old Turkic *āl* 'scarlet' (ED 120).

¹³ Cf. Old Turkic *azig* 'a large tooth, or tusk' (ED 283).

¹⁴ Cf. Old Turkic *belgü* 'sign, mark' (ED 340).

schwer zu finden, selten' (KWb 42b),¹⁵ Kalm. *būr* 'Kamelhengst' (KWb 65a),¹⁶ Kalm. *būdūn* (D auch *bödūn*) 'grob, dick' (KWb 66a),¹⁷ Kalm. *bürü* 'Kalb im zweiten Jahre',¹⁸ Kalm. *dal* 'Schulterblatt' (KWb 73b),¹⁹ Kalm. *gölg* 'junges Tier, gew. junger Hund (= *kičg*); am gewöhl. Knospe, junge Blätter, die sich noch nicht entfaltet haben' (KWb 137b),²⁰ Kalm. *xāxā* 'zuschliessen, zumachen; verbieten (z.B. das Betreten einer Wiese)' (KWb 175a),²¹ Kalm. *xucā* 'Hammel, Widder' (KWb 200a)²² etc.

Another group of Turkic loanwords in Kalmyk consists of lexemes that appear only in the Kalmyk and Oirad material. This group will be called here medial group, and the time period when these loanwords were borrowed is presumed to be after the collapse of the Mongol Empire. The donor languages are most of all Kazakh and Kirgiz.

After the Kalmyks moved to their present homeland on the lower reaches of the River Volga, they came into closer contact with other Turkic ethnic groups such as Nogay, Bashkir and Tatar people. An aim of the present paper is to answer the question if there were loanwords borrowed by the Kalmyks at their present homeland. If it turns out that there are such loanwords, then those are considered to belong to the modern layer.

To ascertain the group of such loanwords I collected the Turkic elements that appear only in Kalmyk, or if present in other Mongolic languages as well then the loanword shows clear evidence that it was borrowed from a modern Turkic language.

The basis for the collection of data was served by the excellent Kalmyk dictionary of Ramstedt.²³ Besides, modern dictionaries of Kalmyk were consulted as well.

The number of collected lexical items exceeds 200. From these about 150 are attestable only from Kalmyk, or from Kalmyk and Xinjiang Oirad. Reasons for that could be the following:

1. the word was borrowed during the independent existence of Kalmyks, after they departed from their homeland, so the word belongs to the modern layer;
2. the word is present in Oirad as well, but it does not appear in the Oirad dialectal dictionaries at my disposal;

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¹⁵ Cf. Old Turkic *bärk* 'firm, stable, solid' (ED 361).

¹⁶ Cf. Old Turkic *bugra* 'a camel stallion' (ED 317).

¹⁷ Cf. Old Turkic *bādük* 'big, great' (ED 302).

¹⁸ Cf. Old Turkic *buzagu* 'a calf' (ED 391).

¹⁹ Cf. Old Turkic *yāl* 'a horse's mane' (ED 916).

²⁰ Cf. Old Turkic *kōšāk* 'a young animal' (ED 753).

²¹ Cf. Old Turkic *kap-* (ED 580).

²² Old Turkic *koč* 'ram' (ED 589).

²³ It should be noted that several times Ramstedt gives dialect words. Among them he lists some Ööld words marked as Ö in his dictionary, which, in fact, are from Oirad spoken in Xinjiang (here marked as Xj).

3. the word was present in Oirad as well, but it disappeared from that variety, so the word probably belongs to the medial layer, but it is a necessity to group it among the words of the modern layer.

SEMANTIC CATEGORIES OF THE LOANWORDS
IN THE MIDDLE AND MODERN LAYERS

It is clear that the contacts between Oirads/Kalmyks and Turkic people were primarily of a martial nature. The Turkic loanwords in Kalmyk, however, witness that a more peaceful character of the contacts existed as well. It appears that the late language contacts of the Oirads (and Kalmyks) with the Turkic people effected almost exclusively the material culture. This means that there were vivid commercial transactions between these people.

In presenting the material, first the data from the Kalmyk dictionary of Ramstedt is quoted, followed by its form in Modern Kalmyk. After that come the Oirad dialectal data, among them those of the Oirad dialects in Mongolia (i.e. the Altai Oirad) and Xinjiang.

I confined myself in stating that these words are of Turkic origin. As Kalmyk had the closest relations with the Kazakh, Kirgiz and Tatar languages, I quoted the Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Tatar counterparts of the words to demonstrate that the picture drawn by Ramstedt is not always that simple.

In this paper an accent will be put on clarifying and presenting the semantic fields where a Turkic influence on Kalmyk may be observed. A thorough evaluation of the collected material from a linguistic point of view will be topic of a next paper.

The presentation of semantic categories will happen according to the following scheme:

Military terms	Material culture	Abstraction
Natural environment	■ terms connected to agriculture	Religious terms
■ plants	■ food	Verbs
■ animals	■ beverages	
▷ mammals	■ everyday utensils	
▷ birds	■ clothing	
▷ others	■ toys and games	
Social environment	■ musical instruments	
■ body-part terms	■ terms connected to commerce	
■ diseases	■ names of different materials	

Military terms

Kalm. *adrănă* 'das dicke Ende des Pfeiles, das an die Sehne gelegt wird' (KWb 2a) cf. MKalm. *adrn* 'tolstyj konec strely (*k-ryj* upiraetsja v tetivu); bogatyrskij luk' (Mun. 28) Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic,²⁴ cf. Kaz. *adırna* 'muzykal'nyj instrument; tetiva', Kir. —, Tat. —.

Kalm. *ā-baltā* 'Hellebarde' (KWb 25a), cf. MKalm. *ääv balt* 'sekira' (Mun. 80), Oir. Dial. Dö, T, U *ābältä* (Colö 67); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *aybalta* 'sekira', Kir. *aibalta* 'berdyš', Tat. *aybalta* 'berdyš, sekira'.

Kalm. *balag* ~ *baly* 'breites, beilförmiges Messer, Küchenmesser' (KWb 31a) cf. MKalm. *balg* 'širokij ploskij nož, stolovij nož' (Mun. 79), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *balğa* 'molot, molotok', Kir. —, Tat. —;

Kalm. *bekēt* 'D Pikett, Wache, Wachtbude' (KWb 41b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *beket* 'piket; polustanok; stancija', Kir. —, Tat. —;²⁵

Kalm. *xanĵāl* 'D Dolch' KWb 165b, cf. MKalm *xanĵāl* 'kinžal' (Mun. 575), Oir.Dial. Xj *xanĵāl* 'kinžal' (Todaeva 385); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qanĵar* 'kinžal', Kir. *kanžar* 'kinžal', Tat. *xänžär* 'kinžal';²⁶

Kalm. *xundäg* 'Ö Flintenkolben, D Flintenlauf' (KWb 197a) cf. MKalm. *xundg* 'prikład ruž'ja; loža' (Mun. 610), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *xundägä* (Colö 461), Xj *xundag* 'prikład ruž'ja; loža' (Todaeva 412); ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 80), cf. Kaz. *qundaq* 'lože ruž'ja', Kir. *kundak* 'vremennoe lože; ružejnyj priklad, loža ruž'ja', Tat. —;

Kalm. *kūm* '1. Karren- od. Wagenverdeck, Karrenhütte; 2. Wachtbude' (KWb 249b), cf. MKalm. *kūm* 'budka (*na telege*) kabina' (Mun. 324), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *küyme* 'faeton; kareta', Kir. —, Tat. *köymä* 'kibitka, kareta';

Kalm. *mašn* 'Ö Flintenschloss, Flintenhahn' (KWb 257b), MKalm. *maš* 'kurok (*u ruž'ja*)' (Mun. 345) Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *maša* 'kurok; zapal (*u fitil'nogo oružija*)', Kaz. —, Tat.;

Kalm. *šamšār* 'der türkische Säbel' (KWb 348a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *šamšar/šamčar* 'meč, sablja; kinžal'; Kaz. —;²⁷

²⁴ Although Ramstedt supposed a Bashkir parallel (*ädrinā* 'ein Bogen mit gespannter Sehne') the word is attestable from Kazakh itself.

²⁵ Both the initial consonant and the vowel of the first syllable suggest a Turkic origin of this word in Kalmyk. As pointed out by Rassadin the word is of French origin, which entered the Turkic languages via Russian mediation.

²⁶ Although the final consonant *-l* would imply Russian origin in Kalmyk of this Arab word, the change of *k>x* refers to a copy from Turkic, as the initial *k-* of Russian words, is usually preserved.

²⁷ Ramstedt did not make any suggestion for the origin of this word. Although it is of Persian origin, I think it was copied by Kalmyk from a Turkic language.

Kalm. *tetg* 'Flintendrucker, Feder des Flintenschlosses' (KWb 394a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *tetik* 'vsjakij steržen', na ktorom čto-l. vraščaetsja; časti mehanizma; škvoren'; apparat, organ', Kaz. —, Tat. —;
 Kalm. *tob* 'Kanone; Kanonenkugel, Bombe'²⁸ (KWb 396b), cf. MKalm. *tow* 'puška' (Mun. 499), Oir.Dial. Xj *tow* 'puška' (Todaeva 326); ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *top* '1. mjač; 2. puška', Kaz. —, Tat. *tup* 'mjač, mjačik; orudie, puška';

Natural environment

■ Names of plants

Kalm. *akčr*²⁹ 'Ahorn' (KWb 6a), MKalm. *agč* 'klen; klenovyj' (Mun. 26), Oir.Dial. Xj *agči* 'klen; klenovyj' (Todaeva 21) ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *āgaš* 'derevo; drevesina; les', Kir. *žigač* 'derevo', Tat. *agač* 'derevo';
 Kalm. *anr* 'Granatapfel' (KWb 11a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. Xj *anar* 'granat' (Todaeva 31); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *anar* 'granat', Kir. *anar* 'granat', Tat. *anar* 'granat, granatovyj';
 Kalm. *bad'ān* 'D bot. Sternanis' (KWb 27a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic,³⁰ cf. Kaz. —, Kir. —, Tat. *bad'yan* 'bad'jan kitajskij, zvezdčatyj anis';
 Kalm. *batrāš* 'Minze, Krauseminze' (KWb 36b), MKalm. *batrāš/batrš* 'mjata' (Mun. 85), Oir.Dial. —; ← ?Turkic;³¹
 Kalm. *boštl* 'Erle, Erlenholz' (KWb 53a), MKalm. *boštl* 'ol'ha' (Mun. 112), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic?³²
 Kalm. *čöb* 'Ö (aus dem Tarantschinischen) Heu, Gras, Futter (für Pferde)' (KWb 444b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *šöp* 'kormovye travy; seno; trava'; Kir. *čöp* 'trava, seno', Tat. —;
 Kalm. *kāg* 'ein hohes, dunkelgrünes Gras (gern von Pferden gefressen)' (KWb 222a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, Ba, Kho *kāg* (Colö 523) ← Turkic,³³ cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *kīyak* ~ *kīygak* 'ostrec', Tat. *kīyak üläne* 'ostrec, osoka';

²⁸ Cf. Kalm. *topči* 'Kanonier'; *toptā* 'mit Kanonen' KWb 401a.

²⁹ The final vowel -i of the Kalmyk word seems to be of secondary origin, being a vowel which solves the consonantal collision.

³⁰ Ramstedt indicated a Kazakh origin in Kalmyk, but the present-day dictionaries do not contain this word. Both a copy from Tatar or Russian is possible.

³¹ According to Ramstedt this word is of Kazak origin in Kalmyk, but he does not quote the exact counterpart, just gives Osman Turkic *badrānj* as a parallel.

³² Ramstedt supposed a Turkic origin for this Kalmyk word. He quoted the form tar., čag. *bostan* 'Baumgarten, Baumschule'. This etymology remains doubtful. I cannot rule out the possibility however, that the word *boštl* is a compound, one element of which is the Turkic word *tal*, cf. Old Turkic *tāl* 'branch, twig, willow tree' (ED 489)

³³ Although the word is present in other Mongolic languages as well, cf. Bur. *x'āg* 'pyre', the initial consonant makes likely that the loanword is not a too old one.

Kalm. *kürs* 'Esche, Eschenholz' 250b, MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, but at the moment it seems to be impossible to ascertain from which Turkic variety the word was borrowed.

Kalm. *ot* 'Pflanze, Kraut; Kräuter (als Heilmittel)' (KWb 291a), MKalm. —, Oir. Dial. —; ← Turkic, but at the moment it seems to be impossible to ascertain from which Turkic language the word was borrowed, cf. Old Turkic *ot* 'grass, vegetation', which survives in practically every Turkic language.³⁴

Kalm. *sög* (*budān*) 'Hirse, Spelt' (KWb 333a), MKalm. *sög* 'krupa, pšeno' (Mun. 457), Oir.Dial. T *sög* (Colō 749); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *sök* 'pšeno; sečka; obrabotan-noe pšeno', Kir. *sök* 'pšeno', Tat. —;

Kalm. *sul'ī* 'Ö T Hafer' (KWb 336b), MKalm. *sul'* 'oves' (Mun. 460), Oir.Dial. —; Probably ← ?Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *sulu* 'oves', Tat. *solī* 'oves', but cf. Mong. *suli* 'steppe feather grass', and Khal. *sul'* id.

Kalm. *terg* 'D ein Baum: Pappel od. Espe' (KWb 393a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *terek* 'topol', Kir. *terek* 'topol', Tat. *tirāk* 'topol';

■ Names of animals

▷ Mammals

Kalm. *ayu* 'Bär' (KWb 5a), MKalm. *ayu* 'medved' (Mun. 60), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *ayū* (Colō 28), Xj *ayū* 'medved' (Todaeva 24); ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 73–74), cf. Kaz. *ayu* 'medved', Kir. *ayū* 'medved', Tat. *ayu* 'medved';

Kalm. *barg*, *barg nohā* 'Hothund, Wachthund, eine kraushaarige Hunderasse' (KWb 34a), MKalm. *barg* 'storoževoj pes; dvornjažka' (Mun. 81), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 74), cf. Kaz. *baraq* 'kosmatyj', Kir. *barak* 'lohmatyj, kosmatyj, s dlinnoj šerst'ju', Tat. —;

Kalm. *borsg* 'Dachs' (KWb 52a), MKalm. *borsg* 'barsuk' (Mun. 111), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 74–75), cf. Kaz. *borsiq* 'barsuk', Kir. —, Tat. *bursik* 'barsuk, barsučij';

Kalm. *boydäg* 'männliches Schaf im zweiten Jahre, vorjähriges Lamm' (KWb 49a) MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *boydaq* 'holostjak, holostoj'; Kir. *boydok* 'holostoj, holostjak', Tat. *buydak* 'holostoj, neženatij, nesemejnij, odinokij; holostoj';

Kalm. *kičig* 'junges (des Hundes); kiči-kiči 'anruf an junge Hunde' (KWb 233b), MKalm. *kičg* 'ščenok' (Mun. 303), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *kičik* (Colō 556), Xj *kičig* 'ščenok' (Todaeva 201); ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 77), cf. Kaz. *kiši* 'mladšij; molože', Kir. *kičik* 'malyj, malen'kij; mladšij', Tat. *köček* 'ščenok';

³⁴ It is sure, however, that the word was borrowed in a late period, since in no other Mongolic language does the word appear.

Kalm. *kīsr* 'Ö unfruchtbar, gelt (von Tieren)' (KWb 234b), MKalm. *kīsr* 'jalovost'; jalovyj (o životnom)' (Mun. 299), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qīsīr* 'jalovaja, netel', Kir. *kīsīr* 'jalovaja, netel', Tat. *kīsīr* 'jalovaja, nestel'naja; nežerebaja';³⁵ Kalm. *kōrg* 'irgendein kleines Pelztier: das gestreifte Eichhorn' (KWb 243b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← ?Turkic,³⁶ cf. Kir. *kōrūk* 'kuznečnyj meh'; Kalm. *marxā* 'D nicht ausgetragenes Lamm' (KWb 257b), MKalm. *marxa* 'hudoj, toščij', Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 78), cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *marka* 'jag-nenok', Tat. —; Kalm. *may temān* 'Ö Kamel ohne Höcker, Bastard von ein- und zweihöckerigen Kamelen' (KWb 254b), MKalm. *mai temān* 'odnogorbyj verbljud, dromader' (Mun. 339), Oir.Dial. Xj *may temān* 'odnogorbyj verbljud, dromader' (Todaeva 223); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *maya* 'verbljudica'; Kir. *maya tō* 'staraja verbljudica', Tat. —; Kalm. *nar temān* 'Ö Bastard des einhöckerigen Kamels mit dem zweihöckerigen' (KWb 272a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *nar* 'odnogorbyj verbljud', Kir. *nar* 'odnogorbyj verbljud', Tat. *nar* 'odnogorbyj verbljud';

▷ Birds

Kalm. *bil* (*nuysn*) 'eine Enteart, die Teilweise rot ist; Pfeifente' (KWb 44b), MKalm. *bil* 'selezen' (Mun. 99), Oir.Dial. —; ← ?Turkic;³⁷ Kalm. *keklig* 'ein Vogel: Rebhuhn?' (KWb 223a), MKalm. *xeklg* 'kuropatka', Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 80), cf. Kaz. *kekilik* 'kuropatka', Kir. *kekilik* 'keklik, kamennaja kuropatka', Tat. —; Kalm. *kōgwš* 'ein Vogel: Enterich (?); Grünspan, Kupferoxyd'³⁸ (KWb 236b), MKalm. *kōkwš* 'sinica; okis' medi' (Mun. 313), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Tat. *kūkebaš* 'medunica; hohlatka' ~ *kūkbaš* 'vasilek', Kaz. —, Kir. —; Kalm. *sār'cē* 'ein Raubvogel: Würgfalte (mask.)' (KWb 319a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. —, Tat. *sariča* 'saryč (vid jastreba)';

▷ Other

Kalm. *bī* od. *bī xorxā* 'Skorpionspinne' (KWb 47b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *böyü* 'tarantul', Kaz. *büyi* 'tarantul', Tat. *böye* 'tarantul'; Kalm. *xorwā* 'ein Fisch, Weissfisch' (KWb 189a), MKalm. *xorw* 'beluga' (Mun. 598), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *kurtpa* 'beluga', Kir. —, Tat. *kirpi baligi* 'beluga';

³⁵ The origin of the long vowel in the Kalmyk word remains unclear.

³⁶ Cf. the data quoted by Ramstedt as a parallel: bar. *küäräk* with the same meaning as that of the Kalmyk word.

³⁷ Ramstedt indicates a Kirgiz counterpart, which is not present in modern dictionaries, cf. *bilä* 'Ente'.

³⁸ The word is also listed under the names of different materials.

Kalm. *sazn*, *sazān* 'grosser Karpfen' (KWb 316b), MKalm. *sazn* 'sazan' (Mun. 436), Oir.Dial. —; ← ?Turkic,³⁹ cf. Kaz. *sazan* 'sazan', Kir. *sazan* 'sazan', Tat. *sazan* 'sazan'; Kalm. *šayāl* od. *šayāl čon* 'Schakal' (KWb 344a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *šaqa* ~ *šaqa* 'šakal', Kir. —, Tat. —;

Social environment

Kalm. *aγā* 'Fürstin, Herrin, Frau (die Gemahlin des *nojn*)' (KWb 2b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *ağa* 'staršij, staršij brat', Kir. *aga* 'staršij brat; djadja; staršij rodstvennik', Tat. *aga* 'aga (*počtitel'noe obraščenje vzroslyh mužčin k svoim staršim brat'jam*)';

Kalm. *ak-saxāl* (> *aksāxāl*) 'Aksakal, Weissbart (in Märchen)' (KWb 5a), cf. MKalm. *ag* 'redko belyj' (Mun. 25); Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *aksakal* 'obraščenje k počtennomu staromu čeloveku; uvažаемyj staryj čelovek', Kir. *aksakal* 'sedoborodyj; staršina; starejšina; patriarh; aksakal', Tat. *aksakal* 'belaja boroda, aksakal, starejšina roda';

Kalm. *baldr* 'Ö (selten) Schwägerin (Schwester der Frau)' (KWb 3ob), MKalm. *baldr* 'polukrovka; metis; pomes' (Mun. 79), Oir.Dial. Xj *baldar* 'metis; pomes; polukrovka' (Todaeva 54); ← Turkic. Phonetically this word belongs to the early layer; however, it is not present in other Mongolic languages. Cf. Kaz. *baldiz* 'svojačnica; sestre ženj', Kir. *baldiz* 'svojačenica', Tat. *baldiz* 'svojačenica'; cf. Old Turkic *baldir* 'step son' (ED 333)

Kalm. *bāw* 'Vater, Papa, Onkel' (KWb 38a), MKalm. *bāw* 'otec, papa; djadja' (Mun. 71), Oir.Dial. T *bāw* (Colō 85), Xj *bāwa* 'batjuška' (Todaeva 49); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *baba* 'ded; praded; predok', Kir. *baba* 'ded; predok' ~ *babay* 'starik', Tat. *baba* 'ded, deduška' ~ *babay* 'starik; ded, deduška; djadja; test';

Kalm. *bāyūš* 'D arm, elend; armer Teufel' (KWb 39b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *baygus* 'bednjaga; bespomoščnyj; nesčastnyj', Kir. *baykuš* 'bednjaga, bednjažka', Tat. *baygış* 'bednjaga, bednjažka';

Kalm. *bōls*, *bōlst* 'D Bezirk' (KWb 53b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← ?Turkic,⁴⁰ cf. Kaz. *bolis* 'volostnoj, volost', Kir. *boluš* 'volost', Tat. —;

Kalm. *čopan* 'D Schafhirt' (KWb 444a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *šopan* 'čaban', Kir. *čaban* (← Russian), Tat. —;

Kalm. *iš* 'Mutter' *iš xadm* 'Schwiegermutter' (KWb 21ob), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *äš* 'opora, podderžka; nadežda; redko drug', Kir. —, Tat. —;

³⁹ It appears that the word was borrowed both from some Turkic language and from Russian. The long vowel reflects a Russian accent.

⁴⁰ It is not easy to decide if the word was borrowed from a Turkic language, or directly from Russian, cf. Russian *volost*.

