

SACRAL COMMUNICATION OF DARKHAD SHAMANS

SOME ASPECTS OF VERBAL COMMUNICATION*

ÁGNES BIRTALAN

Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Inner Asian Studies
H-1088 Budapest, Múzeum krt. 4/B, Hungary
e-mail: birtalan@btk.elte.hu, birtalan@hotmail.com

The present article pays homage to Professor Louis Ligeti, founder of Mongolian Studies at the University of Budapest, who passed away twenty-five years ago. He has been known also as one of the first scholars who carried out stationary field research in Inner Mongolia. His disciples followed this tradition of fieldwork and often visited Mongolia in order to collect written and oral materials among the Mongolian ethnic groups. Since the early nineties a joint expedition – organised by the Department of Inner Asian Studies of the University of Budapest, in collaboration with the institutions of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences – has been working among the various ethnic groups of Mongolia. During the twenty years of fieldwork a large amount of records concerning the dialects, folklore, religious systems, material culture, etc. of these ethnic groups has been accumulated in the archives of the Expedition. The results of the field research have been published in different academic journals and conference proceedings. This time some of the Darkhad shamanic texts, recorded by the author and her research team during several study trips, will be presented in the investigation-frame of the sacral communication.

Key words: Mongolian ethnic groups, fieldwork, shamanism, textology, sacral communication, verbal communication, shamanic texts.

Text-philology and fieldwork based investigation of the Mongols are decisive traditions in the research and education of the Department of Inner Asian Studies established by Lajos Ligeti. Following Ligeti's (Ligeti 1933) and his pupils' (Kara–Róna-Tas–U. Köhalmi 1958a; 1958b) example, the contemporary faculty-fellows of the Department launched a long-lasting field-research in 1991. The activity of the Hungarian–Mongolian Joint Expedition (hereafter Expedition) – organised by the Department – endeavours the documentation and multilateral elaboration of languages/dia-

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lects and folk culture (including folklore and religion) of several Mongolian ethnic groups (Birtalan 2008a; 2010). As the start of the expedition coincided with a religious revival in the new post-socialist political milieu in Mongolia, I have had the opportunity to research the still living tradition of the previously forbidden shamanism and to document its new tendencies.¹ In honour of Professor Ligeti, one of the initiators of the fieldwork based Mongolian philological studies, a brief essay – based on the Expedition-materials – will be published here, devoted to the analysis of some aspects of Darkhad shamans' sacral communication. The shamanic tradition of the Darkhads² have been investigated by a series of researchers among them Sanžeev, Diószegi, Pürew, Dulam³ and recently by the team of the Expedition. The textual tradition of the Darkhad shamans became the main topic in my articles, focusing on the performer (Birtalan 2007), the genres (Birtalan 2005; 2006), the typology and morphology of helping spirits (Birtalan–Sipos–Coloo 2004) and the non-verbal communication of the shamans (Birtalan 2008b). Below some aspects of the verbal communication is examined on the basis of materials recorded during the fieldwork trips in 1992, 1993, 1995, 1997, and 2001.

The Verbal Communication of the Darkhad Shamans – “Talking to the *Ongons*”

The shamans receive information about the surrounding world and about their clients from their spirits. This phenomenon is called the *ongodīn medēlel* “the *ongons*’ information” in the Mongolian literature on Darkhad shamanism, however, this is not an original emic distinction, rather an adaptation of native researchers (e.g. Pürew). To be more precise, I have suggested “talking to the *ongons*”, as the process is a mutual interaction.⁴ The communication with the spirits⁵ happens not only during the ritual

¹ For the publications concerning the shamanic material of the Expedition, cf. Birtalan’s bibliography: www.birtalan.innerasia.hu.

² The Darkhads live mainly in four districts of Khöwsgöl (Xöwsgöl) province of Mongolia; among the twenty-four Darkhad clans there are numerous ethnonyms from various Mongol and Turkic ethnic groups who settled in from different regions of Inner Asia and South Siberia. The Darkhad dialect belongs to the Khalkha group (Khalkha is the official language of the Republic of Mongolia), but has some features of the West Mongol (Oirad) and Buryad languages, has a particular intonation and a specific vocabulary. The shamanic tradition has survived among them even during the decades of socialism. The linguistic and ethnographic data on Darkhads have been summarised by Badamxatan (1965) and recently by Birtalan (2008b).

³ On this research and the researchers, cf. Birtalan (2008b).

⁴ This phenomenon was presented in the article: Birtalan–Sipos–Coloo (2004).

⁵ While participating in the rituals and recording texts, I was able to observe the communicative situation at the place of the ritual between the shaman and the community (i.e. the human participants), and between the shaman and the invoked spirits. These communicative actions occur in a socially and economically determined environment, in definite cultural circumstances (the Mongolian cultural context). The communicative action is based on strict reciprocity between the shaman on one side, and the communities of spirits and humans, on the other (in detail cf. Birtalan 2008b).

but also any time during the waking hours or in a dream. Pürew emphasised the peculiarity of this communication with the supernatural, namely that a shaman who is in constant contact with the *ongons*⁶ should not use other ways of communication, such as different types of divination (Pürew 1999, pp. 144–150; 2003, p. 138). However, even shamaness Baljir,⁷ who was comprehended to be one of the best shamans in the Darkhad territory, used scapulimancy with burned sheep (rarely goat) shoulder blade during her day-rituals.⁸

Not all of our shaman informants said it explicitly that talking to the *ongons* or the *ongons*' message – as a way of communication – belong to verbal communication. The shaman comprehends the *ongons*' message – as several shamans say – with his/her mind, and the message turns to be verbalised for him/her as a piece of information about a certain matter or event. Shamaness Baljir used the verb *xel-* (in her Darkh. pronunciation *kxel-*) “to say” to convey what the phenomenon covers:

“– But the *ongons* tell me about any kind of warfare, war, death, sickness, where it breaks out, they tell me the truth. I wonder about it very much.

– *Do the ongods talk this way?*⁹

– Oh, the *ongods* tell it this way. Father of Iwed (Iwdā āw) tells [me] so.”¹⁰

The *ongons* tell the shaman various relevant information about the client who is present at the ritual (and also about his/her relatives who are not present), or who is supposed to come on the next day or in the nearest future, about his/her sickness, the cause of sickness, misfortune. The *ongons* (similarly to the shamans, cf. shamaness Baljir) lay great stress in their utterances on the improper behaviour of the clients (smoking, drinking alcohol) and breaking taboos (taboos of eating, clothing) and also the curse (in her usage “rumour”, which is an important cause of trouble in the folk religious practice as well) as the origin of sickness.

“– *Do the ongods say why a sickness happens?*

– Yes, they do. It could be caused by eating and drinking impossible things – they say. It [could be caused] by the harm of taking something

⁶ On the phenomenon of the *ongon/ongod* (this later form is in plural and used also as a respecting expression), the “helping spirits” of the Mongolian shamans, cf. Birtalan – Sipos – Coloo (2004) and its references.

⁷ On the life story and activity of the shamans visited during the research trips of the Expedition, cf. Birtalan (2007); about Baljir, pp. 73–77.

⁸ On shamaness Baljir's scapulimancy, cf. Birtalan (2001).

⁹ The questions of the interviewer (Birtalan or Colō) is marked with italics.

