

DARIGANGA FOLKLORE TEXTS

By

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The collection of texts published below is meant to illustrate the characteristics of the Dariganga dialect (cf. *Acta Orientalia Hung.* X [1960], pp. 1—29). The tale *Emegen*, the folk songs *ǰzorō* and the variant *B* of the *ǰžāχan šarqae* were recorded in the Dariganga sumun, the rest in the Asgat sumun.

I have endeavoured to record the folklore texts in several variants, from different informants. In case of variants with slight deviations, only one of the texts is published, while the deviations are given in notes and marked B. Variant B of the tale *Emegen* is from a Dariganga informant who has lived for a long time in the capital and his speech displayed strong Khalkha influences. A growing Khalkha influence can be observed in the speech of the younger generation, particularly in men, and to a lesser extent, in women. The extent of the Khalkha influence depends also on education; the schools play an important part in the formation of the new standard language. Finally, the effect of the Khalkha varies with the distance from, and the connections with, the sumun centres.

*Emegen*¹

er^t ȳrd negīn saen ts'ag^t ȳ! ermeg χūχen armag ts'āwiddar mor^tā
asar χojir šar noχoet^ā ējǰžt^{ēgē} sūǰag bājǰžē. ermeg χūχeni ējǰž in ūχūχ
boldžē. ex in ūχkēsē² omōn χūχendē sūǰag šūr χojirig oχtš^ē. „en χojir jymynd^u
bododž sansan χeregleχ jumān sansan josōr büt^ēvedex ilēbt^ē“ gedž oχtš^ē. χūχen
in ermeg utš^{ir} bajin χāni adūnd jawadž emneg³ sȳraqadag⁴ bjār ts'adalt^ā
χūχen bājǰžē. t'er χāni dolōn χūn ōrgōdž delveggūi darwagaē χar ny^mic
gants'ārā ōrgōdōχ χūχen baēǰžē. χūχen χolin ajind jawadž baēgad maηgad^tā⁵
pārildāb χūχen bercede baēsan χojir ǰzandan modon ǰēr gartš^ē baēgad χojir

¹ B: *emgen*

² B: *ūχūχēsē*

³ B: *elmeg*

⁴ B: *sȳraqadag*

⁵ B: *maηgastā*

šar noxoḡ in irdž wē. t'únēs maḡad⁶ aēdž nūxend ordžē. xoḡir noxoḡ in⁷: „en nūxenēs ulān dzus ḡarwal maḡad⁶ úxsen gedž bodōraē! šar dzys⁸ ḡarwal bid xoḡirig úxsen gedž bodōraē!“ gedž xelēd nūxend ordžē. ene xūxenig modnōs BŪxud ulān dzys⁸ ḡardžē noxoḡ in ḡardž irdžē. en xūxen ergidž nuḡagl'ā irdžē⁹ am saexandā džaraḡdžē.

Wedding songs

Magnā t'ürgen

maḡadin amraḡ ēdžidē
 mart'ašḡui xoḡōs dzoriorā
 ergend ur¹⁰ḡsan xjagi tš' in
 ebdēd awxa n xūlbar
 erdē ḡsōn xū tš'amaḡḡ¹⁰
 ergūlēd awxa¹¹ n ḡyndž in džā.
 xadand uraḡsan xūlḡi tš' in
 xadād awxa n xūlbar šū
 xaridā ḡsōn xū tš'amāḡ¹⁰
 xarūlād awxa¹¹ n ḡyndž in džā
 xadam būgd in ḡat'ū [šū]
 xaerildž xūndelēdž jawāraē
 xaerildž xūndelēdž jab bol
 xaert'ā saenig olan [šū]
 xūnī ḡadzar ḡūtš'ūḡūḡi
 ḡūtš'ildž xelwel ḡo'tšt'ā
 xūlēdž xūndelēdž jawāraē
 xūlēdž xūndelēdž jab bol
 xūndet'ē saenig olan [šū]
 dzān ḡets'ū bolob'tš
 dzamār ḡrōd jawan
 dzaxirḡā n ḡits'ū bolob'tš
 xōrgin ḡḡōr bolon [šū].

