

**OIRAD – THE PRESTIGE LANGUAGE<sup>1</sup>**

*Ethnolinguistic Approach to the Altai Oirad Language and its Dialects*

Dr. Prof. Birtalan Ágnes\*

**The phenomenon and the approach**

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

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

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

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

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

- a group of people claiming to have common ancestry (Oirad ethnogenetic myths),<sup>5</sup>
- common language and dialect,
- identical material (dwelling, food, dressing, objects, artefacts)<sup>6</sup> and spiritual culture (folklore,

---

\* Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Department of Inner Asian Studies, Budapest

1. The version of the present article was originally published in the book: Birtalan, Ágnes (ed.) 2012: Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays. (Talentum Sorozat 11. Ed. Kulcsár Szabó, Ernő – Sonkoly, Gábor). ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest pp. 59–74. with the support of the TÁMOP-project; the volumes of the series were published not for sale.

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

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

4. The detailed elaboration of particular dialects cf. Birtalan 2003 and Rákos 2012.

5. In detail, cf. Birtalan 2002b.

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

customs, religion),

- and share a common homeland (presently the Altai region).

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

- using objects (usually wearing items of clothing) referring to that group,
- following specific behavioural rules,
- performing or simply citing specific folklore genres characterising that group and
- the language usage. These markers clearly bear the message suggesting that one should perceive the individual(s) as representative(s) of the particular ethnic group.

### **The comprehension and demonstration of “being Oirad” in domestic discourse<sup>8</sup>**

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

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

---

2008.

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

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

9. Amgalan 2000.

10. Bāsanxū 2006.

includes several volumes devoted to Oirad dialectal folklore genres, e. g.:

- *The Songs of the Thirteen Horses (Collection of Oirad Folklore) (Arwan gurwan xülgün dün / Oird aman joxiolin comorlog/)*,<sup>11</sup>
- *The Torguud Folklore (Torgūd ardīn aman joxiol)*,<sup>12</sup>
- *The Dsakhchin<sup>13</sup> Folklore (Jaxčīn ardīn aman joxiol)*,<sup>14</sup>
- *The Dörwöd Folklore (Dörwöd ardīn aman joxiol)*, etc.<sup>15</sup>

There are other series devoted only to Oirad materials, such as *Documenta Oiratica Collecta. Oirad sudlalān čūlgan* (already 14 volumes) e. g.:

- *The Pure Offerings to the Thirteen Altai (Arwan gurwan Altain ariun sangūd oršiwoi)*,<sup>16</sup>
- *The Uriankhai Tradition (Urianxain öw soyol)*,<sup>17</sup>
- *From the Thesaurus of Oirad Folklore (Oirad aman joxiolin san xömrögös)*,<sup>18</sup>
- *Songs of the Thirteen Altai (Arwan gurwan Altain dün)*, etc.<sup>19</sup>

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

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

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

### **Oirad – the prestige language<sup>22</sup>**

The above academic and popular works focus on representing the historical and ethnocultural

11. Colō 1987.

12. Katū 2002.

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

14. Katū–Pürewjaw 2004.

15. Katū 2005.

16. Colō 1999.

17. Colō–Mönxceceg 2008.

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

19. Colō–Enebiš 2011.

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

21. Birtalan: *Oiratische Volkslieder* (in print).

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

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

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

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

23. Coló 1965; Wandui 1965; Sambüdorj 1996; Battulga–Badamdorj 2005; for further detail cf. Birtalan 2003, and Rákos 2012.

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

25. Cf. Landweer (internet).

cases, the informants did not deny their Oirad awareness, but identified themselves with a particular group, i. e. Dörwöd, Bayad, Zakhchin, Ööld. etc. Which is the basic vocabulary that creates the milieu of a prestige language and demonstrates belonging to an ethnic group? Regardless of belonging to any of the particular Oirad groups, the most frequently mentioned lexicon was almost identical. According to my experience, the most frequently uttered items can be arranged into two categories:

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

To group 1 belong the following most frequently mentioned words regarded as “typical” Oirad words; they are partly of Turkic origin<sup>26</sup> and they are not used in Khalkha. Below the “top thirty” have been chosen from my fieldwork; it is noteworthy that the lexemes follow an approximate hierarchy according to the order in which the informant uttered them. It must be mentioned here that Khalkhas acquainted with the Oirad language also remember the following ones:<sup>27</sup>

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

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

Typical Oirad long vowels versus the diphthongs in Mong. and Khal.

