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BURIAT GRAMMAR

by

Nicholas N. Poppe

(University of Washington)

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Buriat Grammar

Nicholas N. Poppe

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

0. INTRODUCTION 1

0.0. Purpose and scope 1

0.1. Buriat 1
0.11. Relationships 1
0.12. Dialects 1

0.2. Typographical signs and transcriptions 2

0.3. Acknowledgements 2

1. PHONOLOGY 5

1.1. The phonemes 5

1.2. Vowels 5

1.3. Consonants 9

1.4. Occurrence of phonemes 13
1.41. Syllable 13
1.42. Occurrence of vowels 15
1.43. Occurrence of consonants 15

1.5. Juncture 19
1.51. Open juncture 19
1.52. Close juncture 19
1.53. Stress 19
1.54. Compound juncture 19

1.6. Morphophonemics 20
1.61. Stem-final vowel + suffix-initial vowel 20
1.62. Vocalic harmony 21
1.621. Suffixes 21
1.63. Internal sandhi 25

1.7. Orthographical representation of phonomes 26
1.71. Official alphabet 26

Orthographical representation of phonemes (Continued)
1.72. Vowels 28
1.73. Consonants 30

2. INFLECTION 32

2.1. Substantive inflection 32
2.11. Use of two stems 33
2.12. Use of the nominative stem 33
2.13. Use of the oblique stem 33
2.14. Derivational suffixes 34
2.15. Pure-relational suffixes and postpositions . . 35
2.16. Possessive suffixes 42
2.17. Predicative suffixes 48

2.2. Pronoun inflection 49
2.21. Personal pronouns 50
2.22. Demonstrative pronouns 53

2.3. Verb inflection 55
2.30. General remarks 55
2.31. Tense signs 56
2.32. Personal endings 56
2.33. Finite forms 57
2.331. Present 57
2.332. Past 58
2.333. Future 58
2.334. Optative 59
2.335. Present imperative 59
2.336. Future imperative 60
2.34. Verbal nouns 61
2.340. General remarks 61
2.341. Noun of the future 61
2.342. Noun of the imperfect 62
2.343. Noun of the passive 64
2.344. Noun of the distant past 64
2.345. Noun of the perfect 65
2.346. First noun of the present 66
2.347. Second noun of the present 67
2.348. Frequentative noun 68

2.35. Gerunds 69
2.350. General remarks. 69
2.351. Modal gerund 70
2.352. Imperfective gerund. 70
2.353. Perfective gerund 71
2.354. Conditional gerund. 71
2.355. Limitative gerund 71
2.356. Precedent gerund 71
2.357. Successive gerund. 72
2.358. Continuous gerund. 72
2.359. Concomitant gerund. 72
2.3510. Replacement gerund 73

2.36. Auxiliary, defective, interrogative, and demonstrative verbs 73

3. FORM AND FUNCTIONAL CLASSES 75

3.1. Nouns 75
3.11. Substantives 75
3.12. Adjectives 76

3.2. Pronouns 79

3.3. Verbs 79

3.4. Adverbs 79

3.5. Postpositions 80

3.6. Conjunctions 82

3.7. Particles 83

4. WORD-FORMATION 86

4.0. Introductory remarks 86

4.1. Nouns 86
4.11. Nouns from nouns 86
4.12. Nouns from pronouns 88
4.13. Nouns from verbs 88
4.14. Compound nouns 91

4.2. Adjectives 92
4.21. Adjectives from nouns and adjectives 92
4.22. Adjectives from adverbs 94
4.23. Adjectives from numerals 94
4.24. Adjectives from verbs 95
4.25. Compound adjectives 96

4.3. Verbs 97
4.31. Verbs from nouns and adjectives 97
4.32. Verbs from particles 98
4.33. Verbs from verbs 99
4.331. Causative verbs 99
4.332. Passive verbs 100
4.333. Medium verbs 100
4.334. Reciprocal verbs 100
4.335. Cooperative verbs 101
4.336. Perfective verbs 101
4.337. Iterative verbs 101
4.338. Frequentative verbs 101
4.339. Verbs of interrupted action 101
4.3310. Diminutive verbs 101
4.3311. Caressive verbs 102
4.34. Compound verbs 102
4.341. Adverbial and gerundial compounds . 102
4.342. Verbal-noun compounds 103

4.4. Adverbs 104
4.41. Adverbs from nouns 104
4.42. Adverbs from adjectives 104
4.43. Adverbs from numerals 104
4.44. Adverbs from adverbs 105
4.45. Compound adverbs 105

5. PHRASE STRUCTURE 107

5.0. Classification of phrases 107
5.01. Coordinate phrases 107
5.02. Contrastive phrases 108

5.1. Nominal phrases 108
5.11. Attribute-head 109

5.2. Adjectival phrases 111

5.3. Pronominal phrases 112

5.4. Adverbial phrases 112

5.5. Verbal phrases 113
5.51. Equational complements 113
5.52. Direct object complement 114
5.53. Adverbial complement 115

6. CLAUSE-STRUCTURE 119

6.1. Full clauses 119
6.11. Predicate 119
6.12. Subject 120
6.13. Agreement 123

6.2. Intonation and clause-structure 124
6.21. Declarative clauses 124
6.22. Interrogative clauses 125
6.23. Exclamatory clauses 126

6.3. Minor clauses 126

6.4. Combination of clauses 126
6.41. Coordinate clauses 126
6.42. Subordinate clauses 128

0. INTRODUCTION

0.0. Purpose and scope.

The present book is designed as a descriptive grammar of Literary or Standard Buriat for linguists. It is also hoped that it can be used for teaching purposes.

The analysis has been placed on a phonemic basis. All Buriat examples are given in phonemic transcription and much attention has been paid to morphophonemic analysis.

The language treated is Standard Buriat, i. e., the language of Buriat literature and press which is based on the Khori dialect. It is very close to Colloquial Khori but differs from the latter in the same manner as any literary language differs from the colloquial it is based on.

0.1. Buriat is spoken mainly in the Autonomous Buriat Soviet Republic, in East Siberia, which prior to World War II was called the Buriat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Republic, and in the adjacent parts of the Irkutsk and Chita regions as well as in various parts of the Mongolian Peoples Republic (Outer Mongolia) where there are emigrants from East Siberia. There are also Buriats in Manchuria.

The total number of speakers of Buriat amounts to 300,000 persons, the majority living in the Autonomous Buriat Soviet Republic.

0.11. Buriat belongs to the Mongolian language group, being the only representative of the latter in Siberia. It is closely related to Khalkha, spoken in Outer Mongolia, to the Mongolian dialects spoken in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, and to Kalmuck, spoken in the Lower Volga region, in the so-called Autonomous Kalmuck Soviet Republic, in the European part of the USSR.

0.12. Buriat is divided into ten main dialects: Ekhirit-Bulgat, Bokhan, Alar, Tunka, Nižneudinsk, Barguzin, Khori, Tsongol, Sartul, and (in Manchuria) Bargu-Buriat. The dialects

differ from each other mainly in phonetics and vocabulary, the morphological and syntactical features being almost uniform in the whole linguistic area. The dialects of the Tsongol and Sartul, who live in the Selenga valley, near the frontier of the Mongolian Peoples Republic, and the Bargu-Buriat dialect in northwestern Manchuria are more strongly differentiated than the other dialects. The former two groups (two different tribes in the past) are descendants of Mongols who immigrated from Outer Mongolia in the seventeenth century, their dialects displaying many features common with Khalkha. The speech of the Bargu-Buriats underwent a strong influence from the surrounding Mongolian dialects spoken in Manchuria.

The standard language is based on the speech of the Khori Buriats, the most numerous and culturally most important group who live in Transbaikalia, i.e., east of Lake Baikal, in the eastern half of the Buriat Republic.

Until 1931, the Buriats used the vertical Mongolian script and the Mongolian book language, the so-called Written Mongolian, which differed considerably from spoken Buriat. In 1931 the Latin alphabet and a new literary language, based on the Tsongol and Sartul dialects, were introduced. The latter did not last long and, in 1937, a modified Cyrillic alphabet replaced the Latin script. Simultaneously, the Khori dialect was elevated to the rank of the standard language.

0.2. The typographical signs and the transcriptions are explained infra. Phonemic transcriptions are given within slant lines / /; phonetic transcriptions used in Mongolian studies are within square brackets [ ]. The conventional orthography is given in transliteration in italics.

0.3. Acknowledgments are due to:

1. Prof. G. D. Sanžejev, Grammatika Buŕat-mongoĺskogo jazyka, Moskva-Leningrad, 1941;

2. K. M. Čeŕemisov, Kratkiĭ grammatičeskiĭ spravočnik po buŕat-mongoĺskomu jazyku: Buŕat-mongoĺsko-russkiĭ slovaŕ, sostavil K. M. Čeŕemisov, pod ŕedakcieĭ C. B. Cydendambajeva, Moskva, 1951, pp. 771-852;

3. M. M. Imeĺxenov, Buŕat-mongol xelenei grammatika, I čaśt, Foṅetike ba morfologi, Doloonželei, dunda hurguuliin 5 ba 6 klassta yzexe učebnik, Ulan-Ude, 1954;

4. T. A. Бertagajev, M. M. Imexenov, D. D. Dugar-žabon, Buŕat-mongol xelenei grammatika, II čast, Sintaksis, Doloonželei ba dunda hurguuliin 6-7 klassuudta yzexe učebnik, Ulan-Ude, 1954;

5. Ž. B. Baldanžabon, A. A. Ajurzanain, Buŕat-mongol xelenei sintaksisei ba punktuaćiin upražneninyydei sbornik, Doloonželei ba dunda hurguuliin 6-7 klassuudta xereglexe, Ulan-Ude, 1954;

6. William M. Austin, Gombojab Hangin, Urgunge Onon, A Mongol Reader, Washington, D. C., 1956;

7. Robert A. Hall, Jr., Hungarian Grammar, Supplement to Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, vol. 20, no. 4, October-December 1944, in which Hungarian, a language structurally close to Buriat, is represented in a clear and convenient manner. Many phenomena in the Buriat language, in principle identical with those in Hungarian, have been discussed in the present grammar in the same way as Hall discusses Hungarian, because some formulations found in his book are mutatis mutandis applicable to Buriat.

8. The author's books on Buriat: Alarskiĭ govor, Čast pervaja, Leningrad, 1930, and Grammatika buŕat-mongolskogo jazyka, Moskva-Leningrad, 1938.

9. Thanks are due to Professor Fang-kuei Li of the Far East Department of the University of Washington for useful suggestions with regard to transcription and treatment of some questions of morphophonemics.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 Buriat has the following phonemes: /i, e, a, o, u, ɸ, y; p, t, *k, b, d, g, m, n, *f, *v, s, z, *c, š, ž, *č, r, l, h, x, j, w/. The asterisk denotes phonemes which occur only in loan words, mostly Russian.

1.2. Vowels.

All vowel phonemes may occur single or geminate, the phoneme /ɸ/ occurring only geminate.

All geminate vowel phonemes are phonetically long: /aa/ [ā].

Buriat also has diphthongs with subordinate element /i/ [i̯]: /ei/ [ei̯]. There is no reason for regarding the Buriat diphthongs as combinations of a vowel phoneme and the consonant /j/, because the diphthongs act exactly in the same manner as the geminate vowel phonemes.

The single vowel phonemes, the geminate vowel phonemes, and the diphthongs will be treated separately.

Phonemes	Allophones	
/i/	[i]	(high front unrounded tense): /nidxe/ "eyebrow" [ńiɒχə]
	[i̯]	(high central unrounded lax; occurs after /š/ and /ž/): /žil/ "year" [žil̯]
/ii/	[ī]	(high front unrounded tense; occurs only after palatalized consonants): /t́iiše/ "in that direction" [t́īšə]; /aḿiiji/ "the life" (direct object) [áḿījɪ]
	[ī̯]	(high central unrounded lax; occurs only after unpalatalized consonants): /t́iigee bii/ "has it really happened

so?" [t'īgē bī]; /amiiji/ "the mouth" (direct object) [amīǰī]

/e/ [e̬] (lower high central, rather between central and back, lax): /em/ "medicine" [e̬m]; /ene/ "this" [e̬nə]

/ee/ [ē] (fronted central, higher than the preceding, tense): /eem/ "shoulder" [ēm]; /deere/ "on, above" [dērə]

/a/ [a] (low back): /dara/ "press!" [darɐ]; /xana/ "wall" [χanɐ]

[ȧ] (fronted, palatalized form of the preceding: resembles French a in patte; occurs before or after palatalized consonants): /bari/ "seize!" [bȧrī]; /ali/ "which?" [ȧlī]

/aa/ [ā] /daara/ "freeze!" [dārɐ]; /xaana/ "where?" [χānɐ]

[ā́] (fronted, palatalized form of the previous; occurs only after palatalized consonants); /baraa/ "he seized" [bȧrā́]; /xaṅaadan/ "cough" [χȧṅā́dɐ]

/o/ [o] (mid back rounded open, lax): /tohon/ "fat, butter" [t'ohɐ]; /odon/ "star" [odɐ]

[ȯ] (fronted, palatalized form of the previous; resembles French o in homme; occurs only before or after palatalized consonants): /morin/ "horse" [mȯrī]; /ṅodonon/ "last year" [ṅȯdɐnɐ]

/oo/ [ō] (mid back rounded open): /toohon/ "dust" [t'ōhɐ]; /oodong/ "short-tailed" [ōdɐ]

	[ȯ̱]	(fronted, palatalized form of the previous; occurs only after palatalized consonants): /moŕoor/ "by means of a horse" [mȯŕȯ̱r]
/u/	[u̯]	(between mid back and high back, rounded): /uhan/ "water" [u̯hɐ̯]; /tura/ "city" [t'u̯rɐ]
/uu/	[ʊ̯]	/uuhan/ "having drunk" [ʊ̯hɐ̯]
/ɸɸ/	[ɔ̱̃]	(higher-mid central, rounded; farther back than French or German /ɸ/; occurs only geminate, phonetically long): /ɸɸrɸɸ/ "oneself" [ɔ̱̃rɔ̱̃]; /xɸɸ/ "soot" [χɔ̱̃]
/y/	[ɯ]	(centralized vowel resembling the Norwegian u in hus "house"): /xyrɸɸ/ "he arrived" [χɯrɔ̱̃] /yder/ "day" [ɯdər]
	[ü]	(high front close; resembles French u in lune; occurs only after palatalized consonants and /j/): /ńyden/ "eye" [ńüdə̯]; /jyhen/ "nine" [jühə̯]
/yy/	[ɯ̱ɯ̱]	/xyyree/ "his own word" [χɯ̱ɯ̱rɐ̱]; /dyyren/ "full" [dɯ̱ɯ̱rə̯]
	[ü̱]	(only after palatalized consonants and /j/): /byĺyy/ "hone, whetstone" [bɯĺü̱]

1.21. The distinction between geminate and single vowel phonemes is of great importance. As for the phonetical side of the long vowels, it can be observed that the length or duration of the long vowels (allophones of geminate vowel phonemes) is different in various cases. The long vowel of a monosyllabic word is less long than that in the first syllable of a disyllabic word. In general, the long vowel is extra long in a syllable preceding another syllable: the vowel in /uu/ "drink!" [ʊ̯] is less long than in /uuna/ "he drinks" [ʊ̯̃nɐ]; the second syllable

in /oruulaa/ "he made enter" [orûlā] is longer than the third syllable. However, the different degrees of length have no phonemic significance and will not be distinguished here in transcription.

1.22. The diphthongs are: /ai, oi, ui, ei, yi/.

Phonemes	Allophones	
/ai/	[ā]	/ail/ "group of yurts" [āl]
/oi/	[ō]	/oi/ "forest" [ō]
/ui/	[ui̯]	/uilaa/ "he wept" [uilā]
/ei/	[ē]	/demei/ "unnecessarily, in vain" [demē]
/yi/	[ū]	/yile/ "work" [ūlə]

1.23. In the non-first syllables, the allophones of single vowel phonemes are phonetically reduced vowels which tend to disappear in fast speech. This statement does not refer, however, to the prominent element of diphthongs which, in all positions, retains its articulation and is equal, in duration, with the long vowels.

The role of the single vowel phonemes in the non-first syllables is actually reduced to that of syllable-forming elements, their qualitative characteristics being of lesser importance. The result is that /a/ and /o/ are phonetically [ă, ŏ] respectively, i.e., reduced back vowels; /e/ is phonetically [ə], i.e., a reduced front vowel. Only /i/ preserves its specific articulation better, being supported by the preceding palatalized consonant, since all consonants are palatalized before a single vowel phoneme /i/.

Phonemes	Allophones	
/a/	[ă, ɐ]	(English /ʌ/ in but): /axa/ "elder brother" [aχɐ]
/o/	[ŏ, ɐ]	/modon/ "tree" [modɐ̆]
/e/	[ə]	(English /ə/ in about): /ene/ "this" [enə]; /xelexe/ "to speak" [χeləχə]

/i/	[ɨ]	(acoustically a little less distinct than /i/ in the first syllable): /bari/ "seize!" [bárɨ]; /herixe/ "to awaken" [hérɨχə]

1.3. Consonants.

The individual consonant phonemes and their allophones are listed below. An additional feature of many consonant phonemes is their palatalization. The distinction between palatalized and unpalatalized consonants is as important as, for instance, in Russian, because in most cases the palatalization is phonemically significant: /ń/ versus /n/: /ńaana/ "he pastes" [nānɐ] versus /naana/ "on this side" [nānɐ]; /x́/ versus /x/: /x́aha/ "furnace in a smithy" [χ́ahɐ] versus /xaha/ "term, period" [χahɐ].

In some cases the palatalization is not phonemic. When a consonant is followed by the single vowel phoneme /i/ it is always palatalized. This kind of palatalization is due to position and there is therefore no opposition of palatalized to unpalatalized consonants before /i/. The palatalization is, however, phonemic before the geminate vowel /ii/ because in this position both palatalized and unpalatalized consonants occur: /xoriin/ "of the poison" [χorīɨ] versus /xóriin/ "of the Khori tribe" [χórīɨ]. The palatalization is also phonemic before all other single and geminate vowel phonemes because in these positions both palatalized and unpalatalized consonants occur.

There is no opposition of single consonant phonemes to geminate such as /n/ to /nn/ or /s/ to /ss/. When a suffix has the same vowel in the onset as the final consonant phoneme of the stem, there may appear phonetically long consonants such as /ll/ in /emeellexe/ "to saddle": /emeel/ "saddle" with the verbal suffix /-le-/, but the components of a cluster like this belong to different morphemes. Besides, the long consonant /ll/ is the only one of this sort and there are no other long or geminate consonants. It is also to be noted that /ll/ alternates in quick speech with /l/: [emēlləχə/emēlχə] "to saddle."

Phonemes	Allophones	
/p/	[pʻ]	(aspirated; only in some interjections but mostly in loan words):

		/pool/ "floor" [p'ōl] < Russ. pol
/t/	[t']	(alveolar, aspirated): /tata/ "pull" [t'at'ɐ]
/k/	[k']	(velar, aspirated; only in loan words): /kolooni/ "colony" [k'olōn'ɪ] < Russ. kolonija
/b/	[b]	/bajan/ "rich" [bajɐ]
	[B]	(voiceless lenis; in word final position in monosyllabic words; in syllable final position before a voiceless or fortis of the second syllable): /xob/ "calumny" [χoB]; /xobto/ "chest, trunk" [χoBt'ɐ]
	[p]	(unaspirated; in word final position in words of more than one syllable; in syllable final position before a voiceless consonant or fortis of the third or any following syllable): /tyleb/ "shape" [t'ɯlәp]; /harabša/ "shed" [harɐpšɐ]
/d/	[d]	/dala/ "scapula" [dalɐ]; /jadaa/ "he was unable" [jadā]
	[ɒ]	(voiceless lenis; in word final position in monosyllabic words; in syllable final position before a voiceless consonant or fortis of the second syllable): /byd/ "cotton textile" [Bɯɒ]; /odxon/ "the youngest son" [oɒχɐ]
	[t]	(unaspirated; in word final position in words of more than one syllable; in syllable final position before a voiceless consonant or a fortis of the third or any following syllable): /orod/ "Russian" [orɐt]; /tyrgedxexe/ "to speed up" (tr.) [t'ɯrgәtχәχә]

/g/	[g]	(voiced velar; occurs only before front vowel phonemes /i, e, ϕϕ, y/): /ger/ "home" [ger]
	[g̲]	(postvelar, deep velar voiced lenis; occurs before back vowel phonemes /a, o, u/): /gar/ "hand" [gar]
	[γ]	(postvelar voiced spirant; occurs intervocalically between back vowels): /jaagaab/ "what has happened?" [jāγāp]
	[G]	(voiceless lenis; in words with front vowels in word final position in monosyllabic words; in syllable final position before a voiceless consonant or fortis of the second syllable): /teeg/ "a cross-beam" [t'ēG]; /tegše/ "even, smooth" [t'eGšə]
	[k]	(unaspirated; in words of front vowels, in word final position in words of more than one syllable; in syllable final position before a voiceless consonant or fortis of the third or any following syllable): /bešeg/ "letter, writing" [bešək]; /xeregtei/ "necessary" [χerəkt'ē]
	[G̲]	(postvelar voiceless lenis; occurs in words of back vowels in the same position as [G]): /xog/ "trash, refuse" [χoG]
	[k̲]	(voiceless unaspirated postvelar; occurs in words of back vowels in the same position as [k]): /adag/ "end" [adɐk]; /alagšan/ "motley, dappled" (fem.) [alɐkšg]
/m/	[m]	/mal/ "cattle" [mal]; /aman/ "mouth" [amg]

/n/	[n]	(before a vowel or a dental consonant): /namar/ "autumn" [namɐr]; /ende/ "here" [ende]
	[ŋ]	(before a velar consonant and in word final position, cf. following): /anxan/ "beginning" [aŋχɐŋ/aŋχɐ̯]
	[˜]	(slight nasalization of the preceding vowel; only in word final position): /myngen/ "silver" [mɯŋgɐ̯]
/f/	[f]	(bilabial voiceless spirant): /faabrika/ "factory" [fābrɨkʻɐ] < Russ. fabrika
/v/	[w]	(bilabial spirant): /vodorood/ "hydrogen" [wodɐrōt] < Russ. vodorod
/s/	[s]	/sagaan/ "white" [saγāɐ̯]
	[θ]	(interdental voiceless spirant; occurs only in the speech of the Aga Buriats): /sagaan/ "white" [θaγāɐ̯]
/z/	[z]	/zaxa/ "edge" [zaχɐ]
	[ð]	(interdental voiced spirant; occurs only in the speech of the Aga Buriats): /zaxa/ "edge" [ðaχɐ]
/c/	[ʦ]	/cenzyyra/ "censorship" [ʦenzɯ̄rə] < Russ. cenzura
/š/	[š]	/šara/ "yellow, amber" [šarɐ]; /aša/ "grand-son (child of the son), nephew (child of the brother)" [ašɐ]
/ž/	[ž]	/žada/ "spear" [žadɐ]; /saaža/ "cue, pigtail" [sāžɐ]
/č/	[č]	/čas/ "hour" [čas] < Russ. čas (pronounced by most Buriats, however, as [šās])

/r/	[r]	(dental trill): /daraa/ "afterwards, then" [dar̄ā]
	[R]	(unvoiced dental trill; in syllable final position before fortes): /garta/ "in the hand" [gaRtᶜᵉ]
/l/	[l̪]	(dental voiced lateral, velarized, close to Russian velarized л): /gal/ "fire" [gal̪]
	[l]	(German l; occurs before /š/ and /ž/): /elšen/ "ambassador" [elšə̄]; /yrgelže/ "constantly" [ɯrgəlžə]
/h/	[h]	(simple aspiration in syllable-initial position): /hara/ "moon" [harᵉ]
/x/	[χ]	(postvelar or deep velar voiceless spirant): /xara/ "black" [χarᵉ]; /axa/ "elder brother" [aχᵉ]
/j/	[j]	(half vowel — English y in syllable-initial position): /jabaxa/ "to go" [jabᵉχᵉ]; /xajaa/ "he threw away" [χajā]
/w/	[u̯]	/xwaa/ "sand-colored" [χu̯ā]

1.4. Occurrence of phonemes.

1.41. The minimum unit of word-structure is the syllable. Every syllable contains one highest point of sonority, which is a vowel, short or long phonetically, single or geminate phonemically.

A vowel may be preceded in the same syllable by only one consonant. Consonant clusters do not occur in syllable- or word-initial position.

The vowel may also be followed in the same syllable by only one consonant, with the one exception of /ng/. Consonant clusters other than /ng/ do not occur in syllable-final position. In fast speech, however, reduced vowels, allophones of single vowel phonemes, in non-first syllables, may be dropped, and

what is in phonemical transcription /jaagaabši/ "what has happened to thee?" appears as [jāγāpš].

Buriat has numerous loan words taken from Russian, especially in the literary language. According to the general practice in the USSR, such words must be given in full conformity with Russian spelling. Although a Buriat would say [t'arākt'er] < Russian traktor "tractor", this word is spelled exactly as in Russian, despite the fact that Buriat has no initial consonant clusters.

The following types of syllable-structure occur in original Buriat words, i.e., words which existed in the language prior to Russianization, namely prior to the 20th century (V = vowel phoneme, single, geminate or diphthong; C = consonant phoneme):

V /a|ba/ "hunt"; /uu/ "drink!" (there are no monosyllabic words consisting of a single vowel phoneme)

CV /ta/ "you"; /ta|ta/ "pull!"; /taa/ "guess!"

VC /em/ "medicine"; /eem/ "shoulder"

CVC /tag/ "shelf"; /bool/ "slave"

VCC (only /n/ + /g/): /ang/ "wild animal, game" (there are apparently no examples of this type with geminate vowel phonemes)

CVCC (CC same as supra): /sang/ "tin, made of tin" (there are no examples with geminate vowel phonemes)

Russian loan words display the same syllable-structure and the following additional features:

CCV /slo|vaaŕ/ "dictionary" < Russ. slovaŕ

CCVC /prav|ĺeeni/ "management, office" < Russ. pravĺenije

CCCV /stro|je|voi/ "belonging to the ranks" < Russ. strojevoĭ

CCCVC /stryk|tyy|re/ "structure" < Russ. struktura

CCVCC /blank/ "office form" [blaŋk] < Russ. blank

1.42. Occurence of vowels. There are no genuine Buriat words with adjacent vowel sounds (geminate vowel phonemes and diphthongs are not meant here), but there are Russian loan words of the type aeroplan "airplane"; teorija "theory"; etc. These, however, are interpreted by the Buriats as /airaplaan/ and /tijoori/ respectively.

When suffixes with initial vowels are attached to a stem ending in a vowel, both vowels fuse or an epenthetic /g/ fills the hiatus (see 1.61.).

The phoneme /ɸ/ occurs only geminate, i.e., /ɸɸ/.

In the non-first syllables, the vowels /u/ and /y/ occur only geminate.

1.43. Occurrence of consonants.

1. One consonant:

a. In syllable-initial position: all consonants. In word-initial position: all consonants with the exception of /r/ in genuine Buriat words. Old loan words with /r/ display a prothetic vowel (of the quality of the dominant vowel): /orod/ "Russian" < Russ. ros; /orood/ "winter rye" < Russ. rož; /araaxa/ "a mythical monster which swallows the sun and the moon and thus produces eclipses" < Sanskr. rahu.

b. In syllable-final and word-final position: /b, d, g, m, n, s, š, r, l/. In loan words (as written in accordance with Russian spelling) also /p, t, k, x, f, v, z, c, ž, č/.

Before the initial consonant of a following syllable, in the same word, all consonants listed here (under b.) occur, that is to say, in genuine Buriat words only /b, d, g, m, n, s, š, r, l/.

The following combinations occur in intervocalic position in genuine Buriat words:

/bt/ : /xab|ta|gai/ "flat"

/bd/ : /eb|de|xe/ "to break" (tr.)

/bs/ : /xub|sa|han/ "clothes, garment, dress"

/bš/ : /sab|ša|xa/ "to mow grass"

/bl/ : /xob|lo|xo/ "to calumniate, to slander"

/bh/ : /xob|hoo/ "from calumny"

/bx/ : /xab|xag/ "lid"
/db/ : /šlid|be|ri/ "decision"
/dn/ : /sod|nom/ a proper name
/dl/ : /ed|le|xe/ "to possess"
/dh/ : /bu|lad|haa/ "from steel"
/dx/ : /od|xon/ "the youngest son"
/gb/ : /yg|be/ "he gave"
/gt/ : /ag|ta/ "gelding"
/gd/ : /xag|dan/ "old dry grass remaining in the fields since last year"
/gm/ : /se|reg|maa/ a proper name
/gn/ : /ag|na|xa/ "to hunt"
/gs/ : /xag|suu/ "hot and dry wind"
/gz/ : /xag|za|ra|xa/ "to be undone (seam), to be torn"
/gš/ : /teg|še/ "even"
/gž/ : /xyg|že|xe/ "to develop" (intr.)
/gl/ : /byg|le|xe/ "to cork, to stop (a bottle)"
/gh/ : /be|šeg|hee/ "from the letter"
/gx/ : /yg|xe/ "to give"
/mb/ : /dom|bo/ "large teapot"
/mt/ : /am|ta|tai/ "tasty, sweet"
/md/ : /um|dan/ "beverage"
/mg/ : /nom|gon/ "tame, gentle"
/mn/ : /gam|na|xa/ "to save, to be thrifty"
/ms/ : /am|sa|xa/ "to taste, to try"
/mz/ : /um|zad/ "the main basso in a lama choir"
/mš/ : /em|še/ "physician"
/mž/ : /xem|žee/ "measure, size"
/mh/ : /am|har/ "opening, aperture, orifice"

/mx/ : /xem|xe/ "to pieces, asunder"
/nt/ : : /un|ta|xa/ "to sleep"
/nd/ : /en|de/ "here"
/ng/ [ŋg] : /hun|gaa|xa/ [huŋgāχɐ] "to stretch out" (tr.)
/ns/ : /gan|sa|xan/ "the only one, sole"
/nz/ : /xan|za/ "box, chest, trunk"
/nš/ : /xyn|šyy/ "the smell of burnt milk, hair, feathers, etc."
/nž/ : /yn|že|xe/ "to spend two nights"
/nh/ [nh] : /mo|rin|hoo/ "from the horse"
/nx/ [ŋχ] : /an|xan/ [aŋχɐ̄] "beginning"
/sx/ : /es|xe|xe/ "to cut"
/šx/ : /geš|xe|xe/ "to step on, to trample"
/rb/ : /ar|ban/ "ten"
/rt/ : /er|te/ "early"
/rd/ : /er|dem/ "science, knowledge"
/rg/ : /ar|ga/ "means, method"
/rm/ : /tar|muur/ "rake"
/rn/ : /har|na|gar/ "swollen"
/rs/ : /ar|sa/ "juniper"
/rz/ : /xyr|ze/ "spade"
/rš/ : /ar|ša|xa/ "to clean, to cleanse, polish"
/rž/ : /er|žen-ta|na/ "mother-of-pearl"
/rl/ : /tur|laag/ "jay"
/rh/ : /gar|haa/ "from the hand"
/rx/ : /ber|xe/ "difficult"
/lt/ : /al|tan/ "gold"
/ld/ : /al|da|xa/ "to miss, to lose"

/lb/ : /xol|bo|xo/ "to unite"

/lg/ : /bal|ga/ "mouthful, swallow, gulp"

/lm/ : /al|mai/ "careless"

/ln/ : /bol|no/ "he becomes"

/ls/ : /xel|se|xe/ "to converse"

/lz/ : /ol|zo/ "profit"

/lš/ : /bel|še|xe/ "to graze"

/lž/ : /myl|že|xe/ "to gnaw, to munch a bone"

/lh/ : /gal|haa/ "from the fire"

/lx/ : /al|xa/ "hammer"

An intervocalic single consonant belongs to the syllable of the following vowel: /ja|ba|ba/ "he went"; /u|ta|xa/ "to produce smoke"; /žo|loo|šo/ "driver".