¹⁰ Source: Interview 1. with shamaness Baljir, from a tape-record made by Ágnes Birtalan and O. Čulūnbātar in Baruun Agar (Barūn Agar) on 23rd August 1992. The whole text and the Mongolian transcription of the interviews will be issued in the book dedicated to the textual tradition of the Darkhad shamans: Birtalan, Ágnes: *Darkhad Shamanic Texts. Performer, Genre, Communication* (manuscript). The interviews with shamans and the ritual-texts recorded during the fieldwork are included in the above monograph, hereafter I only quote the title given to particular items (interview or ritual-text).

from a certain family, place, and person – they say. [The person] himself went to [...] – they say; it is caused by drinking brandy – they say; it is caused by smoking bad cigarettes – they say. It is caused by strong words, by the mistake of one's mouth – they say. It is caused by rumour – they say. It is caused by eating meat of livestock bitten by a wolf or dog – they say. It is caused by putting on the bad clothes of someone – they say.”¹¹

Shamaness Baljir compared the power of the *ongons* as transmitters of information with the power of the Buddhas, considering the *ongons* to be far more powerful beings (NB! she was a devoted Buddhist in her youth) and emphasised that the *ongons* could be seen (*ijeld ordog*, lit. “come into sight, view”), appeared upon calling and also when they were not called. The *ongons* seemed to be more real for her than the Buddhist transcendental beings.

“– Oh, it is improper that people usually do not like shamans: ‘This person [= the shaman] is such and such.’ The *ongods* in this cosmos ... there is nothing similarly powerful to the *ongods* – I think so; there is no such roughly attacking thing. Well, the Buddha is powerful. [But] does not reach [the *ongons*’] feature. The *ongods* have more [magic] features and are better [than Buddha]. All people who hate the *ongods* are only half-men¹². How powerful the Buddha is, he is not to be seen [for a shaman].”¹³

Shamaness Joljayā (Birtalan 2007, pp. 79–81) conveyed her experiences with the *ongons* as if she perceived this information process with her organs: she sees the *ongons*, hears their voices. The encounter with the *ongons* happened first when she started to use the Jew's harp in her rituals.

“When the time arrives, [you] will be given the Jew's harp. [You] play on it, you live your life, meet what you are destined to meet [Colō: i.e. the secret forces], you see [them] with your eyes, and [they] say what they want to say and disappear. What the *ongod* say, you will listen to, and you will frequently talk to your *ongod*.”¹⁴

However, when it came to some aspects during the interview, Joljayā did not wish to go on discussing the ways of transmitting the *ongons*' information. Some points of this interaction are impossible to verbalise, and it should be assumed that there are some aspects of the shaman – spirit relationship that are not to be revealed to others.¹⁵

¹¹ Interview 1. with shamaness Baljir.

¹² Darkh. *xagas-magas* “half” in a derogatory form. Baljir said also about herself: she used to be only a “half person” *xūnī xagas* before she accepted the *ongon-s*' call.

¹³ Interview 1. with shamaness Baljir.

¹⁴ Interview 1. with shamaness Joljayā, recorded by J. Colō, Ulaanbaatar, Chingeltei (Čingeltei) circle, Khailast (Xailast) on 13th January 2001.

¹⁵ E.g. shaman D. Taiwan reached this point quite often in the interview made with him. Cf. Interview with shaman Taiwan, recorded by J. Colō and Attila Endre Kovács in Ulānbātar 07. 2001.

The Ritual Language¹⁶

The shaman respects the spirits' world and each particular spirit. Concerning his/her spirits the shaman's utterances are impregnated with respect, honour, devotion, although it does not hinder him/her from scolding, admonishing the spirits or squabbling, arguing with them. The relationship between the shaman and the spirits seems to be compound and reciprocal instead of absolute devotion. At the level of verbal communication, this relationship is realised in the ritual language, in the use of the means of reverence and parallel with that, also in the use of everyday expressions between two arguing parties. The language-database used for characterising the shaman–spirit relationship is taken from the lexicon and the grammatical tools of everyday and literary language usage. In texts significantly influenced by Buddhism, its stylistic instruments also appear (Buddhist vocabulary, Buddhist-style praises of the gods and spirits, and expressions emphasising the performer's nonentity in the relation to the spirits/gods).

The ritual language is comprehended to have restriction, limitation concerning the elements of the vocabulary, the stylistic resources and syntactic forms, unlike in everyday speech. However, even the written ritual-texts might be considerably influenced by the spoken language. Both types of shamanic texts – those recorded beyond the ritual and those recorded *in situ* – abound in the tools of the spoken language and certainly in elements of the dialectal phonology, morphology and vocabulary. In addition, the ritual texts belong to oral tradition, thus they are bound to a ritual process and transmit old traditions, contain archaic and literary elements, too. My examination is centred around the following language phenomena bearing communicative function in the texts: expression of respect and veneration to the spirits, types of addressing and greeting, the shaman – spirit rivalry, i.e. arguing about the shaman's clients, community. The final section is devoted to the syntax and morphology of the ritual-texts, how the above-mentioned communication modes are realised at various linguistic levels.

I. Morphology and Vocabulary of Honour¹⁷

1. Honorific Suffix

One of the most important manifestations of respect in relation between the shaman and spirits – as M.-D. Even also pointed out – is the addition of the plural form of suffix *-tai/-tei/-toi* (in Khal., Darkh.; and Mong. *-tai/-tei*) → *-tan/-ten/-ton* and also *-tön*

¹⁶ Aspects of the concept of Bell (1992) and Tambiah (1968) are used for investigation of this phenomenon.

¹⁷ The language historical aspect of Mongolian honorific expressions has been studied by Poppe (1970).

“possessing, having, bearing”.¹⁸ Surveying the honorific expressions in written Mongolian in comparison with Korean expressions, N. Poppe stated: “Mongolian lacks special honorific prefixes, suffixes or other formative morphemes, but sometimes, to form an honorific form, the plural is used, ...” (Poppe 1970, p. 485).

This plural form is used as an honorific suffix in the everyday language usage, too: Khalkha *noyonton* (Mong. *noyantān*), *noyon* + *-toi* + *-n* “respected lord”, *xatantan* “respected lady”, *lamtan* “respected lama”. In shamanic texts this suffix figures in the attributes of the spirits, e.g. *xüčten* “the strong one(s) (lit. those who possess strength)”.

Poppe quoted simple plural forms, as, for example: Ordos dialectal *morin ejit* “lord of horses, [god] Hayagrīva”, and also the plural of suffix *-tai/-tei*, e.g. *gegegenten* (Mong.) “his brightness”. He did not refer to the use of the double plural which is common in shamanic sacral texts, especially in the module¹⁹ of addressing. A second plural ending is added to the suffix *-tai*⁽³⁾, the plural suffix *-n* is followed by a very frequently used plural suffix: *-ūd/-ūd* (after the final velar *-n* in Khalkha and Darkhad a *-g-* glide forms before the following vowel). The suffix *-tangūd/-tengūd* “a group of persons, or personified beings supplied with something”²⁰ is of a more elevated, literary style that fits into the descriptive and addressing parts of the shamanic texts; rarely the spoken language form *-tnūd/-tnūd* also occurs: *Burxan ix tenger jayātnūd min*! “My [protectors] who have the faith of Buddhas and great gods!”²¹ Although this suffix suggests the plurality of the phenomena, in certain invocations it probably does not mean plurality of the spirits, but is an honorific addressing to a particular spirit. E.g. when the shaman summons a highly respected spirit, as the “Mother of Tsaram (Caramīn ēj)”²², the use of plurality is a form of respect.²²

The context of using this suffix in the text is: the angry Mother of Tsaram scolded shamaness Bayar (Birtalan 2007, pp. 77–79) for calling her to an unimportant occasion or during daytime (usual module; NB! the ritual took place at night) and Bayar prays to her trying to pacify her. Shamaness Bayar answers with a “prayer” (*jalbiral*):²³

¹⁸ This latter form does not have a singular; the suffix **-tōi* does not exist in Khalkha and related dialects, where the diphthong *ōi* does not occur, nor as we observed, in Darkhad. Instead of this form the suffix with an illabial palatal vowel is used, cf. *nōmrög* + *-tei* “having shelter”. The suffix is homomorphous with the suffix of sociative case (suffixum sociativi) “to act together with somebody”.