⁶ B: maḡas

⁷ B after in inserts: xūxend xeldžē

⁸ B: ts'ys

⁹ B: inserts: saen saexan amdarđž

¹⁰ B: tš'amaḡḡā

¹¹ B: awdaḡ

χὸλόγη δὴ

morin džix χοjirχαν
 mordoxin χῦνδαγ^ν γυρυωχαν
 morilād irsen ὑργῦδ min
 odō morilād byts'āraē
 ūnigen džix χοjirχαν
 ūdin χῦνδαγ^ν γυρυωχαν
 ūilēd irsen ὑργῦδ min
 odō morilād byts'āraē.

Funny questions

galçui byts'aldaç t'oçō χedet'ē wē
 galū dazāni sūçē šaçsan byštaç χedet'ē wē

aηts'in çōrōts'in çet'el
 nym sādac tš'in alac jum
 arçaltš'in t'ulectš'in çexed
 arac sawar tš'in alac jum
 arçal in ts'an
 arçäjt'l-sarçäjt'l¹²
 jū çedž būwā.

ūdin ūç

ali çer sūpdaç nyf'act'ā
 aç t'omō't ni tš'in ner çen çedeg wē.

Benedictions

çer in jōrōl

sūildžmūr saçχαν t'ōn dēr
 sūld t'eηger degevdž ēdž
 barūn dzūn çanin tš'in t'olgoçgōr
 bat'alac sūldin delçer in
 bat'alac sūldinçān atš'ār
 baçtš'ūl χūçed delçernē

¹² B: çürçēt'l

xāvaq nēdeg xālçār
xarīn ojuṅtan ts'ūclān
xarīn ojuṅtanīxān atš'ār
xamūç xūxer bolobsuran
ówgón cókšīn nast'ant'ā
ōrin üjin nóχdót'ē
ōrgón dōlēn ts'engel't'en
ōvūr šóngūi ts'engelveg
jōrōl t'awiχ tawjā.

Arxīn jōrōl

t'engerē narni baççūlsan
badma linχuaen xelwert'ē
ba't saeχan bürçerīç
ba'çulan iχ t'oçōn dēr t'alibnž ēdž.
ajriç ts'açān dēçēr çarsan
ajriç saeχan sarχadt'ā
arban çurban t'oçōn dēçēr ba'tdz ēdž.

Praising song

morni maçt'āl

dzā! dōrwōn sojōt'ā
dzasmal dōrwōn t'ūraet'ā
ts'olmyn çojir nüvet'ē
tš'onin çojir džiχt'ē
ur't saeχan χūdžūt'ē
urçumal saeχan sūlt'ē
būdūn ts'ulūnd būdūrdgūi
būgtš'im¹³ χalūnd sādadvūi
çabt'agaç ts'ulūnd būdūrdgūi
çaη χalūnd sādadvūi
çaeχānt'ā saeχan çólōç.

¹³ B: *Būgt'mel*

Folksongs

D Ž o r ō n

džorōn džorōn ūlān šū
 džolōḡi n dōmōd mōrdōraē
 dzorsan ḡadzaran ḡol šū
 džorigō biḡē moḡōraē
 t'alīn ḡōndī arwīn šū
 t'awidž dat'ād jawāraē
 t'anil nōḡodō tš'in olon šū
 dzorigō biḡē moḡōraē
 ēnḡer ḡadzārin ḡol šū
 erf'elsēḡēd mōrdāraē
 enḡin nōḡdō tš'in olon šū
 džorigō biḡē moḡōraē.