2. Two consonants:

a. In syllable and word-initial position: only in Russian loan words. In the speech of uneducated Buriats there are no initial clusters. In such cases metathesis occurs or an epenthetic vowel appears: [p'arwlẽnɪ] "management, office" < Russ. pravlenije; [t'arākt'ɐr] "tractor" < Russ. traktor.

b. In syllable-final position:

1. /n/ + /g/: /ang/ "wild animals, game"; /eng/ "width of a textile".

2. Any combination in Russian loan words. These clusters occur both in syllable-final and word-final position. They may occur in the same word before another syllable which begins with a consonant. In such cases combinations of three consonants appear.

When a cluster of two consonants is in intervocalic position, the first consonant belongs to the syllable of the preceding vowel, the second to the syllable of the following vowel: /an|gaar/ "by means of game."

3. Three consonants:

a. In syllable and word-initial position: only in Russian

loan words: /spraafka/ "information" < Russ. spravka; /straxoofka/ "insurance" < Rus. straxovka.

b. In syllable and word-final position: no such examples are known.

c. Intervocalically:

Any intervocalic cluster of three consonants belongs to two syllables: the first two consonants belong to the syllable of the preceding vowel; the third consonant belongs to the syllable of the following vowel: /ang|da/ "to the game"; /mo|ridš|ni/ "thy horses."

The third, or even the second, consonant of such a combination belongs, in genuine Buriat words, always to a suffix. The first two consonants of such a combination belong to a stem only in cases mentioned under b.1.

In Russian loan words many other combinations occur.

1.5. Juncture.

1.51. Open juncture is the interruption of the breath-stream between two phonemes.

1.52. Close juncture is the absence of the interruption of the breath-stream between two phonemes.

1.53. Stress:

The stress is expiratory and rather weak. It is on the first syllable unless there is a geminate vowel phoneme or a diphthong in one of the non-first syllables. In the latter case the stress is on the geminate vowel or diphthong respectively. If there are several non-first syllables containing geminate vowel phonemes or diphthongs, the stress is on the penultimate of them: /xada/ "mountain" [χa|dɐ]; /xadaar/ "through the mountain" [χa|·dā̆r]; /dalaigaar/ "by sea" [da|·lā̆|γā̆r]; /dalaigaaraa/ "by one's own sea" [da|lā̆|·γā̆|rā̆]; /moŕooroo/ "by one's own horse" [mȯ|·ŕō̆|rō̆].

The stress is non-phonemic and, therefore, not indicated.

It is to be noted that the stressed syllable in Russian loan words is always long in Buriat: [st'ra|·χō̆p|χɐ] "insurance" < Russ. stra·xovka.

1.54. Compound juncture /-/:

In words compounded of two independent words, the juncture between the latter is always close, with assimilation of

consonants and fusion of the vowels, the initial vowel of the second word absorbing the final short vowel of the first word. The compound has one main stress which is on the strongest (dominant) syllable of the compound. The strongest syllable is the first syllable of the first word when all the other syllables in both words are short, or it is the only long vowel (or diphthong) in one of the syllables of the compound, or the penultimate of all the long vowels (or diphthongs) in the compound: /šara-šubuun/ "owl" ("yellow bird") [šaršu·bū̆ɣ]; /nagasa-axai/ "maternal uncle" [naγɐsɐ·χ̄ā]; /lama-axai/ polite manner of addressing a lama ("lama lord") [lamɐ·χ̄ä]; /altan-batagana/ "canthariде" ("gold fly") [alt'ɐm·bat'ɐγɐn]; /xyre-ulaan/ "dark-red" [χɯr·lā̆ɣ]; /ulaan-bulang/ "red corner" (a political study room, indoctrination room, Russ. krasnyi ugolok) [u·lāmbulɣ].

1.6. Morphophonemics.

1.61. Stem-final vowel + suffix-initial vowel:

When a suffix with a vowel phoneme in its onset is attached to a stem with a vowel in final position, the following takes place:

1. Final single /a, o, e/ before any geminate vowel of a suffix disappear or, to put it better, fuse with the latter, being completely absorbed by the geminate vowel. It should be noted that /ii/ in the suffix does not palatalize the consonant preceding the final vowel of the stem: /axaar/ "by means of the elder brother": /axa/ "elder brother" + suf. /-aar/ instr.; /honoor/ "by means of a gadfly": /hono/ + suff. /-oor/; /honiin/ "of the gadfly": /hono/ + suff. /-iin/.

There are no suffixes with short vowels in their onset which are attached to stems ending in vowels.

2. Final single /i/ is also absorbed by a geminate vowel of the suffix, but the palatalized consonant (before /i/ consonants are always palatalized) retains its palatalization: /hurguuľaar/ "by means of school" [hurgūlā̆r]; /hurguuli/ "school"; /hurguuľiin/ "of the school" [hurgūlī̆ɪ].

3. Final geminate vowel phonemes and diphthongs are not absorbed by the long vowel of a suffix, they do not fuse. No cluster of geminate vowels ensues, however, because /g/ fills the hiatus: /hojoogoor/ "by means of the eyetooth" [hojōγōr]: /hojoo/ "eyetooth" + suff. /-oor/ instr.; /zygiigeer/ "by means

of the bee" [zɯgīgēr]: /zygii/ "bee" + /-eer/; /noxoigoor/ "by means of the dog": /noxoi/.[1]

1.62. Vocalic harmony:

Vocalic harmony is a characteristic feature of Buriat. All vowel phonemes in a word must be, with one exception, either only front or back vowel phonemes. It should be noted that here the phonemic aspect is meant, not the phonetic, because what is phonetically a front vowel [ā] is phonemically a back vowel /ai/.

The exception mentioned is /i, ii/, because this phoneme occurs both in front vocalic and back vocalic stems. It is, so to speak, indifferent or neutral from the point of view of vocalic harmony.

The back vowels are: /a, o, u/

The front vowels are: /e, ɸ, y/

Buriat words are, consequently, divided into front-vocalic and back-vocalic words.

Front-vocalic words contain only front vowel phonemes (single, geminate or diphthongs); back-vocalic words contain only back vowel phonemes (single, geminate or diphthongs). This refers both to stems and suffixes. A front-vocalic stem takes only front-vocalic suffixes; back-vocalic stems take only back-vocalic suffixes and suffixes with the vowel /i/.

Monosyllabic stems containing the vowel /i/ and stems of more than one syllable which contain the phoneme /i/ in all syllables are front-vocalic stems: /ḿiin/ "simple, ordinary" [ḿīɪ̄] — /miinteer/ "free, with no payment" [mīnt'ēr]; /xii/ "powdered dry dung, dung dust" [χ̂ī] — /xiigee/ "one's own dung dust" [χ̂īgē].

The vowel harmony may not be morphophonemic in stems but it is definitely morphophonemic as far as the suffixes are concerned.

1.621. The vocalic harmony affects most of the suffixes containing vowels. The suffix vowels alternate with other vowels, depending on the vocalism of the stem. There are the following types of vowel alternation:

/x^0/: no vowel at all: /-d/ (plur.): /huragšad/ "students": /huragša/ "student."

/x^1/: only one vowel (and this is /ii/) for both front vocalic

and back vocalic words: /-iiji/ (direct obj.): /maliiji/ "cattle": /mal/; /geriiji/ "house" /ger/.

/x^2/: two vowels (only /uu, yy/), the back vowel for words with back vowels; the front vowel for words with front vowels: /-uul-, -yyl-/ (caus. vb.): /aluul-/ "to make kill": /ala-/; /xelyyl-/ "to make speak" /xele-/.

/x^3/: three vowels (these are /a, o, e/): /-da/ "on, at, in, to" for stems containing in the preceding syllable (or syllables) /a, aa, ai, u, uu, ui/: /-do/ for stems containing /o, oo, oi/; /-de/ for stems containing /e, ee, ei, y, yy, yi, φφ/, also for monosyllabic stems with /i, ii/, as well as for stems of more than one syllable containing in all syllables the vowel phonemes /i, ii/: /axada/ "to the elder brother"; /xaanda/ "to the khan, prince"; /ailda/ "to the yurts"; /xungda/ "to the swan"; /tuunda/ "to the jay"; /xuida/ "to the tornado"; /modondo/ "to the tree"; /xooloido/ "to the throat"; /exede/ "to the mother"; /beeleide/ "to the mittens"; /xylde/ "to the foot"; /xyzyynde/ "to the neck"; /xyide/ "to the umbilicus"; /tφφnde/ "to the white spot on the head of an animal"; /x̌iide/ "to the dung dust"; /šiišxide/ "to the little finger."

/x^4/: four vowels (/aa, oo, ee, φφ/): /-daa/ "on, at, in, to one's own" for stems containing /a, aa, ai, u, uu, ui/; /-doo/ for stems containing /o, oo, oi/ in the preceding syllables; /-dee/ for stems with /e, ee, ei, yy, yi/, on some stems with /y/, on monosyllabic stems with /ii/, and on stems of more than one syllable containing /i, ii/ in all syllables; /-dφφ/ on most stems with /y/ and all stems with /φφ/: /axadaa/ "to one's (i.e., the actor's) elder brother"; /xaandaa/ "to the actor's khan"; /aildaa/ "to the actor's yurts"; /xungdaa/ "to the actor's swan"; /tuundaa/ "to the actor's jay"; /xuidaa/ "to the actor's tornado"; /modondoo/ "to the actor's tree"; /xooloidoo/ "to the actor's throat"; /exedee/ "to the actor's mother"; /beeleidee/ "to the actor's

mittens"; /xyzyyndee/ "to the actor's neck"; /xyidee/ "to the actor's umbilicus"; /xiidee/ "to the actor's dung dust"; /šiišxidee/ "to the actor's little finger"; /xyldφφ/ "to the actor's foot"; /tφφndφφ/ "to the actor's white spot on the head."

The following stems with /y/ have /φφ/ in the succeeding syllables:

1. Monosyllabic stems: /xyldφφ/ "to one's own foot": /xyl/; /bydφφr/ "by means of cotton textile"; /byd/; /dyrφφ/ "it burned": /dyr-/; /sybφφ/ "one's own residue"; /syb/; /gφφ/ "he gave": /g-/; /xyrφφ/ "he arrived": /xyr-/.

2. Stems of more than one syllable having a non-palatalized consonant at the beginning of the last syllable: /yzφφ/ "he saw": /yze-/; /tyrφφ/ "he was born": /tyr-/; /yxφφ/ "he died": /yxe-/; /gyrelφφ/ "one's own braid": /gyrel/.

The following stems with /y/ have /ee/ in the succeeding syllables:

Only stems with palatalized syllable-initial consonants in the syllables in question: /yńeen/ "cow": /hyŕeer/ "by means of a hay-stack": /hyri/; /tyĺee/ "he made fire in the oven": /tyli-/; /tyĺxee/ "he pushed": /tyĺxi-/.

It should be noted that the vowel of a non-first syllable depends on the vowel of the first syllable only in such words in which all the intermediate non-first syllables are short, i.e., do not contain geminate vowel phonemes or diphthongs. In words in which a non-first syllable does contain a geminate vowel phoneme or a diphthong, the vowel of a syllable following the latter depends upon the preceding geminate vowel or diphthong. This means that in words having /y/ in the first syllable a suffix has /φφ/ only when between /y/ and the suffix there are no syllables with /ee, ei, yy, yi/: /yderφφr/ "by means of the day": /yder/; /xφφreldφφ/ "they conversed, talked to each other, chatted": /xφφrelde-/. In syllables following /ee, ei, yy, yi/ in the non-first syllables, the vowel /φφ/ does not occur: /tyĺeegee/ "one's own firewood": /tyĺeen/; /yńeegeeree/ "by means of one's own cow": /yńeen/; /bφφlyylee/ "he had a shamanist rite performed": /bφφlyyl-/.

Summary:

1. Vowel of the first syllable:	Vowels of the succeeding syllables:
/a, aa, ai, u, uu, ui/	/a, aa, ai, uu, i, ii/
/o, oo, oi/	/o, oo, oi, uu, i, ii/
/e, ee, ei, yy, yi/	/e, ee, ei, yy, i, ii/
/y/	/e, ei, ɸɸ, yy, i, ii/[2] /e, ei, ee, yy, i, ii/[3]
/ɸɸ/	/e, ei, ɸɸ, yy, i, ii/
/i, ii/	/a, aa, ai, uu; e, ee, ei, yy; i, ii/

2. Vowel of first syllable:	Vowel of second syllable:	Vowel of third syllable:
/o, oo, oi/	/uu/	/a, aa, ai, uu, i, ii/
/y, ɸɸ/	/yy/	/e, ee, ei, yy, i, ii/

/oroo/ "he entered: /oro-/ versus /oruulaa/ "he made enter": /oruul-/; /xɸɸrɸɸ/ "he chatted": /xɸɸre-/ versus /xɸɸryylee/ "he made chat": /xɸɸryyl-/.

Vocalic harmony is found only in genuine Buriat words. In loan words any vowels may occur in one word, although in the speech of unlearned people vowels tend to comply with the rules of vocalic harmony even in borrowings:

1. All vowels become front vowels in Russian words with the stress on a vowel which is identified with a front vowel by the Buriats: /kyltyyre/ "culture" < Russ. kul'tura (Russ. u is identified with /y/); /tempertyyre/ "temperature" < Russ. tempera·tura; /etežeerxe/ "knickknack shelf" < Russ. eta·žerka.

2. Russian e is substituted by /i/ in words with the stress on a vowel which the Buriats identify with a back vowel: /mixaanik/ "mechanic" < Rus. me·xanik; /dimanstraaci/ "demonstration" < Russ. demonst·racija; /digazaatar/ "degasser" (i.e., a person or a device which removes gasses) < Russ. dega·zator; /dikaada/ "decade" < Russ. de·kada.

3. The vowel /o/ is substituted for an unrounded vowel in

words with stressed o in Russian: /porxood/ "steam boat" < Russ. paro·xod; /onoonso/ "announcement, advertisement" < Russ. a·nons.

1.63. Internal sandhi.

Internal sandhi manifests itself in: 1. assimilation of consonants in voicing; 2. assimilation of consonants in articulation or replacement of a consonant by another consonant; 3. fusion of consonants.

1. Assimilation in voicing: a. the preceding consonant is assimilated in voicing to the succeeding consonant; b. the succeeding consonant is assimilated in voicing to the preceding consonant.

a. Assimilation of a consonant in voicing to the succeeding consonant: the weak consonants /b, d, g/ and the voiced /r/ in final position are voiceless [B, D, G, R], but before strong consonants /t/ and voiceless consonants /s, š, x/ the weak stops are still more unvoiced and become /p, t, k/ respectively:

/bt/ [Bt'/pt']: /ebtei/ "peaceloving"

/bš/ [Bš/pš]: /xobšo/ "calumniator, slanderer"

/bs/ [Bs/ps]: /ebsešegyi/ "irreconcilable"

/bx/ [Bχ/pχ]: /ebxexe/ "to fold"

/dt/ [Dt'/tt']: /uladtai/ "with the people"

/dx/ [Dχ/tχ]: /xudxaxa/ "to stir, to mix"

/gs/ [Gs/ks]: /egse/ "steep"

/gš/ [Gš/kš]: /tegše/ "even"

b. Assimilation of a consonant in voicing to the preceding consonant: the weak consonants /b, d, g/ and the voiced trill /r/ are voiceless in final position. The initial weak consonants /d, g/ of suffixes are assimilated in voicing to the stem final voiceless weak consonants or /r/ [R]. Consequently the suffixes in question display alternations of their initial consonants, depending on the final phoneme of the stem:

1. /-da/ "on, at, in, to" on stems with final vowels or with the consonants /m, n, ng, l/; /-ta/ on stems with final /b, d, g, r, s/: /axada/ "to the elder brother"; /galda/ "to

the fire"; /xobto/ "to the calumny"; /uladta/ "to the people"; /adagta/ "to the end"; /garta/ "to the hand"; /ulasta/ "to the nation."

2. /-da-/ of pass. verbs, on stems with final /l/; /-ta-/ on stems with final /b, d, g, r/: /oldo-/ "to be found"; /abta-/ "to be taken"; /ygte-/ "to be given"; /garta-/ "to be exceeded, to be vanquished."

3. /-ga-/ of the causative verbs, on stems with final /l, r/; /-xa-/ on stems with final /d/: /olgo-/ "to make find, to hand over"; /garga-/ "to make come out, to take out"; /bodxo-/ "to make stand up, to erect."

2. Replacement of a consonant by another consonant (in dialects):

/d/ is replaced by /š/ before /š/: /bod/ "rise" + /-šo/ = /bošše/ [bošše] "rising."

3. Fusion of consonants (in dialects):

/g/ fuses with the following /x/ after metathesis of the vowel: /garga/ "take out!" + /-xa/ = /gargaxa/ [gaɾɐkʻɐ]

/n/ fuses with the following /b/: /basagam/ "I am a girl": /basagan/ "girl" + /-b/ predicative suffix of the first person.

1.7. Orthographical representation of phonemes:

1.71. Official Cyrillic alphabet (the letters are given in the official alphabetical order):

Letters	Phonemes
А а	/a/
Б б	/b/
В в	/v/
Г г	/g/
Д д	/d/
Е е	See explanation below
Ё ё	See explanation below
Ж ж	/ž/
З з	/z/
И и	/i/

Й й	/i/ in syllable-final position [i̯]
К к	/k/
Л л	/l/
М м	/m/
Н н	/n/
О о	/o/
Ѳ ѳ	/φ/
П п	/p/
Р р	/r/
С с	/s/
Т т	/t/
У у	/u/
Ѵ ѵ	/y/
Ф ф	/f/
Х х	/x/
h h	/h/
Ц ц	/c/
Ч ч	/č/
Ш ш	/š/
Щ щ	/šč/ occurs only in Russian loan words
Ъ ъ	See explanation below
Ы ы	/ii/ with the preceding consonant non-palatalized
Ь ь	See explanation below
Э э	/e/
Ю ю	See explanation below
Я я	See explanation below

Although Russian has the consonant /j/, there is in the Cyrillic alphabet no special letter to denote it. Instead, there are several letters denoting syllables with /j/ in syllable-initial position:

я	/ja/
е	/je/
ё	/jo/
ю	/ju/ in back vocalic words; /jy/ in front vocalic words

The letters я, е, ё, ю denote syllables beginning with /j/ in two positions only: initially (at the onset of words) and after vowels within a word:

яһан /jahan/ "bone"; баян /bajan/ "rich"

ерээ /jeree/ "he came"; бээ /beje/ "body"

ёһон /johon/ "rule, custom"; оёхо /ojoxo/ "to sew"

юбуун /jubuun/ "shells" (as a necklace); юһэн /jyhen/ "nine"

The letter ъ denotes /j/ with the preceding consonant (which belongs to the syllable of the preceding vowel) unpalatalized. It occurs only in words borrowed from or through Russian: объект /objekt/ "object."

The letter ь denotes the palatalization of a consonant which is not followed by a vowel. In other words, it is the sign of palatalization of a consonant in syllable-final position:

ахань /axań/ "his elder brother"

ольторог /oĺtorog/ "island"

гальяха /gaĺjaxa/ "to jump sidewards, to shy away"

нэрьехэ /neŕjexe/ "to thunder"

1.72. The vowels:

1.721. Single vowel phonemes:

Single vowel phonemes (and syllables with /j/) are represented by the letters given in 1.71.

The single vowel phonemes in the non-first syllables are rendered as follows:

а	/a/ :	/axa/ "elder brother"
о	/o/ :	/modon/ "tree"
э	/e/ :	/ene/ "this"
и	/i/ :	/xari/ "return, go back"

Short syllables with syllable-initial /j/ are rendered as follows:

я	/ja/ :	/ajaga/ "bowl, cup"
ё	/jo/ :	/xojor/ "two"
е	/e/ :	/beje/ "body"

1.722. Geminate phonemes are represented as follows:

аа /aa/: **даараха** /daaraxa/ "to freeze, to be cold"

оо /oo/: **хоорондо** /xoorondo/ "between"

өө /φφ/: **хөөрэлдэхэ** /xφφreldexe/ "to converse, to chat with each other"

уу /uu/: **ууха** /uuxa/ "to drink"

үү /yy/: **дүүрэн** /dyyren/ "full"

ээ /ee/: **дээрэ** /deere/ "on, above"

ии /ii/ with the preceding consonant palatalized: **тиимэ** /tíime/ "such one"; **амиие** /amíiji/ "life" (dir. obj.)

ы /ii/ with the preceding consonant non-palatalized: **амые** /amiiji/ "the mouth" (dir. obj.)

The long syllables /jaa, joo, juu, jee, jφφ, jyy/ are represented by **я, ё, ю, е, ё, ю** respectively + the letter of the vowel in question:

яа /jaa/: **яараха** /jaaraxa/ "to hurry"

ёо /joo/: **оёор** /ojoor/ "bottom"

юу /juu/ in back vocalic words: **аюултай** /ajuultai/ "frightening"

ээ /jee/: бэээ /bejee/ "his own body"

өө /jɵɸ/: дүөөн /dyjɵɸn/ "stupid" [4]

1.73. The consonants are represented by the letters given above in 1.71.

Palatalization of a consonant not followed by a vowel, i.e., a consonant in syllable-final position, is represented by ь: альган /alʹgan/ "palm of the hand".

Palatalization of a consonant followed by a vowel, i.e., a consonant in syllable-initial position, is rendered as follows:

я : /a/ with palatalization of the previous consonant: мяхан /mʹaxan/ "meet"

ё : /o/ with palatalization of the previous consonant: нёдонон /nʹodonon/ "last year"

ю : /u/ in back vocalic words and /y/ in front-vocalic words with palatalization of the preceding consonant: нюдарган /nʹudargan/ "clenched fist"; нюдэн /nʹyden/ "eye"

е : /e/ with palatalization of the previous consonant: недэли /nʹedʹeeli/ [nʹedʹeɪ̯] "week" < Russ. нʹе·дʹеʹла

Although the weak stops are rather unvoiced in word-final position, they are rendered by the consonants /b, d, g/, one of the reasons being that they are clearly heard as [b, d, g] when suffixes with a vowel at their onset are attached: түлэб /tyleb/ "shape," cf. түлэбөөр /tylebɵɸr/ "by means of the shape"; улад /ulad/ "people," cf. уладаар /uladaar/ "by means of the people"; булаг /bulag/ "well," cf. булагаар /bulagaar/ "by means of the well."

Notes

1. Examples of the latter type are one of the reasons why Buriat diphthongs cannot be regarded as combinations of a vowel and the consonant /j/: final diphthongs do not behave like syllables with a consonant in final position.

2. With a non-palatalized consonant in the syllable in question.

3. With a palatalized consonant in the syllable in question.

4. The combination /j/ + /φφ/ occurs only in some western dialects and is replaced by /jee/ in Literary Buriat.

2. INFLECTION

2.1. Substantive inflection.

Substantives may occur either unsuffixed or with one or several suffixes. There are four fundamental types of suffix which are attached to substantives: derivational (plural suffixes), pure-relational (often called "case suffixes"), concrete-relational (possessive suffixes of two kinds: personal and reflexive, which express ownership of the object denoted by the noun), and, in dialects, the predicative suffixes. The suffixes are added in the order in which they are listed here. This means that a substantive takes one of the four available plural suffixes (each is taken by a particular group of nouns): /xada/ "mountain" — /xadanuud/ "mountains." The pure-relational suffix follows the plural suffix: /xadanuudai/ "of the mountains." The concrete-relational suffix is attached to the pure-relational suffix: /xadanuudaiń/ "of his mountains." The predicative suffix is attached to the concrete-relational suffix: /bagšiintnaib/ "I am of the teacher of yours," i.e., "I belong to your teacher": /bagša/ "teacher" + /-iin/ "of" + /-tnai/ "your" + /-b/ "I am."

Most nouns take all suffixes, both inflectional and word-formative, without any alteration of the stem. These are all stems ending in vowels (single, geminate, diphthongs) and consonants other than /n/.

Stems with stem-final /n/ drop the latter when the plural suffix /-d/ or any word-formative suffix is attached: /nojon/ "prince" — /nojod/ "princes" — /nojolig/ "tyrannic" (suff. /-lig/) — /nojolo-/ "to rule" (verbal stem, suff. /-lo-/) — /nojorxo-/ "to be haughty" (verbal stem, suff. /-rxo-/).

Within the group of nouns ending in /n/ there are two distinct subdivisions: some stems retain their final /n/ when any pure-relational suffix is attached: /nojoniiji/ "the prince" (dir. obj.), but other stems lose their final /n/ when some particular (but not all) pure-relational suffixes are attached:

/modiiji/ "the tree" (dir. obj.): /modon/ "tree." Consequently, such nouns have two stems: one with the final /n/ and another without final /n/. The first stem is identical with the "basic" form of the noun which acts as subject; the latter stem is identical with that form which acts as the direct object: /modon/ "tree" (subj.) — /modo/ "tree" (dir. obj.). Therefore, the first stem, i.e., the one with stem-final /n/ can be called the nominative stem. The second stem, i.e., the one without /n/, can be called the oblique stem. Cf. /modon urgaa/ "the tree was growing" and /modo sabšaa/ "he cut the tree."

The two-stem nouns are called by the native Buriat grammarians "the nouns with the unstable /n/," whereas the one-stem nouns are called "the nouns with the stable /n/." It should be noted, however, that the "nouns with the stable /n/" also lose their /n/ when a word-formative suffix or the plural suffix /-d/ is added.

2.11. Use of the two stems.

2.12. Use of the nominative stem.

a. The following pure-relational suffixes are attached to the nominative stem:

1. /-ai/[3] "of, belonging to" [1]
2. /-da/[3] "on, at, in, into, to"
3. /-haa/[4] "from"
4. /-aar/[4] "together with."

b. All personal-possessive suffixes are attached to the nominative stem: /morinšni/ "thy horse"; /moriníiiń/ "his horse"; /morintnai/ "your horse."

c. All predicative suffixes are attached to the nominative stem: /xybyynš/ "thou art a son": /xybyyn/.

2.13. Use of the oblique stem.

a. The following pure-relational suffixes are attached to the oblique stem:

1. Zero suffix of the direct object: /mori/ "the horse" (as dir. obj.)
2. /-iiji/ of the direct object: /moríiji/ "the horse" (as dir. obj.)
3. /-aar/[4] "by means of": /moróor/ "by horse"
4. /-tai/[3] "together with": /moritoi/ "with a horse."

b. The reflexive-possessive suffix /-aa/[4], /-jaa/[4] is attached to the oblique stem: /moŕoo/ "one's own horse" (dir. obj.).

2.14. Derivational suffixes.

There are four plural suffixes in standard Buriat. Besides, combined suffixes occur in dialects. A few words have irregular plural forms.

a. Suff. /-d/ is taken by the following nouns:

1. By all nouns of more than one syllable ending in /n/ which is dropped by both one-stem nouns and two-stem nouns: /nojod/ "princes": /nojon/ "prince (one-stem noun); /morid/ "horse" (two-stem noun).

2. By verbal nouns in /-gša/[3]: /jabagšad/ "the going ones": /jabagša/ "the going one, goer"; /orogšod/ "the entering ones": /orogšo/ "the entering one"; /yxegšed/ "the dying ones": /yxegše/ "the dying one."