¹⁹ A ritual-text is composed from a sequence of modules as: invocative part, description of the spirits, enumeration of miseries, enumeration of requests of the shaman and clients, sometimes also warnings, etc. In details cf. Birtalan, Á.: *Darkhad Shamanic Texts. Performers, Communication, Genres* (manuscript).

²⁰ M.-D. Even also discussed this suffix, explaining it as a mark of the affinity, kinship relation of the spirits. “La forme *-tanguud* convoie donc une notion de pluralité absente du simple comitatif, fondée sur la représentation des ancêtres comme collectivité ou lignée.” Cf. Even (1988–1989, pp. 340–341).

²¹ An invocation recorded from shamaness Baljir; in the text-corpus (archive of the Expedition) I attached Nr. 3. to it: Baljir’s *dūdlaga* 3.

²² Cf. the use of *ongon* and its more frequently used plural form *ongod* (also as an addressing to a respected phenomenon).

²³ An invocation recorded from shamaness Bayar; in the text-corpus (archive of the Expedition) I attached Nr. 2. to it, Bayar’s *dūdlaga* 2.

<i>Xöx-ö ũlen nöm-rögtön,</i>	You, whose cover is a blue cloud,
<i>Xaw xar ũlen xuwcastangūd,</i>	You, whose garment is a pitch-black cloud,
<i>Xar lusan xamjātangūd,</i>	You, whose assistants are the black dragon-spirits,
<i>Xaltar ũlen nöm-rögtöngūd</i>	You, whose cover is motley black clouds
<i>Awran örsöj xairla!</i>	You kindly protect [us]!
<i>Altan tuyāgā tusgaļ</i>	You make the golden rays beam,
<i>Ačit būral xōrxös min'.</i>	My generous, grey-haired dearest ones. ²⁴
<i>Ā, örsögti, šüteļ yawyā, xündelļ</i>	Oh, protect [us], I will live relying [upon you],
<i>yawyā!</i>	I will respect [you]!

Lexemes having the meaning of objects, requisites of the spirit provided with the double plural end morpheme are listed in a praise-form (Khalkha, Darkhad *magtāl*) addressing the spirit: *xuwcastangūd* “those who have garment”, *xamjātangūd* “those who have assistants”, *nöm-rögtöngūd* “those who have cover/shelter”. The form *nöm-rögtön* in the first line probably also had the same ending, but it was omitted from the text uttered in an altered state of consciousness or was not clearly heard from the tape. In some invocations calling a group of spirits, this double plural tends to be a real plural ending in an honorific addressing to more spirits. When numerous spirits are invited to the ritual place, the shaman does not name any of them, but he/she invokes them in groups, and with expressions generally designating all of them, as in the “Invocation for the purification of the holy marks, the *seter*” (*Seter ariutgax bölöx dūdla-ga*).²⁵ In the following fragment of this text the shaman returns to the addressing of the spirits several times, inserting it between modules, such as the request and the description of the miseries:

<i>Ja, xairxanūd!</i>	Oh, merciful spirits!
<i>Car möngön čimegtengūd min'!</i>	You, my [spirits] who have pure silver ornaments,
<i>Šijir altan tuyātangūd min'!</i>	You, who have pure golden beam,
<i>Xongor saixan čūlgantangūd min'!</i>	You, who have nice, gentle assembly,
<i>Xotgor saixan xectengūd min'!</i>	You, who have nice hollowed drum,
...	...
<i>Ger newt gereltengūd min'!</i>	You my [spirits], who have light, that permeates the yurt,
<i>Tūrğa newt tuyātangūd min'!</i>	You, who have rays, that permeates the yurt walls,
...	...
<i>Būral Tagnīg ejelsen</i>	You, who occupied the grey Tannu [mountain], and
<i>Ulān lusan xöltöngūd,</i>	You, who have dragon-spirits as feet,
...	...
<i>Xöx tenger xöwlögtengūd min'!</i>	You my [spirits] whose raft is the Blue sky,
<i>Xöwön ũl nöm-rögtengūd min'!</i>	You, whose shelter is the fuzzy cloud,
<i>Tewin jax sūdaltangūd min'!</i>	You, whose seat is the Tew's edge,
<i>Tengrin xayā čūlgantangūd min'!</i>	You, whose assembly is the edge of the sky,

²⁴ The expression *xōrxös* is also in plural (*xōrxön* + -s).

²⁵ In detail, cf. Sodnom (1962, pp. 80–95).

Similar addressing occurs in shamaness Xūxenjī's (Birtalan 2007, pp. 82–83) text, in invocation to numerous spirits. Although here three attributive expressions qualify a single lexeme (in singular), supposedly they are related to several spirits, as the invocation is recited with the purpose of calling numerous spirits, gods.²⁶

<i>Šir möngön šijirtengūd,</i>	You, who have pure silver [shine],
<i>Šijir altan tuyātangūd,</i>	You, who have pure golden beam,
<i>Xan xūrel gereltengūd,</i>	You, who have majestic bronze shine,
<i>Xatan būral jayāčin!</i>	My queen grey-haired destiny spirit!

In the “Offering text to the spirits of the [stone]-cairn” almost the same lexemes appear as attribute of more spirits *jayāčnūd* “destiny spirits” (*jayāčin* + *-ūd* plural ending), *tengernūd* “gods” (*tenger* + *-nūd* plural ending).

<i>Šir möngön šijirtengūd,</i>	You, who have pure silver [shine],
<i>Šijir altan tuyātangūd,</i>	You, who have pure golden beam,
<i>Xan xūrel jayāčnūd,</i>	Majestic bronze destiny spirits,
<i>Xatan būral tengernūd min'!</i>	My queen grey-haired gods!

When a particular spirit or god is invited to the ritual place, the suffix *-tai*⁽³⁾ might not take even the first plural ending (*-n*), as in the following invocation to god Dayan Dērx (this type of addressing appears rarely in my materials).²⁷

<i>Jūn jügīn ejen</i>	You are the lord of the eastern direction,
<i>Jürxen xar tenger,</i>	Hearth-black god,
<i>Gal togōn idēš [tē],</i>	You have food from a fiery pot,
<i>Gal mogōn tašūrtā,</i>	You have a fiery snake whip,
<i>Galjū čonōn xölögtā,</i>	You have a rabid wolf as mount,
<i>Xūnī maxan xūnstā,</i>	You have human flesh as food,
<i>Xūren čulūn xūlügtā,</i>	You have brown stone as mount,
<i>Xūder čulūn xōgi[t...] irdig,</i>	You come [...] ore stone,
<i>Xaltar čonīn xaltirgār irdig,</i>	You come where the spotted wolf slides
<i>Xān xūč tenger min'!</i>	My god, [with] majestic strength!