- *āg, āg* “bowl” (Khal. *ayaga*)
- *kītŋ* “cold” (Khal. *xüiten*)

Strong palatalisation in the surroundings of *i*

- *xō, xōnā üsn* “sheep, sheep milk” (Khal. *xon’, xoninī sū*)

Labialisation of *i* in front of *ü* (<-*egü, -ayu*)

- *bürü* “two-year-old calf” (Mong. *birayu*, Khal. *byarū*)

Preservation of Mong. *i* (breaking occurred only to a certain extent in Oirad dialects)

- *ilā* “fly” (Mong. *ilaya*, Khal. *yalā*)

Preservation of ancient Mongolian *k-* and *-k-* in words with palatal vowels

- *kūn, kümün* “man” (Khal. *xūn*)
- *ken* “who” (Khal. *xen*)

26. For detailed data on the Turkic parallels of particular lexemes cf. Kempf<sup>2012</sup>; data from the source languages will not be mentioned here.

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

28. For the particular phonetic features of Oirad dialects in detail cf. Birtalan 2002a and Birtalan 2003, further, the article of Rákos 2012.

## Birtalan Ágnes

- *kezē/kezā* “when” (Khal. *xejē*)
- Preservation of Written Mongolian *q* before *-i*
- *kimr* “a kind of drink, salted boiled mixture of milk and water” (Khal. *xyaram*)
- Final *-s* versus *-l* of Mong. *-(l)sun/- (l)sün*: followed by the disappearing of *-d/-t*
- *γosn* “boots” (Mong. *γutalsun*, Khal. *gutał*)
  - cf. also *gesn* “belly” (Mong. *gedesün*, Khal. *geds*)
- Consonant metathesis
- *malxā, maxlā* “cap” (Khal. *malgai*)
  - *üs* “milk” (Khal. *sū*),
- Dropping of consonants
- *ut* “long” (Khal. *urt*),
- Differing suffixation of adverbs
- *cārān* “away” (Khal. *cāšā*),
  - *gazā* “outside” (Khal. *gadā*),
  - *īgān* “hither” (Khal. *īšē*),
  - *tīgān* “thither” (Khal. *tīšē*),
  - *urūyān* “forward” (Khal. *uragšā*),
- Further frequent examples;
- *bašlg* “cheese” (Khal. *byaslag*)
  - *ūlzŋ* (Khal. *öwöljō*),

The above examples show a strong connection between the Oirad culture and language, as many of the most frequently uttered examples refer to the traditional nomadic way of life. Semantically numerous items designate objects. The measure of “being Oirad” is the Khalkha culture and language and although the above items occur in the nomadic Khalkha culture as well, their names with their typical Oirad forms provide the specifying characteristic of the Oirad community. It is also remarkable that the items are linked to the social sphere of life and the natural phenomena are almost wholly missing. The numerous adverbial expressions that are not in connection with the traditional nomadic culture (prestige culture) prove their everyday use in the communities, as numerous informants remembered them among the very first Oirad words. Sometimes fragments of popular folk songs are also quoted, such as *Nārīč!* “Come here” (Khal. *Nāš ir!*). These items in the above list certainly occur in several other text types (folklore texts, everyday conversations, answers on linguistic questionnaires) recorded during the field trips by the members of the Expedition.

### Conclusion

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

### Bibliography

Amgalan, M. 2000: *Barūn mongolčūdīn edīn soyolīn dursgalt jūils*. The Cultural Monuments of Western Mongolia. Monsudar, Ulānbātar.

Banton, Michael 2007: Max Weber on 'Ethnic Communities': a Critique. *Nations and Nationalism*, 13, pp. 19–35.

Barth, Fredrik 1969: Introduction. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. [http://www.byliny.com/kvetina/kvetina\\_etnoarheologie/literatura\\_eseje/2\\_literatura.pdf](http://www.byliny.com/kvetina/kvetina_etnoarheologie/literatura_eseje/2_literatura.pdf) (Last downloaded: 01.02.2011.)

Bāsanxū, Besūd Ayūšīn 2006: *Mongol Altain büs nutgīn ard түмнi edīn soyol. Material Culture of Mongol Altai Region*. Mongol Altai Sudlalīn xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Battulga, S. – Badamdorj, D. 2005: *Öld aman ayalgūnī oilogo*. [History of the Ööld Dialect.] EKIMTO XXX, Ulānbātar.