- Kalm. *xaznā* 'Schatz, Schatzkammer, die Krone, Regierung' (KWb 175a), MKalm. *xazn* 'kazna' (Mun. 568), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qazına* 'cennost', klad; dostojanoe; sokrovišče; bogatstvo; kazna, Kir. *kazna* ~ *kazına* 'sokroviščina', Tat. *kazna* 'kazna, kaznačestvo, finansy';
- Kalm. *xoǰākā* [*qoǰa aka*] 'D n. pr. m.' (KWb 181a); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qoǰa* 'hozjain; vladelec; vладыka; hodža', Kir. *kožo* 'hodža; potomok pervyh halifov', Tat. *xuža* 'hozjain, vladelec; soderžatel';
- Kalm. *köššlīg* 'Fährmann; Überfahrer' (KWb 241b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *köš-* 'kočevat'; pereseljat'sja; perehodit' s mesta na mesto, Kir. *köčüş* 'i. d. ot köč-' 'kočevat', pereseljat'sja, Tat. *küčeš* 'perehod';⁴¹
- Kalm. *közā* in *ežā közā ugā* 'unbewohnt, herrenlos' (KWb 243a), MKalm. —, Oir. Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qoǰa* 'hozjain; vladelec; vладыka; hodža', Kir. *kožo* 'hodža; potomok pervyh halifov', Tat. *xuža* 'hozjain, vladelec; soderžatel';
- Kalm. *örmäči* 'Weber' (KWb 300a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; Although in MKalm. there appears the word *örmč* 'buril'sčik' (Mun. 425), for semantic reasons this word has to be excluded as a counterpart of the Kalm. word. ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *örmeši* 'šornik', Kir. *örmöčü* 'pletel'sčik', cf. Tat. *ürme* 'pletenka, zavitok, opletka';
- Kalm. *taryāš* 'D Handelsmann (mit Karawane)' (KWb 380a), MKalm. *taryāš* 'torgovec (na telege)' (Mun. 478), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, Kaz. —, Kir. —, Tat. *torgaš* 'torgaš';⁴²
- Kalm. *toxm* 'Rasse, Herkunft, Stamm; Nachkommenschaft' (KWb 397b), MKalm. *toxm* 'poroda' (Mun. 510), Oir.Dial. Xj *toxom* 'rod, pokolenie; proishoždenie' (Todaeva 335); ← Turkic,⁴³ cf. Kaz. *tuqım* 'zerno; potomki; semja; semena; plod; potomstvo; pokolenie; poroda; rod', Kir. *tukum* 'semja, semena', Tat. *tokim* 'poroda; potomstvo, potomok';
- Kalm. *tuñgš* 'Ö die älteste, erstgeborene Sohn' (KWb 411a) MKalm. —, Oir. Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *tuñǵıš* 'vpervye; perevenec; pervoroždennyj', Kir. *tuñuč* 'pervenec', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *yalči* ~ *yal'či* 'Arbeiter, Knecht' (KWb 214b), MKalm. *yalč* 'batrak' (Mun. 709), Oir.Dial. Xj *yalči* 'batrak; sluga' (Todaeva 180) ← Turkic,⁴⁴ cf. Kaz. *žalši* 'naemnyj rabotnik; batrak; naemnik', Kir. *žalči* 'naemnyj rabotnik, batrak, naemnik', Tat. *yalči* 'naemnyj rabočij, podenščik, batrak, naemščik';

⁴¹ Although it is highly probable that the word exists in Kazakh and Kirgiz, and Tatar, the Kazak form *köšüşlik* quoted by Ramstedt is not present in the modern dictionaries.

⁴² Ramstedt marks a Tatar origin of this word in Kalmyk. It cannot be excluded, however, that it was borrowed directly from Russian.

⁴³ Ramstedt marked a Kazakh origin of this word in Kalmyk. The vocalism of the word, however, makes it clear that the word was borrowed from Tatar.

⁴⁴ Ramstedt indicated a Kazakh origin of this word, quoting the form *yalči* 'Frondiener'. In Kazakh, however, the initial consonant seems to be ž-, cf. Kaz. *žalši* 'naemnyj rabotnik; batrak; naemnik', which makes a Tatar origin of this word more probable.

■ Body-part terms

Kalm. *altn* 'weibliche Schamteile; D. auch Keuschheit' (KWb 8a), MKalm. —, Oir.

Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz —, Kir. *ald*, *aldī* 'niz, nižnjaja čast', Tat. —;

Kalm. *keñgrtëg* 'Ö die kleine Grube unter dem Halsknorpel od. Adamsapfel; Brust' (KWb 226a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *kekirtek* 'traheja, dyhatel'noe gorlo; glotka', Tat. —;

Kalm. *kökl* 'Haarflechte, Stirnhaar, Haarbüschel' (KWb 237a), MKalm. —, Oir. Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *kökül* 'čelka; kosički, spuskajuščiesja na viski', Tat. —;

Kalm. *sayag* 'Ö die langen Haare hinter dem Pferdehufe od. unter dem Unterkeifer (des Pferdes)' (KWb 308a), MKalm. *sayg* 'pučok šersti, ščetka (na noge lošadi)' (Mun. 435), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *sayäk* (Colö 734); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *sagak* '(u čeloveka) vtoroj podborodok; (u životnogo) podgrudok', Tat. —;

Kalm. *šidwr* 'D Bastsack (auch *čidwr* genannt)' (KWb 355b), MKalm. —, Oir. Dial. —; Ramstedt marks a Kirgiz origin for this word, cf. Kir. *šetpär*, but it is not possible to trace that in the standard dictionaries.

■ Diseases

Kalm. *bezgëg* 'Fieber, Malaria' (KWb 43b), MKalm. *bezg* 'maljarija' (Mun. 93), Oir. Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 74), cf. Kaz. *bezgek* 'vesnjanka; lihoradka; maljarija', Kir. *bezgek* 'maljarija, lihoradka', Tat. *bizgäk* 'lihoradka, maljarija';

Kalm. *mañgär* 'Katzenjammer' (KWb 256b), MKalm. *mañyär* 'pohmel'e' (Mun. 342), cf. Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *mañgärläxxä* (Colö 611) ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *mañirau* 'blejanie; blejat'; zablejat', Kir. —, Tat. —;

Kalm. *mers gem* ~ *mërs* 'venerische Krankheit' (KWb 262ab), MKalm. —, Oir. Dial. —; ← ?Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *maraz* 'durnaja bolezn' (*sifilis*), Tat. —;

Material culture

■ Terms connected to agriculture

Kalm. *arš* 'Ö Femerstange, Deichsel = D Ö *čirgül*, *čilgür*' (KWb 15a), MKalm. *arš* 'dyšlo, ogloblja' (Mun. 52), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 73), cf. Kaz. *ariš* 'ostov (*telegi*)', Kir. —, Tat. —;⁴⁵

Kalm. *ambār* 'D. (neol.) Speicher, Vorratshaus' (KWb. 9a), MKalm. *ambar* 'ambar; kladovaja' (Mun. 39), Oir.Dial. —; ← ?Turkic⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Räsänen quotes several forms with a final -š, but these do not appear in standard dictionaries. See, however, Old Turkic *ariš* 'the warp of woven fabric' (ED 239).

⁴⁶ Although Ramstedt marks a Tatar origin of this word in Kalmyk, I do not find any evidence which could underpin that the word was not directly borrowed from Russian.

- Kalm. *ašlū* 'Tw eine flache Mulde' (KWb 17a), MKalm. *ašlu* 'lotok, koryto' (Mun. 60), Oir.Dial. J, T, Ö, U *ašlū* 'koryto' (Colō 48); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. —, Tat. *ašlau* 'dial. bol'saja derevjannaja čaša';
- Kalm. *xämüd* D (= *xamūd*) 'Kummet' (KWb 177a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qamūt* 'homut', Kir. —, Tat. *kamūt* 'homut; *peren.* obuza, tjağ-ost', yarmo, homut, bremja';
- Kalm. *xudsxä* 'Schwanzriemen' (KWb 195a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Old Turkic *kudurgun* 'the crupper of a saddle', and cf. *xudryä* of the Old layer.
- Kalm. *köšür* 'Achsenholz des Wagens, Achse' (KWb 241b), MKalm. *köšür* 'os' (Mun. 320), Oir.Dial. Dö, Ba, Kho *köšürüg* (Colō 581); Xj *köšür* (Todaeva 213) ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *köšir* 'kučer; voznicā'; Kir. *köčür* 'kučer'; Tat. *küčär* 'os', steržen';
- Kalm. *šalyä* 'D Sense = čalya Ö' (KWb 346b), MKalm. *šaly* 'kosa' (Mun. 662), Oir. Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *šalgı* 'kosa', Kir. —, Tat. *čalgı* 'kosa';
- Kalm. *tog* 'Dreschtente' (KWb 397a), ?MKalm. *tog* 'tok, gumno' (Mun. 500), Oir. Dial. —; ← ?Turkic⁴⁷
- Kalm. *zemšlig* 'Fruchtgarten' (KWb 473a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *žemiš* 'plod, frukty', Kir. *žemiš* 'plod, frukty', Tat. *žimeš* 'plod, frukt', with the denominal noun suffix +*lig*.

■ Food⁴⁸

- Kalm. *balg* 'getrockneter Fisch' (KWb 31a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *balıq* 'ryba, rybačij; rybij; rybnyj'; Kir. *balık* 'ryba', Tat. *balık* 'ryba';⁴⁹
- Kalm. *bil'ān*, *bilān* 'D Pfannkuchen' (KWb 44b), MKalm. *bilān* 'bliny' (Mun. 99), Oir.Dial. —; The word itself is of Russian origin, but Ramstedt supposes a Turkic mediation.
- Kalm. *börg* = *bürg* 'Fleischkuchen, Fleischpastete' (KWb 56a, 67b), MKalm. *börg* 'mjasnye pel'meni', Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic⁵⁰ (Rassadin 1983: 75);
- Kalm. *bulmäg* 'dünne, geklopfte Suppe mit Mehl, Butter und Schmand' (KWb 60b), MKalm. *bulmg* 'bulmak, salamata' (Mun. 118), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 75), cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *bulamık* 'boltuška (*pohlebka*)', Tat. *bolamyk* 'gustaja mučnaja boltuška; kisel' iz muki';

⁴⁷ Although Ramstedt marks a Tatar origin of this word in Kalmyk, I do not find any evidence which could underpin that the word was not directly borrowed from Russian.

⁴⁸ Since I included here some fruits and vegetables, there is some overlap between this category and that of the names of plants.

⁴⁹ Beside the Turkic origin, borrowing from Russian is possible as well.

⁵⁰ Although Ramstedt quotes the Russian word '*pirog*' as a parallel of this word, it seems to be clear that it originates from a Turkic language, cf. Old Turkic *bürük*.

- Kalm. *burš* 'Pfeffer' (KWb 62a), MKalm. *burš* 'perec' (Mun. 121), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 75), cf. Kaz. *burış* 'perec', Kir. *murč* 'perec', Tat. *borič* 'perec';
- Kalm. *celwëg* 'Pfannkuchen, Fladen', MKalm. *celwg* 'kruglaja lepeška', Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 80), cf. Kaz. *šelpek* 'lepeška', Kir. *čelpek* 'bol'saja tonkaja lepeška, pečennaja v žire', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *injr* 'Feige' (KWb 208b), MKalm. *injr* 'inžir' (Mun. 270), Oir.Dial. —; Although neither in Kazakh, nor in Kirgiz is the word attestable, a borrowing from a Turkic language suggested by Ramstedt is more probable than supposing a direct Persian origin.
- Kalm. *xal's*, *xalāš* 'Weissbrot; r. kalač'" (KWb 163), MKalm. *xal's* 'hleb (belyj)' (Mun. 573), Oir.Dial. —; ← ?Turkic,⁵¹ cf. Kir. *kalač* 'kalač, hlebec, pečennij bez žira v kotle'.
- Kalm. *xawäg* 'DÖ Kürbis' (KWb 173b), MKalm. *xawg* 'tykva' (Mun. 561), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *kabak* 'tykva', Kaz. *qabaqtay* 'tykvopodobnyj; tolstjak';
- Kalm. *xawstā* 'D u xawstn D Kohl' (KWb 174b), MKalm. *xawstn* 'kapusta' (Mun. 562), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *kapusta* 'kapusta', Kir. *kapusta* 'kapusta', Tat. *käbestä* 'kapusta';⁵²
- Kalm. *xayār* 'Tw Gurke (=D ayürcäg)' (KWb 181a), MKalm. *xayar* 'ogurec' (Mun. 585), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 80), cf. Kaz. *qıyar* 'ogurec', Kir. —, Tat. *kıyar* 'ogurec';
- Kalm. *kandā* ~ *xandā* 'Sirup, Essenz' (KWb 221b), MKalm. *kand* 'ëssencija, nas-tojka' (Mun. 284), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *kandā* (Colö 522), Xj *kanda* 'nastoj, êkstrakt, ëssencija' (Todaeva 187); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qant* 'sahar', Kir. *kant* 'sahar', Tat. —;⁵³
- Kalm. *ödmëg* 'Brot' (KWb 293a), MKalm. *ödmg* 'hleb' (Mun. 412), Oir.Dial. T, U *ödmüg* (Colö 703); ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 79), cf. Kaz. —, Kir. —, Tat. *ikmäk* 'hleb', Old Turkic *ätmäk* ~ *ötmäk* 'bread' (ED 60);
- Kalm. *örg* 'Pflaume' (KWb 298b), MKalm. *örg* 'sliva' (Mun. 423), Oir.Dial. *örüg* (Colö 718), Xj *öreg* 'sliva' (Todaeva 276) ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 79), cf. Kaz. *örük* 'abrikos; urjuk', Kir. *örük* 'abrikos, urjuk', Tat. *örek* 'urjuk, abrikos';
- Kalm. *sür maxän* 'geräuchertes Fleisch' (KWb 341a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *sür* 'vjalenyj'; Kir. *sür* 'vjalenyj', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *šabdül* 'Ö Pfirsich (eine besondere kleinere Pfirsichart)' (KWb 343a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *šabdali* 'persik', Kir. *šabdali* 'persik', Tat. *šäftalu* ~ *šaptali* 'persik';

⁵¹ A direct borrowing from Russian is unlikely because the word shows the change $k > x$.

⁵² The word was by all means borrowed from a Turkic language, otherwise a Russian original would result in a long vowel because of the accent.

⁵³ Cf. Khalkha *xand* 'extract, decoction'. Indeed it seems to be sure that the Kalmyk word was borrowed at a relatively later period, cf. the initial consonant.

- Kalm. *šag* 'Kleie od. Häcksel, D Überbleibsel (vom Heu, schilf od. ähnl.), Ö Überbleibsel in der Krippe; Ö Hülsen der Hirse, die als Pferdefutter verwendet werden' (KWb 343b), MKalm. *šag* 'osadki (židkosti)' (Mun. 660), Oir.Dial. Xj *šag* 'osadki na dne; ostatki' (Todaeva 447); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *šak* 'tolčeno proso, prosjanaja krupa, upotrebljaemaja dlja prigotovlenija buzy', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *šikr* 'Zucker' (KWb 356a), MKalm. *šikr* 'sahar' (Mun. 671), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *šikīr* (Colō 776), Xj *šiker* 'sahar' (Todaeva 454); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *šeker* 'sahar'; Kaz. *šeker* 'sahar', Tat. *šikār* 'sahar';
- Kalm. *šügldūr* 'Runkelrübe, rote Rübe' (KWb 370b), MKalm. *šügldūr* 'morkovka' (Mun. 685), Oyr. Dial. —; ← ?Turkic⁵⁴
- Kalm. *tarws* 'Arbuse, Wassermelone' (KWb 381b), MKalm. *tarvs* 'arbuz' (Mun. 478), Oir.Dial. Xj *tarwas* 'arbuz' (Todaeva 314); ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *tarbiz* 'arbuz', cf. Kaz. *qarbiz* 'arbuz', Tat. *karbiz* 'arbuz';
- Kalm. *toyš* 'D Brezel, in Wasser gekochter kleiner Kringel' (KWb 397b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 80), cf. Kaz. *toqaš* 'bublik; pljuška'; Kir. *tokoč* 'hleb domašnego prigotovlenija', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *yañxäg* 'Walnuss' ~ *yañgäg* (Pozd. Zwick) (KWb 215b), MKalm. *yañyg* 'oreh, orehi' (Mun. 710), Oir.Dial. Xj *yañyag* 'greckij oreh' (Todaeva 181); ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 81), probably from Uyghur. The initial consonant, and the fact that the word is present in the language of the Mongolian Oirads makes it unlikely that the word was borrowed from Kazak or Kirgiz which have an initial ž-, cf. Kir. *žañgak* 'greckij oreh', Kaz. *žañgaq* 'oreh; greckij oreh'; At the same time an early date of borrowing may be excluded as well, cf. Old Turkic *yağak* 'nut' (ED 900);
- Kalm. *zemš* (cf. *zems*) 'Frucht, Früchte, Obst' (KWb 473a) (also cf. *zer zemš* < *yer yemiš* id.), MKalm. *zemš* 'plod, plody; frukty' (Mun., 247), Oir.Dial. Dö, Ba *dzems* ~ Dö, J, T, Ö, U *zemsē* (Colō 247), Xj *zemes* ~ *zemeš* ~ *jimes* 'frukty, plody' (Todaeva 157); ← Turkic. The different final consonants present in the Kalmyk and Oirad indicate that there happened several borrowings that could take place in different periods, or/and different languages. Cf. Kir. *žemiš* 'plod, frukty'; Kaz. *žemis* 'plod, frukty; jagody; korneplody', Tat. *žimeš* 'plod, frukt;

⁵⁴ Although Ramstedt marks a Turkic origin of this word, in Kirgiz there does not seem to be present any word that could be the donor for such a loanword.

■ Beverages

Kalm. *boz* 'was von der saueren Milch, übrig bleibt, wenn Branntwein gekocht ist: "Maische"' (KWb 53a), MKalm. *boz* 'bozo'⁵⁵ ~ *buz* 'napitok' (Mun. 104, 116), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *bozā* (Colö 112), Xj *bozo* 'bozo, gušča, ostajuščajasja posle peregonki moločnoj vodki' (Todaeva 69); ← Turkic⁵⁶

Kalm. *čayār* 'D Wein = šayār' (KWb 436b), MKalm. *čayr* 'vino' (Mun. 644), Oir. Dial. T *čagār* (Colö 849); ← Turkic,⁵⁷ cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *čagır* 'vodka, razbavlen-naja buzoj; mjasnoj bul'on, razbavlennyj kumysom', Tat. —;

Kalm. *širkē* 'To Essig; saueres Getränk' (KWb 360b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *sirke sui* 'uksus', Kir. *sirke* 'uksus', Tat. *serkä* 'uksus';

■ Everyday utensils

Kalm. *bākrs*, *bakrs*, *bākrsn*, *bakrsn* 'Kasserolle, kleiner Kessel mit Griff und Deckel' (KWb 38a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *baqıraš* 'vederko; vedro', Kir. —, Tat. —;

Kalm. *buryū* 'Bohrer' (KWb 62a), MKalm. *buryū* 'burav, kolovorot; sverlo' (Mun. 120), Oir.Dial. Xj *buryū* 'burav, sverlo' (Todaeva 80) ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *burgı* 'burovaja; zarubnik; sverlo'; Kir. *burgu* 'burav, sverlo', Tat. *borau* 'doloto (*u neft-janikov*)';

Kalm. *xarmāg* 'Stickornament' (KWb 169b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qarmaq* 'udočka; krjučok', Kir. *karmak* 'udočka'; Tat. *karmak* 'krjučok, udočka';

Kalm. *xasb* 'Tw Fleischhandel, Fleisch zum Verkauf' (KWb 171a), MKalm. *xasw* 'mjaso (dlja prodoži)' (Mun. 582), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *kasap* 'mja-sotorgovlja', Kir. *kasap* 'mjasnik', Tat. *kassap* 'mjasnik';

Kalm. *xašg* 'Ö Löffel' (KWb 172a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *xašāk* (Colö 393), Xj *xašig* 'ložka' (Todaeva 393); ← Turkic,⁵⁸ cf. Kaz. *kašik* 'ložka', Kir. *kašik* 'ložka', Tat. *kašik* 'ložka';

Kalm. *žilķē* 'Segel, Segelboot' (KWb 110a), MKalm. *žilķ* 'parus', Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 76), cf. Kaz. *želken* 'parus', Kir. —, Tat. *žilkän* 'parus, vetrilo';

⁵⁵ Cf. the meaning 'seryj (o cvete glaz)' listed under Kalmyk *boz*, which is ← Turkic, cf. Old Turkic *bōz* 'grey' (ED 388).

⁵⁶ Ramstedt suggests that the word was borrowed from Kazakh *boza* 'braga; buza', the word is present in other Mongolic languages as well, cf. Khal. *boj* 'milk brandy', Buriad *bozo* 'barda', so an earlier borrowing from an undefined Turkic language is more probable.

⁵⁷ Ramstedt supposed that the word was borrowed from a Caucasian language. Since the word is present in the language of the Mongolian Oirads as well, this is not too probable.

⁵⁸ Cf. the Mong. word *qalbay-a* 'spoon'.

- Kalm. *kepķūr* 'Durchschlag, Schaumlöffel, ein eisernes Sieb mit Griff' (KWb 226a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *kepķir* ~ *kepķūr* 'šumovka (*ploskaja*)', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *kerāčn* 'Zug von Lastwagen, Tross' (KWb 227a); cf. Kalm. *kirāčn* 'Karawane, Fuhrenzug; Karawanenleute', MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *kireši* 'izvozčik; vozčik; oboznik', Kir. *kireči* 'podvodčik; perevozčik kladī', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *kermn* 'D, *kerm* Schiff, Boot' (KWb 227b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← ?Turkic⁵⁹
- Kalm. *kiwīd* 'T Bude, Laden' (KWb 233b), MKalm. *kiwīd* 'lavka, larek; kiosk' (Mun. 298), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. —, Tat. *kibet* 'lavka, larek, lavočka' cf. Kalm. *kīd* 'kleines Kloster' (KWb 234a)
- Kalm. *köpčīg* 'Sattelkissen (auf dem Sattel)' (KWb 240b), MKalm. *köwccg* 'sedel'naja poduška', Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 77), cf. Kaz. *köpšik* 'poduška', Kir. *köpčūk* 'podstilka na sedlo', Tat. *küpček* 'sedel'naja poduška';
- Kalm. *közellūr*⁶⁰ 'Brille' (= D *kozldūr*) (KWb 243a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *közöldirik* 'očki', Kir. *közöldürük* 'očki', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *namā* 'Bottich, Zuber' (KWb 271a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *naua* 'kormuška; koloda; lotok; želob' Kir. *nō* 'želob, koloda, kuda kladut sol' dlja skota', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *naswā* 'ÖD Schnupftabak' (KWb 272b), MKalm. *naswā* 'njuhatel'nyj tabak' (Mun. 369), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *nas mā* (Colö 651); Xj *nasvā* ~ *nas mā* 'njuhatel'nyj tabak' (Todaeva 244) ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 78), cf. Kaz. *nasibay* 'njuhatel'nyj tabak', Kir. *nasibay* ~ *naspay* ~ *asmay* 'nasvaj', Tat. *nasvay* 'nasvaj';
- Kalm. *orndāg* 'Bettstelle, Bett (von Holz)' (KWb 289b), MKalm. *orndg* 'krovat', postel', kojka' (Mun. 403), Oir.Dial. Xj *orondag* 'krovat', kojka' (Todaeva 264); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *orındıq* 'stul; taburetkā; skamejka', Kir. *orunduk* 'to, na čem sidjat', Tat. *urındik* 'stul; sidenie';
- Kalm. *otlāg* 'D Krippe' (KWb 291a), MKalm. *otlg* 'jasli' (Mun. 407), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 78), cf. Kaz. *ottik* 'kormuška', Kir. *ottok* 'pastbišče s horošej travoj, horošee pastbišče', Tat. *utlik* 'jasli, kormuška dlja skota';
- Kalm. *panr* 'Laterne' (KWb 305b), MKalm. *panr* 'fonar' (Mun. 428), Oir.Dial. —; ← ?Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *panar* 'fonar', Tat. —;⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ramstedt quotes the Tat. and Alt. forms *kārāp* as a parallel, and originates it from Russian *korabl'*. Although the parallels are not attested in our dictionaries, there are no phonetic reasons to doubt that the word was borrowed from a Turkic language, cf. Kalm. *kezzr* 'Trumpf im Spiel' ← Russian *kozыр'*.