The semantic field of the lexemes that take this honorific plural suffix is restricted; concerning the texts in my text-corpus and also other ritual texts surveyed, the spirits' attributes occurring almost exclusively in descriptive parts of the texts are connected to the requisites, material accessories (mount, harness, whip, food, drink, assistant), places (cloud, cover, shelter, geographic phenomena) and typical features (beamy, shiny, golden, silver) of the spirits.

²⁶ An invocation recorded from shamaness Xūxenjī; in the text-corpus (archive of the Expedition) I attached Nr. 1. to it, Xūxenjī's *dūdlaga* 1.

²⁷ An invocation recorded from shamaness Amarjargal (Birtalan 2007, pp. 83–84); in the text-corpus (archive of the Expedition) I attached Nr. 4. to it, *Dayan Dērxīn dūdlaga* 4. (according to the main deity invoked).

2. Addressing the Spirits

The addressing of the spirits is usually connected to the praise-formed descriptive modules (cf. the folklore genre *magtāl* “praise”; in details: Birtalan 2004), and appear at the end of the module (also similarly to *magtāl* genre). In the par excellence addressing, the spirit’s name can be tabooed and omitted, but this taboo does not seem to be followed in the texts considerably influenced by Buddhism. E.g. god Dayan Dērx is called mostly by his name: “Let me call, invite you to come Majestic, holy Dayan Deerkh!” (*Xan bogd Dayin Dērx-ē urin jalan dūdyā!*).²⁸ The texts influenced by Buddhism boast of the abundance of spirits and gods (mostly of Buddhist origin), making the ritual legitimate with the number and high rank of the invoked supernatural beings. This characterises the written ritual-texts as well. Such an addressing might be connected to the enumeration of spirits and gods, occupying the shaman’s body during the ritual phase of *ongon orox*, i.e. “the phase of the altered state of consciousness”. In the texts of black shamans, especially in the ones recorded *in situ* the spirits’ names are avoided and they are called by taboo names, in numerous cases by *xairxan* “merciful spirit”.²⁹ Another usual designation for the *ongons* is *yum* “thing, one” in the shamans’ everyday language usage. Shamaness Baljir used both, the kinship terms (cf. below) and also *yum* while talking about her *ongons*’ power.

“The most powerful *ongod*-s are the strong mother(s) and father(s) (Darkh. *īji, āw*). There is the “One of the nine hollows of Dsönög (*Jō-negīn yesen darānī yum*). The “One of Iwed” (*Iwdīn yumu*) is powerful.”³⁰

In some addressing, an abundance of honorific expressions is used, showing the highest respect to the invoked being.

Ejen ongon šūtēn, You have been [our] lord protector, sacred support,
Erxleg Dayin Dērx saxiūs min’! My powerful Dayan Deerkh guardian spirit!³¹

The most regularly used lexemes for addressing the spirits (with mentioning the spirit’s name or avoiding it) are: *bogd* “holy”, *ejen* “master, lord”, *xan* “khan, majestic”, *ongon* “protector spirit”, *saxiūs* “guardian, talisman”, *šūtēn* “holy support”. The term *ongon* appears rarer than other expressions (spirits’ names, and taboo words) in

²⁸ An invocation recorded from Lama Galbābadrax; in the text-corpus (archive of the Expedition) I attached Nr. 1. to it, *Dayan Dērxīn dūdlaga* 1. (according to the main deity invoked).

²⁹ Khal., Darkh. *xairxan*, Mong. *qayirqan* “merciful spirit”, also used in plural *xairxad*, Mong. *qayirqad*. This notion has several meanings in Mongolian folk religious context: 1) the taboo name of sacred mountains, 2) general name of benevolent spirits of the human world layer, 3) in plural a general name of powerful *ongons*, 4) Pürew mentioned that from Buddhist point of view the plural of this phenomenon means the blood related spirits (Pürew 2003, p. 201). *Xairxan* is also used together with the spirit’s name, *Dayan Dērx xairxan!* “Merciful spirit, Dayan Deerkh!” in buddhicised texts.

³⁰ Interview 1. with shamaness Baljir.

³¹ *Dayan Dērxīn dūdlaga* 1.

the ritual-texts, contrary to the shamans' everyday speech (cf. the reports and free talks), where *ongod* or *ongon* emerge quite frequently.

3. Terminology of Kinship in Addressing

The spirit-group called *ongons* is in real or pseudo-kinship relation with the shaman, therefore calling spirits with kinship terms may correspond to reality. On the other hand, to call somebody as an elder relative belongs to the honorific addressing in the Mongolian language usage.³² In the everyday honorific addressing calling people “elder brother” (*ax*), “elder sister” (*egč*) and also “younger brother or sister” (*dū*) is common among people who are not blood relatives.³³ The spirits are invoked as the real or quasi-maternal or quasi-paternal ancestors, “mother” (*ēj*), “father” (*āw*) or “grandmother” (*emgen ēj*), “grandfather” (*öwgön āw*). The expression *būral ēj*, *būral āw* (lit. “grey-haired mother, father”) could also have the meaning “grandmother”, “grandfather”. Shamaness Joljayā always mentioned her main *ongons* using the kinship terminology when she referred to the spirits' name (*Jaiwrā ēj* “Mother of Dsaiwar, *Üjūrē ēj* “Mother of Üdsüür”, *Xosō āw* “Father of Khos”), and using the term *ongon* when she referred to the human name of the deceased shaman (*Damdin būral ongod* “Grey-Haired Damdin *ongon*”).³⁴ According to my observation the “mother, father” designations are more frequently used in the ritual-texts recorded *in situ*, in the interviews and everyday talks with the shamans than in the texts recorded beyond the rituals. The spirits could also be called together, without more specification, as “Mother(s) and Father(s), gods” (*Ēji, āba tengriner*).³⁵ Communicating with her spirits, shamaness Bayar answered to a Tuwa-speaking spirit (having the name Uigur *ongon*) in Darkhad dialect with the following passage.³⁶

<i>Jarlig tan' jayā bolog!</i>	Your order should turn into destiny!
<i>Ja, ja, ja, ja xōrxī min'!</i>	Well, well, well, well, my dear!
<i>Modtoi gajar mūgār yāx we?</i>	What can we do with the badness [of] the wooded place?
<i>Medlē bi, dūllā bi, tenger min'.</i>	I understood it; I heard it, my god.
<i>Altan tuyāgā tūsgagtun!</i>	Let the golden beam shine!
<i>Ar öwrī min' xuyagla!</i>	Armour my breast and back!
<i>Xan būral tenger min'!</i>	My Khan grey-haired god!
<i>Xarsan ix jayā min'!</i>	My guarding great destiny [spirit]!

³² It is a very common type of addressing to add the lexemes *guai* or rarer *awgai*, *axai* which also originate from the kinship terminology (cf. *awgai* ~ *awga* “paternal uncle”) to the name or even to the profession. On the rules of honorific addressing the so-called *awgailax* cf. Nyambū (1976, pp. 158–159).

³³ Rarely “mother” and “father” could also be used as honorific addressing for others than blood relatives.

³⁴ Interview 1. with shamaness Joljayā.

