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ON SOME SUFFIXES OF PLANT NAMES IN MONGOLIAN

The Mongolian names of plants can be divided, from the morphological point of view, into two main groups, namely, suffixless names and those formed with suffixes. The suffixless plant names include Mo¹⁾ *uda*, Kh. *ud*²⁾ 'willow-tree' (Salix L)³⁾ = Ma *fodo* 'a willow branch used at shamanistic ceremonies', Or *potokto* 'willow-bushes', etc.;⁴⁾ Mo *suqai*, Kh *suxaj* 'tamarisk' (Tamarix L); Mo *tooroi*, Kh *tooraj* 'poplar' (Populus diversifolia) = MTu *toɣraq* id.; Mo *arča*, Kh *arc* 'juniper' (Juniperus L) which, according to DOERFER, might be of ultimate Turkic origin,⁵⁾ whereas RÄSÄNEN regards Mo *arča* as a form derived from *ari-* 'to cleanse', a cognate of Tu *artič* 'juniper', etc.⁶⁾

The plant names formed with suffixes are numerous. Some suffixes occur often, other are rare. The following suffixes have been noted:

1. Kh, B *-aaxaj*:⁷⁾ Kh *bömbööxèj* Urticularia L, cf. B *bümbööxèj* 'contracted, shrivelled, shrunken' from *bümb-* 'to become globular'.
2. Mo *-dai*, Kh *-daj*:⁸⁾ Mo *tosundai*, Kh *tosondoj* Pinguicula L from Mo *tosun* 'fat, grease, butter, oil'.
3. Mo *-gir*, Kh *-gar*:⁹⁾ Kh *buržgar* 'meadow rue' (Thalictrum L), lit. 'curly'; cf. Mo *burjigir* 'curly' from *burjii-* 'to curl'.
4. Mo *-γul*, Kh *-uul*:¹⁰⁾ Mo *qamquγul*, Kh *xamxuul* 'eryngium' (Corispermum L) from **qamqu-*, Kh *xamxa-* 'to be crushed, to fall to pieces'.
5. Mo *-γur*, Kh *-uur*:¹¹⁾ Kh *xoržgnuur* Sphaerophysa DC from *xoržogno-* 'to creak'.
6. Mo *-γuna*, Kh *-uuna* (rare):¹²⁾ Mo *bañγuna*, Kh *bažuuna* 'rhubarb' (Rheum L), cf. Kh *bažgir* 'rough' from **bañgi-*.
7. Kh *-žaa* (rare): Kh *jagžaa* Linnaea borealis L from *jagžii-* 'to be short', cf. *jagžgar* 'short of stature, squat'.
8. Kh *-laj*:¹³⁾ Kh *xonxloj* 'bellflower' (Adenophora Fisch.) from *xonx* 'bell'. The other name of this flower is *xonx cècèg* 'bellflower'.
9. Mo *-may*, Kh *-mag*, a diminutive suffix:¹⁴⁾ Kh *sarmag* 'colza' (Barbarea Rehb.) from Kh *sar* 'moon'.

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10. Mo *-nčar*, Kh *-ncar*, a diminutive suffix:¹⁵⁾ Kh *ojmoncor* 'cryptogram' (Cryptogramma Stelleri) from Mo *oyima*, Kh *ojm* Dryopteris Adams.
11. Mo *-ngya*, Kh *-nga*: Mo *oriyangya*, Kh *oroongo* 'dodder' (Cuscuta L) from Mo *oriya*, Kh. *oro-* 'to wrap, envelop'.
12. Mo *-nggir*, Kh *-ngar* (*-ngèr* etc.):¹⁶⁾ Kh *majlingar* Thesium L.
13. Kh *-žin*:¹⁷⁾ Kh *jargujžin* 'anemone' (Anemone L) from *jargui* Pulsatilla Mill.