D ž ā ḡ a n š a r ḡ a e A.

džāḡan šarḡalīn džoḡšōnd in
 t'omō mūḡaē dasarād waen
 džāḡan t'ūni āšīnd in
 džet'gel mūḡaē ḡūnād waen
 ḡojir mōrt'ē garāraē
 ḡonḡorīn šīrē damdžārā
 ḡonsonḡuḡī n bōdbol
 ḡojir nūdenḡē nūlmust'ā
 dewedž baḡḡā dēwrī tš'in
 dēsēr bariad darūlāšdā
 deḡeldzēd irsen džet'gelī tš'in
 odō jūḡār doḡt'ōno
 ūḡrīn džīḡni tš'ulū
 ūjir dārād jāḡū
 ūjin ḡojir t'anarīḡ
 ūḡeldž ḡelēd jāḡū
 T'ag šīrē nūtag tš'in
 t'awun ōnḡōr naḡḡadž waen.

DŽĀĀHAN ŠARĜAĒ B.

džāāhan šarĝaen alχānd in
 t'omō mūχaĕ dasaran
 χojir mort'ē ĝaran
 Xonĝorin širē damdžin
 χonsonĝuiggin bodbol
 χojir nūvendē nuilmust'ā
 T'ag il širē nu't'ag in
 t'awyn oĝōr naĝran
 t'aηk' il baĝ χūnī ūr in
 t'anixĝuī χūnēs daĝdždag bilē.

DŽĀĀHAN ŠARĜAL C.

džāāhan šarĝalin džoĝsōd
 t'omō mūχaĕ dasaran
 džāāhan t'ūnī āšind
 sedĝel mūχaĕ ĝuñan
 χojir mortē ĝarārū
 Xonĝrin širē damdžāraĝ
 χonsonĝuiggin bodbol
 χojir nūvendē nuilmust'ā
 dewedž baĝga dēwirigēn
 dēsni ūdzūrēr doĝt'oĝdž
 denĝildzedž baĝga sedĝilig
 odō jūĝar doĝtonoĝ
 builād irsen t'emēĝen
 burunt'ag ūdzūrēr doĝt'oĝdž
 buligaldž baĝga sedĝil in
 odō jūĝar doĝtonoĝ wā.

*The lady*¹⁴

Once upon a time in the good old days [it happened]! Once there was a manly girl who had a strong¹⁵ whitish horse, two *asar*¹⁶ yellow dogs and lived with her mother. The manly girl's mother was about to die. Before she died she gave the girl a pail and a broom [with these words]: „If you think of these two things, what you think and what you need will be fulfilled as you think of them, they have such magic power!“

Owing to her manliness, the girl took a job in the stud of Khan Bayin to break in the unbroken horses, so strong was that girl! She was such a girl as could bend alone that huge black bow of this khan, which not even two men could lift and bend.

Once when the girl set out for a long journey, she met the Mangus and [escaped by] going up two santal trees that were before her, and then the two yellow dogs appeared. The Mangus was scared of them and ran into a cave. The two dogs said: „Mind you! If red blood comes out of this cave,

¹⁴ The word *emegen* is used by the Darigangas not only in the sense 'old woman, old lady' but also as a respectful denomination in general for any woman irrespective of age. The tale belongs to the so-called "dragon-killer" type (cf. Aarne—Thompson, *The Types of the Folktales*, FFC 74 1928, Type 300; cf. also Eberhard—Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, Type 220; Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen des Brüder Grimm I—V*, Leipzig 1913—1931, I p. 547). For the motifs of vessel and broom, probably not belonging to this type, cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Indiana Univ. Press, printed in Copenhagen, 1955—1957; and Thompson—Balys, *The Oral Tales of India*, Bloomington 1958, no. D 1171.1.19, cf. also D 1470.1.19; W. Eberhard, *Typen chinesischer Volksmärchen* FFC 120, no. 63; Eberhard—Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Typ. 173. For the motif of the strong women cf. Thompson, *Motif-Index*, and Thompson—Balys, *The Oral Tales* no. F 610.0.1.1. For the motif of the helping dog cf. Thompson, *Motif-Index*, Thompson—Balys, *The Oral Tales* nos. B. 421, B. 524.1.1; Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen I*, pp. 548—550; Aarne—Thompson, *The Type*, p. 45.