3. By all nouns in /-aaša/[4] formed from verbs: /bešeešed/ "the scribes": /bešeeše/ "the scribe."

b. Suff. /-uud/[2] is taken by genuine Buriat stems with the stem-final consonants /ng, b, g, d, m/, by monosyllabic stems with stem-final /n/, and by loan words with the stem-final consonants /v, z, n, p, s, f, c, x/: /anguud/ "wild animals": /ang/; /tysebyyd/ "plans": /tyseb/; /sostaavuud/ "compounds, railroad trains": /sostaav/ < Russ. soś·tav; /tuguud/ "banners": /tug/; /xomuuduud/ "horse collars": /xomuud/ < Russ. xó·mut; /kolxoozuud/ "collective farms": /kolxooz/ < Russ. kol·xoz; /nomuud/ "books": /nom/; /xynyyd/ "persons": /xyn/; /onuud/ "years": /on/; /graadusuud/ "degrees": /graadus/ < Russ. gradus; /škaafuud/ "cupboards": /škaaf/ < Russ. škaf; /bojecuud/ "soldiers": /bojec/ < Russ. bó·jec.

c. Suff. /-nuud/[2] is taken by stems with stem-final vowels (single, geminate, diphthongs) and with the stem-final consonants /l, r/ in original Buriat words, and by loan words with the stem-final consonants /č, š, šč, ž, t/ and palatalized consonants: /xadanuud/ "rocks, hills": /xada/; /xýrφφnyyd/ "sows": /xýrφφ/; /ťetraaďnuud/ "notebooks": /ťetraaď/ < Russ. ťeťraď; /vraačnuud/ "physicians": /vraač/ < Russ. vrač; /karandaašnuud/ "pencils": /karandaaš/ < Russ. karan·daš; /golnuud/ "rivers": /gol/; /gernyyd/ "houses, yurts": /ger/;

/pynktnyyd/ "dots": /pynkt/ < Russ. punkt; /métrnyyd/ "meters": /métr/ < Russ. métr.

d. Suff. /-nar/[3] is taken by nouns which denote certain groups of people (kinship terms, words denoting socially important people), ending in vowels. Loan words which end in palatalized consonants also take this suffix: /axanar/ "the eldest brothers": /axa/ "older brother"; /dyyner/ "the younger brothers": /dyy/ "younger brother"; /abaganar/ "maternal uncles": /abaga/; /lamanar/ "lamas": /lama/; /bagšanar/ "teachers": /bagša/; /vožd́nor/ "leaders": /vožd́/ < Russ. vožd́.

e. The following combined suffixes occur in dialects:

1. Suff. /-duud/[2]: /-d/ + /-uud/: /hamagaduud/ "women": /hamagan/.

2. Suff. /-naruud/[3]: /-nar/ + /-uud/: /lamanaruud/ "lamas": /lama/.

Such forms are identical in meaning with forms formed by a single plural suffix.

f. The following plural forms are irregular: /nyxed/ "comrades": /nyxer/ "comrade"; /noxos/ and /noxosuud/ "dogs": /noxoi/ "dog" (the regular form is /noxoinuud/ "dogs"); /beŕeed/ "daughters-in-law, young married women": /beri/ "daughter-in-law."

2.15. Pure-relational noun suffixes and postpositions.

Pure-relational noun suffixes and postpositions will be treated together, because the postpositions have certain characteristics common with the nouns: the postpositions can be used as separate words and, in this case, they take possessive suffixes.

2.151. The pure-relational suffixes are attached to the noun-stem, in the singular, or to the plural suffix when a multitude is meant.

Standard Buriat has the following pure-relational suffixes:[2]

1. Zero-suffix on the oblique stem (a form identical with the latter or identical with the only stem of a one-stem noun): 1. this form denotes the direct object when it is the only noun subordinated to another word; 2. it is a substitute for any pure-relational suffix on the non-last member of a group of co-ordinated nouns: /baldan gazar xaxalba/ "Baldan was plowing the

ground" /gazar/ "earth"; /aba tyĺee asarba/ "father brought firewood": /tyĺee/ (obl.) and /tyĺeen/ (nom.) "firewood, fuel, combustives"; /doržo mori uhalba/ "Doržo watered the horse": /mori/ (obl.); /kolxozniguud modo šuluu xirpíise zɸɸže jabanad/ "the collective farmers are transporting wood, stones, and bricks": /modo/ "wood," /šuluu/ "stone," /xirpíise/ "bricks" (all three words are co-ordinate direct objects; all three have a zero-suffix); /modo, šuluu xirpíseer barihan ger/ "a house built of wood, stone, and bricks" (the last member has the suffix /-aar/[4] and the first two have a zero-suffix which substitutes for /-aar/).

2a. /-ai/[3] (nom.) after a stem-final consonant including /n/; with /-g-/ after a stem-final geminate vowel phoneme: "of, belonging to": /malai/ "of the cattle": /mal/; /gerei/ "of the yurt": /ger/; /bulagai/ "of the well": /bulag/; /vraačai/ "of the physician": /vraač/ < Russ. vrač; /angai/ "of the wild animals, game": /ang/; /modonoi/ "of the tree": /modon/ (2); /nojonoi/ "of the prince": /nojon/ (1); /bɸɸgei/ "of the shaman": /bɸɸ/; /šereegei/ "of the table": /šeree/.

2b. /-n/ after stem-final /ii/ and diphthongs: "of, belonging to": /zygiin/ "of the bee": /zygii/; /dalain/ "of the sea": /dalai/.

2c. /-iin/[1] after a stem-final single vowel phoneme: "of, belonging to": /axiin/ "of the elder brother": /axa/; /esegiin/ "of the father": /esege/.

3a. /-da/[3] (nom.) after a stem-final vowel, diphthong and after the stem-final consonants /m, n, ng, l/ in original Buriat words; after stem-final /d, z, ž, c, č, šč/ and palatalized consonants in loan words: "at, on, in, to, into": /xanada/ "on the wall": /xana/; /hynide/ "at night": /hyni/; /malda/ "to the cattle": /mal/; /vraačda/ "to the physician": /vraač/ < Russ. vrač; /poojezddo/ "in the train": /poojezd/ "train" < Russ. pojezd; /dalaida/ "at sea": /dalai/; /angda/ "to the wild animals": /ang/; /xynde/ "to the person": /xyn/; /modondo/ "in the woods": /modon/ (2) "tree, wood."

3b. /-ta/[3] after the stem-final consonants /b, d, g, r/ and (in loan words) after all the other consonants not mentioned under 3a: "at, on, in, to, into": /garta/ "in the hand": /gar/; /bulagta/ "at the well": /bulag/.

4a. /-iiji/ (written -ие, and after palatalized consonants -ие) (obl.) denoting the direct object, after a stem final single vowel phoneme or any consonant including /n/ which is retained by one-stem nouns and dropped by two-stem nouns: /xaniiji/ "the wall": /xana/; /deriiji/ "the pillow": /dere/; /arteeliiji/ "the artel": /arteel/ < Russ. артель; /xyniiji/ "the person": /xyn/ (1); /modiiji/ "the tree": /modon/ (2); /moriiji/ "the horse": /morin/ (2); /bulagiiji/ "the well": /bulag/; /galiiji/ "the fire": /gal/.

4b. /-ji/ (written -е) (obl.) denoting the direct object, after a stem-final geminate vowel phoneme or diphthong; after a stem-final /n/ preceded by a long vowel in two-stem nouns: /šereeji/ "the table": /šeree/; /zygiiji/ "the bee": /zygii/; /dalaiji/ "the sea": /dalai/; /galuuji/ "the goose": /galuun/ (2); /xoorooji/ "the enclosure": /xoroon/ (2).

5. /-haa/[4] (nom.) after any vowel or consonant: "from, out of, from within": /xanahaa/ "from the wall": /xana/; /dalaihaa/ "from the sea": /dalai/; /garhaa/ "from the hand": /gar/; /modonhoo/ "from the tree": /modon/ (2).

6. /-aar/[4] (nom. and obl., vide infra) after stem-final vowels (with /-g/ after geminate vowels or diphthongs) and consonants: "together with" (nom.) and "by means of, through" (obl.): /xanaar/ "through the wall": /xana/; /šereeger/ "by means of the table": /šeree/; /dalaigaar/ "by sea": /dalai/; /morinoor/ "together with the horse": /morin/; /moroor/ "by means of a horse, by horse": /morin/ (2).

7. /-tai/[3] (nom. and obl.) after stem-final vowels or consonants; on the nominative stem: "together with"; on the oblique stem: "having" (cf. 4.21) /xanatai/ "with a wall": /xana/; /gartai/ "with the hand": /gar/; /morintoi/ "together with a horse," /moritoi/ "having a horse": /morin/ (2).

2.152. Accumulation of pure-relational suffixes.

The pure-relational suffixes are normally attached either to the singular stem (nominative stem or oblique stem, depending on the suffix) or to the plural stem (formed by one of the plural suffixes discussed above), but some pure-relational forms may, in addition to their pure-relational suffix, ("case suffix"), take another pure-relational suffix. The resulting

form, consequently, displays two pure-relational suffixes. It is the last of them to which "possessive" suffixes are attached. Such "double case" forms, as they are called in Buriat grammars, resemble, in meaning, such English expressions as at father's.

The combined suffixes are:

1a. /-aida/[3] (nom.) "at, in, to, into something that belongs to . . . ": /-ai/[3] + /-da/[3]: /xaanaida/ "at the khan's": /xaan/; /xyneide/ "at the person's": /xyn/.

1b. /-nda/[3] in meaning same as 1a: /-n/ + /-da/[3]: /axainda/ "at the elder brother's": /axai/;

1c. /-iinda/ in meaning same as 1a and 1b: /-iin/ + /-da/[3]: /axiinda/ "at the elder brother's": /axa/; /bagšiinda/ "at the teacher's": /bagša/.

Note: /-aida, -nda, -iinda/ occur after the same stem-final phonemes as their first constituents, i.e., the suffixes /-ai, -n, -iin/ respectively.

2. /-tahaa/[4] "from within": /-ta/[3] + /-haa/[4]. Only one example available: /gertehee/ "out of the house, from the inside of a house": /ger/.

3a. /-taiji/[3] (obl.) "with something" (the whole being a direct object): /-tai/[3]+/-ji/: /šuhataiji/ "together with blood" (as a dir. obj.) (e.g., "he ate it together with blood").

3b. /-taigaar/ or /-tajaar/ (obl.) as the manner of performing an action, and frequently = adverb: /-tai/[3] + /-aar/[4]: /amžaltataigaar/ "with success, successfully": /amžalta/ "success, achievement."

3c. /-taihaa/[4] (obl.) "from (or since) having something" (from or since the status of having something): /-tai/[3] + /-haa/[4]: /ylegeiteihee/ "from the cradle" (lit. "from being with a cradle," i.e., "since infancy").

Paradigms:

/mal/ "cattle"	/bulag/ "well"
/malai/ "of the cattle"	/bulagai/ "of the well"
/malda/ "to the cattle"	/bulagta/ "to the well"
/maliiji/ "the cattle" (dir. obj.)	/bulagiiji/ "the well" (dir. obj.)

/malaar/ "by means of cattle"	/bulagaar/ "by means of the well"
/malhaa/ "from the cattle"	/bulaghaa/ "from the well"
/maltai/ "together with cattle"	/bulagtai/ "together with the well"
/xyn/ (1) "person"	/modon/ (2) "tree"
/xyn/ "person" (dir. obj.)	/modo/ "tree" (dir. obj.)
/xynei/ "of the person"	/modonoi/ "of the tree"
/xynde/ "to the person"	/modondo/ "to the tree"
/xyniiji/ "the person" (dir. obj.)	/modiiji/ "the tree" (dir. obj.)
/xyneer/ "by means of the person"	/modoor/ "by means of the tree"
/xynhee/ "from the person"	/modonhoo/ "from the tree"
/xyntei/ "together with the person"	/modontoi/ "together with the tree"
/morin/ (2) "horse"	/šubuun/ (2) "bird"
/mori/ "the horse" (dir. obj.)	/šubuu/ "the bird" (dir. obj.)
/morinoi/ "of the horse"	/šubuunai/ "of the bird"
/morindo/ "to the horse"	/šubuunda/ "to the bird"
/morïiji/ "the horse" (dir. obj.)	/šubuuji/ "the bird" (dir. obj.)
/morïoor/ "by means of a horse"	/šubuugaar/ "by means of a bird"
/morinoor/ "together with the horse"	/šubuunaar/ "together with the bird"
/morinhoo/ "from the horse"	/šubuunhaa/ "from the bird"
/morintoi/ "together with the horse"	/šubuuntai/ "together with the bird"
/axa/ "elder brother"	/dyy/ "younger brother"
/axiin/ "of the elder brother"	/dyygei/ "of the younger brother"
/axada/ "to the elder brother"	/dyyde/ "to the younger brother"

/axiiji/ "the elder brother" (dir. obj.)	/dyyji/ "the younger brother" (dir. obj.)
/axaar/ "by means of the elder brother"	/dyygeer/ "by means of the younger brother"
/axahaa/ "from the elder brother"	/dyyhee/ "from the younger brother"
/axatai/ "together with the elder brother"	/dyytei/ "together with the younger brother"

2.153. Postpositions are separate words which serve to express interrelations of words in clauses, similar to the pure-relational suffixes. Being separate words, they do not comply with the rules of vocalic harmony. Like all nouns, they take possessive suffixes, but they do not take plural suffixes.

The postpositions can be classified into two groups: 1. postpositions occurring with the stem of a noun (some of them with the nominative stem, others with the oblique stem), and 2. postpositions occurring with nouns provided with pure-relational suffixes.

A. Postpositions occurring with the nominative stem of a noun:

1a. /soo/ "in, inside, within": /uhan soo/ "in the water": /uhan/(2); /ger soo/ "within the house": /ger/.

1b. /soohoo/, the same with the suffix /-haa/[4]: "from within": /uhan soohoo/ "from within the water"; /ger soohoo/ "out of the house."

2. /šengi/ "like, similar to": /xyn šengi/ "like a person, like a human being"; /šuluun šengi/ "like stone": /šuluun/ (2).

3. /mete/ "like, similar to": /šuluun mete/ "like stone."

4. /teeše/ "in the direction of, towards": /ger teeše/ "towards the yurt"; /uhan teeše/ "in the direction of the water."

5a. /deere/ "on, above": /modon deere/ "on the tree": /modon/ (2); /xana deere/ "on the wall."

5b. /deerhee/ same as 5a, with the suffix /-haa/[4]: "from above, from the top of": /modon deerhee/ "from the top of the tree": /modon/ (2).

6. /deegyyr/ "over": /modon deegyyr/ "over the tree": /modon/ (2); /uhan deegyyr/ "over the water": /uhan/ (2).

7a. /doro/ "under, underneath": /modon doro/ "under the tree": /modon/ (2); /ger doro/ "under the house": /ger/.

7b. /dorhoo/ same as the previous, with the suffix /-haa/[4]: "from beneath": /modon dorhoo/ "from beneath the tree."

8. /dooguur/ "under" (motion): /uhan dooguur/ "under the water" (something moves under the water).

9. /φφde/ "up, upwards": /uhan φφde/ "up the water"; /gol φφde/ "up the river."

B. Postpositions occurring with the oblique stem of a noun:

1. /uruu/ "down into": /uha uruu/ "down into the water."

2. /šaxuu/ and /šaxam/ "almost, approximately": /zuu šaxuu/ "approximately one hundred": /zuun/ (2); /zurgaa šaxam/ "almost six": /zurgaan/ (2); /dyyrexe šaxuu/ "almost full."

C. Postpositions occurring with nouns with pure-relational suffixes:

1. /tuxai/ following a noun provided with the suffixes /-ai, -n, -iin/ or following the nominative stem: "with regard to": /morinoi tuxai/ "with regard to horse"; /naran tuxai/ "about the sun" (e. g., a lecture).

2. /tylφφ/ following a noun with the suffixes /-ai, -n, -iin/: "for the sake of, for the reason of": /dulmiin tylφφ/ "for Dulma" (a girl's name); /xenei tylφφ/ "for whose sake?"; /myngenei tylφφ/ "for reasons of money."

3. /tula/ or /tulada/ following a noun with the suffixes /-ai, -n, -iin/ or the nominative stem of a noun: "because of, for the sake of": /agnaxiin tula/ "with the purpose of hunting"; /tende baihan tula/ "because of having been there."

4. /orondo/ following a noun with the suffixes /-ai, -n, -iin/: "instead of": /uhanai orondo/ "instead of water"; /nomoi orondo/ "instead of the book."

5. /šeneen/ following a noun with the suffixes /-ai, -n, -iin/: "the size of": /erxein šeneen/ "the size of the thumb."

6. /xyrter/ following a noun with the suffix /-da/[3], /-ta/[3] or the oblique stem: "until, up to": /behede xyrter/ "up to the girdle"; /uhanda xyrter/ "up to the water"; /gurban naha xyrter/ "until the age of three": /gurban/ (2); /gurba xyrter/ "until three."

2.16. Possessive suffixes.

There are possessive suffixes of two kinds:

1. Personal possessive suffixes (my, thy, his, etc.) and 2. reflexive possessive suffixes (one's own, belonging to the actor).

2.161. Personal possessive suffixes.

The personal possessive suffixes denote the owner of the object denoted by the noun in question as being the first, the second or the third person of the singular or the plural ("my, thy, his or her, our, your, their").

A personal possessive suffix may be attached to the nominative stem of a noun (= "the nominative case") or to a noun provided with the plural suffix or to any pure-relational suffix.

Postpositions also take personal possessive suffixes when they act as separate words.

The personal possessive suffixes are the following:

1. /-mni/ after a stem-final or suffix-final vowel; after a stem-final or suffix-final /n/ which fuses with /m/: "my": /axamni/ "my elder brother"; /morimni/ "my horse": /morin/ (2); /axiimni/ "of my elder brother": /axiin/ "of the elder brother"; /axadamni/ "to my elder brother": /axada/.

1a. /-m/ after a stem-final or suffix-final vowel (optional for /-mni/); after the stem-final or suffix-final /n/ which fuses with /m/ (also optional for /-mni/); in dialects also after all stem-final or suffix-final consonants, a connective vowel /-a-, -o-, -e-/ appearing between the consonants: "my": /axam/ "my elder brother"; /axadam/ "to my elder brother"; /xybyym/ "my son": /xybyyn/; /axiim/ "of my elder brother": /axiin/; /garaaram/ "by means of my hand": /garaar/.

1b. /-ni/ after stem-final or suffix-final consonants other than /n/: /gerni/ "my yurt"; /garaarni/ "by means of my hand."

2. /-šni/ after stem-final vowel or consonant: "thy": /axašni/ "thy elder brother"; /axadašni/ "to thy elder brother"; /garaaršni/ "by means of thy hand": /garaar/.

3. /-ń/ after a stem-final or suffix-final vowel; after /r/ of the suffix /-aar/[4]; in loan words after final consonant clusters other than /ng/; after the suffixes /-iin/ and /-n/ "of, belonging to," the consonant /n/ of these suffixes fusing with /-ń/ and yielding /-ń/: "his, her, their" (there are no separate suffixes for the third person of the singular and plural): /axań/ "his, her, their elder brother"; /axadań/ "to his (her, their) elder brother"; /morinoiń/;"of his (her, their) horse": /morinoi/; /axiiń/ "of his (her, their elder brother": /axiin/; /moŕoorń/ "by means of his (her, their) horse"; /arťiistń/ "his (her, their) artist": /arťiist/ < Russ. artist.

3a. /-iiń/ after a stem-final /n/, palatalizing the latter; after a stem-final cluster /ng/ and any other stem-final or suffix-final consonant, not palatalizing the latter: "his, her, their": /morińiiń/ "his, (her, their) horse": /morin/; /xyńiiń/ "his (her, their) person": /xyn/; /angiiń/ "his (her, their) wild animals": /ang/; /xyliiń/ "his (her, their) foot": /xyl/.

3b. /-iń/ after a palatalized consonant or a cluster of consonants the last of which is palatalized (in loan words): "his, her, their": /arťeeĺiń/ "his (her, their) artel" /arťeeĺ/; /śenťaabŕiń/ "his (her, their) September": /śenťaabŕ/ < Russ. śenťabŕ.

4. /-mnai/[1] after stem-final or suffix-final vowels or /n/, the latter fusing with /m/ and yielding /m/; after stem-final consonant-clusters in loan words: "our": /axamnai/ "our elder brother"; /xanamnai/ "our wall"; /morimnai/ "our horse": /morin/; /xymnai/ "our person": /xyn/; /axadamnai/ "to our elder brother"; /arťiistmnai/ "our artist."

4a. /-nai/[1] after a stem-final or suffix-final consonant other than /n/: "our": /gernai/ "our house"; /traagtarnai/ "our tractor"; /moŕoornai/ "by means of our horse": /moŕoor/.

5. /-tnai/[1] after any stem-final or suffix-final phoneme: "your"; /axatnai/ "your elder brother"; /morintnai/ "your horse"; /gertnai/ "your yurt"; /moŕoortnai/ "by means of your horse."

Paradigms:

/morin/ (2) "horse"	/morid/ "horses"
/morimni/ "my horse"	/moridni/ "my horses"
/morinoimni/ "of my horse"	/moridoimni/ "of my horses"
/morindomni/ "to my horse"	/moridtomni/ "to my horses"
/moŕiijimni/ "my horse" (dir. obj.)	/moridiijimni/ "my horses" (dir. obj.)
/moŕoorni/ "by means of my horse"	/moridoorni/ "by means of my horses"
/morinhoomni/ "from my horse"	/moridhoomni/ "from my horses"
/morintoimni/ "together with my horse"	/moridtoimni/ "together with my horses"
/morinšni/ "thy horse"	/moridšni/ "thy horses"
/morinoišni/ "of thy horse"	/moridoišni/ "of thy horses"
/morindošni/ "to thy horse"	/moridtošni/ "to thy horses"
/moŕiijišni/ "thy horse" (dir. obj.)	/moridiijišni/ "thy horses" (dir. obj.)
/moŕooršni/ "by means of thy horse"	/moridooršni/ "by means of thy horses"
/morinhoošni/ "from thy horse"	/moridhoošni/ "from thy horses"
/morintoišni/ "together with thy horse"	/moridtoišni/ "together with thy horses"
/morińiiń/ "his (her, their) horse"	/moridiiń/ "his horses"
/morinoiń/ "of his horse"	/moridoiń/ "of his horses"
/morindoń/ "to his horse"	/moridtoń/ "to his horses"
/moŕiijiń/ "his horse" (dir. obj.)	/moridiijiń/ "his horses"
/moŕoorń/ "by means of his horse"	/moridoorń/ "by means of his horses"

/morinhooń/ "from his horse"	/moridhooń/ "from his horses"
/morintoiń/ "together with his horse"	/moridtoiń/ "together with his horses"
/morimnai/ "our horse"	/moridnai/ "our horses"
/morinoimnai/ "of our horse"	/moridoimnai/ "of our horses"
/morindomnai/ "to our horse"	/moridtomnai/ "to our horses"
/moŕiijimnai/ "our horse" (dir. obj.)	/moridiijimnai/ "our horses" (dir. obj.)
/moroornai/ "by means of our horse"	/moridoornai/ "by means of our horses"
/morinhoomnai/ "from our horse"	/moridhoomnai/ "from our horses"
/morintoimnai/ "together with our horse"	/moridtoimnai/ "together with our horses"
/morintnai/ "your horse"	/moridtnai/ "your horses"
/morinoitnai/ "of your horse"	/moridoitnai/ "of your horses"
/morindotnai/ "to your horse"	/moridtotnai/ "to your horses"
/moŕiijitnai/ "your horse" (dir. obj.)	/moridiijitnai/ "your horses" (dir. obj.)
/moroortnai/ "by means of your horse"	/moridoortnai/ "by means of your horses"
/morinhootnai/ "from your horse"	/moridhootnai/ "from your horses"
/morintoitnai/ "together with your horse"	/moridtoitnai/ "together with your horses"

Postpositions as separate words with personal-possessive suffixes:

/deeremni/ "on me"	/doromni/ "under me"	/soohoom/ "out of me"
/deerešni/ "on thee"	/dorošni/ "under thee"	/soohooš/ "out of thee"

/deereń/ "on him (her, them)"	/doroń/ "under him (her, them)"	/soohooń/ "out of him (her, them)"
/deeremnai/ "on us"	/doromnai/ "under us"	/soohoomnai/ "out of us"
/deeretnai/ "on you"	/dorotnai/ "under you"	/soohootnai/ "out of you"

2.162. Reflexive possessive suffixes.

The reflexive possessive suffixes express the ownership of the object by the actor. This suffix is used only in such cases when the actor (subject) performs an action with regard to an object which belongs to him, similarly to Latin suus or Russian svoĭ. When the action of the actor refers to an object that does not belong to him, personal possessive suffixes are used ("he took my book," "I took his book").

The reflexive possessive suffix is attached to the oblique stem of a noun or to any pure-relational suffix. The oblique stem with the reflexive possessive suffix denotes the direct object. There is no "nominative case" with the reflexive possessive suffix, because the latter expresses only the idea of an object possessed by the actor. Besides, a clause such as "own horse ran away" does not make sense, because it would be hard to understand who the owner of the horse is.

The reflexive possessive suffixes attached to the oblique stem are:

1. /-aa/[4] after the stem-final consonant other than /n/ of two-stem nouns; with /-g-/ after a stem-final geminate vowel phoneme or diphthong, including two-stem nouns with a geminate vowel phoneme in the last syllable: direct object: /garaa/ "(the actor's) own hand": /gar/; /geree/ "(the actor's) own house": /ger/; /nomoo/ "own book"; /angaa/ "own wild animals"; /arʧeeʃee/ "own artel": /arʧeeʃ/ < Russ. arʧeĭ; /taχaagaa/ "own hen": /taχaa/; /gaxaigaa/ "own pig"; /dyygee/ "own younger brother"; /galuugaa/ "own goose": /galuun/ (2).

2. /-jaa/[4] after a stem-final single vowel phoneme or stem-final /n/ of a two-stem noun with a single vowel phoneme in the last syllable: same function as 1.: /axajaa/ "(the actor's) own elder brother"; /modojoo/ "own tree": /modon/ (2); /morijoo/ "own horse": /morin/ (2).

The reflexive possessive suffixes attached to pure-relational suffixes are:

1. /-aa/[4] is attached to /-da/[4] and /-ta/[4]; /-aar/[4]; /-tai/[3] with /-g-/ (cf. infra): /axadaa/ "to one's own elder brother"; /garaaraa/ "by means of the actor's own hand"; /noxoitoigoo/ "with, together with the actor's dog."

2. /-jaa/[4] is attached to /-tai/[3], the final /i/ of which is dropped, the form /-tajaa/ thus resulting being more usual than /-taigaa/[4]: /moritojoo/ "together with (the actor's) own horse."

3. /-gaa/[4] is attached to the suffixes /-n/, /-iin/: /noxoingoo/ "of (the actor's) own dog"; /axiingaa/ "of the (actor's) own elder brother."

4. /-ngaa/[4] with /n/ due to analogy with such forms as /noxoingoo/ (vide 3.), attached to the suffix /-ai/[3] "of": /gereingee/ "of (the actor's) own yurt."

5. /-n/ is attached to the suffix /-haa/[4]: /axahaan/ "from (the actor's) own elder brother"; /gerheen/ "from own house."

Paradigms:

/axa/ "elder brother"	/xybyyn/ "son"
/axiingaa/ "of own elder brother"	/xybyyneingee/ "of own son"
/axadaa/ "to own elder brother"	/xybyynde/ "to own son"
/axajaa/ "own elder brother" (dir. obj.)	/xybyygee/ "own son" (dir. obj.)
/axaaraa/ "by means of own elder brother"	/xybyygeeree/ "by means of own son"
/axahaan/ "from own elder brother"	/xybyynheen/ "from own son"
/axatajaa/ "together with own elder brother"	/xybyyntejee/ "together with own son"
/morin/ "horse"	/galuun/ "goose"
/morinoingoo/ "of one's own horse"	/galuunaingaa/ "of one's own goose"

/morindoo/ "to one's own horse"	/galuundaa/ "to one's own goose"
/morijoo/ "one's own horse" (dir. obj.)	/galuugaa/ "one's own goose" (dir. obj.)
/mórooroo/ "by means of one's own horse"	/galuugaaraa/ "by means of one's own goose"
/morinhoon/ "from one's own horse"	/galuunhaan/ "from one's own goose"
/morintojoo/ "together with one's own horse"	/galuutajaa/ "together with one's own goose"

Postpositions as separate words with reflexive possessive suffixes:

/deeree/ "on oneself"

/doroo/ "under oneself"

/soohoon/ "from within oneself"

2.17. Predicative suffixes.

A noun with a predicative suffix acts as the predicate of a clause. There are predicative suffixes of the first two persons of both the singular and the plural. The third person does not have a special predicative suffix.

Predicative suffixes are attached to a noun stem (always the nominative, i.e., with final /n/), to a pure-relational suffix, to a possessive suffix, and to interrogative particles. Consequently, it is the last in the series of suffixes taken by a noun.

The predicative suffixes are:

1st person singular:

a. /-b/ after a stem-final or suffix-final vowel: /bagšab/ "I am a teacher"; /bi xybyynšnib/ "I am thy son": /xybyyn/ (1) + /-šni/; /xybyynšnigyb/ "am I thy son?": /xybyyn/ (1) + /-šni/ + /-gy/ (interrogative); /bejeereeb/ "I am with my own person": /beje/ + /-eer/[4] + /-ee/[4]; /bi arban dyrbeteib/ "I am fourteen years old": /dyrben/ (2) "four" + /-tei/[3]; /bi alairaib/ "I am from Alair" (a region): /alair/ + /-ai/[3]; /bi tere gazaraib/ "I am from (lit.: of) that country": /gazar/ "country" + /-ai/[3];

b. /-m/ after a final /n/ which fuses with /m/: /ybegem/ "I am an old man": /ybegen/ (1); /morim/ "I am a horse": /morin/ (2).

c. /-bi/ after final consonants other than /n/: /bi buŕaadbi/ "I am a Buriat"; /orodbi/ "I am a Russian": /orod/.

2nd person singular:

a. /-š/ after a stem-final or suffix-final vowel or /n/: /axaš/ "thou art the elder one"; /ereš/ "thou art a man"; /ybegenš/ "thou art an old man"; /bagšagyš/ "art thou a teacher?": /bagša/ "teacher" + /-gy/ (interrogative); /ši arban dyrbeteiš/ "thou art fourteen": /dyrben/ (2) "four" + /-tei/[3]; /ši booxonoiš/ "thou art from Bokhan" (a region): /booxon/ + /-oi/[3]; /bejeereeš/ "thou art in thy own person."

b. /-ši/ after a final consonant other than /n/: /buŕaadši/ "thou art a Buriat"; /mongolši/ "thou art a Mongol"; /ši xedii nahataibši/ "how old art thou?": /nahan/ (2) "age" + /-tai/[3] + /-b/ (interrogative).