⁶⁰ According to Ramstedt the ending *-ūr* is analogous. Indeed there is a Mongolic suffix, *-GUr* (true, it is deverbal), which derives names of tools.

⁶¹ A direct borrowing from Russian is possible as well.

Kalm. *beržē* 'D ein Frauenkostüm (vorn offen, mit langen Ärmeln)' (KWb 43a), MKalm. *berz* 'verhnee ženskoe plat'e' (Mun. 95), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *bereži* ~ *berenži* 'nazvanie materii', Kaz. —; Tat. —;

Kalm. *bōtg* ~ *bōtn'g* D *bōtēg* 'warme Pelzstrümpfe; strumpfhähnliche Fussbekleidung im Winter, Gamaschen' Ö *boytāg* (KWb 54a), MKalm. *bōtn'g* 'derbet. detskie mehovyje čulki' (Mun. 109), *bōt'g* 'teplye tufli' (Mun. 109), Oir.Dial. Dö, Ba, Kho *bōtāg* (Colö 122) ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *boyto* 'rod kožannyh čuvjak'; Tat. —;

Kalm. *bös* 'baumwollenes Zeug' (KWb 56b), MKalm. *bös* 'bjaz' (Mun. 115), Oir. Dial. Xj *bös* 'hlopčatobumažnaja tkan', *bjaz*' (Todaeva 76); ← Turkic,⁶⁵ cf. Kaz. *böz* 'bjaz', Kir. *böz* 'mata', Tat. *büz* ~ *büz* 'bjaz'; cf. Kalm. *büs* 'Gurt, Reif' (KWb 69b).

Kalm. *bürg* 'Ö (unsicher) leichter Sommerhut, Halmhut' (KWb 67b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *börük* 'borik; ušanka; šapka', Kir. *börk* ~ *börük* 'šapka', Tat. *bürek* 'šapka, papaha';

Kalm. *čapān* 'D Kaftan, langer offener Rock' (KWb 437), MKalm. *čapan* 'stegan-nyj halat' (Mun. 646); Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *šapan* 'pal'to; halat (mužskoj); čapan'; Kir. *čapan* 'čapan, halat', Tat. *čapan* 'čapan, dolgopolaja verhnjaja odežda';

Kalm. *indstn* 'D Musselin, Nesseltuch' (KWb 208b), MKalm. *indstn* 'kiseja' (Mun. 270), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Tat. *indus* 'indus; indusskij';⁶⁶

Kalm. *kilēg* 'Hemd' (KWb 234a), MKalm. *kilg* 'rubaha, rubaška; soročka' (Mun. 298), Oir.Dial. Dö, Ba, Kho *kilig*, *kilin* (Colö 558), Xj *kileñ* 'rubaska, soročka' (Todaeva 197) ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 77), cf. Kaz. *köylek* 'rubaska'; Kir. *köynök* 'rubaska; ženskoe plat'e'; Tat. *külmäk* 'rubaska, rubaha, soročka (mužskaja), plat'e (ženskoe)';

Kalm. *külmēg* D 'Hemd' (= *kilēg*) (KWb 245b), MKalm. *külmg* 'rubaska' (Mun. 324), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *köynök* 'rubaska; ženskoe plat'e'; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 78), cf. Kaz. *köylek* 'rubaska'; Kir. *köynök* 'rubaska; ženskoe plat'e'; Tat. *külmäk* 'rubaska, rubaha, soročka (mužskaja), plat'e (ženskoe)';

Kalm. *sat'yā* 'D Ö Saffianleder' (KWb 315a), MKalm. *sat'ya* 'saf'jan, saf'janovyj' (Mun. 443), Oir.Dial. Xj *sat'yā* 'saf'jan' (Todaeva 289); ← ?Turkic, cf. Kaz. *saqtiyan* 'saf'jan', Kir. *saktiyan* 'saf'jan', Tat. *säxtiyan* 'saf'jan';

Kalm. *šalwūr* 'Hosen; Pumphosen' (KWb 347b), MKalm. *šalwr* 'brjuki, štany' (Mun. 662), Oir.Dial. Dö, Ba, Kho *šalwūr*, J, T, Ö, U *šalbūr*, J *šalbār* (Colö 769), Xj *šalwar* 'brjuki' (Todaeva 448); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *šalbar* 'brjuki; štany; brjučnyj', Kir. —, Tat. *čalbar* 'brjuki; šarovary, štany';

⁶⁵ Cf. the word present in most Mongolic languages in the form *büse* 'girdle, belt', which is an early borrowing from a Turkic language.

⁶⁶ The form *industan* does not appear in standard dictionaries.

■ Terms connected to commerce

- Kalm. *ars^alāñ* ~ *arslāñ* 'Rubel [vgl. persische Münzen]' (KWb 14b), MKalm. *arslñ* 'lev; rubl', rubl' serebrom' (Mun. 51), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic;⁶⁹
- Kalm. *bazr* 'Basar, Dorf od. Stadt, Handelsplatz, Markt' (KWb 37a), MKalm. *bazr* 'bazar, rynek' (Mun. 77), Oir.Dial. Xj *bazar* 'bazar, rynek' (Todaeva 52); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *bazar* 'rynek', Kir. *bazar* 'bazar, rynek', Tat. *bazar* 'bazar, rynek';
- Kalm. *misxāl* Ö T D 'Lot', Ö 'eine Silbermünze von ugf. 20 Kopeken wert' (KWb 263a), MKalm. *misxl* 'zlotnik' (Mun. 353), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *misqal* 'zlotnik', Kir. *miskal* 'zlotnik', Tat. *miskal* 'zlotnik';⁷⁰
- Kalm. *šāl'ig* 'D Kupfermünze, Kupfergeld, Heller' (KWb 353b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic. The word comes from a Turkic form as *šahliḡ*, which, however, remains unattested in the dictionaries.

■ Names of different materials

- Kalm. *bax^ar* ~ *baxr* 'Flittergold o. -Silber; Flitter, Schimmer' (KWb 29a), MKalm. *baxr* 'mišura; sijanie, blesk' (Mun. 86), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 74), cf. Kaz. *bakir* 'vedro', Kir. *bakir* 'med', Tat. *bakir* 'med';
- Kalm. *balūs* 'Wachs' (KWb 32b), MKalm. *balvs* 'vosk' (Mun. 79), Oir.Dial. Dö, Kho *bal'ūs* T, Ba *bal'üz*, J, Ö *bālūz* (Colō 78); ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 74), cf. Kaz. *balauiz* 'vosk, voskovoij', Kir. —, Tat. *balaviz* 'vosk, voščina';
- Kalm. *bog* 'Schmutz, Kehrlicht; der irgendwo stecken bleibt' (KWb 48b), MKalm. *bog* 'musor, sor' (Mun. 102), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *bog* (Colō 103); Xj *bog* 'sor, musor, grjaz' (Todaeva 68); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *boq* 'kal, pomet', Kir. *bok* 'kal; der'mo; otbrosy', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *dag* 'Schmutz, Schmutzflecken' (KWb 72a), MKalm. *dag* 'grjaz' (Mun. 176), Oir.Dial. Xj *dag* 'grjaz' (Todaeva 111); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *daq* 'p'jatno; o'p'ečatok', Kir. *dak* ~ *tak* 'p'jatno, šram', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *gal köl* 'Feuer' (KWb 237b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *kül* 'zola, pepel', Kir. *kül* 'zola, pepel', Tat. *kül* 'zola, pepel';
- Kalm. *iš* 'Russ, Kienruss' (KWb 210b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Old Turkic *iš* 'soot, dirty smoke';
- Kalm. *xalā* Ö T *xalā* D 'Eisenblech' (KWb 162a), MKalm. *xalā* 'žest', žest'janoj' (Mun. 569), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 80), cf. Kaz. *kalayı* 'žest', olovo', Kir. *kalay* 'olovo', Tat. *kalay* 'žest';

⁶⁹ While it seems to be sure that the word was borrowed at a very early date from Turkic into Mongolic languages, the semantics of the word connected to the currency implies a late borrowing as well. It is worth noting that such a meaning disappeared from those Turkic languages with which Kalmyk came into contact.

⁷⁰ The long vowel in Ramstedt's data may reflect a borrowing from Russian, the modern form however, does not show any traces of the Russian accent.

- Kalm. *kögwš* 'ein Vogel: Enterich (?)'; Grünspan, Kupferoxyd'⁷¹ (KWb 236b), MKalm. *kökwš* 'sinica; okis' medi' (Mun. 313), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 77), cf. Kaz. —, Kir. —, Tat. *kükebaš* 'medunica; hohlatka', Tat. *kükbaš* 'vasilek';
- Kalm. *kükr* 'Schwefel', (KWb 245a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic,⁷² cf. Kaz. *kükirt* 'sera; spički', Kir. *kükürt* 'gorjučaja sera', Tat. *kükert* 'sera (gorjučaja)';
- Kalm. *šor* 'Salz, zu stark salzig und beinahe ungeniessbar' (KWb 364b), MKalm. *šor* 'peresolennyj' (Mun. 680), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *sor* 'solončak', Kir. *šor* 'solončak, solenyj', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *šült* 'Ö Pottasche, Lauge' (KWb 371a), MKalm. *šült* 'ščeleč' (Mun. 686), Oir. Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *silti* 'ščełoč', Kir. —, Tat. *selte* 'ščełoč'
- Kalm. *zeñgr* 'Vitriol' (KWb 473a), MKalm. *zeñkr* 'kuporos' (Mun. 247), Oir. Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. —, Tat. *zāñgār* 'sinij, golubož'

Abstraction

- Kalm. *akād* 'sonderbar, wunderbar, merkwürdig' (KWb 5a), MKalm. *akād* 'somnitel'nyj, strannyj; somnitel'no, stranno' (Mun. 31), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *akād* 'ser'joznyj ne po vozrastu rebenok' (Colō 30), Xj *akād* 'strannyj, udivitel'nyj' (Todaeva 25) ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *ağat*⁷³ 'neobdumannyj; nepravil'nyj; ošibočnyj'.
- Kalm. *aldnd* 'zurzeit; gerade als' (KWb 6b), MKalm. *aldnd* 'počti; okolo; kak raz v tot moment' (Mun. 34), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *aldād* 'primerno v to vremja okolo' (Colō 32) Xj *aldanda* 'kak raz, rovno, v tot (étot) moment' (Todaeva 26); ← Turkic,⁷⁴ cf. Kaz. *aldında* 'vpered';
- Kalm. *alñ* 'verwundert, zweifelnd, unentschlossen' (KWb 7b), MKalm. *alñ* 'udivlenie, izumlenie; udivitel'nyj, porazitel'nyj; udivitel'no, izumitel'no, porazitel'no' (Mun. 36), Oir.Dial. Dö, T *alāñ* 'izumlenie' (Colō 32), Xj *alañ* 'udivlenie, izumlenie; udivitel'nyj, izumitel'nyj' (Todaeva 25); ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 73), cf. Kaz. *alañ bolu* 'bespokoit'sja'; Kir. *alañ* 's vytyaraščennymi glazami (ot ispuga ili zloby) Tat. —;

⁷¹ The word is also listed under the names of animals.

⁷² The word is present in Khalkha as well. There are some doubts when the borrowing actually happened.

⁷³ Ramstedt gave the Kazakh equivalent as *äkiyät* < ar. *hakiyat* 'Erzählung, Märchen'. The above quoted Kazakh word I think is the modern form of this Arabic loanword, but it underwent a serious change both in its form and meaning. The semantic change that occurred, however, remains explainable.

⁷⁴ It was also regarded as a late Turkic loanword in Kalmyk by Rassadin (1983: 72). The Turkic origin, however, is obscured by the Khalkha data *ald*, *aldad* 'about, around'.

- Kalm. *asxān* 'Abend, abends' (KWb 16b), MKalm. *asxn* 'večer, večernee vremja' (Mun. 54), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *asxān* 'večer' (Colö 47), Xj *asxan* 'večer, večernee vremja' (Todaeva 40); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *aqšam* 'večernie sumerki; sumerki', Kir. *akšam* 'rannij večer; vremja večernej molitvy', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *ašū* 'Rache, Rachsucht' (KWb 17a), MKalm. *ašu* 'mest', žažda mščenija' (Mun. 60), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 73), cf. Kaz. *ašu* 'broženie; vskytie; vskryt'; zakisat'; zlo; zloba', Kir. *aču* 'gor'kij; kislyj; goreč', kislota; žgučij, edkij, vzyyvajuščij bol'; gnev, zloba', Tat. *aču* 'gnev, zloba, zlost', jarost';
- Kalm. *bekār* 'Ö To vergebens, umsonst, unnütz' (KWb 41a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. Xj *bekār* 'zrja, naprasno, popustu' (Todaeva 63); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *beker* 'bez tolku; бесполезно; zrja, lož', naparasno; popustu', Kir. *beker* 'naprasno, zrja, popustu';
- Kalm. *bī* 'Tanz' (KWb 47b), MKalm. *bī* 'tanec, pljaska' (Mun. 97), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T Ö, U, Ba, Kho *bī* (Colö 101), Xj *bī* (Todaeva 65); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *bī* 'tanec', Kir. *biy* 'tanec, pljaska', Tat. *biyu* 'tanec';
- Kalm. *boršm* 'Unannemlichkeit, Schmutz, etwas ekliges' (KWb 52a), MKalm. *boršm* 'neprijatnost'; dolg' (Mun. 111), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. —, Kir. *borsu-* 'vonjat', stat' zathlym, izdavat' neprijatnyj zapah', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *budr*, *budrāg*, *budrū* 'uneben, rauh' (KWb 57b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *budir* 'bugoroček; vzdutyj; korjavyj; nerovnyj; šerohovatyj', Kir. *budur* ~ *bodur* 'holmistaja mestnost', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *darmān* 'D Kraft, Körperstärke' (KWb 78a), MKalm. *darmān* 'sila, vozmožnost' (Mun. 184), cf. Oir.Dial. Xj *darmāxā* 'sil'nyj, krepkij' (Todaeva 116); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *därmen* 'žiznennaja sila; ènergija; sila', Kir. *darman* 'sila, moč', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *xarši* 'Hindernis, Widerwärtigkeit, Schikane, Schererei (z.B. beim Heiraten)' (KWb 170b), MKalm. *xarš* 'prepjatstvie, pomeha' (Mun. 581), Oir.Dial. Xj *xarši* 'prepjatstvie, pomeha, zatrudnenie' (Todaeva 391); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *karsī* 'navstreču; protiv, lobovoj; naperekor; naprotiv', Kir. *karši* 'protiv, naprotiv, navstreču, naperekor', Tat. *karši* 'protiv, naprotiv';
- Kalm. *xoš* 'Paar, doppelt, zwei Stück' (KWb 189b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic,⁷⁵ cf. Kaz. *qos* 'para; parnyj; pribav'; dvojnoj', Kir. *koš* 'para, parnyj, dvojnoj', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *kilmj* 'Bemühung, Fleiss; sich bemühend, fleissig' (KWb 231a), MKalm. *kilmj* 'staranie, priležanie, userdie; vnimanie, zabota' (Mun. 300), cf. MKalm. *kilmyä* 'staratel'nyj, priležnyj' (Mun. 300) Oir.Dial. Xj *kilemji* '1. staranie, priležanie, userdie; 2. vnimanie, zabota' (Todaeva 198); ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *kil-* 'delat', soveršat' dejstvie', Tat. *kil-* 'delat', sdelat', soveršat', etc.';

⁷⁵ Also cf. Kalm. *xos* 'Ö doppelt, aus zwei gleichen Dingen bestehend; paarweise, zusammen' KWb 189b.

- Kalm. *kīyas* 'D Ö schief, schräg, nicht gerade und nicht querüber' (KWb 234a), MKalm. *kīys* 'radius; vkos', naikos'; kosoj, krivoj, protivorečaščij, protivjaščijsja, uprjamyj' (Mun. 298), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *kīgās* (Colō 557), Xj *kīyes* 'uprjamyj, protivorečaščij' (Todaeva 197); ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 76), cf. Kir. *kīygač* 'krivoj, zagnutyj, izognutyj', Kaz. —, Tat. —;
- Kalm. *ortäg* 'Gemeinschaft, Artel; Teilnehmer' (KWb 290a), MKalm. *ortg* 'tovariščestvo' (Mun. 404), Oir.Dial. Xj *ortog* 'tovariščestvo' (Todaeva 265); ← Turkic (Rassadin 1983: 78), cf. Kaz. *ortaq* 'obščij', Kir. *ortok* 'obščij, nahodjaščijsja v obščem pol'zovanij', Tat. *urtak* 'obščij, sovместnyj';
- Kalm. *sag* 'Vorsicht; vorsichtig, wachsam' (KWb 307b), MKalm. *sag* 'ostorožnost', ostorožnyj' (Mun. 435), Oir.Dial. Xj *sag* 'ostorožnost', bditel'nost'; ostorožnyj, bditel'nyj' (Todaeva 283); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *saq* 'bditel'nyj; ostorožnyj; predusmotrennyj; čutkij'; Kir. *sak* 'ostorožnyj, čutkij', Tat. *sak* 'ostorožnyj, nastorožennyj';
- Kalm. *šalyā* 'D faul, der nichts fertig macht' (KWb 346b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *šalağay* 'halturnyj; nesar'eznyj; poverhnostyj'; Kir. —, Tat. —;
- Kalm. *šog* 'Scherz, Kunststücke, Spässe' (KWb 364a), MKalm. *šog* 'šutka; prokaza' (Mun. 678), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic,⁷⁶ cf. Kir. *šok* 'šalovlivyj, ozornoj';
- Kalm. *tamšā* 'Ö öffentliche Belustigung mit Schauspiel, etc. Volksfest, Volksgedränge' (KWb 377b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *tamaša* 'prekrasnyj; blestjaščij; velikolepnyj; osobennyj; voshititel'nyj; zamečatel'nyj', Kir. *tamaša* 'udovol'stvie, razvlečenie, priyatnoe zrelišče', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *yalñ* 'Ö einfach, allein, syn. *dañ*, nicht doppelt od. geschichtet' (KWb 214b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. T, J, U *yalāñ* (Colō 504); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *žalañ* 'odin, golyj, ogolennyj', Kir. *žalañ* 'tol'ko, isključitel'no'. Although the word does not appear as such in Tatar, it seems to be sure that the word was borrowed from that language, cf. Tat. *yalangač* 'golyj, nagoj, razdetyj, ogolennyj, obnažennyj';⁷⁷

Religious terms

- Kalm. *az* 'böser Geist, Dämon, Aza' (KWb 20a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. ?Kaz. *aza* 'gore; pečal'; priskorbie; skorb'; traur'; Kir. *aza* 'traur; oplakivanie', Tat. —;
- Kalm. *bug* 'irgend ein Steppendämon, Nebeldämon' (KWb 58a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. Xj *bug* 'obuza, beda' (Todaeva 76); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *bu* 'isparenie; par', Kir. *bū* 'par'; Tat. *bu* 'par';

⁷⁶ Although the word is present in Khalkha as well, the word pertains to the middle layer of loanwords.

⁷⁷ Cf. Old Turkic *yalñus* 'alone, only; solitary' (ED 930). Clauson does not connect the meanings 'naked' and 'alone'.

Kalm. *sadyā* 'Ö das Eigentum des Verstorbenen' (KWb 307a), MKalm. —, Oir. Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *sadağa* ~ *sadaqa* 'podačka; podajanie; žertva; milostynja', Kir. *sadağa* 'milostynja, podajanie', Tat. —;
 Kalm. *ters* 'Heide, religiöser Widersacher, Ketzer' (KWb 393b), MKalm. *ters* 'inoverec, eretik; *redko* vraždebnyj, protivopoložnyj' (Mun. 496), Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *teris* 'naoborot; šivorot-navovorot; obratnyj; nepravil'nyj; otricatel'nyj', Kir. *ters* ~ *teris* 'naoborot, navyvorot'; Tat. *tires* 'obratnyj, protivopoložnyj';

Verbs

Kalm. *arxlxä* 'das Pferd mit einem langen Stricke an einem Pfahl anbinden, tüdern' (KWb 14a), MKalm. *arxlx* 'prikrepljat'; privjazyvat', deržat' (*lošad'*) na prikole' (Mun. 52), Oir.Dial. Dö, J, T, Ö, U, Ba, Kho *arxäläxxä* (Colö 44); *arxalaxa* 'privjazyvat', deržat' lošad' na privjazi' (Todaeva 38); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *arqanda-* 'zaarkanit', Kir. *arkanda-* 'privjazat' na verevku, zaarkanit', Tat. *arkanla-* 'arkanit', zaarkanivat'⁷⁸
 Kalm. *äkrxä* 'schreien' (KWb 25b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kir. *aykir-* 'okrikivat; kričat', orat'; Kaz. —, Tat. *akir-* 'kričat' vo ves' golos; orat', revet', vopit';
 Kalm. *kötrxä* 'aufheben, heben (und anbinden)' (KWb 242a), MKalm. —, Oir. Dial. Xj *köterxe* 'pripodnimat', vysoko prikrepljat', zavjazyvat' (Todaeva 212); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *köter-* 'povyšat'; podnjatje, podnjat'; vozvysit', vozdvignut'; Kir. *kötör-* 'podnimat'; nosit', vzvaliv na sebja, vzjav v ruki', Tat. *kütär-* 'podnimat', podymat', podnjat';
 Kalm. *mosxlzä* 'lächeln, Spass treiben' (KWb 264b), MKalm. *musxlzx* 'uhmyljat'sja' (Mun. 362), Oir.Dial. Dö, Ba, Kho *mošxälzäxxä* (Colö 632) Xj *musxalzaxa* 'uhmyljat'sja, usmehat'sja' (Todaeva 239); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *mışıl* 'ironija; sarkazm; satira; nasmeška; izdevka; zuboskal; ironičnyj'; Kir. *mışıl* 'nasmeška, izdevka';⁷⁹
 Kalm. *örlxä* 'sich gegen den Wind bewegen, im Gegenwinde reiten' (KWb 300a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *örle-* 'vozvyšat'sja; podnimat'sja vverh; rascvet; pod'em', Kir. *örlö-* 'dvigat'sja vverh', Tat. *ürlä-* 'vzbirat'sja vverh';
 Kalm. *xorxä* 'fürchten, bang sein, (abl.) sich vor etwas in acht nehmen' (KWb 187b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. Xj *xoroxa* 'bojat'sja, robet', trusit' (Todaeva 405); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qorq-* 'bojat'sja; robet'; strašit'sja; trusit'; trevožit'sja; trepetat', Kir. *kork-* 'bojat'sja, strašit'sja', Tat. *kurk-* 'bojat'sja, opasat'sja, trusit', etc.;

⁷⁸ Cf. Mong. *argamji* 'rope, tether'.