¹⁵ The Dariganga *armaç* is most probably the detached derivative member of the doublet *ermeg-armaç* 'manly, strong'. This seems to be supported by the fact that on asking the meaning of the word, the informant immediately referred to the doublet *ermeg-armaç*. For the individual use of the second members in doublets, having had no original meaning, see L. Bese, *Zwillingswörter in Mongolischen: Acta Orient. Hung.* VII (1957), pp. 209—210. It may be of interest to note that the word *ermeg* occurs in this same sentence.

¹⁶ Neither my story-teller nor any other Dariganga informant of mine could explain what kind of a dog the *asar* would be. According to one of my Southern-Khalkha informant, the *asar-basar noçog* is a particularly strong and wild dog often mentioned in folktales. In Mostaert's Ordos dictionary the word is registered in the form of *asar* with the meaning 'nom de chien' (*Dictionnaire*, p. 32b). My informants felt no connection between this word and the word *asar* 'very, immensely' (LM *asuri, asuru*). The latter word recurs in Ordos in the form *asur* (*Dictionnaire*, p. 33b).

the Mangus is dead. Mind you! If yellow blood comes, we two are dead“ — and went into the cave. The girl descending from the tree, red blood was flowing out and the dogs were already appearing.

The girl, returning, went home¹⁷ and was glad that her life had taken a turn for the better.

Wedding songs¹⁸

Farewell song to the new wife sung by her father called maçnã t'ürçen

To your much-beloved mother
 Even from very far¹⁹ you should come back.
 You, the grass grown on the side of the ditch
 Can easily be cut [with sickle].
 You girl, given in marriage,
 Are impossible to have returned.
 You, the nettle grown on rock,
 Are easy to cut with sickle, indeed!
 You girl, given to a stranger,
 Are impossible to get back.
 The kin of your husband are hard [inded]!
 Treat them with love and respect,
 If you treat them with love and respect,
 You will find kindly goodness.
 At a strange place [you] the weak
 When [you are] treated with strength and mocked,
 [Yet] treat them with tolerance, respect,
 And if you treat them with tolerance, respect,

¹⁷ Variant B inserts a more profuse closing formula: ... leading a good life...

¹⁸ During my stay among the Darigangas I succeeded in recording abundant material on the local wedding customs. Since I intend to publish this material in the second half of the present series of papers, I shall restrict myself to the most important relations concerning the texts here published. On the day following the wedding feast the relatives go to see the young couple who had moved in a new yurt. On this occasion another game of funny questions and answers is played, samples of which can be found in the 'funny questions' published below. The relatives praise the beauty, the wealth of the new wife, especially the so-called *ũmni çün* must distinguish himself. Afterwards the mother of the new wife gives presents to the relatives of the young husband. Then they drink the farewell toast and the relatives are called on to leave (*çölöçni dũ*). Having sung this, the father of the young wife sings a farewell song to the bride, the *maçnã t'ürçen*. The young wife is not allowed to accompany the guests to the door.

¹⁹ Literally 'from unforgettably far'. It is used to express exaggeration.

You will find respectful goodness [indeed] !
 If it were terribly bad²⁰ for you,
 Just go along your way²¹
 Should your [lot of] subordination be bad
 It will be just like the colour of the snuffbox²² [indeed] !

The farewell song called "Expelling song"

The horse has two ears,
 Our farewell cups are three,
 Relatives of ours who deigned to come²⁴,
 Please deign now to leave.
 The fox has two ears
 Our farewell cups are three,
 Relatives of our who were kind enough to come,
 Please deign now to leave.

Funny questions

How many cauldrons have you in which you can cook
 without fire?
 How much cheese do you have made of goose and
 hen milk?
 Being hunters and game-chasers,
 Why have you not bows and quivers?
 Being dung-gatherers and fuel-collectors,

²⁰ *Dzān gets'ū* literally 'so very bad as the big elephant'. Degree of exaggeration.