The suffixes enumerated (1 - 13) occur in relatively few plant names, and the words which are formed with them in most cases belong to other semantic groups. However, there are suffixes which are found often, and some of them are particularly characteristic of plant names. Such widely spread suffixes are Mo *-yana* (*-ryana*, *-lyana*, *-lʃayana*), *-lʃi*, *-lʃai*, and *-sun*.

1. Mo *-yana*

A. Mo *-yana*, Kh, B *-gana* occur as suffixes forming names of plants, animals, and some diseases mostly from primary stems which denote qualities characteristic of the object (plant, animal, disease) denoted by the secondary noun.

a. Names of plants: Kh *bömbögönö* Neslia paniculata L from *bömbög* 'ball, globe'; Mo *gičigene*, Kh *gičgèné* 'silverweed' (Potentilla anserina L); Kh *noorsgono* Trichophorum persicum from *noors* 'down'; Kh *ulaagana* 'currant' (Ribes L) from *ulaan* 'red'; Mo *qarayana*, Kh *xargana* Caragana arborescens from Mo *qara*, Kh *xar* 'black'; Mo *kilayana*, Kh *xialgana* 'feather grass' (Stipa L) from **kil*, cf. Mo *kilyasun*, Kh *xialgas* 'hair of the tail, horse hair', cf. Tu *qil* 'hair'; Kh *jöröndgönö* Antitoxicum sibiricum (L) Pobed. from ?; Kh *nocoogono* Xanthium L from *nocoo* 'seizing, grasping'; Kh *xarcagana* Hieracium L from *xarcag* 'hawk'; Kh *xongorcogono*, Karelinia Less. from *xongorcog* 'cluster, bunch'; Kh *salaagana* Chorisporea DC from *sala* 'branch', etc.

b. Names of animals, mostly insects, some fish, and a few birds: Mo *qulayana*, Kh *xulgana* 'mouse' from Mo *qula*, Kh *xul* 'fawn-coloured, bay having a black stripe along the spine'; Mo *batajana*, Kh *batgana* 'gnat, small fly' from ?; Mo *kedegene*, Kh *xədgèné* 'horsefly, gadfly, wasp, bumblebee' from Mo *keder* 'irascible'; Mo *čögergene*, Kh *cöörgönö* 'locust' from Tu *čägirgä*, *čägirtkä*, *čägärtki*, etc. id.; Mo *alayana*, Kh *algana* 'perch' (fish) from *alay* 'spotted, motley'; Mo *qayirayana* 'seagull' from *qayir* 'gravel, pebbles' (probably because of often being seen standing on gravel).

c. Names of diseases: Mo *badayana*, Kh *badgana* 'cancer of the stomach' < Tib *bad-kan*, the Mo form having taken the suff. *-yana* by analogy with numerous words having the suffix *-yana*: Mo *esergene*, Kh *šèèrgèné* 'rash'.

The words ending in *-yana*, *-gana* denote mostly such plants (or animals) which occur in large numbers in one place and are relatively small and difficult to separate from each other, e.g. bushes forming a thicket, insects swarming all over a place (e.g. mosquitoes). The suff. *-yana* corresponds in function to the Tungus suff. *-kta* which denotes something small and occurring as a large accumulation,¹⁸⁾ cf. *yanmakta* 'mosquito', *lawikta* 'Iceland moss', etc. It is interesting to note that Finnish (Suomi) has a suffix almost exclusively forming names of animals and plants. This is *-ja* < *-*ya*, e.g., *petäjä* 'pine tree'.¹⁹⁾

B. Mo. *-ryana*, Kh *-rgana* as suffix of some plant names. There are some plant names formed from stems ending in *r*, e.g. Kh *šüüdergèné* Chelidonium L from *šüüder* 'dew', Mo *šigüderi* id.; Kh *šavargana* Limosella aquatica L from *šavar*, Mo *šibar* 'mud, clay'; Kh *coorgono* Angelica dahurica Benth. from *coor* 'flute'; Mo *jegergene*, Kh *zèèrgèné* Ephedra L from Kh *zèèr* 'antelope', etc.