⁷⁹ It remains obscure, what is the origin of the labial vowel of the first syllable.

Kalm. *xusxă* 'rölpsen, aufstossen' (KWb 199b), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *qus-* 'vyrvat'; srygnut', Kir. *kus-* 'rvat' (*blevat'*), Tat. *kos-* 'blevat', *rvat*, *vyrvat'*;

Kalm. *yančxă* ~ *jančxă* 'schlagen, prügeln, bestrafen' (KWb 108a), MKalm. —, Oir.Dial. —; ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *žanš-* 'mjat'; *vmjat'*; *drobit'*, *toloč'*; *podavit'*, *prižat'*; *sžat'*, etc., Kir. *žanč-* 'drobit', *toloč'*, Tat. *yan'č-* 'vdavlivat', *vdavit'*, *mjat'*, *prominat'*;

Kalm. *yasxă* 'in Ordnung bringen, (einen Kranken) heilen; (sein Bett) ordnen; ausbessern, reparieren; verschneiden, kastrieren' (KWb 216b), MKalm. *yasx* 'ispravljat', *popravljat'*; *privodit' v porjadok, nalaživat'* (Mun. 712), Oir.Dial. *yasăxxă* (Colo 505) Xj *yasaxa* 'ispravljat', *činit'*, *remontirovat'*; *nalaživat'*, *privodit' v porjadok'* (Todaeva 183); ← Turkic, cf. Kaz. *žasa-* 'zaključat'; *obrazovat'*; *postroit'*, Kir. *žasa-* 'sdelat', *ustroit'*; *sotvorit'*, Tat. *yasa-* 'delat', *sdelat'*, *masterit'*, *izgotovljat'*;

CONCLUSION

The presented material shows us clearly how diverse the nature of the connections between the Mongolic and Turkic people was in different periods.

The earlier Turkic loanwords of the Mongolic languages labeled as pertaining to the "old layer", show such a close relationship between the speakers of these languages that even basic categories of the lexicon have undergone a serious change. In comparison, the later Turkic loanwords in Kalmyk show a looser connection with the Turkic languages and their speakers. It appears that the relations happened most of all by means of commerce.

Rassadin (1983) in his work also pointed to the fact that our present devices are not adequate to ensure from which Turkic language the later Turkic elements of Kalmyk originate. While in general this is true, we have to see that in some cases there appear linguistic criteria which point e.g. to a Tatar origin of words, see the examples in which initial Kalm. *y-* corresponds to Tat. *y-*, when Kazak and Kirgiz show *ž-*, like in Kalm. *yasxă*; Kalm. *yančxă*; Kalm. *yalñ*; Kalm. *yalčī* ~ *yal'čī*. The Tatar origin of words is also probable when the word shows the change of vowels peculiar to Tatar, e.g. Kalm. *toxm*, Kalm. *börg*, Kalm. *bürg*.

The material is also valuable because it tells us about the history of some sound changes. For example it shows that the change of *si* > *ši* was still active in the period when the loanwords pertaining to the later layer were borrowed, e.g. Kalm. *širkě*, Kalm. *šült*. The very interesting example of Kalm. *xayār* shows that the phenomenon of regressive assimilation of the vowel *-i-* of the first syllable was still active in the given period.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Ba – Bayit
 Dö – Dörböt
 ED – see Clauson 1972
 J – Jaxčin
 Kalm. – Kalmyk
 Kaz. – Kazakh, see Bektajev 1999 and Sauranbajev 1954
 Khal. – Khalkha, see Bawden 1997 and Kara 1998
 Kho – Khoton
 Kir. – Kirgiz, see Judahin 1965
 KWb – see Ramstedt 1935
 M – Mingat
 MKalm. – Modern Kalmyk
 Mong. – Literary Mongolian, see Lessing 1960
 Mun. – Munijev 1977
 Oir.Dial. – Oirad dialectal material, see Colō 1988 and Todajeva 2001
 Ö – Ölot
 T – Torgut
 Tat. – Tatar, see Denisova 1966 and Ganijev 1991
 U – Uriankhai
 Xj – Oirad dialect spoken in Xinjiang

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О ЯЗЫКЕ КАЛМЫЦКИХ
БЛАГОПОЖЕЛАНИЙ

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Одним из путей изучения поэтики фольклора большое значение имеет выяснение особенностей его системы художественных средств, так как «без вторжения в образную стихию произведения, без глубокого анализа слова, текста, языка немисливо говорить о ценностном подходе, на непогрешимых чашах которого только и возможно взвесить реальное содержание творения...».²

Фольклорное произведение может быть рассмотрено не только как сплав определенных изобразительных средств, образов, компонентов сказительской техники, традиционных формул, но и как отражение мировоззрения создателей фольклорных творений. Исследование языка фольклора важно и потому, что в нем вызревает искусство слова как таковое. «Фольклор – есть предыстория поэзии, он представляет огромный интерес для теории художественной речи. В нем происходит процесс выделения необходимых для поэтического языка элементов и само их слияние в единое целое».³ Для жанров обрядовой поэзии калмыков, как и у других монгольских народов, характерно монологическое исполнение.⁴ Объем произведения целиком зависит от мастерства сказителя, от степени владения им поэтическими формулами, изобразительными средствами. В данной главе рассматриваются такие вопросы поэтики обрядовой поэзии калмыков, как композиция и основные художественно-изобразительные средства, а также формулы, составляющие тексты благопожеланий. На этом материале проведено системно-аналитическое исследование поэтико-изобразительных констант, где основной акцент делается на эпитеты, гиперболы, сравнения, формулы, которые являются поэтическими словарями сказителей.⁵

По своей функциональности жанры обрядовой поэзии обращены на будущее человека, рода и, в конечном счете – народа. Древний жанр народной поэзии благопожелания имеют своей целью путем просьбы

In: *Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*, Edited by
AGNES BIRTALAN. Budapest, 2012,
ELTE Eötvös Kiadó. /Talentum II./ 163–176.

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¹ Киги Ран, Элиста

² Гамзатов 2004: 67

³ Кожинев 1964: Т. 3., 265

⁴ Бабуев 2004: 6–7

⁵ Кульганек 2006: 290

или пожелания помочь человеку добиться успеха в труде, материального достатка и благополучия в жизни, ориентированы на его удачное будущее. Жанровая форма йорела как произведения устного поэтического творчества современными исследователями определяется как *йөрэл* и *ахр йөрэл* (краткий йорел, состоящий из нескольких строк). Краткий йорел схож по своей поэтической форме с бытующим у монголов «благодатным словом» – *бэлэг дембрийн үг*.⁶ В древности краткое благопожелание и йорел как жанр многострочный могли бытовать у калмыков самостоятельно и параллельно, а не как формы, прошедшие определенную фазу эволюции и вытекающие друг из друга. Хотя можно предположить, что при потере некоторых художественных средств (эпитета, гиперболы), характерных для йорелов, исчезала их поэтичность, уменьшался объем, и таким образом менялась жанровая форма. Йорелы используются в повседневной и праздничной жизни, содержат не только пожелания благополучия, но и ценные советы, наставления для всех членов рода, семьи или одного человека. Йорелчи, произнося благопожелание, использует формы повелительного наклонения, обращаясь к аудитории. В стилистическом отношении йорелы отличаются высоким слогом и имеют особую композицию, в которой можно выделить традиционные формулы: начальные, медиальные, финальные.

В произнесении текстов благопожеланий выстраивается линия, связанная с магическим смыслом «слова» как высказывания: «скажу несколько слов», «мною произнесенное слово», «по моему сказанному слову». Исполнитель йорела – благопожелания находится в определенном ритуальном пространстве. Он начинает благопожелание с обращения к присутствующим участникам обряда, затем следует обращение к духам гор – *Хайрхан!*⁷ Далее исполнитель произносит срединный текст самого благопожелания, тема которого может быть различна. Завершается текст формулой-закрепкой: «Да будет так!», «Пусть исполнятся все желания!» Исполнитель благопожелания во все время его произнесения имеет связь с аудиторией, которая живо откликается на содержание текста йорела, и по его окончании участники обряда произносят: *Тиигтхэ!* – «Да будет так!»

В ритуале произнесения благопожелания слово играет главную роль. Желаемое людьми происходит пока на вербальном уровне (пожелание счастья, детей, хорошего здоровья). Адресат благопожеланий обозначен в начальных формулах, содержащихся в первых строках йорела и представляющих собой, как правило, обращение к виновнику события: *Эärmд морджах мини отхн көвүн* «отправляющийся на воинскую службу, мой младший сын»; *Мана күндтэ ээж* «наша дорогая бабушка»; *Орж ирсн*

⁶ Гаадамба–Цэрэнсодном 1978: 124–127

⁷ Инджиев 1990

шин бер «пришедшая наша новая невестка». С помощью обращений в начальных формулах может быть воспроизведена тематическая классификация благопожеланий (см. *Каталог эпитетов в йорелах*).

§ 1. НАЧАЛЬНЫЕ ФОРМУЛЫ

На калмыцком языке	На русском языке
1. <i>Хээрхн!</i>	О Боже милостивый!
2. <i>Ом-мани-падме-хум</i>	<i>Ом-мани-падме-хум</i>
3. <i>Не, морджах мана куукн</i>	Наша девушка, выходящая замуж
4. <i>Не, мана кундтэ худнр</i>	Наши дорогие сваты
5. <i>Не, ирсн мана гиичнр</i>	Наши прибывшие гости
6. <i>Не, кундтэ элгн-садн</i>	Уважаемые родственники
7. <i>Эн һазаран һарчах мини куукн</i>	Моя дочь, выходящая замуж
8. <i>Эндр һарсн мини зе</i>	Новорожденный мой внук
9. <i>Өңгрсн мини үр</i>	Усопший мой друг
10. <i>Не, гер авчах мини көвүн</i>	Мой сын, который женится

Одним из определяющих поэтико-изобразительных средств калмыцких благопожеланий являются медиальные формулы, особенность их состоит в том, что они представляют собой «строительный материал» для разных разрядов благопожеланий. По своей природе медиальные формулы – это интертекстуальные формулы, переходящие из одного текста в другой. Благодаря этому они сохраняют свою устойчивость и в то же время поддерживают стабильность фольклорной традиции.

Медиальные формулы благопожеланий, как правило, состоят из двух строк и связаны меж собой. Согласно народной терминологии они относятся к *холвата үг* – соединенным словам. Сохранившиеся и зафиксированные тексты благопожеланий позволили вычленить в них 45 образцов формул. Каждый разряд йорелов располагает своими формулами (похоронные, родильные и т. д.), но некоторые из них сказители используют в разных текстах.

§ 2. МЕДИАЛЬНЫЕ ФОРМУЛЫ

	На калмыцком языке	На русском языке
1	<i>Хатуднь хальтрл уга, Моһлицднь бүдрл уга, Харңһуднь төөрл уга.</i>	Там, где твердо, не поскользнувшись, Там, где круто, не споткнувшись, В темноте не заблудившись.
2	<i>Буурл жилнь нарад, Буйнта жилнь ирв.</i>	Пусть старый год уходит, Пришел новый благословенный год.
3	<i>«Ях» гих өвчн уга, «Йов» гих зарһ уга.</i>	Пусть не будет болезней, чтобы говорить: «Ях», Пусть не будет приказа: «Иди!»
4	<i>Хамг сээһн өмнән тууж, Хамг мууһан ардан үлдэж.</i>	Пусть все хорошее идет впереди, Пусть самое плохое остается позади.
5	<i>Өмнән нар мандлулж, Ардан үвлән үлдэж.</i>	Пусть впереди солнце светит, Зима остается сзади.
6	<i>Хулха, худл уга, Хов-шив уга.</i>	Без воровства и лжи, Без дурных помыслов и сплетен.
7	<i>Буухд утан бүргж, Нүүхд тоосн бүргж.</i>	Пусть клубится дым на стоянке, Пусть клубится пыль при перекочевке.
8	<i>Хур-борань дуслж, Хурц нарнь мандлж.</i>	Пусть дождь идет каплями, Пусть солнце светит всегда ярко.
9	<i>Сарин сээһинь сэкж, Өдрин сээһинь ончлж.</i>	Лучший из месяцев посвятив, Лучший из дней выбрав.
10	<i>Эднь элтхэ, Эздүднь ут нас наслтха.</i>	Пусть одежда изнашивается, А хозяева пусть живут долго.
11	<i>Орчлңгин йосар, Өөрдин заңгар.</i>	По законам Вселенной, По обычаям ойратов.

	На калмыцком языке	На русском языке
1	<i>Өндр һазрт көшл уга, Өвснэ һазртнь бүдрл уга.</i>	Не уставая, поднимайся на высокое место, Не спотыкаясь, иди по траве.
2	<i>Өндр һазрт герэн бэрж, Өвстэ һазрт малан идүлж.</i>	Построй дом на высоком месте, Паси скот среди высокой травы.
3	<i>Эмэлтэ, хазарта мөрн Үүдн хоорнднь оньдин хантраата бээж.</i>	Пусть оседланный и взнузданный конь Всегда стоит у дверей с подтянутыми поводьями.
4	<i>Ууснь хот болж, Унтснь нөр болж.</i>	Пусть съеденная еда будет на пользу, Пусть сон будет спокойным.
5	<i>Цаасн нимгн болв чигн, Номин көлгн болдг.</i>	Бумага, хоть и тонка, Она передает учение.
6	<i>Шар тосн мет хээлңгу, Шар зусн мет наалдңну.</i>	Пусть таят друг перед другом, как желтое масло, Пусть липнут друг к другу, как желтый клей.

	На калмыцком языке	На русском языке
7	<i>Санси санантин күүж, Сәксн үүлтин бүтж.</i>	Пусть ваши мечты исполнятся, Пусть исполнятся задуманные дела.
8	<i>Нохад хуцулл уга, Күүнд келүлл уга.</i>	Чтобы собаки не лаяли на вас, Чтобы люди не осуждали вас.
9	<i>Нег харута, Хойр олзта.</i>	Пусть будет у вас одна убыль, Две прибыли.
10	<i>Ут наста, Бат кишигтэ болж.</i>	Пусть года будут длинными, А счастье пусть будет крепким.
11	<i>Саңнаһарнь көлсн һоожж, Салаһарнь тосн һоожж.</i>	Пусть по лбу твоему течет пот, А меж пальцев течет жир.
12	<i>Ачнран таньшиго өвгн болж, Агтан таньшиго байн болж.</i>	Стань старцем со множеством внуков, Чтобы даже не узнавал их всех; Стань богачом со множеством скакунов, Чтобы даже не знал их всех.
13	<i>Үсн мет цаһан болж, Тосн мет жөөлн болж.</i>	Пусть станут они белыми, как молоко, Пусть станут они мягкими, как масло.
14	<i>Байрар өрчнь дүүрч, Байнар гернь дүүрч.</i>	Пусть грудь наполнится радостью, Пусть дом наполнится богатством.
15	<i>Көлнь күүц шоратж, Кииснь шулун акж.</i>	Пусть ножки будут в пыли, Пусть пупок быстрее заживет.
16	<i>Суусарн олн болж, Бээсарн байн болж.</i>	Пусть вас будет множество, Пусть будете вы богаты.
17	<i>Идән-чигән элвг болж, Иньг-амрг олн болж.</i>	Пусть будет много белой пищи, Пусть будет множество друзей.
18	<i>Менд амулл, Маңна тиньгр бээцхэй!</i>	Благополучно будем жить, Пусть лбы наши будут спокойными!
19	<i>Зовлң-түрү уга, Я, ях уга.</i>	Без горя и страданий, Без болезней.

Значимую нагрузку в обрядовом тексте несут финальные формулы, известные как «молитвенное выражение». В тексте финальной формулы обращаются к Бурхану Багши (Будде) и другим божествам, родовым покровителям – *сякюсенам*.

§ 3. ФИНАЛЬНЫЕ ФОРМУЛЫ

На калмыцком языке	На русском языке
Окн Теңгрин сәкүсн, Олн бурхд еваж, хээрн болтн!	Просим покровительства У богини Окон-Тенгри!
Ноһан-Дәркин гегән Тәвж, хээрн болтн!	Просим покровительства У богини Зеленая Тара!
Цаһан-Дәркин гегән, Еваж, хээрн болтн!	Просим покровительства У богини Белая Тара!
Һазр-усна Цаһан Авһа Бәэсн орн һазртан Хәэрн болтха! Зункван гегән Мәәдр хойр Еваж, хээрн болтха!	Пусть нам покровительствует Хозяин земли и воды Белый старец! Пусть нам покровительствует Дзонкава, Пусть нам покровительствует Майдари!
Зункван гегәнд багтха! Окн Теңгрин гегәнд багтха! Орчлң дөрвн цagt чик болтха!	Пусть им покровительствует Дзонкава! Пусть будут они под покровительством Окон-Тенгри! Пусть процветает Вселенная во все времена!
Деедин олн бурхд, Деед аавин заян сәкүсн, Маниг заясн заян ачур Хәэрлж, өршәх болтха!	Всевышние бурханы, Заяны и сякюсены наших предков, Наши заяны и хранители Пусть нам покровительствуют!
Деедин олн бурхд, Делкән Цаһан Өвгн Деерәс хәэрлж өршәтхә!	Всевышние бурханы, Белый старец – покровитель Земли – Пусть смотрят сверху и покровительствуют нам!
Деедин олн бурхд, Делкән Цаһан Өвгн, Аав-эәжн заян сәкүсн, Ачта мана икчүдин заян ачур Хәэрлж, өршәх болтха!	Всевышние бурханы, Белый старец Вселенной, Сякюсены отца и матушки, Почтенных наших старцев заяны Пусть нам покровительствуют!
Өвкнрин заян сәкүсн Өршәж, хәэрлх болтха!	Пусть заяны и сякюсены предков Покровительствуют нам!
Амулң-менд жирһж, Бурхн-Багшин гегәнд багтж, Бат кишигтә, ут наста, Байрта-бахта бәэхиг Олн бурхд өршәтхә!	Живите в счастье и благополучии, Обращаемся к Бурхану Багши, Пусть будет крепким счастье, Живите много лет, Живите в радости, Пусть нам покровительствуют бурханы!
Ут наста, бат кишигтә, Ни-негн, амулң жирһлтә!	Живите счастливо много лет, Живите дружно и благополучно!

На калмыцком языке	На русском языке
Амулң жирһл эдлж йовтха! Алтн жолаһан зөв эргүлж ирхити, Деедс, Делкэн Цаһан Аваһа Евэж, хээрлх болтха!	Живите счастливо и благополучно! Приезжайте домой, Повернув по ходу солнца золотые поводья. У всех всевышних и Белого старца Земли Просим покровительства.
Мөрнэ чикнд нар урһаж	Заставив солнце взойти над ушами коня

Неотъемлемой смысловой частью благопожеланий, произносимой перед закрепкой, является формула «белая дорога» – *цаһан хаалһа*.

Өмссн хувцнн Өлзэтэ цаһан хаалһта болж!	Пусть (подаренная) одежда будет благословенной, Пусть ей будет белая дорога!
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Благопожелание, которое говорят призывающемуся на службу в действующую армию:

Хаалһчнь цаһан болтха!	Пусть дорога будет белой!
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Благопожелание в честь праздника Зул:

Эн ирсн Зул Өлзэтэ цаһан хаалһта болж!	Пусть дорога будет счастливой и белой В наступивший Зул!
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Благопожелания, произносимые в честь получения диплома:

Эн авсн күндтэ дипломан Эвтэ-тусатаһар эдлж, Олн-эмтнэ жирһлд багтж, Авсн эн чинртэ цааснь Өлзэтэ цаһан хаалһта болж!	Пусть полученный диплом Принесет пользу, Успех в жизни, Получившему этот документ Пусть сопутствует белая дорога!
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Обращение в финальных формулах к высшим небесным и другим покровителям усиливает действие благопожелания. Представления о «зая» как концепте судьбы исследованы Г. Ц. Пюрбеевым.⁸ Заян – податель судьбы – дарил человеку плохую или хорошую судьбу.

Также часто обращаются с мольбой к Белому старцу. У калмыков культ Цаган Аава имел свои особенности. Как пишет Э. П. Бакаева: «Образ Белого старца приобрел черты покровителя всего калмыцкого народа. При сохранении в поволжских степях родоплеменных структур у калмыков произошла утрата имен местных покровителей. Родовые покровители – предки, представители основной ветви генеалогического древа, были

⁸ Пюрбеев 1998: 76

заменены на единый образ Белого старца»⁹. В современной фольклорной традиции тенденция замены родовых покровителей на Цаган Өвгн отражена в финальных формулах благопожеланий, где он характеризуется как Всемирный Белый старец. В заключительной части благопожелания, произнося слова моления, йорелчи выступает посредником между участниками обряда и небожителями – *заячи*, *сякюсенами*, Белым старцем, *тенгри*. Четко разграничивая эти образы высших сил, он напрямую просит покровительства у подателей счастья, употребляя слова с семантикой прошения у них милости и защиты: «пусть небо дарует», «молюсь Будде», «молюсь верховным небожителям».

В йорелах, записанных в последнее десятилетие, в большей степени упоминаются имена божеств буддийского пантеона, к которым люди обращаются с просьбой. Имена буддийских божеств отсутствуют в благопожеланиях, зафиксированных в 1940-х, 1960 – 90-х годах, когда религия была под запретом. Финальные и начальные формулы калмыцких благопожеланий в процессе бытования изменялись, но в рамках фольклорной традиции.

Устойчивые формулы изображения смерти в похоронных йорелах представляют собой ключевые слова текстов этого поджанра: *сээн хээх* – найти лучшее, *күрх назр* – земля, которую он должен достигнуть (умерший), *кишгэн үлдэх* – оставить счастье (живым), *мууһин сүл тасрах* – прервать все плохое, *сээн түүн ирх* – воплотиться во все хорошее.

Для калмыцких йорелов характерны закрепки *Болтха!* и *Тиигтхэ!*, произносившиеся в конце благопожелания и отличавшиеся эмоциональностью. В закрепке *Болтха!* – «Пусть будет!» заключена цель благопожеланий: пусть будет множество детей, скота, новой одежды, здоровье и благоденствие для семьи, рода, народа. Закрепка благопожелания *Болтха!* служит для связи йорелчи с аудиторией. Слушатели произносят в ответ не менее эмоционально: *Тиигтхэ!* – «Да, пусть так и будет!» Закрепки в калмыцких благопожеланиях призваны усиливать магическую силу слова.