³⁵ A Darkhad Invocation on the occasion of sickness (Sanžeev 1930, p. 42).

³⁶ Bayar's *dūdлага* 1.

<i>Tulsan ix xüčten min'!</i>	My supporting great powerful [spirit]!
<i>Tulgūrlasan ix jayā min'!</i>	My propping great destiny [spirit]!
<i>Ēj, ēj, ēj, ēj, ēj!</i>	Mother, mother, mother, mother, mother!
<i>Dūddagā dūdaǰ,</i>	After calling what is to be called,
<i>Šalgadgā šalgasan xoino</i>	Examined what is to be examined,
<i>Xalūn galdā xar'!</i>	Return into your hot fire!
<i>[...] bucō ēji ēji ēji!</i>	[...] go back mother, mother, mother!

In the above fragment the shamaness addresses the spirit as *xōrxī* “dear”, *tenger* “god”, *jayā* “destiny”, *xüčten* “strong” (lit. those who have strength), and finally *ēj* “mother”. The shamaness emphasises her familiar, intimate relation to the spirits also adding the postpositional possessive pronoun *min'* “mine” to the above mentioned terms. The real or pseudo-kinship relation is reflected in the spirits’ addressing to the shaman: *ūr min'* “my offspring”.³⁷ Cf. the following passage, the *ongon* Naljig says to shamaness Bayar:

<i>Xar biye čin' sulbagarxan,</i>	Your black body is weak,
<i>Am' nas čin' gulbagarxan l,</i>	Your life is in danger.
<i>Bodlō bodōroi ūr min'!</i>	Think about it, my child!

The lexemes *āw*, *ēj* also appear in the shamans’ everyday language usage in relation to their spirits (cf. the text-fragment to note Nr. 30).³⁸

4. Calling (Addressing?) with *sal(ū)*, *sāl(ū)*

The use of inexplicable, enigmatic expressions is important in the communication with the supernatural. Distorted Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese words from Buddhist text-translations penetrated both the yellow shamans’ texts and the black shamans’ invocations. Nonetheless enigmatic words, inserted into the shamanic texts are also of earlier origin than the appearance of Buddhism among Mongols. The inceptive expression *sal(ū)*, or *sāl(ū)* is used to invoke the spirits, to draw their attention to the shaman’s ritual and as such has important communicative function of polite addressing. Darkhad shamanic texts begin occasionally with the “magic” expression *sal*, *sāl*, *salū*, *sālū* repeated several (traditionally three or nine) times. According to my observations, this expression is not bound to a particular spirit, it can be applied into the invoking text-modules of various transcendental beings. Badamxatan related this expression not only to the Darkhads but also to the Uriankhais, maintaining that the Darkhad shamans invoke their spirits with *Sal*, *sal*, *sal!* repeating only the apparent stem, while the Uriankhai shamans repeat three times the same stem with an additional emphatic vowel *Sal-ū*, *sal-ū*, *sal-ū!* (Badamxatan 1965, p. 238).³⁹ Referring on

³⁷ Bayar’s *dūdlaga* 1.

³⁸ Interview 1. with shamaness Baljir.

³⁹ In my texts the Darkhad way of chanting is similar to the Uriankhais’ in Badamxatan’s material, i.e. *sālā*, *sālū*.

his informants' interpretation, Badamxatan gives an explanation of *sal(-ū)*, as Khal. "ariun" i.e. "pure", however, it cannot be proven. Neither is acceptable the explanation of Shamaness Bayar's assistant Baljir, according to whose interpretation: "It means 'Bring it, bring it!'. This means 'Bring it to me!'".⁴⁰ In addition Badamxatan suggested that this inceptive expression could be used only in restricted circumstances, i.e. before offering rituals and before praising the offerings presented to the invoked spirit. According to Pürew, the shaman invites his spirits with *Salo, salo, salo!* while he burns juniper incense and sprinkles milk for the spirit as an offering (Pürew 2003, p. 156). In my materials the expression appears as a transitive element between modules in the ritual-texts with the purpose of attracting the spirits' attention, e.g. Bayar invokes her main spirit Mother of Ödsüür as follows:⁴¹

<i>Sālā, sālū, sālū, sālū, salā, sālū,</i>	<i>Saalaa, saaluu, saaluu, saaluu, salaa, saaluu,</i>
<i>sālū, sālū, sālū!</i>	<i>saaluu, saaluu, saalaa!</i>
<i>Tawan taldā tarj yow!</i>	Go spreading to five directions!
<i>Arwan taldā</i>	Have you disappeared
<i>Alga bolox čin' bolō yū?</i>	Spreading in ten directions?
<i>Ogon tawan tengertē</i>	Pray as it is befitting
<i>Sain jalbiral tai bai!</i>	To the five Ongon gods!

5. The Greetings

The traditional Mongolian greetings depend on numerous factors of the time–place correlation: the season, the actual work one is doing while being greeted, on the age, less on the gender, on the occasions of leaving for a journey or staying at home and also on other circumstances (Odbagmed 1981, *passim*).⁴² Mongols traditionally greet each other with a longer or shorter sequence of questions, inquiring about the health, the family, the work and the properties (among the nomads about the livestock) of the person they meet. There are some fairly long and really high-flown greetings, formed in alliterative verses, especially on the occasion of meeting people during their work on the pastures (Odbagmed 1981, *passim*). These greetings, however, must be separated from the folklore genre "blessing" (*beleg demberelīn üg*)⁴³ recited also on the occasion of meeting somebody working. According to the Mongolian nomadic behavioural norms the greeted person should first answer the greeting question(s) and then ask the same question(s) in return from the inquiring person.⁴⁴ In the shamanic texts

⁴⁰ Explanation to Bayar's invocation text recorded from her assistant, Baljir (he [sic!] has similar name as the famous shamaness).

⁴¹ Bayar's *dūdlaga* 2.

⁴² It is noteworthy to mention that the greetings defined by the time of day (e.g. *Ödrīn mend xüргi!* lit. "Let me wish you the day's health!") are of recent origin probably from the Russian *Dobryj den'!*, *Dobryj večer!* etc.

⁴³ On this genre cf. Birtalan (2004).

⁴⁴ The usual greeting question among the Khalkhas based on the inquiry about the well-being is: *Sain baina ū?* "Are you well?", *Sain baicgāna ū?* "Are all of you well?". The answer is

several traditional forms of greeting questions appear, including phrases used most frequently nowadays in everyday life, as *Amar baina ū?* “Are you in peace?”, *Mend amar ū?* “Are you in peace and health?”, *Mend sain ū?* “Are you well, in health?”.⁴⁵ The invoked spirit(s) are also welcomed with similar greetings, and the spirit(s) also inquire the shaman and the attendance in the same way. The everyday greetings could be transferred from the everyday usage into formalised sacral communication without any change or with embellishment. E.g.: An *ongon* called “Mother of Usudag” (Usudagin ēj) arrives and greets shamaness Bayar with the usual question:

<i>Xalx darxad xoyort</i>	Among the Khalkhas and Darkhads
<i>Xānan č xalbaŋ yawsan biye min’.</i>	I myself went flying everywhere.
<i>Nartūn ornī borčūl</i>	The poor beings under the Sun,
<i>Büren бүтөн мөнд ū?</i>	Are they all healthy?

Bayar answers: “They are healthy, healthy!” (*Mend, mend*).