It is obvious that the following plant names end in *-ryana* (*-rgana*) by analogy with the above examples because the respective primary stems do not have a final *r*; Mo *altaryana*, Kh *altargana* 'golden rod' (Solidago virga aurea) from Mo, Kh *alta* 'gold'; Mo *ařaryana*, Kh *azargana* 'sonchus' (Cirsium Mill.) from ? *aza* 'good luck'.

On the other hand, some plant names are formed from primary verbal stems. The suff. *-yana* is not taken by verbal stems. Therefore *-r* in *-ryana* must be a suffix of noun derivation from verbal stems. Indeed, there is a number of nouns formed from verbs by means of the no longer productive suff. *-r*, e.g., Mo *amur* 'peace' from *amu-* 'to take a rest'; Mo *belčiger* 'pasture' from *belčige-* 'to pasture' (transitive) from *belči-* 'to pasture, graze' (intransitive); Mo *qabudur* 'swelling, tumor' from *qabud-* 'to swell', etc. The suff. *-ryana* is a compound, namely, *-r* of deverbial nouns + *-yana*. The suff. *-ryana* is, however, a petrified compound, and in most cases there is no noun in *-r* from which the plant name in *-yana* could have been formed.

Examples: Kh *asargana* Lindefolia stylosa Brand from Kh *as-*, Mo *asa-* 'to climb'; Kh *nocorgono* Lappula Moench. from *noc-* 'to seize, grasp'; Mo *sedergene* 'bendweed' (Convolvulus L) from ?; Mo *čičaryana*, Kh *čacargana* 'sea buckthorn' (Hippophae rhamnoides L) from Mo **čiča-*, cf. Mo *čičaya*, Kh *čacga* 'diarrhea' = Tu *tič-*, *sič-*, *čič-* 'to defecate' (the plant is called so probably because the fruit is purgative); Kh *šèèrgèné* 'catchfly, campion' (Silene convidea L) from *šèè-*, Mo *šige-* 'to urinate' (the plant is probably diuretic); Mo *aydurjana*

'lily' (*Lilium dahuricum*) from *ayduyi-* 'to be short, to shrink': Mo *ayširjana* 'hellebore' (*Veratrum nigrum* L) from *ayši-* 'to contract, shrink, curl up'.

C. A number of plant names is formed with the Mo suff. *-ljana*, Kh *-lgana* from primary verbal stems. It is to be assumed that the element *l* is a suffix of nouns formed from verbal stems.²⁰

Examples: Mo *tašilyana*, Kh *tašilgana* *Lycopsis orientalis* L from *taši-* 'to slant, to slope, incline'; Kh *xasalšana* 'rhododendron' (*Rhododendron aureum*) from *xas-*, Mo *qasu-* 'to curtail, shorten'; Kh *xovoolgono* 'baneberry' (*Actaea lerythrocarpa* Fisch.) from *xovoo* 'well bucket, trough', its other name being *xovol* id. and 'gutter, pipe, trough'.²¹

D. The suff. *-ljiyana* in Mo, *-lžgana* in Kh is a compound one and can be divided into *-lji* (*-lž*) < **lji* (see 2.) and *-yana*. The words formed with this compound suffix are names of plants and animals.

Examples: Kh *cègèèlžgènè* *Castillia mutis* from *cègèèn* 'light, white, whitish'; Kh *šaralžgana* *Sonchus* L from *šar*, Mo *šira* 'yellow'; Mo *boroljiyana*/*bololjajana*, Kh *borolžgono* *Dasiphora fruticosa* L from *boro* 'grey'; Mo *bögereļjigene*, Kh *böörölžgönö* 'raspberry bush' (*Rubus* L) from *bögere*, Kh *böör* 'kidney' (probably because the raspberry has the shape of a kidney); Kh *ulaalžgana* 'red currant' (*Ribes rubrum* L) from *ulaan* 'red'; Mo *güjigelfigene*, Kh *güzèèlžgènè* 'strawberry' (*Fragaria* L) from Mo *güjige*, Kh *güzèè* 'stomach' (probably because the shape of the berry resembles that of the stomach), etc.