В художественно-изобразительных средствах обрядового фольклора видное место принадлежит эпитетам. Относительно этого явления в устном народном поэтическом творчестве В. М. Жирмунский писал: «Вполне законно также применение термина «эпитет» в отношении к народной песне или к героическому эпосу (античному, германскому, славянскому). Действительно, так называемый, постоянный эпитет гомеровского эпоса или русской былины есть украшающий эпитет, традиционно выделяющий типовой, идеальный признак, не внося ничего нового в содержание

⁹ Бакаева 1997: 79; Жуковская 1988: 611

определяемого предмета».¹⁰ Украшающий характер имеют эпитеты, обозначающие цвет.¹¹

Калмыцкие йорелчи при воспроизведении благопожеланий умело пользовались цветовыми эпитетами, которые придавали тексту особую выразительность. Почитаемые цвета монгольских народов – это белый, красный, желтый, синий, встречающиеся не только в языке фольклора¹², но и в орнаменте¹³. В благопожеланиях распространены эпитеты: *цаһан* – белый, *көк* – синий, *шар* – желтый, *улан* – красный, *хар* – черный, *алтн* – золотой, *мөңгн* – серебряный. Встречаются эпитеты, образованные сочетанием двух слов: *алтн шар* – золотисто-желтый, *шар улан* – желто-красный, *мөңгн цаһан* – белейший и др. Упоминание различных цветов и их оттенков в обрядовой поэзии калмыков имеет символическое значение.

Белый цвет являлся символом чистоты и непорочности: *Цаһан Аав* – Белый старец, *цаһан идән* – белая почетная пища, *цаһан хаалһ* – белая дорога, *цаһан седкл* – светлые помыслы, *цаһан санан* – чистые мысли, *цаһан гер* – белая юрта, *цаһан ишкэ* – белый войлок, *цаһан өңгтэ хөн* – белый баран, *цаһан шалвр* – белые штаны.

Красный цвет, как и белый, связан с культом солнца и огня, в благопожеланиях употребляются следующие словосочетания: *улан нарн* – красное солнце, *улан зандн цэ* – красно-сандаловый чай, *улан залата хальмг* – калмык с красной кисточкой (на головном уборе).

Цветовой эпитет «желтый» связан с цветом золота и солнца, огня: *улан шар нарн* – золотисто-красное солнце, *шар чиктэ хөн* – баран с желтыми ушами, или баран, приносимый в жертву, *шар тосн* – желтое масло, жертвенное масло.

Синий цвет – цвет небосвода – связан с поклонением монгольских народов Синему Вечному Небу – *Көк Мөңк Теңгр*. В данном значении эпитет бытует в благопожеланиях.

Для йорелов характерен эпитет *сээхн* – красивый. *Сээхн күүкн көвүн хойр* – красивые мальчик и девочка, *сээхн мөрн* – красивый конь, *сээхн бүшмүд* – красивое платье. Эпитет *бат* – крепкий – также употребим в благопожеланиях. *Бат кишг* – крепкое счастье, *бат насн* – хорошо прожитые годы, *бат жола* – крепкие поводья. Эпитет «золотой» постоянно встречается в благопожеланиях: *алтн жола* – золотой повод, *алтн ааһ* – золотая чаша, *алтн насн* – золотые годы, *алтн нарн* – золотое солнце, *алтн уург* – золотое молозиво, *алтн босха* – золотые ворота.

¹⁰ Жирмунский 1931: 81

¹¹ Мутяев 1996

¹² Раднаев 1976: 120–125

¹³ Митиров 1981: 90–100

Каталог эпитетов в йорелах

На калмыцком языке	На русском языке
1 Өлзэтэ цаһан хаалһ	Благословенная белая дорога
Көк теңгэр дор,	Под синим небом
2 Көрстэ алтн һазр деер көкрж	На користой золотой земле зелenea,
Көкргч көк теңгэр	Сине-синеющему небу
3 Көк мөңгн оһтрһудан	Сине-серебряному небосводу
4 Халун уурта цэһарн	Горячим чаем
5 Эрүл-менд седкл тарһн	В добром здравии и душевном спокойствии
6 Өлзэтэ үрн	Счастливый ребенок
7 Алдр ик нишһүртэ	Крепкий союз
8 Үсн цаһан седклтэ	Белая, словно молоко, душа
9 Таалта жөөлн седклтэ	Ласково-добрая душа
10 Үнн сээхн садн	Настоящие прекрасные родственники
11 Эңкр элгн-садн	Любимые родственники
12 Батта сән худнр	Дружные миролюбивые сваты
13 Сээхн цацгта өмскул	Одежда с красивой бахромой (красивыми кисточками)
14 Халун үг	Добрые (теплые) слова
15 Шар толһата цаһан хөн	Белый баран с желтой головой
16 Торһн нооста хөд	Овцы с шелковистой шерстью
17 Шарһ алтн адун мал	Солово-золотистый табун
18 Мандлсн шар нарни гегән,	Свет высокого желтого солнца,
Төгрг сарин, түмн одна гегән	Свет круглой луны, свет десяти тысячey звезд
19 Нарни герлд бүлэдэд	Греясь под солнечными лучами
20 Ноһан өвсн нээхлэд	Зеленая трава колышется
21 Өлзэ бүтэгч эн жилд	Пусть в благословенный этот год
22 Улан залаата хальмгуд	Краснокисточные калмыки
23 Бат кишг	Крепкое счастье
24 Ут насн	Долгая жизнь
25 Цал буурл үстэ эмгн болж	Седовласой старушкой стань
26 Улан зандн цэһән ууж	Красно-сандаловый чай выпивая
27 Хээртэ худнр	Дорогие сваты
28 Алтн жола	Золотые поводья
29 Мөңгн хаалһ	Серебряная (белая) дорога

Сравнение в обрядовой поэзии калмыков как один из важнейших приемов художественной речи служит созданию своеобразного поэтического стиля. Ф. М. Селиванов, рассматривая сравнения в былинах пишет, что «формы соотнесения с природой одновременно были и средством ее познания, подчиненного цели воссоздания героя, великого и прекрасного. Источник образов сравнения и образов сопоставления – окружающий мир. В сравнениях и сопоставлениях эстетическое в природе воссоединилось с человеческим содержанием и способствовало созданию произведений высокого искусства».¹⁴ В результате сравнения одного предмета с другим сравниваемый предмет получает качественную характеристику. В грамматическом плане сравнение состоит из двух частей – сравниваемой и сравнивающей, которые соединяются при помощи вспомогательных слов *чинен*, *мету*, *болсн*, *кевтэ* (подобно, как). Сравнения, как и другие изобразительные средства, обнаруживают национальную специфику фольклорного произведения: это проявляется в сравнениях с животными, растительным миром и предметами кочевого быта. Большой пласт сравнений в поэтике жанров обрядовой поэзии свидетельствует о том, что человек постепенно познавал окружающий его мир, который отразился в его поэтическом творчестве.

Сравнения характерны для свадебных благопожеланий. Желая новой семье счастья, йорелчи произносит в адрес молодоженов:

<i>Тосн мет хээлңгу,</i>	Чтобы были нежны друг к другу, как масло,
<i>Зес мет наалдңгу.</i>	И близки, как две медные монетки.
<i>Мөңгнлэ эдл</i>	Будьте вечными,
<i>Мөңк наста болтн!</i>	Как серебро!

На свадебном пиру танцующих подбадривают *шавашами*, сравнивая их с парящими птицами:

<i>Элэ кевтэ эргэд од!</i>	Закружись, словно беркут!
<i>Шовун кевтэ эргэд од!</i>	Взлети, как птица!

Число сравнений в обрядовой поэзии калмыков невелико. В сравнениях проявляются особенности языка, его образность. В обрядовом тексте – это развернутые сравнения, образующие поэтическую формулу, переходящую из текста в текст.

¹⁴ Селиванов 1977: 21

КАТАЛОГ СРАВНЕНИЙ В ЙОРЕЛАХ

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На калмыцком языке	На русском языке
1 <i>Ясн дотрк чимгн мет, Яңһг дотрк идән мет, Өөкн дотрк бөөр мет, Өндгн дотрк уург мет.</i>	Как мозг внутри кости, Как ядро внутри ореха, Как почка внутри жира, Как желток внутри яйца.
2 <i>Урһа зандн модни бүчр мет, Буһ марлын гүүдл мет.</i>	Как ветка сандалового дерева, Как бег марала.
3 <i>Зуни хаэртә хур-чиг кевтә, Теңэрт гилвксн одниң, Далан дольган цоксн усниң, Орчлңгин шар нарн мет.</i>	Как прохладный дождь летом, Как сверкающая звезда на небе, Как колыхающаяся волна, Как свет желтого вселенского солнца.
4 <i>Цаһан мөңгн мет болтн.</i>	Как эта серебряная монета.
5 <i>Ясн дотрк чимгн мет, цевр болтн, Яңһг дотрк идән мет, цегән болтн, Өөкн дотрк бөөр мет, эмтәхн болтн, Өндгн дотрк уург мет, шимтә болтн.</i>	Как мозг внутри кости, будьте безупречными, Как ядро внутри ореха, будьте чистейшими, Как почка внутри жира, будьте сладкими, Как желток внутри яйца, будьте сочными.
6 <i>Шар тосн мет хәэлңгү, Эн шар зес мет наалдңһу.</i>	Как желтое масло, будьте мягкими друг к другу, Как эти желтые монеты, прижимайтесь друг к другу.

Гипербола – одно из языковых средств выразительности в благопожеланиях. В произведениях этого жанра часто желают долголетия – «прожить сто лет», в скотоводческих йорелах постоянным является пожелание иметь множество голов скота, которое исчисляется «десятками тысяч». В свадебной обрядности желают детей «полное одеяло». К определяющим словам в йорелах относятся слово *өндр* – «высокий, возвышенный», имеющее множество смысловых нагрузок (*өндр гер* – высокий дом, *өндр сурһуль* – высшее образование); слово *ик* – «большой, крупный, сильный» (*ик насн* – долгая жизнь, *ик жирһл* – огромное счастье). Словосочетание *өһр-өсклң* – «растите и приумножайтесь» также отличается многозначностью, встречается в разных тематических группах йорелов и обозначает будущее благополучие для людей, мечту жить лучше.

Өһр-өсклң, Приумножайтесь и расцветайте,
Ачһран таньшго өһр, Проживи так много лет, что не будешь узнавать всех внуков,
Агтан таньшго байн! Стань таким богатым, что не будешь узнавать свои табуны.

Антитеза (противопоставление) употребляется в жанре благопожеланий, относящихся к семейно-бытовому фольклору.

<i>Кен ахан кундлж,</i>	Почитая старших,
<i>Кен бичкнэн эрклүлж йов.</i>	Относись нежно и к младшим.
<i>Өмн хормадчн</i>	Пусть впереди твоего подола
<i>Уһһн-дааһн ишклг,</i>	Резвятся жеребята,
<i>Хөөт хормаднь</i>	Пусть сзади подола
<i>Хөн хурһн хээрлг.</i>	Пасутся овцы и ягнята.

Таким образом, жанры обрядового фольклора в воспроизведении исполнителя – это красочное полотно, исполняемое в рамках традиции. В качестве художественно-изобразительных средств в устной поэзии калмыков используются различные языковые средства выразительности. Каждый жанр имеет свой круг художественных приемов. Определяющим изобразительным средством в жанрах обрядовой поэзии являются эпитеты. Примеры метафор довольно редки, как и примеры сравнений. Художественно-изобразительные средства, формировавшиеся в течение долгого времени, служили строительным материалом для сказителей этих жанров.

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DEED MONGOL – A PRACTICAL
APPROACH TO THE DIALECT

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Briefly about the Deed Mongols

Deed Mongol (*dēd mongol*) is a variety of Oirad-Mongol spoken in several parts of Qinghai Province, Northwest China. Deed Mongol is also known by the ethnic term Khoshuud (DM. *xošūd*), one of the numerous clans that constitute the group of Oirads². The Deed Mongols' ancestors came to what is now Qinghai province from the vicinity of the Tianshan in Xinjiang under the leadership of Güüshi Khaan (DM. *Gūś xāṇ*) in 1636³. Before the arrival of Güüshi Khaan and his Khoshuuds, the Tümed Mongols of Altan Khaan⁴ and the Khalkhas of prince Tsogtu (Mong. *Čoytu tayiji*) had inhabited the territory for several decades. Shortly after Güüshi khaan defeated them and swept them away, other Oirad groups from the Tšoros (Oir. Coros/Cors), Khoid (Oir. Xoid) and Torguud clans joined the Khoshuuds⁵. Currently the majority of Deed Mongol speakers live in Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Deed Mongols also live around the Blue Lake (Qinghai) in Haibei and Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures, but many of them are said to have lost their language and taken up either Tibetan or Mandarin Chinese. The population of Deed Mongols is estimated between 70 and 80 thousand (71,510 in 1990)⁶ but it is unclear how many of them are fluent speakers of the variety. It is noteworthy that a considerably large group (about 30,000 persons) of Mongols are registered in Henan Mongol Autonomous County within the territory of Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in the easternmost parts of Qinghai. The language of the Henan Mongols is inadequately researched and thus no exact numbers can be given concerning how many of them speak their Mongolian dialect, but it is said by the locals that virtually everybody

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² On Oirad ethnic groups see Birtalan 2003: 211

³ Büreinbayar 2002: 60–61 ⁴ Büreinbayar 2002: 60 ⁵ Nyambü 1992: 172 ⁶ Hurelbaatar 1999: 196

in Henan county speaks Amdo-Tibetan as their first language and there might be only a handful of old people, who still speak Mongolian, probably a sub-dialect of Deed Mongol.

1.2. Research and Informants

My research on the Deed Mongol dialect started in 2005 in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, where I got acquainted with two young Deed Mongols, Erdemt and Chinchin. That time they were both in their mid-twenties studying at the National University of Mongolia as foreign students and attending English classes at a language training center where my wife Zsuzsanna Simonkay happened to teach.

It was my wife who noticed Erdemt and Chinchin's characteristic Western Mongolian way of speech and asked where they had come from. They answered they had come from Tibet. My wife and I soon made friends with them and learned that their hometown was Dulan in Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, which belongs to the Amdo province of ethnic Tibet. Including Erdemt and Chinchin, there were about ten young Deed Mongols residing temporarily in Ulaanbaatar at that time, and at least five of them were studying at the National University. In Ulaanbaatar we got into contact with three other Deed Mongols: Dalaaküü, Börgöd, and Degmo. They all came from Wulan, a township northeast from Dulan. Till the end of our stay in Mongolia (August 2005), we spent most of our free time with them making notes and audio recordings of their speech.

In 2007 we had the chance to visit the already married Erdemt and Chinchin in their home in Dulan and meet other speakers of this dialect. Besides our friends we had three main informants in Qinghai, Yibjim Erdemt's mother, Nasanochir, a schoolteacher, and Yondon alias Gaga a religious practitioner who lived in a place called Muke'er.

My approach to the dialect of our informants was purely practical in the sense that interviewing my informants I was looking for the easiest way to switch from Khalkha, the dialect in which I am most comfortable, to Deed-Mongol. A comparative study of Deed Mongol with the Oirad varieties spoken in Xinjiang and Western Mongolia might be the theme of a forthcoming paper.

1.3. Bilingualism and Monolingualism

The younger or middle-aged generation of our informants were all bilingual in Deed-Mongol and Mandarin Chinese, the latter they spoke with a thick north-western accent. Only Degmo, a half Tibetan, half Mongolian girl was fluent in three languages: Amdo-Tibetan, Deed Mongol and Mandarin; otherwise it was

unusual for a Mongolian to be able to speak Amdo-Tibetan just as for Tibetans to speak Mongolian. Fluency in Mandarin was surprisingly rare among old people. During our fieldwork, we interviewed four old people: Yondon, Chinchin's parents and Erdemt's father all being over seventy years of age. Among them only Erdemt's father was said to be able to speak Mandarin, but even he was far from being fluent in it.

1.4. Briefly on the Transcription

In transcribing Mongolic languages one of the biggest dilemmas is the rendition of the reduced vowels. These vowels occur in non-initial syllables and the extent to which they are reduced differs from dialect to dialect and even from speaker to speaker. The originally short vowels in non-initial syllables are prone to disappear in fast speech or to become a schwa. Long vowels, on the other hand, may become as short as a short vowel in initial syllables. Generally, the extent to which vowels shorten in non-initial syllables is the greatest in Oirad dialects, including Kalmyk and Deed Mongol, considerably great in Khalkha, and minimal in Barimjaa and Buriad, but in my opinion a lot depends on the given speaker. Therefore in my transcription I decided not to make a difference between vowels of full and of reduced length. On the other hand, I did not mark the vowels that may exist in writing but are completely absent in speech, for example Khal. *явна* “will go” → *yawan* instead of *yawna*, Khal. *яван* “going” → *yawan* instead of *yawna*, or Khal. *бага* “small” → *bay* instead of *baga*.

The letter *n* in superscript stands for the so-called fleeting or unstable *n* that can be found at the end of a number of Written Mongolian words but is absent in many Modern Mongolian dialects in the nominal case and some other cases.⁷

1.5. The Place of Deed Mongol among the Varieties of Mongolian

Deed Mongol is an Oirad⁸ dialect with the absence of some characteristics shared by other Oirad dialects. In many respects Deed Mongol resembles the Khalkha-cised Oirad dialects spoken in Western Mongolia and thus one would not greatly be mistaken saying that Deed Mongol is a dialect posited halfway between Kalmyk⁹ and Khalkha.¹⁰ On the other hand, it has clearly absorbed some features of the Barimjaa, the standardized language of Inner-Mongolia. Non-Mongolic

⁷ Concerning Deed Mongol and Khalkha, the unstable *n* reappears in the genitive, dative and ablative cases. For more on the unstable *n* see Svantesson 2005: 205

⁸ On Oirad see Birtalan 2003: 210–228

⁹ On Kalmyk see Bläsing 2003: 229–247

¹⁰ On Khalkha see Svantesson 2003: 154–176

languages such as Mandarin Chinese (Mand.) and Amdo Tibetan (AmTi.) have also influenced the speech of the Deed Mongols.

2. PHONOLOGY/SOUNDS

2.1. Vowels

The Deed Mongol vowel system is in many respects very similar to those of other western Mongolian dialects, and the Kalmyk language. On the other hand, unlike in most Oirad dialects, rounded open vowels (*o* and *ö*) are rarely followed by unrounded long open vowels (*ā* and *ǎ*) in the next syllable. In other words, rounding assimilation¹¹ similarly to Khalkha prevails in Deed Mongol. For example:

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DM. *öljō* “luck, fortune”, Mong. *öljei*, Khal. *өлжi*, Kalm. *ölzā*,
DM. *ölgō* “cradle”, Mong. *ölgei*, Khal. *өлгi*, Kalm. *ölgā*,
DM. *owō* “stone cairn”, Mong. *obuyan*, Khal. *owō*, Kalm. *owā*,
DM. *mongolōr* “in Mongolian”, Mong. *mongyol-iyar*, Khalkha *mongolōr* Kalm. *mongolār*,

It is interesting to note that Chinchin, Erdemt’s wife tended to pronounce a long *ā* in words with *o* in their first syllables. She tended to say *mongolār* “in Mongolian” and *modār* “of wood” while her husband as well as other speakers said *mongolōr* and *modōr*.

According to our observations, in Deed Mongol the differences between *u* and *o* and between *ü* and *ö* are considerably less clear than in other Mongolic varieties. In Kalmyk *u* and *ü* are close rounded vowels while *o* and *ö* are mid-open ones. In Khalkha *u* and *ü* are less close than their Kalmyk counterparts but *o* and *ö* are more open, thus the difference between close and open rounded vowels is about the same in Kalmyk and Khalkha. According to my personal observation, in Deed Mongol *u* is pronounced the same way as in Khalkha and *o* in the same way as in Kalmyk (*o*). The Deed Mongol *ü* is no different from its Kalmyk counterpart (*ü*) but *ö* is somewhat more closed. Both *ö* and *ü* are clearly front vowels in Deed Mongol and not central like in Khalkha (*ø* and *ʌ* respectively).

The vowels *a*, *e* and *i* are the same as in Khalkha and Kalmyk. The unrounded, close *e* is clearly a front vowel unlike in Barimjaa, where it is a central one (*ə*).

¹¹ On rounding assimilation see Svantesson 2005: 114-115.

The diphthongs that exist in Khalkha in most cases correspond to long vowels in Deed Mongol, which is one of its most important Oirad characteristics¹². For example:

- DM. *mogō* “snake”, Mong. *moyai*, Khal. *mogoi*, Kalm. *mogā*,
 DM. *āx* “to be frightened, afraid”, Mong. *ayiqu*, Khal. *aix* Kalm. *āx*,
 DM. *būl* “gum”, Mong. *büile*, Khal. *buil/būil*, Kalm. *būl*

*The Deed Mongol vowel chart (Only the short vowels are represented
 but the same positions apply to their long equivalents)*

	back			front		
rounded	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>ü</i>	<i>ö</i>	
unrounded			<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ä</i>
	close	mid	open	close	mid	open

2.2. Consonants

Deed Mongol consonants show the major changes from written Mongolian to modern Mongolian languages, with the typical features of western Mongolian dialects (Mong. *k* remaining before front vowels¹³). There are, however, some remarkable characteristics that make this dialect a unique one. Some of the modern Mongolian languages differentiate *c* and *č* consonants both going back to Mong. *č*. Mostly the Mong. *č* followed by an *i* remained *č* (Mong. *čilayun*, Khal. *čulūn* “stone”) while those not followed by an *i* have changed into a *c* (Mong. *čerig*, Khal. *cereg* ‘soldier, army’) in general.¹⁴ In Deed Mongol a more palatalized *č* sound corresponds to the Mong. *či* combination and the Khalkha *č*, and sounds exactly like the Mand *q*¹⁵ (IPA *tɕʰ*) in: 去 *qu* “to go”. For example:

- DM. *čulūn* “stone”, Mong. *čilayun*, Khal. *čulūn*
 DM. *ölčir* “stout, hardy”, Mong. *ölčir*, Khal. *өлчир*
 DM. *öpčin* “sickness, illness”, Mong. *ebedčin*, Khal. *өwčin*

The non-aspirated pair of *č*, the *j* has undergone the same changes. In Deed Mongol this consonant sounds identical with the Mand *j* (IPA: *tɕ*) in: 家 *jia* “family, home”. For example:

¹² For more examples see: Guxi Ru 2006: 77

¹³ For more on the consonant *k* in Deed Mongol see Guxi Ru 2006: 83-88

¹⁴ On the consonants (*c*, *j*, *č*, *j*, *š* and *s*) in different Mongolian varieties see Svantesson 2005: 201

¹⁵ Mandarin sounds are rendered in pinyin romanization.