Birtalan, Ágnes: *Oiratische Volkslieder der Vladimircov-Sammlung. Gattungen und Sprache im Licht der neuen Feldforschungen*. Manuscript.

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

Birtalan, Ágnes 2002b: An oirat Ethnogenetic myth in Written and oral traditions. A Case of oirat Legitimacy. *Acta Orientalia Hung.*, 55. (Volume commemorating the 100th birthday of the founder Louis Ligeti.) pp. 69–88.

Birtalan, Ágnes 2003: Oirat. In Janhunen, Juha (ed.): *The Mongolic Languages*. /Routledge Language Family Series./ Routledge, London – New York, pp. 210–228.

Birtalan, Ágnes (ed.) 2008: *Ulamjlalt mongol soyol. / Traditional Mongolian Culture. Part I. Material Culture. / Traditionelle mongolische Kultur. Teil I. Materielle Kultur. / Hagymányos mongol műveltség I. A mongol nomádok anyagi műveltsége*. DVD. IVA-ICRA Verlag – ELTE, Belső-ázsiai tanszék, Wien–Budapest.

Birtalan, Ágnes (ed.) 2012: *Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*. (Talentum Sorozat 11. Ed. Kulcsár Szabó, Ernő – Sonkoly, Gábor). ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest

Brubaker, Rogers 2004: *Ethnicity without Groups*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Colō, J. 1965: *Jaxčīnī aman ayalgū*. [The Dsakhchin Dialect.] Šinjlex Uxānī Akademīn Xewlel, Ulānbātar.

Colō, J. 1987: *Arwan gurwan xūlgīn dūn. Oird aman joxiolīn comorlog*. [The Songs of the Thirteen Horses. Collection of Oirat Folklore.] Mongol Ulsīn Šinjlex Uxānī Akademi, Xel Joxiolīn Xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Colō, J. 1999: *Arwan gurwan Altain ariun sangūd oršiwoi*. /Oirad sudlalīn čūlgan, I./ [The Pure offerings to the Thirteen Altai. /Documenta Oiratica Collecta./ – The Latinised series title appeared only from the second volume.] Mongol Ulsīn Šinjlex Uxānī Akademi, Xel Joxiolīn Xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Colō, J. – Enebiš, J. 2011: *Arwan gurwan Altain dūn. Bayad, dörwöd, torgūd, jaxčīn, urianxai tūl'*. [The Songs of the Thirteen Altai. Bayad, Dörwöd, Torguud, Dsakhchin, Urianxai Epics.] /Oirad sudlalīn čūlgan – Documenta oiratica Collecta, XII./ Mongol Ulsīn Šinjlex Uxānī Akademi, Nūdālīn Soyol Irgenšilīg Sudlax Olon Ulsīn Xūrēlen – Xel Joxiolīn Xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Colō, J. – Ganbātar, J. – Enxjargal, S. 2009: *Mongol xelnī nutgīn ayalgū sudlal*. /Mongol ulsīn šinjlex uxān, 11./ [Studies on Mongolian Dialects. /Science in Mongolia, 11./] Sogō nūr, Ulānbātar.

Colō, J. – Mönxceceg, A. 2008: *Urianxain öw soyol*. [The Urianxai tradition.] /Oirad sudlalīn čūlgan – Documenta Oiratica Collecta, VI.) Mongol Ulsīn Šinjlex Uxānī Akademi, Xel Joxiolīn Xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Cseresnyési László 2004: *Nyelvek és Stratégiák*. [Languages and Strategies.] Tinta Kiadó, Budapest.

Katū, B. 2002: *Torgūd ardīn aman joxiol*. /Mongol aman joxiolīn čūlgan, XVIII./ [The Torguud Folklore. /Collection of Mongolian Folklore, XVIII./] Mongol Ulsīn Šinjlex Uxānī Akademi, Xel Joxiolīn Xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Katū, B. 2005: *Dörwöd ardīn aman joxiol*. /Mongol aman joxiolīn čūlgan, XXVI./ [The Dörwöd

Folklore. /Collection of Mongolian Folklore, XXVI./] Mongol Ulsīn Šinjlex Uxānī Akademi, Xel Joxiolīn Xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Katū, B. – Pūrewjaw, E. 2004: *Jaxčīn ardīn aman joxiol.* /Mongol aman joxiolīn čūlgan, XXIV./ [The Dsakhchin Folklore. /Collection of Mongolian Folklore, XXIV./] Mongol Ulsīn Šinjlex Uxānī Akademi, Xel Joxiolīn Xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Kempf, Béla 2012: Kalmyk – Semantical Categories of Turkic Elements in Kalmyk. *Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*. Ed. Birtalan, Ágnes. (Talentum Sorozat 11. Ed. Kulcsár Szabó, Ernő – Sonkoly, Gábor). ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest pp. 134–162.