1st person plural:

a. /-bdi/ after a stem-final or suffix-final vowel: /alairaibdi/ "we are from (lit.: of) Alair"; /bide tere gazaraibdi/ "we are from that country."

b. /-mdi/ after a final /n/ which fuses with /m/: /bide zomdi/ "we are people": /zon/.

c. /-di/ after a final consonant other than /n/: /bide buŕaaddi/ "we are Buriats"; /axanardi/ "we are elder brothers": /axa/ + /-nar/.

2nd. person plural:

a. /-t/ after a final vowel or /n/: /axat/ "you are the elder brother"; /alairait/ "you are from Alair"; /xynt/ "you are a person"; /ybegent/ "you are an old man"; /ta xybyydnait/ "you are our sons": /xybyyn/ (1) "son" + /-d/ + /-nai/[3]; /ta xybyydnaigyt?/ "are you our sons?": /xybyyn/ + /-d/ + /-nai/ + /-gy/ (interrogative).

b. /-ta/[1] after a consonant other than /n/: /axanarta/ "you are the elder brothers"; /ta xedii nahataibta/ "how old are you?"; /nahan/ (2) "age" + /-tai/[3] + /-b/ (interrogative).

2.2. Pronoun inflection.

2.21. Personal pronouns differ from nouns and other pronouns in that they are the only group of words which have a nominative form different from the stem. The personal pronouns of the singular also have more than one stem to which the pure relational suffixes are attached. Otherwise, the personal pronouns have much in common with the nouns: they even take possessive suffixes and some of them take plural suffixes as well, like any noun.

The inflection of the personal pronouns is rather irregular.

The first person pronoun singular:

Nominative: /bi/ "I"

Genitive: /minii/ "of me, belonging to me (used also as possessive "my")"

Stem: /nam/ occurs with postpositions: /nam teeše/ "in my direction, towards me"; /nam deere/ "upon me"; /nam šengi/ "like me"

/namda/ "at me, in me, to me" with /-da/[3]

/namaji/ "me" (dir. obj.) with /-ji/ with connective /-a-/

/namaar/ "by means of me" with /-aar/[4]

/namhaa/ "from me" with /-haa/[4]

/namtai/ "together with me" with /-tai/[3]

With possessive suffixes: /bišni/ "I of thine"; /bitnai/ "I of yours"; /namdašni/ "to me of thine"; /namdań/ "to me of his"; /namdaa/ "to me belonging to the actor."

With the predicative suffix: /bib/ "it's me"; /bišnib/ "it's me of thee"; /bitnaib/ "it's me of yours."

The first person pronoun plural:

There are two pronouns of the first person plural: stem /biden/ and stem /man/. Both mean "we." In Ancient Mongolian they had slightly different meanings: /biden/ was an inclusive pronoun (including the speakers and the listeners) and /man/ was an exclusive pronoun (comprising only the speakers). In Buriat the difference in meaning was lost long ago. Both stems are used indiscriminately.

Nominative: /bide/ "we" /bidener/ "we" (with the plural suffix /-nar/[3])

Stem: /biden/ or /bidener/

/bidenei/ or /bidenerei/ "of us"

/bidende/ or /bidenerte/ "to us"

/bideńiiji/ or /bideneriiji/ "us"

/bideneer/ or /bidenereer/ "by means of us"

/bidenhee/ or /bidenerhee/ "from us"

/bidentei/ or /bidenertei/ "together with us"

Nominative: does not occur

Stem: /man/ occurs with postpositions: /man teeše/ "in the direction towards us"; /man deere/ "upon us"

/manai/ "of us, belonging to us"

/manda/ "to us"

/mańiiji/ "us"

/manaar/ "by means of us"

/manhaa/ "from us"

/mantai/ "together with us"

Another parallel stem is /maanar/ which is not used with postpositions but occurs with suffixes:

Nominative: /maanar/

Stem: /maanar/ or /maanad/

/maanarai/ or /maanadai/ "of us"

/maanarta/ or /maanadta/ "to us"

/maanariiji/ or /maanadiiji/ "us"

/maanaraar/ or /maanadaar/ "by means of us"

/maanarhaa/ or /maanadhaa/ "from us"

/maanartai/ or /maanadtai/ "together with us"

The forms /bide/, /bidener/, /maanar/ and /maanad/ are used indiscriminately, although /bide/ is the most frequent form.

Of the suffixed forms, those formed from the stem /man/, e.g., /manai/, /manda/, etc., are more common than the forms formed from the stem /biden/, such as /bidenei/, /bidende/, etc.

All these forms occur with possessive suffixes and the predicative suffix.

The second person pronoun singular:

Nominative: /ši/ "thou"

Genitive: /šińii/

Stem: /šam/ occurs with postpositions: /šam tuxai/ "with regard to thee"; /šam deere/ "upon thee"

/šamda/ "to thee"

/šamai, šamaji/ "thee" (dir. obj.)

/šamaar/ "by means of thee"

/šamhaa/ "from thee"

/šamtai/ "together with thee"

With possessive suffixes: /šimni/ "thou of mine"; /šamdamni/ "to thee of mine"; /šamaarnai/ "by means of thee of ours"; /šamaaraa/ "by means of thee belonging to the actor."

With the predicative suffix: /šigyš/ "is it thou?" with the interrogative /-gy/; /šis/ "it is thou."

The second person pronoun plural:

Nominative: /ta/

Stem: /tan/ occurs with postpositions: /tan tuxai/ "with regard to you"

/tanai/ "of you, belonging to you" (used also as possessive "your")

/tanda/ "to you"

/tańiiji/ "you" (dir. obj.)

/tanaar/ "by means of you"

/tanhaa/ "from you"

/tantai/ "together with you"

The pronoun /ta/ is now used to address one person politely (like German Sie). The form used to address a multitude (like German ihr) is /taanar/, with the plural suffix /-nar/, which is a polite form. The other form /taanad/, with the suffix /-nad/, is less polite. A rather crude form is /tanuus/ which is used in expressions like /ei tanuus endehee arligtii/ "hey you, get out of here!"

The pronouns /taanar/ and /taanad/ have full sets of pure-relational forms, whereas /tanuus/ apparently does not occur with all pure-relational suffixes:

/taanar/	/taanad/	/tanuus/	"you"
/taanarai/	/taanadai/	-	"of you, belonging to you"
/taanarta/	/taanadta/	/tanuusta/	"to you"
/taanariiji/	/taanadiiji/	/tanuušiji/	"you" (dir. obj.)
/taanaraar/	/taanadaar/	-	"by means of you"
/taanarhaa/	/taanadhaa/	-	"from you"
/taanartai/	/taanadtai/	-	"together with you"

The pronouns /ta, taanar, taanad/ occur with possessive suffixes: /tamni/ "you of mine"; /taanarnai/ "you of ours"; /taanartamnai/ "to you of ours"; /taanartajaa/ "together with you of the actor."

With the predicative suffix: /tagyt/ "is it you?"; /taanargyt/ "is it you?"

There is no special pronoun of the third person. Instead, the demonstrative pronouns /ene/ "this," /ede/ "these," /edener/ "these," /tere/ "that," /tede/ "those," and /tedener/ "those," are used: /ene/, /tere/ "he, she"; /ede, /edener/, /tede/, /tedener/ "they."

2.22. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are:

Nominative: /ene/ "this"

Stems:	/enen/	/eneen/	
	/enenei/	/eneenei/	"of this, belonging to this" (also "his")

/enende/	/eneende/	"at this, to this, in this"
/eneńiiji/	/eneeńiiji/	"this" (dir. obj.)
/eneneer/	/eneegeer/	"by means of this"
/enenhee/	/eneenhee/	"from this"
/enentei/	/eneentei/	"together with this"

There is only one nominative form, namely /ene/, but all the other forms are constructed from the stem /enen/ or /eneen/, which are used indiscriminately.

The stems /enen, eneen/ occur with postpositions: /eneen deerhee/ "from this"; /eneen tuxai/ "with regard to this."

The nominative form /ene/ and all the suffixed forms take possessive suffixes: /enemni/ "this of mine"; /enetnai/ "this of yours": /enetnai buruu baina/ "this of yours is wrong"; /eneendemnai/ "to this of ours"; /eneentejee/ "together with this of the actor."

The plural is /ede/ or (with the suffix /-ner/) /edener/ "these."

Nominative:	/ede/		/edener/	"these"
Stems:	/eden/	/edeen/	/edener/	
	/edenei/	/edeenei/	/edenerei/	"of these"
	/edende/	/edeende/	/edenerte/	"to these"
	/edeńiiji/	/edeeńiiji/	/edeneriiji/	"these" (dir. obj.)
	/edeneer/	/edeeneer/	/edenereer/	"by means of these"
	/edenhee/	/edeenhee/	/edenerhee/	"from these"
	/edentei/	/edeentei/	/edenertei/	"together with these"

The stems /eden/ and /edeen/ are used indiscriminately. The forms /ede/ and /edener/ are synonymous.

All these forms occur with possessive suffixes.

Nominative: /tere/ "that"

Stem:	/tereen/: occurs with postpositions: /tereen tuxai/ "with regard to that		
	/tereenei/	"of that"	
	/tereende/	"to that"	
	/tereeńiiji/	"that" (dir. obj.)	
	/tereegeer/	"by means of that"	
	/tereenhee/	"from that"	
	/tereentei/	"together with that"	
Nominative:	/tede/	/tedener/	"those"
Stems:	/teden/	/tedener/	
	/tedenei/	/tedenerei/	"of those"
	/tedende/	/tedenerte/	"to those"
	/tedeńiiji/	/tedeneriiji/	"those" (dir. obj.)
	/tedeneer/	/tedenereer/	"by means of those"
	/tedenhee/	/tedenerhee/	"from those"
	/tedentei/	/tedenertei/	"together with those"

The stem /teden/ occurs with postpositions: /teden tuxai/ "with regard to them."

The pronouns /tede/ and /tedener/ are synonymous.

All forms occur with possessive suffixes.

2.3. Verb inflection.

2.30. General remarks. The inflection of the verb in Standard Buriat includes the following categories: three persons, two numbers, six tenses, eight verbal nouns and ten gerunds.

The persons are the first, the second, and the third. The numbers are the singular and the plural. Consequently, there are six terminations for the persons of both numbers ("I, thou, he, we, you, they"). The third person singular, and sometimes the third person plural, too, has a zero-ending.

The simple tenses are six: present, past, future, optative, present imperative, future imperative.

The structure of the verb is: stem + tense-sign + personal ending. The prohibitive particle precedes the verb. The negative particle follows the tense-sign and precedes the personal ending: stem + tense-sign + negative particle + personal ending. The interrogative particle also follows the tense sign and precedes the personal ending: stem + tense-sign + interrogative particle + personal ending. When a negative verb is put in a question, the interrogative particle is attached to the negative particle, and the personal ending follows: stem + tense-sign + negative particle + interrogative particle + personal ending.

All verbal stems end in vowels (including diphthongs). The stem-final single vowel other than /i/, i.e., /a, o, e/ following the consonants /r, l/ in stems of more than two syllables is dropped before suffixes which form a syllable: /exile-/ "to begin" — /exilbe/ "he began."

2.31. Tense signs are added to the stem. The stem does not undergo any changes other than dropping of the stem-final /a, o, e/ following the consonants /r, l/ in stems of more than two syllables, when suffixes are attached which form a syllable.

The signs of the simple tenses are:

Present: /-na/[3]
Past: /-ba/[3]
Future: /-uuža/[2]
Optative: /-hai/[3]
Present imperative (with a number of tense-signs each with a limited use): /-huu/[2] 1st sg. and pl.; /-jaa/[4] 1st pl.; zero-suffix, 2nd sg.; /-ii/ 2nd sg. and pl.; /-gtii/ 2nd pl.; /-g/ 3rd sg.and pl.
Future imperative: /-aarai/[3] 2nd sg. and pl.

2.32. Personal endings:

The personal endings are the same as the predicative suffixes (2.163). Of them the following are attached to the tense-suffixes, the third person plural having here the ending /-d/:

1st sg.	/-b/	"I"
2nd sg.	/-š/	"thou"
3d sg.	Zero	"he"
1st pl.	/-bdi/	"we"

2nd pl. /-t/ after final vowels; /-ta/ after final consonants: "you"

3rd pl. /-d/ "they"

These personal endings are attached to all tense signs with the exception of the following: The optative /-hai/ does not take the personal ending in the 3rd person plural; the imperative 2nd person singular with the zero suffix and the imperative of the 2nd person plural /-gtii/ do not take personal endings.

2.33. Finite forms.

2.331. Present.

1st sg. /-nab/[3]; 2nd sg. /-naš/[3]; 3rd sg. /-na/[3]; 1st pl. /-nabdi/[3]; 2nd pl. /-nat/[3]; 3rd pl. /-nad/[3]:

/jabanab/	"I go"	/jabanabdi/	"we go"
/jabanaš/	"thou goest"	/jabanat/	"you go"
/jabana/	"he goes"	/jabanad/	"they go"
/oronob/	"I enter"	/oronobdi/	"we enter"
/oronoš/	"thou enterest"	/oronot/	"you enter"
/orono/	"he enters"	/oronod/	"they enter"
/xyĺeeneb/	"I wait"	/xyĺeenebdi/	"we wait"
/xyĺeenes/	"thou waitest"	/xyĺeenet/	"you wait"
/xyĺeene/	"he waits"	/xyĺeened/	"they wait"

With negative particle:

/jabanagyib/ "I do not go"
/jabanagyiš/ "thou doest not go"
/jabanagyi/ "he does not go," etc.

With interrogative particle:

/jabanagyb/ "do I go?"

/jabanagyš/ "doest thou go?"

/jabanagy/ "does he go?," etc.

With negative and interrogative particles:

/jabanagyigyb/ "do I not go?"

/jabanagyigyš/ "dost thou not go?"

/jabanagyigy/ "does he not go?," etc.

2.332. Past.

1st sg. /-bab/[3]; 2nd sg. /-baš/[3]; 3rd sg. /-ba/[3]; 1st pl. /-babdi/[3]; 2nd pl. /-bat/[3]; 3rd pl. /-bad/:

/jababab/ "I went"; /jababaš/ "thou wentest"; /jabab/ "he went"; /jabababdi/ "we went"; /jababat/ "you went"; /jababad/ "they went"

/orobob/ "I entered"; /oroboš/ "thou enteredst"; /orobo/ "he entered"; /orobobdi/ "we entered"; /orobot/ "you entered"; /orobod/ "they entered"

/xyĺeebeb/ "I waited"; /xyĺeebeš/ "thou waitedst"; /xyĺeebe/ "he waited"; /xyĺeebebdi/ "we waited"; /xyĺeebet/ "you waited"; /xyĺeebed/ "they waited"

With negative particle: /jababagyib/ "I did not go"; /jababagyiš/ "thou didst not go"; /jababagyi/ "he did not go," etc.

With interrogative particle: /jababagyb/ "did I go?"; /jababagyš/ "didst thou go?"; /jababagy/ "did he go?," etc.

With negative and interrogative particles: /jababagyigyb/ "did I not go?"; /jababagyigyš/ "didst thou not go?"; /jababagyigy/ "did he not go?," etc.

2.333. Future.

1st sg. /-uužab/[2]; 2nd sg. /-uužaš/[2]; 3rd sg. /-uuža/[2]; 1st pl. /-uužabdi/[2]; 2nd pl. /-uužat/[2]; 3rd pl. /-uužad/[2]:

/jabuužab/ "I shall go" (some time, at an indefinite time); /jabuužaš/ "thou wilt go"; /jabuuža/ "he will go"; /jabuužabdi/ "we shall go"; /jabuužat/ "you will go"; /jabuužad/ "they will go."

/oruužab/ "I shall enter" (some time, at an indefinite time); /oruužas/ "thou wilt enter"; /oruuža/ "he will enter," etc.

/xyĺeegyyžeb/ "I shall wait"; /xyĺeegyyžes/ "thou wilt wait"; /xyĺeegyyže/ "he will wait,"etc.

This form does not occur with the suffixed negative but requires the negative (rather prohibitive) particle /by/: /by jabuužab/ "I shall not go."

This form does not occur in interrogation.

2.334. Optative.

1st sg. /-haib/[3]; 2nd sg. /-haiš/[3]; 3rd sg. /-hai/[3]; 1st pl. /-haibdi/[3]; 2nd pl. /-hait/[3]; 3rd pl. /-hai/[3].

/jabahaib/ "if only I could go!"; /jabahaiš/ "if only thou couldst go!"; /jabahai/ "if only he could go!"; /jabahaibdi/ "if only we could go!"; /jabahait/ "if only you could go!"; /jabahai/ "if only they could go!"

/orohoib/ "if only I could enter!"; /orohoiš/ "if only thou couldst enter!"; /orohoi/ "if only he could enter!"; etc.

/xyĺeeheib/ "if only I could wait!"; /xyĺeeheiš/ "if only thou couldst wait!"; /xyĺeehei/ "if only he could wait!"; etc.

This form occurs with the negative particle /by/: /by jabahaib/ "if only I could not go!," "if only there were no need for me to go!"

This form does not occur with the interrogative particle.

2.335. Present imperative.

1st sg.: /-huub/[2] intention to perform an action: "I wish to . . .," "I will . . ."

1st pl.: /-huubdi/[2] the same expressed by more than one person

1st pl.: /-jaabdi/[4] invitation to perform an action together: "let us . . ."

2nd sg.: zero suffix, order given to one person

2nd pl.: /-gtii/ order given to more than one person

2nd sg.: /-iiš/ categorical order given to one person

2nd pl.: /-iit/ categorical order given to one person who should not be thee-and-thoued, order given to more than one person

3rd sg. and pl.: /-g/ "let him (them) . . . !," "he (they) may . . . !"

/jabahuub/ "I will go!"; /jabahuubdi/ "we will go!"; /jabajaabdi/ "let us go!"; /jaba/ "go!"; /jabagtii/ "go!" pl.; /jabiiš/ "go indeed!" sg.; /jabiit/ "go indeed!" pl.; /jabag/ "let him (them) go!"

/orohuub/ "I will enter!"; /orohuubdi/ "we will enter!"; /orojoobdi/ "let us enter!"; /oro/ "enter!" sg.; /orogtii/ "enter!" pl.; /oriiš/ "enter indeed" sg.; /oriit/ "enter indeed!" pl.; /orog/ "let him (them) enter!"

/xyĺeehyyb/ "I will wait!"; /xyĺeehyybdi/ "we will wait!"; /xyĺeejeebdi/ "let us wait!"; /xyĺee/ "wait!" sg.; /xyĺeegtii/ "wait!" pl.; /xyĺeegiiš/ "wait indeed!" sg.; /xyĺeegiit/ "wait indeed!" pl.; /xyĺeeg/ "let him (them) wait!"

With prohibitive particle:

/by jabahuub/ "I will not go!"; /by jabahuubdi/ "we will not go!"; /by jabajaabdi/ "let us not go!"; /by jaba/ "do not go!" sg.; /by jabagtii/ "do not go!" pl.; /by jabiiš/ "do not go indeed!"; /by jabiit/ "do not go indeed!"; /by jabag/ "let him (them) not go!"

2.336. Future imperative.

2nd sg.: /-aaraiš/[4] order given to one person to perform the action later, not right now;

2nd pl.: /-aarait/[4] order given to one person who should not be the-and-thoued, or to more than one person, to perform the action concerned some time later, not right now.

/jabaaraiš/, /jabaarait/ "go!" (later, not now); /orooroiš/, /orooroit/ "enter!" (later); /xyĺeegeereiš/, /xyĺeegereit/ "wait!" (later).

With prohibitive particle:

/by jabaaraiš/ "do not go!" (later); /by jabaarait/ "do not go!" (later).

2.34. Verbal nouns.

2.340. General remarks.

The verbal nouns are nouns which can be formed from any given verb. They are full fledged nouns: most of them take the plural suffix, all of them take pure-relational suffixes and possessive suffixes. Like all nouns, they take the predicative suffixes, i. e., the personal endings, and, in such a case, they act as verbs. It is to be noted that the latter forms are preferred to some of the tenses discussed above.

Acting as attributes, the verbal nouns correspond to participles of other languages, i. e., to verbal adjectives: /jabaxa xyn/ "a person who will go." Acting as verbal adjective, most verbal nouns have both the active and the passive meaning.

Acting as predicates, with personal endings, they are finite verbs.: /xyn jabaxa/ "the person will go"; /bi jabaxab/ "I shall go."

Acting as subjects or as objects (with pure-relational suffixes) in a clause, they are substantive nouns: /jabaxaŋ biršoog, ediŋ goršoog/ "his walking (or going) is a veršok (one and a half inches), his eating is a full pot," or "what he walks is one and a half inches but what he eats amounts to a whole pot."

The verbal nouns occur with the negative /-gyi/ and with the interrogative particles /-gy, -b/.

2.341. Verbal noun of the future.

Suffix: /-xa/[3]

a. As verbal adjective:

/yxexe xyn/ "a person who will die"; /oroxo zam/ "the entering road" ("a road which will enter" or "the road by which one will enter"); /xyleexe sag/ "waiting time"; /abaxa myngyn/ "the money which will be taken."

b. As substantive noun:

1. With pure-relational suffixes:

/jabaxiin/ "of the going"

/jabaxada/ "at, in the going"

/jabaxiiji/ "the going" (dir. obj.)

/jabaxaar/ "by means of going"

/jabaxahaa/ "from the going"

/jabaxatai/ "together with the going"

2. With possessive suffixes (cf. infra):

/jabaxamni/ "my going" /jabaxašni/ "thy going"; /jabaxań/ "his going," etc.

3. With pure-relational and possessive suffixes:

/jabaxadamni/ "in (at) my going"; /jabaxadašni/ "in (at) thy going"; /jabaxahaań/ "from his going"; /jabaxataimnai/ "together with our going"; /jabaxadaa/ "in (at) (the actor's) own going," etc.

c. As finite verb:

1. With predicative suffixes: future tense:

/jabaxab/ "I shall go" /jabaxabdi/ "we shall go"

/jabaxaš/ "thou wilt go" /jabaxat/ "you will go"

/jabaxa/ "he will go" /jabaxad/ "they will go"

With the negative particle:

/jabaxagyib/ "I shall not go"; /jabaxagyiš/ "thou wilt not go"; /jabaxagyi/ "he will not go"; /jabaxagyibdi/ "we shall not go"; /jabaxagyit/ "you will not go"; /jabaxagyi/ "they will not go."

With the interrogative particles:

/jabaxagyb/ "shall I go?"; /jabaxagyš/ "wilt thou go?," /ši xezee jabaxabši/ "when wilt thou go?"; .jabaxagy/ "will he go?," etc.

With the negative and interrogative particles:

/jabaxagyigyš/ "wilt thou not go?"; /jabaxagyigy/ "will he not go?"; /jaaxadaa jabaxagyibši/ "why wilt thou not go?"

2. With possessive suffixes: form of necessity:

/bi jabaxamni/ "I must go" /bide jabaxamnai/ "we must go"

/ši jabaxašni/ "thou must go" /ta jabaxatnai/ "you must go"

/tere jabaxań/ "he must go" /tede jabaxań/ "they must go"

2.342. Verbal noun of the imperfect:

Suffix: /-aa/[4]

a. As verbal adjective:

/bodoo xyn/ "a person who is standing" (lit.: "A person who stood up and is still standing"); /tanaagyi xyn/ "an unknown person" (a person not yet known) /tani-/; /ireegyi sag/ "time that has not come yet": /ire-/; /xaragdaža baigaa xušuun/ "the peninsula which is seen" /bai-/ "to be."

b. As substantive noun (usually with the negative particle):

/jabaagyin/ "of the not going"

/jabaagyide/ "in (at) not going"

/jabaagyiji/ "the not going" (dir. obj.)

/jabaagyigөөr/ "by means of not going"

/jabaagyihөө/ "from not yet going"

/jabaagyitei/ "together with not going"

c. As finite verb:

With predicative suffixes: past tense:

/jabaab/ "I went"	/jabaabdi/ "we went"
/jabaaš/ "thou didst go"	/jabaat/ "you went"
/jabaa/ "he went"	/jabaad/ "they went"

With the negative particles /-gyi/ "not" and /-dyi/ "not yet":

/jabaagyib/ "I did not go"	/jabaadyib/ "I did not go yet"
/jabaagyiš/ "thou didst not go"	/jabadyiš/ "thou didst not go yet"
/jabaagyi/ "he did not go"	/jabaadyi/ "he did not go yet"
/jabaagyibdi/ "we did not go"	/jabaadyibdi/ "we did not go yet"
/jabaagyit/ "you did not go"	/jabaadyit/ "you did not go yet"
/jabaagyi/ "they did not go"	/jabaadyi/ "they did not go yet"

With the interrogative particle:

/jabaagyb/ "did I go?"; /jabaagyš/ "didst thou go?"; /jabaagy/ "did he go?"; /jabaagybdi/ "did we go?"; /jabaagyt/ "did you go?"; /jabaagy/ "did they go?"

With the negative and interrogative particles:

/jabaagyigyb/ "did I not go?"; /jabaagyigyš/ "didst thou not go?"; /jabaagyigy/ "did he not go?," etc.; /jabaadyigyb/ "did I not go yet?"; /jabaadyigyš/ "didst thou not go yet?"; /jabaadyigy/ "did he not go yet?," etc.

2.343. Verbal noun of the passive.

Suffix: /-aatai/[4]: a characteristic acquired as a result of having undergone an action; a passive participle:

a. As verbal adjective:

/huulgaatai modon/ "a planted tree": /huulga-/ "to seat, to plant"; /ujaatai morin/ "a horse tied (to a hitching pole)"; /xereetei morin/ "a horse (whose feet are) tied crosswise": /xere-/ "to tie crosswise."

b. As finite verb: an action which has already taken place:

/bešeg bešeetei/ "the letter is (already) written."

2.344. Verbal noun of the distant past.

Suffix: /-nxai/[3]:

a. As verbal adjective: a characteristic acquired as the result of an action which took place long ago; participle of the past:

/martagdanxai ušaastag/ "a field forgotten long ago": /martagda-/ "to be forgotten"; /esenxei morin/ "a tired horse": /ese-/ "to be tired"; /elenxei degel/ "a coat worn out": /ele-/ "to wear out."

b. As substantive noun: result of an action:

/xylei xolonxoi/ "a sor on (lit.: of) the foot": /xolo-/ "to become sore as a result of rubbing"; /maažanxai/ "a scratch": /maaža-/ "to scratch."

With pure-relational and possessive suffixes: /xolonxoiń/ "his sore"; /maažanxaimni/ "my scratch"; /maažanxaida/ "to the scratch"; /maažanxaidamni/ "to my scratch," etc.

c. As finite verb: pluperfect, an action performed long ago, its result still present:

/abaa šemee garanxai/ "rumors and gossip have arisen" (lit. "have come out"; "came out long ago and are still repeated by everyone"); /xile naidamžataigaar xamgaalagdanxai/ "the frontier is securely protected" (lit.: "was securely protected and remains in the same state"); /deed morooz jerenxei, dulaan degel xederenxei/ "Santa Claus came long ago, the warm coat was put on long ago": /jere-/ "to come" and /xeder-/ "to put on."

2.345. Verbal noun of the perfect.

Suffix: /-han/[3] (2)

a. As verbal adjective: a characteristic definitely acquired:

/jabahan xyn/ "a man who has gone"; /yxehen xyn/ "a dead man": /yxe-/ "to die"; /yngerehen žel/ "past year" (lit.: "a year that has passed by"); /ogtorgoido baihan myšed/ "stars which were in the sky": /bai-/ "to be"; /xešeelee medehengyi huragša/ "a student who did not know his lesson": /mede-/ "to know."

b. As substantive noun:

1. With pure-relational suffixes:

/jabahanai/ "of the past going"; "of the goer in the past"

/jabahanda/ "to (at, in, etc.) the past going"; "to (at, in, etc.) the goer in the past"

/jabahiiji/ "the past going"; "the goer in the past," dir. obj.

/jabahanhaa/ "from the past going"; "from the goer in the past"

/jabahaar/ "by means of the past going"; "by means of the one who has gone"

/jabahantai/ "together with the past going"; "together with the one who has gone"

2. With possessive suffixes:

/jabahańiiń/ "his past going"; "the one who has gone"; /jabahańiiń jaha mylžexe/ "the one who has gone will gnaw on a bone" (proverb: "a person who goes on business will at least get a bone to eat"); /xebteheńiiń xeeli aldaxa/ "the one who has lain down will lose his belly" (proverb: "a person who always lies in bed instead of working will lose weight")

/jabahamni/ "my going in the past"

/jabahanšni/ "thy going in the past"

/jabahańiiń/ "his (or "their") going in the past"

/jabahamnai/ "our going in the past"

/jabahantnai/ "your going in the past"

3. With pure-relational suffixes:

/jabahandamni/ "in (at) my going in the past"

/jabahandaŋ/ "in (at) his past going"

/jabahandaa/ "in (at) one's own going"

/jabahanhaamni/ "from my past going"

c. As finite verb:

With predicative suffixes: perfective past:

/jabaham/ "I went" /jabahamdi/ "we went"

/jabahanš/ "thou didst go" /jabahant/ "you went"

/jabahan/ "he (they) went"

With the negative particle:

/jabahangyiš/ "thou didst not go"

With the interrogative particle:

/jabahangyš/ "didst thou go?"

With the negative and interrogative particles:

/jabahangyigyš/ "didst thou not go?"

2.346. The first verbal noun of the present.

Suffix: /-gša/[3]

a. As verbal adjective:

/yldegše myngen/ "the remaining money"; /axalagša leitenaant/ "the senior lieutenant" (i.e., "first lieutenant"): /axala-/ "to be a senior"; /unšagša xyn/ "a reading person."

b. As substantive noun: actor, an acting person; the name of an action:

/huragša jeree/ "the student came" (lit.: "the learning one came"); /unšagšad ene nomdo duragyi bainad/ "the readers do not like this book": /unša-/ "to read" with the plural suff. /-d/; /erxilegše/ "the manager": /erxile-/ "to manage, to take care of"; /ybehe xadagšad/ "the hay mowers": /xada-/ "to mow."

1. With pure-relational suffixes:

/huragšiin/ "of the student"

/huragšada/ "to the student"

/huragšiiji/ "the student" dir. obj.