DM. *j'irgal* “hapiness, joy”, Mong. *ǰirgal*, Khal. *ǰargal*
DM. *aǰ'il* “work”, Mong. *aǰil*, Khal. *aǰil*

The Deed Mongol *ś* corresponds to the *š* sound in Khalkha and most of the Modern Mongolian languages, and derives from a Mong. *si* combination. The Deed Mongol *ś* is pronounced like the Mand. *x* (IPA: *ɕ*) in: 心 *xin* ‘heart’. For example:

DM. *śar* “yellow”, Mong. *sira*, Khal. *šar*
DM. *biś* “not”, Mong. *bisi*, Khalkha *biš*
DM. *orsix* “to be situated”, Mong. *orsiqu*, Khal. *oršix*

The Mong. *ǰ* not followed by an *i* has changed into *j* in Khalkha, remained *ǰ* in Barimjaa and most of the Inner Mongolian dialects, and developed into a *z* (alveolar fricative) in Kalmyk and most Oirad dialects. In this respect Deed Mongol bears resemblance to Khalkha. For example:

DM. *jam* “road, way, route, path”, Bar. *ǰam*, Mong. *ǰam*, Khal. *jam*, Kalm. *zam*.
DM. *ūjex* “to look at”, Mong. *ūǰekü*, Bar. *ʉǰax*, Khal. *ʉjex*, Kalm. *üzxe*

Note that the same *j*, *ɕ* and *ś* sounds exist in the speech of many Mongolian speakers in China, including Barimjaa speakers as well.

3. PHONOLOGY/PECULIARITIES IN PRONUNCIATION

3.1. Metathesis

DM. *ömöglöǰc* “lawyer, solicitor”, Mong. *ömögelegči*, Khal. *ömǰölǰč*, from Mong. *ömögelekü*, Khal. *ömǰölǰx* “to defend”.

DM. *tawlā* “square”, Mong. *talabai*, Khal. *talbai*. The *b* → *w* change under certain conditions is a usual phenomenon in Mongolian languages. Mong. *b* remains *b* in Khalkha if preceded by any of the *l*, *m*, *ŋ* or *w* sounds. In any other cases it is pronounced *w*, a bilabial spirant. Owing to the consonant’s position in Deed Mongol, the *l* does not influence its change into a *w* sound.

3.2. Differences in dropping the intervocalic *γ* and *g*.

DM. *xūcgā* ‘period of time, term, dead-line’, Mong. *quyučaya* Khalkha *xugacā*. Many of the modern Mongolian long vowels derive from a drop of the Written

Mongolian intervocalic fricative γ . Those that are still extant in modern Mongolian dialects are rendered as g . In the Written Mongolian word there are two such fricatives, and it is clear from the examples that both dialects dropped only one γ . The difference is that Deed Mongol seems to have retained the second, while Khalkha the first one.

DM. *nuray* “back”, Mong. *niruyun*, Khal. *nurū*”, Kalm. *nurgan*, Bur. *ñurгаᠨ* What is common in Kalmyk, Khalkha and Deed Mongol is that the assimilation of the Written Mongolian *i* to the *u* of the next syllable has taken place, unlike in Buriad which retains it in the form of a palatalized *ñ*. Deed Mongol differs only from Khalkha, but not from Kalmyk and Buriad in that it retains the intervocalic γ . It is interesting to note that DM. bears resemblance to Khalkha by dropping the final *n*.

DM. *kijār* “border, frontier, limit”, Mong. *kijayar*, Khal. *xyajār*, Kalm. *kizār*. Deed Mongol and Kalmyk followed the same pattern in dropping the intervocalic γ , while Khalkha is unique in having retained it in spite of lengthening the *a* in the second syllable. The main difference between Kalmyk and Deed Mongol is that Kalm. *kizār* has become an entirely front vowelised word, for only front vowelised suffixes are attached to it (for example *kizārās* “from the frontier”, or *kizār ūr* “towards the frontier”), while regarding DM. *kijār*, in spite of retaining the front vowel *i* in the first syllable, the word remains back vowelised.

DM. *nūl* “sin”, Mong. *nügül*, Khal. *nūgel*, Kalm. *nūl*. Deed Mongol like Kalmyk and probably all the Oirad dialects has dropped the intervocalic g of *nügül*, unlike Khalkha and most of the Buriad and Inner-Mongolian varieties.

3.3. Lack of palatalisation

DM. *aras* “skin, leather” Mong. *arasun*, Khal. *aris*”, Kalm. *arsaᠨ*, Bur. *arhaᠨ*. With the exception of Khalkha, in most modern Mongolian dialects a purely back vowelised form corresponds to the also purely back vowelised Written Mongolian *arasun*, *arisun*. The Deed Mongol form is similar to the Khalkha in having dropped the final *n* (also known as fleeting *n*) at the end of the word. In Khalkha the *i* in the second syllable palatalized either the preceding consonant (in this case the *r*) or in the majority of cases the vowel behind this consonant. Due to this palatalisation of *i*, the pronunciation of originally back vowels preceding it becomes more frontal in Khalkha and entirely frontal in Kalmyk (if it is not the preceding consonant that becomes palatalized). This *i* and, along with it, the palatalisation in a number of examples seem to be absent in Deed Mongol. For example:

DM. *būr* “the spot on which a yurt is built, base”, Mong. *bayuri*, *bayurin* Khal. *būri*”, Kalm. *būr*”

DM. *sūr* “settlement”, Mong. *sayurin*, Khal. *sūri*”, Kalm. *sūr*”

DM. *xarāt* “subject, dependent, subordinate, citizen”, Mong. *qariyat*, Khal. *xariyat*

DM. *ner tomō* “technical term”, Mong. *nerē tomiya*, Khal. *ner tomyō*

DM. *bogon* “short”, Mong. *boyoni*, Khal. *bogin*, Kalm. *bogoñ*

DM. *argal* “wild mountain sheep”, Mong. *aryali*, Khal. *argali*

3.4. Lack of assimilation of the short *i* in initial syllables¹⁶

The Written Mongolian short *i* in initial syllables has in a number of modern Mongolian dialects assimilated to the vowel of the second syllable. This phenomenon is known as the breaking of the *i* and has taken place to an unequal extent in the different varieties of Mongolian. In Khalkha, Buriad and most Inner-Mongolian dialects the *i* of the first syllable has assimilated either partially or entirely to the vowel of the next syllable in the majority of cases. For example Mong. *ilyaya* “difference” has become *yalgā* in Khalkha, Mong. *imayan* “goat” → Khal. *yamā*“, Mong. *giraqai* “watchful” → Khal. *gyarxai*, Mong. *birayu* “calf” → Khal. *byarū*, Mong. *kinaqu* “to supervise” → Khal. *xyanax*. When a *č*, *ǰ* or *s* is followed by an *i* in Written Mongolian, *č* and *ǰ* due to the palatalizing quality of the *i* usually do not change into *c* and *j*, and for the same reason *s* changes into *š*. For example, Mong. *činar* “quality” → Khal. *čanar*, Mong. *ǰiryal* “happiness” → Khal. *ǰargal*, Mong. *sidiün* “tooth” → Khal. *šüd*“. On the other hand Oirad dialects including Deed Mongol tend to retain the *i* of the first syllables and its assimilation is considered as a rarity. For example: Mong. *mingyan* “thousand”, DM. *minga*“, Khal. *myaŋy*“, Kalm. *mingŋ*, Mong. *činar* “quality”, DM. *činar*, Khal. *čanar*, Kalm. *činr*, Mong. *sidiün* “tooth”, DM. *šid*“, Khal. *šüd*“, Kalm. *šüdüŋ*, Mong. *kisaya* “mussel, oyster”, DM. *kisxā*, Khal. *xyasā*, Kalm. *kisā*.

A noteworthy exception from the above is the Deed Mongol (and also Kalmyk) *ülū* “more, greater” in which the assimilation of the Written Mongolian (*ilegüi*) initial *i* has taken place whereas in Khalkha (*ilü*) it has not.

3.5. The drop of final consonants (*d* and *g*)

The drop of the *d* and *g* consonants in final position is a frequent phenomenon both in Deed Mongol and Khalkha, but the conditions under which it occurs are slightly different. In Khalkha (and also in the Oirad dialects in Western Mongolia) the *g* of the suffix *-dAg* tends to disappear in colloquial pronunciation when it is followed by the particle *yum*. For example, Khal. *baidag yum* “existing thing, it exists” in colloquial pronunciation *baidim*, Khal. *yawdag yum* “going thing, it goes regularly” → *yawdim*. The *g* of the accusative suffix *-ig* also often disappears

¹⁶ On the assimilation of the initial *i* otherwise known as the breaking of the *i* see Svantesson 2005: 196

especially when it is followed by the particle *n*. For example: Khal. *jurgīg n' awax* “to take a picture of it” → *jurgīn awax*.

The *d* of the suffix *-Ād* is also prone to disappear in colloquial pronunciation when followed by a word that begins with a consonant.¹⁷ For example: Khal. *awād yawsaṇ* “s/he took [it] away” → *awā yawsaṇ*.

In Deed Mongol, on the other hand, these consonants drop out in circumstances where in Khalkha they do not. For example:

DM. *tegā* “doing like that and then...”, Mong. *tegeged*, Khal. *tegēd*. In DM. it does not matter whether *tegā* is followed by a consonant or a vowel of the next word, the *d* (it is also the *d* of the suffix *-Ād*) is likely to disappear in both cases. For example DM. *tegā ūlisaṇ* “and/then [s/he] cried”, Khal. *tegēd uilsaṇ*, DM. *tegā garsaṇ* “and/then [s/he] went out”, Khal. (colloquial): *tegē garsaṇ*

DM. *dakā* “again”, Mong. *dakiyad*, Khal. *daxiad*. DM. *dakā ūlisaṇ* “[s/he] cried again”, Khal. *daxiad uilsaṇ*, DM. *dakā garsaṇ*, Khal. (colloquial) *daxia garsaṇ*.

In Deed Mongol the *g* at the end of the accusative suffix *-āg*, *-āḡ*, *-īg* often disappears in pronunciation especially in the case of personal pronouns:

DM. *namā* “me”, Mong. *namayi*, Khal. *namaig*,

DM. *camā* “you”, Mong. *čimayi*, Khal. *čamaig*.

The *g* of the suffix *-dAg* also tends to disappear when in Khalkha it usually does not, notably when it is followed by the question particle *ū*, *ḡ* (*-ū*).

DM. *bāḍū* “...is there/here? Does it exist?”, Mong. *bayiday bui* / *bayiday u*, Khal. *baidag ū*, colloquial: *baidḡū*.

3.6. Alternative forms of question particles

In Khalkha, the alternative forms of the question particle *ū*, *yU* is used when the word preceding it ends with a long vowel or a diphthong. For example: Khal. *mogoi yū* “[is this] a snake?”, *Čimgē yḡ* “[is/was it] Chimgee (person’s name)?”. In any other cases, in Khalkha the *ū* particle is used. In Deed Mongol, on the other hand, the particle *yU* is used even after short vowels. For example, the DM. word *ax* “brother, senior man”, Mong. *aqā* though usually pronounced with a consonant ending just like in Khalkha, when it is followed by the question particle, a short vowel is inserted between its final consonant and the *yU* particle:

DM. *axa yū* “[Is/was it] the brother/older man?” Khal. *ax ū*.

DM. *küwūṇ yū* “[Is/was it] the boy?” Khal. *xḡwḡṇ ḡ*

A curious feature of Deed Mongol is that the question particles both Khal. *ū* (used in polar questions) and Khal. *-bē* (used in alternative questions) preceded

¹⁷ When the following word begins with *b* – in most cases it is the substantive verb *baix* – the *d* does not disappear but the *b* either changes into a *w* or disappears completely.

by an *ŋ* sound correspond to *bū* in Deed Mongol. Consequently the *ŋ* is pronounced *m*. For example:

DM. *en yumbū* “What is this?”, Mong. *ene yayun bui*, Khal. *en yṁ wē*.

DM. *mōmbū* “[Is this] correct/right?”, Mong. *mön bui/ü*, Khal. *mönṁ*¹⁸

DM. *saimbū* “[Is this] good?”, Mong. *sayin bui/u*, Khal. *sainū*.

3.7. Non aspirated *p*, and *b*

In Deed Mongol, the Mong. *b* (bilabial plosive) has two distinct allophones: *w* and *p*. In the majority of modern Mongolic languages *b* is prone to change into a *w* (bilabial fricative), and remains a plosive (*b*) only in word initial position, and when preceded by *ŋ*, *m*, *l* and *w* sounds. The non-aspirated unvoiced (medial) *p* in Deed Mongol often occurs at the end of words, and before *č*, *c* and *t*. (Before *j*, *j* and *d* Written Mongolian *b* remains *b*.) For example:

DM. *bugūpč* “bracelet”, Mong. *buyuyibči*, Khal. *buguiwč*

DM. *nápč* “leaf”, Mong. *nabči*, Khal. *nawč*

DM. *keptā* “be similar to, like sg., as sg.”, Mong. *kebtei*, Khal. *xewtei*

DM. *ōdūp* “person’s name”, Mong. *Oyidub* from Tib. *dn̄gos-grub*, Khal. *Oidow*

DM. *lap* “bed of concrete, surface of concrete roads” The word does not exist in Written Mongolian, Khalkha and any other varieties of Mongolian to my best knowledge.

It is important to note that when *lap* is attached a suffix that begins with a vowel, the *p* turns into a *w*: *lap* + *-ig* (accusative) → *lawig*.

DM. *xalip* “lid”, Mong. *qalib*, in Kalm. (the word does not exist), Khal. *xaliw*,

DM. *xalip* + *-ig* → *xaliwig*.

DM. *ōbdög* “knee”, Mong. *ebüdüg*, Khal. *əwdög*

3.8. Other distinctive features in pronunciation

Deed Mongol pronunciation patterns are characteristically Oirad and thus share a wide range of features with Kalmyk (and some with Khalkha), and there are a number of words that are pronounced differently from both their Kalmyk and Khalkha counterparts.

DM. *öwör* “horn, antler”, Mong. *eber*, Kalm. *öwör*, Khal. *ewer*

DM. *nāslel* “capital city”, Mong. *neyislel*, Kalm. (the word does not exist), Khal. *nīslel*

DM. *iskā* “felt”, Mong. *isegei*, Kalm. *iškā*, Khal. *esgi*

DM. *kīteŋ* “cold”, Mong. *küiten*, Kalm. *kīteŋ*, Khal. *xüiten*

¹⁸ Note that in Khalkha *ŋ* becomes a dental *n* when followed by a vowel.

DM. *kedū* “how many/much”, Mong. *kedüi*, (also *kedün*), Kalm. *kedü*, Khal. *xedī* (but *xeden* from Mong. *kedün* is more widely used)

DM. *ūlix* “to cry”, Mong. *uyilaqu*, Kalm. *ūlix*, Khal. *uīlax*

DM. *yirāsāṅ* “at all, in the least”, Mong. *yerü-ečegen*, Kalm. (the word does not exist), Khal. *yөрösө*

DM. *ewrāṅ* “oneself”, Mong. *öber-iyen*, Kalm. *ewrāṅ*, Khal. *ērē*

DM. *yasax* “fix, mend, repair, assemble, castrate”, Mong. *jasaqu*, Kalm. *yasax*, Khal. *jasax*

DM. *jürüm* “rule, regulation”, Mong. *jirum*, Khal. *juram*, Kalm. *jurum*

DM. *mēmē* “business”, Mong. *nayimaya*, Kalm. (the word does not exist), Khal. *naimā*. The word comes from Mand. *māimai* 买卖 “business”, lit. “buy and sell”. In Northwest Mandarin the *ai* diphtongs of standard Mandarin are pronounced *ei*, which explains the *ē* long vowels in Deed Mongol.

DM. *xaṅc* “sleeve” Mong. *qančui*, Kalm. *xaṅcaṅ*, Khal. *xaṅcui*,

DM. *xupc* “dress, cloth”, Mong. *qubčasun*, Kalm. *xuwcaṅ*, Khal. *xuwcas*,

4. THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF DEED MONGOL VOCABULARY

4.1. Commonalities in vocabulary with Kalmyk and other Oirad dialects

Being an Oirad dialect Deed Mongol has a number of words that can be found exclusively in Oirad dialects including Kalmyk. These words are unknown to Khalkha and Barimjaa speakers:

DM. and Kalm. *asxaṅ* “evening” and *örūṅ* “morning”. In Khalkha *üdeš* and *oroi* are used interchangeably for evening and *əglə* for morning.

DM. *örūṅ*, sometimes *örlö* “morning”. Both words can be found in Kalmyk but with slightly different meanings: *örūṅ* “morning” and *örlä* (corresponds to DM. *örlö*) “dawn”. My informants, Erdemt and Börgöd argued that *örūṅ* and *örlö* meant the same, but the latter to them sounded more formal and the former more colloquial. I noticed that Börgöd, who was a poet, used *örlö* much more often than my other informants. In Written Mongolian the word for morning is *örlöge* which corresponds to the DM. *örlö* and to Khal. *əglə*

DM. *kīlik* also *kūlūk* “chemise, shirt”, Kalm. *kīlig*. In Khalkha *camc*.

DM. And Kalm. *xās* “cauldron”. In Khalkha *togā*.

DM. *xarāc* “roof ring of a yurt”, Kalm. *xarāč*. In other Oirad dialects the forms *xarāc* and *garāc* also occur. In Khalkha: *tōn*.

DM. *argas* “sheep-dung”, Kalm. *argasaṅ*. In Khalkha *argal*. Note that *argal* in Deed Mongol means wild-goat (ibex) which is pronounced *argali* in Khalkha.

DM. and Kalm. *xälāx* “to look at, to watch, to see, to read, to study”. In Khalkha the verb *ɰjex* can be used in all of these meanings, but in most of the cases it means “to look at something”. For “to watch” and “to see” Khalkha also uses the verb *xarax*, and for “to read” *unšix* is the most commonly used verb, for “to study” the verbs *surax* and *ɰjex* are widely used.

DM. and Kalm. *cādar* “the second day after tomorrow” from the contraction of *cād* “further, beyond, situated on the other side” and *ödör* “day”. In Khalkha: *nөгөдрін маргаш*, lit. “the tomorrow of the day after tomorrow” in which *nөгөдөр*¹⁹ stands for the day after tomorrow and *маргаш* for tomorrow.

4.2. Words of unclear origin

Our informants used a number of words that could not be detected in other variants of Mongolian and could not be traced back to a Mandarin or Tibetan original form. These are the followings:

DM. *bujgā* “dirty, filthy”. In Khalkha there is a word *bujgai* that is very close in pronunciation but at the same time very far in meaning (“quite good, nice, tolerable”) from the Deed Mongol word. The word that is most commonly used in the same meaning and is somewhat close in pronunciation as well in Khalkha, is *bujar*.

DM. *cālör* / *cělür*, “ford, a shallow section of a river or creek”. The *-ör/-ür* is clearly a Mongolian suffix, but the stem *cā/cē* could not be identified.

DM. *cenjēlex* “to be unwilling to accept offered food or drink, to pretend being too courteous to accept food or drink”. Erdemt and Börgöd explained that the word came from the AmTi. noun *cenjē* “unwillingness to accept offered food or drink” and added that Tibetan hosts and sometimes even Deed Mongols say *cenjē marigo* when noticing their guest’s hesitation or unwillingness to accept the food or drink they have offered. The word *marigo* is most probably the Deed Mongol distortion of the AmTi. *margu* “no need to, not necessary” implying that there is no need to be hesitant or too courteous. According to Béres, in colloquial Amdo-Tibetan *jəyē* (Tib. *rdzu yed*) has the same meaning as the DM. *cenjē*. Provided *cenjē* takes its origin in AmTi. *jəyē*, either Deed-Mongols distorted its pronunciation to a great extent, or in the local variety of Amdo-Tibetan (Dulan, Wulan) the pronunciation is considerably different from the one that Béres speaks.

¹⁹ Note that *nөгөдөр* is also a contraction of *nөгөө* and *өдөр* in which *nөгөө* means “the other, the next” and *өдөр* stands for “day”.

DM. *lap* “concrete pavement of a road”, the origin of this word is unclear. In colloquial Amdo-Tibetan *lam*²⁰ means: „road or way”, but it is uncertain that the two words have connection of any kind.

DM. *morālǰ* “blanket”

DM. *megé* “pocket”

DM. *yildenǰ* / *jambū* / *sebder mūtā* “naughty, mischievous” used mainly for children. Erdemt and Börgöd agreed that all three expressions are synonymous, but Chinchin’s mother, Yibjim used *jambū* to depict teenagers and young people (maybe in their early 20s) who like drinking alcohol and making trouble. The second word of the third expression, *mūtā* is of Mongolian origin (*mū* “bad” + *-tā* “with something, having something”) and implies that the child in question is of bad *sebder*. The word *sebder* could not be found in other variants of Mongolian thus we can only guess what it can mean: „discipline, behavior” etc.

4.3. Words used in a different meaning than their Khalkha or Kalmyk counterparts

DM. *ālim* “pear”, in Khalkha *lir* from Mand. *lí'er* 梨儿.

DM. *ālimandar* “apple”, in Khalkha *alim*.

DM. *ārwiŋ* “many”, Kalm. “id.”. in Khalkha the word also exists with roughly the same pronunciation and meaning, but used rather rarely mainly in elevated, or eloquent language. The most common term for “many” is *olon*, which on the other hand is rarely used in Deed Mongol. It has to be noted that in Barimjaa the usage of *arwiŋ* is also predominant in this meaning.

DM. *bögs* “vagina”. In Khalkha the corresponding *bəgs* means “buttocks”, vagina in Khalkha is *al*.

DM. *bōr* “hip”. In Khalkha the corresponding *bər* means kidney, for which in Deed Mongol the AmTi. *kam* “kidney” is used.

DM. *dökömǰlök* “to abbreviate”, from *dök-* “to approach, to make easier”, *dököm* “convenient, easy, expedient”, *dökömǰ* “advantage, help, easiness”. In Khalkha *towčlox*, from *towč* “brief, concise” is used in the same meaning.

DM. *ecex* “to be tired, to be fatigued”. In Khalkha the most commonly used word with the same meaning is *yadrax*, from *yad-* “to be unable (to cope with something), to be weak and poor”. The verb *ecex* is also known by Khalkha speakers but its scope of usage is considerably limited and in a number of Khalkha speakers’ opinions limited to animals. The question “Are you tired?” in Khalkha sounds: *Ta yadarsnū* (*Ta* “you”, *yadar-* “to be tired” + *-sAŋ+ ū*) and to my best

²⁰ The information comes from my consultant on Amdo-Tibetan, Judit Béres, a Hungarian Tibetologist, who speaks the dialect.

knowledge the verb *ecex* is never used in this question in standard Khalkha. On the other hand, *yadrax* seemed to be absent from the vocabulary of our Deed Mongol informants and the verb they used most frequently in the above meaning was *ecex*. “Are you tired?” in their speech sounds: *Ta ecsnū?*

DM. *jolgox* “to meet”. In Khalkha the verb *jolgox* also exists but its most commonplace meaning is “to greet ceremoniously” as for example during the Lunar new year festival. Using *jolgox* in the meaning “to meet” is restricted to the domain of elevated language in Khalkha. The most commonly used verb in Khalkha with the above meaning is *ūljax*, which seemed to be absent from our informants vocabulary. It has to be noted that *jolgox* is also frequently used in Barimjaa in the same way as in Deed Mongol.