The shaman’s assistants also do their bit in the ritual, they meet the *ongons* with similar honorific greetings, contributing this way to the success of the ritual: “Are all of you in whole health? My subjects?” Bayar’s assistant Daramjī answers: “Healthy, healthy; please greet [us]!”.

According to the Mongolian nomadic etiquette, the first general inquiry should be followed with numerous other questions about health (at this point with concrete questions), the family members, the property, the news and so on. Such a more elaborate greeting-dialogue is carried out between the spirit Tömörlen and the attendance of the ritual.⁴⁶ The spirit greets everybody who could belong to the shaman’s community (even the Buddhist monks). After asking about their health, the spirit inquires about the news (similarly to the customary everyday greetings).

The *ongon* Tömörlen says:

<i>Ard tūmem mini, Xara šaragū, xap-</i>	Are all the people, the laymen and monks in peace,
<i>taŋae dayār amur mende waenū?</i>	well on this flat world?

The attendance or the shaman:

<i>Mende saem baenā! Tanī ɣajarār</i>	[They are] well, in health! What is the news in
<i>soniŋ yū waen?</i>	your land?

Tömörlen:

<i>Yūčigū! Taewaŋ saexaŋ saexaŋ</i>	Nothing! Everything is well! [...]
<i>waen ...</i>	

Sain. “Well.” Then the person addressed should repeat the same question, upon which he receives the same answer.

⁴⁵ Cf. Pürewjaw (1995, p. 13). Similar greetings are more frequent among the Kalmyks and the Buryads. Cf. Kalmyk *Mend-ūi?* “Are you in health?”, or the Buryad *Mende!* “Hallo! (lit.: Health!)”.

⁴⁶ *Xan Tömörlengin dūdlaga* Rintchen (1975, pp. 82–84); about the circumstances of the recording cf. *Köbsügül ayimaŋ Būrin sumu-yin iduŋan Čebegdorji keleju öggügsen-i temdeglen bi-čibei 1954 on*. [Recorded according to the saying of shamaness Čebegdorji in Khöwsgöl province, Būrin district, 1954.] French translation and further comments: Even (1988–1989, pp. 241–244).

Upon arriving spirit Canxilan *xatan* “Queen Tsankhilan” asks – as it is also usual in an everyday situation – about all the members of the community (the elders, calling them “the white standing guards of the holy emperor” and the children, calling them “little rabbit cubs”), and finally asks about the news (in contemporary Khalkha *Sonin saixan yū baina we?* “What is the news?”).⁴⁷

The spirit Canxilan arrives:

<i>Bogdo ejen xānī</i>	Are all the white standing guards
<i>Bossō cayāŋ^k xuyigūd,</i>	Of the holy emperor
<i>Bügüd^e amur mende waenū?</i>	In calm and health?
<i>Bičixan būjin juljayanūd</i>	Are all the little rabbit cubs
<i>Bügüd^e būrim mend^e waenū?</i>	In entire health?
<i>Mendīŋ šar^a tamixxi awād irē!</i>	Bring [me] the yellow tobacco greeting!
<i>Xarax^a nūdmini xaralyam bolji,</i>	My seeing eyes became short-sighted,
<i>Šüllüsümini agramjā bolji,</i>	My spittle became the tether,
<i>Nussumini buruntay bolji!</i>	My snot became leading rein.
<i>Arīŋ āwīŋ^k xūxūt,</i>	Children of father(s) behind,
<i>Soniŋ saexan yū waena?</i>	What is the news?

The attendance answer also according to the etiquette:⁴⁸

<i>Yūčigū, taewax saxan waen.</i>	Nothing, everything is all right. What is the news
<i>Tanaexār soniŋ yūtaew^e?</i>	with you?

Canxilan following also the etiquette answers in the same way:

<i>Yumgū, taewam mende waena.</i>	Nothing, [I am just] in peace and health. I became
<i>Xōkšim bolsom bī, yūči medexkū.</i>	old, I do not know anything. I wobble following
<i>Ug ündüsü, yasu uksāyāl dayaji,</i>	the descent, the clan, the origin. My children, your
<i>iŋgeji yaŋ^k xaji yowuna. Xōkšim</i>	grey-haired mother goes seeking something to eat.
<i>būrul ejičini idexū yum yū waen</i>	
<i>gej yowunā xūxūd mini!</i>	

In the texts recorded *in situ* the greeting module appears frequently. The spirits are guests who should be greeted properly, who must be entertained as it is befitting a nomadic family; e.g. with the greeting expression *Tawtai morilno ū?* “Would you enjoy in peace [our hospitality]?” This verb as one having honorific meaning is discussed also by Poppe, who gives the meaning for Khal. *moril-* “to deign to come, to come and be welcomed; to walk, to go”.⁴⁹ In the following shamanic text the spirit

⁴⁷ Rintchen (1975, pp. 84–85); about the recording, cf. *Köbsügül ayimay Būrin sumun-u idu-yan Čebegdorji-eče temdeglejū abubai*. [Recorded from shamaness Čebegdorji in Khöwsgöl province, Būrin district.] French translation and further comments: Even (1988–1989, pp. 244–247).

⁴⁸ Cf. the contemporary greeting (asking about the news) *Sonin saixan yūtai we?* “What is the news?” (the answer) *Yumgūi, taiwan saixan*. “Nothing special, everything is fine”.

⁴⁹ Cf. also Bur. “to deign; to go”, Ordos “to part, to travel, to go, to come”. Further examples: Khal. *Dēšē morilōroi!* “Please move to the place of honour!”.

guest is asked to come and enjoy the hospitality of the shaman (also some offering types are enumerated).⁵⁰

<i>Xayāgār garam cengenesen,</i>	You amused yourself upon leaving through the skirt of tent,
<i>Xālgār orom sogtōson,</i>	You got drunk upon entering through the door
<i>Arj xorjīn ünērēr,</i>	On the smell of <i>arj</i> and <i>xorj</i> milk brandy,
<i>Ayalgūt šawīn dūgār,</i>	On the voice of your disciple that has good lungs,
<i>Āxilj ūxilj tebdelgüe</i>	Without hurry, puffing and panting,
<i>Aytae tabtae moriln-ū?</i>	Please arrive gently!

With this and also the previous fragment we turn to another way of communication, namely the entertaining the guests with food and drink, and tobacco (snuff or/and cigarettes). This usual paraphernalia of welcoming guests is at the same time the offering for the spirits and belongs to the non-verbal communication with the spirits and having a severe traditional system. Giving the offerings to the spirits is a non-verbal action, however, also verbalised by enumerating the offered goods, objects in the text-module dedicated to the offerings and also in the dialogues inserted into the greeting module of the ritual text (Birtalan 2008b).