/huragšahaa/ "from the student"

/huragšaar/ "by means of the student"

/huragšatai/ "together with the student"

2. With possessive suffixes:

/huragšamni jeree/ "my student came"; /huragšadnai jereed/ "our students have come"; /oroi untagšašni juu geešeb/ "why is it that you sleep so late?" (lit.: "thy late sleeping is what?"

3. With pure-relational and possessive suffixes:

/huragšiimni/ "of my student"; /huragšadamni/ "to my student"; /huragšahaań/ "from his student"; /huragšaaraa/ "by means of one's own student."

c. As finite verb: a frequent or usual action:

1. With the predicative suffixes:

/jabagšab/ "I usually go" /jabagšabdi/ "we usually go"

/jabagšaš/ "thou usually goest" /jabagšat/ "you usually go"

/jabagša/ "he usually goes"

2. With the negative particle:

/jabagšagyib/ "I usually do not go"

3. With the interrogative particle:

/jabagšagyš/ "dost thou usually go?"

4. With the negative and interrogative particles:

/jabagšagyigyš/ "dost thou usually not go?"

2.347. The second verbal noun of the present:

Suffix: /-aaša/[4]

It functions exactly as the noun formed with the suffix /-gša/, with the exception that it is not often used as a verbal adjective.

a. As a verbal adjective: a permanent characteristic, a quality which manifests itself often:

/myrgeldφφše ešegen/ "a kid that is fond of butting, a kid that usually buts."

b. As substantive noun: profession, vocation, or occupation, actor, acting person: /zuraaša/ "painter": /zura-/ "to draw, to paint"; /bešeeše/ "scribe": /beše-/ "to write."

1. With pure-relational suffixes:

/zuraašiin/ "of the painter"

/zuraašada/ "to the painter"

/zuraašahaa/ "from the painter"

2. With possessive suffixes:

/zuraašamnai/ "our painter"

/zuraašadamnai/ "to our painter"

c. As finite verb: a usual action, an action performed often and repeatedly.

1. With predicative suffixes:

/jabaašab/ "I usually go" /jabaašabdi/ "we usually go"

/jabaašaš/ "thou usually goest" /jabaašat/ "you usually go"

/jabaaša/ "he usuallly goes"

2. With the negative particle:

/jabaašagyi/ "he usually does not go"

/jabaašagyib/ "I usually do not go"

3. With the interrogative particle:

/jabaašagy/ "is he a frequent goer?"

/jabaašagyb/ "am I a frequent goer?"

/jabaašagyš/ "dost thou usually go?"

4. With the negative and interrogative particles:

/jabaašagyigyš/ "art thou not a frequent goer?"

/jabaašagyigyt/ "do you not go usually?"

2.348. The frequentative verbal noun.

Suffix: /-dag/[3]

a. As verbal adjective: a characteristic which manifests itself frequently:

/unšadag maani/ "a prayer which is usually said" (lit.: "a usually read prayer"); /unadag moriŋiiŋ/ "the horse he usually rides" (lit.: "his horse ridden usually"); /manaida jeredeg xyn/ "a person who comes frequently to us."

b. As substantive noun: a performer of a frequent action; the process of a frequent action:

1. With pure-relational suffixes:

/jabadagai/ "of the frequent goer"

/jabadagta/ "to the frequent goer"

/jabadaghaa/ "from the frequent goer"

2. With possessive suffixes:

/jabadagtań/ "to his frequent going"

/jabadaghaań/ "from his frequent going"

/jabadaghaan/ "from one's own frequent going"

c. As finite verb: a frequent action:

1. With predicative suffixes:

/bi jeredegbi/ "I usually come"

/ši jeredegši/ "thou comest frequently," etc.

2. With the negative particle:

/jeredeggyiš/ "thou dost not usually come"

/jeredeggyit/ "you usually do not come"

3. With the interrogative particle:

/jeredeggyš/ "comest thou usually?"

/jeredeggyt/ "do you usually come?"

4. With the negative and interrogative particles:

/jeredeggyigyš/ "dost thou not usually come?"

/jeredeggyigyt/ "do you not usually come?"

2.35. Gerunds.

2.350. General remarks:

The gerunds are verbal adverbs and denote the manner of or the conditions under which the action of the finite verb takes place. The gerunds do not act as predicates of accomplished clauses, but only as predicates of accessory clauses or as attributes of finite forms.

The gerunds are classified in two main groups: 1. coordinate gerunds, and 2. subordinate gerunds. The coordinate gerunds denote actions either preceding that of the finite verb or simultaneous with it ("he having sat down started reading" = "he sat down and started reading"; "he sitting reads" = "he sits and

reads"). The subordinate gerunds correspond in meaning to the predicate of English subordinate clauses such as "when he . . .," "until he . . .," "while he . . .," etc.

The coordinate gerunds are those formed with the suffixes /-n, -ža[3], -aad[4]/. The subordinate gerunds are all the others.

Most subordinate gerunds take possessive suffixes which indicate the person of the actor. The possessive suffix is a personal one when the person of the action of the gerund is not the same as that of the finite verb. It is a reflexive possessive suffix when the person of the action of the gerund is the same as that of the finite form.

The gerunds, with few exceptions, do not occur with the negative particle.

2.351. The modal gerund.

Suffix: /-n/: an action which fuses with that of another verb and specifies or modifies the latter:

/jaban/ "walking": /jaba-/ "to walk," cf. /jaban huuna/ "he squats" (lit. "he sits walking"); /ńiiden/ "flying": /ńiide-/ "to fly," cf. /ńiiden jeree/ "he came flying," i.e., "he flew at" (Latin advolavit or Russian přiletel); /buudan/ "shooting": /buuda-/ "to shoot," cf. /buudan alaa/ "he shot him to death" (lit. "he killed shooting").

With the negative particle:

/xarangyi/ "not looking"; /duulangyi/ "not listening."

2.352. The imperfective gerund.

Suffix: /-ža/[3]: an action simultaneous with that of another verb, which remains, however, a separate action, not fusing with the other:

/unšaža/ "reading": /unša-/ "to read," cf. /unšaža huuna/ "he sits reading" (= "he sits and reads"); /unšaža huuba/ "he sat reading" (= "he sat and read"); /ošožo/ "going away": /ošo-/ "to go away," cf. /xyyged gol deere ošožo zagaha xaxuulidaba/ "the children, going to the river, caught fish."

This gerund does not take the negative particle /gyi/. It is substituted by the modal gerund with /gyi/: /jabaža/ "walking," but /jabangyi/ "not walking."

The imperfective gerund occurs, however, in the western

dialects with the negative particle /yle/, cf. /yle jabaža/ "not walking."

2.353. The perfective gerund.

Suffix: /-aad/[4]: an action preceding in time that of the other verb; an action after which the action of the other verb takes place:

/ošood/ "having gone away" (= "went away and after that . . ."); /uugaad/ "having drunk" or "after drinking": /uu-/ "to drink," cf. /saigaa uugaad hurguulidaa ošobo/ "after having drunk his tea he went to his school" (= "he drank his tea and went to school").

2.354. The conditional gerund.

Suffix: /-bal/[3] with the personal possessive suffixes: an action which is the condition making another action possible, the latter taking place only if the former takes place:

/jababal/ "if one walks"; /boroo orobol/ "if it rains" (lit. "if rain enters"); /xarabalni/ "if I look at"; /xarabalšni/ "if thou lookest at"; /jerebeltnai/ "if you come."

2.355. Limitative gerund.

Suffix: /-tar/[3] with personal and reflexive possessive suffixes: an action until which that of another verb lasts; an action which is the result of another action:

/jabatar/ "until one goes," "so that one goes"; /duuhašatar/ "until ends": /duuhaša-/ "to end," cf. /šubuun dengei duuhašatar xɵɵreldebed/ "they talked together until the candle ended"; /yxeterń zodoo/ "he beat him until he died"; /jereterni/ "until I come," cf. /jereterni ende xyleeže baigtii/ "wait here until I come" (lit. "be waiting here until I come"); /xygšerterɵɵ/ "until he grows old," cf. /xygšerterɵɵ uxaa oroogyi/ "he did not become intelligent up to his old age" (lit. "he did not enter intellect until he himself became old").

2.356. The precedent gerund.

Suffix: /-msaar/[4] with personal and reflexive possessive suffixes: an action which ends shortly before that of another

verb takes place; the other action takes place immediately after the action of the precedent gerund:

/bolomsoor/ "immediately when it becomes": /bol-/ "to become," cf. /xaranxii bolomsoor galaa nosoobo/ "he lit the fire instantly when it became dark" or "the moment it became dark he lit the fire"; /xydelgemsφφr/ "the moment he moved": /xydelge-/ "to move" (tr.); /duulamsaarń/ "the moment when he listened"; /dyyrgemseree/ "the moment they finish": /dyyrge-/ "to finish," cf. /zańaatijaa dyyrgemseree gazaa garuužabdi/ "the moment we finish our classes we shall go outside."

2.357. The successive gerund.

Suffix: /-xlaar/[4] with personal and reflexive possessive suffixes: an action which is instantly followed by another action the moment it begins:

/garaxlaar/ "as soon as goes (go, went, will go)"; /jerexleerń/ "as soon as he comes" (or "came"); /oroxlooroo/ "as soon as he himself (i.e., the actor of the finite verb) enters (entered)."

2.358. The continuous gerund.

Suffix: /-haar/[4] with the personal and reflexive possessive suffixes: an action since which or in the course of which ("while") the action of another verb takes place:

/huuhaar/ "since he sat down"; /tyrhφφr/ "since was born" (= "from birth"); /jabaža baihaar/ "while he was walking"; /tyrhφφrń/ "since he was born" (= "from his birth"); /jereheernai/ "since we came."

2.359. The concomitant gerund.

Suffix: /-ngaa/[4] without possessive suffixes: an action with which the action of another verb is combined, the latter being performed in addition to the former:

/ošongoo/ "while you (or any person) go," e.g., /ši somsoveet ošongoo hurguulida orooroi/ "while you go to the village Soviet, enter the school" (= "on your way to the village Soviet enter the school"); /garangaa/ "while you (or any person) go out," e.g., /ši gazaa garangaa tyĺee asaraarai/ "bring firewood on your way out" (lit. "while you go out bring

firewood," actually, "as you are going out anyway, you can bring firewood as well").

2.3510. The replacement gerund.

Suffix: /-nxaar/[4] without possessive suffixes: an action instead of which another action is performed; an action to which another action is preferred:

/uilanxaar/ "instead of crying": /uila-/ "to cry"; /xaranxaar/ "instead of looking": /xara-/ "to look."

2.36. Auxiliary, defective, interrogative and demonstrative verbs.

2.361. Auxiliary verbs.

The auxiliary verbs /bai-/"to be" and /bol-/ "to become" have complete and regular inflections.

2.362. Defective verbs.

1. The verbal noun /bii/ "existing, being" and as predicate — present tense of the verb "to be."

2. The verb /belei/ "was": /beleib/ "I was"; /beleit/ "you were."

3. The verb /a-/ "to be" occurs only in the following forms:

a. /axa/ verbal noun of the future, used only in the combination /axa baixa/ "whatever existing" (with the noun of the future of the verb /bai-/);

b. /agša/ verbal noun of the present;

c. /ag/ 3rd pl. imperative, e.g., /muu-šji ag/ "may it even be bad";

d. /an/ modal gerund, e.g., /an huuža/ "living" (lit. "being living");

e. /aža/ imperfective gerund, e.g., /aža žargaxa/ "to live happily" (lit. "being to be happy");

f. /aad/ perfective gerund, e.g., /gegeegyi aad bederdeg/ "having lost nothing, he usually seeks"; /gemteegyi aad joolodog/ "having suffered no damage he screams";

4. /hen past tense with predicative suffixes: /gertee hen/ "he was at home"; /ši gerteegyi henš/ "you were not at home."

5. /haa/, with personal possessive suffixes, conditional gerund: /jeree haa/ "if he has come"; /hain haa/ "if it is good"; /amidii haašni/ "if thou are alive."

2.363. Interrogative verbs.

1. /jaa-/ "to do what?"; has a complete and regular inflection: /jaana/ "what does he do?"; /jaaža/ "doing what?" (frequently = "how?"), /jaaža medeebši/ "how did you find out?" (lit. "doing what did you find out?").

2. /xerge-/ "to act how?"; has a complete and regular inflection; occurs, however, only in dialects.

2.364. Demonstrative verbs.

All demonstrative verbs have a complete and regular inflection.

1. /ii-/ or /iige-/ "to act in this manner": /iiže/ or /iigeže/ imperfective gerund, "acting in this manner" (= "in this way"); /iigeed/ perfective gerund "having acted in this manner";

2. /ťii-/ or /ťiige-/ "to act in that manner": /ťiiže/ or /ťiigeže/ imperfective gerund "acting in that way" (= "in that way"); /ťiigeed/ "having acted in that way" (= "after that" or "then").

Notes

1. The figure after a suffix means that the suffix in question appears in as many forms as the figure shows, in this particular case the suffix having three forms, i.e., /-ai, -oi, -ei/. Vide 1.621.

2. (Nom.) denotes suffixes attached to the nominative stem; (obl.) denotes suffixes attached to the oblique stem. This division is irrelevant when one-stem nouns are concerned. The figure top right of enclosure in slant lines / /, e.g., /-ai/^{3} means that the suffix in question appears in three different forms, in this particular case /-ai, -oi, -ei/, depending on the vowels in the stem, i.e., in accordance with vowel harmony. The symbol /-g-/ means that /g/ stops the ensuing hiatus. The symbol (1) or (2) means that the noun in question is a one-stem or a two-stem noun respectively.

3. FORM AND FUNCTIONAL CLASSES

Buriat word-categories are distinguished by a combination of formal and functional criteria.

3.1. Substantives which occur with all the suffixes given under noun inflection (2.1) include the following:

3.11. Nouns which occur with all suffixes given under 2.1 may act as subjects in clauses and as direct objects in verbal phrases. They act as heads of nominal phrases. There are the following sub-classes of nouns:

3.111. The negative noun /ygii/ "absence, non-existence" which takes all pure-relational and possessive suffixes: /ygiin/ "of the non-existence, of the absence"; /ygiide/ "at the absence"; /ygiigee/ "his own absence, his own lack of something" dir. obj.; /ygiidemni/ "in my absence."

3.112. The reflexive nouns /φφr/ "self" and /φφhed/ "selves" are used only with the reflexive possessive suffix when acting as subjects: /φφrφφ/ "oneself" and /φφhedφφ/ "selves." With pure-relational suffixes, they have always either the personal possessive suffixes or the reflexive possessive suffix: /φφrφφ jeree/ "they came themselves"; /φφrteń ygφφrei/ "give it to him personally"; /φφrhφφmni abaa/ "he took it from my own person"; /φφhedteń ygφφrei/ "give it to them personally."

The forms /φφr/ and /φφhed/ occur with postpositions which must have the reflexive possessive suffix: /φφr teešee/ "in his own direction"; /φφhed zuuraa/ "among themselves."

3.113. The interrogative nouns.

1. /xen/ "who," pl. /xed/ "who";

2. /juun/ "what," pl. /juunuud/ "what."

Both nouns take all suffixes enumerated under 2.1., including possessive and predicative suffixes and the interrogative particle /-b/: /xendetnai/ "to whom of you?"; /xednai/ "who

(many persons) of us?"; /xemš/ "who art thou?": /xen/ + /-b/ + /-š/; /juuńiiń/ "what of his?"; /juundaa/ "to what of one's own?"

3.114. The indefinite nouns.

Some indefinite nouns are based on the interrogative nouns (3.113) with the particle /-š/ or /-šje/: /xenš/ "whoever"; /juunšje/ "whatever"; /xenš jereegyi/ "nobody came" (lit. "whoever did not come").

The particle follows the pure-relational suffixes: /xendešje/ "to whomever"; /juunhaašje/ "from whatever."

The other indefinite nouns are: /xamag/ "all"; /bygede/ "all, everybody"; /bulta/ "all, the whole crowd"; /baran/ "everything."

All these nouns take pure-relational and possessive suffixes. They do not take the plural suffixes.

3.12. Adjectives.

The characteristic features of the adjectives are: 1. they are used as invariable attributes in attribute-plus-head nominal phrases: /hain xynde/ "to a good person"; 2. they occur in phrases which correspond in meaning to the comparative and superlative constructions of other languages: /šuluunhaa xatuu/ "harder than stone"; /xamagai hain/ "the best of all"; 3. they occur with adverbs and intensifying particles (prepositions): /maša hain/ "very good"; /ton muu/ "exceedingly bad"; /xab xara/ "absolutely black"; /šab šara/ "absolutely yellow"; 4. many of them function as adverbs without or with suffixes (special adverb suffixes or some pure-relational suffixes): /hain amarxa/ "to rest well"; /haisa/ or /haisar/ "well"; /haigaar/ "well."

Most of the adjectives also act as substantives and, as such, they take all the suffixes enumerated under 2.1.

3.121. Numeral adjectives.

The cardinal numerals from one to ten are the basis on which numbering is built. The numerals from eleven to nineteen are combinations of "ten" and the numerals "one," "two," etc.

The numerals from twenty to ninety are derived from the numerals "two," "three," etc., and display formative elements that are no longer productive.

There are special words for "hundred," "thousand," and

"ten thousand." The latter is now rarely used. The words for "million" and higher numbers are Russian borrowings.

The cardinal numerals from one to ten are as follows: /negen/ "one"; /xojor/ "two"; /gurban/ "three"; /dyrben/ "four"; /taban/ "five"; /zurgaan/ "six"; /doloon/ "seven"; /naiman/ "eight"; /jyhen/ "nine"; /arban/ "ten."

Further: /arban negen/ "eleven"; /arban xojor/ "twelve"; /arban gurban/ "thirteen," etc.; /xorin/ "twenty"; /gušan/ "thirty"; /dyšen/ "forty"; /tabin/ "fifty"; /žaran/ "sixty"; /dalan/ "seventy"; /najan/ "eighty"; /jeren/ "ninety"; /zuun/ "hundred"; /xojor zuun/ "two hundred"; /taban zuun/ "five hundred"; /mangan/ "thousand"; /taban mangan/ "five thousand"; /tymen/ "ten thousand."

All numeral adjectives ending in /n/ have two stems: the nominative stem ends in /n/ and the oblique stem does not have the final /n/.

The nominative stem is used when the numeral stands alone, e.g., in counting /xojor, gurban, dyrben, taban/ "two, three, four, five," and also when it acts as an attribute, e.g., /gurban xyn/ "three persons."

An exception is /negen/ "one." When used alone, in counting, and when acting as an attribute, only the oblique stem is used: /nege, xojor, gurban/ "one, two, three"; /nege xyn/ "one person"; /nege zuun/ "one hundred"; /nege mangan/ "one thousand."

The numeral /mangan/ "thousand" is another exception. In compound numerals, when followed by other numerals, only its oblique stem is used: /xojor manga gurban zuun/ "two thousand three hundred"; /nege manga jyhen zuun žaran/ "one thousand, nine hundred and sixty."

When used as an attribute and not followed by other numerals, the nominative stem /mangan/ is used: /mangan xyn/ "one thousand people"; /gurban mangan xyn/ "three thousand people."

The numeral /nege/ "one" is used as the indefinite article of other languages: /nege xyn jeree/ "somebody has come," "a person has come."

When standing alone and used as substantive nouns, the numerals take the plural, the pure-relational and possessive suffixes: /gurbanuud/ "threes"; /gurbanda/ "to the three"; /gurbaar/ "by the three"; /gurbaniin/ "three of them" (lit. "their three"); /gurbandamnai/ "to the three of us"; /gurbandaa/ "to one's own three."

3.122. Demonstrative adjectives.

1. /iime/ "one like this" (= "such" as compared with near-by objects)

2. /ťiime/ "one like that" (= "such" as compared with distant objects)

3. /edii/ or /ydii/"as much as this": /edii zaluu nahanda/ "at such a young age"

4. /tedii/ or /tydii/ "as much as that": /tedii olon mal/ "so many cattle"

When used alone as substantive nouns, all demonstrative adjectives take the pure-relational suffixes: /iimiin tula/ "for this reason" (lit. "because of such one like this"); /ťiimeer/ "in that way" (lit. "by means of one like that"); /tediide/ "for as much as that"; /johiin tediide/ "pro forma" (lit. "for as much as the custom").

Only /iime/ and /ťiime/ take the plural suffix: /iimenyyd/ "such ones as this"; /ťiimenyyd/ "such ones as those."

3.123. The interrogative adjectives.

1. /jamar/ "what, what kind of," which takes the plural suffix, the plural form being /jamarnuud/, but does not seem to take the pure-relational suffixes.

2. /ali/ "which?." When used as a substantive noun it appears as /alin/ (2) which takes the plural suffix, the pure-relational and possessive suffixes: /alinuud/ "which?"; /alinda/ "to which?"; /alindaň/ "to which of them?"; /alindamnai/ "to which of us?"; /alindaa/ "to which of themselves."

3. /xedii/ "how many?," "how much?": /xedii xyn/ "how many people?" When used alone as a substantive, it takes the pure-relational and possessive suffixes: /xediide/ "when?" (lit. "at how much?"), e. g., /xediide jerexebta/ "when will you come?" (lit. "at how much will you come?"); /xediimnai/ "how many of us?."

3.124. The indefinite adjectives.

Some indefinite adjectives are based on the interrogative adjectives with the particle /-š/ or /-šje/: /jamaršje/ "what-ever, any"; /ališje/ "which ever, any."

Other indefinite adjectives are: /aliba/ "whatever, any"; /zarim/ "some"; /busa/ "the others," pl. /busad/ "others"; /beše/ "other," pl. /bešed/ "others"; /ondoo/ "another"; /nygφφ/ "the other" (= "second, following").

Most of them can be used alone as substantive nouns and take pure-relational and possessive suffixes.

3.2 Pronouns display special inflectional features. They are used only as nouns.

3.3. Verbs have verbal inflection and serve in their finite forms (including the verbal nouns with predicative suffixes) as the centers of verbal phrases. The verbal nouns have a wide range of application: they act as substantives (syntactically as subjects and direct objects), as adjectives (syntactically as attributes), and as finite-verbs (syntactically as predicates). The gerunds act as attributes of verbs and as predicates of subordinate clauses.

3.4. Adverbs.

The adverbs are a mixed class which includes words which can best be classified as defective nouns because they take only some pure-relational suffixes, and, of course, the possessive suffixes.

1. Those taking only the pure-relational suffix /-haa/[4] are: /ende/ "here"; /tende/ "there"; /gazaa/ "out, outside, without"; /zosoo/ or /dosoo/ "within"; /naana/ "on this side"; /saana/ "on that side"; /xaana/ "where"; /xoino/ "behind"; /ymene/ "in front."

2. Those taking only the pure-relational suffix /-da/[3] are: /saaša/ "in that direction"; /saašada/ "in the future"; /iiše/ "in this direction, hither": /iišede/ "in this direction"; /xoišo/ "backwards, afterwards": /xoišodo/ "further on, in the future"; /yrgelže/ "always, uninterruptedly."

3. Those taking only the pure-relational suffixes /-ai/[3] and /-iin/ are: /tugaar/ "not long ago, recently"; /xezee/ "when?" its stem being /xezeen/: /xezeenei/ "of long ago"; /gente/ "suddenly, unexpectedly": /gentiin/ "of sudden."

4. Those taking more than one pure-relational suffix are:

/haja/ "recently, only a moment ago": /hajanai/ "since recently (the stem here is /hajan/), /hajaar/ "soon, by any time"; /hajadaa/ "recently"; /ńodonon/ "last year": /ńodondo/ "last year" (stem /ńodon/); /ńodondohoo/ "since last year."

The following invariable words can also be listed as adverbs:

/maša/ "very, exceedingly": /maša hain/ "very good"

/dan/ "too, much too": /dan oroi/ "too late"

/ton/ "very, completely": /ton buruu/ "absolutely wrong"

/soxom/ or /soxob/ "clearly, definitely": /soxom medexe/ "to know for sure"

/baha/ "again"

/ilangajaa/ "particularly"

/imagta/ "exclusively"

/nebte/ "through"

/xodo/ "always, completely"

/xuxa/ "asunder"

/xaxa/ "asunder," etc.

3.41. Demonstrative adverbs.

/ende/ "here" (3.4.); /iiše/ "hither" (3.4.); /eneegyyr/ "along this side, over here"; /tende/ "there" (3.4.); /ťiiše/ "in that direction"; /tereegyyr/ "along that side, over there"; /naaša/ "in this direction, hither"; /naaguur/ "over here."

3.42. Interrogative adverbs.

/xer/ "how?"; /xaa/ "where?"; /xezee/ "when?" (3.4.).

3.5. Postpositions.

The postpositions are also a mixed category.

3.51. Pure postpositions.

These are only postpositions and never occur as anything else. They do not take pure-relational or possessive suffixes.

Such postpositions are: /tula/ or /tulada/ "for the sake of, for"; /tylφφ/ "for, for the sake of"; /šaxuu/ "almost."

Some of them occur with no more than one pure-relational

suffix. Nevertheless they are never used alone: /soo/ "inside, in, within": /soohoo/ "from within"; /šengi/ "like, similar": /šengéer/ "in a way similar to."

Some of them take possessive suffixes, even though they do not take pure-relational suffixes: /teeše/ "in the direction of, towards": /ger teešee/ "in the direction of one's own house."

3.52. Postpositions of adverbial origin.

Some postpositions are adverbs when used alone, i.e., without a substantive. Among these are:

/naana/ "on this side": /naana baina/ "it is on this side" (adv.); /uuliin naana/ "on this side of the mountain" (postp.);

/deere/ "on": /deere baina/ "it is above" (adv.); /šereen deere/ "on the table" (postp.);

/doro/ "under, beneath"; /doro baina/ "it is underneath" (adv.); /ger doro/ "under the house" (postp.);

/dergede/ "at, at the side of": /dergedeń jeree/ "he came at his side" (adv.); /gerei dergede/ "at the side of the house" (postp.).

These postpositions take the pure-relational suffix /-haa/[4] (like the adverbs concerned, cf. 3.4., etc.).

3.53. Postpositions of substantive origin.

These are substantives which act as postpositions. These can take all pure-relational suffixes inasmuch as the forms thus formed are apt to serve as postpositions.

The following substantive nouns are used as postpositions with the pure-relational suffixes indicated:

With the suffixes /-da/[3] and /-aar/[4]: /xažuu/ "side": /gerei xažuuda/ "at the side of the house, by the house"; /gerei xažuugaar/ "along the house";

Only with /-aar/[4]: /aša/ "grace, favor": /ašaar/ "thanks to"; /yndehen/ "root": /yndehɸɸr/ "on the basis of": /duranai yndehɸɸr/ "on the basis of good will."

3.54. Postpositions of verbal origin.

There are a few postpositions which are, in origin, gerunds:

/xyrter/ "till, until": /xyr-/ "to arrive, to reach";

/garan/ "more than, exceeding": /gar-/ "to come out."

3.6. Conjunctions.

The conjunctions are invariable and used only as connections or to introduce clauses.

3.61. Coordinating conjunctions;

/ba/ "and," which is used to connect words: /šaazgai ba xireenyyd/ "the crow and the magpies"; /ulaan ba xyxe karandaašuud/ "red and blue pencils"; /koĺa unšaža, bešeže ba zuraža baigaa hen/ "Kolia (n. pr.) was learning to read, to write, and to draw."

/ali/ "or" which follows words with the interrogative particle /gy/: /axa jereegy ali ygiigy/ "has the elder brother come or not?"

/t́eed/ "and yet": /bide tende erteer xyrөө hemdi t́eed tedener yšөө jereegyi baigaa hen/ "we arrived there early and yet they had not come yet"

/xarin/ "but": /tereń šuluun beše xarin modon baiba/ "that of his was not a stone but wood."

/zygөөr/ "however": /bide nileen jexe žemes tyyhen baigaabdi zygөөr teremnai t́iime seber beše hen/ "we had collected a large amount of berries; they were, however, not so clean."

3.62. Subordinative conjunctions.

/gebešje/ "although" /xabar jeree boloo gebešje yšөө xyiten baina/ "although spring has come it is still cold."

/aad/ which is in origin a gerund of the defective verb /a-/ "to be" (2.362): "while": /gorxo xaraagyi aad gutalaa by taila/ "do not take off your boots while you have not yet seen the rivulet."

/xada/ which is in origin the verbal noun in /-xa/[3] (2.341) of the defective verb /a-/ "to be" (2.362) with the pure-relational suffix /-da/[3] (2.151) "if": /t́iime xadaa/ "if so."

/xerbee/ or /xerbejee/ "if" with a following gerund in /-bal/[3]

(2.354) or with the verbal noun of the imperfect (2.342) and /haa/ (2.362): /xerbee asarža ygφφ haašni/ "if thou bringst."

3.7. Particles.

Particles are invariable.

3.71. Interrogative particles.

All interrogative particles take the predicative suffixes but they follow the possessive suffixes.

a. /gy/ which is attached to that word to which the question refers: /šigy/ "thou?"; /tere jereegy/ "has he come?"; /bi tende jabaxamnigy/ "must I go there?". It is not used in clauses in which there are interrogative words such as interrogative substantives (/xen/ "who"), interrogative adjectives (/jamar/ "what kind of?"), interrogative verbs (/jaana/ "what does he do?") or interrogative adverbs (/xer/ "how?").

b. /b/ after final vowels; /be/ after final consonants except for /n/; fuses into /m/ together with the final /n/; is used in clauses in which there are interrogative words specified under a.: /xen jereeb/ "who has come?"; /ene xenei nom be/ "whose book is this?"; /ši xezee jeree hemš/ "when didst thou come?"; /xezee jabaxamnib/ "when must I go?"

c. /aal/ an interrogative particle which expresses also uncertainty or doubt: /ta duulanagyiaalta/ "do you really not hear?"

d. /aab/ an interrogative particle which expresses doubt; is used only in clauses in which there are interrogative words such as those under a.: /nyxernai xaana aab/ "where might our friend be?"