DM. *keptā* “like something”, Kalm. “id.” for example: *Nad keptā ū!* “Drink like me!”, *Mongol keli nad keptā surīc!* “Learn to speak Mongolian like me!” The word is the combination of *kep* “shape, form” Mong. *keb*, Khal. *xew* and *-tā* “with, having something”. In Khalkha and Kalmyk the word *šig* is used with the same function.

DM. *körög* “bridge” Mong. *kögürge* / *kegürge*, Kalm. *körög*, Khal. *xērög*. In Written Mongolian, Kalmyk and Khalkha the word means „bellow”, and „snuff-bottle” and very rarely bridge. In Khalkha the word used for bridge is *gūr*, Mong. *gūr*.

DM. *nōs* “hair on human body”. In Khalkha *nōs* means wool, while in Deed Mongol besides wool it means “hair on a human body”, as for example on the arms, legs or chest. In Khalkha the same thing can be referred to as *biyīŋ üs* (*biy* body+*iŋ* (gen.), *üs* “hair”).

DM. *učirtā* “busy, having something to do”, from *učir* “case, event, incident, reason” + *-tAA* “with, having something”. The Khalkha equivalent *učirtai* means “meaningful, ough to, having reason” and is never used in the above Deed Mongol meaning. The Khalkha counterpart in meaning is *ajiltai*, from *ajil* “work, job, thing to do”. Note that in Barimjaa *učirtai* is pronounced the same way as in Deed Mongol.

DM. *sarawgar* “spider”, in Khalkha the word also exists but its meaning is different: “spread out, bushy”. In Deed Mongol the term most probably alludes to the appearance of the spider i.e. its legs are spread out. In Khalkha spider is *ālĵ*.

DM. *šimi* “cat”. There are various denominations for cat in Modern Mongolian varieties: Khalkha *mūr* from Mand. *māo’er* 猫儿, Western Mongolian Oirat *mī*, Xinjiang Oirat *mišī*.

DM. *taŋxag* “pocket, small bag, pouch”, in Khalkha *xalās* “pocket”, *ūt* “bag, pouch”

DM. *tatūr* “churning rod for fermenting koumiss”, from *tat-* “to pull”, in Khalkha *bulūr*. In Khalkha the same word can denote a wide range of instruments that are used for pulling, trawling or dragging as for example the bow of a violin, or a drawer.

DM. *tašā* “buttocks”. In Khalkha the corresponding *tašā* means “hip” and the most common term for “buttocks” is *bogs*.

DM. *xaltirax* “to slide (intentionally)”. The Khalkha equivalent *xalitrax* means “to slip, to slither (unintentionally, against one’s will)”. When speaking about ice-skating or sledding, our Deed Mongol informants always used the verb *xaltirax* while Khalkha speakers use exclusively *gulgax* to describe such actions, as for example *tešürēr gulgax* (*tešür* “skate”+ -AAr, *guly-* “to slide”) “to ice-skate”, or *čargār gulgax* (*čaray* “sled”+ -ār, *guly-* “to slide”) “to sled”.

DM. *xaraṅgadax* “to be hungry, to starve”, Khal. *xaraṅgasax* also *xaraṅgadax* Mong. *qarangyud-/qarangyus-* “to weaken from starving”. In Khalkha *xaraṅgasax/xaraṅgadax* is mainly used in relation to animals and very rarely to human beings. In Khalkha the most widely used word for “to be hungry, to starve” is *өлсөх*.

DM. *xawsrax* “to help”. Bar. “id.”. In Khalkha *xawsrax* means “to attach, to combine, to join together, to piece together, to join with, to cooperate”. In Deed Mongol the primary meaning of *xawsrax* as deduced from the speech of our informants, is “to help”. In Khalkha the verb most commonly used in this meaning is *tuslax*, a word our informants never used.

4.4. Peculiar collocations and locutions

DM. *algaṅ bömbög* “volleyball”, *alay* “palm” *bömbög* “ball” in Khalkha *bolliwöl* from Russian *volejbol*.

DM. *bī bodxār* “in my opinion”, *bī* “I”, *bodox* “to think”+ -ār (inst.) → *bodxār*. In Khalkha *mini bodlör*, *mini* “my”, *bodol* “thought”+ -ār → *bodlör*.

DM. *bīrnī us* “ink”, *bīr* “paintbrush, pen”, *us* “water, liquid”, in Khalkha *bex*.

DM. *biš bol* “otherwise, if not so” *biš* “not so, not like this/that” *bol* “if”. In Khal. *eswel*, from the verb *esex* “not to do so”+ *bol* “if” *eswel*. Note that in Khalkha *biš bol* is also in use but in a slightly different meaning: “if it/that is not like this/that”, for example *en ulāṅ biš bol* “if it is not red”.

DM. *bogon küṅ* “short person”, *bogon* “short”, *küṅ* “human, man, person”. In Khalkha *namxaṅ xṃṅ*, *namxaṅ* “low, short as opposed to tall or high”, *xṃṅ* “human, man, person”. Note that in Khalkha, *bogin* (the corresponding form of DM. *bogon*) is used only in the meaning “short as opposed to long” and never “short as opposed to tall or high”.

DM. *borogj’ūṅ jaṅtā* “friendly, cheerful”, *borogj’ūṅ* (cannot be identified), *jaṅ* “temperament, habit, custom”, in Khal. *nəxərsəg/nairsag*, *nəxər*, “friend, buddy, husband”, *nair*, “festivity, party, wedding”.

DM. *budāṅ ūx* “to eat”, *budāṅ*, “crop, grain, cereals, food in general”, *ūx* “to drink, to eat (soup-like dishes)”. Bar. “id.”. In Khalkha *xöl idex*, *xöl* “food”, *idex* “to eat”. Note that in Khalkha *budāṅ* does not mean food in general, only in the phrase *idēṅ budāṅ* “food and the like, food in general” might have such a meaning.

DM. *bürāṅ xorxō* “conch trumpet” (a musical instrument of Buddhist Lamas, made of a conch), *bürā* “trumpet”, *xorxō* “worm, insect, mollusk”, in Khalkha *dun/lawai*.

DM. *cagāṅ nogō* “cabbage” translation from Mand. *báicài* 白菜, *cagāṅ* “white”, *nogō* “vegetable”, in Khalkha *baicā* from Mandarin. Note that *cagāṅ nogō* is used for cabbage in Barimjaa as well.

DM. *dinxwa cokix* “to telephone”, *dinxwa* “telephone” from Mand. *diànhuà* 电话, *cokix* “to hit, to beat”, loan translation from Mand. *dǎdiànhuà* 打电话.

DM. *erelgēc* “beggar” from *erex* “to ask for, to look for”. In Khalkha *guilagčij*.

DM. *dugū* *tereg* / *yawgaṅ tereg*, “bicycle”, *dugū* “wheel”, *tereg*, “cart, car”, *yawgaṅ* “on foot, pedestrian” in Khalkha *unadag dugui*, *unax* “to ride”, *dugui* “wheel”.

DM. *faṅbien budā* “instant noodle”, from Mand. *fāngbiàn* 方便 “convenient” + DM. *budā* “meal, food”. Erdemt and Börgöd told me that *dököm budā* instead of *faṅbien budā* is also used in the same meaning. In Deed Mongol *dököm* Mong. *döküm*, Khal. *dexəm* means convenient, easy, handy. On the other hand *budā* in Khalkha has a more limited scope of meanings as crop, grain, rice, and instant noodles are mostly called *beleṅ goimon* “ready-made noodles”.

DM. *garig negeṅ* “Monday”, loan translation from Mand. *xīngqīyī* 星期一. Cf. also Barimjaa. In Khalkha *negdex ødør*, lit. “first day”. All the other days of the week except for Sunday are created according to this pattern in Deed Mongol.

DM. *garig ødör* “Sunday”, *garig* “planet”, *ødör* “day”, loan translation from Mand. *xīngqīrì* 星期日. Cf. also Barimjaa. In Khalkha *buteṅ sain ødør*, lit. “completely good day”.

DM. *gilā* *děj'lex* “to offer dairy products such as dried curd, cheese etc. to a guest” *gilā* “dairy”, *děj'lex* “to offer the best parts of something” from *děj'* “the best parts of something”. In Khalkha *cagāṅ idē amsūlax*, *cagāṅ idē* “dairy” lit. „white food”, *amsūlax* “to let taste, to offer”.

DM. *görösön yamā* / *kok yamā* “wild goat”, *görös* “deer, or any kind of wild animal, game”, *yamā* “goat”, *kok* “blue” in Khalkha *yangir*.

DM. *jös* *erex* “to beg for money”, *jös* “money”, *erex* “to ask for, to look for”. In Khalkha *guilay guix*, *guilay* “alms”, *guix* “to ask for, to implore, to beg”.

DM. *jū* *cokix* “vaccinate” *jū* “needle”, *cokix* “to hit, to beat”, loan translation from Mand. *dǎzhēn* 打针. In Mandarin the verb *dǎ* “to hit, to beat” is widely used as an auxiliary verb before nouns. In Khalkha *taria* *xīx*, *taria* “vaccine”, *xīx* “to do”.

DM. *kūk cokūlax* “to have a child aborted”, *kūk* “child”, *cokūlax*; the causative of *cokix* “to hit, to beat”, lit. “to have a child beaten/hit”. In Khalkha *ur xøndøx*, *ur* “seed, fetus, embryo, fruit, semen, child”, *xøndøx* “to abrade, to infiltrate, to affect”.

DM. *lū dugarax* “to thunder”, *lū* “dragon”, *dugarax*, “to sound”, in Khal. *tenger dugarax*, *tenger* “sky, heaven”.

DM. *mörnī max* “horse meat”, *mör* “horse”+*-ī* (gen.), *max* “meat” in Khalkha *adūnī max*, (*adū* “herd of horses, horses in general”+*-ī* (gen.), *max* “meat”).

DM. *naraṅ nūx* “the Sun sets, the Sun goes down”, *naraṅ* “Sun”, *nūx* “to hide” in Khal. *nar jargax*, *nar* “Sun”, *jargax* “to be happy”.

DM. *olē* “yes, that’s right” from North-western Mandarin *olei*, Standard Mandarin *àolai* 哎来. The expression is widely used by all nationalities in the Gansu-Qinghai region.

DM. *ümkā tāwx* “to fart”, *ümkā*, “stinky, smelly”, *tāwx* “to release, to set free, to put”. In Khal. *ungax*. Note that *ungax* is also understood in Deed Mongol but rarely used, while the *ømxī tawix*, i.e. the form that would correspond to DM. *ümkā tāwx* is not in use in Khalkha to my best knowledge.

DM. *sādag xāx* “to shoot with bow and arrow, archery” *sādag* “bow”, *xāx* “to shoot”. Note that in Khalkha *sādag* stands for quiver, and *xāx* means to close, shut as for example a door or window. In Khalkha *num sumār xarwax*, *num* “bow”, *sum* “arrow”, *xarwax* “to shoot (only with bows and arrows)” or simply *xarwax*. On the other hand, archery in Khalkha is called *sur xarwān* “shooting on leather stripes”. In Deed Mongol the expression *būgār xāx* “shoot with a rifle” (*bū* means rifle) also exists, while Khalkha generates a verb from the noun *bū* → *būdax* to express the same meaning.

DM. *sarnā kir* “menstruation, ovulation”, *sar* “month”, +*-ā* (gen.) *sarnā* “of the month”, *kir* “filth, dirt”, lit. “filth of the month”. In Khalkha the two most common terms of the plethora of expressions for menstruation is *sariṅ yum* “something of the month”, and *sariṅ temdeg* “the sign of the month”.

DM. *sul cag / jügēr cag* “free time, leisure time”, *sul* “empty, weak, lax”, *cag* “time, clock, hour”, *jügēr* “idle, free, vain” in Khalkha *čölēt cag*, from *čölē* “free, freedom” +*-t* “with, having something”, *cag* “time”.

DM. *sulio taṅxag* “plastic bag”, from Mand. *sùliào* 塑料 plastic + DM. *taṅxag* “bag”.

DM. *tārcin* “right, correct”, from the contraction of *tārc bain*, *tārax* “to match, to suit” +*é/j* (converbium imperfecti) + *bain* “to be”. Note that the same expression is used in the same meaning in Barimjaa. In Khalkha *juitei* and *jow* are the most commonly used expressions with this meaning.

DM. *xurd dārūlax* “to soak in rain”, *xur* “rain”, *dārūlax* “to be attacked, run down by” in Khalkha *borōnd norox*, *borō* “rain”, *norox* “to get wet”. Note that *xur* also exists in Khalkha, but used in a slightly different meaning “precipitation” and Deed Mongol speakers also use *borō* in the meaning “rain” but considerably more rarely than *xur*.

DM. *xōwīṅ jōsōr* “on one’s own expense” *xöp* (*xöp+īṅ* → *xōwīṅ*) “private, personal”, *jōs* “coin, money, expense” in Khalkha *ērīṅ jardlār*, *ēr* “self”, *ēr+īṅ* → *ērīṅ* “one’s own”, *jardal* “expense”, *jardal+ār* → *jardlār*. Note that the word *jōs* exists

in Khalkha as well, but its scope of meaning is more restricted. In Khalkha the primary meaning of *jōs* is coin and very rarely used in the meaning of money. The most commonly used term for money in Khalkha is *mōng*. In Barimjaa (*jōs*) and Deed Mongol, on the other hand, *jōs* has a wider scope of meanings, and primarily it refers to money in general.

5. DISTINCTIVE GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS

Besides the characteristics in pronunciation and vocabulary, Deed Mongol has a set of locutions and grammatical points that cannot be found in other major dialects.

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5.1. Expressing past experience with the V-*j'* + *ōngör*- pattern:

DM. *Ta Bij'in yowj ōngörsnū?* “Have you ever been to Beijing?”, *Ta* “you”, *Bij'in* “Beijing”, *yowj'* “going”(yow- “to go” + *j'*), *ōngörsnū* “have you passed?” (*ōngör*- “to pass, to pass away, to go by” + *sAŋ*+*-ū*). The usage of the verb *ōngör* clearly reflects the influence of the Mandarin way of expressing past experience. The Mandarin of the DM. *yowj' ōngörsōn* “have gone, have been” pattern is *qùguo* 去过, in which *qù* stands for “to go” and *guo* when used as a verb means “to pass”. In Khalkha, the corresponding pattern is V-*j'* + *uj-*, and the same sentence would be: *Ta Bējin yawj ujsnū?* In Khalkha the verb *uj-* means “to look at, to see, to try”, and is widely used to express past experience.

5.2. Expressing with the -*Ās* + *demī* + Adj. pattern:

DM. and Bar. *Ĉi nadās demī öndör*. “You are much taller than I”, *Ĉi* “you”, *nadās* “from me, than I” (*bī* “I”+AAs → *nadās*), *demī* “vain, void, meaningless(ness), stupidly, stupidity” *öndör* “tall, high”. In Khalkha most commonly the word *xamāgūi* “irrelevant, unaffiliated, does not matter” is used in place of the DM. *demī*. Thus the same sentence in Khalkha would be *Ĉi nadās xamāgūi öndör*.

5.3. Expressing ability and inability with the V-*j'* + *dilek* pattern:

DM. and Bar. *Bī ūnī xīj' dilekkū*. “I cannot do this.”, *bī* “I”, *ūnī* “this” (*en* “this” +*-ī* (acc.) → *ūnī*), *xīj'* “doing” (*xī-* “to do” +*-j'*), *dilek* “overcome, bear down, conquer, subjugate”, *dilek*+*-gū* “no, without” → *dilekkū* “cannot do, do not overcome”.

In Khalkha *čadax* is the customarily used verb to express ability and its negative form *čatxgʷi* (more colloquially: *čatxkʷ*, *čadax*+*-gʷi*) to express inability. Thus the same sentence in Khalkha would be: *Bi ʰnīg xij čatxgʷi*.

5.4. Negating past tense with the suffix *-sAŋgū* (*-sAŋ* + *-gū*).

DM. *Bagš irsŋgū*. “The teacher did/has not come.”, *bagš* “teacher”, *irsŋgū* “did/has not come” (*ir-* “to come” + *sAŋ*+*-gū* “no, not, without” → *irsŋgū*). In Khalkha different suffixes are used for negating simple past and past perfect tenses. The corresponding form of the DM. *-sAŋgū*, Khal. *-sAŋgʷi* negates simple past, therefore Khal. *Bagš irsŋgʷi* means “The teacher did not come”. On the other hand, for negating past perfect the *-āgʷi* suffix is used. Thus *Bagš irēgʷi* means “The teacher has not come (yet)”. In Kalmyk the pattern used for negating past perfect is *V-ād* + *ugā*, thus the same sentence in Kalmyk would be *Bagš irād ugā*, *ugā* “no, not, without”. Both the pattern *V-Ād* + *ugā* and the suffix combination *-āgʷi* (its corresponding form would be *-āgū*) are alien to Deed Mongol.

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5.5. Negating present continuous with the suffix combination *-j'gū*:

DM. *öbdöj'gū* “does not hurt”, the negation of *öbdöj' bān* (in fast speech: *öbdj'ān*) “hurts”, which in Mongolian is said in present continuous. The Khalkha equivalent of DM. *öbdöj' bān* is *əwdəj bain* and can be negated as *əwdəxgʷi bain*. The combination of *-gʷi* “no, not, without” (DM. *-gū*) with the converbum imperfecti *-j/č* (DM. *-j/č*) does not exist in Khalkha.

6. CONCLUSION

From the above it is clear that though Deed Mongol is a variety of Oirad, it shares a great number of features with Khalkha and Barimjaa. The ones common in Khalkha and Deed Mongol are predominantly phonetic (frequency of labial assimilation, the existence of the sound *j* and the lack of *z* just to mention the most conspicuous ones) while Barimjaa influence can primarily be detected in the vocabulary and collocations. The lack of the most common Barimjaa phonetic characteristics (central *a*, the lack of *j* and *c* in favor of *j'* and *č*) in Deed Mongol suggests that the exposure of Deed Mongol speakers to Barimjaa is limited, and so it is their contact with the Oirads of Xinjiang, whose speech is closest to that of the Kalmyks.

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SART-KALMYK – KALMYKS OF YSYK-KÖL (KARAKOL, KIRGHIZSTAN)

INTRODUCTION

This paper is the result of a short fieldtrip to the Kalmyks of Ysyk-Köl that took place in June, 1999 during my two-month fieldwork in Kirghizstan collecting folklore and folk music in almost all regions of the Central Asian country. After crossing the 3000–4000 m high passes of the Tianshan Mountains in five days on horseback from Narin we (the author and András Kollmann) reached the Ysyk-Köl (Hot Lake) in the North of Kirghizstan. We had to travel another two days to the eastern edge of the Lake before we reached the city of Karakol.² In the Sunday *bazār* we sold our horses and started to collect material on foot in the local villages.

Soon we reached the village of Čelpek which is populated mostly by Kalmyks who used to speak a Western Mongol dialect. Local Kirghiz people call them Sart-Kalmak but they are most likely Khotons³ who accepted Islam in their former homeland in East Turkestan (Xinjiang, China). They probably lived in the northern part of the Tarim Basin, near to the Bayraš Lake (Qara-šähär) and the Uighur city of Korla.⁴ This area is populated mostly by Uighurs and Dungans (Huizu or Muslim Chinese) in the villages but there are also nomadic Oirads in the mountains of Tianshan. Due to the harsh semi-desert climate and the influence of local sedentary groups some of the Kalmyks became semi-nomadic and horticulturalist. The settled groups soon got acquainted with Islam and became Muslims. So when the Dungan uprisings against the Manchu rule were suppressed in the 19th

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¹ Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnology

² Formerly Prževalsk, named after Nikolaj Przewalski (1839–1889) a Polish explorer of the Russian Empire. In 1992 it got back its Kirghiz name after the local river Karakol (Mong. Qara-Fool “Black River”).

³ Khoton (Mong. Qotong) simply means Muslim but in Mongolia it is a name for an Oirad-speaking group in the Altai Mountains (Uws *aimag*, Tarialan *sum*). In China Mongols use it as the name of the Huizu (Muslim Chinese) Minority.

⁴ Zhukovskaya 1985: 94.



*Yaks of the Sart-Kalmak herders along the Sari-Jaz Plateau
in the Tianshan Mountains, June 2006*

century⁵ most of the Muslim Oirads (Khotons) also fled to the Russian Empire in the 1880s along with the Dungans and Uighurs. They crossed the Tianshan by the 4284 meter high Bedel Pass via Ak-Sū and Ūč-Turpan to reach the Ysyk-Köl area inhabited by the Kirghiz Bugu clan. This territory became a Russian colony in the 1870s,⁶ so here they were safe from the revenge of the Manchu troops who killed millions of Muslims during the uprisings.

These refugee groups settled down around Karakol River where they found suitable lands for irrigation. The Russians founded the city of Karakol here in 1869, which later became the center of the local Russian administration. The Khoton Kalmyks founded villages on the two sides of the town Karakol in Čelpek and Börü-Baši but we only visited the village of Čelpek.

Its population is mostly Kalmyk but there are a lot of Kirghiz wives from nearby villages married to Kalmyk men.⁷ The majority of the villagers work as farmers on the irrigated lands, just as they used to do in Xinjiang. Some of them

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⁵ Wen Jiang Chu 1966.

⁶ Brentjes 1974: 145.

⁷ Kalmyk women sometimes marry Kirghiz men from other villages in which case they move to their husbands' households leaving the Kalmyk communities.

tend cattle and sheep and even yaks, which were introduced by the Russians from the Pamir Mountains during Soviet times. Yak-breeding Kalmyks live far away from the village in the Alpine pastures of Sarī-Jaz, Sirt-Jayloo. But most of the Kalmyks live in the villages. The cattle of the village is driven by some shepherds to the nearby pastures and returned every day to their owners for milking. Nomadic life disappeared among them. Čelpek is inhabited by some 3000 people. The local Kirghiz do not call these people Sart-Kalmak just Kalmak, so in my paper I will call them the Kalmyks of Ysyk-Köl. The Turkic word *sart* originates from Sanskrit *sārtha* which means “merchant”. The nomads generally called *sart* all the sedentary Turkic and Iranian (Uzbek, Uighur and Tajik) groups of Turkistan. Kalmak was the designation for the nomadic tribes who were not converted to Islam (Arabic *kāfir* meaning “infidel or non-Muslim”).

The Oirad clans of the Jungaria (W. Oir. Zöün-Far) and the Torguud, Dörwöd clans who migrated to the Ijil⁸ were also called Kalmaks in Central Asia. The word *kalmak/qalmaq* comes from Turkic⁹ and its Mongolic form is *qalimay* adding an extra *i* after the *l*.¹⁰ Its modern pronunciation is *xal'mäg* and the Kalmyks of Ysyk-köl also pronounce it that way. Oirads living on the territory of the former Soviet Union (Kalmykia, Kirghizstan) use *xal'mäg* as an autonym (self-designation), but the Oirads of Mongolia and Xinjiang prefer to be called Western Mongol or Oirad (*örd*), and consider *xal'mäg* derogatory.¹¹

ABOUT THE FIELDWORK

One of the male relatives of my Kirghiz friend in Karakol married from the Kalmyks so their clan became an in-law clan (*quda*)¹² with that clan of the Kalmyks. We visited the father-in-law of that Kirghiz boy who himself was only half Kalmyk. His father married a Kazan Tatar lady on his way back from the front of World War II. Kalmyks long had been bilingual (Turkic and Mongolic) and for the Tatar wife learning Kirghiz was very easy. The common language became Kirghiz in their family so their children could hardly speak Kalmyk. In general the majority

⁸ Ijil is the Mongolic name for the Volga River while its Turkic name is Edil.