²¹ *Dzamār örōd jawa-* 'to go along the way' i.e. against your fate. Cf. Kalm. örχ² 'gegen etw. gehen' (Ramstedt, *KalmWb.*, p. 299b).

²² The last line of the song seems to be an oracular formula. According to a Mongol popular belief, as a Southern-Khalkha informant of mine has told me, one's destiny can be foreseen from the changes in the colour of the snuff-box. The line means: fate has determined your way, your life will be such as appointed by fate, as shown by the change of the colour of the box.

²³ The Dariganga word *χōlōg* is derived from *χō-* 'to drive, pursue, expell' (LM *kōge*).

²⁴ *morilād ire-* is a phrase of respect meaning nothing more than 'deigned to come' and not 'came riding'. Cf. below *morilad byts'arağ*, KhL *chojmor morilž suugtun* 'пожалуйте на почетное место' (inside the tent), Ord. *ger'te morilo-* 'veuillez entrer dans la maison' (*Dictionnaire*, p. 467b). The verb *ūile-* in the phrase *ūiled irsen* below has the same function.

Why have you no baskets, shovels?
 Beyond the manure
 Higgedly—piggedly,
 Why have you settled down?²⁵

The question at the door

In what tent do you live, which is your native land?
 What are the names of the respected elder members of your family?²⁶

*Tent benediction*²⁷

Above the plaited beautiful top-ring of the tent
 Spreads himself the protecting spirit.²⁸
 At the head of your right and left tent-lattice
 The strong protecting spirit has spread himself.
 And thanks to the strong protecting spirit²⁹
 The little ones, the children are increasing.
 At the closing-opening door
 The foreign sages³⁰ are gathering.
 Thanks to the foreign sages,
 Every child is developing.
 With the old, white-haired, aged people,
 With their mates of like age
 In great peace, happy with one another
 Being glad day in day out together
 To this I pronounce my benediction !

²⁵ Part of the wedding guests make themselves comfortable between the fireplace and the door, in front of the box containing the manure for fuel.

²⁶ *ax t'omōt* literally 'your esteemed elder brothers'. The question here refers to the name of the clan. Cf. Ord. *i^kχe't'en t'omōt'on* 'les autorités, les chefs responsables, les notables' (*Dictionnaire*, 667b).

²⁷ This is said when a new tent is dedicated to use. The texts of two Khalkha tent benedictions in my possession, running into 69 and 61 lines resp. are more detailed and also different from this Dariganga variant. They dwell upon even the smallest part of the tent.

²⁸ For the *sūD t'engr* cf. W. Heissig, *Mongolisches Schrifttum in Linden-Museum: Tribus VIII* (1959), pp. 41—50, which see for further literature.

²⁹ i. e. 'to its benediction, protection'.

³⁰ This has to be a lamaist term like *sūD t'engr*, but it is from other sources unknown to me.

*Brandy benediction*³¹

The celestial sun-made
 Lotus-flower-shaped
 Strong nice evaporating cone
 Was placed on a supporting cauldron,
 Made from the buttermilk of koumiss,
 The wonderful koumiss-wine³²
 was obtained from above thirteen cauldrons.

Praising of the horse

Hey! Four-eye-teethed,
 Tamed four-hoofed,
 Two-morning-star-eyed,
 Two-wolf-eared,
 Fine, long-necked,
 Fine bushy tailed,
 Not stumbling over big stone,
 Not recoiling in oppressive heat,
 Not stumbling over a flat stone,
 Not recoiling in arid heat —
 Wonderful, beautiful saddle-horse!