Landweer, M. Lynn 2000: *Endangered Languages. Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality*. Originally printed in *Notes on Sociolinguistics*, 5.1. pp. 5–22. <http://www.sil.org/sociolx/ndg-lg-indicators.html> (Last downloaded: 07.01.2012)

Mufwene, Salikoko S.: *Language Endangerment: What Have Pride and Prestige Got to Do with it?* <http://www.rnld.org/sites/default/files/mufwene%202003.pdf> (Last downloaded: 12. 01. 2012.)

Oberfalzerova, A[lena] 2007: *Mongolīn nūdelčdīg sudlaxad etno-xel šinjlelīn ūdnēs xandax n’.* [The Ethnolinguistic Approach in Studying the mongol Nomads.] *Mongolica*, 20 (41) pp. 128–134.

Pūrewjaw, E. – Colō, J. – Ōnōrbayan, C. 2009: *Oirad aman joxiolīn san xōmrōgōs (C-D. Nominxanowīn arxiwās VI–VIII dewter – III. bot’).* [From the Thesaurus of Oirad Folklore.] /Oirad sudlalīn čūlgan, X./ Mongol Ulsīn Šinjlex Uxānī Akademi, Xel Joxiolīn Xūrēlen – Orosīn ŠUA-īn Xümünlegīn Sudalgānī Xalimagīn Xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Rákos, Attila 2012: Introduction to Oirad Dialectology. *Oirad and Kalmyk Linguistic Essays*. Ed. Birtalan, Ágnes. (Talentum Sorozat 11. Ed. Kulcsár Szabó, Ernő – Sonkoly, Gábor). ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest pp. 25–59.

Sambūdorj, O. 1996: *Torgūd aman ayalgūnī temdeglel.* [Notes on the Torguud Dialect.] Without publisher, Ulānbātar.

Šagdarsüren C. (ed.) 2009: *Xalimag bolon Mongolīn Oirdūdīn xel ayalgū, soyolīn tūxen xelxē xolbōnī asūdald.* MUIS-īn Mongol Sudlalīn Tōw – Kalmyckij Gosudarstvennyj Universitet, Ulānbātar.

Szynkiewicz, Sławoj 1984: Polish Studies on Mongolian Ethnology. *Ethnologia Polona*, 10., pp. 211–221.

Szynkiewicz, Sławoj 1986: The Khoshuts of the mongol Altai. Vicissitudes of Self-Identification. *Ethnologia Polona*, 12., pp. 37–50.

Szynkiewicz, Sławoj 1992: The Local Mongolian Community. *Ethnologia Polona*, 17., pp. 25–33.

Wandui, E. 1965: *Dörwöd aman ayalgū.* [The Dörwöd Dialect.] Šinjlex Uxānī Akademi, Xel Joxiolīn Xūrēlen, Ulānbātar.

Wimmer, Andreas 2008: The making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A multilevel Process Theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113., pp. 970–1022. <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/wimmer/WimmermakingUnmaking.pdf> (Last downloaded: 10. 02. 2012)

Internet sources (Last downloaded: 01. 30. 2012)

Mostaert Centre in Ulaanbaatar: [www.http://www.mostaertcenter.mn/4/page/2](http://www.mostaertcenter.mn/4/page/2)

On the festival Ikh Khögsüü: Oirad culture: [www.Oirad.mn](http://www.Oirad.mn)

Ikh Khögsüü:

<http://www.west.mn/news/830.html?task=view>

<http://www.medee.mn/main.php?eid=6297>

<http://news.niigem.mn/content/11755.shtml>

<http://www.mongolnews.mn/i/12756>

[http://www.inet.mn/?vfile=9&vmet\\_id=30018&vmet\\_main=2624&vt=archive&vl=archive &vdate=&vofile=&left=yes&vpage=108](http://www.inet.mn/?vfile=9&vmet_id=30018&vmet_main=2624&vt=archive&vl=archive &vdate=&vofile=&left=yes&vpage=108)