The suff. *-ljiyana* occurs also in a few animal names, e.g., Mo *temegelfigene*, Kh *tèmèèlžgènè* 'dragon fly' from Mo *temegen*, Kh *temee* 'camel' (because of the size of the insect); Mo *kögeljigene* (here *-lji* + *-rgene*), Kalm *köglžryn* [*kög.ļ.ry.n*] 'dove' = Mtu *kökürčkän* id. from *kök* 'blue, grey', the Mo word having received its form by analogy with other words in *-yana*.

The words in *-ljiyana* (*-lžgana*) denote, like those in *-yana*, such plants and animals which are small in size and occur in large numbers in the same place as strawberries, dragon-flies, etc. which cannot be counted easily. It is interesting to note that the Solon word for strawberry *gudigērtē* has the suff. *-rte* < **-kte* which was discussed in 1A.

2. Mo -lji

a. Mo *-lji*, Kh *-lž* form names of plants and animals the characteristic features of which are denoted by the nominal stem concerned. The suff. *-lji* is not to be confused with the suff. *-ljin* of names of geometrical figures, e.g., Mo *dörbelfjin* 'square' from *dörben* 'four'.

Examples: Mo *borolji*, Kh *borolž* *Heleocharis* R, Br. from Mo *boro* 'grey', Kh *bor* id; Kh *zèdègèlž* *Comarum palustre* L from ?; Kh *najtaalž* 'sneezewort' (*Ptarmica* Neck.) from *najtaa-* 'to sneeze' (as an exception, the primary stem is a verb because the Kh name is a loan translation from Russian *čixotnik* from *čixat* 'to sneeze'); Kh *namgalž* *Callitriche* L from *namag*, Mo *namuγ* 'morass, swamp' = Ma *namu*, Ev *lamu* 'sea'; Mo *terelji*, Kh *tèrèlž* 'rhododendrum' (*Rhododendron dahuricum* L); Mo *ulalji*, Kh *ulalž* 'sedge' (*Carex* L) from Mo *ula* in *ulajan* 'red', cf. Mo *ula* 'tinder' (because of its reddish colour); Mo *quryalji*, Kh *xurgalž* *Eragrostis minor* Host. from Kh *xurga* 'lamb'; Mo *širalji*, Kh *šarilž* 'wormwood' (*Artemisia* L) from Mo *šira*, Kh *šar* 'yellow'; Kh *cègèèlž* *Glaux* L; Mo *sarbalji*, Kh *sarvalž* 'goosefoot' (*Chenopodium* L), cf. Mo *sarbayi-* 'to spread out, sprawl', etc.

b. Names of animals: Kh *xavtgalž*, Mo *qabtajalji* 'lapwing' (*Vanellus*) from Mo *qabtaya*, Kh *xavtga* 'bag, pouch'; Mo *čajalji*, Kh *cagaalž* 'salmon' (*Salmo lavaretus*) from Mo *čajan*, Kh *cagaan* 'white'; Mo *širyolji(n)*, Kh *šorgoolž* 'ant' from Mo *širyuγa* verbal noun from *širyu-*, Kh *šurga-* 'to creep in, to sneak in'; Mo *salalji*, Kh *salalž* 'white-tailed snipe' (a bird), etc.

3. Mo -ljai

Mo *-ljai*, Kh *-lžaj* form names of plants from nouns denoting colours and other characteristics of objects.

Mo *ulajaljai*, Kh *ulaalžaj* 'lily' (*Lilium sarana*) from Mo *ulajan*, Kh *ulaan* 'red'; Kh *cagaalžaj* (a new botanical term translated from Greek) *Leucanthemum* DC from *cagaan* 'white'; Kh *jagaalžaj* *Braya Sternb. et Hoppe* from *jagaan* 'pink'; Mo *boroljai*, Kh *borolžoj* *Hyppolitia trifida* from Mo *boro*, Kh *bor* 'grey'; Kh *xataalžaj* *Potentilla serica* L from *xataa* (verbal noun) from *xat-* 'to dry up, to become hard', etc.