3.72. Negative particles.

a. /gyi/ which is attached to the end of words: /jereegyi/ "has not come"; /modogyi/ "without trees." Takes the predicative suffixes: /jereegyibdi/ "we have not come."

b. /yle/ which is rarely used; occurs prepositionally with verbal forms: /yle xaraža/ "not looking."

c. /beše/ "not but," a negative which implies the opposite of what is negated: /xyn beše/ "not a person but something else"; /ulaan beše sagaan baina/ "it is not red but white."

d. /by/ a prohibitive particle which is used only with the imperative and optative forms of the verb: /by xožomdooroi/ "do not be late"; /by šuuja/ "do not make any noise!"; /by jabajaabdi/ "let us not go!"

e. /dyi/ "not yet" used only with the verbal noun formed with /-aa/[4]: /jereedyi/ "he has not come yet"; /xyreedyibdi/ "we have not yet arrived."

3.73. Concessive particle:

/šje/ which is attached to words and has the meaning "even, even though, although": /jereešje haa/ "even if he has come"; /modonšje nogoonšje urganagyi/ "neither trees nor vegetables grow" (lit. "even trees, even vegetables do not grow"); /bišje medeneb/ "even I know."

3.74. Modal particles.

3.741. Confirmative particles.

/zaa/ "all right, good, yes": /zaa asarxab/ "all right, I shall bring";

/daa/ "of course, really": /ene zyb daa/ "of course it is correct";

/l/ or /le/ "to be sure": /boroo oržol baina/ "it rains, to be sure"

3.742. Particles of probability.

/aa gy/: /myn aa gy geže hanaa hem/ "I was thinking it might be that"

/aa lem/: /ailšan jerexešje aa lem/ "it is possible that a visitor may come"

/aalam/ same as /aa lem/

/aabza/ or /beze/ "perhaps": /enešni xyrexe aabza/ "this of thine will probably be sufficient"

/xa/: /tede jeree xa/ "they may have come"

3.75. Adverbial particles.

This is a special group of particles which reinforce the meaning of a noun. They correspond in meaning to the adverbs

"very much, exceedingly, completely, absolutely, etc.," but they are not adverbs since they are never used alone. These particles are formed of the first syllable of the word to which they refer, with the consonant /b/ closing the syllable. Thus, when the word to be reinforced has the first syllable /xa/, the particle is /xab/: /xab xara/ "pitch black"; /šab šara/ "absolutely yellow"; /sab sagaan/ "snow white"; /xeb xezee/ "always and for ever"; /ab ali/ "anybody" (lit. "which which").

3.76. Interjectional particles.

These particles express sounds and noises and imitate the manner of performing actions: /xur xur/ sound of snoring; /šal/ the sound of a splash; /tar tar/ sounds of clattering; /šiir šiir/ "ringing in the ears"; /ṕiis/ sounds of peeping (mice, birds); /naxir naxir/ expresses the graceful or elegant manner of walking (e.g., of pretty young girls).

4. WORD-FORMATION

4.0. Introductory remarks.

Word-formation is carried out by suffixation or by compounding. Word-forming suffixes are added directly to the word-stem, in the case of nouns to the oblique stem, and in some rare cases to pure-relational forms of nouns. The resulting word is treated like any other word of its class and may also take other suffixes to form further derivatives.

Compounding includes coordinate and subordinate composition. In coordinate composition, two elements of the same structure and function are joined: /aduu mal/ "live stock": /aduun/ (2) "herd of horses" + /mal/ "cattle." In subordinate composition, the two elements are related to each other in the same way as in such phrase-structures as attribute + noun or direct object + noun of verbal origin: /taŕaa xuŕaalga/ "harvest": /taŕaan/ (2) "crops" + /xuŕaalga/ "act of collecting": /xuŕaa-/ "to collect."

4.1. Nouns.

4.11. Nouns from nouns.

Nouns derived from nouns include the diminutives (including caressives and derogatives), words denoting occupation or vocation, collectives, feminines, names of plants and animals, and names of cases and covers.

4.111. Nouns from nouns and adjectives.

1. Diminutives (including caressives and derogatives):

a. /-dai/[3]: /abagadai/ "little uncle": /abaga/ "paternal uncle"; /dyydei/ "little younger brother": /dyy/ "younger brother."

b. /-mag/[3]: /nuurmag/ "pond, little lake": /nuur/ "lake"; /noirmog/ "nap, somnolence": /noir/ "sleep."

c. /-nsag/[3]: /xonxosog/ "a small depression in the soil": /xonxor/ "depression"; /bylenseg/ "small group": /byleg/ "group."

d. /-sar/[3]: /nojosor/ "little ruler, insignificant ruler": /nojon/ "prince"; /xynser/ "insignificant person": /xyn/ "person"; /zeenser/ "great-grandson (descending from the daughter)": /zee/ "nephew" (son of the sister).

e. /-xai/[3]: /šubuuxai/ "little bird, birdie": /šubuun/ (2) "bird"; /dyyxei/ "girl, girlie, little sister": /dyy/ "younger sibling."

f. /-xan/[3]: /šubuuxan/ "little bird, birdie": /šubuun/ (2) "bird"; /gerxen/ "little house": /ger/ "house."

2. Nouns of occupation and indications of social groups.

a. /-sa/[3]: /xarsa/ "commoner, ordinary person": /xara/ "black"

b. /-šan/ (2): /aduušan/ (2) "horse groom": /aduun/ (2) "horses, herd of horses"; /tarʹaašan/ (2) "peasant": /tarʹaan/ (2) (2) "crops"; /xonišon/ (2) "shepherd": /xonin/ (2) "sheep."

c. /-uušan/ (2)[2]: /anguušan/ (2) "hunter": /ang/ "game, wild animal"; /xobuušan/ (2) "calumniator": /xob/ "calumny."

d. /-hag/[3]: /saihag/ "lover of tea": /sai/ "tea"; /xadamhag/ "a person fond of visiting his in-laws": /xadam/ "the in-laws."

3. Collectives.

a. /-aaling/[4]: /xudaaling/ "parents of the husband and wife in their mutual relation": /xuda/ "the father of the husband in his relation to the parents of the bride"; /bazaalinguud/ (pl. with /-uud/) "husbands of two sisters": /baza/ "husband of the sister of a woman."

b. /-aarxin/[4]: /brigaadaarxin/ "members of a brigade": /brigaada/ "brigade" < Russ. brigada; /seregeerxin/ "soldiery": /sereg/ "soldier."

c. /-mad/[3]: /axamad/ "the superiors, seniors, authorities": /axa/ "elder brother, elder, senior."

d. /-šuul/[2] or /-šuud/[2]: /bajašuul/ or /bajašuud/

"class of rich people": /bajan/ "rich"; /ybegešyyl/ or /ybegešyyd/ "old people": /ybegen/ (2) "old man."

e. /-tan/[3]: /sasuutan/ "people of the same age": /sasuu/ "equal"; /asa turuutan/ "cloven-footed animals": /asa/ "bifurcate" + /turuun/ (2) "hoof."

4. Feminines.

a. /-gii/: /::udagii/ "the mother of the husband in her relation to the parents of the bride": /xuda/ "the father of the husband in relation to the parents of the bride."

b. /-gšan/ (2)[3]: /xaragšan/ (2) "black female animal": /xara/ "black"; /ylegšen/ (2) "grey female animal, female animal in general, bitch": /yle/ "grey"

c. /-žan/ (2)[3]: /gunžan/ (2) "three-year-old female animal": /gunan/ "three-year-old male animal."

5. Names of plants and animals.

a. /-gana/[3]: /ulaagana/ "red currant": /ulaan/ "red"; /xulagana/ "mouse": /xula/ "brownish grey."

b. /-lzai/[3]: /ulaalzai/ "the flower of the red lily": /ulaan/ "red"

6. Names of cases and covers:

/-bša/[3]: /dalabša/ "pelerine": /dala/ "scapula"; /xoolobšo/ "collar": /xooloi/ "throat"; /šexebše/ "covers for the ears": /šexen/ (2) "ears."

4.12. Nouns from Pronouns.

These are possessives formed from the pure-relational forms in /-ii/ and /-ai/[3]:

/-xi/ (cf. 4.22.): /miñiixi/ "mine": /miñii/ "of me"; /manaixi/ "ours": /manai/ "of us"; /tedeneixi/ "theirs": /tedenei/ "of them."

4.13. Nouns from Verbs.

There are the following types of suffixes: those denoting the actor; the instrument or tool with which the action is performed; the place of action; the act; and the object and result of the action.

1. Suffixes of the actor.

a. /-aaxai/[4]: /angaaxai/ "a young bird which is still fed by its parents": /anga-/ "to open the mouth"; /degdeexei/ "a young bird which can already fly": /degde-/ "to rise"; /xalaaxai/ "nettle": /xala-/ "to burn."

b. /-ran/[3]: /zairan/ "loiterer, roamer": /zai-/ "to loiter, roam"; /guiran/ "beggar": /gui-/ "to beg"; /eńeeren/ "a person who always laughs": /eńee-/ "to laugh."

c. /-uul/[4]: /xaruul/ "sentry, watchman": /xara-/ "to look"; /tagnuul/ "spy": /tagna-/ "to spy, to reconnoitre"; /tonšuul/ "wood-pecker": /tonšo-/ "to peck, to knock."

2. Suffixes of the instrument:

a. /-aari/[4]: /taglaari/ "stopper, cork": /tagla-/ "to stop"; /ydɸɸri/ "leather strap": /yde-/ "to tie."

b. /-uur/[2]: /xaduur/ "sickle": /xada-/ "to mow, to harvest"; /gešxyyr/ "stairs": /gešxe-/ "to step"; /udxuur/ "ladle": /udxa-/ "to ladle."

3. Suffixes of the place of action:

/-uuri/[2]: /agnuuri/ "hunting grounds": /agna-/ "to hunt"; /ezelyyri/ "possession, realm": /ezel-/ "to possess, to rule."

4. Suffixes of the act:

a. /-aal/[4]: /hurgaal/ "teaching, instruction": /hurga-/ "to teach"; /magtaal/ "praising, praise": /magta-/ "to praise."

b. /-aan/ (2)[4]: /barildaan/ (2) "wrestling": /barilda-/ "to wrestle"; /suglaan/ (2) "gathering, assembly": /sugla-/ "to assemble"; /alaldaan/ (2) "fight": /alalda-/ "to kill each other."

c. /-dal/[3]: /jabadal/ "walk, gait, manner of acting, action": /jaba-/ "to walk"; /gyidel/ "the act of running": /gyi-/ "to run"; /baidal/ "state, manner of being, living, life": /bai-/ "to stand, to be."

d. /-dan/ (2)[3]: /xańaadan/ (2) "cough": /xańaa-/ "to cough"; /eńeeden/ (2) "laughter": /eńee/ "to laugh."

e. /-l/: /yxel/ "death": /yxe-/ "to die"; /myrgel/ "the act of bowing, praying, worship": /myrge-/ "to bow, to worship"; /zahal/ "repair": /zaha-/ "to repair"; /seseglel/

"the act of blooming, blossom": /sesegle-/ "to bloom"; /temesel/ "struggle": /temese-/ "to struggle"; /uradxal/ "the act of streaming, current": /uradxa-/ "to make flow."

f. /-lang/[3]: /žargalang/ "happiness": /žarga-/ "to be happy"; /zobolong/ "suffering": /zobo-/ "to suffer"; /xadxalang/ "satisfaction, act of being satisfied": /sadxa-/ "to satisfy, to satiate."

g. /-lga/[3]: /unšalga/ "the reading": /unša-/ "to read"; /beledxelge/ "preparation": /beledxe-/ "to prepare"; /taxalalga/ "the shoeing of horses": /taxala-/ "to shoe."

h. /-lta/[3]: /bailta/ "the standing": /bai-/ "to stand"; /hungalta/ "election": /hunga-/ "to elect"; /dyyrgelte/ "completion, fulfilment"; /dyyrge-/ "to complete."

i. /-mža/[3]: /xaramža/ "circumspection, caution": /xara-/ "to look"; /yzemže/ "observation, scrutiny": /yze-/ "to see."

5. Suffixes of the object of action and result of action.

It is not always possible to draw a clear line between the meanings of such words and to decide whether a word falls under the category of objects worked on or objects resulting from actions.

a. /-aa/[4]: /halaa/ "branch, bough": /hala-/ "to separate"; /baglaa/ "bunch, package": /bagla-/ "to bind, to pack."

b. /-aarga/[4]: /uglaarga/ "the upper part of mittens": /ugla-/ "to put on"; /demžeerge/ "help, assistance": /demže-/ "to aid, to help."

c. /-aadahan/ (2)[4] or /-aahan/ (2)[4]: /xadaahan/ (2) "nail": /xada-/ "to drive into"; /xalaahan/ (2) "patch": /xala-/ "to patch up"; /sabšadahan/ (2) "chip": /sabša-/ "to chop"; /tunaadahan/ (2) "residue": /tuna-/ "to settle down, to become clear."

d. /-bar/[3] or /-bari/[3]: /daalgabari/ "task": /daalga-/ "to commission, to charge with"; /hiilberi/ "carving, ornament": /hiil-/ "to carve"; /teeberi/ "load": /tee-/ "to load."

e. /-dahan(2)[3]: /butardahan/ (2) "fragment": /butar-/

"to break"; /xibedehen/ (2) "cud of a ruminant animal": /xibe-/ "to ruminate."

f. /-g/: /bešeg/ "writing, letter": /beše-/ "to write"; /zurag/ "drawing, picture": /zura-/ "to draw"; /tyšeg/ "support": /tyše-/ "to support."

g. /-han/ (2)[3]: /ńolbohon/ (2) "spittle, tear": /ńolbo-/ "to spit"; /xɸɸhen/ "foam": /xɸɸ-/ "to swell."

h. /-li/: /haali/ "amount of milk yielded by a cow": /haa-/ "to milk"; /urgali/ "harvest, crops": /urga-/ "to grow"; /sasali/ "libation, milk or tea offered to gods": /sasa-/ "to strew, to sprinkle."

i. /-m/: /alxam/ "step": /alxa-/ "to step, to pace"; /toxom/ "saddle cloth": /toxo-/ "to saddle"; /zyhem/ "slice": /zyhe-/ "to slice, to cut in pieces."

k. /-mag/[3]: /xuurmag/ "lie, deception, fraud": /xuur-/ "to deceive, to lie"; /eedemeg/ "sour milk": /eede-/ "to become sour, to ferment."

l. /-mta/[3]: /daramta/ "burden": /dara-/ "to press, to oppress"; /barimta/ "proof, argument": /bari-/ "to seize, to hold."

m. /-r/: /ešer/ "shame": /eše-/ "to be ashamed"; /xabdar/ "swelling": /xabda-/ "to swell, to be swollen."

n. /-ri/: /zɸɸri/ "property": /zɸɸ-/ "to transport"; /nemeri/ "addition, increase": /neme-/ "to add."

o. /-sa/[3]: /urgasa/ "harvest": /urga-/ "to grow"; /xoliso/ "mixture": /xoli-/ "to mix"; /barisa/ "offering": /bari-/ "to offer."

p. /-ša/[3]: /bulaša/ "grave, grave mound": /bula-/ "to interr, to bury"; /zuuša/ "snack": /zuu-/ "to bite"; /ediše/ "food": /edi-/ "to eat."

q. /-za/[3]: /garza/ "expense, expenditure": /gar-/ "to go out"; /olzo/ "booty, acquisition, profit": /ol-/ "to find."

4.14. Compound nouns.

Compound nouns are formed in the following manner:

1. By coordinate composition, the first member appearing

in the form of the oblique stem if the word in question has two stems: /axa-dyy/ "brothers"; /aduu-mal/ "live stock": /aduun/ (2) "horses, horse herd"; /ger-ail/ "village"; /ger-baraa/ "real estate"; /ybehe-nogoon/ "grass, herbs": /ybehen/ (2) "grass, hay."

2. By subordinate composition:

a. Objective compounds in which the first member has the meaning of a direct object and appears in the form of the oblique stem: /taŕaa-xuraalga/ "harvest": /taŕaan/ (2) "crops" + /xuŕaalga/ "collection, the act of collecting."

b. Attribute compounds in which the first member is an attribute of the second and appears in the form of the nominative stem: /yxer-šuluun/ (2) "boulder": /yxer/ "ox" + /šuluun/ (2) "stone"; /morin-xaraasgai/ "wagtail" (bird): /morin/ (2) "horse" + /xaraasgai/ "swallow."

4.2. Adjectives.

4.21. Adjectives from nouns and adjectives are formed with suffixes most of which have clearly defined uses. The following distinct groups of adjectives exist: diminutives, possessives ("possessing a quality"), and referentials ("belonging or pertaining to").

1. Diminutives (indicating weak qualities):

a. /-bar/[3]: /ulaabar/ "reddish": /ulaan/ "red"; /nogoobor/ "greenish": /nogoon/ "green."

b. /-btar/[3]: /šarabtar/ "yellowish": /šara/ "yellow"; /xarabtar/ "blackish": /xara/ "black"; /tyxeŕeebter/ "somewhat round": /tyxeŕeen/ "round."

c. /-lbar/[3]: /xyxelber/ "bluish": /xyxe/ "blue."

d. /-lbi/: /xyxelbi/ "bluish."

e. /-lgii/: /xaralgii/ "blackish": /xara/ "black"; /sagaalgii/ "whitish": /sagaan/ "white."

f. /-ltar/[3]: /sagaaltar/ "whitish": /sagaan/ "white."

g. /-hamag/[3]: /zaluuhamag/ "youngish": /zaluu/ "young"; /tenehemeg/ "rather stupid, on the stypid side": /teneg/ "stupid."

h. The suffixes /-dai/[3], /-sar/[3], and /-xan/[3] which form diminutive nouns (4.111.) serve also to form diminutive adjectives: /ulaadai/ "red" (caressive = Russ. krasńeńkiĭ); /sagaadai/ "white" (caressive = Russ. bel'eńkiĭ); /xarasar/ "blackish": /xara/ "black"; /šengexen/ "rather thin": /šengen/ "thin, watery."

2. Possessives ("having or possessing something, possessing a quality characteristic of the object indicated by the noun"):

a. /-bxi/: /uhabxi/ "watery, damp" (tea, country); /modobxi/ "woodlike, ligneous": /modon/ (2) "tree, wood."

b. /-ldar/[3]: /ajaldar/ "kind, friendly": /aja/ "kindness, decency"; /ejelder/ "friendly, peaceful": /eje/ "agreement, concord."

c. /-lag/[3] or /-lig/: /maxalag/ or /maxalig/ "fleshy, meaty": /maxan/ (2) "flesh, meat"; /hyyderlig/ "shady": /hyyder/ "shade, shadow"; /zyrxelig/ "courageous": /zyrxen/ (2) "heart, courage"; /ereleg/ "manly, valiant": /ere/ "man."

d. /-msag/[3]: /jexemseg/ "haughty": /jexe/ "big, great"; /gojomsog/ "dressy": /gojo/ "pretty, handsome."

e. /-rxag/[3] (/-lxag/[3] on stems containing /r/): /uularxag/ "mountainous": /uula/ "mountain"; /šuluurxag/ "stony": /šuluun/ (2) "stone"; /erelxeg/ "manly": /ere/ "man."

f. /-rxuu/[2] (/-lxuu/[2] on stems containing /r/): /xadarxuu/ "mountainous, rocky": /xada/ "rock"; /šuluurxuu/ "stony": /šuluun/ (2) "stone"; /zɸɸrilxyy/ "bragging" (lit. "bragging with his property"): /zɸɸri/ "property."

g. /-ta/[3]: /narata/ "sunny": /naran/ (2) "sun"; /xyndete/ "honorable, esteemed": /xynde/ "esteem"; /argata/ "sly, tricky": /arga/ "means, slyness, trick."

h. /-tai/[3]: /amtatai/ "tasty": /amtan/ (2) "taste"; /moritoi/ "having a horse": /morin/ (2) "horse."

3. Referentials ("pertaining to, belonging to, being in or at"): cf. 4.22.:

a. /-da/[3]: /amida/ "live": /amin/ (2) "life."

b. /-xi/: /tyrelxi/ "inborn, innate": /tyrel/ "birth."

4.22. Adjectives from adverbs, postpositions, and pure-relational forms of nouns (cf. 4.21., section 3):

a. /-da/[3]: /gazaada/ "outer": /gazaa/ "outside"; /saada/ "being on that side": /saa/ "further, in that direction."

b. /-xi/: /deerexi/ "upper": /deere/ "on, above"; /endexi/ "being here": /ende/ "here"; /tyryynxi/ "previous": /tyryyn/ "formerly"; /ger sooxi/ "being in the house": /ger/ "house" + /soo/ "within"; /xyneixi/ "belonging to a person or somebody": /xynei/ (cf. 4.12.) "of the person": /xyn/ "person"; /gertexi/ "being in the house": /gerte/ "in the house" (2.151., 3b): /ger/ "house"; /uhandaxi/ "aquatic": /uhanda/ "in the water": /uhan/ (2) "water."

4.23. Adjectives from numerals.

The adjectives formed from numerals are: diminutives (limitatives), distributives and approximatives, possessives, and ordinals.

1. Diminutives ("only so much"): /-xan/[3]: /gurbaxan/ "only three": /gurban/ (2) "three"; /dyšexen/ "only forty": /dyšen/ (2) "forty."

2. Distributives ("each so many") and approximatives ("about so many, approximately so many") are formed with the same suffix. The resulting derivative is a distributive when the number is below ten. It is an approximative when the number in question is ten or more: /-aad/[4]: /gurbaad/ "three each": /gurban/ (2) "three"; /arbaad/ "about ten": /arban/ (2) "ten"; /xoʃood/ "about twenty": /xorin/ (2) "twenty"; /dyšɸɸd/ "about forty": /dyšen/ (2) "forty."

3. Possessives ("of the age of"): /-tai/[3]: /gurbatai/ "three years old": /gurban/ (2) "three"; /arban zurgaatai/ "sixteen years old": /arban zurgaan/ (2) "sixteen."

4. Ordinals:

a. /-daxi/[3] (which?): /gurbadaxi/ "third": /gurban/ "three"; /xorin tabadaxi/ "twenty-fifth": /xorin taban/ (2) "twenty-five."

b. /-dugaar/[2] (borrowing from Written Mongolian, now obsolescent) ("which?"): /gurbadugaar/ "third": /gurban/ (2) "three."

c. /-dagša/[3] ("which of a particular number of objects?," e. g., "the third of or among twenty objects"): /negedegše/ "the first among the given number of objects": /negen/ (2) "one"; /xojordogšo/ "the second among a given number of objects": /xojor/ "two."

4.24. Adjectives from verbs.

1. /-gai/[3] from verbs ending in /-ai-/[3]: /xazagai/ "wry, oblique": /xazai-/ "to be wry."

2. /-gar/[3] from verbs ending in /-ai-/[3] and /-ii-/: /xabtagar/ "flat": /xabtai-/ "to flatten"; /šagnagar/ "snubnosed": /šagnai-/ "to be snubnosed"; /terxeger/ "pot-bellied": /terxii-/ "to protrude."

3. /-ltai/[3]: /gaixaltai/ "admirable": /gaixa-/ "to admire": /saišaaltai/ "laudable": /saišaa-/ "to praise, to laud."

4. /-ma/[3]: /gaixama/ "admirable, astonishing": /gaixa-/ "to admire"; /šabardama/ "such on which one may get stuck" (e. g., muddy road): /šabarda-/ "to get stuck"; /doholgomo/ "exciting, tremendous": /doholgo-/ "to make tremble."

5. /-maar/[4]: /alamaar/ "possible to kill, killable": /ala-/ "to kill"; /edegeemer/ "curable": /edegee-/ "to cure"; /yxemɸɸr/ "deadly, lethal": /yxe-/ "to die."

6. /-mal/[3]: /barlamal/ "xylographic": /barla-/ "to print"; /zuramal/ "painted": /zura-/ "to draw, to paint"; /hiilemel/ "carved": /hiile-/ "to carve."

7. /-mgai/[3] or /-mxai/[3]: /martamxai/ "forgetful": /marta-/ "to forget"; /edimxei/ "voracious, gluttonous": /edi-/ "to eat."

8. /-msar/[3] or /-mtar/[3] with the negative particle /-gyi/: /hanamsargyi/ "thoughtless": /hana-/ "to think"; /oilgomtorgyi/ "inconsiderate": /oilgo-/ "to understand."

9. /-mšag/[3] often with the following /-tai/[3] (4.21., 2h): /gaixamšag/ or /gaixamšagtai/ "astonishing, admirable": /gaixa-/ "to admire"; /aimšagtai/ "frightening, horrible": /ai-/ "to be afraid."

10. /-n/: /šengen/ "liquid, fluid": /šenge-/ "to be imbibed, to be absorbed"; /doxolon/ "lame, limping": /doxol(o)-/ "to be lame, to limp."

11. /-ngi/ or /-ngir/: /seseglengi/ "blossoming, flourishing": /sesegle-/ "to blossom"; /xatangi/ "dry, emaciated": /xata-/ "to dry up, to become lean"; /ńaaldangir/ "sticky": /ńaalda-/ "to stick to."

12. /-ngii/: /delgerengii/ "widely spread out, unfolded": /delgere-/ "to spread out, to unfold"; /naidangii/ "reliable": /naida-/ "to rely"; /xuŕaangii/ "brief, abbreviated": /xuŕaa-/ "to collect, to contract."

13. /-ntuu/[2] or /-mtuu/[2]: /jaarantuu/ "hurried, speedy": /jaara-/ "to hurry"; /sošomtuu/ "timid, easily frightened": /sošo-/ "to startle."

14. /-ša/[3] + negative particle /-gyi/: /dabašagyi/ "insurmountable, impassable": /daba-/ "to pass, to go over a mountain"; /uušagyi/ "not drinkable": /uu-/ "to drink."

15. /-uu/[2]: /hogtuu/ "drunk, intoxicated": /hogto-/ "to become drunk"; /xaruu/ "miserly, parsimonious": /xara-/ "to look"; /šamduu/ "speedy, urgent": /šamda-/ "to hurry up."

16. /-uuxai/[2]: /xotiruuxai/ "wry": /xotir-/ "to bend"; /holžoruuxai/ "slippery": /holžor-/ "to slip, to glide."

4.25. Compound adjectives.

There are the following types:

1. Coordinate compounds: /aguu-jexe/ "enormous, gigantic": /aguu/ "vast" + /jexe/ "big"; /hain-haixan/ "beautiful": /hain/ + /haixan/ (diminutive-caressive) "good"; /xyri-ulaan/ "dark red": /xyrin/ (2) "dark" + /ulaan/ "red"; /šar-ulaan/ "orange colored": /šara/ "yellow" + "red."

2. Subordinate compounds:

a. Adjective + possessive adjective in /-ta/[3] or /-tai/[3] (4.21., 2h and i): /šara-narata daida/ "the yellow-sunny country" (i.e., a country with yellow-golden sun); /ulaan-tugta/ "red-flagged": /ulaan/ "red" + /tugta/ "having a flag"; /ulaan-šaraitai/ "red-faced."

b. Nominative stem of a noun + possessive adjective in /-ta/[3] or /-tai/[3]: /morin-želtei/ "born in the horse-year" (lit. "having horse-year").

c. Oblique stem of a noun + adjective (such a combination indicating a comparison): /šuha-ulaan/ "blood-red" (i.e., "as red as blood"): /šuhan/ (2) "blood" + /ulaan/ "red"; /saha-sagaan/ "snow-white": /sahan/(2) "snow" + /sagaan/ "white."

d. Oblique stem of a noun + possessive adjective in /-tai/[3]: /mori-haitai/ "horse-good" (i.e., "good with regard to horses" = "having good horses"): /morin/ (2) "horse" + /haitai/: /hain/ "good"; /eryyl-muutai/ "having poor health": /eryyl/ "health" + /muutai/: /muu/ "bad."

e. Numeral (or any quantitative) + possessive adjective in /-ta/[3] or /-tai/[3]: /dyrben-xylte/ "four-legged": /dyrben/ "four" + /xylte/ "legged, having feet, having legs"; /arban-želtei/ "ten year old": /arban/ "ten"; /olon-xyltei/ "many-legged"; /xedii-xyltei/ "how many legged."

4.3. Verbs.

4.31. Verbs from nouns and adjectives.

1. /-da-/[3]:

a. From nouns (mostly transitive verbs): /argada-/ "to trick, to outsmart": /arga/ "trick, means"; /galda-/ "to burn": /gal/ "fire"; /duuda-/ "to call": /duun/ (2) "voice."

b. From adjectives (intransitive verbs): /bagada-/ "to diminish": /baga/ "small"; /jexede-/ "to increase, to grow big": /jexe/ "big"; /hulada-/ "to become loose, to become weak": /hula/ "loose, weak."

2. /-la-/[3] (/-na-/[3] after stem-final /m/) mostly transitive verbs: /altala-/ "to gild": /altan/(2) "gold"; /emeelle-/ "to saddle": /emeel/ "saddle"; /unagala-/ "to foal": /unagan/ (2) "foal"; /uhala-/ "to water": /uhan/ (2) "water"; /hamna-/ "to comb": /ham/ "comb."

3. /-ra-/[3] (/-la-/[3] on stems which contain /r/) intransitive verbs: /dyliire-/ "to become deaf": /dylii/ "deaf"; /muura-/ "to deteriorate": /muu/ "bad"; /xygšere-/ "to become old": /xygšen/ "old"; /xyxere-/ "to become blue": /xyxe/ "blue"; /šarala-/ "to become yellow": /šara/ "yellow."

4. /-rxa-/[3] (/-lxa-/[3] on stems which contain /r/) mostly

intransitive verbs: /bajarxa-/ "to boast with wealth": /bajan/ "rich"; /alaarxa-/ "to frolic, to be naughty"; /alaa/ "frolicsome, naughty"; /zɸɸrilxe-/ "to boast with property": /zɸɸri/ "property."

5. /-sa-/[3] mostly intransitive verbs:

a. From nouns: /amsa-/ "to taste": /aman/ (2) "mouth"; /myriise-/ "to compete": /myrii/ "competition, bet"; /noirso-/ "to have a nap": /noir/ "sleep."

b. From adjectives: /dulaasa-/ "to become warm": /dulaan/ "warm"; /heŕyyse-/ "to take some fresh air, to freshen oneself up": /heŕyyn/ "cool, fresh."