II. Altercation

Quarrelling, arguing and disagreement compose a frequently appearing module in the shamanic ritual-texts collected *in situ*. The spirits might be discontent with the shaman's ritual and with the purpose of summoning them. The invoked spirits often scold the shaman for calling them at an improper time or for calling for an insignificant reason. It seems to be an obligatory module of the ritual-texts, since even if the ritual takes place at night (i.e. proper time), on the proper day or occasion, the spirits might admonish the shaman for calling them untimely. Shamanesses Bayar and Baljir have been often scolded, admonished by several spirits during their rituals. E.g. the *ongon* Mother of Ödsüür (var.: Üdsüür) asks Bayar whether somebody died or the livestock perished, because only such urgent events could be the reason for summoning such a mighty spirit as she is, Mother of Ödsüür. The shamaness calms the spirit down and says that everybody is well. Finally, the spirit warns the shamaness that she could cause not only benefit but harm, too for people who are under the shamaness' protection.⁵¹ Mother of Ödsüür scolds shamaness Bayar as follows:

<i>Ödör yāx gej bōlōw či?</i>	Why did you shamanise during the daytime? ⁵²
<i>Xünēs čin' yū üxēw?</i>	Who of your people died?
<i>Malās čin' yū üxēw?</i>	Which of your chattel perished?
<i>Ē, jailūl! Īm aḵil bitī xī!</i>	Oh dear! Do not do such a thing!

⁵⁰ *Dayan Dērxīn dūdлага* 3.

⁵¹ Bayar's *dūdлага* 1.

⁵² NB! The ritual took part at night.

Trying to pacify Mother of Ödsüür, shamaness Bayar says:

<i>Öndör šar Öjür bair min'!</i>	My high, yellow place <i>Ödsüür!</i>
<i>Örgön Xarmā, Cengelt min'!</i>	My broad Kharmā and Tsengelt!
<i>Nartīn ornā xümūs</i>	People living in the Sunny Land,
<i>Bügd amar sain baina.</i>	They all feel well.

Mother of Ödsüür asks again:

<i>Činī öširxöj yawdag</i>	Companions under your protection
<i>Nöxöd xed we?</i>	How many of them?
<i>Sain sanaŋ yawdag</i>	Companions living in the right way
<i>Nöxöd xed we?</i>	How many of them?
<i>Öširxöj yawdag xünd čin'</i>	To people under your protection,
<i>Öšön tašan xürgej čadna bi.</i>	I am able to cause bad luck.
<i>Sain sanasan xünd čin'</i>	To people living the right way
<i>Sain büxnīg xürgej čadna bi.</i>	I am able to give all the best.
<i>Narīn cagān Dējgē čin'</i>	You, thin white Deegee
<i>Ē jailūl, büren mend ū?</i>	Oh dear, are all of them healthy?

Another spirit, Mother of Tsaram (Caramīn ēj) asks Bayar similarly to the above module, and she admonishes the shamaness that such a shamanising is only a worthless play.⁵³ Mother of Tsaram arrives and says angrily:

<i>Ēkē, ēkē, ēkē!</i>	<i>Eekee, eekee, eekee!</i>
<i>Ē jailūl!</i>	Oh dear!
<i>Mend yū? Mend ū?</i>	Are you healthy? Are you healthy?
<i>Mendē, mendē bainaw.</i>	Healthy, I am healthy.
<i>Toglōm nādmīn yumā šinge</i>	It is like a play, a game
<i>Ödör bölj baigā čin' yū we?</i>	That you shamanise by day?
<i>Önō yū? Margāš ū?</i>	Today or tomorrow?

Shamaness Baljir's *ongon*, Odsūrānyam only asks why he is invoked and how the audience of the ritual got to know him.⁵⁴ His mood is less demanding than that of Bayar's spirits'.

<i>Nartai xānī borčūd</i>	The browns of the Sunny khan
<i>Nadtai xejē tanilawt?</i>	When did you get to know me?
<i>Namaig yūnd uriadawt?</i>	Why did you call me?
<i>Xereg jorig xend baina?</i>	To whom did your aims lead?
<i>Xejē namaig taniw?</i>	When did you get to know me?

⁵³ Bayar's *dūdлага* 2.

⁵⁴ Baljir's *dūdлага* 1.

In texts recorded beyond the ritual the spirits' threat also appears, but not in the module of greetings. The warning is inserted into the module of self-introduction/description of the spirit.⁵⁵

<i>Säin dur mni xürwel,</i>	If I am in good mood,
<i>Sansarān ornās,</i>	I am able to descend shining (?)
<i>Sarnā gerel met</i>	From the universe,
<i>Tungyarč būxān čadaltābi.</i>	Similarly to the Moonlight.
<i>Sar dur mni xürwel,</i>	If I am in bad mood,
<i>Gurban nastā būran xar,</i>	I have a transformation of a <i>tailag</i> camel,
<i>Tālag temān xuwilyā mni.</i>	Of a three year old camel bull.

However, not only the spirits admonish shamans, the shaman – spirit relationship is mutual in this sense, too (though I have more material at my disposal for the spirits' threatening behaviour). Dulam published a quarrel and bargaining with spirits recorded from shamaness Baljir:

“You were a strong evil demon (*čötgör*) when you made me a half man (*xünī xagas*), weren't you? Do not lose this helpless, tired man; now, instead of killing this [man], take me!” – so she showed her strength.” (Dulam 1992, p. 14).

The shaman is able to stop the spirits' unwanted presence or actions during the ritual. I have witnessed several times that shamaness Bayar sent away the spirits quite angrily, shouting loudly: *Īkrā! Īkrā, īkrā!* or *Īkā, īkā!* something like “Go away, go back!”. Less dramatically, but shamaness Baljir also used this expression for sending off her spirits. She inserted the sending-off words into a module of enumerating the offerings to the spirits. Apparently, there were spirits at the ritual that were not desirable to be present or she just wished to send away those spirits that had already received the ritual entertainment.⁵⁶

<i>Amitan xünē jowlon jogsōj,</i>	You stop the suffering of beings and people,
<i>Jorū jowlongī arilgaǰ,</i>	You sweep away the sufferings,
<i>Xärū duetē^k xōrxī minī.</i>	You have the skills of returning [the sufferings] my dear!
<i>Amtā amitan amsāgue</i>	The best part of any food
<i>Aliwō idēnē dējīg l ...</i>	That has not been tasted by any being with a mouth ...
<i>Ike-ike ikē-ikē</i>	<i>Ike-ike ikee-ikee</i>
<i>Ike-ike ikā-ikā-ikā</i>	<i>Ike-ike ikāā-ikāā-ikāā</i>
<i>Tāwan [...] ikā ikā</i>	Five [...] <i>iikāā ikāā.</i>
<i>Tawōn xānō sūrdāsān</i>	Five Khans were anxious,
<i>Tamsag budōn caenītan</i>	Let the delicious rice and tea
<i>Dēj l baegtī l dā!</i>	Be the best part of food!

⁵⁵ *Xarmān xäirxanā xelēleg* cf. Dulam (1992, pp. 92–93), here I use a simplified version of Dulam's transcription.

⁵⁶ Baljir's *dūdlaga* 3.

III. Remarks on Syntax and Morphology in Ritual-Texts

The Mongolian sentence is based on the SOV (more correctly SOP) structure: the sentence ends with the predicate. In the shamanic ritual language usage – as in the everyday speech –, inversions are possible; the placement of the subject after the predicate is especially frequent. In texts collected *in situ* the subject, as an addressing expression with a strong emphatic stress, could be placed after the predicate; cf. *ulāč min* ‘my attendant’, *ür min* ‘my child’ in the text-fragments below:

<i>Narīn cagān Naljgā</i>	Oh [you] slim, white Naljig,
<i>Xenī xereg,</i>	For whose matter,
<i>Yamar yanjār yawna či ulāč min</i> ’?	In what manner do you go, my attendant? ⁵⁷
<i>Xar biye čin’ sulbagarxan,</i>	Your black body is weak,
<i>Am’ nas čin’ gulbagarxan l,</i>	Your life is in danger.
<i>Bodlō bodōroi ür min</i> ’!	Think about it, my child! ⁵⁸

As regards the sentence ending verbs (*verba finita*) in the function of predicates in ritual-texts of both types (recorded *in situ* and also beyond the rituals), the majority of them are connected to limited semantic fields and also to a restricted morpheme resource. Only in the improvisatory parts of the ritual-texts one may find a wider and less limited (but still, as I observed, restricted) set of verbs and morphemes.