4. Mo -sun

Mo *-sun*, Kh *-s* (the stem of such words ends in *-san* in Kh) is found on very many nouns. The words formed so have basically the meaning of a single piece, e.g., Mo *aduγusun*, Kh *aduus* 'animal, beast', from Mo *aduγun*, Kh *aduu* 'horses, a herd of horses'; Mo *kimusun* < **kimulsun* 'nail, claw' from SH *kimul* 'finger nail', etc. The original meaning has been lost, and forms with *-sun* and without it are often used interchangeably, e.g., Mo *sudasun* < **sudalsun* 'vein' from Mo *sudal* id.²²

As for the names of plants, the original function of the suff. *-sun* has been preserved to a certain degree, and the plant names with the suff. *-sun* (Kh *-s*)

belong mostly to such plants which can be separated easily from each other. Some of them are trees or bushes, other are tall herbs the stalks of which can be counted with no difficulty, *i.e.*, plants which are the opposite of such plants which represent one huge mass of stalks and leaves.

a. Trees and bushes: Mo *narasun*, Kh *nars* 'pine' (Pinus L) from Mo *naran* 'sun', cf. Tatar *narat* 'pine', an original plural form, borrowed from Mongolian; Mo *uliyasun* < **huliyarsun*, Kh *ulias* 'poplar' (Populus L), B *uljaahan* 'aspen', cf. Ev *hula* 'aspen', Nan *polo*, Ma *fulxa* 'aspen, poplar'; Mo *qayilasun* < **kayilārsun*, Kh *xajlas* 'elm' (Ulmus L); Mo *šinesün*, Kh *šinès*, B *šünehen* 'larch' (Larix Mill.); MMo *hičēsün*, B *üšöohen* 'purple willow'; Mo *burjasun*, Kh *burgas* 'willow' (Salix L); Mo *munusun*, B *munahan*, Kh *mons* 'birdcherry tree' (Padus Mill.); Mo *moyilisun*, B *mojl/mojhon* another name for Padus Mill, Mo *nürgesün*, Kh *nürgès* 'alder' (Alnus L), etc.

b. Herbs, berry plants, etc.; Mo *deresün*, Kh *dèrs* 'broom grass' (Lasiagrostis Link.); Mo *žegesün*, Kh *zègès* < **žekēnsün* 'cane, reed' (Scirpus L), cf. Tu *yekān* 'reed'; Mo *alirsun*, Kh *alirs* 'bilberry' (Vaccinium vitis L); Mo *neresün*, Kh *nèrs* 'blueberry' (Vaccinium uliginosum L); Mo *γoyosun* (a sing. form), Kh *gogod* (an original plural form) 'onion' (Allium odorum L), etc.

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The general conclusion is that Mongolian has only a few suffixes which form exclusively plant names. Such are Mo *-lyana* and *-ljai*. There is one suffix which forms names of plants, animals and a few diseases (Mo *-yana*). The remaining suffixes Mo *-ryana*, *-ljiyana*, and *-lji* form plant and animal names. Of languages known to the author of these lines only Tungus and Finnish possess suffixes forming exclusively plant and animal names. The characteristic feature of Mongolian and Tungus is, however, that the suffixes of plant and animal names are used only in cases in which the plants or animals in question are small in size and occur in large numbers in the same place. It is interesting to note that some other languages, unrelated to Mongolian, also distinguish between two kinds of animals or plants, namely, large and small. Thus, we say in English 'they catch fish', in Russian *ryba počla gusto* "fish started moving in large numbers", *oni pošli po brusniku* "they went after bilberries", etc. Here the Russian uses singular forms which function as collective nouns. Some of the above Mongolian suffixes can also be called suffixes of collective nouns.