6. /-ša-/[3] intransitive verbs: /nutagša-/ "to settle down": /nutag/ "homeland, nomad ground"; /aldarša-/ "to become famous": /aldar/ "fame, glory"; /gemše-/ "to repent, to be sorry": /gem/ "evil, damage."

7. /-šaa-/[4] transitive verbs: /haixašaa-/ "to commend, to laud": /haixan/ "pretty"; /zybšɸɸ-/ "to approve": /zyb/ "correct."

8. /-šal-/ mostly transitive verbs: /xybyyšel-/ "to adopt as one's son": /xybyyn/ (2) "son"; /zagahašal-/ "to fish": /zagahan/ (2) "fish"; /bogoolšol-/ "to enslave": /bogool/ "slave."

9. /-ta-/[3] intransitive verbs: /esergente-/ "to be covered with eczema or rash": /esergene/ "eczema, rash"; /buuralta-/ "to become white-haired": /buural/ "white haired."

10. /-ža-/[3] intransitive verbs from nouns; /-žar-/[3] intransitive verbs from adjectives: /bajaža-/ "to become rich": /bajan/ "rich man, rich"; /amarža-/ "to live in peace": /amar/ "peace"; /haižar-/ "to improve": /hain/ "good"; /muužar-/ "to deteriorate": /muu/ "bad."

4.32. Verbs from particles.

4.321. Verbs from adverbial particles.

1. /-la-/[3] transitive verbs: /xaxala-/ "to plough, to split": /xaxa/ "asunder, in two pieces"; /tahala-/ "to tear off": /taha/ "off"; /hugala-/ "to tear out": /huga/ "out."

2. /-ra-/[3] intransitive verbs: /xaxara-/ "to split up"; /tahara-/ "to be torn off, to fall of"; /hugara-/ "to fall out."

4.322. Verbs from onomatopoetic particles, intransitive verbs:

1. /-ja-/[3]: /šuuja-/ "to make noise": /šuu/; /burja-/ "to pant": /bur/.

2. /-šagna-/[3]: /taršagna-/ "to crackle": /tar/; /šaršagna-/ "to rustle": /šar/.

3. /-xar-/[3] or /-xir-/: /xašxar-/ "to shout": /xaš/; /xexer-/ "to belch": /xen/; /barxir-/ "to cry, to yell": /bar/.

4. /-xina-/[3]: /xanxina-/ "to thunder": /xan/; /xunxina-/ "to bounce": /xun/.

4.33. Verbs from verbs.

Of the eleven secondary conjugations only six are productive and can be applied to all verbs: causative, passive, reciprocal, cooperative, perfective, and iterative conjugations. The remaining five include only a few verbs.

4.331. Causative verbs.

The causative suffixes form: transitive verbs from intransitive verbs (e.g., "to bring" from "arrive") and real causative verbs from transitive verbs ("to make kill" from "to kill").

1. /-ga-/[3] on stems with stem-final /l/ or /r/; /-xa-/[3] on stems with stem-final /d/ and on stems formed from adjectives with the suffix /-da-/[3] (4.31., 1b), the latter dropping its final vowel: /hurga-/ "to teach": /hur-/ "to learn"; /xyrge-/ "to deliver, to bring": /xyr-/ "to arrive"; /olgo-/ "to hand out": /ol-/ "to find"; /halga-/ "to separate": /hal-/ "to branch off, to become separated"; /garga-/ "to take out": /gar-/ "to go out"; /sadxa-/ "to satiate": /sad-/ "to be satiated"; /bagadxa-/ "to make small, to diminish": /bagada-/ "to become small"; /jexedxe-/ "to increase": /jexede-/ "to become big."

2. /-gaa-/[4] on a few stems with stem-final single vowel phoneme, and /- aa-/[4] on a few stems with the stem-final /d/ (the suffixes /-gaa-/ and /-xaa-/ being historically combinations of /-ga-/ and /-xa-/ respectively + /-aa-/ (see paragraph 5 of this section): /hungaa-/ "to stretch out": /hun-/ "to extend, to be stretched out"; /bodxoo-/ "to erect": /bod-/ "to stand up."

3. /-uul-/[2] on stems with stem-final single vowel phoneme and, as an exception, on the stem /bai-/ "to stand": /jabuul-/ "to make go, to send": /jaba-/ "to walk, to go"; /oruul-/ "to let in, to bring in": /oro-/ "to go in, to enter"; /untuul-/ "to make sleep": /unta-/ "to sleep"; /edyyl-/ "to feed, to make eat": /edi-/ "to eat"; /xaruul-/ "to show": /xara-/ "to look"; /baiguul-/ "to erect, to build": /bai-/ "to stand."

4. /-lga-/[3] on stems with stem-final geminate vowel phoneme or diphthong: /uulga-/ "to make drink": /uu-/ "to drink"; /huulga-/ "to seat, to make sit, to plant": /huu-/ "to sit down"; /xarailga-/ "to make jump": /xarai-/ "to jump."

5. /-aa-/[4] (little productive) on stems with stem-final single vowel phoneme: /xalaa-/ "to heat, to make warm": /xala-/ "to become warm"; /zoboo-/ "to torment": /zobo-/ "to suffer."

4.332. Passive verbs.

1. /-gda-/[3] on stems with stem-final vowel: /barigda-/ "to be seized, to be taken": /bari-/ "to seize, to take"; /alagda-/ "to be killed": /ala-/ "to kill"; /edigde-/ "to be eaten": /edi-/ "to eat."

2. /-da-/[3] on stems with stem-final /l/: /oldo-/ "to be found": /ol-/ "to find."

3. /-ta-/[3] on stems with stem-final consonants /b, d, g, r/: /abta-/ "to be taken": /ab-/ "to take"; /ygte-/ "to be given": /yg-/ "to give"; /garta-/ "to be exceeded, to be excelled": /gar-/ "to exceed, to excell."

4.333. Medium verbs.

/-ra-/[3]: /ebdere-/ "to break, to go to pieces": /ebde-/ "to break" (tr.); /aldara-/ "to pull oneself loose": /alda-/ "to miss, to lose"; /adxara-/ "to spill out": /adxa-/ "to spill, to shed" (tr.).

4.334. Reciprocal verbs.

/-lda-/[3]: /alalda-/ "to kill each other": /ala-/ "to kill"; /xɵɵrelde-/ "to talk to each other, to converse": /xɵɵre-/ "to talk"; /zolgoldo-/ "to meet each other": /zolgo-/ "to encounter, to meet."

4.335. Cooperative verbs.

/-lsa-/[3]: /edilse-/ "to participate in eating": /edi-/ "to eat"; /huulsa-/ "to sit together with others, to be present at others' sitting"; /orolso-/ "to enter with others": /oro-/ "to enter."

4.336. Perfective verbs.

These conjugations include mostly forms which refer to the past.

1. /-ša-/[3] from intransitive verbs: /jabaša-/ "to be gone": /jaba-/ "to go"; /untaša-/ "to fall asleep": /unta-/ "to sleep."

2. /-šxa-/ from transitive verbs: /alašxa-/ "to kill": /ala-/; /edišxe/ "to eat up": /edi-/ "to eat"; /buudašxa-/ "to shoot to death": /buuda-/ "to shoot."

4.337. Iterative verbs.

/-sagaa-/[4]: /jabasagaa-/ "to walk to and fro": /jaba-/ "to walk"; /xarasagaa-/ "to look frequently": /xara-/ "to look"; /eńeesegee-/ "to laugh frequently."

4.338. Frequentative verbs.

/-l-/: /saxil-/ "to glitter, to lighten (incessantly and frequently)": /saxi-/ "to strike fire"; /duhal-/ "to drip, to trickle": /duha-/ "to drop."

4.339. Verbs of interrupted action.

1. /-bxil-/: /horobxil-/ "to suck from time to time": /horo-/ "to suck"; /anibxil-/ "to close and open the eyes repeatedly": /ani-/ "to close the eyes."

2. /-galza-/[3]: /tatagalza-/ "to jerk, to pull at, to fidget": /tata-/ "to pull"; /xaragalza-/ "to look at from time to time": /xara-/ "to look."

3. /-gana-/[3]: /anigana-/ "to close the eyes frequently."

4. /-lza-/[3]: /naigalza-/ "to swing rhythmically": /naiga-/ "to swing."

4.3310. Diminutive verbs.

/-mta-/[3] or /-nta-/[3]: /jabamta-/ "to walk a little":

/jaba-/ "to walk"; /xatanta-/ "to dry up a little": /xata-/ "to dry up."

4.3311. Caressive verbs.

/-xada-/: /babanaxada-/ "to bleat" (said of a nice little lamb): /babana-/ "to bleat"; /untaxada-/ "to sleep" (said of a little child).

4.34. Compound verbs.

Compound verbs are: 1. adverbial and gerundial compounds, i.e., compounds of a verb preceded by an adverb (or adverbial particle) or a gerund; 2. verbal-noun compounds, i.e., compounds of a verb preceded by a verbal noun.

4.341. Adverbial and gerundial compounds.

4.3411. Adverbial compounds consist of an adverbial particle and a verb: /φφde bolgo-/ "to exult, to praise": /φφde/ "upwards" + /bolgo-/ "to make"; /doro dara-/ "to humiliate": /doro/ "below, underneath" + /dara-/ "to press"; /bisa bari-/ "to break by squeezing": /bisa/ "to pieces"; /buta soxi-/ "to beat to pieces": /buta/ "to pieces"; /huga tata-/ "to pull out": /huga/ "out"; /niza soxi-/ "to beat to pieces": /niza/ "to pieces"; /xaxa tata-/ "to tear asunder": /xaxa/ "asunder."

4.3412. Gerundial compounds consist of a gerund in /-n/, /-ža/[3] or /-aad/[4] and another verb, either an auxiliary verb (/bai-/ "to be," /bol-/ "to become") or a main verb (/jere-/ "to come," /jaba-/ "to go," etc.).

4.34121. Compounds with an auxiliary verb are an integral part of the conjugation of any verb.

1. Compounds of the imperfective gerund in /-ža/[3] with the following /bai-/ act as progressive tenses of the English type "he was reading":

/jabaža bai/ "be walking!"

/jabaža bainab/ "I am walking"

/jabaža baigaab/ "I was walking"

/jabaža baixab/ "I shall be walking"

/jabaža baihan/ "(someone) who was walking"

/jabaža baiža/ "being walking"

/jabaža baitar/ "while being walking"

2. Compounds of the imperfective gerund in /-ža/[3] with the auxiliary verb /bol-/ "to become, to be possible" indicate the feasibility of, or possibility of, an action:

/ediže bolno/ "it is possible to eat"

/ediže boloo/ "it was possible to eat."

3. Compounds of the perfective gerund in /-aad/[4] with the following auxiliary verb /bai-/ "to be" act as perfects and plusquamperfects depending on the form of the auxiliary verb:

/jereed baina/ "he has already come"

/jereed baigaa/ "he had already come."

4.34122. Gerundial compounds with verbs of special action serve to indicate actions expressed in English by verbs with prepositions, such as "to fly in." The gerunds are, in such compounds, either the modal gerund in /-n/ or the imperfective gerund in /-ža/[3]:

/gyin orobo/ "he ran in": /gyin/ "running" + /orobo/ "entered"; /ńiideže jabanaš/ "thou dost fly": /ńiideže/ "flying" + /jabanaš/ "thou goest"; /myĺxiže jeree/ "he crawled at": /myĺxiže/ "crawling" + /jeree/ "he came."

4.342. Verbal-noun compounds.

The verbal-noun compounds are combinations of a verbal noun with another verb following the former. These compounds act as compound tenses.

1. Compounds with /han/ (2.362., 4):

a. /-gša/ (2.346) + /han/: /jabagša-ham/ "I used to go"

b. /-dag/ (2.348) + /han/: /jabadag-ham/ "I used to go"

c. /-aa/ (2.342) + /han/: /jabaa-ham/ "I had gone"

d. /-han/ (2.345) + /han/: /jabahan-ham/ "I went"

e. /-xa/ (2.341) + /han/: /jabaxa-ham/ "I should have gone."

2. Compounds with /belei/ (2.362):

These include only the noun of the future in /-xa/ (2.341): /jerexe-beleit/ "you would come."

3. Compounds with the auxiliary verb /bol-/:

These include only the noun of the future and indicate the beginning of an action: /unšaxa boloo/ "he started reading."

4.4. Adverbs.

4.41. Adverbs from nouns.

1. /-saa/[4] indicating the height reached by someone: /eŕjesee/ "the level of the bank, up to the bank": /eŕje/ "river bank"; /xooloisoo/ "up to the throat": /xooloi/ "throat"; /ybdegsφφ/ "to the knees": /ybdeg/ "knee."

2. /-uur/[2]: /yglφφgyyr/ "in the morning": /yglφφn/ (2) "morning." Cf. 4.441., 4.

4.42. Adverbs from adjectives.

These are adverbs of manner:

1. /-aar/[4] (2.151): /haigaar/ "well": /hain/ (2) "good"; /tyrgeer/ or /tyrgeneer/ "quickly": /tyrgen/ "quick, fast"; /aalaar/ "quietly, slowly": /aalin/ (2) "quiet, slow"; /amžaltataigaar/ "successfully": /amžaltatai/ "successful."

2. /-sa/[3] or /-sar/[3]: /haisa/ or /haisar/ "well, properly": /hain/ (2) "good"; /muusa/ "badly": /muu/ "bad."

3. /-tar/[3] (a rare suffix): /haitar/ "well."

4.43. Adverbs from numerals.

From numerals and some other "numeric" words are formed:

1. Multiplicatives:

a. Zero-suffix on the oblique stem: /gurba/ in /gurba huraa/ "he asked three times (thrice)": /gurban (2) "three."

b. /-ta/[3]: /negete/ "once, one time": /negen/ (2) "one"; /xojorto/ "twice": /xojor/ "two"; /olonto/ "many times": /olon/ (2) "many."

2. Distributives:

/-aadaar/[4] which is a combination of /-aad/[4] of distributive adjectives (4.23, 2) and the pure-relational suffix ("instrumental") /-aar/[4] (2.151): /gurbaadaar/ "by threes."

4.44. Adverbs from adverbs.

4.441. Adverbs of place and time:

1. /-da/[3]: /xezeede/ "sometime, once upon a time, long ago": /xezee/ "when?"; /xediide/ "at what time?": /xedii/ "how much?"; cf. /ende/ "here": /*en-/; /tende/ "there": /*ten-/.

2. /-na/[3] which indicates a place: /saana/ "on that side": /saa/ "thither, on that side"; /xaana/ "where?": /xaa/ "where, whether?."

3. /-ša/[3] which indicates the direction: /saaša/ "in that direction": /saa/ "on that side, in that direction"; /gazaaša/ "out": /gazaa/ "outside, without"; /xoišo/ "backwards, afterwards, after," cf. /xoino/ "behind": /*xoi-/.

4. /-uur/[2] ("along, over" with reference to a motion): /saaguur/ "along that side, over there"; /gazaaguur/ "along the outside, over the outside"; /urduur/ "along the front side": /urda/ "in front, before"; /xoiguur/ "along the back side," cf. /xoišo/ "backwards." Cf. 4.441., 2.

4.443. Indefinite adverbs: are formed from interrogative adverbs by adding the particle /-š/ or /-šje/:

/xaanaš/ "any place, wherever": /xaana/ "where?"; /xezeeš/ "at any time, whenever."

4.45. Compound adverbs.

Compound adverbs are coordinate. There are three main types of coordinate compound adverb: 1. reduplication of the same adverb; 2. compounds of an adverb preceded by another adverb; 3. compounds of an adverb preceded by an emphasizing particle (3.75).

1. Reduplication: /xaa-xaa/ "wherever"; /xezee-xezee/ "whenever"

2. Compounds of an adverb preceded by another adverb: /xaana-jaana/ "no matter where, wherever"; /xaa-jaa/ "here and there, in some places"; /ende-tende/ "here and there."

3. Compounds of an adverb preceded by a particle: /xeb-xezee/ "always, whenever."

5. PHRASE-STRUCTURE

5.0. There are coordinate and contrastive phrases.

5.01. Coordinate phrases.

Coordinate phrases have two or more heads of like function which are either single words, compound words or even phrases: /xoni jamaan/ "sheep (and) goats"; /exe-esegemni axa-dyynerni/ "my parents (and) my brothers."

1. Derivational (plural) suffixes are added to each head: /ybged xygšed/ "old men (and) old women"; /axanar dyyner/ "the elder brothers (and) the younger brothers"; /avtomobiĺnuud avtoobusuud/ "automobiles (and) buses."

2. Concrete-relational (possessive) suffixes are added only to the last head unless each head is a compound noun, in which case the possessive suffix is added to each head: /ger maliiń/ "his house (and) cattle"; /exe-esegemni axa-dyynerni/ "my parents (and) brothers."

3. Pure-relational suffixes are usually added only to the last head, the preceding head (or heads) being oblique stems: /modo šuluugaar/ "with wood (and) stone": /modon/ (2) "wood" and /šuluun/ (2) "stone"; /xoni jamaagaa/ "the sheep (and) the goats of one's own" (dir. obj.): /xonin/ (2) "sheep" and /jamaan/ (2) "goat"; /plyyg śeejelke bornoinuudta (xyllegdehen morid)/ "(horses put) to ploughs, sowing-machines, (and) harrows."

In cases in which the heads are compound nouns, a pure-relational suffix is added to each head: /exe-esegedee axa-dyynertee/ "to the parents (and) brothers of one's own."

In longer enumerations pure-relational suffixes are added to each head, especially in those cases in which the absence of a pure-relational suffix might lead to misunderstandings: /ĺootčiguudai mexaaniguudai radiistnuudai pyĺemootčiguudai bombardiirnuudai (komandanuud)/ "(the crews) of flyers, mechanics, radio-operators, machine-gunners (and) bombers":

/lootčig-uud-ai/: /lootčig/ "flyer," all the remaining heads being morphologically the same forms.

4. Postpositions are added only to the last head: /volooda kaata šiima gurbantai sugta (jereebdi)/ "(we have come) together with Volodia, Katia (and) Seema, the three (of them)."

Coordinate phrases are of two types: without conjunctions and with conjunctions.

5.011. Coordinate phrases without conjunctions: these consist of two or several heads juxtaposed: /(uulicaar) avtomobiilnuud avtoobusuud (gyildene)/ "(along the street) automobiles, buses (run)"; /plyyg šeejelke bornoinuudta (xyllegdehen morid)/ "(horses put) to ploughs, sowing-machines (and) harrows."

5.012. Coordinate phrases with conjunctions are of three types:

1. Phrases consisting of two or several heads, the last of which is preceded by a conjunction (such as /ba/ or /bolon/): /narha xasuuri ulaangir ba bešešje (modiiji)/ "pine trees, spruces, poplars, and even other (trees)" (dir. obj.); /(nege) šono baabgai dorgonuud bolon ynegenyydiiji/ "(one) wolf, a bear, badgers and foxes" (dir. obj.).

2. Phrases consisting of two or several heads with the conjunctional particle /-šje/ added to each head ("as well as . . . and . . . "): /alirhanšje nerhenšje yxer nydenšje/ "(there is) red bilberry as well as blueberry and black currant."

3. Phrases consisting of two or several heads the last of which is followed by a summarizing numeral indicating the total number of the objects in question: /damdin, garma, dolgor gurbantai/ "with Damdin, Garma, (and) Dolgor, the three (of them)."

5.02. Contrastive phrases consist of a head preceded by a constrasing particle (such as /teed/ "but, however," /aad/ "although," /xarin/ "but," /gy ali/ "or"): /baga teed šeneetei/ "small but strong"; /nabtar beše xarin ynder/ "not low but high"; /teaatrta gy ali kinoodo/ "to the theatre or to the movies."

5.1. Nominal phrases.

Nominal phrases have as their head a noun or any other

word which acts as a noun: /eneenei haixańiiń/ "his beauty": /haixan/ "beautiful, pretty."

5.11. Attribute + head.

5.111. Attribute phrase with the attribute in the nominative singular and invariable.

1. A noun or an equivalent phrase:

a. The noun acts as an adjective, i.e., indicates a quality: /daisan etegeed/ "hostile element": /daisan/ (2) "enemy"; /axa beri/ "the elder daughter-in-law": /axa/ "elder brother."

b. The noun indicates a quantity or measure: /nege tagša sai/ "one cup of tea"; /arban xyxyyr arza/ "ten skins of arza (an alcoholic beverage made of fermented milk which is distilled twice); /arba modon gazarhaa/ "from a ten-verst distance": /modon/ (2) "verst, a Russian mile = 3500 English feet."

c. The attribute is a proper name which modifies a noun (mostly titles, names of professions, cities, rivers, etc.): /ĺeenin bagša/ "teacher Lenin"; /baigal dalai/ "Lake Baikal"; /moskvaa goorod/ "the city of Moscow"; /ygedei xaan/ "Emperor Ugedei" (the first successor of Chingis Khan).

The order of a ruler is indicated by a numeral adjective preceding the proper name: /negedexi ṕootor xaan/ "Emperor Peter I" (verbatim: "the first Peter emperor").

d. The attribute is a noun and the head is an indefinite noun: /bygede/ "totality, total number, all"; /byri/ "each": /xyn bygede/ "all people" ("the human total number"); /xyn byri/ "every person" ("human each species").

2. An adjective or any word acting as an adjective, including verbal nouns:

a. An interrogative adjective: /jamar xyn/ "what person."

b. Any adjective or other part of speech acting as an adjective: /hain xyn/ "a good person"; /zeerde morin/ "cream-colored horse"; /tymer xadaahan/ "an iron nail"; /yxehen xyn/ "a dead person"; /yxexe xyn/ "a man who will die" ("a to-die man"); /jaahan xyn/ "what a person?" ("a person who has done what?").

c. A numeral or quantitative expression in which case the head is always singular: /gurban morin/ "three horses"; /olon xyn/ "many persons."

5.112. Attribute phrases with the attribute in the nominative plural.

1. The attribute is a nominative plural of a demonstrative and the head is a plural of a noun (agreement in number): /ede nyxed/ "these comrades"; /tede gernyyd/ "those houses."

2. The attribute is a nominative plural of an adjective and the head is a plural noun. Such cases of agreement in number are, however, rare: /jexenyyd gernyyd/ "big yurts"; /hainuud morid/ "good horses."

3. The attribute is a nominative plural of an adjective and the head is a singular form of a noun. In such phrases the head has the meaning of a plural although the latter is not indicated by the head: /jexenyyd ger/ "big yurts"; /xaranuud morin/ "black horses."

5.113. Possessive phrases.

5.1131. The attribute is a noun (or a substantivized other part of speech) and indicates the possessor. The head is also a noun (or a substantivized other part of speech) and indicates the object possessed. The following types occur:

1. The attribute has one of the pure-relational suffixes: /-iin/, /-ai/[3], /-n/ and indicates the possessor. The head indicates the object possessed. If the head is a noun the latter may or may not have a possessive suffix referring to the person of the attribute (or bringing forth agreement in person between the attribute and head): /sonxiin šelnyyd/ "the window panes" ("the glasses of the window"): /sonxo/ "window" + /-iin/; /yydenei bohogo/ "the threshold of the door": /yyden/ (2) "door" + /-ei/; /dalain eŕje/ "the shore of the sea": /dalai/ "sea" + /-n/; /tere xybyynei ežii-abataiń/ "with the parents of that boy": /xybyynei/ "of the boy": /xybyyn/ "boy" + /-ei/; /ežii- abataiń/ "with his parents": /ežii-aba/ "mother-father" + /-tai/ "with" + /-ń/ "his."

Note: The head may have a possessive suffix of a person other than the person of the attribute. In such cases the

possessive suffix indicates the possessor of the whole, i.e., of what is expressed by the head together with the attribute: /ežiin erxe xybyydnai/ "our beloved sons of the mother": /ežii/ "mother" + /-iin/, /xybyydnai/ "our sons": /xybyyd/ "sons" + /-nai/ "our"; /abiin aidar basagadnai/ "our dear daughters of the father": /aba/ "father" + /-iin/, /basagad/ "daughters" + /-nai/ "our." Such phrases are similar, in meaning, to "our members of Congress" or "our daughters of the Revolution." Cf. also: /gaxain tarxišni/ "thy pig head" (lit. "thy head of a pig"), although the head belongs to a pig, it is thine, because thou has bought it from the butcher.

2. The attribute is of the same type as in the cases discussed under 1., and the head is a substantivized adjective or numeral in which case the head always gets the possessive suffix of the third person: /aradaimni hyrteiń/ "the might of my people": /arad/ "people" + /-ai/ "of" + /-mni/ "my," /hyrtei/ "majestic, mighty" + /-ń/ "his"; /tabanai negeńiiń/ "one of the five" ("of the five their one"): /taban/ "five" + /-ai/ "of," /negen/ "one" + /-iiń/ "his, their."

5.1132. The attribute is a pronoun with one of the pure-relational suffixes /-ii/, /-ai/[3] and the head is a noun (or any part of speech functioning as a noun) with or without (optionally) a possessive suffix of the person of the attribute (i.e., bringing about agreement in person between the head and attribute): /tanai moridtnai/ "your horses"; /manai hurguuli/ "our school."

5.2. Adjectival phrases.

5.21. The head is an adjective and the attribute is an adverb or any other part of speech which is equivalent to an adverb: /maša hain/ "very good"; /tong buruu/ "absolutely wrong."

Special cases are:

1. An adjective (with an optional possessive suffix of the third person) preceded by a noun with one of the pure-relational suffixes: /-iin/, /-ai/[3], /-n/ acts as a superlative: /emšiin xuušańiiń/ "the oldest of the physicians": /emše/ "physician" + /-iin/, /xuušan/ "ancient, old"; /bulganai xara/ "the blackest of the sables": /bulgan/ "sable" + /-ai/ "of," /xara/ "black."

2. An adjective preceded by a noun with the pure-relational

suffix /-haa/[4] (2.151, 5) has the meaning of a comparative: /homonhoo xurdan moritoi/ "with a horse faster than an arrow" ("from an arrow fast horse").

3. An adjective preceded by a noun with other pure-relational suffixes: /ažalda berxe syn/ "a person skillful in work": /ažal/ "work" + /-da/ "at, on, in"; /malaar bajan xyn/ "a person rich in cattle": /mal/ "cattle" + /-aar/ "by means of, with."

5.22. The attribute is a part of speech other than an adjective but used adverbially: /gurban alda uta/ "three fathoms long."

5.23. Verbal complements and gerunds preceding verbal nouns acting as adjectives: /gertee xebtehen xyn/ "a person who was lying at home": /xebte-/ "to lie" + /-hen/; /morijoo asarhan xyn/ "a person who has brought his horse"; /unšaža huuhan xyn/ "a man who was sitting and reading"; /nomoo unšaža huugša xyn/ "the man who sits and reads his book."

Passive phrases with verbal nouns are of two types:

1. The actor is indicated by a noun with the pure-relational suffix /-da/[3] if the verbal noun is a passive verb: /uidxarta daragdahan šarai/ "a face tortured with sadness" (lit. "a face oppressed by sadness").

2. The actor is indicated by a noun with the pure-relational suffix /-iin/, /-ai/[3] or /-n/ if the verbal noun is an active verb: /ežiimnai bešehen bešeg/ "a letter written by our mother" (lit. "our mother's written letter").

5.3. Pronominal phrases.

5.31. Personal pronominal phrase consisting of a personal pronoun + numeral: /bide xojor/ "we two"; /ta xojor/ "you two."

5.32. Appositional phrase consisting of a noun followed by a personal pronoun: /doržo bi/ "I, Doržo"; /dyyšńi bi/ "I, your younger brother"; /axa namaiji/ "me, the elder brother" (dir. obj.).

5.4. Adverbial phrases.

A noun or equivalent phrase with a pure-relational suffix

or postposition (and with or without a possessive suffix) may be used in adverbial function.

In particular, the following types occur:

5.41. Attribute + head.

The attribute may be:

1. An adverb: /byri yni/ "very long ago"; /ulam saaša/ "still further."

2. An adjective or noun used adverbially: /jexe hainaar/ "very well" ("in a big good manner").

3. A pronoun: /manai ende/ "here at us" (lit. "our here, here of us").

5.42. Postpositional phrases.

Postpositional phrases are of the following types:

1. A noun, pronoun, or any substantivized part of speech followed by a postposition: /myngenei tuxai/ "about money"; /tereenei tula/ "because of that"; /xadiin saana/ "behind the mountain"; /mińii dergede/ "by my side"; /nama teeše/ "towards me, in my direction"; /huugšadai naana/ "on this side of those who sit."

2. A noun, pronoun, or any substantivized part of speech followed by a noun acting as a postposition: /mińii xažuuda/ "by my side."

3. An adverb followed by a postposition: /ende xyrter/ "until here"; /mynɸɸ xyrter/ "until now."

5.5. Verbal phrases.

Verbal phrases consist of a verb as a head and one or several complements.

5.51. Equational complements.

1. The equational complement is a noun, pronoun, adjective, or an equaivalent phrase in the nominative with the verbs (/bai-/ "to be," /bol-/ "to become" or the defective verbs /belei/ "was," /hen/ "was" or the predicative words (copulae) /jum/ "is," /geeše/ "is" or their equivalents: /emše baina/ "he is a physician";

/tyryylegše boloo/ "he became a leader"; /ynder baigaa/ "he was high"; /hain jum/ "he is good"; /hain geeše/ "is good"; /ybeštei hen/ "he was ill."

A noun acting as an equational complement agrees with the verb in number: /tede xadaa bagšad bainad/ "they are teachers."

2. The equational complement is a noun or a pronoun in the "possessive," i. e., with the pure-relational suffixes /-iin/, /-ai/[3], /-n/ with the same verbs as above. Such verbal phrases indicate that the subject is possessed or belongs to what is indicated by the equational complement: /tere nom manai baina/ "that book is ours"; /ene doržiin baina/ "this is Doržo's."

5.52. Direct object complement.

The direct object complement consists of a noun, pronoun or any substantivized part of speech (including verbal nouns and clauses with a verbal noun acting as the predicate) which indicates the goal of the action. The complement has either the pure-relational suffix /-iiji/, /-ji/ or the zero-suffix (the latter form = oblique stem).