⁹ The word *kal-mak* comes from the *kal-* “to stay” root and it designates people who remained non-Muslim or infidel (*kāfir*) but Shi'a Muslims (Qizil-bash) are also called *kalmak* sometimes.

¹⁰ Compare Turkic *alma*, Mong. *alima*

¹¹ According to my own fieldwork material, Boro-tala (Xinjiang, China)

¹² The Kirghiz *quda* is a Mongolic element which illustrates well the mixing of Turkic and Mongolic clans. In-law clan members are related to each other through the marriage of a couple where the husband belongs to one and the wife to the other clan. See Abramzon 1971: 56.



A group of Sart-Kalmaks in Čelpek, June 2006 (with Somfai Kara and his Kirghiz father-in-law, Pamirbek)

of the Kalmyks in Čelpek use Kirghiz for communication and only very old people prefer Kalmyk when they talk to each other. People over 60 understand Kalmyk well but use Kirghiz with their children. People over 80 are good speakers but very few of them are still alive.

Upon our host's advice we visited the shepherd (stockman) next door, Gokā who apparently was the best speaker among the younger generation (around 60). Gokā received us with hospitality and he not only spoke fluently in Kalmyk but he could sing folk songs too. He told us that his father was a strict man and did not allow them to speak Kirghiz at home. Other youths in the village started to speak Kirghiz within their family even in childhood and they learned in Kirghiz at school too. The same kind of language assimilation can be observed among the Turkic Toha¹³ of Khöwsgöl where children under 20 cannot speak Toha due to the influence of the Mongolian school. Their older family members accepted that and started to speak with them in the local Darkhad dialect.

The assimilation process probably happened during Gokā's childhood in the 1950s. It seems that the Kalmyks of Ysyk-Köl are irreversibly on the way to lan-

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¹³ The Toha is a reindeer-keeping Tuva or Uriankhai group who pronounce their Tiwa ethnonym as Toha.



Gokā Omarov, June 1999

guage extinction. The acceptance of Islam and their isolation from other Oirad groups lead to their assimilation (acculturation) losing not only their language but other ethnic peculiarities as folk dance and dresses. Older generations used to dance Oirad dances (*bī* or *bīlelyen*) accompanied by a double-stringed instrument called *dombār*. A middle-aged teacher of Čelpek preserved his father's old *dombār* instrument and was able to play some simple tunes on it.

The Kalmyks of Čelpek have great respect for Russian Academician Aleksej Vasiljevič Burdukov¹⁴ who visited the village and took pictures of the local Kalmyks.¹⁵ After his death some copies of his pictures were sent to Čelpek by his daughter on the request of a local historian. In one of the pictures there are movements from an Oirad dance (*bī*). In another picture the father of that man – who preserved his instrument – can be seen playing his *dombār*. The Kalmyks of Čelpek are proud of their ancestors and they feel sorry that their language is disappearing. One of them conducts research about the history of the Kalmyks and another publishes a newspaper of Čelpek in the Kirghiz language. An old Kalmyk who spoke the language fluently started to compile a Kalmyk-Kirghiz dictionary in their local dialect.

Kalmyks from Elst (Kalmykia)¹⁶ also visited them in the 1980s and examined their dialect. They even sent some teachers from Elst to teach the children Kalmyk at the local school. The problem was that the dialect of Elst taught at school was

¹⁴ See Burdukov 1935: 47–78 and Burdukov 1987.

Aleksej Vasilevič Burdukov (1883–1943) was a Russian philologist of Mongolic studies. He was born in the town of Borovaja (Tjumen' Region) in a peasant family. Later he worked in Bijsk (Altai Region, Russia) then in Khovd Region (Mongolia) as a shop-keeper. He spent 19 years in Khovd and mastered the local Oirad dialect.

¹⁵ Kazan Tatar Altaic philologist Tenišev also visited the Sart-kalmyks and wrote an article about their language, see Tenišev 1976.

¹⁶ The Russian name of the Kalmyk town Elst is Elista and it originates from Mong. *elesütü* “sandy”. It is the capital of the Kalmyk Republic (Xal'mg Tangyč).

very different from the local dialect, so when children tried to speak Kalmyk, elderly people of the village did not really approve of it. After the collapse of the Soviet Union teaching Kalmyk stopped. Kalmyks were not really disappointed because there was a conflict between the Buddhist Kalmyk teachers and the local Muslim community. This religious difference really separates them from the rest of the Oirad-Kalmyk communities in the world (Russia, China and Mongolia). Some of the local youths even went to Elst to learn Kalmyk and to become teachers but none of them returned to the village. People in the village believe that in Kirghizstan local authorities do not support the Kalmyk minority due to the hostilities between the Kalmyk and Kirghiz people in the 17th and 18th centuries, although some of the Kalmyks believe that they are a Burut (the Kalmyk name for Kirghiz) clan who were assimilated to the Oirads during the era of the Jungarian Empire. Most of the Kirghiz epics mention the Kalmyks as their enemies although some of those epics (e.g. *Manas*) are related to the Manchu invasion of East Turkestan, the common enemy of the Kalmyk and Kirghiz tribes.¹⁷

THE DIALECT OF THE KALMYKS OF YSYK-KÖL

Phonetics

Phonetically the Kalmyk dialect of Ysyk-Köl is quite similar to other Oirad dialects, so I will only illustrate some peculiarities.

Vowels

The short vowels of the non-initial syllables are reduced but not as much as in the Ijl-Xal'mg dialect, e.g. *mörün/mörën* “horse”.

Final vowels are also preserved although reduced, e.g. *xarā* “black”.

Long *ū/ü* vowels are shortened in non-initial syllables, e.g. *čolun* “stone”, *šowun* “bird”.

Consonants

The affricate *č* is usually pronounced *č̣* in that dialect. The separation of *c/č* is not so evident as in other Oirad dialects, e.g. *čayān* “white”, *časān* “snow”.

The separation of *ǰ/j* is common but as in other Oirad dialects *j* is pronounced as *z*, e.g. *zuryā* “six”.

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¹⁷ On this topic see Somfai 2010: 167–178.

Morphology

Case suffixes

Genitive	- <i>in</i> or <i>n-ā/ā</i>
Objective	- <i>gi</i>
Dative-locative	- <i>dā</i> or <i>-ndā</i>
Ablative	-(<i>γ</i>) <i>āsā</i> or <i>-n-āsā</i>
Instrumental	-(<i>γ</i>) <i>ār</i>

Personal pronouns

<i>bi</i>	I
<i>či</i>	thou or you (singular informal)
<i>ta</i>	you (singular formal)
<i>bi-dēn</i> or <i>ba</i> ¹⁸	we (exclusive and inclusive)
<i>ta-dēn</i> ¹⁹	you (plural)

Genitive case

<i>mini</i>	my
<i>čini, tanā</i>	your (singular informal, formal)
<i>bidnā, manā</i>	our (inclusive, exclusive)
<i>tadnā</i>	your (plural)

Genitive personal suffixes

<i>ger-ēm</i>	my house
<i>ger-čin</i>	your house
<i>ger-ēmdēn</i>	our house
<i>ger-tēn</i>	your (plural) house

Genitive personal suffix with case suffixes

<i>ger-in-ēm</i> ²⁰	of my house
<i>ger-gi-m</i>	my house (objective case)
<i>ger-tē-m</i>	in my house
<i>ger-āsē-m</i>	from my house
<i>ger-ār-ēm</i>	by my house

As in all Mongolic languages, the case suffix precedes the possessive personal suffix, while in Turkic languages the order is reverse.

¹⁸ In Volga Oirad *madn* is used for *ba* “we” inclusive plural.

¹⁹ The *-dān/dēn* suffix derives plural forms from *bi*, *ba* and *ta* in Oirad: *bidēn*, *madān* and *tadān*.

²⁰ In Kalmyk *ger-in-ni* “of his (own) house” is not expressed by the reflexive genitive suffix (*-ā/ē*), but the simple genitive suffix is used. Compare Khalkha *ger-in-x-ē* and Buriad *ger-in-gē*.

Verb conjugation

<i>Bi od-nā-w</i>	I go
<i>Či od-nā-č</i>	You go (singular informal)
<i>Ta od-nā-t</i>	You go (singular formal)
<i>Ter (kümn) od-nā</i>	He/she (this person) goes
<i>Bidēn/madān od-nā-wdān</i>	We (inclusive and exclusive) go
<i>Tadān od-nā-t</i>	You go (plural formal/informal)
<i>Terdēn/Ter delkā od-nā</i>	They/These people go

Imperative

<i>Or!</i>	Enter! (you singular informal)
<i>Or-tān</i>	Enter! (you singular formal)
<i>Or-čxā-tān²¹</i>	Enter! (you plural)
<i>yow-tān/yop-tān²²</i>	Go! (you singular formal)
<i>yow-čxā-tān or yop-tān</i>	Go! (you plural)

Conditional

<i>öndēr xurā orx-ānā, bi odāx-šiw</i>	if today rain falls, I will not go
<i>či irx-ānāč, xamtā odnā-wdān²³</i>	If you come, we go together

Negation

Present tense	<i>mednā-w</i>	<i>medēxšiw</i>	I know/I do not know
Past tense	<i>odwā</i>	<i>odsān-guo/go</i>	He saw/he did not see
Present continuous	<i>irj-ānāw</i>	<i>irēxši-w</i>	I am coming/I am not coming

The deverbal suffix *-däg/dëg* (used as habitual in Khalkha) is only used as the nomen futuri, etc. in this Kalmyk dialect, e.g. *oddäg/irdëg kümēn* “person who goes/comes, going/coming person”.

Lexicology

Cardinal Numbers

The final *-n* of the cardinal numbers disappears in counting. This phenomenon is peculiar to the Khalkha dialect although it applies to every word, not just the numbers. But if the numbers are used as attributive, the final *-n* is preserved, e.g. *dörwēn mörēn* “four horses”.

²¹ Plural is expressed by the suffix *-čxā/čxā-* but it can be omitted. It expresses an action taken by plural actors together or at the same time, compare with Khalkha *-cgā/cgē-*. Kirghiz speakers use the Turkic *-š-* suffix to express plural sometimes, e.g. *barišat* “they go together” or simply “they go”.

²² The *-tān/tēn* suffix derives from Mong. *tanu* “your” (singular formal).

²³ The *-x-āna* is the shortened form of Mong. *-qu bai-n a-yu*.

1 <i>negě</i>	10 <i>arwā</i>
2 <i>xoyār</i>	20 <i>xōrě</i> ²⁴
3 <i>yurwā</i>	30 <i>yučī</i>
4 <i>dōrwě</i>	40 <i>dōči</i>
5 <i>tawā</i>	50 <i>tāwě</i>
6 <i>zuryā</i>	60 <i>jirě</i>
7 <i>dolā</i>	70 <i>dalā</i>
8 <i>nāma</i> ²⁵	80 <i>nayā</i>
9 <i>isě</i> ²⁶	90 <i>yirě</i>
Large numbers:	
100 <i>zū</i>	1000 <i>mingyā</i>

In this section I present some words that I recorded during my fieldwork in the Ysyk-Köl Kalmyk dialect. Some of the words have dialectological peculiarities.

<i>delkā</i>	people ²⁷
<i>ūlā</i>	mountain
<i>usun</i>	water

Adverbs of time (days)

<i>ōndēr</i>	today	<i>urjidēr</i>	day before yesterday
<i>mangyādār</i>	tomorrow	<i>nōkādēr</i>	day after tomorrow
<i>ōčigdēr</i>	yesterday		

People according to their sex and age

<i>kōgsin</i>	old man	<i>kūken</i>	girl
<i>emgēn</i>	old woman	<i>būs-guo/güō</i> ²⁸	woman
<i>zalū kōwūn</i>	young man		

Adjectives

<i>ikē</i>	big	<i>kītēn</i>	cold
<i>bayā</i>	small	<i>bülēn/bülün</i>	warm
<i>čōkēn</i>	few	<i>xolā</i>	far
<i>xalān/xalun</i>	hot	<i>ōr</i>	close

²⁴ Instead of the Kalmyk *xörn* form (Mong. *qorin*) we find *xōrě* with a long first vowel. See Muniyev 1977: 604.

²⁵ Instead of the Kalmyk *nāmn* form (Mong. *naiman*) we find *nāma* where the *ai* diphthong changed into a long back vowel *ā*. See Muniyev 1977: 371.

²⁶ Initial *y* disappears like Khalkha *ix* (Mong. *yeke*), compare with Kalmyk *yisn*, Khalkha *yös(ön)* (Mong. *yisün*).

²⁷ Compare with Kalmyk *delkā*. In Khalkha *delxi* (Mong. *delekei*) means “world” but in Oirad dialects it also means “numerous, many”, see Coló 1988: 168.

²⁸ The Mongolic *ügei* negative particle has various shortened forms in different Mongolic dialects, e.g. *gui/güi*, *güō/güe*, *guo/gua*. Volga Kalmyks pronounce it as *gō* (the longer form is *ugā*).

Livestock

<i>mörēn</i>	horse (mount/castrated)	<i>xōn</i>	sheep
<i>gün</i> ²⁹	mare	<i>xuryān</i>	lamb
<i>unāyān</i>	one-year-old colt	<i>tōlēg</i>	two year old lamb
<i>dāyān</i>	two-year-old colt	<i>xučā</i>	ram
<i>aǰıryā</i>	stallion	<i>takā</i>	hen/chicken

Parts of body

<i>yar</i>	hand	<i>čikēn</i>	ear
<i>kōlēn</i>	foot	<i>küzün</i>	neck
<i>tolxā</i>	head	<i>šidēn</i> ³⁰	teeth
<i>xamār</i>	nose	<i>kelēn</i>	tongue

Kinship terms

<i>ečgē/āwā</i>	father	<i>axā</i>	older brother
<i>ekē/ēji</i>	mother	<i>dū</i>	younger brother or sister

Some other words

<i>dīgēt</i> ³¹	very	<i>dūn</i>	song
<i>čoyār</i> ³²	together	<i>ondān</i>	other
<i>tūy</i> ³³	story		

Colors

<i>čayān</i>	white	<i>kōkē</i>	blue, green
<i>xarā</i>	black	<i>šarā</i>	yellow

²⁹ In the Kalmyk language most of the originally long vowels in monosyllabic roots with a final consonant are shortened, e.g. *gün* “mare”. But they preserve their long vowels when suffixes are added to the roots, e.g. *gūnd* “to a mare”.

³⁰ In this word regressive labialisation did not occur as in other modern Mongolic dialects, e.g. Khalkha *šüd*, Kalmyk *šüdn* (Mong. *sidün*).

³¹ This word may have been derived from the Mong. *dege-* “up” root but its origin is unclear.

³² It derives from the *čoy* root which is a variety of the Mong. *čuy* “together”. The verbal form is *čuyla-* or *čoyla-* “to come together, to gather” and its Kalmyk pronunciation is *čoyāl-*. This word was borrowed by Kirghiz as *čogū* “together” and *čogul-* “to gather”.

³³ The original *tūli* form changed to *tūy* because the palatalized *l'* became *y* in this dialect.

Expressions, idioms

<i>Kürgënd mordwā/odwā</i>	She married a man.
<i>Pičig pičü-w</i> ³⁴ (<i>pičiw-w</i>)	I wrote a letter.
<i>Tanāsā surjānā-w</i>	I ask from you.
<i>Undās-uw</i>	I am thirsty.
<i>Gesē-m</i> ³⁵ <i>ölēn/ölswā</i>	I am hungry.
<i>Činī nasān kedītā?</i>	How old are you?
<i>Būyar xanā</i>	He shoots with a rifle.
<i>Xotān ūnā-w/p</i> ³⁶	I am eating my meal. ³⁷
<i>Xaryānā-wdān</i>	We will meat.
<i>Songsčānā-w</i>	I am listening.
<i>Megtēbtē</i> ³⁸ <i>nomšīnā-w</i> ³⁹	I am learning in school.
<i>Tenāsē xōrān</i> ⁴⁰	After that.
<i>Xamā</i> ⁴¹ <i>odnā-č/yownā-č?</i>	Where are you going/leaving?
<i>Xamāyāsā irwā-č?</i>	Where did you come from?

³⁴ The initial voiced consonant becomes unvoiced in a few cases unlike in other modern Mongolic dialects.

³⁵ The Kalmyk word *gesn* “stomach” originates from Mong. *gedesün*. The final *-n* suffix fuses with *-m* possessive suffix.

³⁶ The final *w* sound is sometimes pronounced as *p*.

³⁷ Compare Kirghiz *tamak ič* “to eat food” which literary means “drink food”. The Kalmyk *xot* “food” is different from Mong. *qoyola* and Khalkha *xōl* which is related to *qoyolai* “throat” just like Kirghiz *tamak* “food or throat”.

³⁸ *Megtēb* “school” is the Kalmyk pronunciation of the Kirghiz word *mektep* (Arabic *maktab*).

³⁹ The verb *nomš-* is derived from *nom* “book”, compare Tuva *nomju-* “to read” but Khalkha *unš-* and Kalmyk *umš-* (Mong. *ungsi-*).

⁴⁰ The word *xōr-ān* is the Oirad form of Khalkha *xoi-š-ō* “back/bakward, north and later” form and it derives from Mong. *qoyina* “back”. It should not be confused with Khalkha *xōr* and *xōron* that means “between”.

⁴¹ This form derives from Mong. *qamiya*, compare Khalkha *xā/xā-na* and Kalmyk *xama* but in the Volga dialect *al'd/al'd-ārān* is more frequently used while Kalmyks of Ysyk-Köl do not use that form.

Influence of the Kirghiz language

Kalmyks of Ysyk-köl use a lot of Kirghiz words, e.g. *meġtëb* “school”, *arābā* “cart”, etc. Sometimes suffixes were also borrowed from the Kirghiz, e.g. *xal'māġār* or *xal'māġčā* “in Kalmyk language” (Kirghiz *kalmakča*)

Specimina of the Kalmyk dialect of Ysyk-Köl (Karakol)

Informant: Gokā Omarov, 1938, Čelpek, Kharāwātār clan

Öndër

- 1) *Bi öndër örügār ertë bosād mörān toxād xotān belën keġ awād ükër xärülxār, delkān ükërgi tūyād ūldu oduw.*
- 2) *Ūld odād oxtāryā čilġër sāxën boluw, ükërmësgï xärülād, narān sāxën xalun tusuw.*
- 3) *Tegād üdën čag boluw, üdën čagtā usānd orulād, uslād gedërgë awā ġarād sāxën gesā čad-čk-ād,⁴² orā bolsnās xōrā gedërgë ergülād nār urū ködād tūyād āldā awād ezënd čoy-ār-t⁴³ öġüw ükërmësgï.*
- 4) *Tegād gertā orād neg sāxën cā ütāl xoyār xonāġ⁴⁴ zalū iriüw.*
- 5) *Erdën⁴⁵ zalüčid-nār Vengriyāyās irsën zalüčid-nār⁴⁶ sänġi, xal'māġ kelë kelëlcädëġ kümün xāġ yowsän sänġi.*
- 6) *Tegād erdëntā bi xaryād tegād erdëntā sāxën kelëlcād, ewrā kelën kelëlcād, xal'māġārān.*
- 7) *Ter ödër sāxën kelān kelëlcād, sāxën süyād tegād tarād oduwdān.⁴⁷*
- 8) *Tegād sāxën-sān delkā-nër sänġi, sän uls sänġi, medeltā delkā sänġi, sän zalüčid-nar.*

Today

- 1) I got up early this morning, put the saddle on my horse, prepared some food and went to tend the cattle. I drove the cattle of the people to the mountain.
- 2) I went to the mountain. The sky was clear and nice. I tended the cattle. The sun was nicely and warmly shining.
- 3) Then it became noon. At noon I took (them) to the water to let (them) drink then I took (them) back, filled my stomach and I returned only after it became

⁴² Suffix -čk- is a contraction of -ġi (adverbium imperfectum) plus *orki*- “to throw”; compare Khalkha -čix-.

⁴³ Oirad dialects sometimes use multiple case endings, e.g. *čoy-ār* “together, all” and *čoy-ār-t* “to all/ everybody”.

⁴⁴ The word *xonāġ* is not from Mong. *qonoġ* “day and night” but Turkic *qonaġ* “guest”.

⁴⁵ The demonstrative *edën* “these” are pronounced *erdën* in the Ysyk-köl dialect, just like *terdën* “those”.

⁴⁶ This is a double plural form: *zalü-čid-nār* (Mong. *jalayu-čud nar*).

⁴⁷ In colloquial speech it is pronounced *odudan/odādan* (from *odāw-wdān*) “we went”.

evening. I drove them from the pasture back to the village, and gave back all the cattle to their owners.

4) Then I entered my home and while I was having a nice tea two young guest boys arrived.

5) These boys came from Hungary. They were looking for someone who could speak in Kalmak.

6) So I met them and I had a nice conversation with them, we spoke in my language, in Kalmak.

7) That day we had a nice conversation, we sat together nicely and then we went away.

8) So they are nice people, they are nice folks. They are educated people, nice young boys.

Songs

*Sayālār-sayālār modāndā šājiyā šowun čoylārnā
Šājiyā alāg nūdnāsni nūlümsün yūnda asxārnā*⁴⁸

“On the tree leafy tree magpie birds are gathering
From your magpie-like mottled eyes why are tears pouring”

*Xoyār kēr mörēn bānā, negē xuldäg*⁴⁹ *durun bānā
Ard üldüsün axā-dünērdē odād irdäg durun bānā*

“There are two bay horses, I want to sell one (of them)
To my brothers left behind I want to go”

*Enē yoldā casān orwā, terē yoldā yawār-ām*⁵⁰ *bolwā
Ard üldüsün ax-dünērdē odād irdäg durun bānā*⁵¹

“In this valley snow has fallen, in that valley it became muddy
To my brothers left behind I want to go”

⁴⁸ Compare with Vladimircov 1926: 4. (*dün* “pesni”).

*sāylar, sāylar modundu, šāzyā šuwün šayširnā dā kō
sāxān lā biyīmni ösgögsēn ējinān ačigi yaynā dā kō*

The first two lines are almost the same except one word *šagšir*- “to make a noise”. Personal communication of Ágnes Birtalan.

⁴⁹ The meaning of the verb *xul*- is “to sell” in Kalmyk (Mong. *qudaldu*-).

⁵⁰ The meaning of *yawār* is “mud”, see Coló 1988: 508. Compare with Khalkha *šawar*, Mong. *sibar*. The final *-am* suffix comes from *yümēn* “thing” which is used as an emphasis.

⁵¹ Coló and Birtalan collected similar folksongs among the Oirads of Mongolia.

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