Notes

- 1) Abbreviations: B – Buryat, Ev – Evenki, Kh – Khalkha, Ma – Manchu, Mo – Script (Written) Mongolian, MMo – Middle Mongolian, MTu – Middle Turkic, Na – Nanai (Goldi), O – Ordos, Or – Oroki, SH – *Secret History*, Tib – Tibetan, Tu – Turkic.
- 2) The Khalkha forms are given in transliteration of those in the official orthography.
- 3) The names of plants have been taken from *Ulsyn nēr tom'ëony komissyn mēdēē* [Bulletin of the state commission on terminology], No. 59–65, Ulaanbaatar, 1965, and the Latin equivalents have been verified with V. I. GRIBOV, *Konspekt flory Mongol'skoj Narodnoj Respubliki*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1951 and often with A. A. JUNATOV, *Osnovnye čerty rastitel'nogo pokrova Mongol'skoj Narodnoj Respubliki*, Moskva-Leningrad, 1950.
- 4) *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskix jazykov, Materialy k etimologičeskomu slovarju*, Tom II: O – È, Leningrad, 1977, p. 45.
- 5) G. DOERFER, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*, Band II: *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen: alif bis ū*, Wiesbaden, 1965, pp. 28–29.
- 6) M. RÄSÄNEN, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, Helsinki, 1969, p. 28. Cf. also È. V. SEVORTJAN, *Ètimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov (Obščetjurkskie i mežtjurkskie osnovy na glaznye)*, Moskva, 1974, pp. 173–174, 182–183.
- 7) U.–Ž. Š. DONDUKOV, *Affiksál'noe slovoobrazovanie častej reči v burjatskom jazyke*, Ulan-Ude, 1964, p. 30. This suffix is also found in names of birds and many other words, DONDUKOV, *l.c.*
- 8) This suffix also occurs in various nouns which are not names of plants, *vide* N. POPPE, "On Some Proper Names in the Secret History", UAJb 47 (1975), pp. 162–163. The same holds true with regard to all suffixes, including No. 13.
- 9) N. POPPE, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden, 1954, p. 46; N. POPPE, *Khalkha-mongolische Grammatik, Mit Bibliographie, Sprachproben und Glossar*, Wiesbaden, 1951, p. 38.
- 10) POPPE, *Grammar*, p. 46; *Khalkha-mongolische Grammatik, l.c.*
- 11) POPPE, *l.c.*
- 12) This suffix has not been mentioned in literature because it is very rare. There are only two other words known to the author, which appear with this suffix: Mo *qarayuna* the name of a bird from *qara* 'black' and Mo *gešigüne*, Kh *gešüünē* another word for rhubarb.

- 13) N. POPPE, "Über die Bildungssuffixe der mongolischen Bezeichnungen der Körperteile", UAJb 45 (1973), pp. 230–231.
- 14) POPPE, *Grammar*, p. 43.
- 15) POPPE, *l.c.*
- 16) DONDUKOV, *op.cit.*, p. 92.
- 17) This suffix forms also nouns denoting female beings, cf. POPPE, *Grammar*, p. 42; DONDUKOV, *op.cit.*, p. 21.
- 18) G. M. VASILEVIČ, *Ėvenkijsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva, 1956, p. 764.
- 19) L. HAKULINEN, *The Structure and Development of the Finnish Language*, Translated by John ATKINS (= *Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series*, vol. 3), Bloomington, Ind., 1961, p. 90.
- 20) POPPE, *Grammar*, p. 47.
- 21) The name *xovoolgono* is formed from a noun by analogy. The same is the case of *savalgana*.
- 22) POPPE, "Über die Bildungssuffixe der mongolischen Bezeichnungen der Körperteile", pp. 128–129.

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MENSCHENHANDEL UND MACHTPOLITIK IM WESTLICHEN HIMALAJA

Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte Dardistans (Nordpakistan)

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