1. Pronouns, substantivized adjectives, numerals, verbal nouns, and clauses have always the pure-relational suffix /-iiji/ or /-ji/ (according to the rules of their employment, vide 2.151, 4ab) with or without a personal possessive suffix (or the equivalent pure-relational suffix of the reflexive possessive inflection 2.162, 1): /šamaiji yzφφ/ "he saw thee"; /hainíiji šeleže abaab/ "I have selected the good one"; /gurbiiji alaa/ "he killed three"; /gurbuuliiji yzφφ/ "he saw all three of them"; /unšagšiiji xaraagyt/ "did you see the reading one?"; /xaišan geed minii ošohiiji medeebši/ "how did you know that I had gone away?" (lit. "how did you know my having gone away?").

2. Proper nouns (names of people, rivers, cities, etc.) and nouns indicating people (relatives, professionals, etc.) functioning as a direct object complement always appear with the pure-relational suffixes /-iiji/, /-ji/ (according to the rules): /doržiiji duudaagyt/ "did you call Dorži?"; /bi bagšiiji asaraab/ "I have brought the teacher."

3. Other nouns do not always necessaryly get the above mentioned pure-relational suffixes:

a. When the object is definite and the action of the verb affects the object completely, the noun takes the pure-relational suffix: /bi uhiiji uugaab/ "I have drunk the water" (i.e., all the water which had been mentioned before); /modiiji sabšana/ "he cuts the tree" (a particular tree, assuming that it will really be cut down).

b. When the object is indefinite and the action of the verb affects only part of it, the noun appears in the form of the oblique stem: /uha asariit/ "please bring water!"; /modo sabšaa/ "he chopped wood" or "he cut trees"; /mal tuuna/ "he drives cattle."

c. When the word functioning as a direct object complement occupies a position in the clause which clearly indicates that it is a direct object, the noun appears without the pure-relational suffix /-iiji/ or /-ji/. This is the case of the direct object preceding the verb and following the subject: /tere xadaa tymer asaraa/ "he has brought iron"; /bi ger barixab/ "I shall build a house"; /bi tere ger baŕaab/ "I have built that house."

5.53. Adverbial complement.

Any of the following categories of words or phrases may be an adverbial complement: adverb, adverbial particle, adjective acting as an adverb, post-position with a possessive suffix, numeral, noun or pronoun with a pure-relational suffix, noun or pronoun with a postposition, noun in nominative, verbal noun phrase, gerund, gerundial phrase.

1. Adverb: /gente oroo/ "he entered suddenly."

2. Adverbial particle: /huga tataa/ "he pulled (it) out"; /xaxa tahalaa/ "he tore (it) asunder."

3. Adjective with or without a pure-relational suffix: /hain huunad/ "they live (lit. "sit") well"; /hainaar unšaa/ "he read well."

4. Postposition: /deereń tabi/ "put it on the top (of it)."

5. Numeral: /gurba huraa/ "he asked thrice."

6. Noun with a pure-relational suffix other than /-iiji/ or /-ji/ (or /-aa, -jaa/ of the reflexive-possessive inflection): /moŕoor jeree/ "he came by horse"; /uhanda ošoo/ "he went after water"; /bi tere hurguuli jerexe želde dyyrgexeb/ "I shall

finish that school in the next year"; /šene ilaltanuud šene dolǵoor jerebe/ "new victories came in new waves"; /byri xoliin gazarhaa busaža odool jerebe/ "returning from a very distant place he arrived now"; /yxibyyd xadada garaba/ "children climbed on a mountain"; /badma ysegelder gerhee mordoohon/ "Badma left from his home yesterday"; /žamjan gešxyrhee unaba/ "Žamjan fell down from the stairs"; /xara yylenhee boroo duhalba/ "rain fell from the black cloud"; /malaa xoŕoodo xaaba/ "he locked his cattle up in the enclosure"; /ejyyĺiin eẋeer manai časńuud gorodto bairlaxaar ošoohon/ "by the beginning of July our units went to be stationed in the city."

7. Noun in nominative: /tere xadaa xaan huugaa/ "he ascended the throne" (lit. "he sat a khan"); /ta xedii xyn jabaža bainat/ "how many people are you travelling?" (= "as how many people" or "in the number of how many people").

A special case is the nominative of a noun followed by a verb and referring to the direct object complement in such expressions as "he made her his wife": /tedener tereeńiiji tyryylegše hungabad/ "they elected him a leader."

8. Noun with the negative particle /gyi/: /duugyi jaba/ "walk silently!" (lit. "walk without voice!").

9. Noun with postposition: /myngenei tula ažallana/ "he works for money"; /gurban xynei tylөө xydelmerilne/ "he works for three people"; /myĺhen deere myngen šagta/ "on ice (there is) a silver buckle" (riddle: moon); /altan nere zyrxen soohoom garanagyi/ "the golden name does not go out of my heart"; /ydeše boltor namaiji xyĺeegeerei/ "waite for me until the evening!"; /gol teeše ošoo/ "he went in the direction of the river."

10. Pronoun with a pure-relational suffix other than that of the direct object: /ši tereegeer soxi/ "beat with that."

11. Pronoun with a postposition: /mińii tylөө xydelmerilne/ "he works for me."

12. Verbal noun phrase, the verbal noun usually having a possessive suffix (a personal possessive suffix when the actor of the phrase is different from the subject of the main clause; reflexive possessive suffix when the actor of the phrase is also the subject of the main clause): /xešegte xojordoxi homojoo tylxin oruulža baixadaa, baga xyitөөr mihed gene/ "while Xešegte

was pushing in his second cartridge, he smiled a little coolly" (lit. "Xešegte in his own being pushing in his second cartridge, smiled a little coolly"); /nuurta oiro okoop soo ńeḿeciiji geteže huuxadaa nugahan šamai xaraža ńutag oronoo hanadagham/ "while I was ambushing the Germans in my foxhole near the lake, I was looking at you, duck, and thinking of my homeland" (lit. "in my own sitting ambushing in my own fixhole near the lake the Germans, I was looking at you, duck, and thinking of my homeland"); /xažuudań ošožo xaraxadamni ynφφxi anatoo͡lii baiba/ "when I went (there) and looked it was that Anatole"; /šińii zor͡uuta jerehende jexe bajartai bainab/ "I am very glad that you have come specially (for this)" (lit. "I am very glad to thy having come specially"); /serempil saigaa uuža dyyrgexedee exiingee oron deere ošožo xebtešene/ "when Serempil finished drinking tea, he went to his mother's bed and lay down"; /yngeregše želde moskvaa goorod ošoxodoo yzehen xarahanaa bultiijiń hanažal jabana xa/ "I am thinking of everything I saw when I went to Moscow last year."

13. Gerund with or without a negative particle: /unšaža huuna/ "he sits reading"; /yxeterφφ medexegyi/ "he will not know until he dies"; /medengyigeer jabaa/ "he went not knowing."

14. Gerundial phrases, some subordinative gerunds taking possessive suffixes in order to indicate the person of the actor (when the actor is the same as the subject of the main clause the reflexive possessive suffix is taken; when the actor is different from the subject of the main clause, a personal possessive suffix is taken): /halxinšje šuujan xyyježe sahan šuurgan bolobo/ "the wind rustling, a blizzard began"; /ydešiin boro xaraan taharža, ger byxenei sonxoor laampiin gerel xaragdadag bolobo/ "the evening dusk descending, the light of the lamps became visible through the windows of all the house"; /udangyi yglφφnei arban šaas bolož͡o, hyńiin sḿeeniin helgegdexe yje oirtobo/ "being soon ten o'clock of the morning, the time for the change of the night shift approached"; /zunai xaluun naran yndertφφ xyreže, amitan zonoi xydelmeŕiin exilxe sag oirtožo baiba/ "the hot summer sun rising high (lit. "arriving at his height"), the time to start their work was approaching for the people"; /batiin jereter šimni ende xy͡leegeed baigaarai/ "wait here until Bata comes"; /xoton ailhaan garahaar, xoliiji zorižo mordohoor,

olon myšete hyńiiji ogtorgoido yngergen jabanalbi/ "since leaving my home yurt, since going and directing myself towards remote countries, I spent many starry nights in the sky"; /babana ešege belšen jabataraa boroxon šandagantai uulzaba/ "while the kid was grazing it met a little grey hare"; /neree xuxaranxaar jahaa xuxarhan deere/ "it is better to have broken one's own bone than to break one's own name" (i.e., "than to bring disgrace to one's own name").

6. CLAUSE-STRUCTURE

6.0. A clause may consist of one or more words or phrases: /jereeb/ "I have come"; /tere xyn jeree/ "that person has come."

Clauses may be joined to other clauses, thus forming compound sentences.

There are two types of clauses: full and minor.

6.1. Full clauses have as their basic element the predicate. The latter may occur with or without a subject: /jereeb/ "I have come" (without a subject); /tere xyn jeree/ "that person has come" (with a subject).

6.11. The predicate.

The predicate has as its center:

1. A verb or equivalent phrase: /ybehe nogoon xagdaraba/ "the grass has withered"; /mal belšeže baina/ "cattle is grazing."

2. A noun, adjective, pronoun, numeral, verbal noun or adverb:

a. With a copula (complete auxiliary or incomplete, defective verb, or a predicative particle of non-verbal origin): /manai xybyyn bagša boloo/ "our son became a teacher"; /ene nom honirxoltoi baina/ "this book is interesting"; /tyynei bagša tere baina/ "his teacher is he"; /mińii morin xojor baina/ "my horses are two"; /jexe honin jyyme bešehen baigaa/ "something interesting was written"; /tereń ynegen baihan baigaa/ "that had been a fox"; /eneeńiiji haišaadag bolbo/ "he began to approve of it"; /tymer metal myn/ "iron is a metal"; /manai ńutag xolo jym/ "our homeland is far away."

b. With a predicative suffix (zero-suffix in the third person): /bi bagšab/ "I am a teacher"; /ši ybešteiš/ "thou art ill"; /bi alairaib/ "I am from Alar"; /bata — dogtor/ "Bata is a doctor"; /enešni xojor, terešni gurban/ "this of thee is two and that of thee is three"; /naadanai boloxo bolzor nygɸɸder/

"the time of the play will be the day after tomorrow"; /šiń́ii nom ene/ "thy book is this"; /ńydemni xursal, zyrxemni xatuul/ "my eyes are sharp, my heart is firm"; /gurban gurba jyhe/ "three times three is nine"; /bi endeb/ "I am here"; /bide mynφφ urdahaabdi/ "today we are ahead"; /bi jerexeb/ "I shall come"; /manai zorig ilalta/ "our aim is victory"; /baldanai abań́ inžeńeer/ "Baldan's father is an engineer"; /ene bygede bulta manai/ "all this is ours"; /bi bejeereeb/ "I am with my own person."

A predicate is modified as a whole by an adverb: /tere nom maša hain baina/ "that book is very good."

6.12. The subject.

The subject may be a noun, a substantivized adjective, a pronoun, numeral or a verbal noun (even a phrase or clause). The subject is in the nominative, i.e., without any pure-relational suffix (= nominative stem), but it takes a personal possessive suffix (but not the reflexive possessive suffix).

The marks of the subject are: 1. it is a nominative; 2. it is followed by special subject indicators, and 3. in some instances it is followed by a pause.

6.121. Nominative without additional elements:

1. Nouns: /nege ybgen ošobo/ "an old man went"; /eldeb šubuud hyreg hyregφφrφφ jerene/ "various birds come in swarms" (lit. "in swarms-swarms," i.e., "each variety of birds comes in separate swarms"); /naran šarana/ "the sun burns"; /halx́in yĺeene/ "the wind blows"; /duunuud zedelne/ "songs resound"; /sahan sagaan lili baha myngetene/ "the snow-white lily also glimmers silver-like" (/myngetene/ "becomes silver").

2. Pronouns: /tedener xerme agnaxa/ "they will hunt squirrels"; /bide morinoi urildaaji xolohoo xaraža baibabdi/ "we were looking at the horse races from far away"; /ši xoliin xyn bainaš/ "thou art a person from far away"; /tere zunai ten boltor oroidoo sahatai baidag/ "that (i.e., a mountain) has always snow on its top until the middle of the summer"; /bide temsenebdi/ "we struggle"; /bidener ilanabdi/ "we vanquish"; /bide mynφφ urdahaabdi/ "we are now ahead."

6.122. Pause / || /:

In many instances the pause is an indispensable mark of the subject:

1. After a noun which is followed by a noun: /šuluun || modonhoo xatuu/ "stone is harder than wood" (without a pause, i.e., /šuluun modonhoo/ means "than stone wood" or "stone tree"); /temeen || xaraasgaihaa ynder/ "the camel is higher than a swallow" (without a pause and with compound-juncture /temeen-xaraasgaihaa/ means "than the river-swallow": /temeen-xaraasgai/ "camel-swallow," i.e., "river-swallow"); /yxer || xulganaaji alaa/ "the ox killed a mouse" (without the pause and with compound-juncture /yxer-xulganaaji/ means "a rat," the whole clause having the meaning "killed a rat": /yxer-xulganaan/ "rat," lit. "ox-mouse"); /manai xereg || ynente/ "our cause is true"; /manai zorig||ilalta/ "our goal is victory"; /revoĺyyciin zorilgo || yngerhen sagai olzololgohoo xyn zoñiiji sylφφlelge/ "the aim of the revolution is to free the people from the exploitation of past times."

2. After the pronouns /ene/ "he, this" and /tere/ "he, that": /tere || modon terge/"that is a wooden cart" (cf. /tere modon terge/ "that wooden cart"); /ene || minii degel/"this is my coat."

3. After a substantivized adjective: /unaganai xurdan || jyynheeb/ "where does the speed of the foal come from?"; /xynei muu || xy dairaxa/ "the worst of people hurt people"; /tyrgen || tyyxei/ "the fast one is raw"; /udaan || daamai/ "the slow one is resistant"; /xormoin uta || xyl oroixo/ "the (excessive) length of the skirt tangles the feet" (cf. /uta xyl/ "long feet"); /ulaan || šara beše/ "red is not yellow" (cf. /ulaan-šara beše/ "not red-yellow").

4. After a numeral: /taban taba || xorin taba/ "five times five is twenty-five"; /gurban doloo || xorin nege/ "three times seven is twenty-one."

5. After a verbal noun: /hurahan || dalai, huraagyi || balai/ "a learned one is a sea (of wisdom), one who has not learned is ignorant"; /huraxa huraxa ba yšφφ daxin huraxa || bidenei gol zorilgo/ "to study, to study and still more to study is our main aim."

6.123. Personal possessive suffixes:

All parts of speech functioning as subject may take a personal possessive suffix. No additional subject marks such as particles given in 6.124 may be joined to a word provided with

a personal possessive suffix. The pause, although present, is less significant as in instances enumerated under 6.122.: /modońiiń terge xexede xeregtei/ "wood is necessary for making carts"; /ene morińiiń manai/ "this horse is ours"; /ošoxo xargiiń sexexen/ "the leaving road is straight"; /baldanai abań inžeńeer/ "Baldan's father is an engineer"; /enešni mińii degel/ "this of thine (i. e., the object which thou meanest) is my coat"; /bitnai nomuudiiji unšadagbi/ "I of yours always read books"; /teremnai exeheen tyremsɸɸrɸɸ šašxaba/ "that of ours cried the moment he was born from his mother"; /doloońiiń naaša jerebe/ "seven of them came in this direction"; /xojoriiń daxatai, xojoriiń daxagyi/ "two of them have coats, two of them have no coats" (riddle: the ears and horns of a cow); /tabadaxiń manai endexi xyn baigaa/ "the fifth of them was our local person"; /gurbańiiń burkatai, negeńiiń saldaatska šeńeeĺ ymdenxei/ "three of them had burka-coats (= Caucasian top coat without sleeves), one of them had put on a soldier's coat"; /baigaašań manai brigaďiir/ "the one who stands is our brigadeer" (i. e., the head of a team of workers); /saašaa ošogšoń anguušan baigaa/ "the one going in that direction was a hunter"; /urda jabagšań mińii tanil myn/ "the one walking in front is my acquaintance"; /jabahańiiń jaha mylžexe, xebteheńiiń xeeli aldaxa/ "the one who went will munch a bone, the one who lay down will lose weight" (lit. "will lose the belly"; a saying = an industrious person will have food, a lazy person will starve).

6.124. Subject indicators.

Any of the parts of speech mentioned (6.12.) may be followed by certain words which emphasize the subject. Such words are /bolbol/, /xadaa/ or /geeše/ with a pause following: /moskvaa bolbol || stoĺiica myn/ "Moscow is the capital"; /modon bolbol || ger barixada xeregtei/ "wood is necessary for building houses"; /ńamńaa bolbol || jyriin seseg myn/ "dandelion is a common flower"; /nugahan xadaa || uhanai šubuun myn/ "the duck is a water bird"; /tere xadaa || modon/ "that is a tree"; /taban xojor xadaa || arba/ "five times two is ten"; /jabagaar jabaxa geeše || bahal hurgaalai xereg bšuu/ "walking on foot is also a question of practice"; /ši xadaa || xoliin xyn bainaš/ "thou art a person from far away"; /ai geeše || ńeždeńeeti jym/ "Ai is an interjection"; /nom unšaxa geeše || erdem

beligee debžyylxe jabadalai tylx́yyr jym/ "reading books is the key to the act of raising one's own education."

6.13. Agreement between the subject and predicate.

1. Agreement is required: in actor-action clauses both agreement in person and number (the third person of the singular having the zero-ending and the third person of the plural having the optional ending /-d/): /bi jereeb/ "I came"; /ši saigaa uuxagyigyš/ "wilt thou not drink thy tea?"; /bide jerexebdi/ "we shall come"; /tede jerebed/ or /tede jerebe/ "they came."

When the subjects are different persons, e.g., "I and thou," the following takes place:

a. The presence of a first person pronoun makes the subject phrase a plural first-person phrase: /bi ši xojor margaaša jerexebdi/ "I and thou shall come (plural first person) tomorrow."

b. A subject phrase containing the second person pronoun and the third person pronoun or a substantive makes the subject phrase function as a plural second person phrase: /ši tere xyn xojor tende xezee jabaxabta/ "when will you go there, thou and that person?"

2. In equational clauses there is agreement in person and number: the head agrees in person and number with the subject; a noun functioning as predicate takes the predicative suffix of the person of the subject: /bi bagša boloob/ "I became a teacher"; /bide bagšabdi/ "we are teachers."

3. Agreement in case is not required as a general rule.

a. Both the subject and predicate are "nominative" when the predicate indicates a thing with which the subject is identified (e.g., "Doržo is a teacher") or a quality expressed by an adjective ("this book is good"): /axaiń || inžeńeer/ "his elder brother is an engineer"; /ńamńaa bolbol || jyriin seseg myn/ "dandelion is a common flower"; /ene morińiiń hain/ "this horse is good."

b. The predicate may take any pure-relational suffix when it is to express relations other than simple identity of the type "John is a student" or "this student is good": /ene morin || manai/ "this horse is ours"; /tere ger xadaa || manai bagšiin myn/ "that house is our teacher's"; /xydehe ojoxo hanaanai/

"seeing a tobacco-pouch is voluntary" (lit. "is of desire"); /mori unaxa || duraar/ "riding a horse is voluntary" (i.e., "is by means of will"); /bi || alairhaab/ "I am from Alar"; /bide mynφφ urdahaabdi/ "we are now ahead" (lit. "are from the front side").

6.131. Compound subjects of the third person.

Compound subjects including two or more proper names act as a plural with regard to the noun functioning as an equational complement in such instances as "X and Y are teachers." In such instances the equational complement is a plural: /doržo gombo xojor || bagšad/ "Doržo and Gombo are teachers"; /žargal || žalsan ba || žab bolbol || manai klassai erxim huragšad/ "Žargal, Žalsan, and Žab are the best students of our grade."

6.2. Types of intonation and clause structure.

There are three main types of clause intonation according to which clauses may be classified.

6.21. Declarative clauses.

The declarative clauses have falling intonation.

1. Falling: the pitch is higher at the beginning of the clause and falls, on the stressed syllables of successive phrases, to a lower point on the stressed syllable of the last phrase. This type of intonation indicates that the clause is the last in the sentence /./: - - - - : /tafaa xadalganda taban yder xeregtei/ "harvesting requires five days" (lit. "for the mowing of the crops five days are necessary").

2. Falling-level: the pitch is higher at the beginning of the clause and falls and then remains level. This type indicates that a further clause is to follow in the sentence /,/: - - - - - : /soxilgondo nege yder xeregtei/ "thrashing requires one day" (lit. "for beating one day is necessary").

6.211. The normal order is: subject + predicate: /naranai tujaa xaranxii oi-taigiiji nebte gereltyylne/ "the beams of the sun illuminate the dark forest through and through."

In modern poetry, under Russian influence, the order may be reversed: /bexižeg debžeg soveet/ "may the Soviet grow

strong and rise!" In such instances the elements at the beginning are felt to be emphasized.

6.212. In negative clauses the predicate has a negative particle: /bagša jereegyi/ "the teacher did not come"; /tereš eneegyyr jabagšagyi daa/ "but he usually does not walk here"; /ene morin xara beše/ "this horse is not black."

6.22. Interrogative clauses.

There are two types of interrogative clauses.

1. Rising intonation: in clauses in which the predicate is questioned (e.g., "did he come?," "is it good?") the latter takes one of the interrogative particles /gy/, /xajaa/, /altai/, /aal/, /bii/. In such clauses the pitch is high on the last stressed syllable of the clause: - ¯ : /ta jerexegyt/ "will you come?." The order of words in such clauses is the same as in declarative clauses. Such clauses never contain any interrogative words such as /xen/ "who?," /xaana/ "where?," /xezee/ "when?," etc.

a. Particle /gy/ (simple question): /ta mynɸɸder jereegyt/ "did you come today?"; /doržo hurguulihaan jereegy/ "did Doržo come from school?"; /taanar dyyrgeegyt/ "did you finish?."

b. Particles /xajaa/ or /altai/ (question with a shade of expectation that the answer will be positive): /doržo ošoo xajaa/ "Doržo is probably gone?"; /abamnai jeree altai/ "our father must have come?."

c. Particle /aal/ (question with a shade of disbelief in the possibility of a positive answer): /ši moŕoo baŕaa alši/ "didst thou really catch thy horse?."

d. Particle /bii/ (question with a shade of mistrust): /teden jeree bii/ "did they come for sure?."

2. Rising-falling intonation. In clauses which contain an interrogative word such as /xen/ "who?," /jamar/ "what kind of?," /xaana/ "where?," /xaiša/ "where to?," /xezee/ "when?," etc., the predicate takes the interrogative particle /-b/ (after a final vowel) or /-be/ (after a final consonant). In such clauses the pitch is high on the stressed syllable of the interrogative word and falls then towards the predicate: ¯ - : /ši xezee jereebši/ "when didst thou come?"; /xen jereeb/ "who has

come?"; /ta xezee jabaxabta/ "when will you go?"; /ene xenei nombe/ "whose book is this?"; /tanai ažal xediidexi šaasta exildegbe/ "at what hour does your work usually begin?"

6.23. Exclamatory clauses.

In exclamatory clauses the pitch remains level on all stressed syllables and the stress is stronger than usual /!/ : - - /manaida jereerei/ "come to us!" This type occurs in imperative sentences expressing surprise, indignation or anger: /jere naaša/ "come here!"; /by jabagtii/ "do not go!"; /jaahan mexetei xymta/ "what a sly person you are!"

6.3. Minor clauses.

These are what are often called incomplete clauses. They are fragments of clauses and occur in dialogue: /oilgono. xuu oilgožo bainab. xudalaar!/ "Understand, I understand everything." — "Lie!"; /neere daa/ "indeed!"; /jerexegyš? ygii/ "wilt thou come?" — "no!"; /xermen xaana bairaladag jymbe? oi soo.? "where do the squirrels live?" — "In the forest."

6.4. Combination of clauses.

There are two types of combination of clauses: coordination and subordination.

6.41. Coordinate clauses.

Coordination of clauses is of two types: with conjunctions and without conjunctions.

6.411. Coordinate clauses with conjunctions or equivalent phrases.

The conjunctions used to coordinate clauses are: /ba/ "and"; /ali/ "or"; /ťeed/ "but"; /xarin/ "however, but"; /zygφφr/ "however, but"; and equivalent phrases.

1. Conjunction /ba/ "and":

This conjunction is a borrowing from Written Mongolian and is rarely used. The predicate of the last clause is a finite verb, the predicates of the preceding clauses being gerunds in /-ža/[3] (2.352): /doržo unšaža bešeže ba zuraža baigaahan/ "Doržo was reading, writing, and drawing."

2. Conjunction /ali/ "or."

The predicates of the coordinate sentences are finite verbs or nouns: /aba jabaagy ali ygiigy/ "did father go or did he not?"; /mergen zargašiin mexe moxobogy ali medelte tylgešiin tylge tɵɵribegy/ "did the slyness of the wise judge get blunt or did the dice of the fortune teller endowed with knowledge get astray?"; /ši jyynde ene yxehen mogoi ybertɵɵ xee xyn geešebši, ali olzošni bagadaba geešegy/ "why didst thou put this dead snake in thy breastpocket or has thy booty decreased?" (lit. "why art thou a person putting a dead snake in thy breast pocket or has thy booty become small?"); /tere haingy ali muugy/ "is it good or bad?."

3. Conjunction /ťeed/: /hoxor xybyynei ńuur ažaglan xaraža orobob, ťeed ńydegyi ńuur deere juu unšaža oilgoxobši/ "I began to study the face of the blind boy, but what wilt thou read on an eyeless face?"; /bide tende erteer xyrɵɵhemdi, ťeed tedener yšɵɵ jereegyi baigaahan/ "we arrived there on time but they had not yet come"; /nuurhaa tomošog surxai baŕaahamdi, ťeed tereenee nyxerni hɵɵrgeń aldažarx̌oohon/ "we caught from the lake a rather big pike but my friend let it go again."

4. Conjunction /xarin/ "but, however": /eneen tuxaida tere darii xelsexejee bi martahan baigaab, xarin xonog yngerhen xoino tyĺeenei zabharhaa tere xorisagaajiń v̌iigtor oložo ygebe/ "I had forgotten to tell about it immediately, but Victor found that twenty-copeck piece in the fire logs (lit. "from the spaces between the fire logs") one day later"; /oi soo nomgon baina, xarin dyyb modod nege jymen tuxai xɵɵreldɵɵ šebeneldene/ "it is quiet in the forest, however the oak trees converse in a whisper about something"; /xaišan geže ɵɵriingɵɵ ami naha abarxam aab geže xyn byxen bodono, xarin ťiinxaar jamar argaar sedx̌el zyrxejee abarxam aab geže bodoxo xeregtei/ "how shall we save our lives', all the people think, but instead it is necessary to think: 'by what means shall I save my courage?'"

5. Conjunction /zygɵɵr/: /bide nileen jexe žemes tyyhen baigaabdi, zygɵɵr teremnai ťiime seber bešehen/ "we had picked a considerable amount of berries but they were not so clean"; /ede bygede zoxid haixan baina, zygɵɵr jamar negen xereg garašuuža/ "all that is proper and good, but what will happen"; /nege xeden sag yngerbe, zygɵɵr tere barma dubrovskiin

beje byri muu bolood baigaahan/ "several hours passed but the condition (lit. "body") of poor Dubrovskii had become absolutely bad"; /bi šamda nege bešeg ygexeb, zygөөr tereeńiijimni martangyigөөr tusxaita ńuurtań damžuulaarai/ "I will give thee a letter but transmit it without forgetting to a particular person."

6. Equivalent phrases: /ši tere xanziingaa tylx́yyriiji yter asara, ygii haašni ene xanziijišni xaxa sabšaxam/ "bring quickly the key of that box of thine or else (lit. "if thou dost not") I shall chop this box of thine to pieces."

6.412. Coordinate clauses without conjunctions.

In conjunctionless coordinate clauses the predicates of the clauses preceding the last one are: 1. finite verbs; 2. nouns (adjectives, etc.) with or without copula.

1. Finite verbs: /staalin šengi mergeer hura, almaaz šengi xursaar otolo/ "study as wisely as Stalin (does), cut charply as a diamond"; /orondomni xeneišje oroxiijin medenegyib, tyryylegše medene aab daa/ "I do not know whether anybody will replace me (lit. "enter my place"), but probably the leader knows"; /xamag mal xariba, xaragšan eŕeeğsen xojor ylebe/ "all cattle returned, the black cow and the dappled cow remained."

2. Nouns: /bi gehen gansaaraa, bide gehen xamtaaraa/ "I means alone, we means together" (lit. "what is said I is alone, what is said we is together"); /xubsaha-xunariiń šoroi toohon bolongi, baŕaad jabaša čemodaanaiń naada talada tymer xargiin stanciin jyyme xadagaldag kaaḿeriin ńaahan saarhan tere xebeeree saibalzana/ "his clothes are dusty, on this side of the suitcase which he is carrying are, as before, the labels pasted by the railway station cloakrooms."

6.42. Subordinate clauses.

1. Subordinate clauses are introduced by a relative element: /jamar šyleg unšaabši, terenee unšiiš/ "read the poem which you have read!" (lit. "what poem thou hast read, read it!"); /xen žoloošo bolohon belei, tere tende oršono/ "he who has become a driver will stay there"; /xen bideńiiji darlanab, tere manai eblešegyi daisad/ "those who oppress us are our irreconcilable enemies"; /xaana zamdań goorod tosxonuud ušarnab, tendeń ulaan tyimer, šuhan xargui tatagdana/ "there where cities and villages were met on his way, red fires and bloody roads stretch

out"; /xaana olon zon suglarnab, tende yxibyyd zaal haa baihan baixa/ "where there gather many people there are children, be it even few."

2. Subordinate clauses contain a subordinative conjunction: /bi šamtai barildaa xadaa/ "if I wrestle with thee."

6.421. Direct discourse is simply juxtaposed to the main clause: /haingy xygšen ežii geže maaša eńeen asuuba/ "'how are you, grandmother?' asked Mary, laughing"; /by bajarla nyxerni, geže yxer-xulganań xaŕuusana/ "'do not rejoice, my friend,' answers the rat" (lit "do not rejoice, saying the rat answers").