The ambler

Ambler, ambler, red, hey!
 Ride with the reins kept tight!
 The distance of the place where you are going to, hey!
 Do not slacken in your endeavour!
 Many are the valleys of the plain, hey!
 Go, slackening-tightening!³³

³¹ A truncated cone (*Bürçer*) made of playwood is put over a cauldron on a fire-place. A vessel with a handle is hung into it, then the whole is covered with another vessel filled with cold water, having a spherical bottom. Koumiss buttermilk (*ajric ts'acân*) is poured into the cauldron. That the spirit is distilled thirteen times is, of course, a poetical exaggeration; doing it two or three times is considered sufficient for everyday purposes.

³² This is, in fact, koumiss buttermilk further fermented.

³³ Viz. the rein. An expression for very quick riding.

Many are your familiar friends, hey!
 Do not slacken in your endeavour!
 The distance to the southern side of the hills, hey!
 Start riding early³⁴
 Many are your common comrades, hey!
 Do not slacken in your endeavour!

The little yellow-boy
 (Variant A)

The trot of my little yellow-boy,
 His gait³⁵ has turned bad³⁶
 Because of the little one's character
 My heart is badly distressed.
 Go away with the two horses
 Ride over the top³⁷ of the Khongor
 Remembering the unspent night
 My two eyes are tearful
 The flapping roof-top felt
 Is fastened with a rope³⁸
 Your heart having become unsteady
 What shall I now calm it with?
 A cattle-sized stone
 How would be shifted by the torrent?
 How would you two, of the same age
 Be spoken [ill] of?
 The top of the Tag,³⁹ the native land,
 Their five colours blend.⁴⁰

³⁴ Contraction from *ert'els χīged* 'to get up early, to begin early' cf. Ord. *ert'eles ge-* 'faire quelque chose assez matinalement' (*Dictionnaire*, p. 248a).

³⁵ *t'omō* 'acquired ability, persistence' cf. LM *tomuγa* refers here to the persistence, the tenancy of the horse. Cf. Ord. *t'omō dasuradži* '(le malade [a perdu l'usage de ses membres] a l'agonie ou par paralysis)' *Dictionnaire*, p. 667a.

³⁶ *mūχae* 'bad, awful, imperfect'. Cf. LM *mayuqai*. Here: 'to become very bad'.

³⁷ The word *širē* meaning 'table, low, flat little table' is also used for denoting ground forms. It also means the top of a mountain resembling the surface of a table, the form of a coffin. Cf. KhL *širél* 'возвышенность'.

³⁸ *darūlāšdā*, instead of *darūlāts'dā*.

³⁹ A geographical name Teg can be found in Kazakevič's map, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ Because his eyes are filled with tears. Cf. Variant B.

The little yellow-boy
(Variant B)

The step of the little yellow-boy,
His gait has turned bad.
Going away with two horses,
When riding over the top of the Khongor
I think of the unspent night,
My eyes fill with tears.
The top of the Tag, the native land
Their five colours blend into one,
The spoilt little child
Is scared away from unknown people.

The little yellow-boy
(Variant C)

The trot of the little yellow-boy
His gait has slackened very much.
On account of the little one's character
My heart is badly distressed.
Go away with two horses,
Ride over the top of the Khongor
Remembering the unspent night
My two eyes are tearful.
The flapping roof-top felt
Is fastened with the end of the rope.
Your wavering heart,
What shall I now calm it with?
The camel coming howling⁴¹
Is fastened with the end of the halter,
My palpitating⁴² heart
What shall I now appease it with?

⁴¹ *buyla-* 'to howl (as a camel)' cf. KhL *bujlach* 'реветь, кричать (о верблюдах)'; or according to another variant 'pegged'. Cf. *buyl* 'peg, put through the nose of the camel for attaching the leading rope' (LM *buyila*), cf. KhL *bujllach* 'продевать кляп в ноздри верблюда'. In this sense the translation would be: 'a camel coming with a peg'.

⁴² Cf. LM *bulgila-* 'monter en bouillonnant (eau de source), palpiter, battre violemment (cœur)', Ord. *Džüre^kye bylgilapži wān* 'le cœur bat violemment, le cœur palpite' (*Dictionnaire*, pp. 94a—b).