The semantic field of sentence-ending predicates often covers verbs of saying, declaring and moving (*verba dicendi*, *verba movendi*), and also the verbs indicating the semantic field of “bestowing, providing [mercy, protection, etc.]”. The mainly used morphological resources are the various suffixes of the imperative mood. The shaman – as performer of the text – often expresses his/her intention of calling, inviting, summoning the spirits, occasionally accumulating more *verba dicendi*, as: *uri-* “to call”, *jala-* “to invite (honorific expression)”, *dūd-* “to invoke”, *jalbir-* “to pray”. The morpheme *-yā*³ (voluntativus) expresses intention, wish of Sg., Pl. 1. and is quite often applied in shamanic texts of invoking types or in text-modules of invocation, addressing.

<i>Xan bogd Dayin Dērx-ē</i>	Let me call, invite you to come
<i>Urin jalan dūdyā!</i>	Majestic, holy Dayan Deerkh!
<i>Xörst delxīn ejded</i>	Let me pray with all my strength
<i>Xüč čadlārā jalbiryā!</i>	To the lords of the crusty Earth!
<i>Xan Dayin Dērx,</i>	Let me pray calling, inviting you my queen mother
<i>Xatan ējīgē urin dūdan jalbiryā!</i>	My majestic Dayan Deerkh! ⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Bayar’s *dūdлага* 1.

⁵⁸ Bayar’s *dūdлага* 1.

⁵⁹ *Dayan Dērxīn dūdлага* 3.

In a Dayan Dêrx-text the calling verb is repeated in every second line (in differing context of verbs describing mostly the shaman's movements during the ritual) emphasising the intensity of the ritual.

<i>Bayin sūx xūlgī čin'</i>	I call you sitting and holding
<i>Barin sūj dūdī!</i>	Your rich mount for sitting!
<i>Dalimb xar tašūrī čin'</i>	I call you sitting and supporting myself
<i>Tulun sūj dūdī!</i>	On a black drill whip!
<i>Altn saixn orgoig</i>	I call you sitting and wearing
<i>Amssn [= ömssn] sūj dūdī!</i>	The golden, nice headgear!
<i>Möngön sāxn orgoigī-n'</i>	I call you sitting and wearing
<i>Amssn [= ömssn] sūj dūdī!</i>	The silver nice headgear!
<i>Ōxn xoyir öwdgō</i>	I call you sitting and kneeling
<i>Sögdön sūj dūdī!</i>	On my two fat knees!
<i>Ōngön cagān tolgōgō</i>	I call you sitting and bowing
<i>Böxöljūlen sūj dūdī!</i>	My head white in colour!
<i>Amnīxa cagān šūdīg</i>	I call you sitting and flashing
<i>Yaraljūlan sūj dūdī!</i>	My white teeth in my mouth!
<i>Alag xoyir nūdē</i>	I call you sitting and rolling
<i>Ergeljūlen sūj dūdī!</i>	My hazel eyes!
<i>Dūgarax xōlō</i>	I call you sitting and opening my mouth
<i>Amā amgaljūlan sūj dūdī!</i>	With my sounding voice! ⁶⁰

In text-modules, enumerating the clients' misery and suffering and in text-modules requesting the spirits for mercy, the shaman either requests or orders to fulfil the wishes for bestowing (mercy, happiness, health, fertility) or for averting (harm, misery, suffering of sickness, thief, beasts). For this purpose a larger scale of morphological resources are utilised. In the majority of cases, morphemes of honorific imperative are used for requests, polite demands, such as *-ārai*⁴ (Sg., Pl. 2.); even more polite is *-gtun*² (Sg., Pl. 2.) and its allomorph *-gtū/-gtū/-gtui* (often appearing in Darkhad texts; cf. also Buryad, Oirad parallel forms) expressing appeal, request.

<i>Gadnīn gae, dotrīn totgorīg</i>	Clean kindly the external harms and internal
<i>arilgagtun!</i>	hindrances.
<i>Garjīn ūdīg xāj,</i>	Close the door of losses and
<i>Oljīn ūdīg nēgtün!</i>	Open kindly the door of gain! ⁶¹

Arilgagtun "deign to purify, please purify kindly" *nēgtün* "deign to open, please open kindly" are connected to the verbs of the semantic group of bestowing mercy and averting harm. The verb *xairla-* "to provide, to bestow" usually stands at the end of a long enumeration of request.

⁶⁰ Dayan Dêrxīn dūdlaga 4.

⁶¹ Dayan Dêrxīn dūdlaga 1.

<i>Altan öljgö̃ xaerlan sūj,</i>	You reside bestowing [upon us] your golden fortune,
<i>Ūr olon xūxed</i>	You reside tying up
<i>Ūles tāwlingī-n'</i>	The descendants, numerous children,
<i>Altan āmi-n'</i>	Their deeds and the fate,
<i>Argamjan sūj,</i>	Their golden life;
<i>Ulān āmi-n'</i>	You reside tying up
<i>Uyin sūj,</i>	The red life;
<i>Baga gertē</i>	You become
<i>Bagana bolj,</i>	The pillar of the small tent,
<i>Balčir ürend-n'</i>	You become
<i>Jayā bolj,</i>	The destiny of the infants;
<i>Dēr-n' degden sūj,</i>	You reside ascending;
<i>Derged-n' jirgen sūj xaerlagtaē!</i>	Please reside chattering on [infants'] side! ⁶²

A polite form of requesting is the use of the question about the intention of the spirits, gods: *-na*⁴ (present and future tense) + *ū*² (interrogative particle).

<i>Āxilj ūxilj tebdelgüe</i>	Without hurry, puffing and panting,
<i>Aetae tabtae moriln-ū?</i>	Please arrive gently!
<i>Aliāl j baegād kürtēn-ū?</i>	After you mocked, would you receive [the offering]?
<i>Amarč baegād togtōn-ū?</i>	After you rested, would you drink [the offering brandy]? ⁶³

In the above article only some possible approaches of the investigation of Darkhad shamans' sacral communication have been presented. The entire analysis includes more text-fragments – recorded during fieldwork activity of the Expedition and also of earlier researchers – and further aspects, as the communication of shamans with their spirits in an unknown language, analysis of shamanic texts in the frame of the speech act, ways of verbalising of non-verbalised communication in the ritual-text.

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⁶² *Dayan Dēxīn dātgal.*

⁶³ *Dayan Dēxīn dūdлага 1.*

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Field records (details are given in the footnotes):

The corpus of annotated interviews: Interview 1. with shamaness Baljir 1992; Interview 1. with shamaness Joljayā 2001; Interview with shaman Taiwan 2001 and entire ritual-texts of Baljir, Bayar, Xūxenjī and texts recorded from Lama Galbābadrax are included into the manuscript: Birtalan, Ágnes: *Darkhad Shamanic Texts. Performers, Communication, Genres*.